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**LAND REFORM, SOCIAL CHANGE, AND MODERNIZATION IN THE
NATIONAL PERIPHERY: A STUDY OF FIVE VILLAGES IN THE
NORTHEASTERN ANDES OF PERU**

City University of New York

PH.D. 1983

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LAND REFORM, SOCIAL CHANGE, AND MODERNIZATION IN THE
NATIONAL PERIPHERY: A STUDY OF FIVE VILLAGES
IN THE NORTHEASTERN ANDES OF PERU

by

Edmundo Morales

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
University of New York.

1985

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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To my sons Angel and Edmundo, Jr.

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TABLE OF EQUIVALENTS OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

<u>Unit</u>	<u>U.S. Equivalents</u>
1 arroba	25 pounds
1 gram	15.43 grains
1 hectare	2.47 acres
1 kilogram (kilo)	2.2 pounds
1 kilometer	0.62 mile
1 meter	39.37 inches
1 Sol (Peruvian National Currency)	\$.002 (1981) \$.0006 (June, 1983)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of Paras, a highland community comprising five villages in the northeastern branch of the Andes of Peru. The study examines the politics of land reform in Peru at the local and regional level within the framework of national land policy and the agrarian development program during the military regime from 1969 to the present democratic government. The community of Paras is politically located in the province of Antonio Raimondi, Department of Ancash, Peru, some ten hours by foot from the provincial capital of Llamellin, which itself is about twenty hours by car from Lima.

As was generally the case in Peru during the feudal system, Paras was a hacienda owned by an absentee landlord. In this case, the landlord was the Beneficencia Publica of Huari, a non-profit organization established by the Catholic church to support a hospital in the town of Huari. After one hundred and fifty years of possession the Beneficencia gave the land in Paras to the government. But Parasinos (the inhabitants of Paras) had already begun expropriating the land themselves to make their own form of local land reform.

Paras peasants are neither legal owners of the land they have farmed for generations, nor do they participate in the collective system of production designed by the military administration in 1970.¹ Because of their remote geographical location, and their resistance to participation in the government's land reform program, the peasants of Paras do not have access to any form of capital or technical aid. This inhibits their ability to implement a better land use system to satisfy the increasing need for food and cash.

Opposition to land reform laws is the product of the internal struggle between those who seek to organize the community into agricultural familial units by way of equal distribution of land, and those who want to maintain the status quo in land possession.

The empirical focus of this study is the peasantry of Paras and the changes in peasant society resulting from land reform and from development programs implanted both by the State and outside international organizations. The primary theoretical focus is on the ways in which land reform has shaped the economic development of Paras. In this context, I will argue that land reform effects changes in the trend of traditional migration from the coast to

¹Although Land Reform Laws were issued in June of 1969, the Statute of Peasant Communities was given in February, 1970.

other sources of cash; and that modernization of the countryside creates a peasantry that is dependent upon both the central government and the underground economy in cocaine now booming in the nearby jungle areas of Paras.

Analysis of change and stability in Paras will lead me to determine to what degree the effects of land reform have promoted development and by what channels this change and development is expressed. The attitudes of the peasants as travelling traders in their relationships with the underground economy, and in dealings among themselves as unequal land possessors will also figure prominently in the research.

Paras is a typical Andean highland community, showing more or less the same social, economic, and cultural characteristics as the rest of the Andean population. This study, therefore, follows the anthropological tradition in attempting to evaluate Peru's economic, social, and political situation by focusing on concrete examples of change in one specific community. It will become clear that an effective understanding of land policy, development programs and their implications can be gained only when social, economic, and political processes in land distribution are joined in a single frame of analysis.

Unlike peasants who participate in state controlled agrarian production, Paras peasants are free to sell their

products at prices determined by local demand and supply. Most of the peasants sell their crops in the jungle where they get higher prices than in the local market. Crops transported to the jungle underground markets, as well as ones sold in local markets may satisfy cash needs but also reduce food intake in the community.

Relationships between cash and caloric needs are indicative of the struggle and disintegration of the peasantry's traditional independent way of life, and of the proletarianization of poor peasants.

While Paras is culturally tied to the traditional indigenous Andean population, economically it is becoming more dependent upon the underground economy. In this economic dependency, Paras as well as other agrarian communities support the cocaine elaboration industry, and participate in modernization of the towns in the areas. During the last fifteen years the five district towns of the province have literally flourished with modernization programs. Each and every town boasts a high school with teachers coming mostly from the same area or distant places in the Department (State) of Ancash. The majority of students are from peasant communities in the province. This situation originates the need for pensiones (boarding houses), restaurants, and other service jobs that are filled by poor peasants from small villages and communities.

Land reform was introduced by the military government in Peru in June, 1969. The military regime expropriated land and organized cooperatives. Among other collective forms of organization fostered by the military government were 581 Agrarian Cooperatives of Production (CAPs) organized mostly in ex-corporate land holdings on the coast. In these cooperatives, only the steady workers at the time of expropriation were included as members of the organization. Another system of collective organization was the 60 Agrarian Associations for Social Interest (SAISs). The SAISs had to accept the dispossessed peasants from surrounding communities as members of the cooperatives.¹

Although the land reform movement in Peru has a long history by now, there is much evidence that it has so far failed to accomplish its major goals even though the concept itself has become widely accepted in some of the nation's regions and is incorporated in the legal system of the nation state. At the level of the individual villages, especially in remote highland areas of the nation, the goals of land reform remain very much unattained.²

¹Jose Matos Mar, Reforma Agraria: Logros y Contradicciones 1969-1979 (Lima, Peru: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1980), p. 67.

²During the last decade, the problem of land reform in Peru has generated a long literature, especially among Peruvian scholars (Jose Matos Mar, Reforma Agraria: Logros

The land reform intended to eliminate feudal underdevelopment in the countryside by diffusing state control through the reorganization of peasant-land relationship into cooperatives controlled by the state. If it is true that this system destroyed the traditional agrarian structure, it is also true that the program failed in its attempt to develop and to integrate the peasantry into national life. The program was a failure because the establishment of authentic agricultural cooperatives proved to be impossible in the context of a centralized state and economy strongly influenced by multinational corporations. Giant corporations such as Leche Gloria, and Perulac, subsidiaries of Carnation Milk of USA, and Nestle of Switzerland, to name just two, continued to control prices as well as the labor market.¹

In principle the desirability of comprehensive national integration of the peasantry in Peru has been accepted for many years. But in practice the country has not yet succeeded in establishing a continuing efficient process of integration.

Integration through the peasant's active participa-

y Contradicciones 1969-1970; Jose M. Caballero, *Agricultura, Reforma Agraria y Pobreza Campecina*; C. Amat y Leon et al, *Realidad del Campo Peruano Despues de la Reforma Agraria*).

¹Anibal Quijano, *Problema Agrario y Movimientos Campecinos* (Lima: Mosea Azul Editores, 1979), p. 24.

tion in political and economic life of the country is confused by the State and the international developing agencies with the act or process of making public services and facilities, such as schools, medical posts, roads, parks, etc., available to the backward Andean inhabitants. This approach to integration makes the peasants more dependent, and further postpones their development and economic growth.

In summary, this thesis emphasizes the following points:

1. Parsinos are still traditional Andean peasants caught in the trend of changes which define their relationship to the land. Land tenure evolved from the feudal system to either individual, equal landowners or to a combination of small land possessors (without legal rights) grouped in collectives. Land reform, per se, has not affected the families very much; their land holdings are the same as they were in the old system.
2. While the material requirements of the community increase with the growth in population, the economic output remains the same or less than it was before land reform. The lack of cash sources in the region, other than the limited marketing of their crops, has pushed the peasants to directly participate in the underground economy. They provide food and labor for the thriving production of cocaine in the nearby jungle. This, in turn, has shifted the traditional migration for wages from the coast to the forest.
3. Political leadership is also changing. The traditional leader emerged from the initial social protest movements organized in the late fifties. Current political leadership is dominated by the Mestizo caciquismo. This has divided the community into two political groups struggling to gain control of the villages. The centralized national legal structure of peasants and community affairs

facilitates the exploitation of the peasants by the legally required community representatives.

4. The developmentalist ideology of the government and international developing agencies is not oriented to closing the gap between the backward national periphery, the countryside, and the industrial areas. The failure of the national leadership to develop the highlands on the basis of an agricultural economy can be attributed to the cultural differences between the peasantry and the Mestizo. This failure to absorb the agricultural labor of the peasantry has indirectly benefited the production of coca in the jungle. Coca has turned from a traditional exchange commodity in the Andes to a mass entrepreneurial industrial production for cocaine linking the peasantry to the international underground economy.

Although the study concentrates its attention on a specific highland community, its presentation starts out with a brief historical account of the origins of the problem. It is only in a larger context that concrete issues can be understood for the setting is but one part of a nation-state, even though not identical to the rest of the 'small nations' which together form the country of Peru.

CHAPTER II

ECOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY

Setting

The five villages of Paras are located in the valley of Conchucos, in the district of Mirgas, province of Antonio Raimondi, Ancash, Peru, at about fifteen kilometers north of the district and provincial capital, Llamellin, a town of about 1,500 inhabitants. Paras was registered as property of Land Reform Office in the books of Public Registry of Ancash with the following perimetrical measures: "To the North, from Tinco with two hundred meters; to the East, in straight line, from Machincho Jirca, Caballinas Punta, Antaraga, Cuncan, Manacug with twenty four thousand meters; on the South from Shicalgo with four thousand and one hundred meters; and to the West, from Shicalgo to Tinco with twenty six thousand meters. The total extension of Paras is four thousand seven hundred fifty one hectares and thirty two areas [11,740.5 acres]."¹

The exact location of Paras on the map is at 77° 55' West Longitude and 9° 4' South Latitude, at altitudes ranging from about 2,300 meters to 3,500 meters above

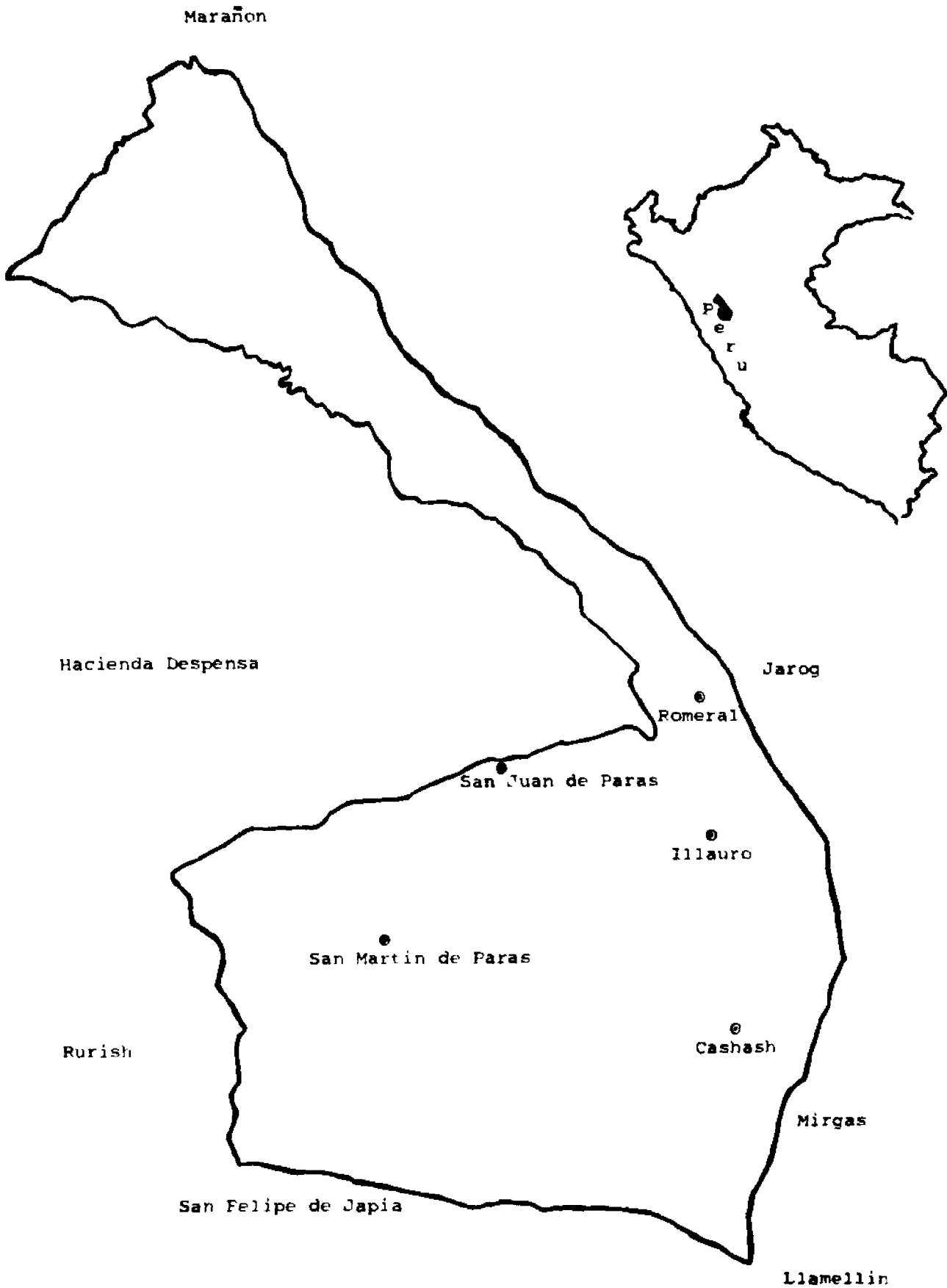
¹From the books of Public Registry of Huaraz, Ancash, Peru.

sea level.¹ On the South Paras is bordered by the communities of Japia and Paño; to the West by the SAIS member cooperative of Rurish; to the North and Northeast by the hacienda of Despensa, not affected by land reform because of its small size; and to the East by the Marañon river, tributary of the Amazon. The climate of Paras is dry and cool in the five villages, and hot in the lower part of the community. It has a varied vegetation. Down low at about 2,300 m., because of the warm climate, vegetation is dense. Here they grow various kinds of fruits such as citrus, tropical roots (sweet potatoes, yucca), and even sugar cane. The southeastern hills are covered by bushes and grasses. In the high punas of the East and the South, the mountains and hills are wrapped by the typical ichu of the Cordillera with which the peasants thatch their houses.

The five villages of Paras consist of 375 families with a total population of 1,900 inhabitants making up 42 per cent of the population of the district of Mirgas, of which Paras is a part, and 11 per cent of the total provincial population.²

¹Instituto Geografico Militar del Peru, Lima, Peru.

²VIII National Population Census, 1981, from the Office of the Census in Llamellin.



Map 1. The Community of Paras with the Five Villages

TABLE 1
PARAS POPULATION BY VILLAGES

<u>Village</u>	<u>Number of Families</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
San Martin de Paras	115	628
Cashash	71	325
Estrella de Romeral	78	360
San Juan de Paras	41	178
Vista Alegre de Illauro	70	409
Totals	<u>375</u>	<u>1,900</u>

The Inhabitants of Paras

The terms "Indian," and "Peasant" are social categories that have been widely accepted in academic circles as well as in the lay world with the following assumptions: "Indian" is the native of the Andes (without eliminating the possibility of foreign origin through an earlier generation or historical period); and "peasant" is that rustic countryman whose function within a larger social system is to produce rent for other superior groups (i.e., the native or the mestizo as producers of surplus subjected to an unequal social relation).¹

Andean indigenous populations are lumped into a generic category of Peruvian Indians. Indians can be defined as a group of native people related by common

¹Eric R. Wolf, Peasants (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 8.

descent, blood, and ethnic characteristics. A Peruvian Indian would then be the ethnic stock that has more or less maintained physical traits, social, religious, and linguistic traditions transmitted from older generations. In this sense there are no pure Indians in Peru. In fact, all "Indians" are Mestizos absorbed by the Andean traditional culture.

Mestizo is a Spanish traditional word for human miscenagenation between the native American (Indio) and Spanish blood. Today the definition of Mestizo is much more complex than it was four centuries ago. The native blood has mixed with almost every race that came to Latin America, i.e., Blacks, Asians, Arabs, Jews, Italians, Anglo-Saxons, etc. The Mestizo is the Latin American that is the result of the combination of different ethnic groups bearing Spanish values. In Peru the Mestizo could be divided into Andean Mestizo and coastal Mestizo. The majority of the Andean Mestizos still keep some kind of a language identity with their past cultures whereas the Mestizo from the coast identifies himself more with the Spanish culture than with the Peruvian native culture.

In Peru, there was, and still is to a certain extent, an erroneous conception that most of the rural populations were Indians when in reality they were a mixture of mestizos or Europeans adapted to traditional life. The

term Indian has been used as an umbrella category to designate the rural population, especially of the highlands. However, recently, new terms such as cholo, serrano, and campecino are generally used to describe the highlander.¹ Cholo and serrano are generally adjectival pejorative terms ascribed to rural people by urban mestizos and Europeans.

The peasants of Paras are made up of a mixture of mestizos from Indian and Spanish origin. As peasants, they are subject to social conditions of the highlands which are characterized by (1) low degree of urbanization, (2) low division of labor, (3) concentration of land in a few hands, (4) poor development of technology and low productivity, (5) absence of elemental systems of communications and high rates of illiteracy and low life expectancy, (6) and more importantly, to quote Wolf, 'the peasant does not operate an enterprise in the economic sense; he runs a household, not a business concern.'

It seems that, after the two natives of San Luis donated land in Paras to the Catholic church (see p. 24), the first Spanish settlers resided either in the valley of Maranon where there still are remains of the construc-

¹The definition of the Indian has been misunderstood from its very beginnings even in Peru; for example, up until 1968 the Department of Labor in Peru was called 'Department of Labor and Indian Affairs.'

tion or in the same setting where they are now. They came to this region to exploit the mines that existed in the lower part of the community. The oldest baptismal records show the existence of four Spanish families: Patricio, Pablo, Izquierdo, and Arana (owner of the hacienda Despensa). The Indian composition of the community may have been aborigines or they may have been brought from other parts of the colony to work in the mines, in agriculture to support the mines, or as household serfs. The Spanish settlers may have come from the North for their accent in Quechua is the same as those from San Luis and Chacas, which is slightly different from the dialect spoken in the rest of the province.

About 15 per cent of the population presents physical features similar to the southern populations where the Indian blood has not yet totally disappeared. Paras peasants still carry in themselves the traditional Spanish bias against the native inhabitant. They disrespectively call fellow peasants, who they think are uncivilized or poor 'Indios.' Some landed old families openly say that such and such person's ascendants were their parents' rogus (serfs). Up until 1864 the baptismal certificates classified the inhabitants of Paras in two clearly defined ethnic groups: Casta and Indio. Casta meaning pure Spanish blood and Indio, aboriginal of the

Andes. On the left margin as well as in the text of the baptismal registration (see Appendix B) the priest made a notation of the ethnic origin of the newly born Parasino. Twenty per cent of the births are registered as being from native origin, i.e., Indian.

The Ecology of Paras

Paras has four defined ecozones. Each zone presents its own ecological features which influence the behavior of the inhabitants. The highest part of the setting, which is completely inhabited, lies on the West side at about 3,800 meters (12,467 feet) above sea level. Here the slopes of the Cordillera are reserved as natural pastureland for sheep and cattle. In the foot of the mountains, Andean tubers and grains such as potato, oca (*Oxalis tuberosa*), quinoa, tauri, and barley (in small quantities) are planted. The village of Cashash with 71 families is located at about 3,600 meters (11,800 feet). At this level, vegetation other than the ichu is almost rare.

The villages of San Martin de Paras and Illauro with a combined population of 185 families are zoned at about 3,300 meters (10,800 feet) of altitude. It is here where most of the crops of wheat, barley, common vetch, and lima beans are planted. The ravine running from South to North between the two villages is the habitat for some

endangered Andean animal species such as the Peruvian hare or vizcacha (*Lepus viscacia*) and wild guinea pigs, and unendangered animals such as the skunk. An average of one eucalyptus per family is planted near the household. Despite its extreme usefulness in construction of houses and bridges, the size of the eucalyptus and the length of its roots make the soil unproductive and kills smaller trees and plants.

Romeral, and San Juan de Paras are the villages located in the lowest inhabited area at about 3,000 meters (9,800 feet) above sea level. In feudal times, San Juan de Paras was the only village that had a school and the church. It was also the headquarters of the hacienda. The most common plant is the cactus or agave whose pricking leaves are used as tiles to protect walls from erosion caused by rain. The agave's young soft and juicy tree serves as feed for the pigs; its dry tree is used in construction works; and its leaves are macerated to get fiber to make ropes. Wheat and corn are the only agricultural products. A kitchen garden with cole, cabbage, hot peppers and alfalfa is part of almost every household and is used for animal pens during the dry season.

Finally, there is the hot and dry valley lying on the left shore of the Marañon river, a two-hour walking distance from the lowest villages. Because of its low

altitude of 2,300 meters (7,500 feet) the valley presents a dense vegetation. Due to scarcity of water, only two small plots irrigated by water coming from springs are used to plant oranges, lemon, chirimoya (*Anona humboltiana*), red guava (*Psidium pomiferum*), papaya trees, and sugar cane to make a strong alcoholic drink (huarapo). Reed-grass grows wild only in a spot of about 300 square meters (7.40 acres) and it is carried up to the community on human shoulders because of the conditions of the terrain and the length of the reed-grass.

At dusk and dawn hundreds of deer come down to the river to drink water. The hills of this area facing the river are thought to be wild and dangerous (chucaru) because they are "inhabited" by the spirits of the ancients (ahuilus) who protect their animals and plants from the living humans. Before picking wood for fuel or hunting deer, the peasant always offers his chewings of coca to the spirits in exchange for wood and game. The "Yunca," as they call the valley, is the most mysterious, mythical, and feared part of the area. Fairy tales about the 'Yunca' tell of elves, ghosts, and humans that have turned into stones and trees. The most popular tale is the one involving Francisco (Pancho) Barron, the tenant who was in charge from 1899 to 1920. There are in the valley two trees that present the figures of two nude women. The tale says that

every week Pancho Barron would go down to the valley to relax on the shore and come back late in the night. When he reached the raca-pati (the pussy-tree) he would dismiss his companion and stay for the night with his two lovers. His behavior for the rest of the days would depend upon how his "women" had treated him.

General Historical Background

Peru, as a surviving social structure of the Inca empire, maintains the existence of traditional communities. These institutions have kept a sui generis social organization that, in many ways, still defies the influence of modern Western world.

The Indian community, the base line of the Inca social system, is an entity that presents three clear characteristics: agrarian, social, and economic. From the agrarian point of view, the community constitutes an indissoluble unit embodying actions of man as the living agent, agricultural regime, and patterns of life. Socially, the community is not a mere physical association of members intertwined by temporal common interest. It is a secular collective organization that passes from generation to generation maintaining its own administrative system, customs, etc. It is a collective unit with a government and legislative system based on free election of their

individual members or comuneros, and on a rigorous system of norms and sanctions imposed by tradition. From an economic standpoint, Indian communities are indivisible work units or teams with socialist and collectivist characteristics. The communal institution in its economic aspect is a regime in which the members of the community enjoy the common use of the communal property.¹

During the Inca empire regime, and probably during the colonial period, the Indian community was also connected by blood relations. Community, then, was a bio-social and economic entity bound together by land, tradition, and customs. It was a group of families perpetuated by blood-land relations.

In the contemporary community, as the result of migration and violence imposed upon the aborigine culture, and other factors permanently flowing into traditional societies, blood relationship has disappeared. The modern sense of community, in Peru, no longer has the main composing element the community had during the Incas, blood ties. Once the consanguinity element in the ayllu is absent, the ancient bio-social and economic entity becomes simply a social and economic institution based on the use of common land.

¹Luis A. Guevara, Granjas Comunales Indigenas (Lima, Peru: By the Author, n.d.), p. 3.

Bennett and Bird (1949), and Mason (1975) define the ayllu as a social institution of organized groups of extended families within a defined territory (marca) with endogamous and patrilocal characteristics. In the case of the Incas, the ayllu was probably a mythical social unit where the members believed they had common origins in the pacara or pacarina, a lake, a mountain, a tree, a totem. Most likely the Incas perfected the system and imposed it upon their conquered tribes along with the Quechua language.¹

In the highlands of Peru there are still signs of the existence of the defined territory (marca) enclosing the ayllu as well as land assigned to the families in it (topo). In the Quechua vocabulary spoken in the area, marca means village, community, town, territory; and topo denotes the existence of contracted work performed for wages or payment in kind.

Up until the late sixties, traditional communities in the countryside fell under the generic name of Indian communities. The military government changed this name to peasant communities and defined them as "communities that before land reform, in June, 1969, constituted Indian communities. They are juridical individuals with private rights established in national civil codes. Peasant

¹Federico Kaufmann Doig, Los Incas y el Tahuantinsuyo (Lima, Peru: Peruanistica, 1973), p. 42.

communities are not comparable to associations, companies, or foundations for they are not constituted as the result of a juridical action. Communities are sui generis individuals whose organizations are based on the ayllu, and they are recognized in Peruvian as well as some other countries' national legislations."¹

The peasants of Paras do not fit in the definition of peasant communities. However, they have filed a petition with the government to be legally recognized as a peasant community following the guidelines of the statute decreed in 1970. The petition is still pending and I will discuss this matter in a separate chapter dedicated to the politics in land reform.

History of Paras

In the description of the location of Paras I said it was in the Callejon (valley) of Conchucos.² On the history of this valley, Garcilasco de la Vega in his *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, describes the conquests gained during the rule of the ninth Inca of Peru, Pachacutec, between 1438 and 1471. Garcilaso narrates the existence

¹F. Bonilla, Estatuto de Comunidades Campecinas (Lima, Peru: Editorial Mercurio, 1974), p. 7.

²Conchucos and Huacrachucos are Spanish names assigned to the Indians of this area based on their styles of hats. Con=with, chuco=hat (Conchucos=Indians with hats). Huacra=horn, chuco=hat the Huacrachucos Indians ornamented their hats with horns.

of disorganized and wild tribes in Conchucos and in the forests of the eastern slopes of the Andes. In the same area, Cieza de Leon reports of the Huacrachucos, who were rebellious tribes that lived in the Cordillera and resisted the Inca rule.¹

According to the chroniclers, the province of Conchucos in less than three quarters of a century experienced two substantial changes. The transition of the Indians of Conchucos from the Inca rule to the Spanish domination implied a general readjustment of the Indians to the new order, for the conquerors brought their own values, religion, language, and a completely different political system to America.

The Spaniards added themselves to the already existing Inca social pyramid. Thus, the Conchucos Indians as well as other groups along the Andes suffered the seizure of their cultures first by the Incas then by the Spanish, who for economic reasons, more or less respected the traditional community system established by the Incas.²

¹Archeological evidences in the area have not been explored. Therefore, it is rather difficult to establish whether the Huacrachucos and the Conchucos were tribes or organized cultures.

²For more detailed analysis of the social situation of the Indian during Colony, see Jose Carlos Mariategui, Siete Ensayos de Interpretation de la Realidad Peruana: La comunidad baja el coloniaje, p. 45.

The king of Spain sent to America special commissioners, or land judges, to measure, divide, distribute, and sell land to caciques, Indian communities, and private individuals. The first land judge who came to the Conchucos area, in 1544, was Pedro de Meneses de Campo Fo.¹

On the other hand, the Catholic church, while extirpating idolatries from natives and imposing upon them the faith in Christ, also profited from land distribution. The church, whose seat was in Lima, sent visitors to local parishes to supervise the priests and control catechists. During their stay, these visitors collected religious taxes from the population and received gifts to the church consisting of gold, silver, animals, and land.

One of the many visitors who came to Conchucos, in 1640, was the fourth archbishop of Lima, Gonzalo de Ocampo. When the archbishop was in the town of San Luis, two natives by the names of Miquel Poma Paucar and Juan Nitima gave, as a gift to the church in the hands of the archbishop, their land in Paras.² These natives were most likely caciques who controlled the Indian population of the area and were paid in land by the conquerors for

¹The oldest documents in land distribution found in the files of Land Reform Office in Huaraz bear his name, or are signed in his representation.

²Library of the Archbishopric of Lima, Visitas a Conchucos 1632-1774.

their services. Paras, therefore, became property of the church directly administered by the priest of the parish of San Andres of Llamellin, a town which until 1964 was part of the province of Huari.

The Beneficencia Publica de Huari was legally organized in 1894 with the exclusive purpose to build and support the hospital of Santo Domingo de Huari with income derived from renting its land in Paras. The Beneficencia of Huari held land in Paras until the advent of land reform in 1969.

On December 21, 1973, Paras was annexed to SAIS Chavin No. 34 with headquarters in Uchupata, another ex-hacienda about 30 kilometers from Paras. SAIS Chavin, by contract No. 3758-73, incurred a debt with the government for the value of Paras in the amount of 473,336.60 soles (\$10,911.40, in 1973 soles).

Once Paras was legally integrated into the collective system of production, SAIS Chavin officials came to Paras to take over land, organize the peasants into a local committee, and establish the rules and conditions of the new social relations dictated by the system of collective production. Some peasants accepted the new conditions of work under a wage labor and profit sharing plan designed by SAIS; but the overwhelming majority of peasants refused to admit SAIS Chavin as their parent

organization. SAIS officials were physically driven out of Paras, and even though they are still paying the debt for Paras, they never again tried to persuade Parasinos.

In May 1978, Paras peasants held an open meeting to elect their Gestor (agent) who would represent the community legally and be responsible to follow up the petition filed with the government for the separation of Paras from SAIS Chavin. Under the new government's land policy, this petition will likely gain Paras recognition as an organized peasant community during this year.

CHAPTER III

THE INDIO AND HIS LAND: FOUR CENTURIES OF DILEMMA

Columbus' aim was to discover new routes to reach the Indies, which was rich in precious stones and spices. By chance alone or with incorrect information given to him, Columbus discovered a new land that later would be called America. As he thought he had reached the Indies, it was logical for him to call its inhabitants Indians (Indios). Thus the Mayas, the Aztecs, and the Incas became known as Indios. The first attempts of human communication may have been to establish identities: "You Indio, me Spanish." As a result, social differentiation was set at the outset of the discovery. Thirty years later (1525) the Aztecs and the Mayas were conquered and their territories became the New Spain. In 1532 the Spanish conquerors captured one of the Incas (Atahualpa) who ruled the divided Inca empire.¹

The discovery and the conquest of America created a new social element in the history of humanity. This element, the Indio, would become an inexhaustible source

¹James Lockhart, The Men of Cajamarca (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1972), p. xiv.

of study for the sciences, an ever present cause for political movements, and a permanent fountain of inspiration for American literature.

The Indio as a biological unit is not problematic. But since the Indio was a new social category created and defined by those outside of the culture, the Europeans, and different from the Mestizos who have their roots in the Indio, it is important to understand how the "problem of the Indio" arose historically and how it is presently defined.

The search to solve the "problem of the Indio" is known as indigenismo. Indigenismo first emerged as a philanthropic action to protect the native (e.g., Bartolome de la Casas) from extermination as the result of the abuses committed by the conquerors. Later it grew into a cultural, social, and political phenomenon present in Latin American society dominated by the European and the Mestizo who identify themselves with the concrete Indian situation within their national context. The Indio is not only the subject of physical exploitation as the source of wealth throughout Latin American history but his problem is exploited by the involving society without, so far, solving his dilemma.

Culturally and socially the indigenista policy advocates actions for acculturation directed towards

aboriginal populations in order to facilitate their gradual and harmonic integration into the national systems. It is assumed that the fundamental cause of the indigena problem resides in the cultural differences in relation to the dominant national cultures. Politically, indigenismo is an ideology advocated by the Mestizo and the European. It departs from a social philosophy or a scientific focus of what is the Indio and his role in national life. It becomes permanent and systematic, and it is institutionalized with Latin American populism.¹ Indigenismo is always connected with projects of political reorganization seeking participation of the Indio in national life (Valencia, 1978).

Indigenismo is the expression of a biological phenomenon, that is, the rise of the Mestizo, and it is intelligible only as a historical product of the emergent Mestizo. The theories that guide the political action of Latin American countries with respect to the Indio is not represented by the Indio, but the Mestizo. The manifestation of indigenismo in the populist movements is a clear

¹Populism is a political movement which works to mobilize masses and to revolutionize the national or continental society. The best example of populism is APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana), founded by Haya de la Torre in Mexico in 1930, which applies principles of Marxism in order to change social conditions in Latin America.

indication of the process of two opposing social categories complementing each other to such a point that neither of them can exist independent of the other, just as capital and labor are "friendly" enemies of the same process.

Mexico in the North and Peru in the South are the two ideological foci that represent the indigenismo in the new world. In both countries indigenismo has been part and parcel of their national policies from the beginnings of their existence as independent countries.

Once the links with Spain and the value systems that this linkage represented were broken, the Mestizo believed that his past was founded in the dying Indio. At this point the number of Indio in Peru had been reduced from ten million in 1525 to a mere 608,894 by the end of the eighteenth century.¹ This reduction of the native population was mostly due to the forced labor imposed by the Spanish; however, there is no reliable statistical source on the depopulation in the Spanish colonies.

It was the introduction of Western industry, technology, and modern ideas that crystallized the potentiality of the Mestizo to become conscious of his existence. After independence from Spain, the American Mestizo started to seek his own future. Nation-states and confederations emerged but the idealization of the past Indio was not

¹Virgilio Roel, Historia Social y Economica de la Colonia (Lima, Peru: Editorial Grafica Labor, 1970), p. 83.

sufficient to destroy the feudal social structure elaborated during three centuries of colonial rule. The Indio and the Mestizo alike continued to be exploited by the Spanish and the Creole hacendados.

Thus, the base of the social pyramid was constituted by the Indio, the Negros, and a constantly increasing number of Mestizos. By the end of the nineteenth century, the rise of the Mestizo split the dual social structure open and led to the establishment of a middle class. This new middle class tied itself to international capitalism and Peru began to develop as a dependent country. The nation's economic system was literally handed to England. The biggest single contract was signed with the shipping company Grace. With the growth of monopoly capital at the turn of the twentieth century, the country intensified its commercial 'exchange' with the United States and thus it passed from one hand to another but without experiencing changes in the social structure. In 1919 Peru imported 61 per cent of its foreign goods from England. In the same year, 60 per cent of the export went to United States and 18 per cent to England.¹

Again, it is evident that indigenismo is a Mestizo problem rather than an Indian concern. Another position

¹Carlos Malpica, El Mito de la Ayuda Externa (Lima, Peru: Francisco Moncloa Editores, 1970), p. 25.

in the indigenismo is the tendency of the Mestizo and European to measure the social, economic, and cultural situation of the Indio using western standards. They consider that the actual situation of the Indio is exclusively, or almost exclusively, due to, and derived from, his unfitness to western culture. They compare the Indian position with that of the European peasantry subject to a feudal exploitation. To them, the redemption of the Indio is part of the general framework of the economic liberation of the proletarian masses. This position of overestimation of everything European or American often leads to unfavorable solutions to the problem of the Indio.

The indigenismo movement in Peru starts with Jose Carlos Mariategui who, in 1926, founds the magazine "Amauta" and has as his collaborators leading Peruvian intellectuals such as Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, Luis E. Valcarcel, and Luis Alberto Sanchez. In 1928 Mariategui organizes the General Confederation of Labor of Peru (Condefederacion General del Trabajo del Peru) as well as the Peruvian Socialist Party.¹

In Peru, what is known as scientific indigenismo, begins with Luis E. Valcarcel, who was in charge of the

¹Manuel Marzal, Historia de la Antropologia Indigenista Mexico y Peru (Lima, Peru: Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru, 1981), p. 452.

Ministry of Education in 1945. He started programs, mostly educational, directed towards the Indio. His position was "not to incorporate [the Indio] to the [Western] civilized world . . . but to incorporate the Western civilization to the Indian life." In 1947, the Instituto Indigenista Peruano (Indigenous Institute of Peru) was set up almost exclusively as an academic and bureaucratic institution, and as an extension of the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano.¹ Another indigenista to be mentioned is the anthropologist Jose Maria Arguedas (Yahuar Fiesta, 1941; Los Rios Profundos, 1958; Todas las Sangres, 1964; and his posthumous El Zorro de Arriba y el Zorro de Abajo, 1971).

Methodical scientific indigenismo comes to Peru in 1951 as a

Joint enterprise of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Cornell University and the Indigenous Institute of Peru, under the general direction of Holmberg. Its primary aims [were] scientific: to study the process of community development. At the same time, the project share[d] some of the same aims as industry: to build a more productive social and economic system and to contribute to the development of more capable and confident people.²

Indigenismo, populism, 'armed movements,' and

¹Manuel Marzal, op. cit.

²William Whyte and Allan Holmberg, "From Paternalism to Democracy. The Cornell-Peru Project," Human Organization 15 (3) (Fall 1956): 15-20.

national revolutions all have their raison d'etre in the attempt to 'liberate' the proletariat at the cost of another dominant class, and to seek social justice for the poor, the peasant, or the Indio, mainly expressed in an 'equal' distribution of wealth, be it in the form of money, property, or land. Land has been, and it still is, the moving force in the history of Latin American countries as well as the graveyard for the hopes of millions of Latin Americas.

Indigenismo and Land Reform in Peru

It was not until 1948 that the problem of land reform became a widespread public issue in Peru. Among other things, the increasing pressure from the countryside manifested in the organization of the peasantry at regional and national levels, and the population swell in the capital city of Lima due to the depopulation of the hinterland made conditions ripe for a military coup that would 'save' the country for the oligarchy and from 'communism.' Thus began a period of military class encroachment in every sphere of national life.

In 1948 General Manuel Odria, a native from a town in the central Andes (Tarma, Junin) forced out the rightfully established government of Jose Bustamente y Rivero, and at the completion of his term as a de facto dictator, he won the elections he called in 1950. The extreme right

characteristics of Odria's government facilitated private and foreign investments. The country's balance of payments was in good status because of the international demand for Peruvian export goods created by the Korean War. The weak housing development programs that had been started by the previous government were continued at the same pace which did not meet the housing needs of the poor and lower income people. The poor and the migrant peasant saw their future in their children's education that the government provided for the lower social strata.¹

Because of the priority given to education in the fifties, the high school population exploded from 72,526 in 1950 to 198,259 in 1960; and higher education students increased from 15,919 in 1950 to 30,983 in 1960 and to 92,402 in 1964; the number of universities expanded from 9 in 1950 to 34 in 1970.²

The first attempt of land reform was made in 1956 by the president representing the interests of the Peruvian oligarchy. The head of the commission to study the project of land reform appointed by Prado was one of the land barons in Peru, and the president of the Senate was the owner of one of the sugar plantations in the northern coast.

¹Pablo Macera, Vision Historica del Peru (Lima, Peru: Editorial Milla Bartres, 1978), p. 244.

²Henry Pease, in Estado y Politica Agraria (Lima, Peru: Desco, 1977), p. 39.

At this time land reform was an impossible dream.

The military junta that deposed Prado in 1962 did so because it was clear that the APRA was the potential winner in the elections of that same year. The army carried out its anti-aprista campaign by declaring as areas of land reform those very departments where there had been continuing peasant unrest.

In 1964 Belaunde signed the land reform law 15037 that excluded large plantations and their industrial complexes (Matos Mar, 1980) and tried to temper the issue of land reform with his proposition to colonize the eastern slopes of the Andes (ceja de selva). As he and his party were unable to give a solution without affecting the interest of the oligarchy that was represented in Congress, he found the alternative in the virgin lands in the forests. Colonization was not properly conditioned nor its aims regulated. The result of the incapacity of his government to face the real issues of land distribution with practical and just solutions is what has turned the 'hope of Peru' into a land for mass production of coca and cocaine (see Chapter VII).

The issue of land reform and the problem of the peasant reached the countryside with more impetus in the early sixties in the Department of Cuzco which, before the conquest, had been the seat of the late powerful Inca

Empire. The leader was a young Mestizo high school graduate from the city of Cuzco, Hugo Blanco, won over by the Trotskyist ideology, whose revolution under the slogan of "land or death" ("tierra or muerte") was one of the minor headaches for the landed class in Peru.

Hugo Blanco organized the peasants of the valleys of Lares and La Convencion (Cuzco) and, when he was the secretary of Land Reform of the Peasant Federation of the Department of Cuzco, he issued his own land reform law as follows:

10. The General Assembly of each [peasant] union shall name a commission of Land Reform from amongst the members of the union.

20. The tenants (arrendires) and subtenants (allegados) will automatically become owners of land they work.

30. Uncultivated land will be [divided and] distributed giving priority to the poor peasants.

40. Land that has been planted for the lord (the hacendado) will remain unaffected provided that he has not committed abuses [with the peasants]. Otherwise, the crops and if possible the hacienda-house with all its installations will be used as a school, sick bay, canalization, etc.

50. The authorities serving the landlords (gamonales) will not take part [in the reform] because the peasants are the only ones who know the agrarian reality.¹

After assaulting the police station of Pucyura (Cuzco) to get arms and ammunition to try to make justice

¹Henry Pease, op. cit., p. 54.

with his own hands, Hugo Blanco and his peasant followers became fugitives from the socially institutionalized justice. On May 29, 1963, Hugo Blanco was captured and later sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment in the Peruvian "Alcatraz" of "El Fronton," an island near Lima, by the military that had ousted Prado.¹

In 1963, the 'democratic' life of Peru was re-established with the election of Fernando Belaunde Terry who was backed by the Communist parties. Although Belaunde turned his back to his political supporters, he freed the prisoners (presos politicos) that had been jailed for the "cause of the peasantry." In 1971 Hugo Blanco began to linger around the campus of San Marcos where the "torch" of revolutionary ideology was permanently lighted, and from which rooms "revolutionary" ideologists, "terrorists," and "money expropriators" (bank robbers) had come.

Hugo Blanco's effectiveness as political agitator and peasant organizer faded when, after his release from prison, he was deported to Mexico. He then went to live in Sweden for many years. He returned to Peru to participate in the elections to reform the constitution called by the "second phase" military junta. In 1981 Hugo Blanco

¹Richard Gott, Guerrilla Movements in Latin America (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1970), p. 247.

was elected congressman (diputado) representing Lima where where he now enjoys a political salary paid with money coming from his fellow peasants and proletariats.

The leadership of the Mestizo to seek the redemption of the Indio and the peasant did not end with the imprisonment of Hugo Blanco. When Ernesto "Che" Guevara moved to the hinterland of Bolivia the contagious phase of the moscovite international guerrilla movement directed through Cuba began. Luis de la Puente Uceda who, along with Che Guevara and the Colombian priest Camilo Torres, ranks as one of the most impressive intellectuals of the Latin American "peasant movements" also becomes active in the revolutionary scenario at this time.

Luis de la Puente Uceda was the son of a land owner and a relative of the APRA leader Haya de la Torre and had been a member of the party since his childhood. In 1948 APRA was declared an illegal political party by the dictator Odria, and Luis de la Puente was imprisoned and exiled in Mexico. Towards the end of this dictatorship he came back to Peru. Disenchanted by the new political goals of APRA he deserted the party to organize "Apra Rebelde," and took his 'revolution' to the same area where Hugo Blanco's movement had been aborted. He was killed in Mesa Pelada (Cuzco) in 1965.

Apart from the armed 'revolutionary' attempts to

solve the issue of land reform, there were other groups who "dreamed" of seizing power democratically as Allende did in Chile. One of these Mestizos was the priest of Mancos (Yungay), Salomon Bolo Hidalgo, who used the pulpit of his church to 'predicate' his communist ideas for which he was excommunicated. In 1962 Bolo campaigned personally for the FLN candidate for the presidency. Later he joined the cause of the reformist military government which he defended in a local newspaper in Lima. Bolo had succeeded in using the peasant issue as a stepping stone to build his own political reputation. He had just resigned from the ministry.

'The Inca Plan'

The biggest political scandal in Peruvian modern life was the one that involved an American multinational corporation and the Peruvian government. The International Petroleum Company's subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey, contract concerning the oil fields of La Brea y Parinas had expired and a new agreement was due to be signed. The critical and decisive issue in the general elections of 1962 was the future of the oil fields and the International Petroleum Company (IPC). Hours before the polls opened, Belaunde Terry declared that oil "must be nationalized immediately" and that as a candidate he was "neither with the International Red [international

communism] nor was he with the International Petroleum" ("Nosotros [Accion Popular Party] no estamos ni con la Internacional Roja ni con la International Petroleum").

In his inaugural speech he called for "immediate recovery of the oilfields in La Brea y Parinas within no later than ninety days." Five years later, in 1968, in a press conference concerning IPC, he said he would make a "radical position only towards the end of his term" because "the economy of Peru [was] in no condition to take immediate decisions."¹

At this time the Joint Chiefs of Staff chaired by Juan Velasco Alvarado had already been making its drafts of the revolution under the "historic" name of the "Plan Inca" ("El Plan Inca"). On October 3, 1968, Belaunde was removed from office and deported to Argentina, and Juan Velasco Alvarado became the second dictator in less than six years.

Alvarado's indigenista ideology was sympathetic to both the Indio and the proletariat. He tried to end "the humiliation" of the country and the peasantry, caused by "imperialism" and the national oligarchy, by taking over every foreign investment in Peru, especially those of United States corporations. The first action of the

¹Augusto Zimmermann Zavala, El Plan Inca. Objetivo: Revolucion Peruana (Lima, Peru: Editorial del Diario Oficial "El Peruano," n.d.), p. 12.

government that demonstrated emotional identification with the "Indio" was the expropriation of the IPC. The second, and most important, step was the Land Reform of June 24, 1969.

The revolutionary government in its populist action to attract masses took as its official seal the portrait of the head of Tupac Amaru II, an eighteenth century Indian who, in Cuzco, had rebelled against the conquerors. Furthermore, Alvarado tried to make Quechua the official language of the country, a language with so many dialects that it is progressively disappearing.

To locate the military land reform model in the continental context, it is necessary to give a brief overview of the Mexican model which seemed to have influenced the Peruvian government.

Mexico's land reform started with the Revolution of 1910 and represents the only indigenista movement to achieve a permanent institutionalized program of land distribution in Latin America.

In both Mexico and Peru during colonial times land was divided either into encomiendas,¹ or individual land holdings given as payment or reward for service to the

¹Encomienda was an allotment of a certain extension of land including the natives living within the allotment to a conquistador who christianized the Indians, collected tribute, and imposed labor services in the fields or in his household.

Spanish crown. The church also had large land holdings. Then came the haciendas--large private land holdings with social, economic, and political bondage of the residents within its territory--which concentrated land in a few hands, and, in some cases, continued absorbing the villages surrounding the hacienda.

In 1922 Mexico established, as the basic land tenure unit, the ejido, or an agrarian community that holds land granted by the government or as restitution of land lost to the haciendas, or, if the traditional agrarian community had survived the expansion of the haciendas, a legal title of usufruct (land use) given to the ejidatarios--groups of individuals who benefit from an ejido.¹

By 1960 Mexico had already distributed over 60 million hectares of land (King, 1977). The average size of an ejido farm was 6.5 hectares of uncultivated land but 44 per cent of ejidos had less than 4 hectares and only 15 per cent possessed more than 10 hectares (Stavenhagen, 1970: 237).

In Peru, the military government granted legal recognition to those "Indian" communities that had existed, supposedly, since the Inca empire. Especially in the

¹Russel King, Land Reform A World Survey (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1977), p. 92.

highland areas, where social organization was not based on land distribution, the government defined the villages as peasant communities (comunidades campecinas).

In Peru, in the census of 1961, 33,712 agrarian units (haciendas) had an estimated total possession of 15,001,000 hectares from the estimated total of 26,771,000 hectares affected by the land reform; that is to say, 56 per cent of total land was in the hands of only 3.9 per cent of land owners (hacendados) while the majority of the population which depended upon agriculture, peasants, small land owners, and peasant communities, had only 7,920,000 hectares or 30 per cent of the total land. On the other hand, in the census of the same year there were 1,337,000 rural workers distributed as follows: 265,000 (20%) wage laborers, 122,000 (9%) in state of serfdom, 650,000 (49%) small owners or peasant communities, and 300,000 (22%) landless and unemployed. Land distribution from its beginnings in 1962 has transferred only 8,559,253 hectares benefiting 375,246 rural workers or 28 per cent of the total population who depend on agriculture.¹

Distribution of land has been primarily in the form of concentration of agrarian units to create larger agrarian entities with a cooperative-type organization.

¹Jose Matos Mar and Jose Mejia, Reforma Agraria: Logros y Contradicciones (Lima, Peru: IEP, 1978), p. 22.

This form is not a pure cooperative because administration of land, in most cases, is not totally in the hands of the members, the State directly controls production, and distributes profits, if any. The most important new agrarian units organized by the government in Peru are the peasant communities, Agrarian Cooperatives of Production (CAPs), and the Agrarian Associations for Social Interest (SAISs).

CAPs are agrarian "cooperatives" of permanent workers who at time of organization worked in the fields or the industrial complexes for wages. Temporary or seasonal workers from surrounding areas are not members of the "cooperative" but they can be hired when their labor is required. Profits from the sale of the collectively produced goods are, at least theoretically, shared by the members of the "cooperative." CAPs were organized in modern ex-haciendas such as the sugar plantations and their industrial infrastructures on the coast. SAISs are concentrations of many ex-haciendas around one central committee usually located in the most productive of all the subsidiary members. The parent organization is not necessarily part of the geographical continuum joining all their members in one large continuous unit. In most cases they are at long distances from one another. The peasants living in the community organized in the ex-

hacienda as well as those poor and landless families from the perimeter are legal members of the SAIS. Land that before the reform had been exploited by the tenant farmer or the hacendado (owner) is tilled collectively and the profit from the proceeds distributed amongst the members. Besides the communal corporate land, each and every family has its own land holding.

Peasant Communities (Comunidades Campecinas) are groups of families legally organized by Land Reform laws as a farming communal organization with individual land possessions. In some cases, these communities are legal recognition of groups that supposedly have been in the community for centuries. In others, they are reorganizations of families based on the traditional "Indian" community system, i.e., they are impositions from the government to the peasants of an alien social system. The collective land is exploited for the benefit of the community rather than the individual families. Profit from the crops are to be invested in community 'development' needs, mostly educational and urbanization programs. Each and every family has its land possession but without any legal ownership rights to it. Land cannot be sold, only divided and inherited within the family.

The Comunidades Campecinas and collective land corporations in Peru ("cooperatives") are similar to

individual and collective ejidos in Mexico in that, in both cases, the pre-Spanish social and economic unit was taken as the basis for land distribution. In these organized or restituted collective systems, land market, and legal ownership rights were eliminated which, at least in Peru, may have been one of the causes for the peasants' lack of interest in improving the productivity of their traditional system of production.

Mexican land reform is a permanent program responding to the population increase, whereas the Peruvian military model was organized with limited extensions of land. In Peru, the sizes of land assignments to the population go in a direction opposite that of population increase. The Mexican land reform started before the first major war in history. The Revolution of 1910 in Mexico was directly against the landed national oligarchy; it was a peasant revolution that arose from the abuses of the landed and from the hunger for land among the peasants. In Peru, land has never been the propelling force for any revolution. Revolution is a term that is used loosely to refer to changes in government which satisfy personal and/or group interests.

Finally, Mexico is the immediate neighbor of a technologically advanced super-industrial consumer society. This benefits Mexican commerce. Peru, on the other hand,

is a geographical part of a continental periphery.

What is Next: "Narcotics and Indigenismo"?

The problem of the "Indio" or the peasant is much more serious than it seems at first sight. The political developments of the last two years in Peru must not be just filed as "one more political incident without much importance." Something more alarming and dangerous is going on in those isolated, barren, and cold cordilleras.

The government of Peru (the same that about two decades ago "colonized" the jungle to facilitate the boom of coca) through the Minister of the Interior claims the narco traffickers are also involved in "terrorist actions." Yet the government denies the existence of international economic support for terrorism in Peru (Diario La Republica, May 1, 1983). If there is no international support for the "Sendero Luminoso" ("Shining Path"), a marxist-leninist guerrilla movement that has thrown Peru into confusion, there are only two obvious alternatives to explain the armed activities taking place in Peru. It is either a political trick created by the government to distract the general discontent in the country, or else it is at least partly financed by the powerful world of narcotics.

The Department of Ayachucho (southern Peru) has been the focus of operation for the "Sendero Luminoso"

guerrillas since 1980. Casualties caused by the subversive group are said to be in the hundreds. In April 1983, alone, according to the government's information, more than 180 guerrilla members were killed by both the army and the "peasants" (El Observador, May 1, 1983). The highlight of the events has been the massacre of eight journalists who had gone to the community of Uchuraccay (Ayachusho) where they were attacked and killed by the peasants because they were mistaken for members of "Sendero Luminoso" coming to demand food, and to recruit more senderistas from amongst their youngsters.

The commission appointed to investigate the killing of the journalists has the "firm conviction" that the comuneros had authorization from officials to attack anyone coming on foot to the community because the "friends" of the peasantry (army) would come by air (helicopters). The peasants were rewarded for their anti-terrorist actions with gifts of food and medicines (Gente, No, 444, March 24, 1983). Even though there is no information on the kind of food presented to the peasants, it is possible that international aid substitute food was given.

It is not the kind or the amount of reward food that is intriguing but the possibility that narcotics is involved in guerrilla movements. Because of its entrepreneurial nature it is unlikely that the international

underworld is waging the armed movements in Ayachucho. But what is likely is that a group or groups of 'nationalists' or 'communists' may have established their 'pro-revolution cocaine laboratories' to raise money to support their guerrilla activities.

The "narco-indigenistas," if such a thing is happening, do not even need to set a cocaine processing laboratory in order to obtain the "precious commodity." When I was in the field there were cases where some cocaine entrepreneurs had been "detained" by the police in isolated places when they were on their way back from the jungle to Antonio Raimondi (see Chapter VII for a detailed discussion of cocaine activity in the Andes). It is difficult to establish who those "policemen" were for they could be the real policemen (the Peruvian police force at every level is a rotten apple), or they could be common robbers, but why not guerrilla fund raisers. It is easier to assault and ambush an "entrepreneur" in lonely places than to rob a bank in urban areas. Furthermore, if the guerrillas were "expropriating" cocaine they would be getting a much more valuable commodity than the permanently devaluating Sol (national currency).

It should be taken into consideration that the underground world counts with secret airfields, it is connected with arms dealers, and most importantly it moves

tremendous amounts of money ("el caballero señor don dinero"). Whether or not the "narco-indigenistas" are going to 'liberate' the "Indio" is another question. What is at stake here is the possible emergence of a totally new alliance of an ancient social problem with an illegal, however, powerful, economy and a political goal.

Belaunde Terry might have been right when, during his first term in office from 1963-68, he stated that the "hope of Peru was the jungle." He might have been an unconscious prophet who opened the "shining path" ("sendero luminoso") by colonizing the forests to later facilitate the mass production of coca and cocaine. Or, it may be that coca has its own magic that can save the "Indio" and the peasant. All these conjectures and questions must be considered seriously in order to analyze the problem of the "Indio" who, in any case, has nothing to lose and everything to gain. In the Indio's alliance with his mama coca and the "narco-indigenismo" the worst that could possibly happen to him is to die for real. As opposed to being one of the living dead. After all, it may be better to die than to live a miserable life.

The next chapter discusses the historical evolution of land tenure in Paras from the traditional fiefdom to the struggles of the population to control land.

CHAPTER IV

LAND TENURE AND LAND REFORM IN PARAS

Before the Reform

The Paras community seems to present itself as a homogenous group of peasants with equal access to land resources. But in reality the peasants are grouped in gradations based on unequal distribution of land, thus creating conflict and polarity in the community.

Before undertaking the analysis of the present situation of the Paras peasants, a brief survey of the categories that existed in feudal times will provide a comparison for the social composition of the peasantry of Paras after the land reform (i.e., the roles the peasant played during the hacienda system, and his present relationship to land as a free rural comunero).

In Paras, as well as in the rest of the nation's countryside, feudal land distribution created and maintained a unique social organization with categories based on, and defined by, land distribution. These social categories were more or less the same throughout Peru, with some variations in their denominations from region to region.

All the feudal social class and status denominations

in Peruvian social history are described under the generic category of yanaconaje instituted during the Incas. The yanacunas were hereditary serfs who served noblemen and government officials. The Spanish maintained the term on the coast, and gave a variety of denominations to the highland population.¹

Feudal Paras was divided into four categories: the tenant farmer or locatario and his family, the subtenant, the pampero, and the agregado (adjunct).

The Tenant Farmer

The tenant leased the hacienda from the Beneficencia Publica of Huari for a fixed number of years. He lived in the administrative quarter (casa hacienda) with his family, his administrative personnel, and one school teacher (after 1954). The tenant's lifestyle was patterned after the standards in the city or town he came from. Maintenance of the household was left to the pampero and his family who were bound in servitude on the estate.

The locatario was respected and approached with fear. The peasant always addressed him humbly, calling his Papa (master) rather than by his name. The locatario had power to act as the supreme judge; his decisions could not be appealed. Defiance or disobedience led to misfortune

¹See Jose Matos Mar, Yanaconaje y Reforma Agraria en el Peru (Lima, Peru: IEP, 1976).

and punishment. The tenant farmer could punish or whip the guilty and mediate in family problems. Some elderly inhabitants gave me accounts of their experiences under the locatario's rule. They told of punishments that oftentimes even caused death.

The Subtenant

The Subtenant was the peasant who subleased land from the tenant farmer. Possession of land passed from generation to generation. At the death of the father, it was the eldest son's duty to register his name as the new head of the family. He would pay a yearly rent of approximately U.S. \$2.05 per each hectare he held plus a payment in labor. As part of his contract "established by tradition," he had to work 16 days during fallow, 8 days in plowing, 8 days during weeding, and as many days as required to finish collecting the crops. The subtenant's labor obligation ended with the transportation of 8 sacks (576 Kilos) of grains, mostly wheat, from the threshing floors in the field to the warehouses of the hacienda.

Every adult male from the household of the subtenant, including his *agrecado* (extended family), had to report to the fields as part of the subtenant's labor force.

The Pampero

The Pampero (worker in the field) was a person who was granted the usufruct of land by the tenant farmer,

towards whom he and his family contracted a number of labor obligations which, in the main, was similar to the bondage that existed in colonial period. The pampero paid rent for land he held with only his labor. He had to work in the fields from Monday to Friday. In 1957 this obligation was reduced to three days of labor. Because of his full year obligation to the hacienda, the pampero could not till the total of his land. He had to earn his livelihood working for the subtenant who paid him in kind.

The pampero family did not end its labor tribute with the days of work provided by the head of the household. Other adult members of the family had to perform menial work at the hacienda house for one week every year, and sometimes whenever requested. Furthermore, the pampero's children were also required to serve in the hacienda quarters upon the tenant farmer's request. Unmarried girls were assigned housekeeping positions (mita) and/or to mita as servants of hacienda employees. During their service, the girls would very often get pregnant by the hacienda employees. To avoid this problem, the wives of the pamperos would go to perform mita instead of their daughters. Other household duties requiring male force were done by young male children, pongo.

To most pampero families, the various kinds of services furnished to the hacienda was a relief because

of the shortage of food they suffered due to their limited crops. The tenant farmer provided his 'workers' with food, and chicha on Mondays and Wednesdays during cropping season, and coca throughout the year.

Since the market for crops was as far as two weeks' trip, the tenant farmer named many muleteers to transport the goods to distant towns and cities. The pampero was obliged to transport the goods. For the long journey, the peasant was provided with half an arroba (6 Kilos) of corn to toast for his snacks during approximately four weeks away from home.¹ The muleteer was responsible for the lives of the animals and for any casualty that occurred on the trip and regardless of its cause, was obliged to pay the tenant farmer for the loss.

The Agregado

The agregado (adjunct) was a family who was part of the extended household of the subtenant. The agregado had two different origins: the subtenant's married children and some families that had migrated to the hacienda from other poor communities who lived in a state of complete vassalage. The immigrant agregado had three labor obligations. First, the hacendado counted him as part of the

¹Distance of transportation varied with every administrator; the longest trip took two weeks when the administrator was a resident of Caraz, in the 1930s.

subtenant's labor force. Secondly, the hacendado imposed upon him a labor tribute for living on the property of the hacienda. And third, he had a labor debt to his patron for life. The subtenant, who gave him small unproductive plots of land and shelter gained the immigrant agregado's lifetime labor. The agregado, besides subserving his sponsor in the hacienda, also acted as a source of reserve labor whenever necessary.

Land Tenure after the Reform

Land reform decreed by the military in 1969 has not led to substantial changes in land distribution in Peru. Land was not assigned to the peasants individually but concentrated in large cooperative holdings under the direct control of the government.

Land reform laws categorically order that the minimum familial land unit must be smaller than three hectares (approximately fifteen days of plowing). In June of 1975, the government issued another decree increasing familial land holdings to five hectares per unit and limiting the maximum possession per family in 30 hectares.¹

¹L.R.L. art. 98, August 1970, and decree 21166, art. 2, June 1975. Texto Unico Concordado del Decreto Ley 17716 published by the Office of Land Reform, Lima Peru, n.d.

TABLE 2
DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN PARAS¹

<u>Possession of Land</u>	<u>Families (percentage)</u>
4-15	41
16-25	28 (12 with 25)
25-50	10
51-100	6
101-130	16

In Paras, ten years after the reform, individual land distribution was in the same condition as it had been when the community was a hacienda, with the exception that payment of rent to the tenant farmer was eliminated.

Table 2 shows that 41 per cent of families do not have the minimum amount of land per family fixed by the law. To this proportion we have to add the 16 per cent (from the second row of the table) representing the peasants whose land allotments are smaller than the size established by the government. What this means is that, in Paras, the majority of the land is in the hands of a minority (32

¹Measurement of land is done in days of plowing (yugadas). Land reform officials calculate five-day work land to be equivalent to one hectare (2.47 acres). I preferred to keep the data in their original state for the simple reason that (1) some possessions are in abrupt places where access to heavy animals is impossible, here land is plowed by hand only; and (2) some plots are irrigated, and soft, thus easier to plow whereas others are dry and difficult to till if early summer rains do not fall. Therefore, it would have been too simplistic to translate land holding sizes into hectares or acres.

per cent), and 57 per cent of families have less land than the amount set in June of 1975.

For methodological purposes, the community can be divided into three groups. Based on land possession I will typify as poor and near landless those peasants who have twenty five (25) yugadas and less; as middle peasants those with land possessions falling in the interval between twenty six (26) and fifty (50) yugadas; and as landed peasants those whose land is fifty-one (51) yugadas or more.

Elsewhere in the Andes, Echevarria (1975) uses the same criterion to stratify a peasant community into four strata: the landless, the poor, the middle, and the rich and super rich. He discusses that because of the concentration of land, there is a process of "peasant differentiation" leading to a polarized division of the peasantry into two groups: a provincial bourgeoisie and a rural proletariat.¹

Unlike Echevarria, I am not postulating the emergence of two opposing groups whose interests are mutually exclusive, i.e., bourgeoisie and proletariat. In Paras, there is no progressive concentration of land in the hands of a few. Land is not a liquid asset that can

¹Maximo Echevarria, "Dominacion y Diferenciacion Compecina en la Comunidad de Astobamba (Cajatambo)" (B.A. thesis, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, 1975)

be sold. It can only be divided or transferred in the family. Nor is there a group of pure rural proletarians. And because of the non-salability of land and the population increase, the rich peasant will eventually also have to try and get cash from other sources.

The Poor and Near Landless

In Paras, the poor are peasants with the smallest land property, twenty-five (25) yugadas or less, or 57 per cent of the population. A poor peasant is more likely to supplement his family's needs with extra agricultural activities, which still do not raise his income to subsistence level. Participation in the market is minimal and restricted to the acquisition of some basic goods such as coca, salt, lime, candlesticks, etc. Among the poor, money economy is almost absent; barter is preferred.

Some heads of family and male adolescent children work in the nearby hacienda for a wage of approximately 250.00 soles (\$.50) per day and/or help other peasants for payment in kind. Wives and young girls perform menial works at the well-off peasants' houses in exchange for about 5.5 Kilos of grain per day of work. They live in one-room houses which, in most cases they share with tens of guinea pigs. They all sleep on sheep skins on the porch floor.

Education is always stopped at the Third Grade. The only source of cash is migration to the jungle to work for wages; but very little of this cash from wages in the cocaine labs reaches home. The workers usually migrate for wages with the intention of purchasing something for the family, which they do in the jungle or in the towns on their way back. Once back in the community, after the little cash they brought from the forests is exhausted, they barter for the major part of the year.

The Middle Peasant

It is extremely difficult to draw a line of differentiation between the middle peasant and extreme groups for they are not exceedingly poor nor are they rich. The middle peasant's land size is above the amount theoretically assigned by land reform laws from which he grows enough produce to satisfy the food requirements of his family, although without meeting the minimum caloric intake. About 20 per cent of the families fall into this group.

The middle peasant takes from one to five sacks (72 to 360 Kilos) of grain to the jungle for which he gets higher prices than in the local market. He is more likely to have his own animals to plow his land and transport his goods to the jungle. Besides earning cash from marketing his goods in cocaine centers, he gets money or goods

for renting his animals to other, especially landed, peasants.

Landed Peasants

In the local census of 1960 there were sixty subtenants, and one hundred ninety pamperos. The agregados were not counted because they were considered to be part of the extended household of the subtenants. At that time, the sixty subtenants represented 24 per cent of the total family count. In my survey of land distribution, I found that 22 per cent of families hold from 51 to 130 yokes of land. The difference between the landed today and the subtenants before land reform is only 2 per cent. It is statistically visible that subtenants have become large land owners vis-a-vis other groups, and that land distribution, other than the dissolution of fiefdom, has not changed at all.

By local standards, the landed peasant lives a somewhat comfortable life. His house has at least three rooms plus a spacious kitchen; a hand-grinding machine and a sewing machine are generally part of the household possessions. Children of landed peasants have a higher probability of finishing their primary school; and because of their elementary knowledge of Spanish, they are the future leaders and local authorities. The landed peasant's enviable position warrants him respect and admiration in the community; the high social esteem he enjoys makes him

sought to sponsor children in life crisis ceremonies.

One interesting finding concerning the landed group was that 60 per cent of them had permanent lovers with whom they had at least one child; and in 38 per cent of these cases, the permanent lovers were their legal wives' sisters.

The landed need not migrate or take his products to the jungle as other groups do. He gets cash in the local market; and coca, indispensable in the community, comes from renting his animals or exchanging his crops.

CHAPTER V

THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF LAND DISTRIBUTION

Long before the Inca conquest, the province now called Antonio Raimondi (of which the five villages of Paras are a part), was inhabited by the wild Antis tribes. Antis was the name given to the Arawak tribes who lived in the forests of the eastern slopes of the Andes. The Conchucos and the Huacrachucos were part of these Arawak tribes. These tribes were small scattered groups governed by chiefs called curacas who organized themselves in large confederations to defend their territories from Inca invasions. After six months of fierce resistance the Conchucos and the Huacrachucos surrendered and became part of the vast empire.¹

Although the Incas did not violently destroy the social organization of the Conchucos, they imposed their own political system and thus fit the subjugated tribes into the chain of the administration seated in Cuzco. Politically, the Incas grouped families in a pyramidal structure using the decimal system. The first of families

¹Garcilaso de la Vega, Comentarios Reales de los Incas, Book 2, chaps. XI-XIII (Puebla Mexico: Jose M. Cajica, n.d.)

were the chunca (ten) under the supervision of an official called chunca-camayoc. The base group of ten families in its turn was part of a larger group of one hundred families or pachac. The division went on until it reached a maximum of ten thousand families under the control of an overlord named huno-camayoc.¹

In order to secure better political control higher officials, called tucuy ricucs, were appointed. The tucuy ricuc (tuki-ricag in Ancash dialect) was an official whose function was to oversee or supervise the lords and overlords who in most cases were native curacas.

The curaca, in addition to the land he possessed in his ayllu, obtained subsequent amounts of land from the Inca for service to the empire.² During colonization, to control the Indian population, the Spanish also required help from the Indian chiefs or curacas who had been allowed to maintain their socio-political status in their villages. These natives acted as middlemen between the Indian population and the Spanish lords. The curacas were rewarded with land and higher social positions vis-a-vis their own people. The two natives who gave Paras to the church may have been curacas who had land in excess.

¹Federico Kaufmann Doig, op. cit., p. 47.

²John Murra, The Economic Organization of the Inca State. (Greenwich, Conn.: Jai Press, 1980), p. 36.

Politics has always been linked to land, business, and labor. In Peru, the new populations in towns and cities were organized following the traditional models of Spanish councils (cabildos) with their regidores (councilors), who elected the alcaldes (mayors). In rural areas and large estates such as Paras it was also imperative to keep order by endowing some natives with symbolic political power under the same denominations as in urban areas--that is, as alcaldes and regidores--but with no right to participate in politics.

Leadership in Feudal Paras

In the Andes there is a political-religious leadership that has an unknown origin: the Alcalde pedaneo (petty mayor) or Varayoc. One logical assumption to make is that the Indian middlemen (curacas) who were allowed to keep their advantageous position, over the long run disappeared since they did not represent legally or traditionally established positions. Instead, they were village chiefs used as mediums of communication between the conquerors and the Indian population.

The Varayoc in feudal times, in Paras, was a body of six men whose functions were to serve as liaisons between the tenant farmer and the peasant labor force. This staff of six members were distributed in ranks from one high official to two low standing positions with a defined

division of labor.

The Alcalde Mayor

The Alcalde Major or senior official was a peasant that enjoyed the confidence of the tenant farmer and had a tremendous experience in agriculture and labor relations with his fellow peasants for he had passed through other minor positions in the traditional political system. This officialdom was always held by persons respected because of their age and experience and wealth (land). In some places this traditional position is called mayoral (farm manager). In Paras, the Alcalde Mayor was just that--a general manager responsible for carrying through the tenant's orders and decisions in the hacienda. In exchange for his service on the estate, the senior official and his family were exempt from payment of rent in money and labor, and in most cases received additional assignments of land.

To confirm his high socio-political status, the senior official had to host the rest of the population at very expensive religious celebrations. During the festivities, the official appeared dressed in a black wool robe holding a long stick with a cross on its top. The religious fiesta sponsorships carried by the senior officials were always economically supported by tenant farmers.

The Alcalde Mayor was picked by the tenant and the

rest of the staff was chosen by the named official but confirmed or rejected by the hacendado.

Alcalde de Campo

The Alcalde de Campo or Field Official was one member of the staff of the Varayoc who represented the senior official in the fields of the hacienda. One of his duties was to collect enough animals to do the necessary work in the field according to the season. Thus during plowing period he would go around the hacienda and take as many oxen as he found without any previous notice to the owners. And when it was cropping season he would collect mules and horses for threshing grains and for transportation of crops to the market. He was always hated for these actions. The most important duty of the Alcalde de Campo was to oversee the fields and keep animals from damaging, or people from stealing, the crops of the hacienda. He also had to check and inform the tenant of the state of maturity of the grains.

Regidores and Alguaciles

There were two regidores and two alguaciles. In the towns the Spanish founded, the regidores were councilors that elected their alcaldes (mayors). In feudal Paras, regidores and alguaciles were young apprentices starting out in the rank and file in the system by serving in the

hacienda house.

The regidores, helped by their alguaciles, supervised, and controlled the workers paying labor tribute in the hacienda headquarters. They were the stewards whose mission was to schedule preparation of meals for the household of the tenant, making jora for chicha, and other activities required in household management. Alguaciles, the lowest position in the rank, were oftentimes confused in the household with pamperos and pongueros. It was the alguacil's duty to collect water, to saddle the tenant's horse, clean the employees' rooms, etc. Regidores and alguaciles were almost always sons of other higher officials who wanted their children to be trained in traditional politics.

Contemporary Leaders and Authorities

Besides the traditional leadership in Paras that was exclusively constituted for the service of the landlord, representatives of the executive and the judiciary were appointed by the higher authorities in the capital town of Mirgas. They were the teniente gobernador (lieutenant governor), and the Judge. But these officials were named only as mere figurative representatives. Political power and administration of justice were in the hands of the hacienda administrator and not the legally established authorities.

Today the district and provincial authorities still consider Paras as one village, and the five small populations as five hamlets within a larger village community. But in practice, the five populations are independent villages with their own schools and churches. As the result of the separation of the old hacienda into five independent populations, the petty mayor or varayog is already vanishing. Of the five villages only two have the traditional political figure. For all five villages there is only one lieutenant governor appointed by the governor in the district capital town who represents the central government and the police. In theory, the teniente gobernador holds an honorary position; in reality, however, he is paid by the public who require him as the representative of the police force. The payments he requests from his fellow peasants is not authorized, he does it based on his power.

Administration of justice is assigned to two peasants with basic knowledge of Spanish, one judge and his substitute. Like the teniente gobernador, they are appointed for a one-year period usually renewed for at least two more periods. Because of his decision-making faculty, the judge is authorized to charge a small fee from those peasants demanding justice or requesting his signature to legalize some kind of a document.

When a peasant brings a case to the justice, the

judge, after settling the amount of his fees, issues a summon that the plaintiff takes to the teniente gobernador who notifies the offender or the defendant to appear before the judge on the date cited in the summons. If after receiving two summons the defendant does not appear in the court, the teniente gobernador uses his authority to force the defendant to face justice. At this stage the plaintiff has already paid for three summons . notifications plus the judge's sizeable fees. On the day of the hearing the plaintiff, in addition to the fees paid, serves the judge either a heavy breakfast or lunch consisting of meals reserved for traditional rituals, guinea pig, chicken, chicha, etc.

The judge, as well as the teniente gobernador, establish their fees based on the gravity of the cases, distance travelled to serve the summon or practice inspection, their relationship to the contestants, etc. They always require cash payment, but the amounts they set always coincide with the prices of sheep, wheat, pork leg, etc. Therefore, they do end up taking payments in kind.

Sofia Rojas cultivates the land of her absent sister. Sofia's older brother took one plot of his absent sister's land without any kind of authorization and he gave the plot to his stepson, an outsider married to a girl in Paras. Sofia brought the case to the judge who

asked eight thousand soles, that is to say, the cash value of one sack of wheat or one sheep, to make a field inspection of the plot in question which is about one kilometer from his residence. Sofia had to postpone the inspection and the hearing until the end of August when she would get cash from the sale of her crops.

Local community authorities perpetrate abuses with their own people following the examples set by their professionally trained superiors in towns who take outrageous amounts from the peasants for actions that theoretically are free of charge. I will discuss this issue in detail in a section dedicated to the conflict between a quasi-organized community and individual peasants.

The judge and the teniente gobernador are appointed from the so-called group of distinguished peasants, i.e., the landed group, who also are considered as local political leaders.

Initial Social Movements

The initial peasant movements in Paras were isolated and unorganized protests directed towards the tenant farmer. They were not politically developed movements containing a class analysis of oppression. The protests aimed to right some wrongs the peasants thought their landlords were doing. They did not question the institutionalized exploitation they were undergoing. Their movement sought

to solve specific issues, high rent charged to the subtenants. The group of subtenants took the initiative because they were directly affected. Two relatively well-off peasants volunteered to lead the protests. One interesting characteristic of the self-appointed leaders in Paras is the fact that they came out of the hacienda looking for advice from professional experts in the cities which led them to more rationally organize the movements that ultimately changed the status of the peasants of Paras from subtenants to free peasants.

The Beneficencia Publica of Huari leased land in Paras to the highest bidder in a published auction. In 1956 the right to exploit Paras was granted to a resident of one of the nearby towns, Victor Saenz, who would be the last tenant to benefit from land and free labor. The rent charged to the tenant was 5,600 soles (\$311 in 1956 soles). This tenant raised cash payments for rent of land from 200 per cent to 250 per cent based on the rents that had been fixed by the previous tenant. The new rent caused the 60 subtenant families total discontent so they decided to denounce the tenant in higher courts, the landlord institution (Beneficencia of Huari), and the Office for Indian Affairs in Lima.

While in Lima the two subtenant representatives got political advice from APRA leaders (in 1956 the party

had supported the then president of the country and was especially interested in controlling the trade unions and the peasants in the countryside). The two leaders came back to Paras with more and new political knowledge and a different agenda to make the movement more effective. Their new goal was not only to protest high rents but also to quest-on landownership which automatically motivated the rest of the peasantry who paid rent with their labor to support the movement. In 1957 the peasants requested that the central government expropriate Paras from the charitable institution and legally distribute the land among them.

The peasants manifested their protest with sudden strikes during plowing and cropping seasons. As they maintained their position in the issues they had raised, the tenant farmer asked for protection from the police as well as a warrant to have the leaders arrested. The two leaders were smuggled out of Paras; and subtenants, pamperos, and agregados alike organized work groups to cultivate their leaders' land. The most aggressive leader, because of his connections with national politicians, became the political figure upon whose shoulders rested the future of the entire community of over two hundred fifty families. The question of expropriation of Paras and the redistribution of land made the peasants forget the issue of high

rent. They had been advised not to revolt against it because when expropriation came, the rent they had paid would be considered part of their payment for the land. On the other side of the coin, the tenant farmer was an active member of the party sharing power (APRA); so he was able to use his political influence to manipulate the issues and stay in Paras at least until the expiration of his contract, September of 1959.

The peasants hammered hard on the issue of expropriation by sending their leader to Lima to follow up the petition they had filed in 1957. No definitive answer was given to them. Finally, on June 30, 1959, the Office for Indian Affairs provided them with a copy of an official letter, not a resolution, sent to the political authority representing the President in Huari, the Subprefecto. The letter "was an authorization of the central government to its representative in Huari to negotiate the subject matter [expropriation] between the owner and the colonos."¹ The Subprefecto of Huari ignored the letter and negotiations did not take place. At this time the peasants had already been used to the new rent, and the tenant farmer was about to finish his five-year tenure.

¹Oficio No. 222-PDC, Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Indigenas.

Before the expiration of the contract, September 1959, the Beneficencia Publica of Huari was obligated to make public the auction of Paras. It did not do so. It seems that they had realized that they would be better off leasing land directly to the peasants. The only alternative to start a direct contract with the peasants was to avoid the auction and force the tenant out.

Since no auction took place, the tenant assumed he had been granted another term so he proceeded to plant as usual. The Beneficencia notified him to leave Paras because he had no right to continue exploiting the land for an auction had not taken place. If he wanted to stay, however, he would have to pay a rent of fifty six thousand soles (\$3,000). The tenant filed a lawsuit against the institution, won the case, and was allowed to collect his crops with no extra payment other than the yearly rent that had been established in his previous contract. Thus free labor service ended in 1960 but payment of rent continued until June, 1969. Payment of rent in cash was extended to those families that had earlier paid only with their labor. The mean rent charged in this new type of relationship was five hundred soles,¹ that is to say, the institution collected from the 250 families a yearly global rent of more than one hundred twenty five thousand

¹Equivalent to \$16 in 1960, and \$10 in 1969.

(125,000) soles (\$4,166 in 1960, and \$2,500 in 1969). Families who were willing to pay additional rent were assigned more land. The institution did not plant in land reserved to it.

Peasant Politics

For my purposes, a traditional leader is that peasant figure whose actions in the social protests organized in the late fifties were, taking Hobsbawm's words, "regarded as criminal by the State and the local rulers." The leader starts out as the spokesman of his fellow peasants in the protests and turns protest into a political issue. Using limited but aggressive political knowledge, he succeeds in uniting the community into one solid local block.

The leader as the spokesman (personero) represents the community before provincial and national authorities in the questions of expropriation and distribution of land in Paras. He is economically supported by the community, and his personal labor on his land is replaced by community organized work-groups. Because of his power to lead, the personero becomes prestigious and respected for the rest of his life. The traditional leader, even after his defeat and the rise of other modern leaders, is still the Papa in the community.

The extreme centralization of government requires that even minor documentation procedures, or requests for

simple legal information, be done personally either in the capital town of the province or Lima. For each trip the leader made to Lima the community had to come up with at least six thousand soles in cash (\$150, in 1968 to 1975 soles). And as there were times when the personero had to make two or more trips per year, collection of cash to support him became almost a routine practice. Cash contribution was never objected to for it was given in pursuit of a "legitimate dream" to own land. On top of the collection of cash for the personero's expenses, it was necessary to send dried meat, pork legs, guinea pigs, etc., for the personero to give to the authorities or to some town-mestizo playing the role of broker between the leader and some politically influential individual.

In December of 1973 when they were pressing hard on the government to get their land ownership petition solved, Paras was legally annexed to SAIS Chavin 34, and ruled to become part of the cooperative system of production. As they did not want to take part in the new system implanted by the government, they sought advice from a professional lawyer and filed another petition whereby they requested separation from SAIS Chavin 34.

In August 1975 the nationalist government was replaced by a moderate dictator. As the new government did not answer their demand, the peasants became suspicious

of their leader as well as of their two lawyers.

In order to maintain his position, the leader arbitrarily distributed part of the fallow land that, in feudal Paras was reserved to the tenant, which in the event of the recognition of Paras as a peasant community, would be dedicated to collective exploitation and its yield used to develop the community. The criteria and the method of distribution were set by the leader himself. He did not do a community land census to establish a fair distribution taking as the basis the need of land. Everyone who wanted more land would submit an application, along with a traditional gift in kind, to the leader.

It was this action of the personero that made the rest of the peasantry realize that their leader was (1) acting against the legally established laws of land reform and (2) attributing to himself authority they never gave him. His function was to be restricted to representing the community to official organizations in the question of land ownership and separation from their legal parent organization, SAIS Chavin 34. The personero defended his idea of land distribution with the argument that when there was no land in which communal work would be organized neither peasant community nor a cooperative could be feasible. This leader, who still represents about 30 per cent of the population, is against any kind

of collective organization; he wants private ownership.

In May 1977 the personero called the community to an open meeting which took place in his village. Here he exposed his idea of establishing a savings trust account in the Banco de Fomento Agropecuario to demonstrate the community's willingness to buy land rather than take it by force. Those who agreed with the leader's plan deposited eight hundred soles (\$10) in two installments of five hundred and three hundred soles respectively. The personero took the cash to Lima and deposited it in the savings account number 002677. In 1981 the total savings including accrued interests amounted to three hundred thousand soles (\$600). This fact divided the community into two clear factions.

The newly emerging leaders who had not agreed with the personero's arbitrary distribution of land organized a committee to seek legal ownership of land they were already in possession of as well as the recognition of Paras as a legally structured peasant community that would exploit communal land for the benefit of their members.

The political interests of the two groups regarding legal ownership only conflict in method. Their real difference is that one group is in favor of a communal organization around land while the other is totally against it.

In December of 1978, when the community was already separated into two political factions, officials from the legal parent organization, SAIS Chavin 34, came to take possession of the reduced communal land. They offered wages, cash payments for their animals' labor, and distribution of profits, if any. Despite their conviction against the cooperative system of production, some peasants accepted advanced payments in cash for their labor. But the majority refused to accept the fact that SAIS officials "would become the new bosses" in Paras. They threw the officials out, threatening them with axes, sickles, machetes, sticks, and stones. SAIS Chavin 34 packed its seeds and tools and abandoned Paras.

Urban Nestizo Leadership in Paras

The incident of December 1978 was actually engineered from Lima by the newly rising leaders, the Romero brothers. The three Romero brothers were born in Paras and established themselves in Lima during their adolescence. They operate a small party shop. These three "good will" leaders had been giving political advice to those who were discontented with the old leader and who were yet to elect their representative.

Cirilo Romero (the older brother) came to Paras and congregated his "peasant brothers" in the plaza of San Martin de Paras (one of the villages). In this meeting

which took place on the 10th of September 1979, he brought to the community's attention the need to elect a gestor.¹ Cirilo Romero was unanimously elected and certified with signatures and fingerprints before the local judge. The first act of the newly elected leader was to appoint a committee of three peasants to act respectively as Council of Administration, Treasury, Supervision, and one Personero to act as liaison between the leader in Lima and the community. The local committee in full let the previous personero know of the decision of the community and asked him to surrender the savings account book as well as other official documents he kept. Even though they took the pass book away from him, any withdrawals of funds must be signed by the personero whose signature is registered in the bank since he still represents the majority of the depositors.

The new mestizo leadership is even more costly to the villagers than the old representation. Because of his different lifestyle as a city resident the leader's material demands from the peasants are very high when compared to that of the supporters. The leader argues that "to represent Paras involves more than the mere follow-up of the file in the national bureaucratic system; he has to socialize with higher authorities, national

¹A legally authorized person representing a peasant community not recognized as such yet.

officials, and political leaders; and that oftentimes he as the gestor of Paras has to treat these instrumental individuals with costly drinks and meals in fashionable and cozy places." To meet these expenses the gestor must get money from the peasants he represents.

The requested amounts of money is collected in two ways: (1) A fixed amount in cash, or its equivalent in goods, is given by those families who have joined the cause of the new organization. And (2) they raise money from the sale of grains they crop from two plots they have seized to work communally to supplement their cash needs. Up until 1981 each and every family had already furnished as much as five hundred soles (\$10) in various contributions of at least one thousand soles per family. Namely, the more than two hundred families who back the new leader have so far supported their ideal goal with more than one million soles (\$2,000). In other words, they have paid the leader for his representation with amounts surpassing the total value of Paras (473,336.60) in more than 100 per cent.

The gestor in Lima communicates to the personero in Paras of the need for a certain amount of money to continue taking action in the quest for land ownership and the separation of Paras from SAIS Chavin 34. To substantiate his demand the gestor always sends a photocopy of some official letter submitted to the Ministry of Agriculture

or some other official bureaucratic office related to land reform. The local personero shows the photocopy to the contributing families to urge them to "chip in to support a just cause." He signs receipt of cash in a simple piece of paper. Then he personally takes the collected amount to the representative in Lima who does not extend any kind of document for the cash he gets from the peasants. The gestor appears as he was doing a favor without economic support from the community.

The old personero who has been pushed to the corner keeps reporting the "misdeeds" of the mestizo leader to the Ministry of Interior (police) but his denunciations do not have any effect for there is no convincing evidence of such economic abuses perpetrated by the leader in charge.

Land Conflict:

Community vs. Individual

When in 1960 the Beneficencia Publica of Huari leased extra land to those who wanted more and would accept higher rents, six peasants from three villages (three from Romeral, two from Illauro, and one from San Martin) rented about six hectares (14.82 acres) of land in a place called Ñaquia (in Romeral) and divided it into six individual plots of five days of plow. The six peasants religiously paid their rent dues to the Beneficencia until 1970, one year after the land reform, at which time they

stopped paying rent and the plots became part of their land possession.

In December of 1980 the mestizo leader in Lima convinced his followers to grab land in Ñaquia to work communally among the villagers of Romeral. The yields would be used to 'develop' the community. The three peasants from Romeral yielded their rights in Ñaquia in favor of their village community. The rest of the three did not agree, but their opinions did not affect the Romeral community's plans. Romeral village community called its members to a faena and planted wheat in the six hectares of land in Ñaquia.

The three peasants went to the court in Llamellin and filed a legal suit against the comuneros of Romeral. The judge charged the three peasants fifty thousand soles (\$100) in cash plus transportation, meals, and extra payments for his secretary, and one policeman to accompany him for the inspection of the contested land. The judge promised that he "would make the peasants win the case in no time, and that he would rule out the comuneros of Romeral from cropping the wheat they unrightfully had planted." The case was passed on to the land judge in Huaraz (capital city of the Department of Ancash) who ruled in May, 1982, in favor of the three plaintiffs. In 1981 the crop produced by the Ñaquia land equalled approximately thirty (30) sacks

of wheat which at current market prices translated into about three hundred thousand soles (\$600).¹

In December of 1981, before the land judge made any decision on the litigation, and before the Romeral community called for communal work in Ñaquia, the three peasants planted wheat in the plots that belonged to them. On June 12, 1982, the Judge of First Instance, with his secretary and the head of the police went to Paras to notify the community of Romeral that the rightful possession of land in Ñaquia was to go back to the original users.

When one goes to Paras the first thing one is made aware of is to be careful because "those Parasinos are capable of doing anything against anyone." Because of their rebelliousness and their aggressiveness they have earned a reputation for being dangerously daring when their "rights" are in jeopardy, and time and time again they have shown this characteristic.

As the contested plots are in the village of Romeral which begins just about two hundred meters from the houses of the two Rojas who have been favored by the land judge's decision in Huaraz, on June 12, 1982, the authorities had to pass through Romeral to conduct the inspection and to legally notify the village community of Romeral. The

¹Information furnished by some comuneros that worked in the collection of crops. Local village leaders did not want to release any information giving the yields of Naquia.

three peasants who had won the case also had to pass through Romeral. When the Romeral comuneros learned of the presence of the judge and the police they all formed a line along the stream that divides the villages of Romeral and Illauro and stood up against the authorities, beat the peasant (Leoncio Llashag from Illauro) who tried to mediate before the eyes of the police, and threatened to do the same with everyone, including the judge and the police, who dared to cross the stream. The impotent authorities had no alternative but to return to Llamellin and inform their superiors of the incident. In August of 1982, the community of Romeral village cropped the wheat their rivals had planted.

A Political Venture

The military land reform program of 1969 was an attempt to strengthen the precarious national intergration of a country was a vast non-integrated indigenous population that during the 1960s had shaken up the established archaic social order in the countryside. The integration and development of national peripheral areas was also a programmed intervention by the government which wanted to play the role of a capitalist class in the accumulation of capital in the countryside.

Unfortunately this political venture did not work. The government's desire to give more economic participation

and guarantee social security, established the first article of the law, ended on paper (papel aguanta todo).

From among the land affected by the law, there were some large estates which had on their premises capital goods instrumental for the exploitation of land. The government granted the corporations and companies a period of six months from the date of the publication of the land reform law (Art. 22) to transform them into associations of persons with the workers holding shares of no less than 50 per cent of the capital. This grace period gave corporations, companies and large land owners time to decapitalize the countryside before handing land over to the government.

The head of the junta publicly proclaimed that the revolution was a peasant-soldier alliance. If this was so, then why did they not use force to take land as they did in the oil fields of Parinas and the International Petroleum Company's industrial complex in Talara on October 9, 1968? The landlords would not have, even if they did they could not have resisted the army and the peasantry, nor would the peasants have harmed the lords or the tenants. Their main objective was, and is, to own land, not just use it without legal rights.

It is clear that the plan of the military was to control the peasantry rather than integrate them into

national life. It was the government's right to suggest, approve, and disqualify or nullify peasant organizations, and/or individual beneficiaries.¹ The real land owner is the State which through the Ministry of Agriculture has the right to appoint the administrators of the cooperatives. With the land that it has expropriated, the government attempts to control production and marketing processes.

For example, in 1975, SAIS Chavin 34 had a total debt of 20,732,287 soles (\$259,154), including 70 per cent interest of which 473,336.60 (\$5,916.70) was the value of Paras, to be paid in twenty annual installments starting in 1978. But on December 12, 1980, by decree laws 22748 and 23049, the cooperatives for social interest (SAIS) and peasant communities who were currently up to date in their payments were pardoned from paying the rest of their debts. Up until 1981 SAIS Chavin 34 had an administrator with a salary of half a million soles per month (\$1,000). The cooperative's annual installment payments were 1,036,614 or about one sixth of the administrator's yearly salary. By legislative decree number 2, Article 78, issued on October 21, 1980, which authorizes the reorganization of cooperatives for social interest (SAIS), Chavin 34 was reformed and its administration handed over to the peasants.

¹See also Diego Garcia, in Estado y Politica Agraria (Lima, Peru: Desco, 1977), pp. 137-216.

Now control of the cooperative has fallen into the hands of five brothers who have become the new "bosses" in Uchupata, the headquarters of SAIS Chavin 34, and the best productive member of the whole organizations including Paras.

With the reorganization of SAIS Chavin 34, Paras will definitely be recognized as a peasant community where there can be no private land owners, and where communal exploitation of land is mandatory. The acceptance of Paras as a legally organized community may result in an internal conflict when those families who took extra land are required to give it back to the collectivity. Moreover, the conflict will intensify when they realize that the product of their labor does not "develop" the villages but rather drains out into someone else's hands (which is already happening now). When they realize that they are sacrificing themselves for the benefit of others-- when the peasants "start acting Indians" (cuando le entre el Indio al Serrano)--defiance of the established order will be more serious than it has been so far.

The first element to cause discontent in the recognized peasant community will be that no family will own its land. The leadership is quite aware of this fact which it has held back to use as a political instrument to keep the population under control. There is no way by

which the government can make an exception to grant legal ownership to families who are at the same time members of an established community unless a new land reform law is issued.

If land reform had been based on a different set of assumptions, the situation of the peasantry would have been completely different in Paras and in SAIS Chavin 34. Another reason for the failure of the land reform was the government's intention to revive the traditional ayllu as the basic local social organization. This Inca social system which was not generalized in Peru. The ayllu system came to the eastern side of the Cordillera of the Andes as late as one quarter of a century before the Spanish conquest. Thus, for example, Quechua, the cultural legacy of the Incas, had not yet been totally adopted in Peru. Its process of introduction in the small nations that had been recently conquered was killed with the imposition of another culture. This may be the main reason why northern Quechua speakers like myself cannot communicate with the southerners who have spoken the native tongue for centuries.

CHAPTER VI

MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF LIFE

Housing

Houses in Paras, as well as in the rest of the province, are built using the technique called tapiales. Four large boards, two of about one meter in length and 40 cm. in width, and two small boards, 40 cm. by 40 cm., are put together to make a one meter by forty centimeter rectangle. Six poles, three on each side, driven into the holes of three poles put across and underneath the boards, are tied to secure the rectangle. They put dirt mixed with straw into the rectangle and pound it until it is solid. Walls are generally made up of six rows of tapiales, approximately 2.4 m. high. All houses consist of one floor. The attic is reached by means of a ladder from outside, and it is used exclusively as a storeroom. The beams supporting the attic floor are always made of eucalyptus or aliso (Betula Alnus) and reed grass canes which they bring from the Marañon valley. Only the school buildings have plastered walls.

Besides the main room some families have a kitchen, a pen for the pigs, and a kitchen garden where

they grow scallions, cole, mint, coriander, parsley, sweet marjoram (*Marjorana hortensis*), and not pepper plants. Inside, pork, ham, and lamb are hung from the kitchen ceiling to preserve them by smoking for many months, and sometimes even for years. Those who do not have a kitchen, cook in the porch and keep their guinea pigs in the main room.

The roof is thatched with ichu brought from the puna. It needs to be renewed every two years. There are only two houses whose roofs are not covered by ichu; one is roofed with clay tiles and another with corrugated tin sheets.

TABLE 3
NUMBER OF ROOMS IN THE HOUSE

<u>Number of Rooms</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1	22
2	37
3	31
4	5
5	3
6	2

Ninety per cent of the families live in houses with three rooms or less (see Table 3) including the kitchen. The average size of a house in Paras is 32 square meters and if there is a kitchen, it occupies at

least 12 square meters. Bearing in mind that 80 per cent of households are extended families, the space available, after the rooms are used as deposits, is limited to a small corner to huddle in.

The building technology (tapiales) used in the Andes is the same found in housing construction in the marcas (villages) during the Inca empire.¹

Ninety eight per cent of houses are thatched with the traditional high puna grass. Ninety three per cent of houses have no windows at all. They build their houses with no windows in order (1) to store some crops like potatoes which require dark areas (exposure to light gives potatoes a bitter taste); and (2) to prevent some predaceous animals like the weasel and the opossum from entering the storerooms.

The use of the ichu as pasture and the need of it for thatching, and the expansion of agriculture to the Cordillera mountains are making the high altitude grass more and more scarce. The only immediate source of ichu for Paras and other surrounding communities is the high puna bordering Paras, which is the property of the Rurish cooperative, a member of SAIS Chavin.

Rurish officials have placed huachilleros (shepherds) in the punas. Besides herding they have to

¹Federico Kaufmann Doig, op. cit., p. 86.

try to keep peasants from other communities from cutting ichu or grazing on their property. They also impose a fee of 20 soles (\$.03) per load of burro upon those who collect ichu. Parasinos, who had never paid for this grass before, resolved to steal the precious grass, and pay for it only if they were caught. They sneak in the puna where the ichu grows late at night or early in the morning. They always get away without paying the fee.

Since Rurish shepherds are not capable of controlling the extensive puna, and to avoid confrontation with Paras peasants they have decided to set fire to the slopes where ichu is long enough to cut. Because it is difficult to get ichu some peasants are thatching their houses with wheat and barley stalks.

For thatching their houses, Paras peasants are completely dependent on a natural resource which is scarce, and primarily grows on the property of another legally recognized community. And even if they had access to the mountains, the ichu growing there would not satisfy the exigencies of increasing populations.

In the light of the shortage and the difficulty of getting ichu, the only alternative the peasants have is to use clay tiles made in neighboring communities, or to switch to a more sophisticated roofing of corrugated tin sheets sold in Llamellin. In either case, the cost

of roofing will be much higher, but more lasting, than thatching with ichu. To cover the roof of an average house, at least 60 sheets of corrugated tin would be required at an approximate cost of 300,000 soles (\$705), whereas the same house would need two thousand clay tiles for the cost of ten thousand soles (\$23.50). One way or another, and sooner or later, an alternative to ichu thatching has to be found; and it will probably be clay tiles because of its low cost in both production and transportation. However, due to the limited amount of wood for fuel, the likelihood of starting a tile kiln in the community is very low.

Furniture and Utensils

Household furnishings can be classified in three categories: adobe, wood and metal. Every house has benches attached to the walls inside and outside the rooms. In the kitchen or in the main room of one-room houses, the benches are hollow for use as guinea pig pens. In houses with three or more rooms some have adobe and grass reed cane beds. Well-off peasants always have a large baking adobe oven in their homes. The hearth consists of three stones or adobes placed on the floor (tullpa), not necessarily in the kitchen, to support the pots on the fire. A blower made out of grass reed cane is used to fan the fire wood. Pots are made of clay and bought in

stores or from travelling traders. Metal pots are not common and those who have them keep them for special ceremonial events.

Inside the rooms there are wooden hooks to hang clothes, maize, baskets, etc. A rustic table and a couple of home made chairs are found in some houses. The traditional stool, the konko, made from maguey trunk cuts, is present in every household. Wooden spoons of various sizes and styles and gourd dishes are part of the household inventory.

Although metal bedsteads are not their favorite, those who can afford to buy them to provide comfort for relatives or visitors used to modern ways of living. Possession of a metal bedstead does not imply possession of a mattress. For sleeping, they put sheepskins on the floor of the room, or outside in the porch and huddle together with heavy quilts as coverings. Folded ponchos and shawls are used as pillows.

Years ago the peasant's dream was to provide his household with a sewing machine. Fourteen per cent of the peasants have accomplished this dream.¹ Now, with the surge of transistorized electronics, other symbols of

¹Because of its popularity, the Singer trademark has become the word for sewing machine in the local language, e.g., there is a folk song in Quechua that ends: "I am afraid to end up in the arms of a girl that has been as pedaled [beaten] as a singer machine."

status have come to constitute the most influential elements of change exported to the peasantry from advanced societies--radios, phonographs, and tape recorders. Ten per cent of households had phonographs, and 35 per cent of families boasted among their valuable belongings a radio set of at least three bands.

In a community where the cheapest three-band radio is equivalent to one half of a teacher's monthly salary (and the cost of dry cell batteries is high), the percentage of their income which peasants spend on goods from the metropolis is considerably high.

Food

The day starts at about 8 A.M. with the Yahuapa (breakfast) consisting of wheat soup, boiled potatoes with ground hot peppers, and kamtsa, parched corn. Wheat is toasted, ground, and put into a clay pot with fat, scallion, salt, and water to make the morning lawa, thick soup. In families where potato is the main crop, breakfast is the papa kashki, diced potatoes prepared with salt, water, and mint. Either parched corn or boiled potatoes is served on common plates. Bread is a luxury item sold only during festive days. Those who spend the day out of the house take with them their millkapa, snack, of parched corn or baked potatoes. When the whole family is out in the field, women come home early to make dinner

which is based on the same grains as in the morning meal.

The varied diet enjoyed in towns and cities is unknown in Paras. However, there is a seasonal variation during the months of April and May when green corn is available. They boil and eat it for about eight weeks. The newly introduced crops like lentils are produced on a very small scale and last for only a few days. Lupine, flax, and quinoa are planted on the borders of the plots and are also consumed in a very short time. Habas, broad beans, are prepared in the form of shinti, toasted and boiled with salt.

The average daily consumption of food in a family of seven is one and a half kilos of wheat, one kilo of corn or twelve kilos of potatoes, and one kilo of corn.

Some days they do not make wheat soup or potato kashki, but instead prepare barley meal pap, common vetch soup, etc. The community of Paras as part of an economically less developed country depends heavily on cereals for its major nutrients. Meat and poultry are tasted at most three times a year. Eggs are collected and sold in towns or given as tokens of personal estimation. The staple crops, wheat and potatoes (for 19 per cent of the population), are the only suppliers of protein not because they are produced and consumed in such enormous quantities vis-a-vis other products.

Nutrition

While some people in industrialized societies are troubled by daily over consumption of nutrients and must constantly watch their weight, the peasant of the Andes watches the sky and prays for good seasonal rains for his primary agriculture because his survival depends upon natural ecological factors. Under favorable weather conditions his limited food supply can satisfy his basic biological needs.

Upon planting his crops, the peasant knows the yield of his land so that he expects and estimates the quantity of energy required for his subsistence. The daily food consumption and the total amount of nutrients shown in Table 4 seems to represent a relatively high per capita intake for a community that is part of a malnourished population. This is by no means true.

It must be underscored that Paras has three different ecozones, each of which is appropriate for specific crops. While land, although in small sizes, is always held outside the ecozone of residence, most of the energy flow comes from the immediate dwelling area. Thus, those families whose residence is in the puna rely almost exclusively on food from their products, which are native to the locality such as potatoes, quinoa, broad beans, oca, and lupine.

TABLE 4
PER CAPITA DAILY INTAKE IN PARAS¹

<u>Food</u>	<u>Amount (grams)</u>	<u>Calories</u>	<u>Proteins</u>
Wheat	214	707	30
Corn	143	516	13.4
Potatoes	429	321.5	7.7
Broad Beans	100	366	26.4
Quinoa	50	175.5	6.15
Lupine	50	138	8.65
Oca	210	132.3	2.1
Lamb meat	10	25.3	1.83
Lard	6	52.74	-
Pork	2	7.78	0.34
Sugar	1	3.84	-
Vegetable oil	1	8.84	-
Totals	1,216	2,454.33	96.57

Those who live in the lower part of the community count almost totally on wheat and corn.

Hypothetically, if every family had at least one two-day work plot of land in the three different ecozones, the total daily per capita energy available would be 2,798.6 calories with 96.57 grams of protein coming

¹Protein and calorie contents calculated following method used in Food Composition Table for Use in Latin America, Interdepartmental Committee for Nutrition and National Defense, Washington, D.C., 1961.

exclusively from Andean grains, legumes and tubers. Or if they had better pasture for their guinea pigs and they raised more cows and chickens, and if the per capita consumption of eggs, chicken, and guinea pig meat was one hundred grams per day, then the total amount of energy available would be 2,198 calories and 119 grams of protein (62 per cent would be animal protein) for those who depend upon wheat and corn and 2,108 calories and 126 grams of proteins for those who consume mostly tubers and legumes. But, because of the technological gap in the area, this nutritional level is unlikely to be reached in the foreseeable future.

The average daily per capita energy intake in Paras is 1,321 calories and 46 grams of protein in the lower section of the community, and 1,231 calories and 53 grams of protein among those families who live in the puna. The mean daily caloric intake recommended by FAO is 2,149 for male adults and 2,094 for female adults (Thomas, 1972: 106). If Thomas's (1972) estimates, calculated using methods recommended by FAO, are accurate, the daily per capita calorie intake in Paras reaches only 63 per cent of the recommended calorie intake quota in some families and 58 per cent in others. On the other hand, FAO's suggested protein input in the Andes is 57 grams of high quality protein (animal protein) per kilo

of body weight for males and 52 grams for females (Bolton, 1979b: 418).

Considering that the anthropological characteristics of the peasant of Paras is about the same as that of the native from the Altiplano, the average weight of 55 kilos figured by Thomas (1972) for adult Indians in southern Peru will be used here. The average protein ration per kilo of body weight for an adult in Paras is 83 grams of animal proteins and 96 grams of vegetable proteins. Vegetable proteins are insufficient nutrients because they are almost always lacking in one or more of the amino acids. For instance, wheat flour is deficient in lysine (Berg, 1973: 131) and riboflavin and it contains no vitamin A or ascorbic acid (IDCNND, Leung, 1961).

Nutritional experts suggest that in a perfectly balanced diet half of the nutrients should be from animal proteins (Castro, 1952: 36). In Paras this ideal is difficult to achieve due to the lack in technology and resources to transform vegetable and inorganic nutrients into animal food energy. The accomplishment of a well-balanced diet would require (1) a better pasture than the seasonal animal feed they have today, (2) application of scientific principles of animal husbandry and breeding which implies the creation of a complex agricultural infrastructure, and (3) education of the population by

nutrition specialists and not by economists or social planners.

The nutritional situation of the community of Paras outlined in Table 4 is for normal conditions. However, it can vary from year to year. In a bad year, intake can drop to almost half of its normal rate and in a good year, while there is better participation in the market or more outflow of food to the jungle, intake does not increase.

Feeders of the Underworld

In 1981, of the 60 per cent (61) of the peasants who went to the jungle for cash, 28 per cent (18) were wage seekers and 72 per cent (43) travelled to trade their commodities. The seasonal wage laborers took with them, on their backs, at least one arroba (11.5 kilos) of dried lamb meat or smoked pork legs. When the traders take only one mule, they also include in their loads from one to three arrobas of pork and dried lamb plus no less than four arrobas of wheat flour. However, they usually take three to five animals. Each traveler transports a minimum of six (6) arrobas of wheat flour and two arrobas of dried lamb meat and smoked pork legs. The migrants for wages carry with them no more than one arroba of lamb meat and/or smoked pork legs. Table 5 presents a calculation of the average of energy flow from Paras to

the underworld. It shows figures for the three most wanted commodities in the jungle.

TABLE 5

FOOD ENERGY OUTFLOW FROM PARAS			
<u>Food</u>	<u>Quantity (arrobas)</u>	<u>Calories¹</u>	<u>Protein¹</u>
Wheat flour	258	10,829,550	350,106
Smoked pork	52	2,326,220	101,062
Dried lamb meat	52	1,734,200	290,030
Totals	362	14,889,970	741,198

Although the Table 5 figures for energy supply from Paras to the cocaine underworld speak for themselves, a brief observation on the consequence of depriving the peasant from consuming his own production is necessary.

The need for cash and coca among the peasants push them to supply the cocaine land with calories and proteins before satisfying their own minimum requirements. In the process of transporting food, the peasants do not realize that the 362 arrobas of food contains almost fifteen million calories and over seven hundred thousand proteins, 53 per cent of which are high quality (animal) proteins.

¹Calorie and protein contents calculated following method used in Food Composition Table for Use in Latin America, Interdepartmental Committee for Nutrition and National Defense, Washington, D.C., 1961.

The peasants bring to the forest 6,204 days of caloric intake for one adult at a daily average of 2,400 calories or one day's provisions for 6,204 adults. And because of the high yield of proteins from dried lamb meat (48.5 grams per each 100 grams of meat) and smoked pork legs (16.9 grams per each 100 grams of meat), they deprive themselves of 23,909 days of high quality protein for one adult or a supply for twelve days for the whole community.

While there is cash supply and food energy demand in the jungle, this state of mutual reliance between the peasant and the coca and cocaine industry will remain for as long as the peasant's economy depends upon outside sources.

AID food

Under the Food for Peace Program the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) distributes food in developing countries in three different ways: (1) the recipient country, Peru in this case, through its Ministry of Health and Welfare, buys U.S. surplus food at low prices for school lunch and child nutrition programs; (2) AID supplies food directly to needy children in four southern departments, for 1982 AID's food budget was five thousand tons to feed half a million children per day;¹

¹U.S. Agency for International Development, Office in Lima, Peru.

and (3) AID funds the development of local or community infrastructures in the areas of agriculture, education and health.

Since AID's direct distribution program does not include the Department of Ancash of which Paras is a part, attention will be focused on the distribution of U.S. surplus food through the national government. AID food used to "spur development" will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

TABLE 6
AID FOOD SUPPLIED TO PARAS IN 1981

<u>Food</u>	<u>Amount (kilos)</u>	<u>Soles</u>	<u>Cost</u> <u>U.S. dollars</u>
Soybean meal	407.880	125,627.04	251.25
Wheat meal	202.750	18,656.93	37.31
Semolina	214,230	42,420.94	84.84
Sugar	85.140	3,575.88	7.15
Soybean oil	84.749	77,956.58	155.91
Totals	994.749	268,237.37	536.46

Besides food, the government provides rural schools with kitchen utensils according to the number of students registered in each school. The comestibles as well as the utensils are delivered to the director of provincial education who informs the principals of local schools of

the availability of food provisions. The principal, in turn, notifies the president of the association of parents who names a commission to pick up the supply assigned to the local school. Once in the community, food is stored in the school building under the control of the local school principal.

The president of the parents' association goes around from house to house to ask mothers of their availability to cook lunch in the school. Based on his visits, he gives the principal a schedule showing the names of the mothers and their days of duty. The scheduled mother comes to the school building bringing her own pot to prepare lunch with wood fuel provided by the students. When the scheduled mother does not show up there is no lunch for the students in which case the president of the association authorizes the teacher to send this mother's child home as a disciplinary measure.

School lunch consists only of one plate of mazamorra, a type of pap, of hard wheat meal or oatmeal and sugar, or a beverage of soybean milk. Theoretically, lunch is served 160 days a year. During the field observation period, lunch was served at most three times per week. There were some weeks when there was no lunch at all because parents do not take seriously the need to supplement nutrition with school lunches. They bluntly

state that "there can be nothing more nutritious than their wheat or potatoes." And as they do not realize the importance of lunch programs, they ignore the existence and duration of AID foods in their villages. They rely totally on their teachers to distribute the food.

The 994,749 kilos of AID-supplied food (see Table 6) is intended to relieve the nutritional problem in Paras children aged five to fourteen years or 24 per cent of the population.

TABLE 7
DAILY PER CAPITA RATION OF AID FOOD IN 1981

<u>Food</u>	<u>Ration (grams)</u>	<u>Calories</u>	<u>Proteins</u>
Soybean milk	30	11.4	.90
Hard wheat meal	15	49.9	1.95
Oatmeal	15	58.5	2.13
Soybean oil	5	44.2	0.0
Brown sugar	20	71.20	0.0
Totals	85	235.20	4.98

It is bureaucratically programmed that each school child receive 85 grams of supplemental food providing 235.2 extra calories and about 5 grams of protein. If this supplemental intake is added to the average daily intake of 1,377 calories,¹ the new daily per capita among the

¹Calculated based on Thomas's (1972) daily caloric intake for children from 5 to 14 years in Nunoa, Puno.

school children would be 1,612.20 calories. But unfortunately the supplemental nutrition program is not carried out as it is ordered by educational and health officials. As lunch consists of only one plate the highest supplemental calorie intake is 129.7 and 2.13 grams of protein when oatmeal pap is served.

It seems that one of the factors government officials did not consider was the problem of taste of the audience. It is extremely difficult for the peasants to accept, even at relief level, food they have never tasted and they have not seen grow. They feel offended when one explains to them the origin of milk because they know milk cannot come from anything but cows. To them it is unconceivable to think of milk of vegetable origin (soybean). Their position on vegetable milk would be otherwise if they produced soybeans as they do lentils. Lentils had never been cultivated in Paras because of the taste problem; but in less than five years after its introduction many families are planting small patches of lentils yielding a few pounds (the most I have seen is four arrobas). So, it would be better to teach the peasant to cultivate oats (as they now plant oats for forage) and soybeans, and educate them to use their own crops. Ironically enough, nobody, not even the teachers, get involved in educating the community of the need to cultivate food alternatives

to the traditional grains and tubers.

Because of their ignorance of food and food composition, the peasants "hate" the taste and smell of fish from the river Marañon (catfish, trout, corvina, etc.); some people give fresh milk to their dogs just because they are not used to the taste of it.

Officials seem to have realized the failure of their relief food lunch programs and found an alternative solution. Starting in March, 1982, shipments of national food will be delivered and AID commodities discontinued. The new supplemental diet will continue to provide oatmeal along with new rations of 30 grams of tuna fish and 20 grams of bread. Bread is supposed to be baked in contracted bakeries; but since there is no one in Paras who could bake thousands of loaves of bread every week, the teachers have signed a contract with an established baking in Llamellin so that the parents will have to transport it as they did AID foods.

Health

To understand the equilibrium or biological homeostasis in the Andes of Peru requires knowledge of folk or traditional practices as well as conceptions of good health, illness, and death. When harmony in the body is broken, the peasant attributes it to supernatural forces or to other peasants; only a few think of it as a natural

process.

Traditional health practices have their own nosology, diagnosis, and treatment procedures based on knowledge transmitted from past generations over hundreds of years. This traditional social heritage influences the majority of the population (76%) who believe that illness and death are of supernatural origin--that it is God's will as a punishment for ill actions against fellow men or, at times, it could be the liberation of one's soul from the evil spirits. Fourteen per cent of the community think that illness and death are caused by other people and helped by supernatural (evil) powers. Only 9 per cent defined illness and death as natural processes.

Irrespective of their conceptions of sano kawe (good health) and wani (death), when good health is in danger, they all recur to the only medicine available in the community: herbs, plants, and animals. Now modern manufactured pills and tablets are also taken as part of traditional medicine.

Illness has always two initial manifestations, ale (cold) and ache (hot). When fever is present they think that blood has been either exposed to too much heat or it is caused by some food classified as warm. Presence of cold sweat is assumed to be caused by viento (a cold draft of wind), or sereno (night draft) which has been in contact with one's head or back. Penetration of these

natural external forces must be controlled at their initial stages with medicine available in local ecology.¹

Diagnosis and Prognosis

Since there is no health delivery service in the community (the nearest medical help is several hours from Paras), diagnosis, prognosis and treatment are the exclusive realm of traditional doctors and witches. If traditional household treatment is not effective in curing an illness, the patient is taken to a folk doctor, or to the local teacher who usually has some basic medicine. Then, if things do not change or get worse, consultation with a witch is necessary.

The folk doctor, before giving medicine to the ill, chews coca, or has someone chew it (some female folk doctors do not chew coca) to ensure that there will be no error in the diagnosis of the illness and treatment of the patient. If the coca's supernatural powers predict a negative result diagnosis and treatment methods are changed to that of the guinea pig medium method. The curandero (folk doctor) rubs the patient's body from head to foot with a black guinea pig, then he opens the rodent's body using his nails as a knife to see whether or not the animal has taken the illness out from the body of the sick

¹See also Oscar Valdivia, Hampicamayoc, Medicina Folklorica y su Substrato Aborigen en el Peru (Lima, Peru: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1975), p. 180.

person. In this diagnosis and treatment process, if the animal is alive and aware the prognosis is good but if it dies or presents sickness the same results are expected in the patient.¹

The witch usually cures by taking the illness caused by another witch with the help of a supernatural power out of the patient using coca as a medium. The witch tells the patient of the exact location of the craft representing him. The witch does not tell the patient that he had, in fact, buried the craft himself. The power of witchery is also used in some unsolved police cases. In San Juan de Paras, the jewels of gold, silver, and precious stones of the oldest church of the community, worth approximately three million soles (\$7,000.00) were mysteriously stolen. As police investigations have proved negative, the treasurer of the church decided to go to the jungle where the best witches reside to ask the witch to cause death to the guilty. The treasurer assured he had seen the robber in a mirror and guaranteed he would die within a few months, but nothing has yet happened to the thief.

Witches do their work on Tuesdays and Fridays past midnight. They usually get together in groups of two or more on tops of isolated hills where they dance and sing, calling out the names of their victims.

¹Oscar Valdivia, op. cit., p. 72.

Public Health

Public health campaigns are periodically organized and sent from the capital town of Llamellin where there is a medical post with one dentist and two nurses completing their internships and five local employees trained to perform vaccinations. The vaccinators go to the villages to immunize children against smallpox or any epidemic spotted in the area. The two employees sent to Paras are programmed to cover the five villages in only two days, a very short time to visit each and every household. They only briefly step into the houses they find along the paths leading to the villages. There is no cooperation from the parents. When the mothers notice the presence of the sanitarians they hide their children or lie and say they are all immunized. They think that the sanitarians could cause harm.

Public health service is not designed to keep control of the immunized population in the medical post and no individual records are issued. Children, let alone parents, are not educated in the need of preventive medicine. They have the conception that "medicine by definition" must be given only to the sick, not to the "healthy." Prevention of illness is a new emphasis that in local dialect does not even have an equivalent.

Another health problem in the community, and the

Andes at large, is the absence of clean drinkable water. They drink water from puddles and waterways running near their houses. Houses are always built at distances not exceeding 300 meters from water sources. They, as well as their animals, drink water from the same sources which they never clean. One can see cattle dung and other animal manures floating or immersed in the waterways and puddles. During the dry season, May to November, water shortage is a serious problem because the small springs they have do not provide enough water for people, animals and plants. Some families have to walk for as long as one hour to obtain fresh water for their animals

Household and Personal Hygiene

No household has a bathroom and only the school buildings have their own silos, underground deposits of about two meters diameter and two to three meters depth, for human waste. For defecation, one goes to open areas, inside corn or wheat fields, or just behind the house at night. Toilet paper is not affordable, since it costs eighty soles (\$.20) a roll; instead, they use stones, leaves, or nothing at all.

Clothes are washed with plain water by beating them on stones with a bat. Soap and detergents are rare items afforded only by rich peasants.

Women wash their heads with pure water, creda (white

mud), lemon, or sometimes with fermented urine. More than 50 per cent of women only wash their heads with shampoo when they have headaches. Babies are bathed (arma) every four to six months up until they are approximately three years old; after this age, the individual rarely takes a 'shower' or bathes in the streams or the river. Some, however, lave their bodies only once a year to attend patronal celebrations.

The body must always be almost fully covered and under no circumstances shown, except to folk doctors and witches. Thus, when they, especially women, see someone bathing they feel ashamed. To be in the open in underwear or nude goes against the moral codes of traditional life. One day I had returned from having lunch with the owner of the hacienda Despensa and decided to take a 'shower.' After collecting water in two large buckets I took my clothes off, with the exception of my light tan briefs. At about 80 meters from my door several women (all my neighbors) were washing clothes while pleasantly gossiping. Suddenly, when they saw me pouring water on myself, they rushed into one of the houses, leaving their washings, spinning sticks, baskets, etc., near the waterway and did not come out for about thirty minutes when I had finished my 'shower.' The following day, they reported the incident to the principal of the school, telling him that

I had no shame to show my body. The teachers spread the news in the community and outside as a practical joke, but the incident did not motivate any issue against me in the community.

Because of the lack of hygiene, parasite infestation is a major common problem difficult to eradicate without introducing a comprehensive health program in the community. Parasite infestation is so deeply rooted in the culture that they even conceive of the parasites as parts of their bodies. They say that "as long as we live we will have lice and fleas." No insecticide is used; they kill their lice by eating them. They catch them with their fingers, kill them with their teeth, and swallow them. It would be interesting to make a biochemical analysis of human body parasites to see their contribution to the diet of children, women, and the elderly who take the role of 'exterminators' of body parasites.

Virtually no household in Paras is free from parasite infestation. Ninety eight per cent of them reported or were observed to be infested and 87 per cent had both fleas and lice. One hundred per cent of households with pig pens were infested with ticks.

All these precarious health conditions predispose the individual to contracting some kind of an epidemic or illness which causes death between weaning and middle

age. In the community there are quite a few people over fifty. Only eight (8) are seventy years old or more (their ages were calculated based on accounts of their experiences under the hacienda system). People die mostly from simple colic, or from bronchial pneumonia which almost always begins in common influenza because of both ignorance of the human body and scarcity of basic medicines.

Presence of an epidemic in the community is a deadly population check. In 1980 alone, one hundred two (102) children between the ages of one and seven died when measles erupted in the five villages. Many families lost all their children to the epidemic. Because of massive burials some families even forgot to celebrate the death of their children with the traditional parvulo (innocent) party; and, in some cases, as many as two corpses were buried using AID food cardboard boxes as coffins.

Agricultural Economy

The community of Paras is no exception from the rest of Andean communities in that agriculture and/or animal husbandry is the backbone of the economy. Agriculture in Paras is based exclusively on traditional methods, and entirely dependent upon late spring and summer rains. The agricultural cycle starts with planting of wheat and barley during the months of November and December. Maize is also planted in December but because of its climatic

requirement it grows only in the communities of Romeral, San Juan, and parts of Illauro. Potatoes and other root crops such as oca, olluco, as well as quinoa and lupine are planted in June in the hills of the puna.

Weeding and hoeing take place during the months of February and March. Irrigation of maize is done in April and May with water from the last days of summer flowing down from the high punas.

Because of the lack of good pasture lands, animal husbandry at commercial levels is almost nonexistent. Household animals, regardless of their kind and number, are seen as pets. They are not slaughtered for food; although they can be sold for cash. Sheep are the single most popular animal raised for its wool and source of cash. An average family has at least eight sheep, two donkeys, five pigs, and about fifteen guinea pigs. The guinea pig population, more than other animals, is subject to the availability of wet season feed (spring and summer).¹ Only eight families have mules; and horses are possessed by only 15 per cent of the households. Oxen and cows, along with mules and horses, are symbols of well being and are present in 9 per cent of families.

¹Bolton (1979:241) enumerates 11 environmental constraints on flock size in the Altiplano.

Exchange Economy

Although Paras peasants do not pay rent to the land owner any more, they are subject to the payment of surplus to the travelling merchants. The commodity trader brings tools, appliances, clothing, and animals to the villages. The food trader comes to the community with coca, lime stone powder, jora (germinated corn used to make chicha), and fruits. The former comes to Paras during cropping season, while the latter usually visits the peasants at least one month before the beginning of crop collection period since the foods he brings are either seasonal fruits like figs and chirimoya (*Anona Humboltiana*) or are much needed in the community. For example, jora is indispensable to the preparation of the traditional beverage for agricultural works and/or festive obligations.

If the seasonal products, especially fruits, were sold in towns where the economy is based on cash, during cropping season, prices would be low, whereas when they are traded (advanced months before collection of grains) with wheat, in a six-month period their value goes up as high as 312 per cent. The peasants give half an arroba (5.75 kilos) of wheat for 24 figs or ten chirimoyas. The cash value of half an arroba of wheat is 750 soles (1.67); figs in Llamellin sell for about ten soles (\$.02) a piece, and chirimoyas for about seventy soles (\$.16) each.

Some manufactured goods of inferior quality are exchanged on a one-to-one basis, e.g., a woman's dress selling in the capital town for about 3,000 soles (\$6.67) is traded for one ram whose real money value is 8,000 soles (\$17.78). One arroba (5.75 Kilos) of lime stone powder is exchanged for one arroba of select wheat. A half pound of coca leaves is worth two arrobas of wheat.

If we compare labor used in the production of wheat with the goods brought into the peasantry by the traders, the prices the peasants are getting for their wheat amount to a loss of over 20 per cent of the total cost of production. For example, assuming that three members in a family of seven, the husband, wife and the oldest son, put labor in the production of wheat in a one-day-work plot of land. Beginning with turning up (fallow) the soil to planting to collecting the crop wheat requires a combined 120 man/hours of labor which prorated at the local minimum wage of 250 soles (\$.50) per day equals 11,250 or 15 days' wage (\$22.50). adding up other expenses such as coca, chicha, and food, the minimum of 3,200 (\$6.40), and 750 soles (\$1.50), the total capital and labor investment in a one-day-work land is 15,200 soles (\$30,40). Now, in a good year's crop, on a one-day-work plot, the peasant collects from two to three sacks of six arrobas each, or twelve to eighteen arrobas

of wheat. With an average, then, of 1 1/2 sacks or nine arrobas of wheat, dividing the cost of production (15,200 soles) by the number of arrobas in an average crop, the total cost of production is 1,688 soles (\$3.38). The sale price of wheat in the local market is 1,333 soles (\$2.67) or 8,000 soles (\$16.00) per sack.

As there is no cash flow in the community the six small bodegas also barter. The local bodegueros pay their fellow peasants about 50 per cent of the real value of the wheat. Thus, one arroba (11.5 Kilos) of wheat is exchanged with half an arroba (5.75 Kilos) of brown sugar, or 650 soles (\$1.30). They keep the grain until it is scarce in the market in order to demand higher prices.

At times, transportation involving a mixture of cash and exchange takes place in two different ways. (1) Store keepers from Llamellin visit the fields of wheat to see the potentiality of the crops. Based on their judgment they advance the peasant producer in cash or in merchandise an initial or full payment for a specific quantity of grains. The countryman, in his turn, also comes to town for some legal procedures centralized in the capital town. While in town he needs cash to buy salt, sugar, medicines, books for his children, etc. If he does not have cash, or the amount he has brought with him is not enough, he goes to one of the stores he has

credit with and gets a llanqui (verbal contract reinforced with a partial payment in money or in-kind for labor or commodity). When his crop is harvested, either the debtor takes his goods to the bodeguero to complete the sale or the merchant comes with his own transportation to collect his grain. (2) Those who do not need a cash advance or in-kind, especially the landed, transport their cash fund crops to Llamellin to sell them at current market prices. The landed peasant rarely takes llanqui for future crops because of changes in prices from one year to another. In most cases, the well-off countryman sells directly to the truckmen rather than to the entrepot stores because of higher cash yields.

As shown in Table 8, only 52 per cent of families participated in the market to sell their products for cash.

TABLE 8
WHEAT SOLD FOR CASH IN 1981

<u>Quantity (sacks)</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Cash Yield (x.1000)</u>	<u>U.S. dollars</u>
1 to 5	30	9 to 45	20-100
6 to 10	17	54 to 90	120-200
11 to 15	5	99 to 135	220-300

The rest (48%) did not take part in cash economy, for some cash came from wages in Despensa and for others from

migration to the forest. Table 2 shows that 53 per cent of families have the minimum size of land established by land reform laws or less. What this means is that all families with land above the minimum sizes (25 yugadas) participated in cash economy selling their crops, i.e., the rich and the middle peasant. Cash drawn from the sale of their products supplement other incomes from the rent of animals and the highly profitable trips to cocaine land, for example. Of the 52 per cent who partook of the cash market, 5 per cent were poor peasants who took with them to town a few arrobas of grain once or twice a year.

Labor

Each and every member in the household is assigned a specific labor according to sex and age groups. Children and the elderly usually help in the preparation of food, collection of wood for fuel, in herding household animals, etc. Women and children also take part in agricultural work, sowing seeds behind the plow, weeding, and in the collection of some crops like quinoa, broad beans, legumes, etc., which are almost exclusively done by women and children. But households do not exist in and of themselves. Inasmuch as they are part and parcel of a larger social unit, the community, they must get involved in other economic relations within the community.

Traditional Labor Exchange (Rantin)

Rantin or mutual aid labor comes from rantiy which in Quechua means 'to buy'; it can be translated as 'purchase' or exchange of labor between two individuals or animals of equal force. The process of mutual exchange is called rantinpanacuy, which is an oral agreement or contract binding one kind of labor ending only when the party who benefited first performs the same kind of labor for the labor creditor. Rantin is: (1) a social bond that webs peasants of the same stratum; and (2) a manifestation of good relations with friends, relatives, and neighbors. In some instances, labor debt can be paid with a different type of work than originally agreed upon, if requested by the creditor. But it has to be paid only in labor. However, rantin agreement using animal labor can be broken without creating any conflict between undersigners.

When animal forces is lent, the owner can request payment in equal force or else be paid in kind or cash. They have different terms for different animal labors. Thus, chakin is payment for horses and donkeys used in threshing grains. The owner is paid half an arroba (5.750 kilos) per day for this kind of work. Callpan refers to oxen labor in plowing and it can be exchanged with human labor--one week's labor of one yoke of oxen is paid with one sack (six arrobas) of wheat, regardless of the kind of crop plowed with the rented yoke.

Festive Labor (Faena)

Faena is a work festival that has been practiced in the Andes for many centuries. Under the Inca rule there were different labor tributes the Indians had to perform in the fields dedicated to the gods as well as to the government which were to be tilled before their own communal land.¹ This collective labor was called minka. Later, after the conquest, the Catholic church adopted this labor practice and made it a religious labor tribute on land reserved for the maintenance of the church. This religious labor obligation was imposed as late as the '50s.

This traditional labor still remains in the form of free labor service from one peasant to another, performed in exchange for food, drink, coca, and music. Unlike in other communities (cf. Williams) faena is practiced only in relation to agricultural activities.

The festival giver plans the event many weeks before the actual day of faena. He prepares chicha; buys at least two bottles of alcohol., one pound of coca, and one pack of cigarettes. After contracting the musician, he spreads word of the festival in the community. Comes the day of work, many volunteers show up early in the morning, bringing with them their own tools. Yahuapa, a heavy breakfast generally consisting of two plates, is

¹Alden Mason, The Ancient Civilizations of Peru (Switzerland: Plata Publishing, 1975), p. 181.

served: Uman caldo, soup made of heads and tripes of lamb, and llushtu pichu, unhusked corn or wheat stewed with dried pork or fresh lamb. Chicha and coca follow the yahuapa.

As the maestro (the musician) starts beating his drum and playing his pincullo (flute) everyone goes out to the field to start the faena. During work, the musician gives his workers brief breaks by stopping to play. The owner never objects (the musician is something like a foreman or supervisor for the day). Coca, chicha, and alcohol are handed either at the workers' request or at the owner's will. Provision of these treats is far more important than the food itself for failure to satisfy the volunteers with their favorite pastimes would create discontent and unfavorable conditions for future recruitment. He slaughters at least two sheep and husks two arrobas of corn or wheat to feed about 15 volunteers. The total cost of a decent faena amounts to about 28,000 soles (\$62.00), affordable only by well-off peasants. On the other hand, if recruitment was motivated by wages, the cost would fall to less than one third of the cost of faena, but not many laborers would show up.

At the end of the day, the owner and his helpers dance, waving their tools around the land, if faena was in plowing or weeding and around the threshing floor if

faena was to collect the wheat crop. The last round of the dance is done with the owner on the shoulders of one of the helpers. When night falls everyone, including the musician, spends the night in the owner's house, drinking and chewing coca at the faena giver's expense.

During the Inca rule, work was organized in order of importance. Land reserved to the Inti (God Sun) came first in priority, then communal labor was performed in the land of the handicapped, the widows, and the elderly. Individual plots were tilled only after work was finished on the land of those who could not keep their land productive. The last collective labor was on Inca land which was carried out as a festive event. At such times, the Indians wore their best dresses ornamented with feathers, and gold and silver jewelry. They composed and sang praises of their lords with special music because they were working on land reserved to their God and to their King.¹

Festive labor as a psychological predisposition to the exploitation of the peasantry in the Andes did not end with the land reform of 1969. It is still used, even in the cooperatives organized by the government. The cooperatives, in addition to their profit sharing plans, are supposed to pay wages to peasants who come to work from

¹Garcilaso de la Vega, op. cit., Book 2, p. 276.

surrounding areas. However, SAIS Chavin 34, for example, in the light of its organizational failure, has adopted the use of faenas to recruit free labor. When collective festive labor is called by the cooperative not only peasants from surrounding areas show up to work for free but also those who are active members of the cooperative whose officials see the need to organize faenas to 'save' the system from bankruptcy.

In this special instance, festive labor is being used to benefit the state-controlled organizations and totally contradicts the aim of land reform synthesized in the slogan: "Peasant, from now on the landlord will not nourish with your work any more" [but the state will].

Local Wage Labor

Beside the two types of labor described above, there is in the community labor paid in-kind, that is, in the product produced by the labor. One day's work is paid with one selmin (half an arroba) of grain or one jaku (approximately 10 kilos) of potatoes. Considering the current market prices of crops paid as wages, labor paid in-kind becomes far more expensive than money wages. Ten kilos of potatoes is equivalent to 1,000 soles (\$2.00), and 5.75 kilos of wheat is worth 750 soles (\$1.50). The fact that peasants who sell their labor for food commodities indicates the shortage of food supply among

the poor whose land sizes do not match the needs of the family. Exchange of labor with crops is also extended to other specialized labor such as weaving and construction work.

Although there is not an active cash economy in the community, money is still needed to buy some commodities supplied from the outside for which the local bodegueros will not exchange for grains. The only source of cash, if there is nothing to sell in the market, or the travelling merchants do not bring what they need, is to work for wages in the private property neighboring the community, the hacienda Despensa, which because of its own year-round supply of water produces two crops per year. The owners of Despensa, the Arana brothers, exploit their land with wage labor and collective festive labor, recruiting workers from Paras and other surrounding communities.

Eight per cent of Paras peasants are part-time wage laborers. They supplement their food deficiency with their labor in the hacienda of Despensa where they work for a daily minimum wage of 250 soles (\$.50) plus lunch and drink. (If a worker comes from a distant community breakfast is also served by the owner.) Payment for labor depends upon labor supply and demand. The hacienda has been divided into three small fundos (to avoid land reform) where each fundo is under the ownership title of

one of the brothers. The owners prefer to pay the workers in wages whereas the peasants would rather be paid in-kind; i.e., 24 fresh corns for one day of labor or one arroba of common vetch for ten days of labor.

Some peasants also have to work on the private property to supplement feed for their cattle and sheep when the animals themselves cannot pay for their feed with their own labor. During the critical dry months from August to November the owners of Despensa let the peasants use their natural pastureland provided that the peasants work on the hacienda for a number of days fixed by the hacendado, or that the animals themselves, oxen for example, pay their feed with one week's labor during plowing. (Oxen can also pay for pasturage consumed by cows and calves.)

CHAPTER VII

PARAS IN THE UNDERGROUND WORLD ECONOMY

The "Andino," the "Indian," or the highland peasant is born into a society where coca dominates every aspect of his life. The most common and habitual use of coca is to show friendship, maintain social ties and group solidarity, and to differentiate the mestizo Andean chewer (Indio) from the urban non-chewer mestizo, thus creating a group differentiation based on the social use/non-use of coca; the chewer is assigned a low status (Mayer, 1978). Coca is also the traditional and most popular medicine. It is said to have the ability to appease supernatural beings, to drive away the evil, etc. (Gagliano; and Hulshof, 1978). It seems that the "Indio uses coca as a psychological resort for consolation for his incapacity, his powerlessness and inability to function properly in his natural society."

Aside from the use of coca for its medical, magical, or extra-human powers, it has been, and still is, used as a universal exchange item between different ecologies. Burchard (1978) demonstrates how, in the Andes, one sack of potatoes produced at altitudes of over 3,000 meters

above sea level can be exchanged for three pounds of dried coca leaves, and when this three pounds of coca is transported back to the potato-producing community it is converted into eight sacks of potatoes. This economic exchange value of coca could be followed using almost every ecological zone of the Andes with results of about the same cash significance. What I have just illustrated is the traditional use of coca established by customs and practices in the Andes. However, as times change, coca is being used more and more at industrial levels, so a distinction between the traditional and industrial use of coca must be drawn.

The industrial significance of coca cannot be other than as a raw material to obtain cocaine that over the years has been limited to the manufacture of anesthetics and narcotics in medicine. This is the legally established and regulated use of coca leaves. Then, there is another industrial use of the shrub; that is, the maceration of the dried leaves to produce cocaine for an illegal market and use. The illegal mass production of cocaine brings in the existence of a black market of coca and, more importantly, the roll of the international cocaine underworld in peasant economies. This illicit industrial aspect of coca is the subject of this chapter.

Just as it is logical to think of the isolated

peasant in the Andes having nothing to do with the underground economic production of cocaine, it is just as logical to suppose that the population engaged in the production of the narcotic requires the provision of basic food supplies and labor support from either the same area or outside sources.

The population density in the Peruvian jungle is one inhabitant per square kilometer. The humid rain forests do not produce enough food to feed the newcomers who do not devote any time for agriculture, so the region depends upon foreign imports, Iquitos, for example, or supplies from other parts of the country. The main and most important agricultural activity in the rain forest facing the Amazon lowlands is the plantation of coca (*Erythroxylon coca*) for cocaine elaboration and supply to the peasants. Thus, the indigeneous population secluded in the Andes is directly involved in the production of a commodity that is banned by the society; and yet its use as a narcotic is becoming widespread especially in industrial countries.

The narcotic powder served as a dessert in the lavish parties in Hollywood and New York is macerated by the backward peasants using their hands and bare feet and transported for miles by them on their backs. The cocaine entrepreneur and his family is fed by the peasants'

traditionally produced crops before even satisfying their own food requirements. The direct economic relationship between peasants, the urban poor and the underworld brings a plethora of negative effects that disturb the traditional life in the countryside.

This chapter concerns the direct participation of the peasants of Paras, as well as other groups from the area, in the coca plantations and in the elaboration of cocaine as: (1) producers of basic food commodities needed in the jungle, namely as food suppliers; (2) a source of labor in the plantations and cocaine laboratories; and (3) consumers of coca and cocaine.

In analyzing the Parasinos' contribution to the international underground world, the influence of coca and cocaine on the peasants of Paras as well as other indigeneous groups in the Andes in general will be emphasized. In order to better understand the peasants' relationship to the underworld, a brief description of the geographical locations of plantations and cocaine towns, in relation to national and international distribution of the narcotic will be presented.

The Golden Green Inferno

During the late fifties and early sixties the government of Peru opened a colonization program of the jungle in the eastern slopes of the Andes by distributing

land to families who were willing to relocate in the forests. To facilitate communications between the frontier lands and metropolitan areas, the government started the construction of a road which to date has not been completed. Most of land distribution took place in the province of Leoncio Prado whose capital is the town of Tingo Maria located at 9° 21' Latitude South and 75° 51' Longitude West, at an altitude of about 1,250 meters above sea level.

The new plantation of tea, coffee, and tobacco did not yield the returns they expected, so the colonists turned their lands into coca plantations. The need for coca increased with the growth of cocaine processing hideouts in the forests. The town of Tingo Maria became the mecca of cocaine traffic. At the same time, small towns like Uchiza and Monson, because of their isolation, turned out to be strategic locations for cocaine elaboration and distribution.

Tingo Maria, unlike Monson and Uchiza, gets consumable goods directly from productive areas by air and surface transportation. In Tingo Maria, the peasants of Paras and their products have to face competition from employed migrants and manufactured products from some urban areas. As a result, Parasinos concentrate their direct economic relations on the populations living around the towns of Monson and Uchiza which are respectively

five and seven days' journey from Paras (Tingo Maria is exactly four days from Paras).

The Long Journey

The season that the montanero¹ makes the long trip depends on the jungle conditions. Those who take their goods to trade with coca make the trip only during the dry season (winter), right after the collection of crops, for it takes less days. It is safer to bring the goods and he is free from his agricultural activities. For those who go for wages, because they do not take anything that could be spoiled with the rain, it makes no difference; they migrate whenever they have time or need cash.

After storing a food supply for at least seven months, the trader starts the preparation for the long trip. The first thing a montanero peasant makes sure of is the companion, generally compadre, a relative, or a close friend from the community. His second task is to secure good transportaiton, i.e., mules and donkeys. Horses are not used because they are not as strong as mules and montanero donkeys. The owner of the animal to be used in the trip receives a llanqui (advance partial payment) in money or in-kind. Only after both companion and animals

¹Mountaineer, incorrectly applied to the people who travel the jungle.

for transportation are procured the montanero peasant fixes an approximate date of departure.

The best trading goods are wheat, broad beans, and common vetch (*Vicia Sativa*), meals, dried pork and lamb meat. The peasant takes his grains to the water mills in Mirgas to have them milled, paying a rate of fifty soles (\$0.10) for each arrobas. Once back home from the water mills, meal is bolted and put in sacks of four arrobas for the donkeys and six arrobas for the mules. The housewife prepares the traditional fiambre (snack) for the oong trek which consists of parched corn, toasted broad beans, fried spicy guinea pigs, and cooked dried lamb meat and pork to last as long as two weeks. They provide themselves with one box of matches, one tin pot, and herbs against colic, diarrhea, etc.

The day of departure they load their cargo and commending themselves to their favorite saints take the route that is familiar to at least one of them. The southeast route, which takes five to six days one way and four to five days on the way back home, leads to Monson. The eastern route, requiring a walk of no less than eight days at the same pace of their heavily loaded animals, goes to Uchiza. Day is counted from dawn to dark (about fourteen hours per day). The hours of actual walk depend on the distance of pasture for their animals from one

day's trip to another, but on the average it implies hiking from twelve to sixteen hours. They usually spend the nights in caves, under leafy trees, in abandoned houses, or sheltered by their acquaintances along the way.

The Market

Before the cocaine boom in Monson and Uchiza there were two kinds of montaneros in the area: (1) some townsmen went to the forest to bring coca, coffee grains, and sun dried fruits to sell to the local bodegueros; and (2) there were those peasants who occasionally made a trip to the closest point in the forest and brought one or two arrobas of coca leaves mostly for their own use. The townsmen traded coca with food and the peasants worked in small coca fields for coca.

While, because of government control, the number of townsmen travelers has diminished tremendously, peasants from remote rural areas such as Paras have intensified their dealings with the coca land to such a point that they have taken coca as a standard reference to price their local products.

Once they reach Monson or Uchiza, they either exchange their foods directly with the planters of coca or with one of the stores established in the towns. They get the same amounts of coca leaves from either source. Exchange is established at the rate of two units of the

peasant's product for one unit of coca, with the exception of broad bean flour and dried meat (lamb or pork) which are traded on an equal weight basis.

They always make the return trip immediately following the transaction for they cannot afford the high cost of living in the jungle. They return with half the load they started out with.

Assuming that a montanero peasant has received ten arrobas (250 lbs.) of coca leaves from the exchange, the logical supposition would be that he would take his load of coca back home where he would sell it at the legal market price of two hundred soles (\$.40) an ounce for a total amount of six hundred thousand soles (\$1,200), i.e., a twenty-fold profit from the local grain price. The fact is that the peasant gets back home with only one or two arrobas of coca to pay the rent for the transportation animals he used. The rest of the load is sold to the macerating pools set up in the forest and in small populations located at high altitudes miles away from the plantation.

In cocaine plants the price of coca fluctuates from fifteen thousand to twenty-five thousand soles (\$30.00 to \$50.00) per arroba depending on police control and international traffic conditions. Thus, during the conflict between Peru and Ecuador, because of the tight control in the border, coca prices dropped to 15,000 soles per

arroba. But in the summer of 1981, after the conflict was settled, prices went up as high as 25,000 soles per arroba. In some cocaine centers where police raids are organized, price more often are lower, e.g., in Cachipucara, a community of about six thousand people whose livelihood is dependent on the production of cocaine, the highest price paid for one arroba of coca is 4,250 soles (\$8.50).¹

Changes in the Economy and Behavior

During the last two decades, the province of Antonio Raimondi has experienced changes as a result of the road opened in 1967. Motorized transportation not only connected the province to the rest of the country but also brought along some elements of change that made people see the world in a different way. For instance, before the arrival of modern communications systems, for the poor, crime was mostly a subsistence action to satisfy their hunger. They would break into the crops of others to get food for themselves or for their animals. Homicide committed to rob travelers in deserted places was imputed to the mythical pishtaco.²

Now robbery and crime in the area are problems

¹Caretas, No. 620, October, 1980, p. 26.

²A mysterious man who supposedly killed people to get human fat used to make a special lubricator for modern warfare. The last tenant of Paras was always thought to be one of the pishtacos because of his nightly trips from his town to Paras.

similar to those afflicting modern populations, all correlate with coca and cocaine traffic. Every horse, mule, etc., stolen from the area is sold in the jungle without any proof of possession. Thievery perpetrated to supply transportation and food to cocaine centers and crime motivated by robbery and drug traffic have plagued the whole province, not to mention the rest of the Andes. To spell out the point, one specific case from the many identified, will be presented.

The horse of the local teacher of Japia, a community neighboring Paras, was stolen in the first week of June, 1981. As police were unable to find the animal and/or the robbery suspect, the teacher started to spread the threat of her intention to cause death to the unknown thief. Rumors of the threat reached the ears of Pelagio Milla, married to a girl from Paras, who on June 15, 1981, to prevent the teacher from going to the witch, tried to beat her to death. The victim screamed for help from her neighbors who fortunately rushed into the house to rescue their teacher. The neighbors wanted to take justice into their own hands but the teacher requested that they tie and lock the criminal in a room and call the police from Llamellin. In July, Milla was found guilty of the homicide attempt and robbery. The horse, allegedly taken to the nearby jungle, was never recovered.

This aborted homicide case is only one of scores of incidents related to the elaboration and traffic of cocaine occurring every day in the province. There has even been cases in which peasants have been involved in the elaboration and traffic of cocaine. In the small town of Mirgas, capital of the district of the same name, it was discovered that two peasants had been elaborating basic cocaine paste and, allegedly, supplying it to an Italian priest who made yearly trips to Europe. Both peasants are now serving long prison terms in Lima. Before the province's connection to cocaine dealings, these kinds of behaviors were unheard of in the area.

Just as the majority of the Andean peasants are being influenced by cocaine, the peasants of Paras, because of their economic ties with the underworld, are totally or almost totally dependent on the cocaine economy. This relationship of economic dependency is evident in (1) the migration for wages, and (2) the inflationary prices in the community.

Migration for Wages

At the peak of the exploitation of guano in the islands of the Pacific in Peru, labor shortage was so critical that it was necessary to recruit Indians from the highlands. Enganchadores (contractors) were sent to the Andes to attract braceros to shovel the guano. Then

migration involved hiking across the eastern Andes for no less than two weeks. Some corporate sugar plantations and other farming occupations became traditional sources of cash for peasants and townspeople alike. The traditional trend of migration for wages to the coast still remains about the same among semi-urban and urban residents; however, those who realize that working for wages on the coast is no longer lucrative go seasonally to the forest for cash (10%).

While people from towns and urban areas in the Andes flock to metropolitan Lima, the rate of seasonal population movement and migration from Paras to the coast has dropped dramatically to 21 per cent and has shifted eastward to the mountainous forests. Sixty-one per cent of family supporters go seasonally to the jungle to work for a minimum daily wage of 1,000 soles (\$2.00) in Monson, and 1,500 soles (\$3.00) in Uchiza. In addition to the wages, they are provided with free housing and meals. The wages paid to the peasants in Monson and Uchiza are correspondingly 25 per cent and 87.5 per cent higher than the minimum wages paid to the unskilled in Lima.

The wage laborers work mostly in coca plantations picking, drying and packing coca crops. They are paid daily without any deductions. At the end of their work they spend their wages on prostitutes, beer, alcohol,

cigarettes, etc., but those who have the determination to save money do other extra work. The young and the strong peasants are reluctant to work on plantation fields for they have the physical capacity to perform harder work for higher pay. They are the "two-foot jackasses" of the cocaine industry who transport on their backs as many as five bales (5 arrobas) of dried pressed coca leaves from the plantations to the cocaine processing hideouts, always located several hours of walking distance from the coca fields. Payment for transportation is done at the destination of the trip (the macerating place) at a fixed rate of 1,000 soles (\$2.00) per arroba.

The heavy and painful walk results in a minimum daily wage of 4,000 soles (\$8.00), if the peasant is not able to make an additional trip. Thus, the migrant wage laborer, depending upon his strength and ability, can gain as much as 120,000 soles (\$240.00) or 500 per cent more than his unskilled counterpart that migrated to Lima. Even after expenditures and the high cost of living, they still come home with cash they never dreamed of. The highest amount saved in three months reported in Paras was half a million soles (\$1,000).

They come back exhausted because of the heavy work performed; some even have their hands burned and chopped due to exposure to acids in macerating pools.

Money earned in cocaine land is always spent on clothing, appliances, transportation animals, or building a new house.

Inflationary Prices

Another consequence of the interaction between the peasants of Paras and the underworld economy is the valorization of local products at prices much higher than those established and controlled in the province, especially goods exchangeable with coca at one-to-one weight ratios.

Generally peasants from the province bring their goods to the capital town of Llamellin to sell them at current prices. However, for some communities like Paras, the local provincial market is no longer the best place to bring their goods. Among the montaneros, there is the need to save basic food commodities to get cash by way of exchange for coca. When their own exchangeable food provision does not satisfy their expectation they buy sheep and pork meat from fellow peasants. There is some kind of an internal market in the community concentrating commodities that provide high quality animal energy: meat.

In Llamellin the legal standard price for a sheep is 8,000 soles (\$16,00) and 500 soles (\$1.00) for one kilo of smoked pork leg which are priced 50 per cent higher in Paras. Even grains are about 25 per cent more than elsewhere in the province. Merchant travelers and local bodegueros know that Paras prices are inflationary so they

inflat the prices of their merchandise as much as double the regular market value. The only one who loses in this artificial economy is the poor peasant who works for wages in the community or exchanges his crops for some use commodities.

Some peasants have even the naive idea that their prices are lower than in Llamellin. They believe that by taking their animals to the town they could sell them at better prices. They are disappointed when they see reality with their own eyes. For example, before returning from Paras to Llamellin I decided to buy a couple of sheep to have them slaughtered for my mother who was in town at the time. I went to the family who had four rams for sale, offering 32,000 soles for the four rams. He would not sell them to me because he thought that he would get 48,000 soles in Llamellin. He took the animals to Llamellin but no one wanted to pay the price that he was asking. In the end, I bought them for the same price I had offered in Paras.

Coca and Cocaine Addiction

The use of coca (*Erythroxylon coca*) in Peru is as old as the existence of man in the continent. In approximately 1800 B.C. Peruvians already chewed coca and carried their lime the same way they do today, in small gourd bottles. In archeological excavations in northern Peru,

Lanning (1967) found mummies that had been buried along with their coca chewings.¹

In the Conchucos valley there is a legend which tells that coca plants sprang from the grave of a beautiful Indian woman who was dismembered and buried in punishment for her common prostitution. This mythical origin is the explanation of the supernatural power of coca. The belief of the supernatural power of coca is still alive among the Indians in the Andes of Peru. In difficult times they recur to their mama coca for aid just like the Christians turn to Jesus for help.

The uses and abuses of coca has been of special interest to many anthropologists whose explanations for the use of coca differ considerably. Hanna concludes that the use of coca should not be seen as an addiction or low status symbol but as an integral part of life in the Andes.² Fuchs formulates a bio-medical explanation stating that coca is used because of its pharmacological property to relive chronic polycythemia.³

Although the sale of coca is legal, the underground

¹Edward P. Lanning, Peru Before the Incas (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1967, p. 77.

²Joel Hanna, "Coca Leaf Use in Southern Peru: Some Biosocial Aspects," American Anthropologist 76 (2) (June 1974): 281-296.

³Andrew Fuchs, "Coca Chewing and High-Altitude Stress: Possible Effects of Coca Alkaloids on Erythropoieses," Current Anthropology 19 (2) (June, 1978), 277-291.

market has made it more expensive and scarce. Nonetheless this economic phenomenon by no means affects the regular use of coca in the peasantry. Paras peasants are fortunate to be just a few days walking distance from coca production areas which facilitates transporting their supply of coca directly from the plantations in the jungle. But the trend of coca chewing is now changing to a more sophisticated addiction: cocaine.

Those who work for wages in the underground laboratories have easy access to cocaine for their labor is directly related to the processing of the alkaloid itself. During their stay these peasant laborers consume cocaine regularly, and for free. As one informant asserted "to them it is just like they were working in a bake shop and taking home some bread." They smoke joints made of marijuana or tobacco and cocaine or they sniff the powder they carry with them.

When they return to Paras, some monteneros bring home only coca; others, especially the young, come back with both coca leaves and unrefined cocaine. Of the 60 per cent who went to the jungle, 80 per cent (48) had used cocaine regularly. Veteran chewers (40%) who tended to be older, were in favor of continuing their traditional habit. They argued that "cocaine was too strong and it made them feel strange for too long." A local teacher

who trades two contraceptive ovules for about one gram of cocaine also assured that the effect of the drug lasted over twenty-four hours. An overwhelming majority of the young (60%) carry coca only to give to their old relatives or to sell; but keep cocaine for themselves.

It was difficult to weigh the amounts of cocaine they possessed; but the possession ranged from between 400 grams to 200 grams, which according to Hanna's (1974) figures would be equivalent to chewing 41.322 kilos of coca, i.e., more than three times the average amount they use in the community.¹

What is at stake here is not the proliferation of cocaine processing centers in the foothills of the eastern Andes, or traditional use of coca leaves, but rather the spread of the use of the drug among the indigens.

Thus, when we are still thinking of the backward peasant to whom chewing coca is part of his culture, and even before his traditional vice has been solved, he is already involved in a more severe health hazard by consuming a drug which still contains the elements utilized to macerate the dried coca leaves to remove its cocaine content.

¹Hanna noted that 30 grams of coca contained 181.5 mg. of alkaloid of which 80 per cent (145.2 mg.) was cocaine.

It is hoped that this discussion of the cocaine elaboration industry will lead to a more intensive and exclusive study of the peasantry's participation in the production and use of cocaine, as well as its implications for traditional societies in the Andes.

A few words must be said about another problem that afflicts the highlander: alcohol drinking. The question of alcohol in Paras cannot be ignored because it is intimately linked to the use of coca. In Paras, alcohol is taken either straight or it is mixed with the traditional beverage (chicha) to make it stronger. They generally drink straight alcohol when they are chewing coca, and without removing the quid from their mouths, they swallow it along with the alkaloid they form by chewing coca with lime.

Notwithstanding the fact that chronic alcoholism is present in nearby towns, chronic drinking was not found. Because of its high cost (\$2.35 for a 24 oz. bottle) alcohol is reserved for special occasions

Whatever the reasons might be, the fact of the matter is that life in the Andes is dominated and conditioned by coca leaves. The interests here is to show the tremendous impact that the coca plantation and its derivatives has over social and economic conditions of the peasantry in the highlands.

We must see the coquero peasant not only in the context of his habit of chewing coca "as an integral part of life in the Andes," but in the context of the peasantry's active participation in the cocaine industry and the introduction of the drug to the indigenous population as a substitute for coca chewing.

During field work, I calculated that the average daily consumption of coca in Paras was one ounce or 28 grams. This amount is less than the mean daily (58 gr.) consumption found by Hanna (1974) in the Altiplano. The total yearly amount of coca used in Paras, taking the daily average use as the base figure, is exactly 10 Kilos which multiplied by 200 soles, the price of one ounce in 1981, adds up to 54,000 soles (\$108.00), the equivalent to the price of six sacks (432 Kilos) of wheat or potatoes.

Unfortunately the illiterate peasant ignores both his socially inherited addiction and the high cost of coca which deprives his family of basic needs such as clothing, basic medicines, insecticides, etc. For the sake of illustration, if they reduced the consumption of coca by half the present amount, they could purchase a great deal of essential items. With 27,000 soles (\$54.00) they could provide the family with 18 pairs of synthetic rubber shoes, or seven store bought pants or 15 hats, etc.

Even though it is true that they do not pay cash for coca, some way or other it translates into amounts estimated above.

Coca is so deeply inbedded in the highlands that there is no age limit set in the community. One can see with amazement how children of less than ten years old learn how to chew it properly in the presence of their parents. Even the patron saints have their pikshas (coca bags) and small gourd bottles to carry their lime in.

Coca production in Peru is a national problem in that it is difficult to eradicate because it is rooted in the traditional culture, and especially because of its economic significance for the peasantry. Responding to international pressure in the last decade, the government set fire to coca plantations, supposedly to destroy cocaine elaboration places. This was obviously done only to get publicity and not to dismantle the underground world.

To unchain the peasant from his cash dependency upon the international narcotic network, the community and the area must be developed into a self-sustaining economy based on agriculture which would increase the peasant's output and create jobs for the urban poor. If the peasant could collect two crops per year he would not have to depend on the cocaine economy as he now does.

Frontier Entrepreneurship

As the traditional survival level agricultural economy can not satisfy the exigencies created by the fashionable lifestyle of the modernization era many peasants and mestizos get involved in local or national cocaine traffic or they take the eastway to the new "frontier land" where they can open their macerating pools to try to accumulate wealth (money) which they could not do legally. To become an underground entrepreneur is "much better than breaking one's [their] backs in agriculture or working for wages in the metropolis."

Because of the almost wild abundance of coca plants, one would assume that it would be very simple to get started in a macerating business but the migrants who periodically go to work in the cocaine hideouts describe the complexity and the difficulties that come with the entrepreneurship. There are two kinds of entrepreneurs in the elaboration of cocaine. There is the planter who is self-sufficient in labor (family enterprise), capital, and sometimes has his own connections in the national market. But not every planter is able to take over the whole process by himself, so what they call the "capitalista" comes to the scene.

The "capitalista," or the "man with cash," either works in the business in association with the planter or

establishes his own laboratory in a nearby place where he can safely operate and get the coca supply from the planter directly or through the peasants. The coca farmer is licensed to plant on land he legally owns, tea, coffee, fruits, etc., but not coca; although some farmers do have permission to plant a limited amount of coca. But as woodlands are so vast and virgin they can open new plots in secret places so that they always appear to be living only on the crops from their legally owned land.

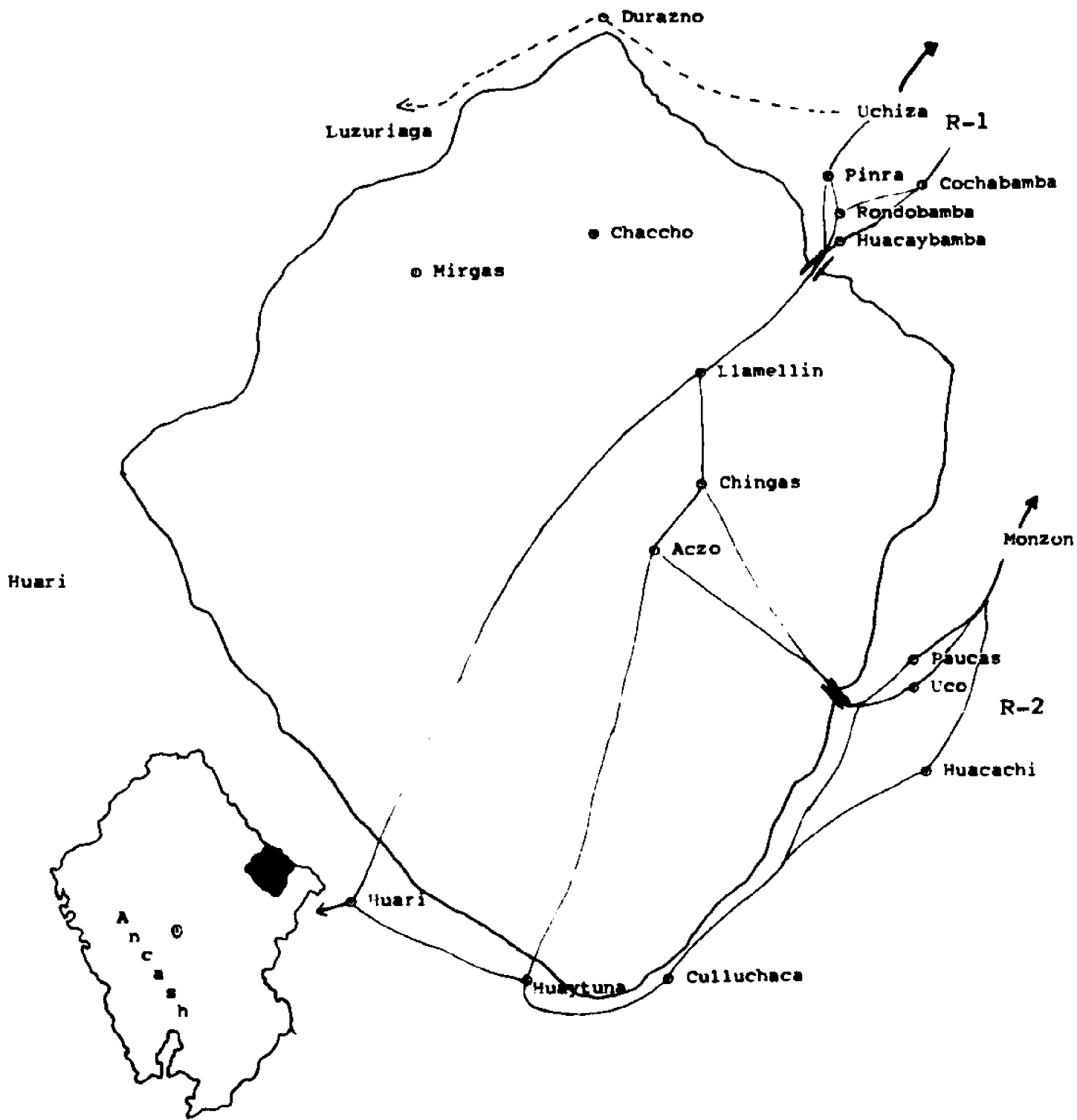
The "capitalista" always establishes his lab in a hamlet or a village settled by migrants from the Cordillera who live mostly on their small bodegas. To these hamlets, the "capitalista" entrepreneur is something like a benefactor that supports the group by creating jobs and by paying inflationary prices to the small bodegueros. Once the capitalista buys off some key individuals from the group, like municipal or political representatives at the village level, and gains control of the population, he hires mercenary guards to watch the setting who are "authorized" to ambush anyone suspected of trying to discover the "bread and butter" of the group. Whoever comes to the woodland does it either to buy the "stuff" or to work or sell his food commodities; no other reasons or explanations are accepted.

The underground processors are always tied, besides their local small bodegueros, to entrepot store owners who supply them with white kerosene or some other chemical agents used to macerate coca leaves. In addition to the labs that operate in the forests, there are also small "pools" in some villages and towns in the highlands where coca is secretly transported by the bales which make the cost of production of cocaine higher than in the jungle.

Local Traffic

The province of Antonio Raimondi, because of its strategic location in relation to the producers of cocaine and its transportation to national and international underground markets, is a nationally reputed traffic land of cocaine basic paste. The map on page 159 shows the most frequent and most common directional movements of cocaine on the same roads used for regular daily transit. Other isolated routes were said to be in practice branching out from the established route to avoid control in the three towns where there is police service; but because reliable data was not available, this alternative route will not be discussed.

It must not be assumed that the cocaine coming into Antonio Raimondi via Route One (see map on local traffic) is provided exclusively from Uchiza where the



Map 2. Local Traffic of Coca and Cocaine

peasants of Paras have active economic exchange. It mostly, but not exclusively, comes from places such as Santo Domingo, Garash, etc. For security reasons, transportation of the valuable rocks is done in clearly defined stages. Regardless of its origin, cocaine comes first to the towns of Rondobamba, Huyacaybamba, and the booming village of Cochabamba which are from four to twelve hours walk from Llamellin. The second, and decisive, stage, usually takes place during the night and it comes crossing the Marañon River, northwest of Llamellin.

In the province there are at least ten major wholesale dealers who buy the "stuff" coming from first stage. The price range for one kilo of unrefined paste is from 250,000 soles to 300,000 soles depending upon police control conditions, and the refined powder goes from 600,000 soles (\$1,000) and up.

There are two kinds of people involved in the local trafficking in cocaine. There is the small or petty entrepreneur who either buys it from the first stage, or goes to the jungle and brings the basic paste to the towns for resale to the wholesale dealers. The capital with which the petty entrepreneur operates is always less than one million soles (\$2,000). The resale gives him a profit of about 30 per cent, less if bought from the first stage only. The second type of "pichicatero"

(drug dealer) is what they call the "big fish" in the business who brings no less than ten kilos of basic paste directly from the jungle and sells it to the wholesalers or takes it himself to Lima. This dealer is usually both a coca planter and cocain elaborator. The town wholesale dealers always have the petty dealers "hooked" in that they lend them money or pay lower prices for the cocaine. The small dealer is always broke a few days after the deal because he splurges in the towns.

Route Two follows the trail established to connect the province of Antonio Raimondi with the towns of Uco, Paucas, Huachis, Huacachi, etc. This route is thought to present the least traffic of cocaine to the province because of the availability of a road to transport it which does not touch Antonio Raimondi. Almost all the cocaine elaborated in Monzon, Arancay and other towns west of Llamellin comes this way.

It must be underlined that elaboration of cocaine also takes place in some villages or towns of the province of Antonio Raimondi and the eastern slopes of the Andes at large. In this type of small entrepreneurship, dried coca leaves are brought from the jungle and macerated in tin barrels, small cement pools, etc. It is a kind of cottage underground industry that is spread all over the eastern Andes, attracting more and more indigenous peasants and unemployed people from the small towns.

The second stage or the shipping points are the towns of Llamellin, Chingas, and Aczo from where, after a local or internal circulation, the "stuff" is taken by the dealer himself, or it is shipped as part of the comestibles going out from the province, or sent as parcels in the buses going to Lima. The "white gold" from the second stage also follows the track that crosses the high punas of the western side of the province leading to the town of Huari, a twelve-hour hike from Llamellin.

At about four hours trip from the second stage, in the town of Huaytuna, there is a police station which controls traffic coming from Antonio Raimondi as well as from the eastern part of the province of Huari. Traffic is closed for twelve hours, from 6 P.M. to 6 A.M. This station is responsible for searching for cocaine in the vehicles transiting the route; but it is an impossible task for the three policemen who control the station to do more than check personal identifications, detain suspects or discover smuggling by chance.

Smugglers and dealers have their own ways of finding out their status with the police. When they suspect or know that the police are "waiting for them," they use specialized smugglers who take the cocaine on pack animals or on their backs along secret and unpatrolled passages and deliver it to indicated contacts for its regular

embarcation to the final destination. Subsequent to the Huaytuna control station are four more police control stations that only check overhead racks, seats, and handbags.

The commercial activity of cocaine in the second stage is almost completely out in the open. Everyone in the towns knows who is in the business. For example, in December of 1982 I was sitting chatting with a small bodeguera when suddenly an unknown young woman interrupted the conversation to offer two kilos of . . . (she did not say of what), the bodeguera answered by saying that she does not buy "those things"; instead she recommended her to the local postmaster.

The obvious question to ask is who is involved in the second stage of the booming underground economy, in the long journey of cocaine which makes it more expensive than its actual value as a commodity produced by human labor.

The energy and human capital needed for the production of cocaine is supplied by the peasantry and some poor people from small towns, whereas the "underground commercial movement" is controlled by local middle class mestizos encroached in government jobs, small business, and commercial agriculture. For instance, the ex-head of the National Bank, who had been fired following the "development budget" scandal, had assembled a secret laboratory in a two-family brownstone house in a working

class suburban section of Lima in association with two brothers from Aczo, and one planter-processor-dealer from Llamellin. They were raided on November 17, 1982, when they were in the process of refining 30 kilos of cocaine. The ex-bank employee and the two brothers from Aczo were caught but the planter-dealer jumped through the window and escaped safely.

The planter-processor-dealer is the oldest in a poor family of five brothers and one sister. (One of his younger brothers is the secretary to the Judge of First Instance in Llamellin.) His son-in-law is also thought to be one of the "biggies" in the business. When the planter-grower-dealer left Llamellin for Lima in early November, 1982, he had promised one of his close relatives who was going to sponsor the patronal celebrations on December 8 that he would pay for the band and contract and pick them up in Huaraz on his way back to Llamellin, and by his own account said that he had lost all "his capital," ten million soles (\$12,000), and "interned" himself on his land in the jungle to start over again.

In Lima, the police made the ex-bank employee confess the names of the rest of the dealers and petty entrepreneurs in Llamellin. On December 3, 1982, the police of Llamellin received an official letter from Lima giving the names of the suspected dealers. In the capital

town there are thirteen major dealers, as well as petty entrepreneurs. The police would not release the names of the suspects but reliable informants named one police officer, the local postmaster, and ten bodegueros and entrepot store owners. Later, this information was confirmed when the head of the local police "naively" notified all the suspects that they were under surveillance.

The capital town of Llamellin is ranked second to the small town of Chingas in cocaine dealings. In Chingas, the traffic in cocaine has already gone far beyond simple smuggling activity. Its effect on the society is manifest in crimes, homicides, personal attacks, robberies, etc., such as the brutal homicide perpetrated against a petty cocaine entrepreneur, and the savage assassination of the secretary of the local high school, his wife and his daughters.¹ In the fall of 1979, a young petty dealer who had tried to seize money received for cocaine was stoned to death by his allegedly cheated associates in a deserted area near Llamellin. The two assassins left their victim and rushed down to cross the river shouting hurrahs to Huaracillo, another first stage town where they probably were natives. The corpse of the petty dealer was buried in Llamellin by the police.²

¹El Expreso, December 30, 1981. I had met him personally on December 7, 1982, in Llamellin and exchanged ideas in the problem of national education.

²The news did not reach Lima; and the case was closed in Llamellin.

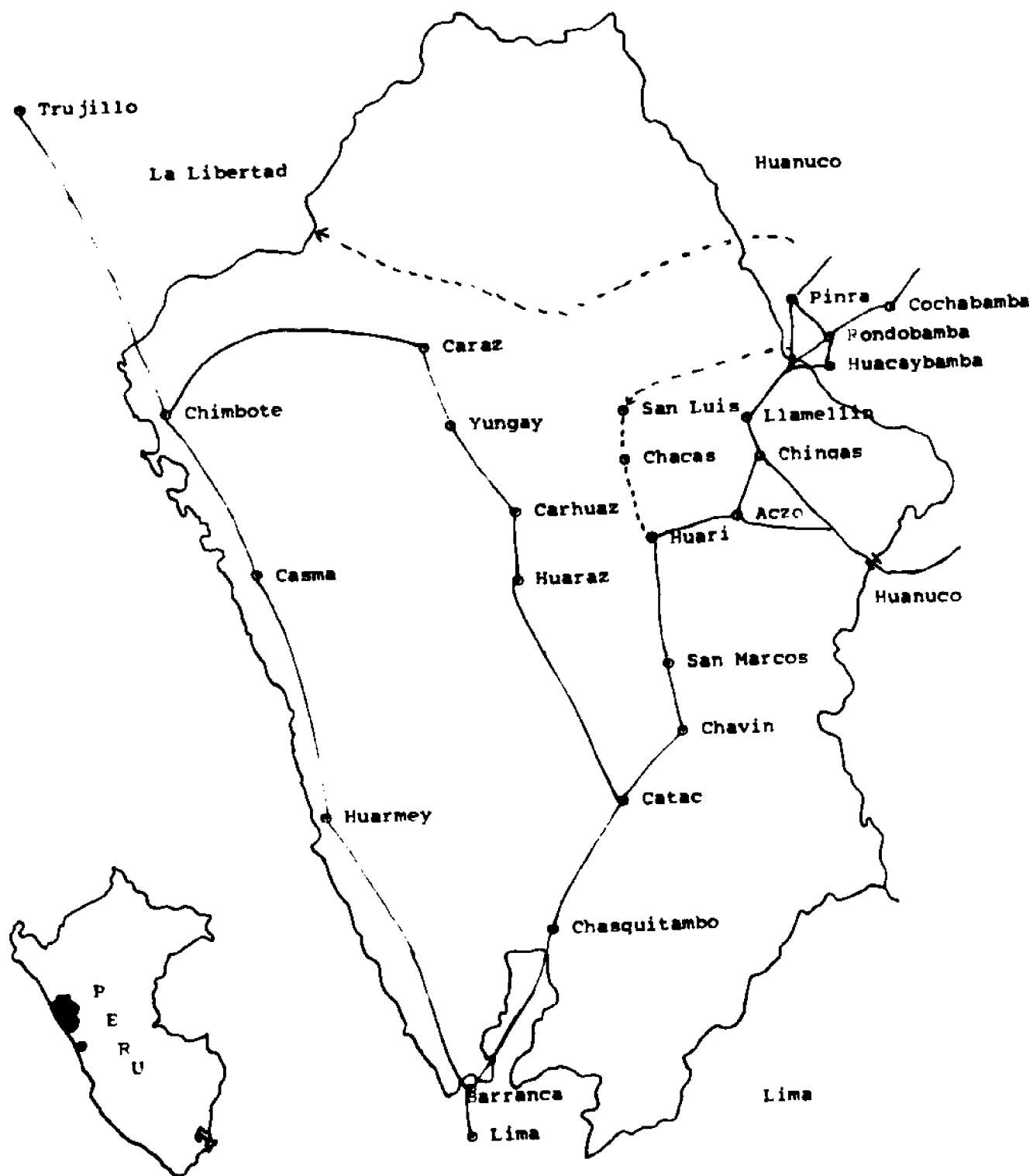
The crime that shocked Chingas and the province was the homicide committed against the secretary of the Chingas high school who was also the Deputy Mayor in the district. On the night of December 29, 1981, four students who had been expelled from the high school broke into the house of the secretary and fatally stabbed him, his wife and one of his daughters; his six-month-old baby girl was not harmed. Apparently the criminals drugged themselves, or were drugged by someone, to kill the secretary for they keep declaring that they "do not remember anything" about the murders of which they stand accused. The motive for the homicides has not been established; however, two arguments have emerged in the town. There are people who think that the expelled students murdered the secretary in vengeance for their expulsion from school which was recommended by the secretary. Others believe that the victim had been involved in drug dealings, and that the students were used by some other "big fish" in the "organization" to eliminate the secretary. The occurrences after the imprisonment of the criminals make one suspect that the second argument may be the more appropriate one. One of the criminals has died in jail from an unknown disease, and a second one is said to have "escaped" to "no-man's land" (jungle). In Antonio Raimondi, it is common to hear that those jailed because of drug trafficking

mysteriously escape from the hands of the police. In 1979, for example, a major Colombian processor-dealer was caught red-handed and arrested in a first-stage town. He was put in jail in Llamellin and escaped a few days later after receiving a visit from a woman carrying a handbag.

National and International Roads

From all over the province of Antonio Raimondi the "white gold" has to go West to the city of Huaraz, capital of the Department of Ancash. From there it is routed north to the seaport of Chimbote or Trujillo on its way to the border of Ecuador, or south to Lima without touching Huaraz for further processing and national and international distribution.

As cocaine is processed all along the eastern and central Andes, major centers of elaboration and marketing are concentrated in or around Monzon, Uchiza, Tingo Maria and other areas in the Departments of Cuzco, Ayachucho and Puno. Cocaine travels all the roads of international exit. From Monzon and Uchiza, besides taking the routes to Antonio Raimondi, cocaine leaves by road, boat, or airplane (from secret airfields) to Tingo Maria, Huanuco, Pucallpa, or directly to Lima. From Pucallpa it is destined to Lima by plane and to Iquitos by plane or by boat along



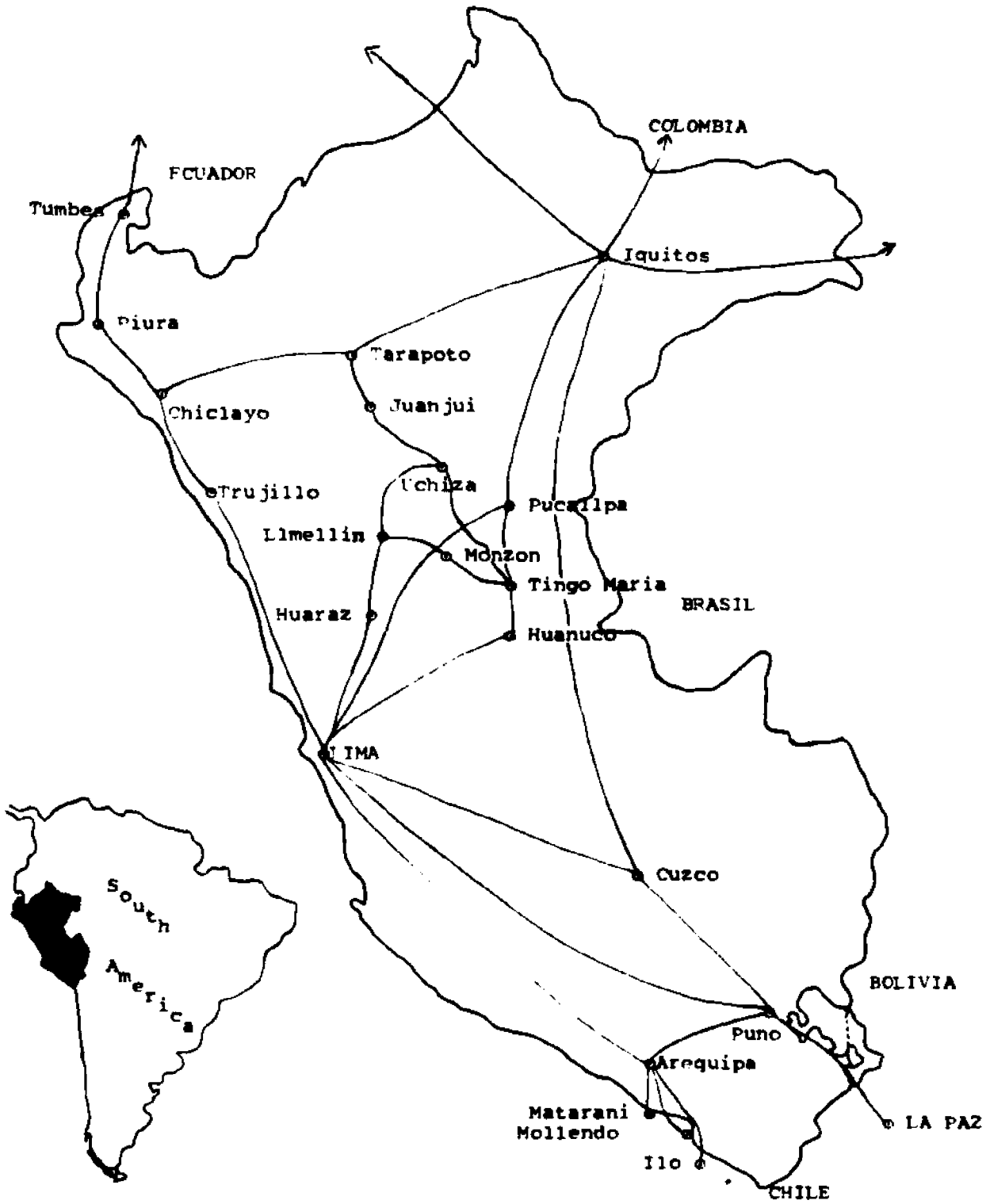
Map 3. Initial Stages of National and International Traffic in Cocaine

the Ucayali river. Production from the southeast and the south-central side is mainly concentrated in Cuzco, Ayacucho and Puno. From these points, cocaine can be distributed to Lima or by means of the international route.

Basically, there are four points of embarkation to the United States and Europe: Lima, Iquitos, Puno and the border of Ecuador. From the capital of the country, Lima, cocaine either goes directly to Europe and the United States or it is delivered to other international exits. The oriental city of Iquitos has an international airport for commercial flights between that city and Brazil, Colombia and the United States (Miami), plus the fluvial navigation along the Amazon going to the Atlantic.

The Panamerican Highway is another cocaine smuggling route for every city on the north coast of Peru has active commercial exchange with Ecuador, as it also has with Chile and the southern cities. The drug comes to the city of Tumbes and from there to El Oro, the southern province of Ecuador, through secret tracks in the forests used by contrabandists of goods from Ecuador to Peru or by car crossing the international wooden bridge.

The cocaine site in Altiplano, Puno, presents a more complex and interesting case. The Altiplano community of Cachicoto, with only six thousand inhabitants,



Map 4. National and International Routes of Cocaine

is feared even by the police. The inhabitants live almost exclusively on the cocaine industry and traffic.¹ The abrupt terrain, high altitude, and the immensity of Lake Titicaca make control of the traffic of cocaine almost impossible. The locally elaborated "stuff" and the shipments coming from the North are smuggled via road to the Bolivian town of Copacabana or by passenger boat conveniently scheduled to navigate only during the night between Puno and Guaqui, Bolivia. From Bolivia, cocaine can be shipped by the eastbound route and across the Atlantic or north as is most of the cocaine from Peru.

The chapter that follows emphasizes the push of modernization programs by the government and other agencies and the failure to develop the backward and politically unorganized national periphery.

¹Caretas, No. 620, October, 1980, p. 25.

CHAPTER VIII

COSMETIC DEVELOPMENT

In today's modern competitive world the maintenance of one's appearance calls for the use of contemporary fashionable items and for some superfluous commodities which modify or perfect our personal look. Superfluous esthetic commodities such as cosmetics make the ugly pretty and the pretty prettier; they present us to the world as we would like to be and not as we really are. Thanks to esthetic make up the corpse of our relatives are presented at funeral services more beautiful or more handsome than they were in life. Likewise, with cosmetics a sick person can look healthy just as the poor can hide his pale face caused by malnutrition. The fantasy of fashion and cosmetics are spread faster than other cultural products; and by imitating others in the use of these products as signs of modernization we think we are modern.

Now, let me portray a peasant or an Indian woman living at an altitude of three thousand meters above sea level or higher, sharing a one-room house with the rest of her family, her guinea pigs, etc., lacking essential items for personal and household hygiene which

obviously translates into high parasite infestation and infections. Let me take this woman and make her look as the rest of the women in the modern world; cover her tattered traditional outfit with new-fashioned clothes, and apply a layer of cosmetics to her face. There is no doubt that anyone who has not seen what I have done to her will react with the "she looks beautiful" statement. She has changed in appearance but not in essence.

The model of development directed by, and imposed from, a centralized government representing the national middle class fosters the modernization of the countryside applying development policies that maintain the status quo by keeping, reviving, or implanting traditional social values in the peasantry. In its attempt to choose the lesser of the two evils, Communism or Capitalism, models the military government adopted public sector expenditures in education, transportation, health, etc., which changes the countryside superficially and makes it more dependent on the metropolis. This is what I caricature as cosmetic development.

In my discussion of the problem of development in the peasantry I am going to abandon the historical analysis of the causes of continental, national, or regional development/underdevelopment and take reality as it is now for we all, Latin Americans and non-Latin

Americans, and victims and perpetrators, know what Colonialism and Imperialism has done and continues to do to Latin America. In discussing the problems of development in Paras as a community representing the peasantry at large, I am going to analyze it with emphasis on the methods, processes, and goals of development in the context of national development policies.

Three idealistic positions of Accion Popular to develop the peasantry are:

1. Emancipation of food supply--the effort to liberate the country from its dependence on foreign sources for its basic supply of such essential products as wheat, milk and meat, through irrigation and transformation of the uninhabited regions of the Punas.
2. The emancipation of the villages--the stimulation of local initiative through works of Accion Popular [Cooperacion Popular] and the establishment of fiscal cooperation to promote efforts in this direction
3. Education and those to be educated--a struggle against cultural centralism; planning that brings the school to the scholar and the university to the student; efforts to avoid the uprooting of the youth from his native soil, and especially, exodus of Peruvian students to foreign countries.¹

The first two articles refer to Peru's attempt to turn itself into a country with an autonomous and self-sufficient food supply mainly through the establishment of a solid economy based on agriculture which would be

¹Paul Sigmund, editor, Models of Political Change in Latin America (New York: Praeger Publishers, 197), p. 203.

tantamount to the 'emancipation' of the villages from the metropolis. This is an ambitious goal and a difficult task to accomplish because of the established concentration of government, economy, technology, and culture in the capital city. The third item calls for the decentralization of culture from the metropolis to the periphery through education. Cultural dispersion is not necessarily nor exclusively accomplished with education alone; it also comes with mass media and communications, sports, and other types of entertainments that ultimately bring into the countryside new standards wielding pressure over the indigenous people's behavior. This certainly is modernization rather than development and it goes at a more rapid pace than development. Thus,

[m]odernization refers to the process by which an underdeveloped region changes in response to inputs (ideologies, behavioral codes, commodities and institutional models) from already established industrial centers; a process which is based on that region's continued dependence upon the urban-industrial metropolis. Development refers to the process by which an underdeveloped region attempts to acquire an autonomous and diversified industrial economy on its own terms.¹

In light of this definition, Peruvian developmentalist programs of education, urbanization, and transportation are in fact modernization policies rather than development efforts.

¹Peter Schneider et al., "Modernization and Development: The Role of Regional Elites and Noncorporate Groups in an European Mediterranean," Comparative Studies in Society and History 14 (3) (June 1972): 328.

Education

The first coeducational public school No, 3579 in Paras was opened in the hacienda headquarters in April of 1954 with first grade children. The population growth and freedom from feudal labor ties propelled the peasants to urge the government to open schools in the rest of the four villages.

The government in its "struggle against cultural centralism" is democratizing elementary and high school education. Thus, by 1975 every district town in the province of Antonio Raimondi boasted its own coeducational high school. Today, over 1,500 children are enrolled in high school programs which graduate about 150 each year. In Paras, up until 1981 there were only six who had finished their twelve grades. About 70 per cent of the community is completely illiterate.

Is education an effective developing agent or is it just another cosmetic layer applied to the peasantry? Can education be democratized without democratizing the economy and political superstructure? Let me answer these questions by discussing the education in the community and the province.

For a good quality education, the community must have people who want education for the welfare of the community, an educational infrastructure capable of

satisfying and stimulating the educational process, and trained teachers able to guide students in the satisfaction of their educational needs. Without these elements, educational programs may be useless or even deceptive.

For example, nine years before the Cornell-Peru project started in Vicos in 1949, the community had a school; however, the investigators found that no single child of primary school age could write or read Spanish, so their first

efforts in education, in any formal sense, were directed towards the development of facilities and training for children, as well as younger adults. After confidence had been gained in the community, largely through the rewards from economic development and through willingness to share in matters of social respect, meetings were held with parents, Indian leaders, and teachers to discuss the construction of a school adequate to provide for at least a primary education for all children of the community. . . . More teachers came [and] since many children had to come to school from as great a distance away as half-hour on foot, a school lunch program was initiated which in itself may have been the primary stimulus for more than tripling the school population in the first year of operation. [In 1957] there [were] two schools in operation at Vicos, one for boys and one for girls, with a total enrollment of over 200, a large proportion of whom have had several years of continuity in their education. During the past [last] four years the number of teachers [had] increased from one to seven. The classification of the school itself [had] been changed. [It had] been raised from a primary level to a pre-industrial status this means that technical training [was] provided in such fields as agriculture and industrial arts, in addition to the regular curriculum of Peruvian primary school. An adult education program [had] also been initiated in which younger adults [were rapidly becoming literate and acquiring useful skills needed for enlightened leadership in

in the direction of community affairs.¹

It must be underscored that "the government was making it possible for the Vicosinos to purchase the lands on which they had lived as serfs since Spanish Conquest." Education was stimulated by future land ownership. Whether the semantics of land ownership meant communal or individual distribution is another question of which they may or may not have been made aware, but the sole idea of having land, not just using it, added a whole new dimension to the Vicosinos life. The Vicosino peasants knew they needed basic skills that could replace or compliment their traditional agricultural system; and because of the exigencies in consumer patterns and higher competition in the market in the Callejon de Huaylas, which is more active and somewhat more sophisticated than in the Callejon of Conchucos, they were expected to have higher and better yields. This could have been done only through applied education and not through education for its own sake.

For the Vicosinos to break the barrier of apathy characteristic of the Andean peasant, and attend the meetings scheduled to discuss the need for constructing an adequate school building must have been a painful changing

¹William Whyte and Allan Holmberg, "From Paternalism to Democracy. The Cornell-Peru Project." Human Organization 15 (3) (Fall 1956): 17.

process. Many times teachers and investigators must have been disappointed by the peasants' lack of social concern. Time and again, the bilingual teachers must have asked them how they were going to live on their land if they did not have basic agricultural skills that could be acquired at the school they could help construct? Translated into Quechua this shows a great concern for the peasant's life on his land as the only means of survival for him and his future generations (chacrakita aruyta yachacunaikipak escuelanchik arushun, managa imanura gamkuna y huamrekikuna kawayanki?). If there is anything that makes the peasant emotional, it is land and religion; but if land does not produce enough crops, religious celebrations will not 'satisfy' the expectations of their patron saints, i.e., "ceremonial surplus" will not meet the promises the peasants made to their preferred saints. For the Andean, be he Indian or mestizo, land is the realization of being human.

Once the first two conditions, the need for education and appropriate facilities, are present in the community, teachers suitable to both the program and the population must be furnished. But to find personnel trained to teach students who have different values becomes a difficult task to fulfill mainly for three reasons. First, appointment of teachers is out of the community's control; it is

the Ministry of Education's responsibility to handle contracts and nombramientos (tenured positions). The most the community could do is to censure or refuse the appointee which would create difficulties with the government and the teachers themselves. Second, the unrewarding salaries offered to the teachers (an experienced full-time teacher is paid about \$120.00 [U.S.] per month) do not stimulate recruitment of faculty trained in special schools. And third, the isolated and remote communities in the Cordillera do not attract those who are educated; in fact, the Andes is considered to be the Siberia where policemen and teachers are sent for disciplinary measures. Even Vicos, which is not that far from the paved road that runs along the Callejon de Hauylas, is not exempt from the conditions which are disadvantageous for recruiting trained teachers; and although the "gringos" may have had control over other variables, appointment of teachers may have been out of their reach. The best thing the Peru-Cornell project could have done in Vicos is to take part in the effort for land distribution and teach the indigenous the rational use of land through new agricultural techniques.

Education: How and for What?

In the province of Antonio Raimondi, 75 per cent of the faculty of 120 teachers at both high school and

primary levels are only high school graduates who function as payroll fill-ins rather than educators. These unskilled teachers get on-the-job training in two different ways. They attend summer schools at various colleges and universities to earn their B.A. degrees; or they are enrolled in the home study programs sponsored by the Ministry of Education and go to the capital of the Department to take their exams every six months.

All of the fourteen teachers in Paras started their positions right after finishing their high school in Llamellin or one of the schools in the district towns. The majority of them are from the province or the Department. The teachers live in rooms provided for them in the schools from Monday to Friday. For the weekend they go to their home towns or villages. The weekend usually starts any time after Thursday midday break. Those who are somewhat serious about their jobs leave the community on Fridays either after lunch or right after the afternoon break at 3 P.M.

The average presence of a teacher in the classroom is four hours per day. Classes are scheduled to begin at 9:00 A.M.; at 8:30 A.M. the teacher in charge for the week announces the first call with his whistle which only reaches as far as about five hundred meters. At about 9:30 P.M. most of the students are lined up in front of

the classrooms; the teacher then tells them to enter the rooms while he waits outside for about 20 minutes for the rest of the children to show up. In the best of cases, classes start at 9:45 A.M. At 11:00 there is a 30-minute break which almost always extends to one hour. at 12:00 A.M. the children are dismissed for two hours. The afternoon session is a carbon copy of the morning meeting.

The teachers' personal and family obligations have priority over their duties as educators and are often taken care of during work hours. For example, the teacher in Romeral has two sons, ages 5 and 7 years and her husband also teaches in San Juan de Paras; so that during class time she has to cook and take care of her children. For six months she has also been teaching all three sections because a replacement for the teacher who had resigned had not yet been found. On Thursdays at 1:00 P.M. she leaves school to go home. She returns Monday at about 10:30 A.M.

On the other hand, and on top of all irregularities in the faculty, the high rate of undernourishment present in the community handicaps the children in their learning process. In addition, the material conditions of the parents do not enable them to provide their children with books and school supplies, let alone with uniforms.

The curriculum is comprised of reading and writing Spanish, basic Mathematics, History and Geography of Peru, Elementary Science, and Physical Education. Lectures are done in Spanish, then reinforced in Quechua. But those teachers who are prejudiced against their own culture, common among the Andean mestizos, do not repeat their lectures in Quechua because, they argue, the teachings "die in the classrooms" ("la leccion a estos cholos les entra por una oreja y les sale por la otra").

Because they fear being shamed before other children and punished by the teachers, most children do not want to go to school, and if pushed by parents, they spend their days playing hookey in the fields or the streams. The old tradition of "knowledge comes with blood" ("la leccion entra con sangre") still practiced in the Andes, scares children away and reinforces their lack of interest in school.

The adult peasants, like any normal parents, would like their children to be educated so they will not be subjected to the kinds of abuses they have been through; and to become people who will be a source of pride and prestige to parents and community. But education in and of itself will not make them better and worthier citizens. At best, they will become sources of cheap labor in industrial cities, migrant workers in the underground

world, or mediocre teachers recycling the deficient education they obtained from their senior colleagues. The fact that everyone graduating high school wants to be a teacher is a fashionable social phenomenon taking place at the present time.

A peasant whose child or children is on the State payroll proudly says that "his son or his daughter is a government employee." This indicates the paternalistic type of relationship that exists between the community and the nation. The villager, as well as the mestizo town resident, expects the central government to be what it was in the past: the patron or the landlord. On the other hand, the 'omnipotent' State believes that it can develop the countryside by educating the peasant children to the values of the ruling elite of the country.

Education is designed to maintain the traditional hierarchical Latin American paternalism that makes the countryside more dependent on the central government and alienates the peasant from his own reality. The peasant is being framed to perform developed or become modern in the eyes of outside planners, but under the present state of affairs he will never be developed. Education is just another layer of the make-up in the "cosmetic development."

Peru as an Andean country has three well-defined geographic regions with each one presenting unique regional

characteristics. The dry and deserted coast is inhabited mostly by Spanish-speaking mestizos and uprooted highlanders. The Sierra or the Andes ranges with their deep valleys, slopes, and high punas is where the majority of the population of the country lives and where many different Quechua dialects are spoken. And then there is the mountainous forests and the Amazon lowlands which is the home of hundreds of small groups and tribes with their own tongues.

In a country with so many geographic, cultural, and environmental variations, education must be decentralized and designed to fit the needs of the different regions and cultures. It should not be taken for granted that educational needs present in metropolitan areas are the same needs manifested throughout the rest of the country. Before assessing and setting education programs, local and regional material needs must be evaluated. It is understandable that it is materially impossible for a country like Peru to satisfy the educational needs of every community, but at least it should be divided into three major educational regions matching the geographic and cultural variations of the country.

Once the area has been evaluated and its educational needs established, teaching should emphasize skills in crafts such as construction, carpentry, forestry, irrigation

(after giving them irrigation water), better knowledge of the soil, agriculture, animal husbandry, and more importantly health care and personal hygiene that they so badly need, along with basic Spanish and Mathematics. In Paras, for example, instead of having schools in every village, they should have only one in the central part of the community which happens to be located at about 30 minutes walking distance from each of the villages. The State could, therefore, save at least 4,800,000 soles (\$9,600) by eliminating four teachers and allocating the amount saved to other urgent material needs. At the provincial level there must be at least one technical school to admit the graduates from the villages and core curriculum stressing new techniques in occupations needed to exploit the local resources.

Education in and of itself, as it is now programmed, is not designed to change the peasant substantially and help him sustain the process of change. The peasant is not ready yet to take the quantum leap from household manager to active participant in the modern economy and national politics. The mere fact of providing a mediocre education and giving voting rights to the illiterate cannot mean participation in national life when local and provincial petty politicians buy indigenous votes with half a kilo of sugar or a few grams of coca leaves.

Urbanization and Transportation

In this section I am going to discuss the intervention of the State through its partisan organization, Cooperacion Popular, and the role of international aid in giving a different form or appearance to the peasantry. The organism that carries out the development ideology of the government, Sistema Nacional de Cooperacion Popular (SNCP hereafter), has its central office in Lima, and branch offices in the Department capitals and some towns. In 1981 SNCP had a national budget of nine billion soles (\$18,000,000) from which six hundred million soles (\$1,200,000) was allocated to the Department of Ancash.¹

The program was conceived by Fernando Belaunde Terry during his first period to make rural masses active in their own development. Cooperacion Popular, now SNCP, in its initial stage, received technical support from the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) through its mission office in Lima and material subsidies totalling \$600,000.² Materials that AID furnished were probably shovels, pickaxes, and tractors and caterpillars that SNCP distributed to the peasants at the beginning of the program before it was organized at the national

¹From the Office of SNCP, Huaraz, Ancash, Peru.

²James Shields, La Educacion en el Desarrollo de la Comunidad (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editorial Paidós, 1967), p. 36.

level. SNCP presently provides materials and technical advice to the communities that 'need' schools, medical posts, and roads among other modernization infrastructures, i.e., SNCP acts something like an agent that retails 'development' program recipes prescribed by international agencies.

Besides the official organism committed to the modernization of the countryside there are other independent agencies supporting projects with AID commodities, each of them having their own methods of operation. Caritas Peru, subsidiary of Catholic Relief Service, distributes food as payment for labor performed in public works taking place in small urban areas. The Lutheran World Service of Switzerland also provides AID food and technical advice through their Swiss specialists in urbanization programs, education, and agriculture. Care supplies materials for irrigation, drinking water works, and construction of schools in highland communities. Of the three agencies mentioned, only Caritas and the Lutheran World Service have offices in towns near Antonio Raimondi. The goal of these organizations are the improvement of living conditions in small and medium size towns mainly, but not exclusively to give the countryside urban characteristics.

The United Nations defines urban areas as those populations over 20,000, recognizing the different

definitions suitable to various countries corresponding to their particular characteristics.¹ In Peru, national census officials define urban areas as those concentrations of people with some elementary public services where the representatives of local and national polity have their seats. Thus, in the population and housing census of 1981 population centers as small as 434 inhabitants were categorized as urban areas, e.g., the five district towns of the province of Antonio Raimondi were classified as urban with a total combined population of 3,749 (21%) and a total rural population of 14,142 (79%).²

In the province, during the last ten years the process of urbanization has brought drinkable water service, sewage in two districts, two medical posts, one radio communications center, five high schools, three police stations, one municipal jail, and most importantly, a road that links the province to the rest of the country. All of these public works have been financed either by the central government or independent agencies. No single project has been planned and funded by local governments.

As the village peasants do not speak for themselves

¹Philip Hauser, editor, Urbanization in Latin America (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p. 21.

²Information furnished by Marcial Espinoza, Chief of the office of the Census in Llamellin.

As the village peasants do not speak for themselves aid to remote communities comes only if some mestizos formulate their needs to the agencies or the agencies themselves come to offer their support; whereas the towns boast amongst their members lawyers, doctors, engineers, and high-ranking police officers, etc., who speak for the 'needs' of their communities. So the small urban areas are the ones that first beg for support and they usually get all or part of their requests either from the central government, the charity agencies, or SNCP.

In Paras, two projects have been completed and a third one is in progress. The two finished works are school buildings constructed in the villages of San Martin de Paras by the Lutheran World Service and in Illauro by Caritas Peru. The third subsidized self-help program under way, supported by SNCP, is another school in the village of Romeral. San Martin de Paras has a modern three-wing school building, the best primary school constructed in the province of Antonio Raimondi. It can easily accommodate all students from the five villages of Paras. The complex also has an additional wing used as living quarters by the local teachers. The school section of the complex was built with adobe bricks, cement floors, glass windows, and a roof covered with corrugated tin sheets.

The new three-room school constructed in the village of Illauro was the result of a personal commitment by one of the local teachers who before had worked as an office clerk in Caritas Peru in the town of Huari. As he was familiar with the mechanisms and the politics of U.S. AID food distribution, he presented a project to Caritas asking that food be exchanged with the labor required for the construction of a new school wing.

The project in Romeral was in progress in 1981, and received the active participation of SNCP in the form of some construction materials and technical supervision. It is the SNCP's policy to assist or finance projects from the ground up. It does not support partial works. For example, the villagers of Illauro requested corrugated tin sheets to cover the roof of their newly built school. SNCP denied their petition, arguing that the conditions of the building did not meet the standards set by SNCP policy, such as anti-seismical structure, ventilation, and room size.

All three projects were accomplished with mass participation of the community, with the exception of the one in Illauro where the peasants were paid in-kind for labor performed to construct the school. Of all three construction projects, only the work in San Martin de Paras was necessary because the village did not have a

school. However, it is too big a building for one village alone. The other two were an unnecessary waste of energy and capital because the old buildings basically needed only minor repairs and better upkeep.

At the provincial level the trend of modernization in the countryside has been of more benefit, although not equally, to the five district towns than to the twenty villages; that is to say, only 21 per cent (3,749) of the total provincial population (14,142) have improved living conditions with the concentration of some services in specific and limited areas thus giving the inhabitants an urban-like lifestyle and behavior.

Caritas, after evaluating each and every project presented, sends food provisions until the project is finished which can take years. Local authorities distribute food to the needy as full payment in a contract in which the labor of the recipient of supplement food is bound to public works on a piece-work basis not to exceed five days of work.

For the sixteen kilos of food received (see Table 9) the contracted person is assigned a specific task calculated to take five days. But, generally, the 'food-laborers' either help one another or work late hours to complete their assignments.

In the small towns, and especially in the capital

TABLE 9
AID FOOD EXCHANGED FOR LABOR¹

<u>Food</u>	<u>Quantity (kilos)</u>	<u>Calories</u>	<u>Protein</u>
Soy bean milk	5	1,900	15
Oatmeal	5	19,500	710
Hard wheat meal	5	16,633	650
Soy bean oil	1	8,840	-
Totals	16	46,873	1,375

town of Llamellin, there is always some kind of project that attracts both workers from the outlying areas and the urban poor. The 'development' program called trabajo-alimento (food-work) intends to modernize small urban populations by supplementing them with food for their daily intake.

Modernization projects propelled by international surplus food aids relieves temporarily the deficient caloric intake of the rural poor for their energetic consumption during public works is much higher than those who depend solely upon their Andean crops. Thus a family of seven (assuming that rural and urban poor have the same family size as in Paras) has at its disposal a supply of 46,873 calories per week and 1,375 grams of protein coming

¹From the Mayor's office in Llamellin.

from the labor of the head of the household. When these figures are broken down they account for the 45 per cent of their caloric and 49 per cent of protein needs. To meet the minimum intake requirement recommended by FAO they need 1,165 calories and 29 grams of protein from their traditional staples.

The food-work modernization programs are making rural and urban poor more and more dependent on international aid for their livelihood because neither the central nor local governments can support their own 'development' goals. Furthermore, the projects are not aimed at creating a self-sustained local economy with a rational and scientific use of human and natural resources. The politics of 'development' are oriented to satisfy a small group of petty politicians who appear as the spokesmen of the communities. In 1980 the capital town of Llamellin received a 'development budget' of ten million soles (\$35,714) to be spent in two projects. With this budget, the town was to have built its own slaughterhouse, and started paving the main streets. Neither project materialized because the ten million soles "disappeared" and the hopes of the townspeople to have their own slaughterhouse went with them. The mayor, who died in September, 1980, had issued personal loan checks to the head of the National Bank in Llamellin and others who, after the mayor's death, argued

they had paid the loan back to the mayor. The head of the National Bank apparently invested the 'development' money in the cocaine business because he has recently been discovered as one of the cocaine dealers in the province.

Both the central government's and the independent agencies' supports of modernization projects are decisions taken by officials and planners who ignore, or knowingly disregard, the needs of the majority in the countryside. Investment of capital in what Hirschman (1961) calls Social Overhead Capital (SOC), i.e., public services in education, health, transportation, and water supply in small urban areas, is in theory designed to attract and maintain productive activities using local human and natural resources, but unfortunately SOC infrastructures, in my area of study, do not and will not, stimulate transformative activities unless a rational land use program to produce raw materials able to attract national or international capital to guarantee a vertical economic development is established. For this to be realized,

[i]t is necessary that at least an important part of the development effort should by-pass the cities and be directly concerned with the creation of an agro-industrial structure in the rural and small town areas.¹

While SOC projects are expected to increase the

¹E. F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 163.

output in the peasantry

[t]he poor accept public services offered by the government or some outside organization as a gift. No further change is initiated by the rural poor and they become more dependent on the government for future free public services.¹

In Quechua, when someone or something is fed and maintained without anticipating a future reward or satisfaction, one says that the supported subject is a cachi gasto, waste of salt (money). Most, if not every, SOC investment makes the small town inhabitants a pack of cachi gastos because they do not originate better production and productivity in agriculture which is the exclusive economic activity of the peasantry, at least in the area of this study.

The province of Antonio Raimondi, in 1981, had a general budget of 13,559,000 soles (\$27,118) of which four million soles (\$8,000) was allotted to the four district towns, 9,559,000 soles (\$19,118) was for the capital town of Llamellin which in 1981 had a local income of 360,000 soles (\$720) per year or 3.77 per cent of its budget. Money comes from the central government through the National Bank and it is spent on salaries of the local bureaucracy and on labor for the upkeep of the towns. The general provincial budget does not include education, health,

¹Mark Alan Lund, "Identifying, Developing, and Adopting Technologies Appropriate for Rural Development with Applications to Huari Province in Peru" (Ph.D. dissertation, Iowa State University, 1975), p. 83.

electricity, police, etc. For education alone the 120 teachers in the province, at an average salary of 75,000 soles (\$150) per month, cost the state 108,000,000 soles (\$210,000) per year. This is an astronomical amount for a poor country to spend on SOC to 'develop' the countryside.

Because of the existence of urbanization works, poor peasants flock to towns where they can labor for payment in AID substitute foods. Agriculture and traditional crafts are becoming less and less important to such a point that the peasant no longer relies on agriculture for the future of his family. For example, the town people of Huari think of themselves as a "developing city" because many AID-supported SOC projects are in progress there; whereas those who are the backbone of the economy, the peasantry, openly admit that if it were not for Caritas (AID) they would be starving. In Huari, it is sad to see people making long lines in the Caritas office to get full advanced payment for their labor to be performed in works that almost exclusively benefit a limited number of town mestizos. This by no means can be labelled "development" for it is not generating, let alone sustaining, productive occupations for the rural poor.

Furthermore, modernization through urbanization and transportation has destroyed traditional specialized craftsmanship that produced use-value commodities with

which some communities supplemented their food shortages in times of drought, flood, or unproductive land. The community of Acchas provided shoes to the entire province of Huari and Antonio Raimondi; and Chacas, a town about two days west of Llamellin, was the traditional home of clay potters. In late fall and winter shoemakers and potters would take their commodities to Antonio Raimondi, nicknamed by the famous Italian traveller as the little Ukraine because of its wheat production, to exchange for wheat, pork meat, sheep, wool, hides, etc. Metal, and synthetic rubber industry have displaced these traditional local cottage industries to put in the market metal wares and plastic shoes coming from industrial areas. Even the scores of watermills that existed in the area have disappeared. Now, wheat flour used to make bread, is brought from Lima.

Lund (1975) who observed rural development programs in twenty communities in the province of Huari clearly states that

[w]hat makes the economy in the Rural Development Programs of Lutheran World Federation-World Service Department area in Peru function, is thousands of small farmers, craftsmen, merchants, and traders who, on a small-scale, provide the rural population with a vast range of products and services. Appropriate technology accessible to these thousands of people are needed if their level of living are to increase.¹

¹Mark Alan Lund, op. cit., p. 162.

Those who made the economy work in the area have not survived the impact of modernization sponsored by "developing agencies" and the state alike. Nonetheless, the "developers" and native residents think of the area as developing; they do not realize that urbanization and transportation per se will not make the countryside develop. For development to take place it is necessary to invest in the agricultural infrastructure.

The contagious race for modernization has gone as far as distant communities such as Paras, where the peasants want to be politically upgraded to the category of a district town and want to be connected to the capital of the country with a road. The legal representative of Paras in Lima has submitted petitions to the government demanding assistance with tractors, explosives, and other materials needed for the construction of a road from Huachococha (near Huari) to Paras which would put the community in direct communication with the town where the institution that owned Paras is located. It is unlikely that this petition will be granted because of the work already in progress on the road from Llamellin to Mirgas.

Arrival of a road to Paras would have two immediate consequences. First, the surviving agricultural economy would be at a disadvantage vis-a-vis the modern economy coming via the road in that the peasants in their condition

of consumer slaves of modern items would be pushed to migrate or, those who stay, further give up their basic food needs in order to maintain the transportation infrastructure. Second, it would be tremendously favorable to the three mestizo brothers who own the hacienda of Despensa which, because of its own supply of water, is capable of yielding two crops per year. A road would mean accumulation of agricultural capital for this hacienda; and the peasantry would have to rely on wages available in Despensa, partially abandon agriculture, and supplement their caloric needs with AID work-for-food modernization programs that would come with the road.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first part I will briefly summarize the findings of the study of the peasants of Paras. The final section of the chapter, and of the thesis, will present some practical recommendations for helping the community become a group of free and independent peasants rather than mere appendages of a comunidad campecina subject to the rules of play established by policy makers who know nothing about life in the countryside.

Conclusions

Parasinos are representative of the majority of the peasantry in the northeastern Cordillera. They live in the geographic continuum of the Andes running from Chile to Colombia. But they are slightly different from the rest of the Andean population in that they descent mostly from Spanish origin. They are Mestizos who have been absorbed by the Andean culture. But the fact that the majority of Parasinos are of Spanish origin does not mean that they constitute an exceptional case in the distribution of population in the Andes. There are other

other peasants of Spanish origin who have also been absorbed by the native way of life and have become "Indians." Another example are the Morochucos of Ayacucho whose ancestors were Spanish soldiers and whose families, after their defeat in the Civil War between the rebel conquerors and the army representing the Spanish crown, fled to the pampas of Ayacucho and became Morochuco "Indian" communities without being Indians in the true sense.

Community as the nucleus of the social organization of the Incas (Ayllu) did not exist in the province of Antonio Raimondi. The Conchucos "Indians" were scattered rebellious "tribes" conquered by the Incas in the late fifteen century (Garcilaso de la Vega, Comentarios Reales de los Incas). So the effort to organize a peasant community to try to revive the Inca Ayllu in Paras is socially an unacceptable imposition. Such a social organization did not exist in the area, and if it was imposed by the Incas it was not rooted in the culture before the Spanish came to Peru. The peasants' rejection of any kind of collective organization of land may be a manifestation of frustration by a people who have been dispossessed for many generations.

Aside from the abolition of rent payments, the peasants of Paras have not benefited from the land reform

dictated by the military government. On the contrary, the reform has further frustrated their dream to become individual legal owners of land. Eight years before the reformist law the peasants of Paras filed with the government to expropriate the hacienda. Now land reform has ended in its initial step, the expropriation of land from the big landlords. The aim to redistribute the land with a lower limit of five hectares has not advanced beyond reformist political rhetoric. Thirty-two per cent of Parasinos have more land than the minimum established by law while 57 per cent are far below the theoretical minimum size. Only 12 per cent of the families have five hectares (see Table 2).

The government was not only impotent in enforcing its reform but also failed to calculate the proportion (common sense arithmetic) between the population and size of land to satisfy both minimal familial land holdings and collective exploitation. Had the distribution been done according to the law, everyone would have had the right to an equal distribution. The division of the 4751.32 hectares of Paras into the 375 families would have yielded a property of less than 13 hectares per family, leaving no land for cooperative exploitation. But the real objective of the reform was to make the poor and the landless rural proletariat dependent upon wages available in

centralized collective organizations controlled by the state. This attempt to diffuse state capitalism to the countryside, imposed from above rather than demanded from below, has been the source of conflict in the community. It has intensified the economic dependency of the Parasinos on the underworld. This dependency in turn intensifies the migration of the poor and the landless to the coca plantations and cocaine plants.

Parasinos are divided into two conflicting political factions by the disaccords about their future land tenure system. While the group headed by the traditional leader wants the community to be an independent peasant group with private ownership rights, the opposing party directed by the mestizo leader seeks both the organization of the families in a peasant community (comunidad campecina) and individual private ownership. But independent private land holdings with legal rights (titles of property), unless a new law is given, is an impossible dream. Information on the incompatibility of individual family ownership in Paras is not disclosed to the community by either of the two leaders. The obstinate traditional leader, because of his language barrier and his fixed ideas on private ownership, misinterprets the law and ignores the core of the problem: under normal circumstances no Parasino peasant can be a legal owner of land. The

mestizo leader, on the other hand, purposely withholds the facts to keep the community in conflict, which is beneficial to him because the peasants who back him are a permanent source of economic support and prestige.

The peasants of Paras are no longer suffering under feudal exploitation. They are now the victims of modern political abuses inflicted upon them not only by their own leaders but also by provincial and national authorities. They are still paying rent¹ masked with the euphemism that the "land belongs to whomever works it." In reality the State has expropriated it for the benefit of petty politicians and officials and not for the peasants.

Exploitation of the peasantry using politics takes two forms: direct and indirect. The peasants pay rent directly to the new owners, the State, in sizeable amounts set by the officials themselves. Their supports are either in cash or in-kind and go to the officials as payment of their fees or in the form of traditional gifts (garenin). Indirect collection of rent usually starts at the community level where local authorities impose heavy payments for settling cases related to land disputes either within

¹ I call it payment of rent because the peasant, at least in Paras, does not have legal possession of land; and the economy is based on agriculture. Everything that comes from the peasantry, irrespective of its nature and form, is the product of land. There is no alternative source.

extended families or in civil cases. Then the officials report to their superiors as gifts or pay-offs for their tenureships. Provincial authorities, like the police, the judges, and even the clergy, in their turn, continue the chain of graft on an on until it reaches higher levels. In December of 1982, for example, I represented one of my brothers in the purchase of a seven-hectare plot in Llamellin. The contract had to be legalized by a local judge (Juez de Paz) whose services are theoretically free of charge. Nonetheless, he charged me 20,000 soles (\$22.) for his signature. His argument was that "they [he] also are under pressure from Huaraz."

The major and outstanding finding of the study is the product of field-work-serendipity (discussed in detail in Chapter VII), namely, the intensification of dependency of the peasantry upon the underground world and its social and economic consequences in the community and the peasantry at large. The results from the peasant-underworld relationships are: (1) the exchange of food produced by the peasantry for coca--the peasant as the middleman between coca planters and cocaine elaborators; and (2) the traffic of cocaine which affects small urban areas even more than the remote marginal countryside and brings about vast social changes in the traditional society.

Despite the fact that the peasants of Paras provide

themselves with only 60 per cent of the caloric intake recommended by FAO for the area, they find themselves forced to supply energy to the underworld because of the scarcity or nonexistence of cash sources in the community (and the province). Their need to satisfy their traditional vice, coca chewing, also contributes to this situation. The peasant in his intermediate position of transporting coca leaves from the fields of production to the cocaine plants thus enters into the money market economy. His goods are exchanged for coca, then sold for cash which is mostly spent in towns and cities along the way back to the community, i.e., the peasant first supports the underground with his basic food supplies and later transfers cash from the international underworld to the local money economy in the area. In the peasant's exchange/transfer process the final cash values of his goods is governed by the conditions of operation in the underworld. The exchange rate is not based on the prices of cocaine products or cocaine profits.

The most important local influence of the international underworld economy is its effect on the division of labor. In the division of labor the marginal peasant is a permanent source of labor and supplier of food for the production of cocaine. The commercial network and the traffic in cocaine is controlled by the townsmen who

get the biggest bit of the pie of the booming and ever-increasing illegal economy. Furthermore, the dynamics of the division of labor in the underground world economy goes far beyond mere "making a living" activity. It disturbs the traditional life and brings changes in the attitudes and behavior of the villagers as well as of the town people. The influx of outsiders (nationals and foreigners) has put the peaceful and isolated Andean population in contact with people having all kinds of behaviors characteristic of modern competitive groups.

At the turn of the last decade, before the province of Antonio Raimondi became a cocaine exchange terminal, police work was limited to settling household quarrels, animal robberies, crop damages caused by domestic animals (daño), and other minor social offenses. The presence of the three or four policemen was more to recruit young men for the armed forces than to perform real police work. Now, in the province, there are about ten police officers not because of the growth of population (the capital town, for example, in fifteen years, has lost one third of its population) but because of the need to control the negative social effects caused by modernity.

In terms of development, it seems that the solution to the problem of the backwardness in the Andes is conceived as a humane action and a moral obligation to assist the

population by providing some services, offering food relief, and by supplying the indigenous people with consumable goods. This effort seems most intended to pacify their outcry against abuse of their rights as humans and as the backbone of the national economy, thus keeping their minds on the idea that they are 'developing' and that something is being done to integrate them into national life. If this is the goal of the "developers" they can think of themselves as successful for they have made the peasant an aid-addict who takes things for granted because somewhere there are "people who care" and they will always send them food (i.e., substitutes like soybean milk) and used clothing to help them fight their misery. But if the intention of the 'knowledgeable-developers' is to make the Andino an efficient producer and an active participant in the national and international economy, they better abandon their conviction and shift their philanthropy somewhere else because they are making the indigenous more dependent upon something that will not last forever. The Andino tends to become a much heavier burden for he knows that somebody else has to deal with his problems ("el muerto se hace mas pesado cuando tiene quien lo cargue")

The developmentalist ideology of the government, which started in the sixties, continued in a radical way

by the military dictatorship in 1968 and was revived by the present democratic regime. The latter, besides failing in its intention to develop the countryside, made the situation worse than before. The problems of inadequate housing, high rural unemployment, malnutrition, and migration are increasing. Solutions appear hopeless and the only alternatives the peasant believes is to wait until the coming of after-life, for at least heaven is "reserved for the poor, the hungry, and the sufferer of human injustice."

Let me summarize the problem of development in the light of the ideology of development put forth by the democratic government in the sixties. The emancipation of the country from foreign food products (wheat, milk, meat, etc.) has not become true in Peru. A vivid example of this failure is clear in the province of Antonio Raimondi with almost 18,000 inhabitants. The five towns in the province import corn, potatoes, vegetables, etc., during the rainy season from other parts of the country, and oftentimes from abroad. The province had never before been dependent on outside sources for its food supply. Would it be feasible to think of development of the countryside and freedom of the country from foreign food imports when the average housewife in Lima is spending a whole night on line waiting to buy her quota of basic

comestibles, and when the population is sweetening its breakfast with candies and chancaca (molasses cakes)?

"Irrigation and transformation of the uninhabited regions of the Punas" sounds like a terrible Polish joke told in Spanish, understandable only to the teller. Indeed, there is no doubt that the high Punas could be transformed into potato fields and large scale animal husbandry (sheep), for example. Then, the first priority must be to slowly channel the traditional knowledge of the peasant towards modern systems of agricultural production without asking him to abandon his social ideas and values which he has had for centuries. They cannot be abruptly cut without conflict and resistance. And more important, any move in development programs must be made with more active participation of the peasant, i.e., make the peasant the main source and force of his own development, not a passive aid recipient ignorant of his own future.

Aid is no fairy godmother touching everything with her magic wand so that, presto, the little mice and pumpkins of local effort are turned into large luxury carriages. Development is a long, slogging, grinding effort by the people themselves of each country. If they don't make that effort, there will be no development. For example, good aid has encouraged some countries to neglect changes in agricultural policy for too long. But aid for genuine economic development not only helps ease critical shortages, but should help to build¹ a firm base for independent and self-reliant growth.

¹Lester B. Pearson, The Crisis of Development (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. 49.

For an ambitious development program to be successful it does not have to have an all-inclusive unattainable agenda. One should not bite off more than one can chew (quien mucho abarca poco aprieta). A sound agricultural development could itself bring about a grounded and self-sustaining economic development and modernization which under the new conditions would be necessary.

The question then becomes how to accomplish such a tremendous mission as economic development of a completely backward society. Since both government and aid-sponsored programs have not been, are not, and will never be, effective methods, an intelligent economic planner and policymaker may read his statistics of failure, cross tabulate his typological variables, make inferences based on his statistical tests and correlations. He may give new "recipes" and technical charts of development conveying the simple message of "let us provide these slow and lazy peasants with tools, teach them how to use them on their barren and dry land; and rather than giving them bread let us train them to be good bakers." But the traditional illiterate peasant, if he is given the chance to speak, would respond and say: "Senor Gringo (AID), why don't you teach me how to make my own tools so that I don't have to depend on you; and why don't you help me produce more and better wheat and pasture for my guinea pigs and other

animals who die from starvation during the dry season?
Papacito, all I need now is water, Later on I could raise cash to pay for your support and even to purchase all your technological garbage items which I like, but cannot afford."

In Paras, when the families were asked what they believed to be the most urgent community needs to raise their standard of living, 66 per cent said water for irrigation and household use, 6 per cent favored better education (competent teachers), and only 2 per cent were for the construction of the road to Paras.

Recommendations

In Paras, the solution to the problem of water supply seems to be hopeless unless new attitudes about development are adopted. In order to obtain organization, discipline, education, and participation in the national economy (production) from the peasant he must be fed at least the minimum of his body requirements. To function properly in a labor intensive activity (tripas llevan pies) the peasants' nutritional needs should be met, not with substitute relief food, but with the product of his own work, and on his land. For the peasant to collect enough crops to feed his family it is necessary that he first feed his land with nutrients and satisfy its thirst with water. He can't just provide human manure and ask mama

coca to bring rain.

Pumping underground water, using human, animal, or wind energy is the only alternative. In the community there are eight spots that drain out water in very small amounts during the dry season. This is an indication of the existence of underground water whose flow up to the surface is either blocked or diverted by underground currents. These underground water deposits or currents could be pumped up using wind machines, hand pumps, etc. This is the only way out to solve the water scarcity problem and to stimulate the peasant towards his own development.

There are drills available in the United States with prices ranging from about \$2,500 to as high as \$12,000 depending on their drilling capacity.¹ But can the peasants afford an investment of \$2,500? Sure they can. And they should be directed towards the responsibility of making sacrifices for themselves. If a communal development fund were raised where each family would contribute one sack of wheat or potatoes (over \$8.50 per sack, in 1983 prices), they could collect as much as \$3,000 in one crop, enough to buy their own drill and to cover the cost of operation. Once they are successful in the first stage, i.e., drilling, water could be pumped with wind, human,

¹There are no drills in Peru for less than \$120,000 which are exclusively for industrial use, and useful only in areas with access to heavy transportation.

or even animal energy.

Brace Research Institute of McGill University, Canada, has designed and installed an experimental wind machine in Colombia at a total cost of \$225 including excavation costs. The machine is originally designed to pump water in places with wind speeds estimated from 6 to 8 kilometers (3.5 to 5 miles) per hour and a maximum depth of 9 meters (30 feet). However, with modifications and higher wind speeds it could be useful for pumping water from depths greater than for what it was designed.

But as the peasant lacks discipline and organization, the initiative must come from the public or the private sector creating the inevitable problems of high administrative cost and bureaucratic red tape. AID-sponsored agencies, and the official development organization (SNCP) could be redirected towards the real needs of the peasant: agriculture. Again, it must be done with the economic sacrifices from the peasant for he will not become responsible if his own resources are not involved.

Supplying water to Paras as well as to the rest of the Andean populations would bring about the only revolution they, so far, want and are capable of sustaining: "the green revolution." Irrigation of Paras would mean more and better forage for animals and would result in higher intakes of good quality calories and proteins.

For instance, guinea pigs are the best source of protein and could be consumed regularly in addition to its present use as a traditional ceremonial meal. Animal husbandry at higher scale than it is done now could create the need to bring new breeds of dairy animals. More and stronger pack animals for effective transportation of goods to the market would also be available.

Let me illustrate the possible effect of water in Paras, giving an example of the neighboring hacienda. The soil of the hacienda of Despensa is no better than that of Paras. However, because of its permanent supply of water from a spring its production and productivity is better and higher. For example, one of the brothers, besides planting twice a year, has brought a special breed of corn seed (Huascaran) which can, from one single grain, grow as many as three stems of about 125 cms. (3 feet) high with each stem bearing no less than four cobs. With this special seed, water, and fertilizers he crops six times as much as a peasant of Paras would collect planting in a plot of the same size.

There is no doubt that 22 per cent of the landed group would benefit more from irrigation programs, if land is not equally distributed, but also the middle and the poor peasants would get their share with better living standards and active participation in the economy of the

community. The local and provincial economy could be supported and sustained with taxes imposed on products that go out of the province, something not done today because the authorities think that untaxed commerce and especially motorized transportation brings "progress" to the area. In general, however, the need for modernization (urbanization, education, and transportation) must come from within rather than from outside as it is today. Changes in the traditional life and its integration to a more modern lifestyle would be more effective if the peasant decided his own destiny. Trying to embellish him with artificial elements and pacifying him with substitute aid foods only creates more dependence and misery.

APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGICAL FIELD NOTES

Exploration of the Field

The first thing I did on my arrival in the capital district town of Llamellin was to look for a companion who was familiar with the route and the area. The local photographer volunteered for the trip. The next step was to rent a horse or a mule for transportation, and have some fiambre¹ prepared for at least two days travel. Two guinea pigs, toasted maize, and some bread came in handy. On May 30, 1980, at 4:00 A.M. we left the town and headed for Paras. On our way we met a teacher who was coming to collect her paycheck in Llamellin. She recommended we knock on any door on San Martin de Paras, because elsewhere people "are [were] not hospitable."

After 13 hours of tedious horseback riding we stopped in San Martin de Paras, following the recommendation of the teacher. We stopped by the church and used the puddle near it to wash our hands and to water our horses. Right across from the church there was a house that had posted Coca Cola posters on the door. It was closed. We

¹Heavily condimented snack consisting of fried meat and toasted grains.

knocked on the door and there was no answer. Next door (same house) we heard voices. One of them had noticed our presence and came out to ask us what we wanted. He was drunk. We told him that we only wanted a bottle of Coca Cola to which he answered that all they (he) had was alcohol and that alcohol was as good as cold water. We had finished our provision of boiled water and we had to try to find something to satisfy our thirst. He (the bodeguero) asked us our names and we asked his. We found out that he was the lieutenant governor for the area. Assuming that he would use his authority we asked him to recommend someone in the community to give us shelter for at least one night. He went into the room where the rest of his "friends" were discussing their agenda. In a minute we had before us the whole (six) group of drunken peasants. They introduced themselves by their titles. They were the members of the central committee. Each of them asked us questions about our identity, profession, and especially the purpose of our visit to Paras. They wanted me to show them some kind of a letter of introduction or at least my personal identification card bearing my picture and my name or a visiting card from any provincial authority introducing me to the community. I had nothing, not even my school identification card. I explained to them over and over and begged them to believe me. They

would not accept my excuse that I had left all my documents in Llamellin nor would they believe the fact that I had been born in the province.

Since we (I) could not satisfy them in clearing my personal identification, they asked us to "kindly and immediately" leave the village. It was getting dark and we had nowhere to go. Suddenly the President of the Administrative Council addressed my companion and said, "I think I know you." My companion presented his identification as a photographer but the problem was not him but me. It was I who had been thought to be suspicious. They invited us to have a drink of alcohol before leaving the village and we accepted. We drank the alcohol smiling and looking at the Coca Cola poster. At this point I asked them to let me take a picture of t-em for I wanted to record my experiences on film. They liked the idea of posing as members of the central committee. Almost in unison they said, "yes my enge[i]neer." Then they wanted me to pose with them for another frame. Right after my assistant snapped the camera I suggested another drink of alcohol, provided that I would pay for it. "Correct my enge[i]neer," they answered. By the time we emptied the bottle (500 m.l.) we all were "friends" and the same person who had asked us to leave the village offered us "his humble house" for as long as we wanted to stay in Paras and he hoped it would be a long stay.

The Solis family gave us the best room they had which apparently had been unoccupied for some time. We used the only steel bedstead they had. Our bed linen consisted of four sheep skins and two wool quilts infested with fleas and lice which made our nights interminable. When our bowels moved we did not have to go through the trouble of opening the bathroom door, turning the lights on, and flushing the water closet. All we needed was a piece of paper (we had taken our own rolls of toilet paper), go around the house and stoop. It was that simple.

One day before we left the village the Solis family killed a pig to give us a farewell lunch. They assigned us their best mules for our transportation back to Llamellin and one of them even walked one hour with us up to the point where the broad trail that would ease our return began.

All in all, and aside from the first day of difficulty, I had no problem at all in handling the situation faced as a visitor in Paras. There were minor doubts when I present myself as a sociology graduate student in New York and spoke to them in Quechua; but as they listened to me speaking to them in terms that only a native can understand, telling them jokes and fairy tales they would give a broad smile as a sign of acceptance to the visitor. From then on, they acted

friendly and were responsive and cooperative. I had used the right key to enter their lives and functioned almost as one of them. Good humor, patience, and the bottle of alcohol spent on the first day produced excellent returns.

Before the initial trip to Paras I had not decided to concentrate my research efforts there. My decision evolved as I went along, and as I reflect upon this evolution, I feel I have learned a great deal about the field to which I will devote my time as a student and eventually as a rural sociologist.

In the summer of 1980 I explored some categories and concepts that I thought I knew in relation to the peasant community structure in Peru. Long before leaving New York for Peru I had the idea of doing research which would deal with social and economic problems of the whole province of Antonio Raimondi where I was born and raised. Three main influences pushed me to change the subject. The first derived from my own determination to concentrate on a specific area. The second influence arose out of the interesting fact that the five villages in question do not follow the pattern dictated by the government after the land reform. The third influence emerged from the election of President Fernando Belaunde in May, 1980, leader of Accion Popular Party; the ideology of the party is based upon community development, particularly in rural

areas. Conditions in rural areas are already unstable and giving signs of rapid change. The present Peruvian government plans to intervene in community life through Popular Cooperation to speed up the process of change in the peasantry. This seemed to make it clear that I would have the opportunity to observe whether the ideology (Cooperacion Popular) of the party in office reached the remote villages of Paras and, if it did, how effective were the plans and programs.

The project was planned to be carried out during the summer and fall of 1981 since these are the seasons (winter and spring there) when almost everyone in the area is present because of the harvest. Moreover, I needed and wanted to get all of the villagers interviewed as rapidly as possible so that I could rely on the data without having to take into account changes that might have taken place in the interval.

Initial Steps and Experiences

In the spring of 1981, about one month before my trip from New York, I asked the Chair of my committee to sign a letter in Spanish addressed to the head of the police, the Subprefecto, the Mayor, the Judge of First Instance, and to the Director of Education of the Province. In Lima I went to the American Embassy to get an official letter of introduction wherein the cultural attache stated

the purpose of my stay in Peru; this letter opened the doors of public libraries (there are not very many), universities, museums, etc.

Once in the capital town of the province to which Paras belongs I paid formal visits to the offices of the authorities to whom the letter from my mentor had been directed. The authorities in their turn had already sent a copy of the letter to their representatives in the five district towns to announce my presence and ask them to cooperate in the research.

Upon my arrival in Illauro (my village of residence during the field work), the local teacher whom I had met a year before was already expecting me. He had rented a one-room house near the school building where he lived; minutes after I arrived he had my room cleaned by his students, borrowed one bedstead, sheep skins, quilts, and one table from different families. I had taken my own sleeping bag. Despite my first experience a year before with lice and fleas I had not brought with me any bag of insecticides so a temporary pediculosis was inevitable.

The next morning, when I was having my breakfast, a delegation of the authorities from one of the villages came to welcome me and at the same time invite me to live in their village as I had done during my short visit in the summer of 1980. I explained to them that I had not

come exclusively to spend my time in Illauro or any of the five villages, that I would be visiting every family that I could, and that the only reason I had settled in Illauro was because the local teacher had gotten a house in that village. When they knew of the location of my house (about 25 steps from a widow's house) they smiled, wished me luck, and left.

The first person I had planned to visit was the leader who, during my first visit, had offered me full cooperation, and whom I thought would be my key informant. He had changed his mind completely and refused to cooperate (at this time I had gone only to visit him, not to interview him). He came with the excuse that the documents he held had been taken to Lima by one of his sons, and he advised me to pick another community to avoid problems with the population. He secretly had started to warn his co-villagers of the danger that my presence in Paras meant because of my "identification with the other party," and that they should take the initiative to expel me from the community, for I had no official authorization to stay in Paras. He did not know that I had been authorized by the provincial authorities; he was surprised when he learned that I had been cleared in every respect.

It had been my plan first to collect historical and political data but the result of the visit of the leader made me change my diagram. I decided to start

interviewing and observing the population. Nobody offered any resistance at all.

To my luck when I went back to Llamellin (after staying two weeks in Paras) I met one Aprista congressman visiting the province who had already been informed of my undertaking. The congressman asked me to join him for the lunch he was offered by the notables of Llamellin. When we were having our after-lunch table talk, the leader who was trying to create difficulties for me knocked on the door; he had come to urge the congressman to visit Paras. The lawmaker took the opportunity to ask him his reasons for refusing to cooperate with my endeavor, and pleaded with him to change his attitude.

The Field Work

So much and so many things go on in a community every day that a great deal of organization and planning is required prior to the field research. However, the research should not be limited to the "script" designed before the outset of the data collection process because other interesting findings may arise while in the field.

Once in the field, before the research begins, a 'good will' visit to the community, villages involved in the project, or the hamlets around rural towns must be paid. By no means does this visit require a house to house visit; only a "walk around" the setting to let the

population know that one is "there" and that at any time a formal visit could be done. This is what I call "familiarization walk" and it is extremely helpful for two reasons. The peasant very easily resents when he is ignored or a supposed preference is given to others; and if visits for the interviews are carried out without the first "imallata vida" drop in visit total or partial resistance from the respondents is inevitable. Another strategic call to the schools in the communities is key to spreading the word of the researcher's presence in the area; and the teachers are good, if not the best, sources of information on most of what "goes on" there. They can usually inform pretty accurately about life in the community.

In any direct contact with the observed population, the researcher enters the field either under the aegis of government officials, management, trade union, etc., or as a social scientist going directly to the field and identifying himself as such. In the present research, the second alternative was adopted to avoid the problem of role performance in the community; any official sponsorship could have created serious difficulties because of the conflict existing among the members of the community, as well as their hostile attitude towards the government.

During the process of data gathering I, as participant/observer, became a temporary member of the community,

but without identifying with any of the political groups, with a 'split or double personality' in that a process of "stepping out" from the observed reality in order to objectively record it was necessary. The research was based more on the task of discovery by direct observation rather than testing a priori hypotheses.

A total of 101 households, from the 125 planned, were observed and informal interviews were carried out with the heads of the households. Early bird (7:30 to 9:30) or late (5:30 to 7:00 P.M.) visits were programmed to try to find the heads of families before or after their daily activities out in the field. Three to five families per day were visited, the rest of the day was spent talking with shepherds and workers in the fields, or taking field notes. Interviews were conducted in Quechua to make them comfortable and to facilitate a better and more precise expression of their feelings, opinions, attitudes, and idea. I would always start conversations with flattering statements to elicit a discussion or friendly argument, e.g., a shepherd girl or a woman on her land would be approached by saying "you have such a large herd, or you look beautiful in your plot" to which they would always answer telling stories of their past or comparing their land possession to that of some families who they think have more land than they

need; sometimes they would avoid the question and ask why I would stay in the area. A woman would be told that I was in "search of a girl to marry," this would lead to questions of their marital status, number of children, size of land, etc.

Male peasants like conversations involving "women" so they would be approached asking them whether there was any "vacant girl" in the community because everyone says "they all are yours," why do not you leave one for a poor guy like myself?

The reason informal conversations with indirect questions were formulated was because peasants do not like to be asked straight questions about themselves. The disadvantage of this strategy is that it is time consuming, and limiting for a researcher with a tremendous knowledge of the native language.

Audiovisual Research Tools

Some of the creations of modern technology oriented to the consumer can be extremely useful in social research when they are applied properly. Audiovisual devices are perfected and specialized imitations of the human senses and faculties that can graphically and objectively record or store infinite numbers of human manifestations and the world around them. The stored or mechanically memorized social phenomena can be re-observed, coded, and

quantified back in the laboratory or simply played or projected to back up the field notes.

During data collection there are instances when jotting down field notes is difficult or impossible because of the inconveniences found in the setting or of the time of the interviews. It is in these difficult times when audiovisual instruments aid the process of data collection and make it more effective. However, carefulness in the use of these tools must be observed to avoid suspicion or to prevent discontent or discomfort in the population observed which raises the ethical question of whether or not the subjects of the research must be made aware of the reasons for use of these devices.

The popular saying which says "honesty leads you nowhere" was adopted as a principle at certain moments of the research because of the population's sensitivity to having their voices taped or, in some few cases, their images recorded on film.

Conversations held during late hour visits were taped secretly. A small cassette recorder would be hidden under an army surplus field coat with the microphone tied to one of the coat's button-holes. To turn the cassette over or to put a new one in the recorder I would ask them to excuse me and go around the house pretending to urinate or some other lie. Some nights I would invite

my neighbors to sit under my porch for a couple of hours to tell fairy tales, and to make them gossip about others.

If the nightly research companion device was the cassette recorder, during the day my camera was my partner, always hanging on the shoulder ready to freeze some instants of the actions going on in the community. To break the monotony of visiting households, certain days were dedicated to taking photos or movies. Ninety minutes of super 8 sound film and many rolls of still positive film were shot. Because of favorable weather conditions, low and medium speed¹ films satisfied the conditions for good exposures.

Since for many researchers the field work is a once-in-a-life-time endeavor, detailed documentation using every possible tool and method to avoid data shortcomings is imperative; so some expert recommendations on the application of photography in social research must be done to facilitate its systematic application.

Whether the field worker has an inexpensive 35mm reflex or a sturdy medium format Swedish beauty, the important thing is to make the equipment functional to the needs of the research. However, because of its popularity and low cost a 35mm reflex camera is always

¹Professional photographers rate ISO/ASA 25 to 64 as slow, and 80 to 125 as medium speed films.

associated with photography.

It is recommended that the normal 50mm lens be substituted with a macro lens for its life size reproduction power besides being used as a normal lens (close-up lenses attached to the normal lens are not as effective as macro lenses). Another addition to the gadget must be a moderate wide angle lens (28mm or 24mm); wide angle converters distort vertical lines and exaggerate prominent foreground objects. If a telephoto or a zoom lens cannot be afforded, a teleconverter can double (2X) or triple (3X) the length of the normal or the short telephoto lens; but it must be taken into account that a lens loses speed when used with a teleconverter, thus, a 50mm F1.4 normal lens becomes 100mm F 2.8 which could be compensated by using a high speed film. A dry cell battery operated flash must also be considered as an essential part of the equipment.

Some cameras have a manual/automatic feature which has the advantage of manual use when batteries are exhausted, if the photographer has become totally dependent on the TTL (through the lens) light reading he must refer to the information packed with the film. It must be remembered that sophisticated fully automatic cameras without batteries are useless toys in the Andes, and for that matter, any place where photography is still a luxury affordable by a few.

The weather conditions of the host community or area must be looked into prior to the field work so that the necessary photographic equipment is brought to match seasonal weather (light) conditions, e.g., in summer it is rainy, cloudy, and foggy in the Andes and the Amazon, so films of ISO/ASA 125 or higher are needed. Film sensitivity must provide good exposure values in average daylight or lower. Medium and high speed films, besides facilitating normal exposure in poor light conditions, allow small aperture exposures to increase depth of field, foreground and background and show minute details.

Because of its relatively low cost, convenience in storing, and control during the writing period, positive reversal film is highly recommended. A rule of thumb is that reversal film (slides) should always be exposed for the highlights of the subject, and it is a good practice to underexpose by half or a full stop for a better color saturation. For example, if the camera reads an exposure of F5.6/125 either close the lens to F8, keeping the same speed, or expose at F5.6/250. Reversal film must never be overexposed, colors are washed out. The opposite is true for negative films. It is exposed for the dark areas, and a slight overexposure is a good practice to show better saturation. And if the researcher prefers only black and white film and does not have a darkroom

setup, B & W slides can be done two ways: positive reversal film in bulk rolls of 100 feet to be loaded in individual cassettes, or, easier, Kodak Panatomic X, ISO 32, and exposure indexed at ISO 80. Both films are compatible to be developed in the positive reversal developer available at good camera stores.

Now, what are the limitations of photograph in social research? Since the camera is an automatic device subject to the photographer's will, its limitations are the same as those who manipulate the camera. The photographer may be too selective or too inclusive in his photographic visualization, or he may be impressed only by subjects that are beautiful and pleasing to his eye. To try to make photography an objective method of observation, creative visualizations and pleasing compositions must be avoided because the exposed frames are not meant to satisfy aesthetic judgments. Rather, they are visual reproductions, or a visual cultural inventory of the observed setting.

One last word is to urge potential researchers/photographers to avoid one of the most common sins: coming back from the field with hundreds of exposures made and discover that they are either all blank or present no details. The best basic course in photography is in the camera's instruction book and the technical information that comes packed with the film. Read them or blame yourself for your errors.

APPENDIX B

pre su padrino Alonso Goyria, quien adverti lo necesario: testigo Juan
de Salamanca y para que conste lo firmo —

(Antonio Cortazar)

Para
Martina
Casta

En esta Capilla de Paray comprension de Llamellin a veintiocho
de Octubre de mil ochocientos veinte y cuatro: yo el infrascripto Luis
propio expresio bautizo, puse olio y crisma a Martina casta de ma-
da, suya hija legitima de Josue don y doña Mariana Medrano, fue
su padrino Manuel Villanueva quien adverti lo necesario: testigo Juan
de Salamanca y para que conste lo firmo —

(Antonio Cortazar)

Para
Francisca
Casta

En esta Capilla de Paray comprension de Llamellin a lo veintiocho
de Octubre de mil ochocientos veinte y cuatro: yo el infrascripto
Luis propio expresio, bautizo, puse olio y crisma a Francisca su
hija legitima de Manuel don y doña Encarnacion de San
padrino de San Francisco de Salamanca quien adverti lo necesario: testigo Juan
de Salamanca y para que conste lo firmo —

(Antonio Cortazar)

Para
Espiriana
Casta

En esta Capilla de Paray comprension de Llamellin a veintiocho
de Octubre de mil ochocientos veinte y cuatro: yo el infrascripto
Luis propio expresio bautizo, puse olio y crisma a Espiriana de su-
ya hija legitima de Antonio Gregorio y doña Prisca de San
padrino de San Francisco de Salamanca quien adverti lo necesario: testigo Juan
de Salamanca y para que conste lo firmo —

(Antonio Cortazar)

Acto
de
baptismo

En esta Iglesia de Lamellin a veintiocho de octubre de mil ochocientos
veinte y cuatro: Yo el infrascripto cura propio curador, bautizo por ob-
yacimiento a Juan casta de veinte dias hijo legitimo de Agapito Obregon y de
Maria Ervencia su mujer de este: fue su padrino Juan Antonio Aguirre
adverte lo sucesario: testigo don Juan y para que conste lo firmo

Antonio Cortazarria

Acto
de
baptismo

En esta Iglesia de Lamellin a veintiocho de octubre de mil ochocientos
veinte y cuatro: Yo el infrascripto cura propio curador, bautizo por
ob-yacimiento a Miguel casta de un mes hijo legitimo de Anaya la
casta su mujer y de Maria Ervencia su mujer de este, fue su padrino Juan Antonio
Aguirre adverte lo sucesario: testigo don Juan y lo firmo

Antonio Cortazarria

Acto
de
baptismo

En esta Capilla de Paray comprension de Lamellin a los veintiocho
dias de octubre de mil ochocientos veinte y cuatro: Yo el infrascripto cura
propio curador, bautizo por ob-yacimiento a Estanislao hijo de un mes
hijo legitimo de Domingo Ervencia y de Jacinta Ervencia: fue su padrino don
Diego Ervencia adverte lo sucesario: testigo Francisco Solano y para que
conste lo firmo

Antonio Cortazarria

Acto
de
baptismo

En esta Capilla de Paray comprension de Lamellin a veintiocho de
octubre de mil ochocientos veinte y cuatro: Yo el infrascripto cura pro-
pio curador, bautizo por ob-yacimiento a Estanislao hijo de tres me-
ses hijo legitimo de Miguel Concepcion y de Bernarda Ervencia: fue su ma-
drina doña Josefina Obregon, adverte lo sucesario: testigo Fran-
cisco Solano y para que conste lo firmo

Antonio Cortazarria

Acto
de
baptismo

En esta Capilla de Paray comprension de Lamellin a veintiocho
dias de octubre de mil ochocientos veinte y cuatro: Yo el infrascripto cura pro-
pio curador, bautizo por ob-yacimiento a Estanislao casta hijo legitimo de
Domingo Ervencia y de Bernarda Ervencia: fue su padrino Enrique Pablo es-
quien adverte lo sucesario: testigo Francisco Solano y lo firmo por el cura

Antonio Cortazarria

Acto
de
baptismo

En esta Capilla de Paray comprension de Lamellin a veintiocho dias
de octubre de mil ochocientos veinte y cuatro: Yo el infrascripto cura
propio curador, bautizo por ob-yacimiento a Estanislao casta de tres
meses hijo legitimo de Vicente Obregon y de Bernarda Ervencia

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