NOW PERU IS MINE

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF A CAMPESINO ACTIVIST

Manuel Llamojha Mitma & Jaymie Patricia Heilman

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This series encourages analyses that contribute to an understanding of Native peoples' relationships with nation-states, including histories of expropriation and exclusion as well as projects for autonomy and sovereignty. We encourage collaborative work that recognizes Native intellectuals, cultural interpreters, and alternative knowledge producers, as well as projects that question the relationship between orality and literacy.

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Cover art: Llamojha, location unknown, 1965. Photo courtesy of Manuel Llamojha Mitma.

DON MANUEL'S DEDICATION:

To my wife.
We struggled so hard together.

And to my children,
who supported me in the fight.

CONTENTS

A NOTE ON PLACE

Peru is divided into twenty-four departments, like American states. Until a major administrative reform in 2006, these departments were governed by nationally appointed prefects. Departments are subdivided into provinces, which were led by subprefects until the 2006 administrative change. Provinces are divided into districts, and districts house numerous communities and towns.

Much of Manuel Llamojha's life history is situated in the Peruvian department of Ayacucho. Its capital city, located in the province of Huamanga, is also named Ayacucho. For purposes of clarity, I refer to the capital as "the city of Ayacucho" throughout the text. Llamojha was born in the community of Concepción. Until 1954, Concepción belonged to the district of Vischongo in Cangallo province. In 1954, Concepción and the communities surrounding it were reorganized as a district, also named Concepción. In 1984, the province of Cangallo was divided in two, when the province of Vilcashuamán was established. The community and district of Concepción now belong to the province of Vilcashuamán.

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As part of our co-authorship, Manuel Llamojha Mitma and I agreed that he would compose this book's dedication, and I would write the acknowledgments. My most important thanks, then, go to don Manuel. His incredible talents as a leader, historian, and storyteller form this book's foundation, and I am grateful that he so generously shared his memories with me. I continue to be amazed by his intellectual energy, his accomplishments as an activist, and his astonishing determination. It has been an enormous privilege to work with him.

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— JAYMIE PATRICIA HEILMAN

INTRODUCTION

"Now Peru is mine!" So declared an indigenous teenager named Manuel Llamojha Mitma after he entered the Peruvian army in the late 1930s. A Quechua peasant from the impoverished highland department of Ayacucho, Llamojha was determined to bring socioeconomic justice to a country rife with sharp anti-indigenous prejudice and startling inequalities, and he soon grew into one of twentieth-century Peru's most creative and dedicated political activists. This testimonial biography offers the first extended exploration of Llamojha's life, ideas, and work, chronicling his struggles against indigenous oppression, territorial dispossession, and sociopolitical exclusion, all problems that he defines as legacies of the Spanish conquest.[1] Read together, Llamojha's recollections about his life offer a means for understanding Peru's—and, indeed, Latin America's—troubled twentieth-century history. Fundamental issues like racism, revolutionary politics, agrarian reform, and political violence figure prominently in Llamojha's narrative, with one man's extraordinary life reflecting the course of an equally extraordinary century.

Although Llamojha's stay in the military was short-lived, he dedicated his life to fighting on behalf of Peru's indigenous peasants (campesinos). He led major mobilizations for indigenous land rights in his home region of Ayacucho during the 1940s and 1950s, and he ran for national political office in 1962. That same year, he became secretary general of Peru's largest national

peasant organization, the Confederación Campesina del Perú (Peruvian Peasant Confederation; CCP). Llamojha's activism took him to Cuba, China, and the Soviet Union in 1965, and during the 1970s he became embroiled in the bitter, divisive political quarrels that plagued the Peruvian left and fractured the CCP. In the 1980s, Llamojha was falsely accused of membership in the Peruvian Communist Party-Shining Path, a political party whose armed struggle plunged Peru into a twenty-year internal war that left over 69,000 Peruvians dead, the vast majority of whom were of rural, indigenous origins. That devastating conflict forced Llamojha to flee Ayacucho and live as an internal refugee in the city of Lima for nearly twenty years. The war also led to the permanent disappearance of his youngest son.

During many of our interviews, Llamojha wore a baseball cap embroidered with the iconic portrait of Che Guevara. Llamojha in a Che Guevara hat provides a striking image, for part of what makes Llamojha's recollections so valuable is that they help us see beyond Che, beyond the man who has come to symbolize twentieth-century political activism in Latin America.[2] The popular fascination with Che is easy to understand: this handsome young hero dedicated—and ultimately sacrificed—his life to the pursuit of revolutionary change. But Che was far from alone in his efforts, and his embrace of armed struggle represented only one particular form of revolutionary activism. Across Latin America, thousands of men and women likewise devoted their lives to pursuing fundamental political, social, and economic change, and their struggles to bring revolutionary transformations did not always involve the use of violence. Unlike Che Guevara, Llamojha never participated in guerrilla struggles; in our interviews he laughingly recalled that he had never even held a gun. Llamojha's activism instead involved writing, talking, and extensive efforts to mobilize indigenous peasants to press for socioeconomic justice and radical political transformation. And as an impoverished husband and father based in the Andean countryside, Llamojha did not have the kind of youthful urban virility and highly charged sexuality that—along with the ever-present beard—characterized the revolutionary masculinity of activists like Che.[3] Llamojha's recollections therefore allow us to reflect on both the many different shapes of activism in twentieth-century Latin America and the enduring legacies of those struggles.

Llamojha's life stories also help us to temper romantic visions of political activism. His recollections push us to look past simple narratives of heroic struggle and triumph as he shares memories of unjust imprisonments, torture, and the severe economic hardships linked to life as a political activist. His life

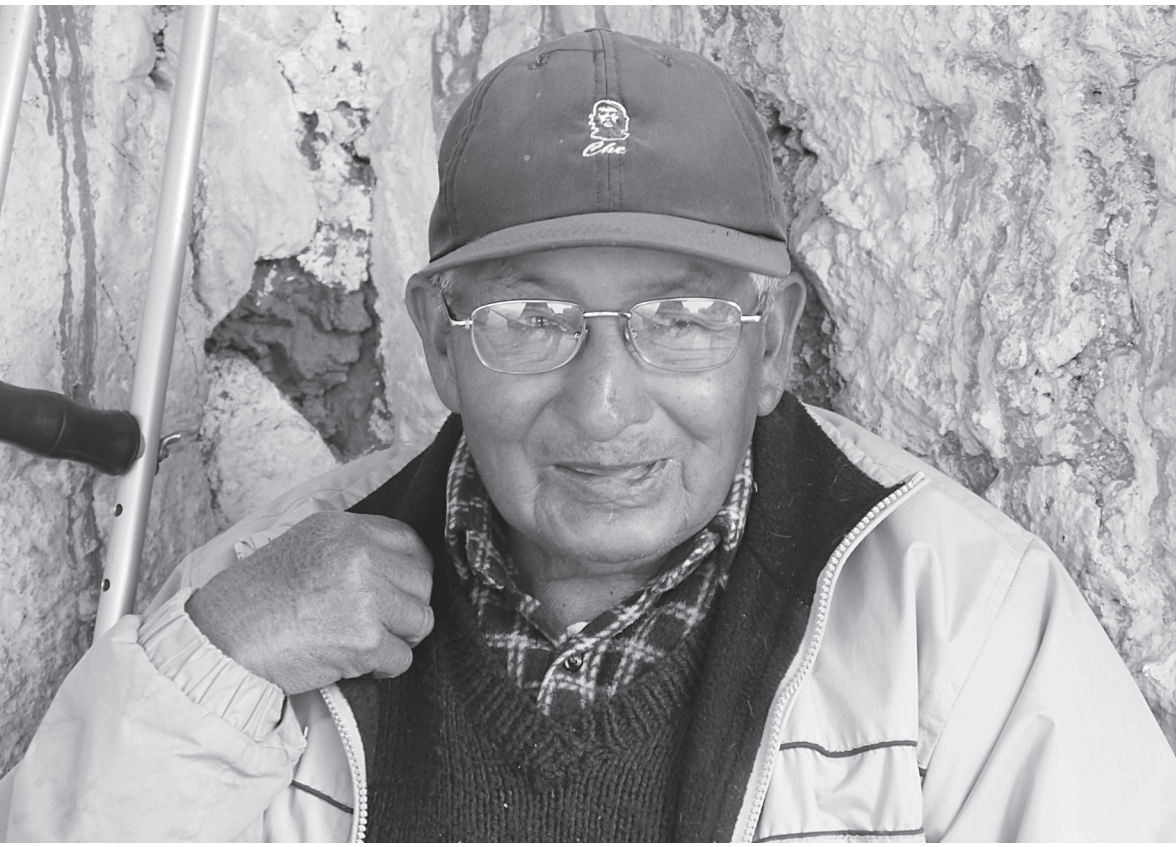

FIG. 1.1 Llamojha, Concepción, 2013. Author photo.

stories also expose heated political disputes between revolutionary activists, fights that left him slandered and marginalized by his former political allies. And unlike those revolutionary fighters who died young in the throes of armed struggle, Llamojha survived, living through the horrifying internal war in his country that brought terrible losses for him and his family. He also had to confront the difficulties of aging, struggling to remain politically active and relevant as an elderly man.

Llamojha's life history chronicles the realities of anti-Indianism: an ideological system that casts indigenous peoples as inherently inferior to whites and as impediments to national progress and a system of practices that excludes indigenous people from full citizenship while exploiting their land and labor.[4] Anti-Indianism has long flourished in Peru, a country that is home to a large

and diverse indigenous population; today, well over one-third of the country's population is indigenous.[5] Of the many different indigenous groups or nations living in Peru, peoples of Quechua ethnoracial heritage like Llamojha's are by far the most numerous, followed by the other main indigenous ethnic group living in the country's Andean sierra region, the Aymara. In addition, over sixty different indigenous ethnic groups live in Peru's lowland Amazon region. Despite the large number of indigenous people in Peru, anti-Indian racism has been—and remains—sharp there. The most indigenous regions of Peru's Andean sierra, the departments of Ancash, Apurímac, Ayacucho, Cuzco, Huancavelica, and Puno, were long known by the pejorative name mancha india (Indian stain), and the word indio (Indian) has long been a highly charged racial slur that simultaneously connotes backwardness, ignorance, and a latent potential for violence. Throughout this book Llamojha describes how such racism operated in his country, his home community, and even his own family. He spent his political career fighting against the consequences of anti-Indianism, leading mobilizations demanding indigenous peasants' land rights and national inclusion.

At its core, Llamojha's life history is about indigenous peasants' struggle for justice, in particular their fight for land. Across twentieth-century Latin America, campesinos from diverse regions and countries pressed for lands that they felt rightly belonged to them. The need for agrarian reform was particularly pressing in twentieth-century Peru, as Peru's agricultural land was heavily concentrated in the hands of a small landowning minority. In Llamojha's home department of Ayacucho in 1961, just 0.3 percent of all rural properties held 59.2 percent of the land, meaning that there was a gross disparity between large landed estates known as haciendas or latifundios and indigenous peasants' plots of land.[6] Ayacucho and the neighboring departments of Apurímac and Huancavelica formed the most impoverished area of Peru. The land campesinos owned was not only insufficient in quantity; it was often also quite poor in quality. As a result, indigenous peasants had barely enough land to meet their subsistence needs, and the food they produced was rarely varied enough to provide adequate nutrition.

To Llamojha, the problem of land is not just one of economic injustice; it is instead a problem that originated with the European conquest of Latin America. From the outset of the colonial period in the 1490s, many rural indigenous communities found their lands encroached on and even stolen by Spanish—or Portuguese, in the Brazilian case—colonizers who established large haciendas. The process of indigenous peasants' dispossession from their


Tumbes
Amazonas
Loreto
Piura
Caja-
marca
San
Martín
Lambayeque
La Libertad
Ancash
Huánuco
Pasco
Ucayali
Junín
Lima
Madre de
Dios
Huanca-
velica
Cuzco
Apurímac
Ica
Ayacucho
Puno
Arequipa
Moquegua
Tacna
Pacific
Ocean

MAP I.1 Peru

lands increased dramatically in scale and speed during the late 1800s, when now-independent Latin American nations became deeply enmeshed in the global market economy. Foreign demand for Latin American agricultural goods like coffee, sugar, tobacco, wool, and many other products led to a sustained assault on indigenous community lands by profit-hungry hacendados, the owners of private estates.[7] Countless indigenous peasants saw hacendados claim more and more community lands as their own, and many rural indigenous communities disappeared entirely, leaving community members to labor as landless peasants on haciendas. Although campesinos had long fought to defend their lands, using the courts, protests to government officials, and sometimes violence to protect their communities, the twentieth century witnessed unprecedented peasant mobilization demanding land. Campesinos filed complaints, staged protests, and even launched armed uprisings to demand the return of their lands. As a direct consequence of these efforts, governments in Mexico, Cuba, Guatemala, Bolivia, and Peru, among others, introduced agrarian reforms designed to redistribute land, expropriating hacienda lands for the benefit of campesinos.

Llamojha's life stories also chronicle one of the most profound shifts in twentieth-century Latin American history: the massive migration of men and women out of the countryside and into cities. Llamojha moved from his rural Andean community to the coastal capital city of Lima in the 1930s, at the beginning of an urbanization process that eventually transformed most Latin American countries. Power, social prestige, and wealth were overwhelmingly concentrated in Lima, a city long racialized as European, and many indigenous migrants faced wrenching discrimination and alienation when they arrived there. Yet those same migrants helped transform the capital city, changing its social, political, and economic dynamics through their labor, organizational efforts, and cultural practices.[8] Their arrival in Lima shaped—and was shaped by—the rise of major political parties like the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance; APRA) and the Communist Party, which offered radical new approaches to the many problems that plagued Peru.

Through Llamojha's experiences we can also see what it meant to be a political activist across the decades of the Cold War. Although he shares humorous recollections of his exploits against local hacendados and his daring escapes from police, he also reveals that he was routinely branded a communist and jailed on charges of subversion. Those charges were spurious: Llamojha worked closely with members of different branches of the Peruvian

Communist Party, but he never formally joined any political party and never self-identified as a communist. Llamojha's narrative shows that the Cold War was far more than an ideological and diplomatic fight between the United States and the Soviet Union. It was instead a broadly global conflict that had profound consequences in the everyday lives of Latin American citizens. Latin American states, elites, and sometimes even average men and women made accusations of communism to discredit individuals they deemed threatening and to justify their own—often violent—assertions of power. But, as Llamojha's account shows, the Cold War decades were also a time of enormous political creativity in Latin America, generating tremendous energy and excitement among activists and their sympathizers as they imagined, and fought for, revolutionary change.[9]

As Llamojha narrates his experiences of political activism in the 1960s and 1970s, he speaks of divisions and betrayals in Peru's left-wing political parties. Throughout much of twentieth-century Latin America, internecine conflicts between leftists led to heated confrontations, nasty invective, fractured parties, and countless political heartbreaks. In Peru these divides resulted in the bitter 1973 split of the CCP, the country's most important national campesino organization. In this book Llamojha shares anecdotes and opinions about several of the towering figures of the Peruvian left, and many of these stories are as sharply critical as they are humorous. What emerges is a portrait of Llamojha's steady political marginalization across the 1970s.

Llamojha's life stories also help us to understand the most devastating period of Peru's twentieth century: the 1980–2000 internal war, which began after the Peruvian Communist Party-Shining Path launched an armed struggle in May 1980. The resulting insurgency and state-sponsored counterinsurgency cost the lives of an estimated 69,280 Peruvians, most of them indigenous peasants. Strikingly, the Shining Path was responsible for the majority—54 percent—of these deaths.[10] In my book *Before the Shining Path*, I have argued that we need to understand the Shining Path's violence in its historical context. In the early days of the war, militants of the Shining Path took brutal and decisive action against abusive local authorities and wealthier peasants who had long exploited their poorer neighbors. Although indigenous peasants had long sought state intervention against these abusive figures—making heated and repeated complaints, often over the course of decades—these individuals remained in positions of power at the district level until Shining Path militants executed them. But the Shining Path did not stop there. Instead, party militants turned the same sort of violence against av-

erage indigenous peasants who were unwilling to wholly accept the Shining Path's mandates. In so doing, Shining Path activists essentially replicated old patterns set by abusive authorities and wealthier campesinos.[11]

We can see many of these same processes at work in the stories Llamojha narrates, including the Shining Path's assassination of a much-hated district official. Llamojha's connections to the years of violence are also intensely personal. From the 1980s—and indeed to this day—many of his enemies and rivals have accused him of belonging to the Shining Path. That false accusation came in part because the Shining Path tried to gain traction in the branch of the CCP that Llamojha led after the confederation's fracture in 1973. The accusation also came because one of the Shining Path's earliest armed attacks was directed against a hacienda that Llamojha had long challenged. Tragically for Llamojha and his family, that accusation appeared in one of the first and most influential studies of the Shining Path, Peruvian journalist Gustavo Gorriti's 1990 book *Sendero*, in which Gorriti mentioned a "clandestine meeting in the Ayacucho home of Shining Path peasant activist Manuel Llamojha Mitma."[12] Building off of Gorriti's book and influenced by other accusations I had heard, I too assumed that Llamojha had joined the Shining Path, and I wrote as much in *Before the Shining Path*. It is now clear that these claims were all mistaken; Llamojha never belonged to the Shining Path.

Peru's internal war upended Llamojha's life, forcing him to escape from Ayacucho and live as a displaced person in Lima for almost two decades. The war also generated the greatest tragedy Llamojha ever experienced: the disappearance of his son Herbert. Although Herbert Llamojha denied that he was a member of the Shining Path, he was present during one of the party's armed attacks and was consequently jailed on charges of assault and armed robbery. In March 1982, Shining Path militants stormed the Ayacucho jail where Herbert was imprisoned, aiming to free all the prisoners and thereby liberate jailed party members. Herbert was one of 304 prisoners who escaped.[13] But that is all we know. He might have been killed in the ensuing shootout, or he might have been arrested and then killed extrajudicially. It is also possible that he escaped and then lost his life elsewhere. No one knows. Herbert's disappearance is the central sorrow of Llamojha's life and an open wound that remains terribly painful for him, and for his family, to this day. Sadly, the traumas of political violence and the tragedy of disappearances were all too common in Latin America's twentieth century, as military regimes and nominal democracies conducted brutal dirty wars against ordi-

nary citizens. Llamojha's devastating experiences of loss echo across the Latin American continent.

The Activist Intellectual

Llamojha is what Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci termed an "organic intellectual"—someone who gives his or her social group self-awareness and who uses his work to educate, lead, and organize members of his class.[14] Llamojha utilized his writings, his ideas, and his words to inspire and mobilize indigenous peasants and to fight for their rights. Writing in particular was central to Llamojha's political career. In our interviews, he laughingly recalled going from community to community, his typewriter strapped to his back, so that he could compose protest letters on behalf of local indigenous peasants. The fact that he could read and write—and write so beautifully and effectively—allowed him to provide a crucial service to campesinos. Within his home department of Ayacucho during the 1940s, 1950s, and even 1960s, literacy rates in rural communities were startlingly low because of astonishing state neglect, as the Peruvian state failed to provide adequate educational opportunities in the Andean countryside. As late as 1961, 79.5 percent of the population over age fifteen living in rural Ayacucho were illiterate.[15] By drafting letters for illiterate indigenous peasants, Llamojha enabled them to participate in a political system expressly designed to exclude them. That exclusion resulted from the fact that until 1980, the right to vote was dependent on literacy, a requirement pointedly intended to disenfranchise rural indigenous people.[16]

Writing was more than just a functional skill for Llamojha. It was—and remains—central to his identity and close to his heart. Throughout our interviews, he spoke of his typewriter, his papers, and especially his books with tremendous affection. He despaired at the fact that soldiers seized his personal archive and book collection in 1982, and he even anthropomorphized the religious books confiscated by the courts in 1948, lamenting that his books were subject to life imprisonment. He spoke about how much he enjoyed reading, thinking, and writing, recalling that he even used to write poetry. Llamojha is also very much a historian. He fills his narratives with references to colonial times, to the Inka, and even to humanity's very first emergence on Earth, and he has written an unpublished book about the history of his home community, Concepción.[17] He remembers giving talks to university students in Lima, and in recent years many students from Ayacucho's San Cristóbal

de Huamanga University have made the four-hour bus trip to Concepción to visit him and interview him about regional history.

Llamojha's work as an indigenous intellectual reveals his concerted efforts to decolonize knowledge. He labored to acquire the literacy and writing abilities that Peru's exclusionary state system tried to reserve for nonindigenous elites, and he flouted the boundaries of the expected life course for an indigenous peasant. In most of the political documents he wrote across the twentieth century, he boldly changed the names of Peruvian communities and districts to better reflect their precolonial Quechua origins. He did the same with his own name, rejecting the Hispanicized spelling of his surname (Llamocca) in favor of a spelling with Quechua orthography (Llamojha). And in many of his writings and speeches, he used historical analysis to expose the colonial origins of problems like indigenous poverty, land loss, and racism.

In Peru, a country rife with racist and classist assumptions equating indigeneity and peasant life with ignorance, many observers were taken aback by Llamojha's skills as a writer and intellectual. His talents seemed at odds with what many people expected from an indigenous peasant. One Ayacucho schoolteacher whom I met recounted being stunned, at first meeting Llamojha, that the man who had written such a powerful denunciation of the Peruvian government's proposed education reform was simply a "humble campesino."[18] In a 1962 letter an Ayacucho authority commented that Llamojha could not possibly have written two of the documents in question—documents he did in fact write—asserting that he "does not have that capacity to draw up said communiqués."[19] Llamojha tells similar stories in his narrative, laughingly recalling how officials did not believe he could be the notorious Manuel Llamojha.

The disconnect between people's assumptions and Llamojha's appearance partly explains why he was able to escape police so easily and so often. That disconnect can also help us make sense of how Llamojha portrays himself in his life stories. At several points in his account he makes bold statements about his importance, comparing himself to Jesus and casting himself as fundamental to campesinos' triumphs. But the man who makes such claims seems anything but egotistical or arrogant in person. He is warm and soft-spoken, quick with a joke and a smile, and full of wonder about the world and its past. He is also frequently self-deprecating. As his daughter María explained, "My dad is really humble, down to earth and charismatic. He's not like other leaders who have a really strong personality and are really loud and effusive. My dad is really quiet, really calm, he doesn't appear to have all the vitality that he actually has, the great ability to get angry about injustice."[20] One man who worked

with him in the 1970s similarly commented that Llamojha was rather quiet and that they had to "pull words from him with a spoon."[21] Llamojha's grandiose claims thus seem less the words of an egotist than they do expressions of proud amazement at all that he was able to accomplish given his modest background. His assertions are also tinged with nostalgia: he is now an elderly man with failing eyesight and limited mobility, and he is remembering periods of his life when his power and prestige were much greater.

Llamojha's bold statements about his importance may also be a response to his obscure place in contemporary Peruvian national consciousness. Unlike other Peruvian political activists of the mid-twentieth century—Héctor Béjar, Hugo Blanco, Abimael Guzmán, and Luis de la Puente, among others—Llamojha's name is not well known in Peru today, and many have forgotten his struggles. Even leading members of the present-day CCP failed to recognize Llamojha's name when I asked them about him.[22] Yet Llamojha was one of Peru's most creative and esteemed twentieth-century political figures. He was also one of the only major twentieth-century Peruvian political leaders who was both indigenous and a peasant, setting him far apart from the wealthier and whiter Peruvian political activists whose names continue to resonate in Peru.

Campesinos and Indigeneity

Llamojha defines himself and those for whom he has long fought as campesinos, or peasants. In Latin America, *campesino* does not necessarily mean indigenous, as the racial and ethnic identities of men and women who call themselves peasants vary enormously across the continent. In Peru, there were and are impoverished agricultural laborers of African, Chinese, and mestizo (mixed European and indigenous) descent, as well as of indigenous origin, just as there have been many indigenous men and women whose economic lives were not defined by subsistence agriculture.

To Llamojha, however, to be a campesino is to belong to a rural community that originated with Peru's Inka. As he phrased it, "We have been here since the time of the Inka. We're natives [naturales] of America, of the continent." His understanding of what it means to be a campesino is one that melds ethnic, class, and historical identities, and he is both passionate and explicit about his indigeneity. He remembers angrily challenging his sister when she denied her indigenous origins, he utilized election propaganda that described him as "coming from the core of the Indian race," and he speaks repeatedly

about the beauty and importance of Quechua, calling it "the Peruvian language."[23] Llamojha's activism is also profoundly anticolonial. In his speeches and writings, he staunchly denounced the genocidal violence of the Spanish conquest and the suffering imposed by centuries of colonialism. In his notebooks he chronicles the Inka history of his home region, and he describes precolonial Andean labor practices.[24]

To Llamojha, there is nothing "unethnic" about his campesino identity.[25] Far from a strictly class-based definition of self, Llamojha's formulation of *campesino* is instead a staunchly anticolonial identity that embraces a Quechua ancestry. It is also a term he deems far more fitting than "Indian," a label he characterizes as a foolish mistake of colonialism. He explained:

> **Discrimination began when the Spanish took America. They categorized all the natives of the continent as "Indians," as people of another country, another world. I always felt proud when they called me "Indian." When Christopher Columbus came to America, he thought that all the inhabitants of America were from India. So I was proud when they said "Indian" to me, because that meant I was from India!**

Llamojha's formulation of an indigenist campesino identity reveals the complexity of indigeneity in Peru's Andean region.[26] Andean community members' understanding of themselves have varied dramatically across time, between Andean regions, between communities, and even between individuals. And because of the crippling constraints of racism in Peru, most rural Andean community members reject descriptors like indigenous, Indian, native, Aymara, and Quechua, choosing instead to call themselves campesinos.[27] Yet many of these community members take much pride in their Andean social, economic, and cultural practices and histories.

The shift to the campesino identifier was a gradual one. Documents from Llamojha's home region, Ayacucho, show members of rural Andean communities still occasionally self-identifying as indigenous as late as the early 1960s. Llamojha himself described his community's transition away from the label indigenous:

> **We used to write "indigenous campesino community" because representatives of the high authorities came and said "you are an indigenous community." So we accepted that and started to write documents and memos, always writing "indigenous campesino community." But later, we wanted to suspend use of that word. "Why should we write that?" we asked.**[28]

Llamojha's comments are key: he talks about leaving a word behind, not about discarding an identity. For Llamojha, there is nothing contradictory about using the term campesino to mean a Quechua speaker living in a community descended from the Inka.[29] Today, influenced by shifting continental politics, international funding opportunities, and the elections of presidents of Andean origin, more Peruvian individuals are explicitly self-identifying as indigenous. But that shift is not about Peru "catching up" to neighboring Andean countries where citizens began mobilizing around explicitly indigenous identities during the 1980s.[30] As the late anthropologist Carlos Iván Degregori observed, "perhaps it is not a matter of being ahead or behind, but rather of the distinct forms through which ethnicity is expressed in different countries."[31] And in Peru, for much of the twentieth century, Andean people largely chose to express their ethnoracial identity through the term *campesino*.

Writing a Testimonial Biography

My first encounter with Llamojha occurred in the Ayacucho Regional Archive. As I was researching the region's 1960s political history, I found several letters and reports from regional authorities warning about a dangerous communist activist in their midst. I also found a public letter that this activist—Manuel Llamojha Mitma—had written, and I was moved by its power and eloquence. A portion of that letter reads as follows:

> For more than 400 years, we have been eagerly awaiting the dawn of justice. Enough is enough. For more than four centuries, we have been suffering the flagellation of barbaric injustice. Enough is enough. We are still living the tragic misery of our lives, cheated and deceived by those who represent bastard interests. Enough is enough. The *latifundista* [estate-owning] gentlemen continue to enrich themselves, exploiting our sweat and the wealth of our territory.[32]

As I continued my research I found more and more references to Llamojha, and I learned that he had done an interview with Peru's Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (Truth and Reconciliation Commission; CVR) in 2002. When I finally met Llamojha in May 2011, I proposed that we work together on a book about his life. He readily agreed.

Llamojha and I had different motivations for producing this book.[33] I wanted to share his fascinating personal history and exceptionally rich stories

with undergraduate students, knowing that his life history would be a powerful tool for exploring key issues in twentieth-century Latin American history. His stories also push us to consider the connections—and departures—between the revolutionary activism of the twentieth century and the "left turn" taken by many Latin American governments in the first decade of the twenty-first century.[34] I also wanted to make Llamojha's experiences and ideas better known to scholars of Peru, as he shares crucial insights into the history of Peru's left and the CCP. Llamojha had a separate—but complementary—set of motivations. He wanted to ensure that future generations in countries throughout the world understood the injustices faced by Peru's indigenous peasants. As he phrased it,

> **campesinos have fought so much and suffered so much, during colonial times and republican times, too. We need the future world to know about this, the suffering of the campesinos.**

Llamojha also wanted to record and preserve the history of his beloved community, Concepción. Doing so was especially important to him given the anguish he continues to feel over the seizure and destruction of his immense document archive by Peruvian soldiers in 1982. After I provided a first draft of the book to him, Llamojha insisted that the physical copy remain in Concepción, as it held the community's history and should be available to community residents for consultation.

Different though they were, our motivations jointly necessitated the production of a highly readable book appropriate for a broad audience.[35] The book that resulted blends the conventions of biography and *testimonio*. Like a testimonio—a first-person narrative that shares a witness's experiences of a particular atrocity or injustice—this book privileges Llamojha's voice and life stories.[36] The book visually foregrounds his stories, presenting them in his standard typewriter font to give particular emphasis to his words. And like a testimonio, this work serves to denounce injustice and inspire others to action. But this book also departs significantly from the conventions of a testimonio and moves into the realm of biography. Because of the centrality of writing to Llamojha's political career and its deep personal importance to him, I have included excerpts of numerous documents written by him. In addition, I have provided historical context in each of the chapters, and I have included considerations of what others from the period wrote or said about Llamojha. Drawn from extensive archival research, these additions allow readers unfamiliar with Peruvian history to follow Llamojha's complex ac-

count of political work in the years from 1921 to the present. These additional materials also round out Llamojha's life history, helping to fill the thematic and temporal spaces that separate his many stories.[37] Yet in keeping with our shared desire to create a broadly accessible and highly readable book, I have confined historiographical discussion to the endnotes. This book bridges the methodological boundaries between testimonio and biography, and the result is what I deem a testimonial biography.[38] It recognizes Llamojha and me as coauthors, acknowledging the intellectual and creative work both of us performed and the editorial authority we shared.[39]

This testimonial biography is ultimately about much more than just one (extraordinary) individual's life. Testimonial biography offers an exceptional tool for analyzing continuities and changes over decades, for showing the complexities and contradictions of the past, and for showcasing the relationship between individuals and the social, cultural, and political contexts in which they operate.[40] Consideration of an individual life—with all its hardships, triumphs, and losses—also offers the reader a vivid and intense understanding of what it meant to live in a particular situation, place, and time.

In keeping with Llamojha's long history of composing formal legal documents, he and I signed an agreement before Concepción's justice of the peace. The document we signed recognized us as coauthors; granted permission for his life history stories, photographs, and drawings to be used in the book; agreed that any royalties would go to him; and allowed me to sign all paperwork for the book's publication. We also agreed that the book would be published in both English and Spanish, to best meet our dual goals for the book. In doing so, we answered the crucial questions that historian Florencia Mallon asks about research collaboration between nonindigenous academics and indigenous actors: "Who gets to talk about what, and in which language?"[41] This project is not about a North American scholar "giving voice" to a subaltern—Llamojha speaks just fine on his own, with seemingly inexhaustible intellectual energy, to all who want to listen. The book is instead about using the resources I have at my disposal to enable Llamojha to reach an audience well beyond those persons who visit him in Peru. The book is based on the mutual respect we have for each other as intellectuals and on our exchanges of ideas, documents, and knowledge.[42]

This testimonial biography was also shaped by the pressures and ravages of time. When we spoke about this book, Llamojha's primary concern was that it be completed as quickly as possible—a desire connected directly to the fact that he is in his nineties and acutely aware of his own mortality.

Anthropologist Barbara Myerhoff reflected on a similar issue in her study of elderly Jewish immigrants at a seniors' center in the United States. Noting these elderly men and women's determination to share their life stories, Myerhoff commented, "Again and again they attempted to show outsiders, as well as each other, who they were, why they mattered, what the nature of their past and present lives was. . . . Their extreme old age and sense of little time remaining intensified the desire to formulate a presentation of themselves."[43] Llamojha felt a similar sense of urgency about getting his story recorded and published, but our research plans were interrupted by tragedy. Just over a week after my first set of interviews with Llamojha in May 2011, his beloved wife, Esther, died unexpectedly. This was not the right moment to pursue more interviews, and I could not remain in Peru for an extended period, as the demands of family and my academic job meant I had to return to Canada.

The solution Llamojha and I found came through the participation of my longtime friend and research assistant Alicia Carrasco Gutiérrez in this project. Alicia carried out a series of follow-up interviews with Llamojha between October 2011 and July 2012, using lists of questions I emailed her from Canada. Alicia's participation in the project as a research assistant allowed the interviews with Llamojha to continue while I was in Canada.[44] She also interviewed three of his children and all of his surviving siblings, again using questions I sent her.[45] Llamojha and I then revisited the main themes of the book in a set of lengthy final interviews in May 2013, when I brought him the manuscript draft.

Llamojha's sense of urgency for completing this book also grew from his sadness and frustration over the failings of his memory. Although he shared amazingly detailed recollections of key events in his life—all the more astonishing given that he is in his nineties—he lamented the lapses in his memory that occasionally left him unable to answer my questions. He commented that sometimes he could not even remember his own name, and he wondered if someone had used witchcraft against him. His concerns about his decaying memory gave added weight to his desire to finish the book as quickly as possible. To supplement the life stories he shared during our interviews, and to relay his personal history in its richest detail, I have included segments of his 2002 interview with the CVR. For the sake of transparency, I explicitly signal any material that comes from that interview.[46]

Rather than narrating his life's course in a straightforward chronology, Llamojha shared dozens of stories about key moments in his life. As so many of us do, he often voiced slightly different versions of the same anecdotes in

our interviews.[47] In many instances I've amalgamated those versions in an attempt to best reflect his gifts for storytelling and share the fullness of his experiences. I have also edited his stories to minimize repetition. This method has drawbacks: it hides the emphasis that repeated stories and frequently reiterated sentences offer, and it imposes chronological order on an account that jumped back and forth in time. But the advantage is a narrative that is both readable and complete.

Llamojha's recollections allow us to see what happened during his life as an activist. We get access to key events, individuals, and experiences spanning the decades of his political career. Even more important, his stories reveal what *mattered* during his years of struggle. His words show his ideas, his opinions, and his perspectives, building a much fuller and more complicated portrait of his life than would be accessible from written documents alone. Certainly, we should not read Llamojha's life stories as strictly literal narrations of the past: he is a man in his nineties, speaking about events that occurred many decades ago, and he routinely recalls long-ago conversations in what surely are not verbatim renderings. It is difficult to specify the exact dates of many of the events he describes, and a handful of his stories seem to border on the apocryphal. His life stories are best read as historical memories shaped by his past and present dreams and desires, sorrows and triumphs, and by the Peruvian realities that he tried so hard to transform. The sharing of these remembrances is at once a social, cultural, and political act that helps Llamojha make sense of all that he accomplished, endured, and witnessed.[48] As oral history scholar Alessandro Portelli phrases it, "oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did."[49]

There is no doubt that my status as a white university professor from a wealthy country—and my research assistant Alicia Carrasco's status as a university-educated urban professional—meant that our interviews with Llamojha were shaped by significant power disparities.[50] Moreover, as the author of the first draft of this book, I made the first major decisions about what appears in these pages before taking a translated version of the book back to Llamojha and his family for feedback and revision. But it is also true that Llamojha brought his own priorities and agendas into our interviews, knowing that the interviews would form the basis of a book about his life. He clearly wanted to tell stories about his political life, and when Alicia and I tried to direct the conversation toward a discussion of his family life, asking questions about his wife, siblings, and children, he usually steered the conversation back onto

a political track. His narrative decisions had nothing to do with sentiment; his deep love and affection for his family were readily apparent in his daily interactions with them. He also showed a dogged optimism in our interviews, insisting that he had no regrets about his work and minimizing the suffering he endured during his constant imprisonments, years of extreme economic hardships, and major political disappointments. His interview choices reflected his desire to craft a narrative of his struggles as a campesino leader, to inspire others to action, and to cement a legacy of his political work.[51] As he noted in one of our interviews, "You always have to be in the struggle. Until the very end."

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Florencia Mallon offers useful definitions of colonialism and decolonization in relation to indigenous peoples in Mallon, "Introduction: Decolonizing Knowledge, Language and Narrative," 1.

2. See Drinot, *Che's Travels*.

3. See Mallon, "*Barbudos*, Warriors, and *Rotos*," 179–215.

4. Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*, 198–200.

5. It is impossible to quantify Peru's contemporary indigenous population. The last time the Peruvian census classified people by race was 1940, and today, many people who are identified by others as indigenous do not self-identify that way. The reverse is also true. Scholar David Sulmont has shown that estimates of the percentage of Peru's indigenous population thus vary widely, from as low as 19 percent to as high as 75 percent. The best estimates seem to fall in the 35–39 percent range. See Sulmont, "Race, Ethnicity and Politics in Three Peruvian Localities," 47–78.

6. Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 25.

7. For the Peruvian case, see Contreras, *El aprendizaje del capitalismo*; Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition*; Mallon, *The Defense of Community*; Manrique, *Yawar Mayu*.

8. One of the most famous discussions of this process is Matos Mar, *Desborde Popular y Crisis del Estado*.

9. For excellent new research on Latin America's experience of the Cold War, see Grandin and Joseph, *A Century of Revolution*; Joseph and Spenser, *In from the Cold*.

10. Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR), *Informe Final*.

11. Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*.

12. Gorriti, *Shining Path*, 47. The book was originally published in Spanish as *Sendero: Historia de la guerra milenaria en el Perú* (Lima: Editorial Apoyo, 1990).

13. CVR, *Informe Final*, vol. 2, chap. 1.1, subsection 2: Partido Comunista del Perú-Sendero Luminoso (Peruvian Communist Party-Shining Path, PCP-SL) 1980–82, 36.

14. Like most early twentieth-century Marxists, Gramsci believed that peasants were incapable of generating independent political thought and thus were unable to become "organic intellectuals." See Forgacs, *An Antonio Gramsci Reader*, 302, 309.

Steven Feierman built on—and wrote a powerful corrective to—Gramsci's ideas in his book *Peasant Intellectuals*.

15. Oficina Nacional de Estadística y Censos, *Censos Nacionales de Población, Vivienda y Agropecuario 1961*, vol. 5, *Departamento de Ayacucho*, 61.

16. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation*, 275.

17. Llamojha Mitma, *Historia y tradición del Pueblo de Concepción* (self-published manuscript in Llamojha's personal collection). In addition, Llamojha's 1970 address to the CCP—published in the Confederation's newspaper and republished in the journal *Campesino*—was twenty-four pages of single-spaced historical analysis of Peruvian campesino struggles across the twentieth century. Llamojha Mitma, "Las luchas campesinas y la Confederación Campesina del Perú," 43–67.

18. Interview with Adolfo Urbina (pseudonym), November 3, 2003.

19. Cangallo subprefect to Ayacucho prefect, March 10, 1962, Archivo Regional de Ayacucho (ARA), Subprefectura Cangallo (SC), Ministerios 1962 dossier.

20. Interview with María Llamojha, November 9, 2011.

21. Interview with Nelson Pereyra, June 26, 2011.

22. Informal conversations with several leaders of the CCP during visit to the CCP central office in Lima, June 23, 2011.

23. Manuel Llamojha Mitma: Candidato Campesino a una Diputación, handbill, February 1962, ARA, SC, Institutos Armados 1962 dossier.

24. These labor practices changed over time and should not be read as part of a static and timeless "Andean identity." Anthropologist Orin Starn offered a trenchant critique of anthropologists' tendency to essentialize rural Andean peoples. His arguments triggered a vigorous and healthy debate among scholars of the Andes. See Starn, "Missing the Revolution," 63–91; Starn, "Rethinking the Politics of Anthropology," 13–38.

25. The term "unethnic" borrows from an insightful article by anthropologist Frank Salomon. Salomon, "Unethnic Ethnohistory," 475–506.

26. This complexity has caused much hand-wringing among academics, both in and outside of Peru. Because most people in rural Andean communities self-define as campesinos, the question of what—if any—qualifier to place before the term *campesino* is a particularly vexing one. Is it appropriate to call these individuals indigenous, Quechua, or even Andean when they themselves largely resist using such labels? The question becomes especially difficult as one moves out of Peru's southern Andes, where Aymara and Quechua remain dominant languages in the countryside, and into the central and northern Andes, where people mostly speak Spanish. Many scholars working in these areas have chosen to speak of such persons simply as *campesinos*, implying the absence of any ethnic or racial identity. That casting seems fitting to a degree, given regional residents' broad rejection of the label *indigenous*, but fails to account for the strength of recognizably Andean economic and cultural practices among the area's rural men and women. See Salomon, "Unethnic Ethnohistory," 476.

27. This shift toward self-labeling as *campesinos* was well under way by the 1940s, partly as a consequence of the devastating 1927 military repression of a series of indig-

enous uprisings and the legal prohibition of a major indigenous rights organization: the Comité Pro-Derecho Indígena Tawantinsuyo (Tawantinsuyo Pro-Indigenous Rights Committee). Mobilizing under the rubric of *indigenous* became politically dangerous in the aftermath of the Tawantinsuyo Committee's repression, so it is hardly surprising that rural Andean leaders, in their next major effort to form a national organization to press for their rights, shied away from the term *indigenous*: they formed the Confederación Campesina del Perú (Peruvian Peasant Confederation; CCP) in 1947.

Another factor in the shift away from the label *indigenous* was urban migration. The 1930s and 1940s marked the start of a massive migration of people out of rural Andean communities to the coastal capital city of Lima. Economic, social, and political power had been overwhelmingly concentrated in Lima since colonial times, with the city and the larger coastal region racialized as a nonindigenous, European zone. The Andean people who came to Lima encountered terrible discrimination and exclusion, with many opportunities closed to people deemed Indians. For these people, the label *campesino* offered a chance for social mobility that the label *Indian* did not. The shift toward the identifier *campesino* was further cemented by the rise of parties like APRA and the Communist Party, as these organizations advocated along class lines and presented primarily class-based socioeconomic analyses of Peruvian society.

Peru also has a second major divide that is just as ideologically charged as the split between the coast and the Andean sierra: the divide between the highland Andes and the lowland Amazon. Since the Spanish conquest—and perhaps even before—a pointed distinction has existed between indigenous peoples who live in the Andes and those who live in the Amazon. The linguistic, religious, agricultural, and political differences between these two groups were and are profound, and many Andean people see Amazonian peoples rather than themselves as Peru's true Indians, thus making the label *campesino* all the more appealing as a self-identifier. For extensive discussions of Peruvian indigenous identity, see García, *Making Indigenous Citizens*; García and Lucero, "Exceptional Others," 253–270; García and Lucero, "Authenticating Indians and Movements," 278–298; Gelles, "Andean Culture, Indigenous Identity and the State in Peru," 239–266; Greene, "Getting Over the Andes," 327–354; Greene, *Customizing Indigeneity*; Orlove, "Putting Race in Its Place," 207–222; Remy, "The Indigenous Population and the Construction of Democracy in Peru," 107–130.

28. In 1969, Peruvian president General Juan Velasco Alvarado officially renamed Peru's Andean "indigenous communities" as "campesino communities" and changed the "Day of the Indian" to the "Day of the Campesino," aiming to transcend racism in a country where the word *indio* was a brutalizing racial insult. The historical reality, though, is that Velasco's move only made official a process that Andean people had begun much earlier.

29. Llamojha's ideas reflect what anthropologist Marisol de la Cadena observed among grassroots urban intellectuals in Cuzco. She found that these men and women embraced a "de-Indianized" mestizo identity that rejected the racialized connotations of indigeneity that cast indigenous peoples as uneducated, impoverished, and strictly

rural. Yet these same individuals simultaneously cherished and celebrated their Andean cultural heritage. De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*.

30. Albó, "El retorno del Indio," 309.

31. Quoted in García and Lucero, "Un País Sin Indígenas?," 159.

32. "Comunicado a los pueblos de Cangallo," February 1962, ARA, SC, Oficios de los Institutos Armados 1962 dossier.

33. Joanne Rappaport and Abelardo Ramos discuss how different motivations and institutional interests shape the collaboration process between academics and activists and between indigenous and nonindigenous researchers. See "Collaboration and Historical Writing," 132–133. For further reflections on collaborations between indigenous and nonindigenous intellectuals, see Rappaport, *Intercultural Utopias*, 83–114; Warren, *Indigenous Movements and Their Critics*, 69–85.

34. Beasley-Murray, Cameron and Hershberg, "Latin America's Left Turns," 319–330; Blanco and Grier, "Explaining the Rise of the Left in Latin America," 68–90.

35. I drew my inspiration from the extensive methodological reflections in Reuque Paillalef, *When a Flower Is Reborn*; Tula, *Hear My Testimony*; and James, *Doña María's Story*.

36. A key work on the testimonio genre is Beverley, *Testimonio*.

37. Jan Rus and Diane L. Rus discuss the advantages and disadvantages of adding introductions, explanatory footnotes, and historical context in publications produced by native intellectuals. "Taller Tzotzil of Chiapas, Mexico," 152, 169. See also Rappaport and Ramos, "Collaboration and Historical Writing," 140.

38. This book forms part of an extensive Peruvian literature consisting of biographies, autobiographies, memoirs, and testimonies written by and about campesinos, workers, and non-elite political activists. The most famous of these works include Pévez and Oré, *Memorias de un viejo luchador campesino*; Larico Yujra and Ayala, *Yo fui canillita de José Carlos Mariátegui*; Valderrama and Escalante, *Gregorio Condori Mamani*; Burenius and Torres, *Testimonio de un fracaso Huando*; Muñoz, Matos Mar, and Carbajal, *Erasmo Muñoz, yanacón del Valle de Chancay*; Béjar, *Perú 1965*; Blanco, *Land or Death*; and Gavilán, *Memorias de un soldado desconocido*.

39. I wrote an initial draft of the book and translated it into Spanish, and then I brought copies of my Spanish translation to Llamojha in May 2013. When I presented the draft to him, I ceded editorial control, stressing that I would make any deletions, corrections, and additions that he desired. I also made the draft available to his adult children and explained that I was open to discussing and working through any concerns they might have. Llamojha, his daughter María Llamojha Puklla, and I decided on necessary changes together. Jan Rus and Diane L. Rus offer a thoughtful discussion of editing practices—both for reasons of style and contentious content—with a native publishing project, "The Taller Tzotzil of Chiapas, Mexico," 162–163.

40. For thoughtful discussions on the strengths, limitations, and academic reputation of biography, see Banner, "Biography as History," 579–586; Nasaw, "Historians and Biography," 573–578; Kessler-Harris, "Why Biography?," 625–630.

41. Mallon, "Introduction: Decolonizing Knowledge, Language and Narrative," 3.

42. Mallon describes this practice of document sharing in *Courage Tastes of Blood*, 9.

43. Myerhoff, "Life History among the Elderly," 105.

44. I generated these follow-up questions in response to what I had learned from previous interviews and from archival documents.

45. A social worker by training, Alicia was born in Ayacucho and is fluent in both Quechua and Spanish. She and I jointly transcribed all of the interviews. All translations of Llamojha's Spanish stories and archival documents are my own. Alicia also translated brief Quechua segments of the interviews into Spanish.

46. The original recordings and a transcript of the interview are available at the CVR's archive in Lima, the Defensoría del Pueblo Centro de Información para la Memoria Colectiva y los Derechos Humanos (CIMCDH). I encourage interested researchers to listen to the recordings, as the transcript is incomplete. For ease of reading, I have edited out pauses, interruptions, and repetitions in Llamojha's CVR testimony.

47. Oral history scholar Alessandro Portelli reflects on this phenomenon in *Death of Luigi Trastulli*, 55. For theoretical considerations of life stories, see Linde, *Life Stories*.

48. This formulation of memory is shaped by the voluminous scholarship on the subject, much of which has been informed by Maurice Halbwachs's work on collective memory and Pierre Nora's discussions of sites of memory. See Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*; Nora, *Realms of Memory*. For the Latin American context, key works on memory include James, *Doña María's Story*; Jelín, *State Repression and the Labors of Memory*; Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*. There are, of course, many other ways that we could interpret Llamojha's life stories. We could read them as auto-ethnography, which Mary Louise Pratt defines as a colonized person's discussion of self, using the language of the colonizers. See Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*. We could also read these stories as examples of what Stephen Greenblatt considers "self-fashioning," whereby individuals craft and express their identities in relation to their contexts. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*.

49. Portelli, *Death of Luigi Trastulli*, 50.

50. Much has been written about the power differentials in anthropological and oral history research. See Starn, *Nightwatch*, 16; Scheper-Hughes, *Death without Weeping*, 28.

51. Joanne Rappaport and Abelardo Ramos discuss how the tensions in a collaborative research project they worked on stemmed less from the differences between Western academic research culture and the indigenous researcher than from the differences between academics and activists. "Collaboration and Historical Writing," 140.

CHAPTER 1: "I'M GOING TO BE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC"

1. Orlove, "Down to Earth," 209; Drinot, *Allure of Labor*.

2. De Oliviera and Roberts, "Urban Growth and Urban Social Structure in Latin America," 255.

3. Llamojha was born on a plot of land named Marka Marka, at the base of a Chachas tree.

NOW PERU IS MINE

Narrating Native Histories

Narrating Native Histories aims to foster a rethinking of the ethical, methodological, and conceptual frameworks within which we locate our work on Native histories and cultures. We seek to create a space for effective and ongoing conversations between North and South, Natives and non-Natives, academics and activists, throughout the Americas and the Pacific region.

This series encourages analyses that contribute to an understanding of Native peoples' relationships with nation-states, including histories of expropriation and exclusion as well as projects for autonomy and sovereignty. We encourage collaborative work that recognizes Native intellectuals, cultural interpreters, and alternative knowledge producers, as well as projects that question the relationship between orality and literacy.

Manuel Llamojha Mitma and Jaymie Patricia Heilman

NOW PERU IS MINE

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF A CAMPESINO ACTIVIST

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Cover art: Llamojha, location unknown, 1965. Photo courtesy of Manuel Llamojha Mitma.

DON MANUEL'S DEDICATION:

To my wife.
We struggled so hard together.

And to my children,
who supported me in the fight.

CONTENTS

A NOTE ON PLACE

Peru is divided into twenty-four departments, like American states. Until a major administrative reform in 2006, these departments were governed by nationally appointed prefects. Departments are subdivided into provinces, which were led by subprefects until the 2006 administrative change. Provinces are divided into districts, and districts house numerous communities and towns.

Much of Manuel Llamojha's life history is situated in the Peruvian department of Ayacucho. Its capital city, located in the province of Huamanga, is also named Ayacucho. For purposes of clarity, I refer to the capital as "the city of Ayacucho" throughout the text. Llamojha was born in the community of Concepción. Until 1954, Concepción belonged to the district of Vischongo in Cangallo province. In 1954, Concepción and the communities surrounding it were reorganized as a district, also named Concepción. In 1984, the province of Cangallo was divided in two, when the province of Vilcashuamán was established. The community and district of Concepción now belong to the province of Vilcashuamán.

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As part of our co-authorship, Manuel Llamojha Mitma and I agreed that he would compose this book's dedication, and I would write the acknowledgments. My most important thanks, then, go to don Manuel. His incredible talents as a leader, historian, and storyteller form this book's foundation, and I am grateful that he so generously shared his memories with me. I continue to be amazed by his intellectual energy, his accomplishments as an activist, and his astonishing determination. It has been an enormous privilege to work with him.

María Llamojha Puklla took an active part in this book from its earliest moments, showing much enthusiasm, generosity, and kindness. I thank her for arranging interviews, for answering countless questions, and for her careful reading of the book's first draft. María's love for her father—and her commitment to honoring his life's work—is deeply moving.

Alicia Carrasco Gutiérrez played a crucial role in this project, conducting nearly two dozen interviews with questions I emailed her from Canada. Alicia's enthusiastic work enabled this project to move forward with the speed both don Manuel and I desired.

Walter, Hilda, and Delia Llamojha Puklla shared loving memories about their father as well as their reflections and concerns about the book. Although I met her only once, doña Esther Honorata Puklla warmly welcomed me into her family's life and readily offered her thoughts about her husband's activism. Don Manuel's brothers Emilio, Víctor, and Alejandro also agreed to be interviewed for the project. I thank them all for opening their lives and homes to Alicia and me. I am also grateful to the many current and former members of the Peruvian Peasant Confederation who shared their memories of don Manuel and his work.

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— JAYMIE PATRICIA HEILMAN

INTRODUCTION

"Now Peru is mine!" So declared an indigenous teenager named Manuel Llamojha Mitma after he entered the Peruvian army in the late 1930s. A Quechua peasant from the impoverished highland department of Ayacucho, Llamojha was determined to bring socioeconomic justice to a country rife with sharp anti-indigenous prejudice and startling inequalities, and he soon grew into one of twentieth-century Peru's most creative and dedicated political activists. This testimonial biography offers the first extended exploration of Llamojha's life, ideas, and work, chronicling his struggles against indigenous oppression, territorial dispossession, and sociopolitical exclusion, all problems that he defines as legacies of the Spanish conquest.[1] Read together, Llamojha's recollections about his life offer a means for understanding Peru's—and, indeed, Latin America's—troubled twentieth-century history. Fundamental issues like racism, revolutionary politics, agrarian reform, and political violence figure prominently in Llamojha's narrative, with one man's extraordinary life reflecting the course of an equally extraordinary century.

Although Llamojha's stay in the military was short-lived, he dedicated his life to fighting on behalf of Peru's indigenous peasants (campesinos). He led major mobilizations for indigenous land rights in his home region of Ayacucho during the 1940s and 1950s, and he ran for national political office in 1962. That same year, he became secretary general of Peru's largest national

peasant organization, the Confederación Campesina del Perú (Peruvian Peasant Confederation; CCP). Llamojha's activism took him to Cuba, China, and the Soviet Union in 1965, and during the 1970s he became embroiled in the bitter, divisive political quarrels that plagued the Peruvian left and fractured the CCP. In the 1980s, Llamojha was falsely accused of membership in the Peruvian Communist Party-Shining Path, a political party whose armed struggle plunged Peru into a twenty-year internal war that left over 69,000 Peruvians dead, the vast majority of whom were of rural, indigenous origins. That devastating conflict forced Llamojha to flee Ayacucho and live as an internal refugee in the city of Lima for nearly twenty years. The war also led to the permanent disappearance of his youngest son.

During many of our interviews, Llamojha wore a baseball cap embroidered with the iconic portrait of Che Guevara. Llamojha in a Che Guevara hat provides a striking image, for part of what makes Llamojha's recollections so valuable is that they help us see beyond Che, beyond the man who has come to symbolize twentieth-century political activism in Latin America.[2] The popular fascination with Che is easy to understand: this handsome young hero dedicated—and ultimately sacrificed—his life to the pursuit of revolutionary change. But Che was far from alone in his efforts, and his embrace of armed struggle represented only one particular form of revolutionary activism. Across Latin America, thousands of men and women likewise devoted their lives to pursuing fundamental political, social, and economic change, and their struggles to bring revolutionary transformations did not always involve the use of violence. Unlike Che Guevara, Llamojha never participated in guerrilla struggles; in our interviews he laughingly recalled that he had never even held a gun. Llamojha's activism instead involved writing, talking, and extensive efforts to mobilize indigenous peasants to press for socioeconomic justice and radical political transformation. And as an impoverished husband and father based in the Andean countryside, Llamojha did not have the kind of youthful urban virility and highly charged sexuality that—along with the ever-present beard—characterized the revolutionary masculinity of activists like Che.[3] Llamojha's recollections therefore allow us to reflect on both the many different shapes of activism in twentieth-century Latin America and the enduring legacies of those struggles.

Llamojha's life stories also help us to temper romantic visions of political activism. His recollections push us to look past simple narratives of heroic struggle and triumph as he shares memories of unjust imprisonments, torture, and the severe economic hardships linked to life as a political activist. His life

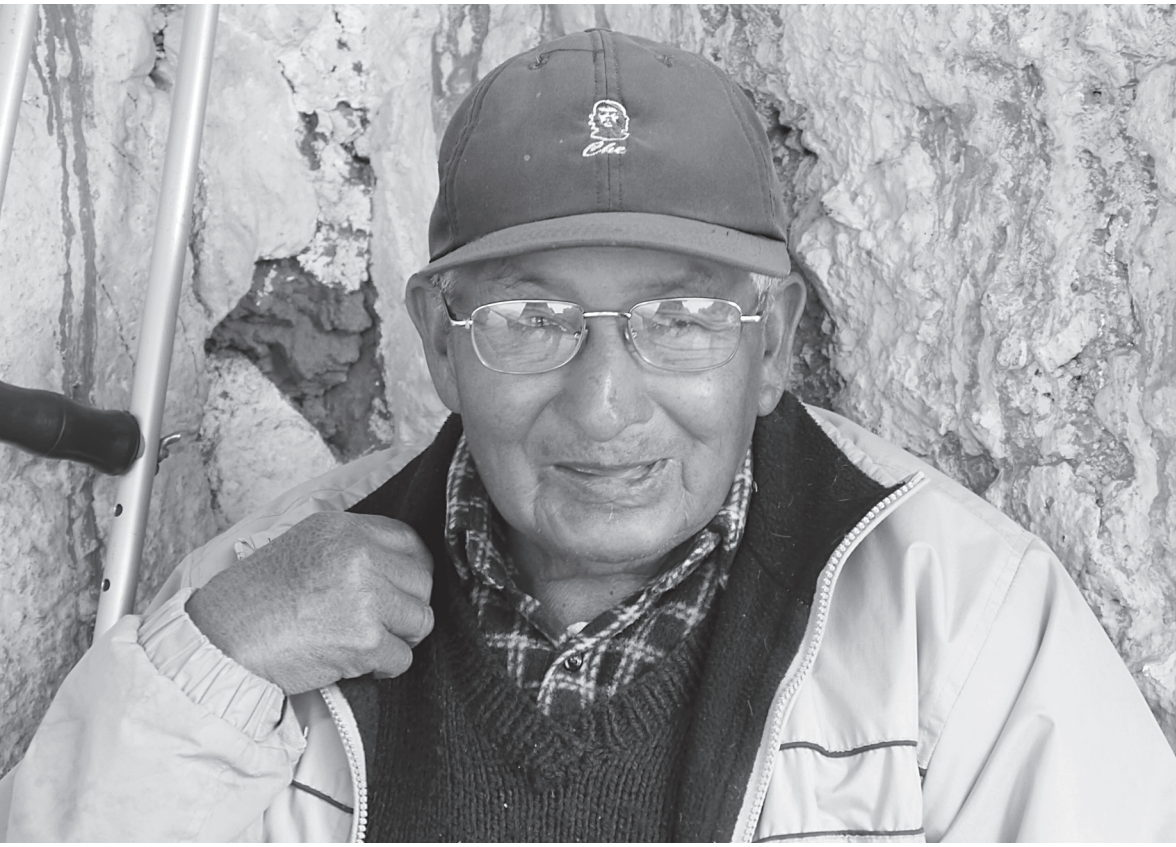

FIG. 1.1 Llamojha, Concepción, 2013. Author photo.

stories also expose heated political disputes between revolutionary activists, fights that left him slandered and marginalized by his former political allies. And unlike those revolutionary fighters who died young in the throes of armed struggle, Llamojha survived, living through the horrifying internal war in his country that brought terrible losses for him and his family. He also had to confront the difficulties of aging, struggling to remain politically active and relevant as an elderly man.

Llamojha's life history chronicles the realities of anti-Indianism: an ideological system that casts indigenous peoples as inherently inferior to whites and as impediments to national progress and a system of practices that excludes indigenous people from full citizenship while exploiting their land and labor.[4] Anti-Indianism has long flourished in Peru, a country that is home to a large

and diverse indigenous population; today, well over one-third of the country's population is indigenous.[5] Of the many different indigenous groups or nations living in Peru, peoples of Quechua ethnoracial heritage like Llamojha's are by far the most numerous, followed by the other main indigenous ethnic group living in the country's Andean sierra region, the Aymara. In addition, over sixty different indigenous ethnic groups live in Peru's lowland Amazon region. Despite the large number of indigenous people in Peru, anti-Indian racism has been—and remains—sharp there. The most indigenous regions of Peru's Andean sierra, the departments of Ancash, Apurímac, Ayacucho, Cuzco, Huancavelica, and Puno, were long known by the pejorative name mancha india (Indian stain), and the word indio (Indian) has long been a highly charged racial slur that simultaneously connotes backwardness, ignorance, and a latent potential for violence. Throughout this book Llamojha describes how such racism operated in his country, his home community, and even his own family. He spent his political career fighting against the consequences of anti-Indianism, leading mobilizations demanding indigenous peasants' land rights and national inclusion.

At its core, Llamojha's life history is about indigenous peasants' struggle for justice, in particular their fight for land. Across twentieth-century Latin America, campesinos from diverse regions and countries pressed for lands that they felt rightly belonged to them. The need for agrarian reform was particularly pressing in twentieth-century Peru, as Peru's agricultural land was heavily concentrated in the hands of a small landowning minority. In Llamojha's home department of Ayacucho in 1961, just 0.3 percent of all rural properties held 59.2 percent of the land, meaning that there was a gross disparity between large landed estates known as haciendas or latifundios and indigenous peasants' plots of land.[6] Ayacucho and the neighboring departments of Apurímac and Huancavelica formed the most impoverished area of Peru. The land campesinos owned was not only insufficient in quantity; it was often also quite poor in quality. As a result, indigenous peasants had barely enough land to meet their subsistence needs, and the food they produced was rarely varied enough to provide adequate nutrition.

To Llamojha, the problem of land is not just one of economic injustice; it is instead a problem that originated with the European conquest of Latin America. From the outset of the colonial period in the 1490s, many rural indigenous communities found their lands encroached on and even stolen by Spanish—or Portuguese, in the Brazilian case—colonizers who established large haciendas. The process of indigenous peasants' dispossession from their


Tumbes
Amazonas
Loreto
Piura
Caja-
marca
San
Martín
Lambayeque
La Libertad
Ancash
Huánuco
Pasco
Ucayali
Junín
Lima
Madre de
Dios
Huanca-
velica
Cuzco
Apurímac
Ica
Ayacucho
Puno
Arequipa
Moquegua
Tacna
Pacific
Ocean

MAP I.1 Peru

lands increased dramatically in scale and speed during the late 1800s, when now-independent Latin American nations became deeply enmeshed in the global market economy. Foreign demand for Latin American agricultural goods like coffee, sugar, tobacco, wool, and many other products led to a sustained assault on indigenous community lands by profit-hungry hacendados, the owners of private estates.[7] Countless indigenous peasants saw hacendados claim more and more community lands as their own, and many rural indigenous communities disappeared entirely, leaving community members to labor as landless peasants on haciendas. Although campesinos had long fought to defend their lands, using the courts, protests to government officials, and sometimes violence to protect their communities, the twentieth century witnessed unprecedented peasant mobilization demanding land. Campesinos filed complaints, staged protests, and even launched armed uprisings to demand the return of their lands. As a direct consequence of these efforts, governments in Mexico, Cuba, Guatemala, Bolivia, and Peru, among others, introduced agrarian reforms designed to redistribute land, expropriating hacienda lands for the benefit of campesinos.

Llamojha's life stories also chronicle one of the most profound shifts in twentieth-century Latin American history: the massive migration of men and women out of the countryside and into cities. Llamojha moved from his rural Andean community to the coastal capital city of Lima in the 1930s, at the beginning of an urbanization process that eventually transformed most Latin American countries. Power, social prestige, and wealth were overwhelmingly concentrated in Lima, a city long racialized as European, and many indigenous migrants faced wrenching discrimination and alienation when they arrived there. Yet those same migrants helped transform the capital city, changing its social, political, and economic dynamics through their labor, organizational efforts, and cultural practices.[8] Their arrival in Lima shaped—and was shaped by—the rise of major political parties like the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance; APRA) and the Communist Party, which offered radical new approaches to the many problems that plagued Peru.

Through Llamojha's experiences we can also see what it meant to be a political activist across the decades of the Cold War. Although he shares humorous recollections of his exploits against local hacendados and his daring escapes from police, he also reveals that he was routinely branded a communist and jailed on charges of subversion. Those charges were spurious: Llamojha worked closely with members of different branches of the Peruvian

Communist Party, but he never formally joined any political party and never self-identified as a communist. Llamojha's narrative shows that the Cold War was far more than an ideological and diplomatic fight between the United States and the Soviet Union. It was instead a broadly global conflict that had profound consequences in the everyday lives of Latin American citizens. Latin American states, elites, and sometimes even average men and women made accusations of communism to discredit individuals they deemed threatening and to justify their own—often violent—assertions of power. But, as Llamojha's account shows, the Cold War decades were also a time of enormous political creativity in Latin America, generating tremendous energy and excitement among activists and their sympathizers as they imagined, and fought for, revolutionary change.[9]

As Llamojha narrates his experiences of political activism in the 1960s and 1970s, he speaks of divisions and betrayals in Peru's left-wing political parties. Throughout much of twentieth-century Latin America, internecine conflicts between leftists led to heated confrontations, nasty invective, fractured parties, and countless political heartbreaks. In Peru these divides resulted in the bitter 1973 split of the CCP, the country's most important national campesino organization. In this book Llamojha shares anecdotes and opinions about several of the towering figures of the Peruvian left, and many of these stories are as sharply critical as they are humorous. What emerges is a portrait of Llamojha's steady political marginalization across the 1970s.

Llamojha's life stories also help us to understand the most devastating period of Peru's twentieth century: the 1980–2000 internal war, which began after the Peruvian Communist Party-Shining Path launched an armed struggle in May 1980. The resulting insurgency and state-sponsored counterinsurgency cost the lives of an estimated 69,280 Peruvians, most of them indigenous peasants. Strikingly, the Shining Path was responsible for the majority—54 percent—of these deaths.[10] In my book *Before the Shining Path*, I have argued that we need to understand the Shining Path's violence in its historical context. In the early days of the war, militants of the Shining Path took brutal and decisive action against abusive local authorities and wealthier peasants who had long exploited their poorer neighbors. Although indigenous peasants had long sought state intervention against these abusive figures—making heated and repeated complaints, often over the course of decades—these individuals remained in positions of power at the district level until Shining Path militants executed them. But the Shining Path did not stop there. Instead, party militants turned the same sort of violence against av-

erage indigenous peasants who were unwilling to wholly accept the Shining Path's mandates. In so doing, Shining Path activists essentially replicated old patterns set by abusive authorities and wealthier campesinos.[11]

We can see many of these same processes at work in the stories Llamojha narrates, including the Shining Path's assassination of a much-hated district official. Llamojha's connections to the years of violence are also intensely personal. From the 1980s—and indeed to this day—many of his enemies and rivals have accused him of belonging to the Shining Path. That false accusation came in part because the Shining Path tried to gain traction in the branch of the CCP that Llamojha led after the confederation's fracture in 1973. The accusation also came because one of the Shining Path's earliest armed attacks was directed against a hacienda that Llamojha had long challenged. Tragically for Llamojha and his family, that accusation appeared in one of the first and most influential studies of the Shining Path, Peruvian journalist Gustavo Gorriti's 1990 book *Sendero*, in which Gorriti mentioned a "clandestine meeting in the Ayacucho home of Shining Path peasant activist Manuel Llamojha Mitma."[12] Building off of Gorriti's book and influenced by other accusations I had heard, I too assumed that Llamojha had joined the Shining Path, and I wrote as much in *Before the Shining Path*. It is now clear that these claims were all mistaken; Llamojha never belonged to the Shining Path.

Peru's internal war upended Llamojha's life, forcing him to escape from Ayacucho and live as a displaced person in Lima for almost two decades. The war also generated the greatest tragedy Llamojha ever experienced: the disappearance of his son Herbert. Although Herbert Llamojha denied that he was a member of the Shining Path, he was present during one of the party's armed attacks and was consequently jailed on charges of assault and armed robbery. In March 1982, Shining Path militants stormed the Ayacucho jail where Herbert was imprisoned, aiming to free all the prisoners and thereby liberate jailed party members. Herbert was one of 304 prisoners who escaped.[13] But that is all we know. He might have been killed in the ensuing shootout, or he might have been arrested and then killed extrajudicially. It is also possible that he escaped and then lost his life elsewhere. No one knows. Herbert's disappearance is the central sorrow of Llamojha's life and an open wound that remains terribly painful for him, and for his family, to this day. Sadly, the traumas of political violence and the tragedy of disappearances were all too common in Latin America's twentieth century, as military regimes and nominal democracies conducted brutal dirty wars against ordi-

nary citizens. Llamojha's devastating experiences of loss echo across the Latin American continent.

The Activist Intellectual

Llamojha is what Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci termed an "organic intellectual"—someone who gives his or her social group self-awareness and who uses his work to educate, lead, and organize members of his class.[14] Llamojha utilized his writings, his ideas, and his words to inspire and mobilize indigenous peasants and to fight for their rights. Writing in particular was central to Llamojha's political career. In our interviews, he laughingly recalled going from community to community, his typewriter strapped to his back, so that he could compose protest letters on behalf of local indigenous peasants. The fact that he could read and write—and write so beautifully and effectively—allowed him to provide a crucial service to campesinos. Within his home department of Ayacucho during the 1940s, 1950s, and even 1960s, literacy rates in rural communities were startlingly low because of astonishing state neglect, as the Peruvian state failed to provide adequate educational opportunities in the Andean countryside. As late as 1961, 79.5 percent of the population over age fifteen living in rural Ayacucho were illiterate.[15] By drafting letters for illiterate indigenous peasants, Llamojha enabled them to participate in a political system expressly designed to exclude them. That exclusion resulted from the fact that until 1980, the right to vote was dependent on literacy, a requirement pointedly intended to disenfranchise rural indigenous people.[16]

Writing was more than just a functional skill for Llamojha. It was—and remains—central to his identity and close to his heart. Throughout our interviews, he spoke of his typewriter, his papers, and especially his books with tremendous affection. He despaired at the fact that soldiers seized his personal archive and book collection in 1982, and he even anthropomorphized the religious books confiscated by the courts in 1948, lamenting that his books were subject to life imprisonment. He spoke about how much he enjoyed reading, thinking, and writing, recalling that he even used to write poetry. Llamojha is also very much a historian. He fills his narratives with references to colonial times, to the Inka, and even to humanity's very first emergence on Earth, and he has written an unpublished book about the history of his home community, Concepción.[17] He remembers giving talks to university students in Lima, and in recent years many students from Ayacucho's San Cristóbal

de Huamanga University have made the four-hour bus trip to Concepción to visit him and interview him about regional history.

Llamojha's work as an indigenous intellectual reveals his concerted efforts to decolonize knowledge. He labored to acquire the literacy and writing abilities that Peru's exclusionary state system tried to reserve for nonindigenous elites, and he flouted the boundaries of the expected life course for an indigenous peasant. In most of the political documents he wrote across the twentieth century, he boldly changed the names of Peruvian communities and districts to better reflect their precolonial Quechua origins. He did the same with his own name, rejecting the Hispanicized spelling of his surname (Llamocca) in favor of a spelling with Quechua orthography (Llamojha). And in many of his writings and speeches, he used historical analysis to expose the colonial origins of problems like indigenous poverty, land loss, and racism.

In Peru, a country rife with racist and classist assumptions equating indigeneity and peasant life with ignorance, many observers were taken aback by Llamojha's skills as a writer and intellectual. His talents seemed at odds with what many people expected from an indigenous peasant. One Ayacucho schoolteacher whom I met recounted being stunned, at first meeting Llamojha, that the man who had written such a powerful denunciation of the Peruvian government's proposed education reform was simply a "humble campesino."[18] In a 1962 letter an Ayacucho authority commented that Llamojha could not possibly have written two of the documents in question—documents he did in fact write—asserting that he "does not have that capacity to draw up said communiqués."[19] Llamojha tells similar stories in his narrative, laughingly recalling how officials did not believe he could be the notorious Manuel Llamojha.

The disconnect between people's assumptions and Llamojha's appearance partly explains why he was able to escape police so easily and so often. That disconnect can also help us make sense of how Llamojha portrays himself in his life stories. At several points in his account he makes bold statements about his importance, comparing himself to Jesus and casting himself as fundamental to campesinos' triumphs. But the man who makes such claims seems anything but egotistical or arrogant in person. He is warm and soft-spoken, quick with a joke and a smile, and full of wonder about the world and its past. He is also frequently self-deprecating. As his daughter María explained, "My dad is really humble, down to earth and charismatic. He's not like other leaders who have a really strong personality and are really loud and effusive. My dad is really quiet, really calm, he doesn't appear to have all the vitality that he actually has, the great ability to get angry about injustice."[20] One man who worked

with him in the 1970s similarly commented that Llamojha was rather quiet and that they had to "pull words from him with a spoon."[21] Llamojha's grandiose claims thus seem less the words of an egotist than they do expressions of proud amazement at all that he was able to accomplish given his modest background. His assertions are also tinged with nostalgia: he is now an elderly man with failing eyesight and limited mobility, and he is remembering periods of his life when his power and prestige were much greater.

Llamojha's bold statements about his importance may also be a response to his obscure place in contemporary Peruvian national consciousness. Unlike other Peruvian political activists of the mid-twentieth century—Héctor Béjar, Hugo Blanco, Abimael Guzmán, and Luis de la Puente, among others—Llamojha's name is not well known in Peru today, and many have forgotten his struggles. Even leading members of the present-day CCP failed to recognize Llamojha's name when I asked them about him.[22] Yet Llamojha was one of Peru's most creative and esteemed twentieth-century political figures. He was also one of the only major twentieth-century Peruvian political leaders who was both indigenous and a peasant, setting him far apart from the wealthier and whiter Peruvian political activists whose names continue to resonate in Peru.

Campesinos and Indigeneity

Llamojha defines himself and those for whom he has long fought as campesinos, or peasants. In Latin America, *campesino* does not necessarily mean indigenous, as the racial and ethnic identities of men and women who call themselves peasants vary enormously across the continent. In Peru, there were and are impoverished agricultural laborers of African, Chinese, and mestizo (mixed European and indigenous) descent, as well as of indigenous origin, just as there have been many indigenous men and women whose economic lives were not defined by subsistence agriculture.

To Llamojha, however, to be a campesino is to belong to a rural community that originated with Peru's Inka. As he phrased it, "We have been here since the time of the Inka. We're natives [naturales] of America, of the continent." His understanding of what it means to be a campesino is one that melds ethnic, class, and historical identities, and he is both passionate and explicit about his indigeneity. He remembers angrily challenging his sister when she denied her indigenous origins, he utilized election propaganda that described him as "coming from the core of the Indian race," and he speaks repeatedly

about the beauty and importance of Quechua, calling it "the Peruvian language."[23] Llamojha's activism is also profoundly anticolonial. In his speeches and writings, he staunchly denounced the genocidal violence of the Spanish conquest and the suffering imposed by centuries of colonialism. In his notebooks he chronicles the Inka history of his home region, and he describes precolonial Andean labor practices.[24]

To Llamojha, there is nothing "unethnic" about his campesino identity.[25] Far from a strictly class-based definition of self, Llamojha's formulation of *campesino* is instead a staunchly anticolonial identity that embraces a Quechua ancestry. It is also a term he deems far more fitting than "Indian," a label he characterizes as a foolish mistake of colonialism. He explained:

> **Discrimination began when the Spanish took America. They categorized all the natives of the continent as "Indians," as people of another country, another world. I always felt proud when they called me "Indian." When Christopher Columbus came to America, he thought that all the inhabitants of America were from India. So I was proud when they said "Indian" to me, because that meant I was from India!**

Llamojha's formulation of an indigenist campesino identity reveals the complexity of indigeneity in Peru's Andean region.[26] Andean community members' understanding of themselves have varied dramatically across time, between Andean regions, between communities, and even between individuals. And because of the crippling constraints of racism in Peru, most rural Andean community members reject descriptors like indigenous, Indian, native, Aymara, and Quechua, choosing instead to call themselves campesinos.[27] Yet many of these community members take much pride in their Andean social, economic, and cultural practices and histories.

The shift to the campesino identifier was a gradual one. Documents from Llamojha's home region, Ayacucho, show members of rural Andean communities still occasionally self-identifying as indigenous as late as the early 1960s. Llamojha himself described his community's transition away from the label indigenous:

> **We used to write "indigenous campesino community" because representatives of the high authorities came and said "you are an indigenous community." So we accepted that and started to write documents and memos, always writing "indigenous campesino community." But later, we wanted to suspend use of that word. "Why should we write that?" we asked.**[28]

Llamojha's comments are key: he talks about leaving a word behind, not about discarding an identity. For Llamojha, there is nothing contradictory about using the term campesino to mean a Quechua speaker living in a community descended from the Inka.[29] Today, influenced by shifting continental politics, international funding opportunities, and the elections of presidents of Andean origin, more Peruvian individuals are explicitly self-identifying as indigenous. But that shift is not about Peru "catching up" to neighboring Andean countries where citizens began mobilizing around explicitly indigenous identities during the 1980s.[30] As the late anthropologist Carlos Iván Degregori observed, "perhaps it is not a matter of being ahead or behind, but rather of the distinct forms through which ethnicity is expressed in different countries."[31] And in Peru, for much of the twentieth century, Andean people largely chose to express their ethnoracial identity through the term *campesino*.

Writing a Testimonial Biography

My first encounter with Llamojha occurred in the Ayacucho Regional Archive. As I was researching the region's 1960s political history, I found several letters and reports from regional authorities warning about a dangerous communist activist in their midst. I also found a public letter that this activist—Manuel Llamojha Mitma—had written, and I was moved by its power and eloquence. A portion of that letter reads as follows:

> For more than 400 years, we have been eagerly awaiting the dawn of justice. Enough is enough. For more than four centuries, we have been suffering the flagellation of barbaric injustice. Enough is enough. We are still living the tragic misery of our lives, cheated and deceived by those who represent bastard interests. Enough is enough. The *latifundista* [estate-owning] gentlemen continue to enrich themselves, exploiting our sweat and the wealth of our territory.[32]

As I continued my research I found more and more references to Llamojha, and I learned that he had done an interview with Peru's Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (Truth and Reconciliation Commission; CVR) in 2002. When I finally met Llamojha in May 2011, I proposed that we work together on a book about his life. He readily agreed.

Llamojha and I had different motivations for producing this book.[33] I wanted to share his fascinating personal history and exceptionally rich stories

with undergraduate students, knowing that his life history would be a powerful tool for exploring key issues in twentieth-century Latin American history. His stories also push us to consider the connections—and departures—between the revolutionary activism of the twentieth century and the "left turn" taken by many Latin American governments in the first decade of the twenty-first century.[34] I also wanted to make Llamojha's experiences and ideas better known to scholars of Peru, as he shares crucial insights into the history of Peru's left and the CCP. Llamojha had a separate—but complementary—set of motivations. He wanted to ensure that future generations in countries throughout the world understood the injustices faced by Peru's indigenous peasants. As he phrased it,

> **campesinos have fought so much and suffered so much, during colonial times and republican times, too. We need the future world to know about this, the suffering of the campesinos.**

Llamojha also wanted to record and preserve the history of his beloved community, Concepción. Doing so was especially important to him given the anguish he continues to feel over the seizure and destruction of his immense document archive by Peruvian soldiers in 1982. After I provided a first draft of the book to him, Llamojha insisted that the physical copy remain in Concepción, as it held the community's history and should be available to community residents for consultation.

Different though they were, our motivations jointly necessitated the production of a highly readable book appropriate for a broad audience.[35] The book that resulted blends the conventions of biography and *testimonio*. Like a testimonio—a first-person narrative that shares a witness's experiences of a particular atrocity or injustice—this book privileges Llamojha's voice and life stories.[36] The book visually foregrounds his stories, presenting them in his standard typewriter font to give particular emphasis to his words. And like a testimonio, this work serves to denounce injustice and inspire others to action. But this book also departs significantly from the conventions of a testimonio and moves into the realm of biography. Because of the centrality of writing to Llamojha's political career and its deep personal importance to him, I have included excerpts of numerous documents written by him. In addition, I have provided historical context in each of the chapters, and I have included considerations of what others from the period wrote or said about Llamojha. Drawn from extensive archival research, these additions allow readers unfamiliar with Peruvian history to follow Llamojha's complex ac-

count of political work in the years from 1921 to the present. These additional materials also round out Llamojha's life history, helping to fill the thematic and temporal spaces that separate his many stories.[37] Yet in keeping with our shared desire to create a broadly accessible and highly readable book, I have confined historiographical discussion to the endnotes. This book bridges the methodological boundaries between testimonio and biography, and the result is what I deem a testimonial biography.[38] It recognizes Llamojha and me as coauthors, acknowledging the intellectual and creative work both of us performed and the editorial authority we shared.[39]

This testimonial biography is ultimately about much more than just one (extraordinary) individual's life. Testimonial biography offers an exceptional tool for analyzing continuities and changes over decades, for showing the complexities and contradictions of the past, and for showcasing the relationship between individuals and the social, cultural, and political contexts in which they operate.[40] Consideration of an individual life—with all its hardships, triumphs, and losses—also offers the reader a vivid and intense understanding of what it meant to live in a particular situation, place, and time.

In keeping with Llamojha's long history of composing formal legal documents, he and I signed an agreement before Concepción's justice of the peace. The document we signed recognized us as coauthors; granted permission for his life history stories, photographs, and drawings to be used in the book; agreed that any royalties would go to him; and allowed me to sign all paperwork for the book's publication. We also agreed that the book would be published in both English and Spanish, to best meet our dual goals for the book. In doing so, we answered the crucial questions that historian Florencia Mallon asks about research collaboration between nonindigenous academics and indigenous actors: "Who gets to talk about what, and in which language?"[41] This project is not about a North American scholar "giving voice" to a subaltern—Llamojha speaks just fine on his own, with seemingly inexhaustible intellectual energy, to all who want to listen. The book is instead about using the resources I have at my disposal to enable Llamojha to reach an audience well beyond those persons who visit him in Peru. The book is based on the mutual respect we have for each other as intellectuals and on our exchanges of ideas, documents, and knowledge.[42]

This testimonial biography was also shaped by the pressures and ravages of time. When we spoke about this book, Llamojha's primary concern was that it be completed as quickly as possible—a desire connected directly to the fact that he is in his nineties and acutely aware of his own mortality.

Anthropologist Barbara Myerhoff reflected on a similar issue in her study of elderly Jewish immigrants at a seniors' center in the United States. Noting these elderly men and women's determination to share their life stories, Myerhoff commented, "Again and again they attempted to show outsiders, as well as each other, who they were, why they mattered, what the nature of their past and present lives was. . . . Their extreme old age and sense of little time remaining intensified the desire to formulate a presentation of themselves."[43] Llamojha felt a similar sense of urgency about getting his story recorded and published, but our research plans were interrupted by tragedy. Just over a week after my first set of interviews with Llamojha in May 2011, his beloved wife, Esther, died unexpectedly. This was not the right moment to pursue more interviews, and I could not remain in Peru for an extended period, as the demands of family and my academic job meant I had to return to Canada.

The solution Llamojha and I found came through the participation of my longtime friend and research assistant Alicia Carrasco Gutiérrez in this project. Alicia carried out a series of follow-up interviews with Llamojha between October 2011 and July 2012, using lists of questions I emailed her from Canada. Alicia's participation in the project as a research assistant allowed the interviews with Llamojha to continue while I was in Canada.[44] She also interviewed three of his children and all of his surviving siblings, again using questions I sent her.[45] Llamojha and I then revisited the main themes of the book in a set of lengthy final interviews in May 2013, when I brought him the manuscript draft.

Llamojha's sense of urgency for completing this book also grew from his sadness and frustration over the failings of his memory. Although he shared amazingly detailed recollections of key events in his life—all the more astonishing given that he is in his nineties—he lamented the lapses in his memory that occasionally left him unable to answer my questions. He commented that sometimes he could not even remember his own name, and he wondered if someone had used witchcraft against him. His concerns about his decaying memory gave added weight to his desire to finish the book as quickly as possible. To supplement the life stories he shared during our interviews, and to relay his personal history in its richest detail, I have included segments of his 2002 interview with the CVR. For the sake of transparency, I explicitly signal any material that comes from that interview.[46]

Rather than narrating his life's course in a straightforward chronology, Llamojha shared dozens of stories about key moments in his life. As so many of us do, he often voiced slightly different versions of the same anecdotes in

our interviews.[47] In many instances I've amalgamated those versions in an attempt to best reflect his gifts for storytelling and share the fullness of his experiences. I have also edited his stories to minimize repetition. This method has drawbacks: it hides the emphasis that repeated stories and frequently reiterated sentences offer, and it imposes chronological order on an account that jumped back and forth in time. But the advantage is a narrative that is both readable and complete.

Llamojha's recollections allow us to see what happened during his life as an activist. We get access to key events, individuals, and experiences spanning the decades of his political career. Even more important, his stories reveal what *mattered* during his years of struggle. His words show his ideas, his opinions, and his perspectives, building a much fuller and more complicated portrait of his life than would be accessible from written documents alone. Certainly, we should not read Llamojha's life stories as strictly literal narrations of the past: he is a man in his nineties, speaking about events that occurred many decades ago, and he routinely recalls long-ago conversations in what surely are not verbatim renderings. It is difficult to specify the exact dates of many of the events he describes, and a handful of his stories seem to border on the apocryphal. His life stories are best read as historical memories shaped by his past and present dreams and desires, sorrows and triumphs, and by the Peruvian realities that he tried so hard to transform. The sharing of these remembrances is at once a social, cultural, and political act that helps Llamojha make sense of all that he accomplished, endured, and witnessed.[48] As oral history scholar Alessandro Portelli phrases it, "oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did."[49]

There is no doubt that my status as a white university professor from a wealthy country—and my research assistant Alicia Carrasco's status as a university-educated urban professional—meant that our interviews with Llamojha were shaped by significant power disparities.[50] Moreover, as the author of the first draft of this book, I made the first major decisions about what appears in these pages before taking a translated version of the book back to Llamojha and his family for feedback and revision. But it is also true that Llamojha brought his own priorities and agendas into our interviews, knowing that the interviews would form the basis of a book about his life. He clearly wanted to tell stories about his political life, and when Alicia and I tried to direct the conversation toward a discussion of his family life, asking questions about his wife, siblings, and children, he usually steered the conversation back onto

a political track. His narrative decisions had nothing to do with sentiment; his deep love and affection for his family were readily apparent in his daily interactions with them. He also showed a dogged optimism in our interviews, insisting that he had no regrets about his work and minimizing the suffering he endured during his constant imprisonments, years of extreme economic hardships, and major political disappointments. His interview choices reflected his desire to craft a narrative of his struggles as a campesino leader, to inspire others to action, and to cement a legacy of his political work.[51] As he noted in one of our interviews, "You always have to be in the struggle. Until the very end."

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Florencia Mallon offers useful definitions of colonialism and decolonization in relation to indigenous peoples in Mallon, "Introduction: Decolonizing Knowledge, Language and Narrative," 1.

2. See Drinot, *Che's Travels*.

3. See Mallon, "*Barbudos*, Warriors, and *Rotos*," 179–215.

4. Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*, 198–200.

5. It is impossible to quantify Peru's contemporary indigenous population. The last time the Peruvian census classified people by race was 1940, and today, many people who are identified by others as indigenous do not self-identify that way. The reverse is also true. Scholar David Sulmont has shown that estimates of the percentage of Peru's indigenous population thus vary widely, from as low as 19 percent to as high as 75 percent. The best estimates seem to fall in the 35–39 percent range. See Sulmont, "Race, Ethnicity and Politics in Three Peruvian Localities," 47–78.

6. Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 25.

7. For the Peruvian case, see Contreras, *El aprendizaje del capitalismo*; Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition*; Mallon, *The Defense of Community*; Manrique, *Yawar Mayu*.

8. One of the most famous discussions of this process is Matos Mar, *Desborde Popular y Crisis del Estado*.

9. For excellent new research on Latin America's experience of the Cold War, see Grandin and Joseph, *A Century of Revolution*; Joseph and Spenser, *In from the Cold*.

10. Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR), *Informe Final*.

11. Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*.

12. Gorriti, *Shining Path*, 47. The book was originally published in Spanish as *Sendero: Historia de la guerra milenaria en el Perú* (Lima: Editorial Apoyo, 1990).

13. CVR, *Informe Final*, vol. 2, chap. 1.1, subsection 2: Partido Comunista del Perú-Sendero Luminoso (Peruvian Communist Party-Shining Path, PCP-SL) 1980–82, 36.

14. Like most early twentieth-century Marxists, Gramsci believed that peasants were incapable of generating independent political thought and thus were unable to become "organic intellectuals." See Forgacs, *An Antonio Gramsci Reader*, 302, 309.

Steven Feierman built on—and wrote a powerful corrective to—Gramsci's ideas in his book *Peasant Intellectuals*.

15. Oficina Nacional de Estadística y Censos, *Censos Nacionales de Población, Vivienda y Agropecuario 1961*, vol. 5, *Departamento de Ayacucho*, 61.

16. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation*, 275.

17. Llamojha Mitma, *Historia y tradición del Pueblo de Concepción* (self-published manuscript in Llamojha's personal collection). In addition, Llamojha's 1970 address to the CCP—published in the Confederation's newspaper and republished in the journal *Campesino*—was twenty-four pages of single-spaced historical analysis of Peruvian campesino struggles across the twentieth century. Llamojha Mitma, "Las luchas campesinas y la Confederación Campesina del Perú," 43–67.

18. Interview with Adolfo Urbina (pseudonym), November 3, 2003.

19. Cangallo subprefect to Ayacucho prefect, March 10, 1962, Archivo Regional de Ayacucho (ARA), Subprefectura Cangallo (SC), Ministerios 1962 dossier.

20. Interview with María Llamojha, November 9, 2011.

21. Interview with Nelson Pereyra, June 26, 2011.

22. Informal conversations with several leaders of the CCP during visit to the CCP central office in Lima, June 23, 2011.

23. Manuel Llamojha Mitma: Candidato Campesino a una Diputación, handbill, February 1962, ARA, SC, Institutos Armados 1962 dossier.

24. These labor practices changed over time and should not be read as part of a static and timeless "Andean identity." Anthropologist Orin Starn offered a trenchant critique of anthropologists' tendency to essentialize rural Andean peoples. His arguments triggered a vigorous and healthy debate among scholars of the Andes. See Starn, "Missing the Revolution," 63–91; Starn, "Rethinking the Politics of Anthropology," 13–38.

25. The term "unethnic" borrows from an insightful article by anthropologist Frank Salomon. Salomon, "Unethnic Ethnohistory," 475–506.

26. This complexity has caused much hand-wringing among academics, both in and outside of Peru. Because most people in rural Andean communities self-define as campesinos, the question of what—if any—qualifier to place before the term *campesino* is a particularly vexing one. Is it appropriate to call these individuals indigenous, Quechua, or even Andean when they themselves largely resist using such labels? The question becomes especially difficult as one moves out of Peru's southern Andes, where Aymara and Quechua remain dominant languages in the countryside, and into the central and northern Andes, where people mostly speak Spanish. Many scholars working in these areas have chosen to speak of such persons simply as *campesinos*, implying the absence of any ethnic or racial identity. That casting seems fitting to a degree, given regional residents' broad rejection of the label *indigenous*, but fails to account for the strength of recognizably Andean economic and cultural practices among the area's rural men and women. See Salomon, "Unethnic Ethnohistory," 476.

27. This shift toward self-labeling as *campesinos* was well under way by the 1940s, partly as a consequence of the devastating 1927 military repression of a series of indig-

enous uprisings and the legal prohibition of a major indigenous rights organization: the Comité Pro-Derecho Indígena Tawantinsuyo (Tawantinsuyo Pro-Indigenous Rights Committee). Mobilizing under the rubric of *indigenous* became politically dangerous in the aftermath of the Tawantinsuyo Committee's repression, so it is hardly surprising that rural Andean leaders, in their next major effort to form a national organization to press for their rights, shied away from the term *indigenous*: they formed the Confederación Campesina del Perú (Peruvian Peasant Confederation; CCP) in 1947.

Another factor in the shift away from the label *indigenous* was urban migration. The 1930s and 1940s marked the start of a massive migration of people out of rural Andean communities to the coastal capital city of Lima. Economic, social, and political power had been overwhelmingly concentrated in Lima since colonial times, with the city and the larger coastal region racialized as a nonindigenous, European zone. The Andean people who came to Lima encountered terrible discrimination and exclusion, with many opportunities closed to people deemed Indians. For these people, the label *campesino* offered a chance for social mobility that the label *Indian* did not. The shift toward the identifier *campesino* was further cemented by the rise of parties like APRA and the Communist Party, as these organizations advocated along class lines and presented primarily class-based socioeconomic analyses of Peruvian society.

Peru also has a second major divide that is just as ideologically charged as the split between the coast and the Andean sierra: the divide between the highland Andes and the lowland Amazon. Since the Spanish conquest—and perhaps even before—a pointed distinction has existed between indigenous peoples who live in the Andes and those who live in the Amazon. The linguistic, religious, agricultural, and political differences between these two groups were and are profound, and many Andean people see Amazonian peoples rather than themselves as Peru's true Indians, thus making the label *campesino* all the more appealing as a self-identifier. For extensive discussions of Peruvian indigenous identity, see García, *Making Indigenous Citizens*; García and Lucero, "Exceptional Others," 253–270; García and Lucero, "Authenticating Indians and Movements," 278–298; Gelles, "Andean Culture, Indigenous Identity and the State in Peru," 239–266; Greene, "Getting Over the Andes," 327–354; Greene, *Customizing Indigeneity*; Orlove, "Putting Race in Its Place," 207–222; Remy, "The Indigenous Population and the Construction of Democracy in Peru," 107–130.

28. In 1969, Peruvian president General Juan Velasco Alvarado officially renamed Peru's Andean "indigenous communities" as "campesino communities" and changed the "Day of the Indian" to the "Day of the Campesino," aiming to transcend racism in a country where the word *indio* was a brutalizing racial insult. The historical reality, though, is that Velasco's move only made official a process that Andean people had begun much earlier.

29. Llamojha's ideas reflect what anthropologist Marisol de la Cadena observed among grassroots urban intellectuals in Cuzco. She found that these men and women embraced a "de-Indianized" mestizo identity that rejected the racialized connotations of indigeneity that cast indigenous peoples as uneducated, impoverished, and strictly

rural. Yet these same individuals simultaneously cherished and celebrated their Andean cultural heritage. De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*.

30. Albó, "El retorno del Indio," 309.

31. Quoted in García and Lucero, "Un País Sin Indígenas?," 159.

32. "Comunicado a los pueblos de Cangallo," February 1962, ARA, SC, Oficios de los Institutos Armados 1962 dossier.

33. Joanne Rappaport and Abelardo Ramos discuss how different motivations and institutional interests shape the collaboration process between academics and activists and between indigenous and nonindigenous researchers. See "Collaboration and Historical Writing," 132–133. For further reflections on collaborations between indigenous and nonindigenous intellectuals, see Rappaport, *Intercultural Utopias*, 83–114; Warren, *Indigenous Movements and Their Critics*, 69–85.

34. Beasley-Murray, Cameron and Hershberg, "Latin America's Left Turns," 319–330; Blanco and Grier, "Explaining the Rise of the Left in Latin America," 68–90.

35. I drew my inspiration from the extensive methodological reflections in Reuque Paillalef, *When a Flower Is Reborn*; Tula, *Hear My Testimony*; and James, *Doña María's Story*.

36. A key work on the testimonio genre is Beverley, *Testimonio*.

37. Jan Rus and Diane L. Rus discuss the advantages and disadvantages of adding introductions, explanatory footnotes, and historical context in publications produced by native intellectuals. "Taller Tzotzil of Chiapas, Mexico," 152, 169. See also Rappaport and Ramos, "Collaboration and Historical Writing," 140.

38. This book forms part of an extensive Peruvian literature consisting of biographies, autobiographies, memoirs, and testimonies written by and about campesinos, workers, and non-elite political activists. The most famous of these works include Pévez and Oré, *Memorias de un viejo luchador campesino*; Larico Yujra and Ayala, *Yo fui canillita de José Carlos Mariátegui*; Valderrama and Escalante, *Gregorio Condori Mamani*; Burenius and Torres, *Testimonio de un fracaso Huando*; Muñoz, Matos Mar, and Carbajal, *Erasmo Muñoz, yanacón del Valle de Chancay*; Béjar, *Perú 1965*; Blanco, *Land or Death*; and Gavilán, *Memorias de un soldado desconocido*.

39. I wrote an initial draft of the book and translated it into Spanish, and then I brought copies of my Spanish translation to Llamojha in May 2013. When I presented the draft to him, I ceded editorial control, stressing that I would make any deletions, corrections, and additions that he desired. I also made the draft available to his adult children and explained that I was open to discussing and working through any concerns they might have. Llamojha, his daughter María Llamojha Puklla, and I decided on necessary changes together. Jan Rus and Diane L. Rus offer a thoughtful discussion of editing practices—both for reasons of style and contentious content—with a native publishing project, "The Taller Tzotzil of Chiapas, Mexico," 162–163.

40. For thoughtful discussions on the strengths, limitations, and academic reputation of biography, see Banner, "Biography as History," 579–586; Nasaw, "Historians and Biography," 573–578; Kessler-Harris, "Why Biography?," 625–630.

41. Mallon, "Introduction: Decolonizing Knowledge, Language and Narrative," 3.

42. Mallon describes this practice of document sharing in *Courage Tastes of Blood*, 9.

43. Myerhoff, "Life History among the Elderly," 105.

44. I generated these follow-up questions in response to what I had learned from previous interviews and from archival documents.

45. A social worker by training, Alicia was born in Ayacucho and is fluent in both Quechua and Spanish. She and I jointly transcribed all of the interviews. All translations of Llamojha's Spanish stories and archival documents are my own. Alicia also translated brief Quechua segments of the interviews into Spanish.

46. The original recordings and a transcript of the interview are available at the CVR's archive in Lima, the Defensoría del Pueblo Centro de Información para la Memoria Colectiva y los Derechos Humanos (CIMCDH). I encourage interested researchers to listen to the recordings, as the transcript is incomplete. For ease of reading, I have edited out pauses, interruptions, and repetitions in Llamojha's CVR testimony.

47. Oral history scholar Alessandro Portelli reflects on this phenomenon in *Death of Luigi Trastulli*, 55. For theoretical considerations of life stories, see Linde, *Life Stories*.

48. This formulation of memory is shaped by the voluminous scholarship on the subject, much of which has been informed by Maurice Halbwachs's work on collective memory and Pierre Nora's discussions of sites of memory. See Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*; Nora, *Realms of Memory*. For the Latin American context, key works on memory include James, *Doña María's Story*; Jelín, *State Repression and the Labors of Memory*; Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*. There are, of course, many other ways that we could interpret Llamojha's life stories. We could read them as auto-ethnography, which Mary Louise Pratt defines as a colonized person's discussion of self, using the language of the colonizers. See Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*. We could also read these stories as examples of what Stephen Greenblatt considers "self-fashioning," whereby individuals craft and express their identities in relation to their contexts. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*.

49. Portelli, *Death of Luigi Trastulli*, 50.

50. Much has been written about the power differentials in anthropological and oral history research. See Starn, *Nightwatch*, 16; Scheper-Hughes, *Death without Weeping*, 28.

51. Joanne Rappaport and Abelardo Ramos discuss how the tensions in a collaborative research project they worked on stemmed less from the differences between Western academic research culture and the indigenous researcher than from the differences between academics and activists. "Collaboration and Historical Writing," 140.

CHAPTER 1: "I'M GOING TO BE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC"

1. Orlove, "Down to Earth," 209; Drinot, *Allure of Labor*.

2. De Oliviera and Roberts, "Urban Growth and Urban Social Structure in Latin America," 255.

3. Llamojha was born on a plot of land named Marka Marka, at the base of a Chachas tree.

NOW PERU IS MINE

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF A CAMPESINO ACTIVIST

Manuel Llamojha Mitma & Jaymie Patricia Heilman

NOW PERU IS MINE

Narrating Native Histories

Narrating Native Histories aims to foster a rethinking of the ethical, methodological, and conceptual frameworks within which we locate our work on Native histories and cultures. We seek to create a space for effective and ongoing conversations between North and South, Natives and non-Natives, academics and activists, throughout the Americas and the Pacific region.

This series encourages analyses that contribute to an understanding of Native peoples' relationships with nation-states, including histories of expropriation and exclusion as well as projects for autonomy and sovereignty. We encourage collaborative work that recognizes Native intellectuals, cultural interpreters, and alternative knowledge producers, as well as projects that question the relationship between orality and literacy.

Manuel Llamojha Mitma and Jaymie Patricia Heilman

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Cover art: Llamojha, location unknown, 1965. Photo courtesy of Manuel Llamojha Mitma.

DON MANUEL'S DEDICATION:

To my wife.
We struggled so hard together.

And to my children,
who supported me in the fight.

CONTENTS

A NOTE ON PLACE

Peru is divided into twenty-four departments, like American states. Until a major administrative reform in 2006, these departments were governed by nationally appointed prefects. Departments are subdivided into provinces, which were led by subprefects until the 2006 administrative change. Provinces are divided into districts, and districts house numerous communities and towns.

Much of Manuel Llamojha's life history is situated in the Peruvian department of Ayacucho. Its capital city, located in the province of Huamanga, is also named Ayacucho. For purposes of clarity, I refer to the capital as "the city of Ayacucho" throughout the text. Llamojha was born in the community of Concepción. Until 1954, Concepción belonged to the district of Vischongo in Cangallo province. In 1954, Concepción and the communities surrounding it were reorganized as a district, also named Concepción. In 1984, the province of Cangallo was divided in two, when the province of Vilcashuamán was established. The community and district of Concepción now belong to the province of Vilcashuamán.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As part of our co-authorship, Manuel Llamojha Mitma and I agreed that he would compose this book's dedication, and I would write the acknowledgments. My most important thanks, then, go to don Manuel. His incredible talents as a leader, historian, and storyteller form this book's foundation, and I am grateful that he so generously shared his memories with me. I continue to be amazed by his intellectual energy, his accomplishments as an activist, and his astonishing determination. It has been an enormous privilege to work with him.

María Llamojha Puklla took an active part in this book from its earliest moments, showing much enthusiasm, generosity, and kindness. I thank her for arranging interviews, for answering countless questions, and for her careful reading of the book's first draft. María's love for her father—and her commitment to honoring his life's work—is deeply moving.

Alicia Carrasco Gutiérrez played a crucial role in this project, conducting nearly two dozen interviews with questions I emailed her from Canada. Alicia's enthusiastic work enabled this project to move forward with the speed both don Manuel and I desired.

Walter, Hilda, and Delia Llamojha Puklla shared loving memories about their father as well as their reflections and concerns about the book. Although I met her only once, doña Esther Honorata Puklla warmly welcomed me into her family's life and readily offered her thoughts about her husband's activism. Don Manuel's brothers Emilio, Víctor, and Alejandro also agreed to be interviewed for the project. I thank them all for opening their lives and homes to Alicia and me. I am also grateful to the many current and former members of the Peruvian Peasant Confederation who shared their memories of don Manuel and his work.

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Gladys McCormick read a very early draft of this book, and her critical feedback helped me craft a more accessible work. Susan L. Smith likewise offered helpful comments on earlier versions. Ileana Rodríguez-Silva helped me think through some of the major challenges this project posed, and she provided outstanding conceptual advice.

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— JAYMIE PATRICIA HEILMAN

INTRODUCTION

"Now Peru is mine!" So declared an indigenous teenager named Manuel Llamojha Mitma after he entered the Peruvian army in the late 1930s. A Quechua peasant from the impoverished highland department of Ayacucho, Llamojha was determined to bring socioeconomic justice to a country rife with sharp anti-indigenous prejudice and startling inequalities, and he soon grew into one of twentieth-century Peru's most creative and dedicated political activists. This testimonial biography offers the first extended exploration of Llamojha's life, ideas, and work, chronicling his struggles against indigenous oppression, territorial dispossession, and sociopolitical exclusion, all problems that he defines as legacies of the Spanish conquest.[1] Read together, Llamojha's recollections about his life offer a means for understanding Peru's—and, indeed, Latin America's—troubled twentieth-century history. Fundamental issues like racism, revolutionary politics, agrarian reform, and political violence figure prominently in Llamojha's narrative, with one man's extraordinary life reflecting the course of an equally extraordinary century.

Although Llamojha's stay in the military was short-lived, he dedicated his life to fighting on behalf of Peru's indigenous peasants (campesinos). He led major mobilizations for indigenous land rights in his home region of Ayacucho during the 1940s and 1950s, and he ran for national political office in 1962. That same year, he became secretary general of Peru's largest national

peasant organization, the Confederación Campesina del Perú (Peruvian Peasant Confederation; CCP). Llamojha's activism took him to Cuba, China, and the Soviet Union in 1965, and during the 1970s he became embroiled in the bitter, divisive political quarrels that plagued the Peruvian left and fractured the CCP. In the 1980s, Llamojha was falsely accused of membership in the Peruvian Communist Party-Shining Path, a political party whose armed struggle plunged Peru into a twenty-year internal war that left over 69,000 Peruvians dead, the vast majority of whom were of rural, indigenous origins. That devastating conflict forced Llamojha to flee Ayacucho and live as an internal refugee in the city of Lima for nearly twenty years. The war also led to the permanent disappearance of his youngest son.

During many of our interviews, Llamojha wore a baseball cap embroidered with the iconic portrait of Che Guevara. Llamojha in a Che Guevara hat provides a striking image, for part of what makes Llamojha's recollections so valuable is that they help us see beyond Che, beyond the man who has come to symbolize twentieth-century political activism in Latin America.[2] The popular fascination with Che is easy to understand: this handsome young hero dedicated—and ultimately sacrificed—his life to the pursuit of revolutionary change. But Che was far from alone in his efforts, and his embrace of armed struggle represented only one particular form of revolutionary activism. Across Latin America, thousands of men and women likewise devoted their lives to pursuing fundamental political, social, and economic change, and their struggles to bring revolutionary transformations did not always involve the use of violence. Unlike Che Guevara, Llamojha never participated in guerrilla struggles; in our interviews he laughingly recalled that he had never even held a gun. Llamojha's activism instead involved writing, talking, and extensive efforts to mobilize indigenous peasants to press for socioeconomic justice and radical political transformation. And as an impoverished husband and father based in the Andean countryside, Llamojha did not have the kind of youthful urban virility and highly charged sexuality that—along with the ever-present beard—characterized the revolutionary masculinity of activists like Che.[3] Llamojha's recollections therefore allow us to reflect on both the many different shapes of activism in twentieth-century Latin America and the enduring legacies of those struggles.

Llamojha's life stories also help us to temper romantic visions of political activism. His recollections push us to look past simple narratives of heroic struggle and triumph as he shares memories of unjust imprisonments, torture, and the severe economic hardships linked to life as a political activist. His life

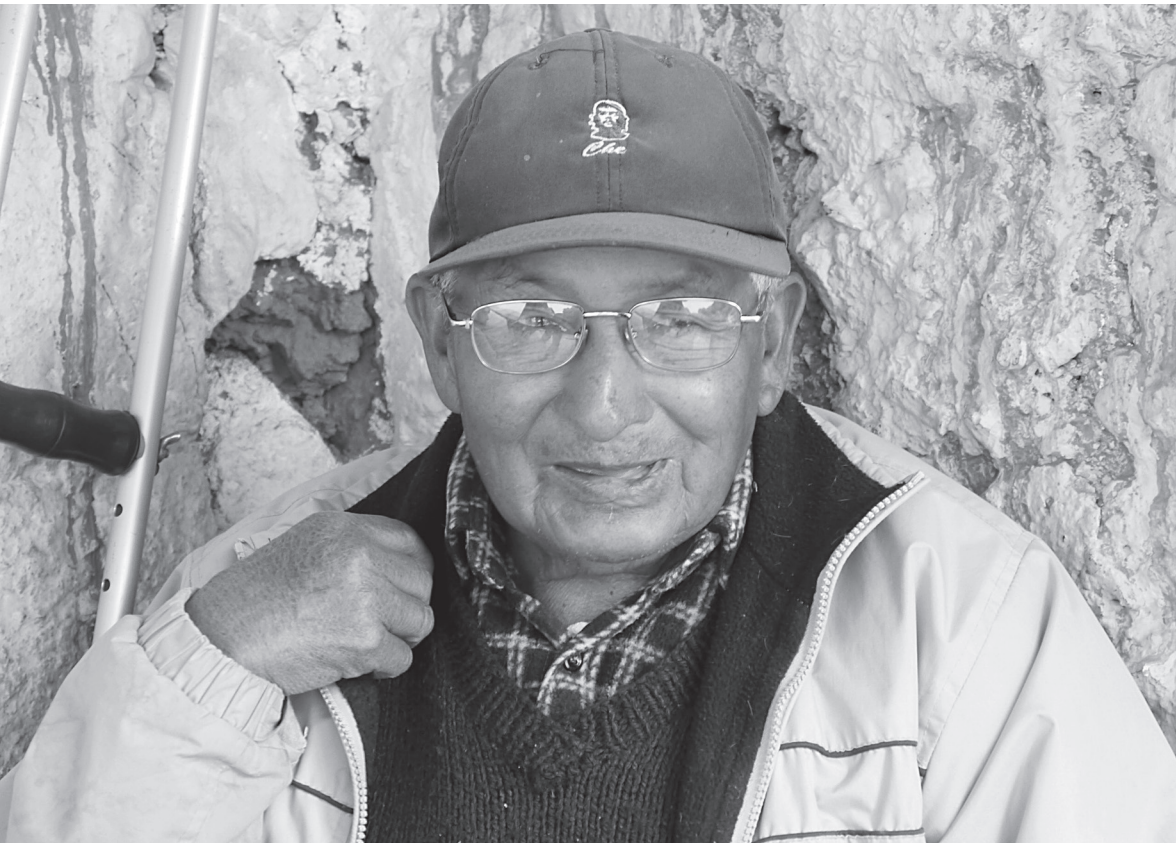

FIG. 1.1 Llamojha, Concepción, 2013. Author photo.

stories also expose heated political disputes between revolutionary activists, fights that left him slandered and marginalized by his former political allies. And unlike those revolutionary fighters who died young in the throes of armed struggle, Llamojha survived, living through the horrifying internal war in his country that brought terrible losses for him and his family. He also had to confront the difficulties of aging, struggling to remain politically active and relevant as an elderly man.

Llamojha's life history chronicles the realities of anti-Indianism: an ideological system that casts indigenous peoples as inherently inferior to whites and as impediments to national progress and a system of practices that excludes indigenous people from full citizenship while exploiting their land and labor.[4] Anti-Indianism has long flourished in Peru, a country that is home to a large

and diverse indigenous population; today, well over one-third of the country's population is indigenous.[5] Of the many different indigenous groups or nations living in Peru, peoples of Quechua ethnoracial heritage like Llamojha's are by far the most numerous, followed by the other main indigenous ethnic group living in the country's Andean sierra region, the Aymara. In addition, over sixty different indigenous ethnic groups live in Peru's lowland Amazon region. Despite the large number of indigenous people in Peru, anti-Indian racism has been—and remains—sharp there. The most indigenous regions of Peru's Andean sierra, the departments of Ancash, Apurímac, Ayacucho, Cuzco, Huancavelica, and Puno, were long known by the pejorative name mancha india (Indian stain), and the word indio (Indian) has long been a highly charged racial slur that simultaneously connotes backwardness, ignorance, and a latent potential for violence. Throughout this book Llamojha describes how such racism operated in his country, his home community, and even his own family. He spent his political career fighting against the consequences of anti-Indianism, leading mobilizations demanding indigenous peasants' land rights and national inclusion.

At its core, Llamojha's life history is about indigenous peasants' struggle for justice, in particular their fight for land. Across twentieth-century Latin America, campesinos from diverse regions and countries pressed for lands that they felt rightly belonged to them. The need for agrarian reform was particularly pressing in twentieth-century Peru, as Peru's agricultural land was heavily concentrated in the hands of a small landowning minority. In Llamojha's home department of Ayacucho in 1961, just 0.3 percent of all rural properties held 59.2 percent of the land, meaning that there was a gross disparity between large landed estates known as haciendas or latifundios and indigenous peasants' plots of land.[6] Ayacucho and the neighboring departments of Apurímac and Huancavelica formed the most impoverished area of Peru. The land campesinos owned was not only insufficient in quantity; it was often also quite poor in quality. As a result, indigenous peasants had barely enough land to meet their subsistence needs, and the food they produced was rarely varied enough to provide adequate nutrition.

To Llamojha, the problem of land is not just one of economic injustice; it is instead a problem that originated with the European conquest of Latin America. From the outset of the colonial period in the 1490s, many rural indigenous communities found their lands encroached on and even stolen by Spanish—or Portuguese, in the Brazilian case—colonizers who established large haciendas. The process of indigenous peasants' dispossession from their


Tumbes
Amazonas
Loreto
Piura
Caja-
marca
San
Martín
Lambayeque
La Libertad
Ancash
Huánuco
Pasco
Ucayali
Junín
Lima
Madre de
Dios
Huanca-
velica
Cuzco
Apurímac
Ica
Ayacucho
Puno
Arequipa
Moquegua
Tacna
Pacific
Ocean

MAP I.1 Peru

lands increased dramatically in scale and speed during the late 1800s, when now-independent Latin American nations became deeply enmeshed in the global market economy. Foreign demand for Latin American agricultural goods like coffee, sugar, tobacco, wool, and many other products led to a sustained assault on indigenous community lands by profit-hungry hacendados, the owners of private estates.[7] Countless indigenous peasants saw hacendados claim more and more community lands as their own, and many rural indigenous communities disappeared entirely, leaving community members to labor as landless peasants on haciendas. Although campesinos had long fought to defend their lands, using the courts, protests to government officials, and sometimes violence to protect their communities, the twentieth century witnessed unprecedented peasant mobilization demanding land. Campesinos filed complaints, staged protests, and even launched armed uprisings to demand the return of their lands. As a direct consequence of these efforts, governments in Mexico, Cuba, Guatemala, Bolivia, and Peru, among others, introduced agrarian reforms designed to redistribute land, expropriating hacienda lands for the benefit of campesinos.

Llamojha's life stories also chronicle one of the most profound shifts in twentieth-century Latin American history: the massive migration of men and women out of the countryside and into cities. Llamojha moved from his rural Andean community to the coastal capital city of Lima in the 1930s, at the beginning of an urbanization process that eventually transformed most Latin American countries. Power, social prestige, and wealth were overwhelmingly concentrated in Lima, a city long racialized as European, and many indigenous migrants faced wrenching discrimination and alienation when they arrived there. Yet those same migrants helped transform the capital city, changing its social, political, and economic dynamics through their labor, organizational efforts, and cultural practices.[8] Their arrival in Lima shaped—and was shaped by—the rise of major political parties like the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance; APRA) and the Communist Party, which offered radical new approaches to the many problems that plagued Peru.

Through Llamojha's experiences we can also see what it meant to be a political activist across the decades of the Cold War. Although he shares humorous recollections of his exploits against local hacendados and his daring escapes from police, he also reveals that he was routinely branded a communist and jailed on charges of subversion. Those charges were spurious: Llamojha worked closely with members of different branches of the Peruvian

Communist Party, but he never formally joined any political party and never self-identified as a communist. Llamojha's narrative shows that the Cold War was far more than an ideological and diplomatic fight between the United States and the Soviet Union. It was instead a broadly global conflict that had profound consequences in the everyday lives of Latin American citizens. Latin American states, elites, and sometimes even average men and women made accusations of communism to discredit individuals they deemed threatening and to justify their own—often violent—assertions of power. But, as Llamojha's account shows, the Cold War decades were also a time of enormous political creativity in Latin America, generating tremendous energy and excitement among activists and their sympathizers as they imagined, and fought for, revolutionary change.[9]

As Llamojha narrates his experiences of political activism in the 1960s and 1970s, he speaks of divisions and betrayals in Peru's left-wing political parties. Throughout much of twentieth-century Latin America, internecine conflicts between leftists led to heated confrontations, nasty invective, fractured parties, and countless political heartbreaks. In Peru these divides resulted in the bitter 1973 split of the CCP, the country's most important national campesino organization. In this book Llamojha shares anecdotes and opinions about several of the towering figures of the Peruvian left, and many of these stories are as sharply critical as they are humorous. What emerges is a portrait of Llamojha's steady political marginalization across the 1970s.

Llamojha's life stories also help us to understand the most devastating period of Peru's twentieth century: the 1980–2000 internal war, which began after the Peruvian Communist Party-Shining Path launched an armed struggle in May 1980. The resulting insurgency and state-sponsored counterinsurgency cost the lives of an estimated 69,280 Peruvians, most of them indigenous peasants. Strikingly, the Shining Path was responsible for the majority—54 percent—of these deaths.[10] In my book *Before the Shining Path*, I have argued that we need to understand the Shining Path's violence in its historical context. In the early days of the war, militants of the Shining Path took brutal and decisive action against abusive local authorities and wealthier peasants who had long exploited their poorer neighbors. Although indigenous peasants had long sought state intervention against these abusive figures—making heated and repeated complaints, often over the course of decades—these individuals remained in positions of power at the district level until Shining Path militants executed them. But the Shining Path did not stop there. Instead, party militants turned the same sort of violence against av-

erage indigenous peasants who were unwilling to wholly accept the Shining Path's mandates. In so doing, Shining Path activists essentially replicated old patterns set by abusive authorities and wealthier campesinos.[11]

We can see many of these same processes at work in the stories Llamojha narrates, including the Shining Path's assassination of a much-hated district official. Llamojha's connections to the years of violence are also intensely personal. From the 1980s—and indeed to this day—many of his enemies and rivals have accused him of belonging to the Shining Path. That false accusation came in part because the Shining Path tried to gain traction in the branch of the CCP that Llamojha led after the confederation's fracture in 1973. The accusation also came because one of the Shining Path's earliest armed attacks was directed against a hacienda that Llamojha had long challenged. Tragically for Llamojha and his family, that accusation appeared in one of the first and most influential studies of the Shining Path, Peruvian journalist Gustavo Gorriti's 1990 book *Sendero*, in which Gorriti mentioned a "clandestine meeting in the Ayacucho home of Shining Path peasant activist Manuel Llamojha Mitma."[12] Building off of Gorriti's book and influenced by other accusations I had heard, I too assumed that Llamojha had joined the Shining Path, and I wrote as much in *Before the Shining Path*. It is now clear that these claims were all mistaken; Llamojha never belonged to the Shining Path.

Peru's internal war upended Llamojha's life, forcing him to escape from Ayacucho and live as a displaced person in Lima for almost two decades. The war also generated the greatest tragedy Llamojha ever experienced: the disappearance of his son Herbert. Although Herbert Llamojha denied that he was a member of the Shining Path, he was present during one of the party's armed attacks and was consequently jailed on charges of assault and armed robbery. In March 1982, Shining Path militants stormed the Ayacucho jail where Herbert was imprisoned, aiming to free all the prisoners and thereby liberate jailed party members. Herbert was one of 304 prisoners who escaped.[13] But that is all we know. He might have been killed in the ensuing shootout, or he might have been arrested and then killed extrajudicially. It is also possible that he escaped and then lost his life elsewhere. No one knows. Herbert's disappearance is the central sorrow of Llamojha's life and an open wound that remains terribly painful for him, and for his family, to this day. Sadly, the traumas of political violence and the tragedy of disappearances were all too common in Latin America's twentieth century, as military regimes and nominal democracies conducted brutal dirty wars against ordi-

nary citizens. Llamojha's devastating experiences of loss echo across the Latin American continent.

The Activist Intellectual

Llamojha is what Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci termed an "organic intellectual"—someone who gives his or her social group self-awareness and who uses his work to educate, lead, and organize members of his class.[14] Llamojha utilized his writings, his ideas, and his words to inspire and mobilize indigenous peasants and to fight for their rights. Writing in particular was central to Llamojha's political career. In our interviews, he laughingly recalled going from community to community, his typewriter strapped to his back, so that he could compose protest letters on behalf of local indigenous peasants. The fact that he could read and write—and write so beautifully and effectively—allowed him to provide a crucial service to campesinos. Within his home department of Ayacucho during the 1940s, 1950s, and even 1960s, literacy rates in rural communities were startlingly low because of astonishing state neglect, as the Peruvian state failed to provide adequate educational opportunities in the Andean countryside. As late as 1961, 79.5 percent of the population over age fifteen living in rural Ayacucho were illiterate.[15] By drafting letters for illiterate indigenous peasants, Llamojha enabled them to participate in a political system expressly designed to exclude them. That exclusion resulted from the fact that until 1980, the right to vote was dependent on literacy, a requirement pointedly intended to disenfranchise rural indigenous people.[16]

Writing was more than just a functional skill for Llamojha. It was—and remains—central to his identity and close to his heart. Throughout our interviews, he spoke of his typewriter, his papers, and especially his books with tremendous affection. He despaired at the fact that soldiers seized his personal archive and book collection in 1982, and he even anthropomorphized the religious books confiscated by the courts in 1948, lamenting that his books were subject to life imprisonment. He spoke about how much he enjoyed reading, thinking, and writing, recalling that he even used to write poetry. Llamojha is also very much a historian. He fills his narratives with references to colonial times, to the Inka, and even to humanity's very first emergence on Earth, and he has written an unpublished book about the history of his home community, Concepción.[17] He remembers giving talks to university students in Lima, and in recent years many students from Ayacucho's San Cristóbal

de Huamanga University have made the four-hour bus trip to Concepción to visit him and interview him about regional history.

Llamojha's work as an indigenous intellectual reveals his concerted efforts to decolonize knowledge. He labored to acquire the literacy and writing abilities that Peru's exclusionary state system tried to reserve for nonindigenous elites, and he flouted the boundaries of the expected life course for an indigenous peasant. In most of the political documents he wrote across the twentieth century, he boldly changed the names of Peruvian communities and districts to better reflect their precolonial Quechua origins. He did the same with his own name, rejecting the Hispanicized spelling of his surname (Llamocca) in favor of a spelling with Quechua orthography (Llamojha). And in many of his writings and speeches, he used historical analysis to expose the colonial origins of problems like indigenous poverty, land loss, and racism.

In Peru, a country rife with racist and classist assumptions equating indigeneity and peasant life with ignorance, many observers were taken aback by Llamojha's skills as a writer and intellectual. His talents seemed at odds with what many people expected from an indigenous peasant. One Ayacucho schoolteacher whom I met recounted being stunned, at first meeting Llamojha, that the man who had written such a powerful denunciation of the Peruvian government's proposed education reform was simply a "humble campesino."[18] In a 1962 letter an Ayacucho authority commented that Llamojha could not possibly have written two of the documents in question—documents he did in fact write—asserting that he "does not have that capacity to draw up said communiqués."[19] Llamojha tells similar stories in his narrative, laughingly recalling how officials did not believe he could be the notorious Manuel Llamojha.

The disconnect between people's assumptions and Llamojha's appearance partly explains why he was able to escape police so easily and so often. That disconnect can also help us make sense of how Llamojha portrays himself in his life stories. At several points in his account he makes bold statements about his importance, comparing himself to Jesus and casting himself as fundamental to campesinos' triumphs. But the man who makes such claims seems anything but egotistical or arrogant in person. He is warm and soft-spoken, quick with a joke and a smile, and full of wonder about the world and its past. He is also frequently self-deprecating. As his daughter María explained, "My dad is really humble, down to earth and charismatic. He's not like other leaders who have a really strong personality and are really loud and effusive. My dad is really quiet, really calm, he doesn't appear to have all the vitality that he actually has, the great ability to get angry about injustice."[20] One man who worked

with him in the 1970s similarly commented that Llamojha was rather quiet and that they had to "pull words from him with a spoon."[21] Llamojha's grandiose claims thus seem less the words of an egotist than they do expressions of proud amazement at all that he was able to accomplish given his modest background. His assertions are also tinged with nostalgia: he is now an elderly man with failing eyesight and limited mobility, and he is remembering periods of his life when his power and prestige were much greater.

Llamojha's bold statements about his importance may also be a response to his obscure place in contemporary Peruvian national consciousness. Unlike other Peruvian political activists of the mid-twentieth century—Héctor Béjar, Hugo Blanco, Abimael Guzmán, and Luis de la Puente, among others—Llamojha's name is not well known in Peru today, and many have forgotten his struggles. Even leading members of the present-day CCP failed to recognize Llamojha's name when I asked them about him.[22] Yet Llamojha was one of Peru's most creative and esteemed twentieth-century political figures. He was also one of the only major twentieth-century Peruvian political leaders who was both indigenous and a peasant, setting him far apart from the wealthier and whiter Peruvian political activists whose names continue to resonate in Peru.

Campesinos and Indigeneity

Llamojha defines himself and those for whom he has long fought as campesinos, or peasants. In Latin America, *campesino* does not necessarily mean indigenous, as the racial and ethnic identities of men and women who call themselves peasants vary enormously across the continent. In Peru, there were and are impoverished agricultural laborers of African, Chinese, and mestizo (mixed European and indigenous) descent, as well as of indigenous origin, just as there have been many indigenous men and women whose economic lives were not defined by subsistence agriculture.

To Llamojha, however, to be a campesino is to belong to a rural community that originated with Peru's Inka. As he phrased it, "We have been here since the time of the Inka. We're natives [naturales] of America, of the continent." His understanding of what it means to be a campesino is one that melds ethnic, class, and historical identities, and he is both passionate and explicit about his indigeneity. He remembers angrily challenging his sister when she denied her indigenous origins, he utilized election propaganda that described him as "coming from the core of the Indian race," and he speaks repeatedly

about the beauty and importance of Quechua, calling it "the Peruvian language."[23] Llamojha's activism is also profoundly anticolonial. In his speeches and writings, he staunchly denounced the genocidal violence of the Spanish conquest and the suffering imposed by centuries of colonialism. In his notebooks he chronicles the Inka history of his home region, and he describes precolonial Andean labor practices.[24]

To Llamojha, there is nothing "unethnic" about his campesino identity.[25] Far from a strictly class-based definition of self, Llamojha's formulation of *campesino* is instead a staunchly anticolonial identity that embraces a Quechua ancestry. It is also a term he deems far more fitting than "Indian," a label he characterizes as a foolish mistake of colonialism. He explained:

> **Discrimination began when the Spanish took America. They categorized all the natives of the continent as "Indians," as people of another country, another world. I always felt proud when they called me "Indian." When Christopher Columbus came to America, he thought that all the inhabitants of America were from India. So I was proud when they said "Indian" to me, because that meant I was from India!**

Llamojha's formulation of an indigenist campesino identity reveals the complexity of indigeneity in Peru's Andean region.[26] Andean community members' understanding of themselves have varied dramatically across time, between Andean regions, between communities, and even between individuals. And because of the crippling constraints of racism in Peru, most rural Andean community members reject descriptors like indigenous, Indian, native, Aymara, and Quechua, choosing instead to call themselves campesinos.[27] Yet many of these community members take much pride in their Andean social, economic, and cultural practices and histories.

The shift to the campesino identifier was a gradual one. Documents from Llamojha's home region, Ayacucho, show members of rural Andean communities still occasionally self-identifying as indigenous as late as the early 1960s. Llamojha himself described his community's transition away from the label indigenous:

> **We used to write "indigenous campesino community" because representatives of the high authorities came and said "you are an indigenous community." So we accepted that and started to write documents and memos, always writing "indigenous campesino community." But later, we wanted to suspend use of that word. "Why should we write that?" we asked.**[28]

Llamojha's comments are key: he talks about leaving a word behind, not about discarding an identity. For Llamojha, there is nothing contradictory about using the term campesino to mean a Quechua speaker living in a community descended from the Inka.[29] Today, influenced by shifting continental politics, international funding opportunities, and the elections of presidents of Andean origin, more Peruvian individuals are explicitly self-identifying as indigenous. But that shift is not about Peru "catching up" to neighboring Andean countries where citizens began mobilizing around explicitly indigenous identities during the 1980s.[30] As the late anthropologist Carlos Iván Degregori observed, "perhaps it is not a matter of being ahead or behind, but rather of the distinct forms through which ethnicity is expressed in different countries."[31] And in Peru, for much of the twentieth century, Andean people largely chose to express their ethnoracial identity through the term *campesino*.

Writing a Testimonial Biography

My first encounter with Llamojha occurred in the Ayacucho Regional Archive. As I was researching the region's 1960s political history, I found several letters and reports from regional authorities warning about a dangerous communist activist in their midst. I also found a public letter that this activist—Manuel Llamojha Mitma—had written, and I was moved by its power and eloquence. A portion of that letter reads as follows:

> For more than 400 years, we have been eagerly awaiting the dawn of justice. Enough is enough. For more than four centuries, we have been suffering the flagellation of barbaric injustice. Enough is enough. We are still living the tragic misery of our lives, cheated and deceived by those who represent bastard interests. Enough is enough. The *latifundista* [estate-owning] gentlemen continue to enrich themselves, exploiting our sweat and the wealth of our territory.[32]

As I continued my research I found more and more references to Llamojha, and I learned that he had done an interview with Peru's Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (Truth and Reconciliation Commission; CVR) in 2002. When I finally met Llamojha in May 2011, I proposed that we work together on a book about his life. He readily agreed.

Llamojha and I had different motivations for producing this book.[33] I wanted to share his fascinating personal history and exceptionally rich stories

with undergraduate students, knowing that his life history would be a powerful tool for exploring key issues in twentieth-century Latin American history. His stories also push us to consider the connections—and departures—between the revolutionary activism of the twentieth century and the "left turn" taken by many Latin American governments in the first decade of the twenty-first century.[34] I also wanted to make Llamojha's experiences and ideas better known to scholars of Peru, as he shares crucial insights into the history of Peru's left and the CCP. Llamojha had a separate—but complementary—set of motivations. He wanted to ensure that future generations in countries throughout the world understood the injustices faced by Peru's indigenous peasants. As he phrased it,

> **campesinos have fought so much and suffered so much, during colonial times and republican times, too. We need the future world to know about this, the suffering of the campesinos.**

Llamojha also wanted to record and preserve the history of his beloved community, Concepción. Doing so was especially important to him given the anguish he continues to feel over the seizure and destruction of his immense document archive by Peruvian soldiers in 1982. After I provided a first draft of the book to him, Llamojha insisted that the physical copy remain in Concepción, as it held the community's history and should be available to community residents for consultation.

Different though they were, our motivations jointly necessitated the production of a highly readable book appropriate for a broad audience.[35] The book that resulted blends the conventions of biography and *testimonio*. Like a testimonio—a first-person narrative that shares a witness's experiences of a particular atrocity or injustice—this book privileges Llamojha's voice and life stories.[36] The book visually foregrounds his stories, presenting them in his standard typewriter font to give particular emphasis to his words. And like a testimonio, this work serves to denounce injustice and inspire others to action. But this book also departs significantly from the conventions of a testimonio and moves into the realm of biography. Because of the centrality of writing to Llamojha's political career and its deep personal importance to him, I have included excerpts of numerous documents written by him. In addition, I have provided historical context in each of the chapters, and I have included considerations of what others from the period wrote or said about Llamojha. Drawn from extensive archival research, these additions allow readers unfamiliar with Peruvian history to follow Llamojha's complex ac-

count of political work in the years from 1921 to the present. These additional materials also round out Llamojha's life history, helping to fill the thematic and temporal spaces that separate his many stories.[37] Yet in keeping with our shared desire to create a broadly accessible and highly readable book, I have confined historiographical discussion to the endnotes. This book bridges the methodological boundaries between testimonio and biography, and the result is what I deem a testimonial biography.[38] It recognizes Llamojha and me as coauthors, acknowledging the intellectual and creative work both of us performed and the editorial authority we shared.[39]

This testimonial biography is ultimately about much more than just one (extraordinary) individual's life. Testimonial biography offers an exceptional tool for analyzing continuities and changes over decades, for showing the complexities and contradictions of the past, and for showcasing the relationship between individuals and the social, cultural, and political contexts in which they operate.[40] Consideration of an individual life—with all its hardships, triumphs, and losses—also offers the reader a vivid and intense understanding of what it meant to live in a particular situation, place, and time.

In keeping with Llamojha's long history of composing formal legal documents, he and I signed an agreement before Concepción's justice of the peace. The document we signed recognized us as coauthors; granted permission for his life history stories, photographs, and drawings to be used in the book; agreed that any royalties would go to him; and allowed me to sign all paperwork for the book's publication. We also agreed that the book would be published in both English and Spanish, to best meet our dual goals for the book. In doing so, we answered the crucial questions that historian Florencia Mallon asks about research collaboration between nonindigenous academics and indigenous actors: "Who gets to talk about what, and in which language?"[41] This project is not about a North American scholar "giving voice" to a subaltern—Llamojha speaks just fine on his own, with seemingly inexhaustible intellectual energy, to all who want to listen. The book is instead about using the resources I have at my disposal to enable Llamojha to reach an audience well beyond those persons who visit him in Peru. The book is based on the mutual respect we have for each other as intellectuals and on our exchanges of ideas, documents, and knowledge.[42]

This testimonial biography was also shaped by the pressures and ravages of time. When we spoke about this book, Llamojha's primary concern was that it be completed as quickly as possible—a desire connected directly to the fact that he is in his nineties and acutely aware of his own mortality.

Anthropologist Barbara Myerhoff reflected on a similar issue in her study of elderly Jewish immigrants at a seniors' center in the United States. Noting these elderly men and women's determination to share their life stories, Myerhoff commented, "Again and again they attempted to show outsiders, as well as each other, who they were, why they mattered, what the nature of their past and present lives was. . . . Their extreme old age and sense of little time remaining intensified the desire to formulate a presentation of themselves."[43] Llamojha felt a similar sense of urgency about getting his story recorded and published, but our research plans were interrupted by tragedy. Just over a week after my first set of interviews with Llamojha in May 2011, his beloved wife, Esther, died unexpectedly. This was not the right moment to pursue more interviews, and I could not remain in Peru for an extended period, as the demands of family and my academic job meant I had to return to Canada.

The solution Llamojha and I found came through the participation of my longtime friend and research assistant Alicia Carrasco Gutiérrez in this project. Alicia carried out a series of follow-up interviews with Llamojha between October 2011 and July 2012, using lists of questions I emailed her from Canada. Alicia's participation in the project as a research assistant allowed the interviews with Llamojha to continue while I was in Canada.[44] She also interviewed three of his children and all of his surviving siblings, again using questions I sent her.[45] Llamojha and I then revisited the main themes of the book in a set of lengthy final interviews in May 2013, when I brought him the manuscript draft.

Llamojha's sense of urgency for completing this book also grew from his sadness and frustration over the failings of his memory. Although he shared amazingly detailed recollections of key events in his life—all the more astonishing given that he is in his nineties—he lamented the lapses in his memory that occasionally left him unable to answer my questions. He commented that sometimes he could not even remember his own name, and he wondered if someone had used witchcraft against him. His concerns about his decaying memory gave added weight to his desire to finish the book as quickly as possible. To supplement the life stories he shared during our interviews, and to relay his personal history in its richest detail, I have included segments of his 2002 interview with the CVR. For the sake of transparency, I explicitly signal any material that comes from that interview.[46]

Rather than narrating his life's course in a straightforward chronology, Llamojha shared dozens of stories about key moments in his life. As so many of us do, he often voiced slightly different versions of the same anecdotes in

our interviews.[47] In many instances I've amalgamated those versions in an attempt to best reflect his gifts for storytelling and share the fullness of his experiences. I have also edited his stories to minimize repetition. This method has drawbacks: it hides the emphasis that repeated stories and frequently reiterated sentences offer, and it imposes chronological order on an account that jumped back and forth in time. But the advantage is a narrative that is both readable and complete.

Llamojha's recollections allow us to see what happened during his life as an activist. We get access to key events, individuals, and experiences spanning the decades of his political career. Even more important, his stories reveal what *mattered* during his years of struggle. His words show his ideas, his opinions, and his perspectives, building a much fuller and more complicated portrait of his life than would be accessible from written documents alone. Certainly, we should not read Llamojha's life stories as strictly literal narrations of the past: he is a man in his nineties, speaking about events that occurred many decades ago, and he routinely recalls long-ago conversations in what surely are not verbatim renderings. It is difficult to specify the exact dates of many of the events he describes, and a handful of his stories seem to border on the apocryphal. His life stories are best read as historical memories shaped by his past and present dreams and desires, sorrows and triumphs, and by the Peruvian realities that he tried so hard to transform. The sharing of these remembrances is at once a social, cultural, and political act that helps Llamojha make sense of all that he accomplished, endured, and witnessed.[48] As oral history scholar Alessandro Portelli phrases it, "oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did."[49]

There is no doubt that my status as a white university professor from a wealthy country—and my research assistant Alicia Carrasco's status as a university-educated urban professional—meant that our interviews with Llamojha were shaped by significant power disparities.[50] Moreover, as the author of the first draft of this book, I made the first major decisions about what appears in these pages before taking a translated version of the book back to Llamojha and his family for feedback and revision. But it is also true that Llamojha brought his own priorities and agendas into our interviews, knowing that the interviews would form the basis of a book about his life. He clearly wanted to tell stories about his political life, and when Alicia and I tried to direct the conversation toward a discussion of his family life, asking questions about his wife, siblings, and children, he usually steered the conversation back onto

a political track. His narrative decisions had nothing to do with sentiment; his deep love and affection for his family were readily apparent in his daily interactions with them. He also showed a dogged optimism in our interviews, insisting that he had no regrets about his work and minimizing the suffering he endured during his constant imprisonments, years of extreme economic hardships, and major political disappointments. His interview choices reflected his desire to craft a narrative of his struggles as a campesino leader, to inspire others to action, and to cement a legacy of his political work.[51] As he noted in one of our interviews, "You always have to be in the struggle. Until the very end."

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Florencia Mallon offers useful definitions of colonialism and decolonization in relation to indigenous peoples in Mallon, "Introduction: Decolonizing Knowledge, Language and Narrative," 1.

2. See Drinot, *Che's Travels*.

3. See Mallon, "*Barbudos*, Warriors, and *Rotos*," 179–215.

4. Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*, 198–200.

5. It is impossible to quantify Peru's contemporary indigenous population. The last time the Peruvian census classified people by race was 1940, and today, many people who are identified by others as indigenous do not self-identify that way. The reverse is also true. Scholar David Sulmont has shown that estimates of the percentage of Peru's indigenous population thus vary widely, from as low as 19 percent to as high as 75 percent. The best estimates seem to fall in the 35–39 percent range. See Sulmont, "Race, Ethnicity and Politics in Three Peruvian Localities," 47–78.

6. Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 25.

7. For the Peruvian case, see Contreras, *El aprendizaje del capitalismo*; Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition*; Mallon, *The Defense of Community*; Manrique, *Yawar Mayu*.

8. One of the most famous discussions of this process is Matos Mar, *Desborde Popular y Crisis del Estado*.

9. For excellent new research on Latin America's experience of the Cold War, see Grandin and Joseph, *A Century of Revolution*; Joseph and Spenser, *In from the Cold*.

10. Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR), *Informe Final*.

11. Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*.

12. Gorriti, *Shining Path*, 47. The book was originally published in Spanish as *Sendero: Historia de la guerra milenaria en el Perú* (Lima: Editorial Apoyo, 1990).

13. CVR, *Informe Final*, vol. 2, chap. 1.1, subsection 2: Partido Comunista del Perú-Sendero Luminoso (Peruvian Communist Party-Shining Path, PCP-SL) 1980–82, 36.

14. Like most early twentieth-century Marxists, Gramsci believed that peasants were incapable of generating independent political thought and thus were unable to become "organic intellectuals." See Forgacs, *An Antonio Gramsci Reader*, 302, 309.

Steven Feierman built on—and wrote a powerful corrective to—Gramsci's ideas in his book *Peasant Intellectuals*.

15. Oficina Nacional de Estadística y Censos, *Censos Nacionales de Población, Vivienda y Agropecuario 1961*, vol. 5, *Departamento de Ayacucho*, 61.

16. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation*, 275.

17. Llamojha Mitma, *Historia y tradición del Pueblo de Concepción* (self-published manuscript in Llamojha's personal collection). In addition, Llamojha's 1970 address to the CCP—published in the Confederation's newspaper and republished in the journal *Campesino*—was twenty-four pages of single-spaced historical analysis of Peruvian campesino struggles across the twentieth century. Llamojha Mitma, "Las luchas campesinas y la Confederación Campesina del Perú," 43–67.

18. Interview with Adolfo Urbina (pseudonym), November 3, 2003.

19. Cangallo subprefect to Ayacucho prefect, March 10, 1962, Archivo Regional de Ayacucho (ARA), Subprefectura Cangallo (SC), Ministerios 1962 dossier.

20. Interview with María Llamojha, November 9, 2011.

21. Interview with Nelson Pereyra, June 26, 2011.

22. Informal conversations with several leaders of the CCP during visit to the CCP central office in Lima, June 23, 2011.

23. Manuel Llamojha Mitma: Candidato Campesino a una Diputación, handbill, February 1962, ARA, SC, Institutos Armados 1962 dossier.

24. These labor practices changed over time and should not be read as part of a static and timeless "Andean identity." Anthropologist Orin Starn offered a trenchant critique of anthropologists' tendency to essentialize rural Andean peoples. His arguments triggered a vigorous and healthy debate among scholars of the Andes. See Starn, "Missing the Revolution," 63–91; Starn, "Rethinking the Politics of Anthropology," 13–38.

25. The term "unethnic" borrows from an insightful article by anthropologist Frank Salomon. Salomon, "Unethnic Ethnohistory," 475–506.

26. This complexity has caused much hand-wringing among academics, both in and outside of Peru. Because most people in rural Andean communities self-define as campesinos, the question of what—if any—qualifier to place before the term *campesino* is a particularly vexing one. Is it appropriate to call these individuals indigenous, Quechua, or even Andean when they themselves largely resist using such labels? The question becomes especially difficult as one moves out of Peru's southern Andes, where Aymara and Quechua remain dominant languages in the countryside, and into the central and northern Andes, where people mostly speak Spanish. Many scholars working in these areas have chosen to speak of such persons simply as *campesinos*, implying the absence of any ethnic or racial identity. That casting seems fitting to a degree, given regional residents' broad rejection of the label *indigenous*, but fails to account for the strength of recognizably Andean economic and cultural practices among the area's rural men and women. See Salomon, "Unethnic Ethnohistory," 476.

27. This shift toward self-labeling as *campesinos* was well under way by the 1940s, partly as a consequence of the devastating 1927 military repression of a series of indig-

enous uprisings and the legal prohibition of a major indigenous rights organization: the Comité Pro-Derecho Indígena Tawantinsuyo (Tawantinsuyo Pro-Indigenous Rights Committee). Mobilizing under the rubric of *indigenous* became politically dangerous in the aftermath of the Tawantinsuyo Committee's repression, so it is hardly surprising that rural Andean leaders, in their next major effort to form a national organization to press for their rights, shied away from the term *indigenous*: they formed the Confederación Campesina del Perú (Peruvian Peasant Confederation; CCP) in 1947.

Another factor in the shift away from the label *indigenous* was urban migration. The 1930s and 1940s marked the start of a massive migration of people out of rural Andean communities to the coastal capital city of Lima. Economic, social, and political power had been overwhelmingly concentrated in Lima since colonial times, with the city and the larger coastal region racialized as a nonindigenous, European zone. The Andean people who came to Lima encountered terrible discrimination and exclusion, with many opportunities closed to people deemed Indians. For these people, the label *campesino* offered a chance for social mobility that the label *Indian* did not. The shift toward the identifier *campesino* was further cemented by the rise of parties like APRA and the Communist Party, as these organizations advocated along class lines and presented primarily class-based socioeconomic analyses of Peruvian society.

Peru also has a second major divide that is just as ideologically charged as the split between the coast and the Andean sierra: the divide between the highland Andes and the lowland Amazon. Since the Spanish conquest—and perhaps even before—a pointed distinction has existed between indigenous peoples who live in the Andes and those who live in the Amazon. The linguistic, religious, agricultural, and political differences between these two groups were and are profound, and many Andean people see Amazonian peoples rather than themselves as Peru's true Indians, thus making the label *campesino* all the more appealing as a self-identifier. For extensive discussions of Peruvian indigenous identity, see García, *Making Indigenous Citizens*; García and Lucero, "Exceptional Others," 253–270; García and Lucero, "Authenticating Indians and Movements," 278–298; Gelles, "Andean Culture, Indigenous Identity and the State in Peru," 239–266; Greene, "Getting Over the Andes," 327–354; Greene, *Customizing Indigeneity*; Orlove, "Putting Race in Its Place," 207–222; Remy, "The Indigenous Population and the Construction of Democracy in Peru," 107–130.

28. In 1969, Peruvian president General Juan Velasco Alvarado officially renamed Peru's Andean "indigenous communities" as "campesino communities" and changed the "Day of the Indian" to the "Day of the Campesino," aiming to transcend racism in a country where the word *indio* was a brutalizing racial insult. The historical reality, though, is that Velasco's move only made official a process that Andean people had begun much earlier.

29. Llamojha's ideas reflect what anthropologist Marisol de la Cadena observed among grassroots urban intellectuals in Cuzco. She found that these men and women embraced a "de-Indianized" mestizo identity that rejected the racialized connotations of indigeneity that cast indigenous peoples as uneducated, impoverished, and strictly

rural. Yet these same individuals simultaneously cherished and celebrated their Andean cultural heritage. De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*.

30. Albó, "El retorno del Indio," 309.

31. Quoted in García and Lucero, "Un País Sin Indígenas?," 159.

32. "Comunicado a los pueblos de Cangallo," February 1962, ARA, SC, Oficios de los Institutos Armados 1962 dossier.

33. Joanne Rappaport and Abelardo Ramos discuss how different motivations and institutional interests shape the collaboration process between academics and activists and between indigenous and nonindigenous researchers. See "Collaboration and Historical Writing," 132–133. For further reflections on collaborations between indigenous and nonindigenous intellectuals, see Rappaport, *Intercultural Utopias*, 83–114; Warren, *Indigenous Movements and Their Critics*, 69–85.

34. Beasley-Murray, Cameron and Hershberg, "Latin America's Left Turns," 319–330; Blanco and Grier, "Explaining the Rise of the Left in Latin America," 68–90.

35. I drew my inspiration from the extensive methodological reflections in Reuque Paillalef, *When a Flower Is Reborn*; Tula, *Hear My Testimony*; and James, *Doña María's Story*.

36. A key work on the testimonio genre is Beverley, *Testimonio*.

37. Jan Rus and Diane L. Rus discuss the advantages and disadvantages of adding introductions, explanatory footnotes, and historical context in publications produced by native intellectuals. "Taller Tzotzil of Chiapas, Mexico," 152, 169. See also Rappaport and Ramos, "Collaboration and Historical Writing," 140.

38. This book forms part of an extensive Peruvian literature consisting of biographies, autobiographies, memoirs, and testimonies written by and about campesinos, workers, and non-elite political activists. The most famous of these works include Pévez and Oré, *Memorias de un viejo luchador campesino*; Larico Yujra and Ayala, *Yo fui canillita de José Carlos Mariátegui*; Valderrama and Escalante, *Gregorio Condori Mamani*; Burenius and Torres, *Testimonio de un fracaso Huando*; Muñoz, Matos Mar, and Carbajal, *Erasmo Muñoz, yanacón del Valle de Chancay*; Béjar, *Perú 1965*; Blanco, *Land or Death*; and Gavilán, *Memorias de un soldado desconocido*.

39. I wrote an initial draft of the book and translated it into Spanish, and then I brought copies of my Spanish translation to Llamojha in May 2013. When I presented the draft to him, I ceded editorial control, stressing that I would make any deletions, corrections, and additions that he desired. I also made the draft available to his adult children and explained that I was open to discussing and working through any concerns they might have. Llamojha, his daughter María Llamojha Puklla, and I decided on necessary changes together. Jan Rus and Diane L. Rus offer a thoughtful discussion of editing practices—both for reasons of style and contentious content—with a native publishing project, "The Taller Tzotzil of Chiapas, Mexico," 162–163.

40. For thoughtful discussions on the strengths, limitations, and academic reputation of biography, see Banner, "Biography as History," 579–586; Nasaw, "Historians and Biography," 573–578; Kessler-Harris, "Why Biography?," 625–630.

41. Mallon, "Introduction: Decolonizing Knowledge, Language and Narrative," 3.

42. Mallon describes this practice of document sharing in *Courage Tastes of Blood*, 9.

43. Myerhoff, "Life History among the Elderly," 105.

44. I generated these follow-up questions in response to what I had learned from previous interviews and from archival documents.

45. A social worker by training, Alicia was born in Ayacucho and is fluent in both Quechua and Spanish. She and I jointly transcribed all of the interviews. All translations of Llamojha's Spanish stories and archival documents are my own. Alicia also translated brief Quechua segments of the interviews into Spanish.

46. The original recordings and a transcript of the interview are available at the CVR's archive in Lima, the Defensoría del Pueblo Centro de Información para la Memoria Colectiva y los Derechos Humanos (CIMCDH). I encourage interested researchers to listen to the recordings, as the transcript is incomplete. For ease of reading, I have edited out pauses, interruptions, and repetitions in Llamojha's CVR testimony.

47. Oral history scholar Alessandro Portelli reflects on this phenomenon in *Death of Luigi Trastulli*, 55. For theoretical considerations of life stories, see Linde, *Life Stories*.

48. This formulation of memory is shaped by the voluminous scholarship on the subject, much of which has been informed by Maurice Halbwachs's work on collective memory and Pierre Nora's discussions of sites of memory. See Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*; Nora, *Realms of Memory*. For the Latin American context, key works on memory include James, *Doña María's Story*; Jelín, *State Repression and the Labors of Memory*; Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*. There are, of course, many other ways that we could interpret Llamojha's life stories. We could read them as auto-ethnography, which Mary Louise Pratt defines as a colonized person's discussion of self, using the language of the colonizers. See Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*. We could also read these stories as examples of what Stephen Greenblatt considers "self-fashioning," whereby individuals craft and express their identities in relation to their contexts. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*.

49. Portelli, *Death of Luigi Trastulli*, 50.

50. Much has been written about the power differentials in anthropological and oral history research. See Starn, *Nightwatch*, 16; Scheper-Hughes, *Death without Weeping*, 28.

51. Joanne Rappaport and Abelardo Ramos discuss how the tensions in a collaborative research project they worked on stemmed less from the differences between Western academic research culture and the indigenous researcher than from the differences between academics and activists. "Collaboration and Historical Writing," 140.

CHAPTER 1: "I'M GOING TO BE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC"

1. Orlove, "Down to Earth," 209; Drinot, *Allure of Labor*.

2. De Oliviera and Roberts, "Urban Growth and Urban Social Structure in Latin America," 255.

3. Llamojha was born on a plot of land named Marka Marka, at the base of a Chachas tree.

NOW PERU IS MINE

Narrating Native Histories

Narrating Native Histories aims to foster a rethinking of the ethical, methodological, and conceptual frameworks within which we locate our work on Native histories and cultures. We seek to create a space for effective and ongoing conversations between North and South, Natives and non-Natives, academics and activists, throughout the Americas and the Pacific region.

This series encourages analyses that contribute to an understanding of Native peoples' relationships with nation-states, including histories of expropriation and exclusion as well as projects for autonomy and sovereignty. We encourage collaborative work that recognizes Native intellectuals, cultural interpreters, and alternative knowledge producers, as well as projects that question the relationship between orality and literacy.

Manuel Llamojha Mitma and Jaymie Patricia Heilman

NOW PERU IS MINE

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF A CAMPESINO ACTIVIST

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Cover art: Llamojha, location unknown, 1965. Photo courtesy of Manuel Llamojha Mitma.

DON MANUEL'S DEDICATION:

To my wife.
We struggled so hard together.

And to my children,
who supported me in the fight.

CONTENTS

A NOTE ON PLACE

Peru is divided into twenty-four departments, like American states. Until a major administrative reform in 2006, these departments were governed by nationally appointed prefects. Departments are subdivided into provinces, which were led by subprefects until the 2006 administrative change. Provinces are divided into districts, and districts house numerous communities and towns.

Much of Manuel Llamojha's life history is situated in the Peruvian department of Ayacucho. Its capital city, located in the province of Huamanga, is also named Ayacucho. For purposes of clarity, I refer to the capital as "the city of Ayacucho" throughout the text. Llamojha was born in the community of Concepción. Until 1954, Concepción belonged to the district of Vischongo in Cangallo province. In 1954, Concepción and the communities surrounding it were reorganized as a district, also named Concepción. In 1984, the province of Cangallo was divided in two, when the province of Vilcashuamán was established. The community and district of Concepción now belong to the province of Vilcashuamán.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As part of our co-authorship, Manuel Llamojha Mitma and I agreed that he would compose this book's dedication, and I would write the acknowledgments. My most important thanks, then, go to don Manuel. His incredible talents as a leader, historian, and storyteller form this book's foundation, and I am grateful that he so generously shared his memories with me. I continue to be amazed by his intellectual energy, his accomplishments as an activist, and his astonishing determination. It has been an enormous privilege to work with him.

María Llamojha Puklla took an active part in this book from its earliest moments, showing much enthusiasm, generosity, and kindness. I thank her for arranging interviews, for answering countless questions, and for her careful reading of the book's first draft. María's love for her father—and her commitment to honoring his life's work—is deeply moving.

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Gladys McCormick read a very early draft of this book, and her critical feedback helped me craft a more accessible work. Susan L. Smith likewise offered helpful comments on earlier versions. Ileana Rodríguez-Silva helped me think through some of the major challenges this project posed, and she provided outstanding conceptual advice.

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— JAYMIE PATRICIA HEILMAN

INTRODUCTION

"Now Peru is mine!" So declared an indigenous teenager named Manuel Llamojha Mitma after he entered the Peruvian army in the late 1930s. A Quechua peasant from the impoverished highland department of Ayacucho, Llamojha was determined to bring socioeconomic justice to a country rife with sharp anti-indigenous prejudice and startling inequalities, and he soon grew into one of twentieth-century Peru's most creative and dedicated political activists. This testimonial biography offers the first extended exploration of Llamojha's life, ideas, and work, chronicling his struggles against indigenous oppression, territorial dispossession, and sociopolitical exclusion, all problems that he defines as legacies of the Spanish conquest.[1] Read together, Llamojha's recollections about his life offer a means for understanding Peru's—and, indeed, Latin America's—troubled twentieth-century history. Fundamental issues like racism, revolutionary politics, agrarian reform, and political violence figure prominently in Llamojha's narrative, with one man's extraordinary life reflecting the course of an equally extraordinary century.

Although Llamojha's stay in the military was short-lived, he dedicated his life to fighting on behalf of Peru's indigenous peasants (campesinos). He led major mobilizations for indigenous land rights in his home region of Ayacucho during the 1940s and 1950s, and he ran for national political office in 1962. That same year, he became secretary general of Peru's largest national

peasant organization, the Confederación Campesina del Perú (Peruvian Peasant Confederation; CCP). Llamojha's activism took him to Cuba, China, and the Soviet Union in 1965, and during the 1970s he became embroiled in the bitter, divisive political quarrels that plagued the Peruvian left and fractured the CCP. In the 1980s, Llamojha was falsely accused of membership in the Peruvian Communist Party-Shining Path, a political party whose armed struggle plunged Peru into a twenty-year internal war that left over 69,000 Peruvians dead, the vast majority of whom were of rural, indigenous origins. That devastating conflict forced Llamojha to flee Ayacucho and live as an internal refugee in the city of Lima for nearly twenty years. The war also led to the permanent disappearance of his youngest son.

During many of our interviews, Llamojha wore a baseball cap embroidered with the iconic portrait of Che Guevara. Llamojha in a Che Guevara hat provides a striking image, for part of what makes Llamojha's recollections so valuable is that they help us see beyond Che, beyond the man who has come to symbolize twentieth-century political activism in Latin America.[2] The popular fascination with Che is easy to understand: this handsome young hero dedicated—and ultimately sacrificed—his life to the pursuit of revolutionary change. But Che was far from alone in his efforts, and his embrace of armed struggle represented only one particular form of revolutionary activism. Across Latin America, thousands of men and women likewise devoted their lives to pursuing fundamental political, social, and economic change, and their struggles to bring revolutionary transformations did not always involve the use of violence. Unlike Che Guevara, Llamojha never participated in guerrilla struggles; in our interviews he laughingly recalled that he had never even held a gun. Llamojha's activism instead involved writing, talking, and extensive efforts to mobilize indigenous peasants to press for socioeconomic justice and radical political transformation. And as an impoverished husband and father based in the Andean countryside, Llamojha did not have the kind of youthful urban virility and highly charged sexuality that—along with the ever-present beard—characterized the revolutionary masculinity of activists like Che.[3] Llamojha's recollections therefore allow us to reflect on both the many different shapes of activism in twentieth-century Latin America and the enduring legacies of those struggles.

Llamojha's life stories also help us to temper romantic visions of political activism. His recollections push us to look past simple narratives of heroic struggle and triumph as he shares memories of unjust imprisonments, torture, and the severe economic hardships linked to life as a political activist. His life

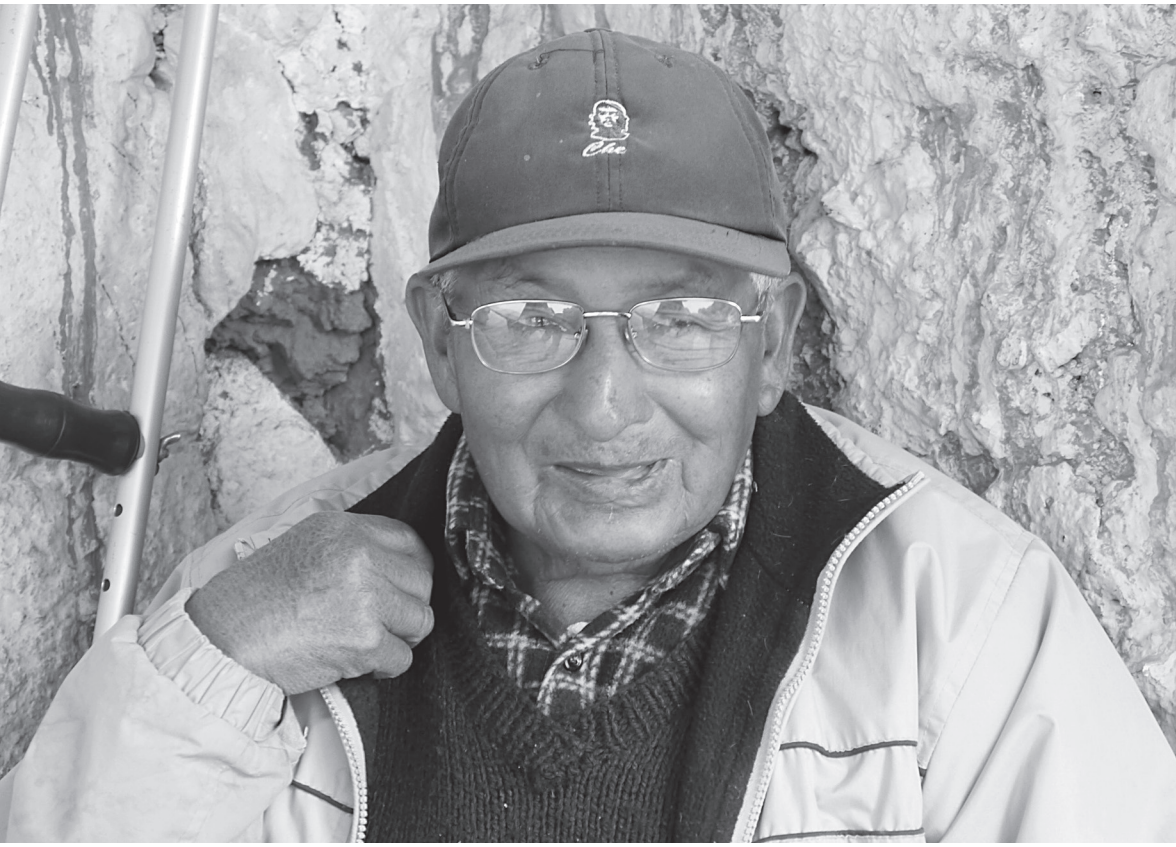

FIG. 1.1 Llamojha, Concepción, 2013. Author photo.

stories also expose heated political disputes between revolutionary activists, fights that left him slandered and marginalized by his former political allies. And unlike those revolutionary fighters who died young in the throes of armed struggle, Llamojha survived, living through the horrifying internal war in his country that brought terrible losses for him and his family. He also had to confront the difficulties of aging, struggling to remain politically active and relevant as an elderly man.

Llamojha's life history chronicles the realities of anti-Indianism: an ideological system that casts indigenous peoples as inherently inferior to whites and as impediments to national progress and a system of practices that excludes indigenous people from full citizenship while exploiting their land and labor.[4] Anti-Indianism has long flourished in Peru, a country that is home to a large

and diverse indigenous population; today, well over one-third of the country's population is indigenous.[5] Of the many different indigenous groups or nations living in Peru, peoples of Quechua ethnoracial heritage like Llamojha's are by far the most numerous, followed by the other main indigenous ethnic group living in the country's Andean sierra region, the Aymara. In addition, over sixty different indigenous ethnic groups live in Peru's lowland Amazon region. Despite the large number of indigenous people in Peru, anti-Indian racism has been—and remains—sharp there. The most indigenous regions of Peru's Andean sierra, the departments of Ancash, Apurímac, Ayacucho, Cuzco, Huancavelica, and Puno, were long known by the pejorative name mancha india (Indian stain), and the word indio (Indian) has long been a highly charged racial slur that simultaneously connotes backwardness, ignorance, and a latent potential for violence. Throughout this book Llamojha describes how such racism operated in his country, his home community, and even his own family. He spent his political career fighting against the consequences of anti-Indianism, leading mobilizations demanding indigenous peasants' land rights and national inclusion.

At its core, Llamojha's life history is about indigenous peasants' struggle for justice, in particular their fight for land. Across twentieth-century Latin America, campesinos from diverse regions and countries pressed for lands that they felt rightly belonged to them. The need for agrarian reform was particularly pressing in twentieth-century Peru, as Peru's agricultural land was heavily concentrated in the hands of a small landowning minority. In Llamojha's home department of Ayacucho in 1961, just 0.3 percent of all rural properties held 59.2 percent of the land, meaning that there was a gross disparity between large landed estates known as haciendas or latifundios and indigenous peasants' plots of land.[6] Ayacucho and the neighboring departments of Apurímac and Huancavelica formed the most impoverished area of Peru. The land campesinos owned was not only insufficient in quantity; it was often also quite poor in quality. As a result, indigenous peasants had barely enough land to meet their subsistence needs, and the food they produced was rarely varied enough to provide adequate nutrition.

To Llamojha, the problem of land is not just one of economic injustice; it is instead a problem that originated with the European conquest of Latin America. From the outset of the colonial period in the 1490s, many rural indigenous communities found their lands encroached on and even stolen by Spanish—or Portuguese, in the Brazilian case—colonizers who established large haciendas. The process of indigenous peasants' dispossession from their


Tumbes
Amazonas
Loreto
Piura
Caja-
marca
San
Martín
Lambayeque
La Libertad
Ancash
Huánuco
Pasco
Ucayali
Junín
Lima
Madre de
Dios
Huanca-
velica
Cuzco
Apurímac
Ica
Ayacucho
Puno
Arequipa
Moquegua
Tacna
Pacific
Ocean

MAP I.1 Peru

lands increased dramatically in scale and speed during the late 1800s, when now-independent Latin American nations became deeply enmeshed in the global market economy. Foreign demand for Latin American agricultural goods like coffee, sugar, tobacco, wool, and many other products led to a sustained assault on indigenous community lands by profit-hungry hacendados, the owners of private estates.[7] Countless indigenous peasants saw hacendados claim more and more community lands as their own, and many rural indigenous communities disappeared entirely, leaving community members to labor as landless peasants on haciendas. Although campesinos had long fought to defend their lands, using the courts, protests to government officials, and sometimes violence to protect their communities, the twentieth century witnessed unprecedented peasant mobilization demanding land. Campesinos filed complaints, staged protests, and even launched armed uprisings to demand the return of their lands. As a direct consequence of these efforts, governments in Mexico, Cuba, Guatemala, Bolivia, and Peru, among others, introduced agrarian reforms designed to redistribute land, expropriating hacienda lands for the benefit of campesinos.

Llamojha's life stories also chronicle one of the most profound shifts in twentieth-century Latin American history: the massive migration of men and women out of the countryside and into cities. Llamojha moved from his rural Andean community to the coastal capital city of Lima in the 1930s, at the beginning of an urbanization process that eventually transformed most Latin American countries. Power, social prestige, and wealth were overwhelmingly concentrated in Lima, a city long racialized as European, and many indigenous migrants faced wrenching discrimination and alienation when they arrived there. Yet those same migrants helped transform the capital city, changing its social, political, and economic dynamics through their labor, organizational efforts, and cultural practices.[8] Their arrival in Lima shaped—and was shaped by—the rise of major political parties like the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance; APRA) and the Communist Party, which offered radical new approaches to the many problems that plagued Peru.

Through Llamojha's experiences we can also see what it meant to be a political activist across the decades of the Cold War. Although he shares humorous recollections of his exploits against local hacendados and his daring escapes from police, he also reveals that he was routinely branded a communist and jailed on charges of subversion. Those charges were spurious: Llamojha worked closely with members of different branches of the Peruvian

Communist Party, but he never formally joined any political party and never self-identified as a communist. Llamojha's narrative shows that the Cold War was far more than an ideological and diplomatic fight between the United States and the Soviet Union. It was instead a broadly global conflict that had profound consequences in the everyday lives of Latin American citizens. Latin American states, elites, and sometimes even average men and women made accusations of communism to discredit individuals they deemed threatening and to justify their own—often violent—assertions of power. But, as Llamojha's account shows, the Cold War decades were also a time of enormous political creativity in Latin America, generating tremendous energy and excitement among activists and their sympathizers as they imagined, and fought for, revolutionary change.[9]

As Llamojha narrates his experiences of political activism in the 1960s and 1970s, he speaks of divisions and betrayals in Peru's left-wing political parties. Throughout much of twentieth-century Latin America, internecine conflicts between leftists led to heated confrontations, nasty invective, fractured parties, and countless political heartbreaks. In Peru these divides resulted in the bitter 1973 split of the CCP, the country's most important national campesino organization. In this book Llamojha shares anecdotes and opinions about several of the towering figures of the Peruvian left, and many of these stories are as sharply critical as they are humorous. What emerges is a portrait of Llamojha's steady political marginalization across the 1970s.

Llamojha's life stories also help us to understand the most devastating period of Peru's twentieth century: the 1980–2000 internal war, which began after the Peruvian Communist Party-Shining Path launched an armed struggle in May 1980. The resulting insurgency and state-sponsored counterinsurgency cost the lives of an estimated 69,280 Peruvians, most of them indigenous peasants. Strikingly, the Shining Path was responsible for the majority—54 percent—of these deaths.[10] In my book *Before the Shining Path*, I have argued that we need to understand the Shining Path's violence in its historical context. In the early days of the war, militants of the Shining Path took brutal and decisive action against abusive local authorities and wealthier peasants who had long exploited their poorer neighbors. Although indigenous peasants had long sought state intervention against these abusive figures—making heated and repeated complaints, often over the course of decades—these individuals remained in positions of power at the district level until Shining Path militants executed them. But the Shining Path did not stop there. Instead, party militants turned the same sort of violence against av-

erage indigenous peasants who were unwilling to wholly accept the Shining Path's mandates. In so doing, Shining Path activists essentially replicated old patterns set by abusive authorities and wealthier campesinos.[11]

We can see many of these same processes at work in the stories Llamojha narrates, including the Shining Path's assassination of a much-hated district official. Llamojha's connections to the years of violence are also intensely personal. From the 1980s—and indeed to this day—many of his enemies and rivals have accused him of belonging to the Shining Path. That false accusation came in part because the Shining Path tried to gain traction in the branch of the CCP that Llamojha led after the confederation's fracture in 1973. The accusation also came because one of the Shining Path's earliest armed attacks was directed against a hacienda that Llamojha had long challenged. Tragically for Llamojha and his family, that accusation appeared in one of the first and most influential studies of the Shining Path, Peruvian journalist Gustavo Gorriti's 1990 book *Sendero*, in which Gorriti mentioned a "clandestine meeting in the Ayacucho home of Shining Path peasant activist Manuel Llamojha Mitma."[12] Building off of Gorriti's book and influenced by other accusations I had heard, I too assumed that Llamojha had joined the Shining Path, and I wrote as much in *Before the Shining Path*. It is now clear that these claims were all mistaken; Llamojha never belonged to the Shining Path.

Peru's internal war upended Llamojha's life, forcing him to escape from Ayacucho and live as a displaced person in Lima for almost two decades. The war also generated the greatest tragedy Llamojha ever experienced: the disappearance of his son Herbert. Although Herbert Llamojha denied that he was a member of the Shining Path, he was present during one of the party's armed attacks and was consequently jailed on charges of assault and armed robbery. In March 1982, Shining Path militants stormed the Ayacucho jail where Herbert was imprisoned, aiming to free all the prisoners and thereby liberate jailed party members. Herbert was one of 304 prisoners who escaped.[13] But that is all we know. He might have been killed in the ensuing shootout, or he might have been arrested and then killed extrajudicially. It is also possible that he escaped and then lost his life elsewhere. No one knows. Herbert's disappearance is the central sorrow of Llamojha's life and an open wound that remains terribly painful for him, and for his family, to this day. Sadly, the traumas of political violence and the tragedy of disappearances were all too common in Latin America's twentieth century, as military regimes and nominal democracies conducted brutal dirty wars against ordi-

nary citizens. Llamojha's devastating experiences of loss echo across the Latin American continent.

The Activist Intellectual

Llamojha is what Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci termed an "organic intellectual"—someone who gives his or her social group self-awareness and who uses his work to educate, lead, and organize members of his class.[14] Llamojha utilized his writings, his ideas, and his words to inspire and mobilize indigenous peasants and to fight for their rights. Writing in particular was central to Llamojha's political career. In our interviews, he laughingly recalled going from community to community, his typewriter strapped to his back, so that he could compose protest letters on behalf of local indigenous peasants. The fact that he could read and write—and write so beautifully and effectively—allowed him to provide a crucial service to campesinos. Within his home department of Ayacucho during the 1940s, 1950s, and even 1960s, literacy rates in rural communities were startlingly low because of astonishing state neglect, as the Peruvian state failed to provide adequate educational opportunities in the Andean countryside. As late as 1961, 79.5 percent of the population over age fifteen living in rural Ayacucho were illiterate.[15] By drafting letters for illiterate indigenous peasants, Llamojha enabled them to participate in a political system expressly designed to exclude them. That exclusion resulted from the fact that until 1980, the right to vote was dependent on literacy, a requirement pointedly intended to disenfranchise rural indigenous people.[16]

Writing was more than just a functional skill for Llamojha. It was—and remains—central to his identity and close to his heart. Throughout our interviews, he spoke of his typewriter, his papers, and especially his books with tremendous affection. He despaired at the fact that soldiers seized his personal archive and book collection in 1982, and he even anthropomorphized the religious books confiscated by the courts in 1948, lamenting that his books were subject to life imprisonment. He spoke about how much he enjoyed reading, thinking, and writing, recalling that he even used to write poetry. Llamojha is also very much a historian. He fills his narratives with references to colonial times, to the Inka, and even to humanity's very first emergence on Earth, and he has written an unpublished book about the history of his home community, Concepción.[17] He remembers giving talks to university students in Lima, and in recent years many students from Ayacucho's San Cristóbal

de Huamanga University have made the four-hour bus trip to Concepción to visit him and interview him about regional history.

Llamojha's work as an indigenous intellectual reveals his concerted efforts to decolonize knowledge. He labored to acquire the literacy and writing abilities that Peru's exclusionary state system tried to reserve for nonindigenous elites, and he flouted the boundaries of the expected life course for an indigenous peasant. In most of the political documents he wrote across the twentieth century, he boldly changed the names of Peruvian communities and districts to better reflect their precolonial Quechua origins. He did the same with his own name, rejecting the Hispanicized spelling of his surname (Llamocca) in favor of a spelling with Quechua orthography (Llamojha). And in many of his writings and speeches, he used historical analysis to expose the colonial origins of problems like indigenous poverty, land loss, and racism.

In Peru, a country rife with racist and classist assumptions equating indigeneity and peasant life with ignorance, many observers were taken aback by Llamojha's skills as a writer and intellectual. His talents seemed at odds with what many people expected from an indigenous peasant. One Ayacucho schoolteacher whom I met recounted being stunned, at first meeting Llamojha, that the man who had written such a powerful denunciation of the Peruvian government's proposed education reform was simply a "humble campesino."[18] In a 1962 letter an Ayacucho authority commented that Llamojha could not possibly have written two of the documents in question—documents he did in fact write—asserting that he "does not have that capacity to draw up said communiqués."[19] Llamojha tells similar stories in his narrative, laughingly recalling how officials did not believe he could be the notorious Manuel Llamojha.

The disconnect between people's assumptions and Llamojha's appearance partly explains why he was able to escape police so easily and so often. That disconnect can also help us make sense of how Llamojha portrays himself in his life stories. At several points in his account he makes bold statements about his importance, comparing himself to Jesus and casting himself as fundamental to campesinos' triumphs. But the man who makes such claims seems anything but egotistical or arrogant in person. He is warm and soft-spoken, quick with a joke and a smile, and full of wonder about the world and its past. He is also frequently self-deprecating. As his daughter María explained, "My dad is really humble, down to earth and charismatic. He's not like other leaders who have a really strong personality and are really loud and effusive. My dad is really quiet, really calm, he doesn't appear to have all the vitality that he actually has, the great ability to get angry about injustice."[20] One man who worked

with him in the 1970s similarly commented that Llamojha was rather quiet and that they had to "pull words from him with a spoon."[21] Llamojha's grandiose claims thus seem less the words of an egotist than they do expressions of proud amazement at all that he was able to accomplish given his modest background. His assertions are also tinged with nostalgia: he is now an elderly man with failing eyesight and limited mobility, and he is remembering periods of his life when his power and prestige were much greater.

Llamojha's bold statements about his importance may also be a response to his obscure place in contemporary Peruvian national consciousness. Unlike other Peruvian political activists of the mid-twentieth century—Héctor Béjar, Hugo Blanco, Abimael Guzmán, and Luis de la Puente, among others—Llamojha's name is not well known in Peru today, and many have forgotten his struggles. Even leading members of the present-day CCP failed to recognize Llamojha's name when I asked them about him.[22] Yet Llamojha was one of Peru's most creative and esteemed twentieth-century political figures. He was also one of the only major twentieth-century Peruvian political leaders who was both indigenous and a peasant, setting him far apart from the wealthier and whiter Peruvian political activists whose names continue to resonate in Peru.

Campesinos and Indigeneity

Llamojha defines himself and those for whom he has long fought as campesinos, or peasants. In Latin America, *campesino* does not necessarily mean indigenous, as the racial and ethnic identities of men and women who call themselves peasants vary enormously across the continent. In Peru, there were and are impoverished agricultural laborers of African, Chinese, and mestizo (mixed European and indigenous) descent, as well as of indigenous origin, just as there have been many indigenous men and women whose economic lives were not defined by subsistence agriculture.

To Llamojha, however, to be a campesino is to belong to a rural community that originated with Peru's Inka. As he phrased it, "We have been here since the time of the Inka. We're natives [naturales] of America, of the continent." His understanding of what it means to be a campesino is one that melds ethnic, class, and historical identities, and he is both passionate and explicit about his indigeneity. He remembers angrily challenging his sister when she denied her indigenous origins, he utilized election propaganda that described him as "coming from the core of the Indian race," and he speaks repeatedly

about the beauty and importance of Quechua, calling it "the Peruvian language."[23] Llamojha's activism is also profoundly anticolonial. In his speeches and writings, he staunchly denounced the genocidal violence of the Spanish conquest and the suffering imposed by centuries of colonialism. In his notebooks he chronicles the Inka history of his home region, and he describes precolonial Andean labor practices.[24]

To Llamojha, there is nothing "unethnic" about his campesino identity.[25] Far from a strictly class-based definition of self, Llamojha's formulation of *campesino* is instead a staunchly anticolonial identity that embraces a Quechua ancestry. It is also a term he deems far more fitting than "Indian," a label he characterizes as a foolish mistake of colonialism. He explained:

> **Discrimination began when the Spanish took America. They categorized all the natives of the continent as "Indians," as people of another country, another world. I always felt proud when they called me "Indian." When Christopher Columbus came to America, he thought that all the inhabitants of America were from India. So I was proud when they said "Indian" to me, because that meant I was from India!**

Llamojha's formulation of an indigenist campesino identity reveals the complexity of indigeneity in Peru's Andean region.[26] Andean community members' understanding of themselves have varied dramatically across time, between Andean regions, between communities, and even between individuals. And because of the crippling constraints of racism in Peru, most rural Andean community members reject descriptors like indigenous, Indian, native, Aymara, and Quechua, choosing instead to call themselves campesinos.[27] Yet many of these community members take much pride in their Andean social, economic, and cultural practices and histories.

The shift to the campesino identifier was a gradual one. Documents from Llamojha's home region, Ayacucho, show members of rural Andean communities still occasionally self-identifying as indigenous as late as the early 1960s. Llamojha himself described his community's transition away from the label indigenous:

> **We used to write "indigenous campesino community" because representatives of the high authorities came and said "you are an indigenous community." So we accepted that and started to write documents and memos, always writing "indigenous campesino community." But later, we wanted to suspend use of that word. "Why should we write that?" we asked.**[28]

Llamojha's comments are key: he talks about leaving a word behind, not about discarding an identity. For Llamojha, there is nothing contradictory about using the term campesino to mean a Quechua speaker living in a community descended from the Inka.[29] Today, influenced by shifting continental politics, international funding opportunities, and the elections of presidents of Andean origin, more Peruvian individuals are explicitly self-identifying as indigenous. But that shift is not about Peru "catching up" to neighboring Andean countries where citizens began mobilizing around explicitly indigenous identities during the 1980s.[30] As the late anthropologist Carlos Iván Degregori observed, "perhaps it is not a matter of being ahead or behind, but rather of the distinct forms through which ethnicity is expressed in different countries."[31] And in Peru, for much of the twentieth century, Andean people largely chose to express their ethnoracial identity through the term *campesino*.

Writing a Testimonial Biography

My first encounter with Llamojha occurred in the Ayacucho Regional Archive. As I was researching the region's 1960s political history, I found several letters and reports from regional authorities warning about a dangerous communist activist in their midst. I also found a public letter that this activist—Manuel Llamojha Mitma—had written, and I was moved by its power and eloquence. A portion of that letter reads as follows:

> For more than 400 years, we have been eagerly awaiting the dawn of justice. Enough is enough. For more than four centuries, we have been suffering the flagellation of barbaric injustice. Enough is enough. We are still living the tragic misery of our lives, cheated and deceived by those who represent bastard interests. Enough is enough. The *latifundista* [estate-owning] gentlemen continue to enrich themselves, exploiting our sweat and the wealth of our territory.[32]

As I continued my research I found more and more references to Llamojha, and I learned that he had done an interview with Peru's Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (Truth and Reconciliation Commission; CVR) in 2002. When I finally met Llamojha in May 2011, I proposed that we work together on a book about his life. He readily agreed.

Llamojha and I had different motivations for producing this book.[33] I wanted to share his fascinating personal history and exceptionally rich stories

with undergraduate students, knowing that his life history would be a powerful tool for exploring key issues in twentieth-century Latin American history. His stories also push us to consider the connections—and departures—between the revolutionary activism of the twentieth century and the "left turn" taken by many Latin American governments in the first decade of the twenty-first century.[34] I also wanted to make Llamojha's experiences and ideas better known to scholars of Peru, as he shares crucial insights into the history of Peru's left and the CCP. Llamojha had a separate—but complementary—set of motivations. He wanted to ensure that future generations in countries throughout the world understood the injustices faced by Peru's indigenous peasants. As he phrased it,

> **campesinos have fought so much and suffered so much, during colonial times and republican times, too. We need the future world to know about this, the suffering of the campesinos.**

Llamojha also wanted to record and preserve the history of his beloved community, Concepción. Doing so was especially important to him given the anguish he continues to feel over the seizure and destruction of his immense document archive by Peruvian soldiers in 1982. After I provided a first draft of the book to him, Llamojha insisted that the physical copy remain in Concepción, as it held the community's history and should be available to community residents for consultation.

Different though they were, our motivations jointly necessitated the production of a highly readable book appropriate for a broad audience.[35] The book that resulted blends the conventions of biography and *testimonio*. Like a testimonio—a first-person narrative that shares a witness's experiences of a particular atrocity or injustice—this book privileges Llamojha's voice and life stories.[36] The book visually foregrounds his stories, presenting them in his standard typewriter font to give particular emphasis to his words. And like a testimonio, this work serves to denounce injustice and inspire others to action. But this book also departs significantly from the conventions of a testimonio and moves into the realm of biography. Because of the centrality of writing to Llamojha's political career and its deep personal importance to him, I have included excerpts of numerous documents written by him. In addition, I have provided historical context in each of the chapters, and I have included considerations of what others from the period wrote or said about Llamojha. Drawn from extensive archival research, these additions allow readers unfamiliar with Peruvian history to follow Llamojha's complex ac-

count of political work in the years from 1921 to the present. These additional materials also round out Llamojha's life history, helping to fill the thematic and temporal spaces that separate his many stories.[37] Yet in keeping with our shared desire to create a broadly accessible and highly readable book, I have confined historiographical discussion to the endnotes. This book bridges the methodological boundaries between testimonio and biography, and the result is what I deem a testimonial biography.[38] It recognizes Llamojha and me as coauthors, acknowledging the intellectual and creative work both of us performed and the editorial authority we shared.[39]

This testimonial biography is ultimately about much more than just one (extraordinary) individual's life. Testimonial biography offers an exceptional tool for analyzing continuities and changes over decades, for showing the complexities and contradictions of the past, and for showcasing the relationship between individuals and the social, cultural, and political contexts in which they operate.[40] Consideration of an individual life—with all its hardships, triumphs, and losses—also offers the reader a vivid and intense understanding of what it meant to live in a particular situation, place, and time.

In keeping with Llamojha's long history of composing formal legal documents, he and I signed an agreement before Concepción's justice of the peace. The document we signed recognized us as coauthors; granted permission for his life history stories, photographs, and drawings to be used in the book; agreed that any royalties would go to him; and allowed me to sign all paperwork for the book's publication. We also agreed that the book would be published in both English and Spanish, to best meet our dual goals for the book. In doing so, we answered the crucial questions that historian Florencia Mallon asks about research collaboration between nonindigenous academics and indigenous actors: "Who gets to talk about what, and in which language?"[41] This project is not about a North American scholar "giving voice" to a subaltern—Llamojha speaks just fine on his own, with seemingly inexhaustible intellectual energy, to all who want to listen. The book is instead about using the resources I have at my disposal to enable Llamojha to reach an audience well beyond those persons who visit him in Peru. The book is based on the mutual respect we have for each other as intellectuals and on our exchanges of ideas, documents, and knowledge.[42]

This testimonial biography was also shaped by the pressures and ravages of time. When we spoke about this book, Llamojha's primary concern was that it be completed as quickly as possible—a desire connected directly to the fact that he is in his nineties and acutely aware of his own mortality.

Anthropologist Barbara Myerhoff reflected on a similar issue in her study of elderly Jewish immigrants at a seniors' center in the United States. Noting these elderly men and women's determination to share their life stories, Myerhoff commented, "Again and again they attempted to show outsiders, as well as each other, who they were, why they mattered, what the nature of their past and present lives was. . . . Their extreme old age and sense of little time remaining intensified the desire to formulate a presentation of themselves."[43] Llamojha felt a similar sense of urgency about getting his story recorded and published, but our research plans were interrupted by tragedy. Just over a week after my first set of interviews with Llamojha in May 2011, his beloved wife, Esther, died unexpectedly. This was not the right moment to pursue more interviews, and I could not remain in Peru for an extended period, as the demands of family and my academic job meant I had to return to Canada.

The solution Llamojha and I found came through the participation of my longtime friend and research assistant Alicia Carrasco Gutiérrez in this project. Alicia carried out a series of follow-up interviews with Llamojha between October 2011 and July 2012, using lists of questions I emailed her from Canada. Alicia's participation in the project as a research assistant allowed the interviews with Llamojha to continue while I was in Canada.[44] She also interviewed three of his children and all of his surviving siblings, again using questions I sent her.[45] Llamojha and I then revisited the main themes of the book in a set of lengthy final interviews in May 2013, when I brought him the manuscript draft.

Llamojha's sense of urgency for completing this book also grew from his sadness and frustration over the failings of his memory. Although he shared amazingly detailed recollections of key events in his life—all the more astonishing given that he is in his nineties—he lamented the lapses in his memory that occasionally left him unable to answer my questions. He commented that sometimes he could not even remember his own name, and he wondered if someone had used witchcraft against him. His concerns about his decaying memory gave added weight to his desire to finish the book as quickly as possible. To supplement the life stories he shared during our interviews, and to relay his personal history in its richest detail, I have included segments of his 2002 interview with the CVR. For the sake of transparency, I explicitly signal any material that comes from that interview.[46]

Rather than narrating his life's course in a straightforward chronology, Llamojha shared dozens of stories about key moments in his life. As so many of us do, he often voiced slightly different versions of the same anecdotes in

our interviews.[47] In many instances I've amalgamated those versions in an attempt to best reflect his gifts for storytelling and share the fullness of his experiences. I have also edited his stories to minimize repetition. This method has drawbacks: it hides the emphasis that repeated stories and frequently reiterated sentences offer, and it imposes chronological order on an account that jumped back and forth in time. But the advantage is a narrative that is both readable and complete.

Llamojha's recollections allow us to see what happened during his life as an activist. We get access to key events, individuals, and experiences spanning the decades of his political career. Even more important, his stories reveal what *mattered* during his years of struggle. His words show his ideas, his opinions, and his perspectives, building a much fuller and more complicated portrait of his life than would be accessible from written documents alone. Certainly, we should not read Llamojha's life stories as strictly literal narrations of the past: he is a man in his nineties, speaking about events that occurred many decades ago, and he routinely recalls long-ago conversations in what surely are not verbatim renderings. It is difficult to specify the exact dates of many of the events he describes, and a handful of his stories seem to border on the apocryphal. His life stories are best read as historical memories shaped by his past and present dreams and desires, sorrows and triumphs, and by the Peruvian realities that he tried so hard to transform. The sharing of these remembrances is at once a social, cultural, and political act that helps Llamojha make sense of all that he accomplished, endured, and witnessed.[48] As oral history scholar Alessandro Portelli phrases it, "oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did."[49]

There is no doubt that my status as a white university professor from a wealthy country—and my research assistant Alicia Carrasco's status as a university-educated urban professional—meant that our interviews with Llamojha were shaped by significant power disparities.[50] Moreover, as the author of the first draft of this book, I made the first major decisions about what appears in these pages before taking a translated version of the book back to Llamojha and his family for feedback and revision. But it is also true that Llamojha brought his own priorities and agendas into our interviews, knowing that the interviews would form the basis of a book about his life. He clearly wanted to tell stories about his political life, and when Alicia and I tried to direct the conversation toward a discussion of his family life, asking questions about his wife, siblings, and children, he usually steered the conversation back onto

a political track. His narrative decisions had nothing to do with sentiment; his deep love and affection for his family were readily apparent in his daily interactions with them. He also showed a dogged optimism in our interviews, insisting that he had no regrets about his work and minimizing the suffering he endured during his constant imprisonments, years of extreme economic hardships, and major political disappointments. His interview choices reflected his desire to craft a narrative of his struggles as a campesino leader, to inspire others to action, and to cement a legacy of his political work.[51] As he noted in one of our interviews, "You always have to be in the struggle. Until the very end."

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Florencia Mallon offers useful definitions of colonialism and decolonization in relation to indigenous peoples in Mallon, "Introduction: Decolonizing Knowledge, Language and Narrative," 1.

2. See Drinot, *Che's Travels*.

3. See Mallon, "*Barbudos*, Warriors, and *Rotos*," 179–215.

4. Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*, 198–200.

5. It is impossible to quantify Peru's contemporary indigenous population. The last time the Peruvian census classified people by race was 1940, and today, many people who are identified by others as indigenous do not self-identify that way. The reverse is also true. Scholar David Sulmont has shown that estimates of the percentage of Peru's indigenous population thus vary widely, from as low as 19 percent to as high as 75 percent. The best estimates seem to fall in the 35–39 percent range. See Sulmont, "Race, Ethnicity and Politics in Three Peruvian Localities," 47–78.

6. Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 25.

7. For the Peruvian case, see Contreras, *El aprendizaje del capitalismo*; Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition*; Mallon, *The Defense of Community*; Manrique, *Yawar Mayu*.

8. One of the most famous discussions of this process is Matos Mar, *Desborde Popular y Crisis del Estado*.

9. For excellent new research on Latin America's experience of the Cold War, see Grandin and Joseph, *A Century of Revolution*; Joseph and Spenser, *In from the Cold*.

10. Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR), *Informe Final*.

11. Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*.

12. Gorriti, *Shining Path*, 47. The book was originally published in Spanish as *Sendero: Historia de la guerra milenaria en el Perú* (Lima: Editorial Apoyo, 1990).

13. CVR, *Informe Final*, vol. 2, chap. 1.1, subsection 2: Partido Comunista del Perú-Sendero Luminoso (Peruvian Communist Party-Shining Path, PCP-SL) 1980–82, 36.

14. Like most early twentieth-century Marxists, Gramsci believed that peasants were incapable of generating independent political thought and thus were unable to become "organic intellectuals." See Forgacs, *An Antonio Gramsci Reader*, 302, 309.

Steven Feierman built on—and wrote a powerful corrective to—Gramsci's ideas in his book *Peasant Intellectuals*.

15. Oficina Nacional de Estadística y Censos, *Censos Nacionales de Población, Vivienda y Agropecuario 1961*, vol. 5, *Departamento de Ayacucho*, 61.

16. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation*, 275.

17. Llamojha Mitma, *Historia y tradición del Pueblo de Concepción* (self-published manuscript in Llamojha's personal collection). In addition, Llamojha's 1970 address to the CCP—published in the Confederation's newspaper and republished in the journal *Campesino*—was twenty-four pages of single-spaced historical analysis of Peruvian campesino struggles across the twentieth century. Llamojha Mitma, "Las luchas campesinas y la Confederación Campesina del Perú," 43–67.

18. Interview with Adolfo Urbina (pseudonym), November 3, 2003.

19. Cangallo subprefect to Ayacucho prefect, March 10, 1962, Archivo Regional de Ayacucho (ARA), Subprefectura Cangallo (SC), Ministerios 1962 dossier.

20. Interview with María Llamojha, November 9, 2011.

21. Interview with Nelson Pereyra, June 26, 2011.

22. Informal conversations with several leaders of the CCP during visit to the CCP central office in Lima, June 23, 2011.

23. Manuel Llamojha Mitma: Candidato Campesino a una Diputación, handbill, February 1962, ARA, SC, Institutos Armados 1962 dossier.

24. These labor practices changed over time and should not be read as part of a static and timeless "Andean identity." Anthropologist Orin Starn offered a trenchant critique of anthropologists' tendency to essentialize rural Andean peoples. His arguments triggered a vigorous and healthy debate among scholars of the Andes. See Starn, "Missing the Revolution," 63–91; Starn, "Rethinking the Politics of Anthropology," 13–38.

25. The term "unethnic" borrows from an insightful article by anthropologist Frank Salomon. Salomon, "Unethnic Ethnohistory," 475–506.

26. This complexity has caused much hand-wringing among academics, both in and outside of Peru. Because most people in rural Andean communities self-define as campesinos, the question of what—if any—qualifier to place before the term *campesino* is a particularly vexing one. Is it appropriate to call these individuals indigenous, Quechua, or even Andean when they themselves largely resist using such labels? The question becomes especially difficult as one moves out of Peru's southern Andes, where Aymara and Quechua remain dominant languages in the countryside, and into the central and northern Andes, where people mostly speak Spanish. Many scholars working in these areas have chosen to speak of such persons simply as *campesinos*, implying the absence of any ethnic or racial identity. That casting seems fitting to a degree, given regional residents' broad rejection of the label *indigenous*, but fails to account for the strength of recognizably Andean economic and cultural practices among the area's rural men and women. See Salomon, "Unethnic Ethnohistory," 476.

27. This shift toward self-labeling as *campesinos* was well under way by the 1940s, partly as a consequence of the devastating 1927 military repression of a series of indig-

enous uprisings and the legal prohibition of a major indigenous rights organization: the Comité Pro-Derecho Indígena Tawantinsuyo (Tawantinsuyo Pro-Indigenous Rights Committee). Mobilizing under the rubric of *indigenous* became politically dangerous in the aftermath of the Tawantinsuyo Committee's repression, so it is hardly surprising that rural Andean leaders, in their next major effort to form a national organization to press for their rights, shied away from the term *indigenous*: they formed the Confederación Campesina del Perú (Peruvian Peasant Confederation; CCP) in 1947.

Another factor in the shift away from the label *indigenous* was urban migration. The 1930s and 1940s marked the start of a massive migration of people out of rural Andean communities to the coastal capital city of Lima. Economic, social, and political power had been overwhelmingly concentrated in Lima since colonial times, with the city and the larger coastal region racialized as a nonindigenous, European zone. The Andean people who came to Lima encountered terrible discrimination and exclusion, with many opportunities closed to people deemed Indians. For these people, the label *campesino* offered a chance for social mobility that the label *Indian* did not. The shift toward the identifier *campesino* was further cemented by the rise of parties like APRA and the Communist Party, as these organizations advocated along class lines and presented primarily class-based socioeconomic analyses of Peruvian society.

Peru also has a second major divide that is just as ideologically charged as the split between the coast and the Andean sierra: the divide between the highland Andes and the lowland Amazon. Since the Spanish conquest—and perhaps even before—a pointed distinction has existed between indigenous peoples who live in the Andes and those who live in the Amazon. The linguistic, religious, agricultural, and political differences between these two groups were and are profound, and many Andean people see Amazonian peoples rather than themselves as Peru's true Indians, thus making the label *campesino* all the more appealing as a self-identifier. For extensive discussions of Peruvian indigenous identity, see García, *Making Indigenous Citizens*; García and Lucero, "Exceptional Others," 253–270; García and Lucero, "Authenticating Indians and Movements," 278–298; Gelles, "Andean Culture, Indigenous Identity and the State in Peru," 239–266; Greene, "Getting Over the Andes," 327–354; Greene, *Customizing Indigeneity*; Orlove, "Putting Race in Its Place," 207–222; Remy, "The Indigenous Population and the Construction of Democracy in Peru," 107–130.

28. In 1969, Peruvian president General Juan Velasco Alvarado officially renamed Peru's Andean "indigenous communities" as "campesino communities" and changed the "Day of the Indian" to the "Day of the Campesino," aiming to transcend racism in a country where the word *indio* was a brutalizing racial insult. The historical reality, though, is that Velasco's move only made official a process that Andean people had begun much earlier.

29. Llamojha's ideas reflect what anthropologist Marisol de la Cadena observed among grassroots urban intellectuals in Cuzco. She found that these men and women embraced a "de-Indianized" mestizo identity that rejected the racialized connotations of indigeneity that cast indigenous peoples as uneducated, impoverished, and strictly

rural. Yet these same individuals simultaneously cherished and celebrated their Andean cultural heritage. De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*.

30. Albó, "El retorno del Indio," 309.

31. Quoted in García and Lucero, "Un País Sin Indígenas?," 159.

32. "Comunicado a los pueblos de Cangallo," February 1962, ARA, SC, Oficios de los Institutos Armados 1962 dossier.

33. Joanne Rappaport and Abelardo Ramos discuss how different motivations and institutional interests shape the collaboration process between academics and activists and between indigenous and nonindigenous researchers. See "Collaboration and Historical Writing," 132–133. For further reflections on collaborations between indigenous and nonindigenous intellectuals, see Rappaport, *Intercultural Utopias*, 83–114; Warren, *Indigenous Movements and Their Critics*, 69–85.

34. Beasley-Murray, Cameron and Hershberg, "Latin America's Left Turns," 319–330; Blanco and Grier, "Explaining the Rise of the Left in Latin America," 68–90.

35. I drew my inspiration from the extensive methodological reflections in Reuque Paillalef, *When a Flower Is Reborn*; Tula, *Hear My Testimony*; and James, *Doña María's Story*.

36. A key work on the testimonio genre is Beverley, *Testimonio*.

37. Jan Rus and Diane L. Rus discuss the advantages and disadvantages of adding introductions, explanatory footnotes, and historical context in publications produced by native intellectuals. "Taller Tzotzil of Chiapas, Mexico," 152, 169. See also Rappaport and Ramos, "Collaboration and Historical Writing," 140.

38. This book forms part of an extensive Peruvian literature consisting of biographies, autobiographies, memoirs, and testimonies written by and about campesinos, workers, and non-elite political activists. The most famous of these works include Pévez and Oré, *Memorias de un viejo luchador campesino*; Larico Yujra and Ayala, *Yo fui canillita de José Carlos Mariátegui*; Valderrama and Escalante, *Gregorio Condori Mamani*; Burenius and Torres, *Testimonio de un fracaso Huando*; Muñoz, Matos Mar, and Carbajal, *Erasmo Muñoz, yanacón del Valle de Chancay*; Béjar, *Perú 1965*; Blanco, *Land or Death*; and Gavilán, *Memorias de un soldado desconocido*.

39. I wrote an initial draft of the book and translated it into Spanish, and then I brought copies of my Spanish translation to Llamojha in May 2013. When I presented the draft to him, I ceded editorial control, stressing that I would make any deletions, corrections, and additions that he desired. I also made the draft available to his adult children and explained that I was open to discussing and working through any concerns they might have. Llamojha, his daughter María Llamojha Puklla, and I decided on necessary changes together. Jan Rus and Diane L. Rus offer a thoughtful discussion of editing practices—both for reasons of style and contentious content—with a native publishing project, "The Taller Tzotzil of Chiapas, Mexico," 162–163.

40. For thoughtful discussions on the strengths, limitations, and academic reputation of biography, see Banner, "Biography as History," 579–586; Nasaw, "Historians and Biography," 573–578; Kessler-Harris, "Why Biography?," 625–630.

41. Mallon, "Introduction: Decolonizing Knowledge, Language and Narrative," 3.

42. Mallon describes this practice of document sharing in *Courage Tastes of Blood*, 9.

43. Myerhoff, "Life History among the Elderly," 105.

44. I generated these follow-up questions in response to what I had learned from previous interviews and from archival documents.

45. A social worker by training, Alicia was born in Ayacucho and is fluent in both Quechua and Spanish. She and I jointly transcribed all of the interviews. All translations of Llamojha's Spanish stories and archival documents are my own. Alicia also translated brief Quechua segments of the interviews into Spanish.

46. The original recordings and a transcript of the interview are available at the CVR's archive in Lima, the Defensoría del Pueblo Centro de Información para la Memoria Colectiva y los Derechos Humanos (CIMCDH). I encourage interested researchers to listen to the recordings, as the transcript is incomplete. For ease of reading, I have edited out pauses, interruptions, and repetitions in Llamojha's CVR testimony.

47. Oral history scholar Alessandro Portelli reflects on this phenomenon in *Death of Luigi Trastulli*, 55. For theoretical considerations of life stories, see Linde, *Life Stories*.

48. This formulation of memory is shaped by the voluminous scholarship on the subject, much of which has been informed by Maurice Halbwachs's work on collective memory and Pierre Nora's discussions of sites of memory. See Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*; Nora, *Realms of Memory*. For the Latin American context, key works on memory include James, *Doña María's Story*; Jelín, *State Repression and the Labors of Memory*; Stern, *Remembering Pinochet's Chile*. There are, of course, many other ways that we could interpret Llamojha's life stories. We could read them as auto-ethnography, which Mary Louise Pratt defines as a colonized person's discussion of self, using the language of the colonizers. See Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*. We could also read these stories as examples of what Stephen Greenblatt considers "self-fashioning," whereby individuals craft and express their identities in relation to their contexts. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*.

49. Portelli, *Death of Luigi Trastulli*, 50.

50. Much has been written about the power differentials in anthropological and oral history research. See Starn, *Nightwatch*, 16; Scheper-Hughes, *Death without Weeping*, 28.

51. Joanne Rappaport and Abelardo Ramos discuss how the tensions in a collaborative research project they worked on stemmed less from the differences between Western academic research culture and the indigenous researcher than from the differences between academics and activists. "Collaboration and Historical Writing," 140.

CHAPTER 1: "I'M GOING TO BE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC"

1. Orlove, "Down to Earth," 209; Drinot, *Allure of Labor*.

2. De Oliviera and Roberts, "Urban Growth and Urban Social Structure in Latin America," 255.

3. Llamojha was born on a plot of land named Marka Marka, at the base of a Chachas tree.