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## Now Peru Is Mine

Llamojha Mitma, Manuel, McCall, Grant

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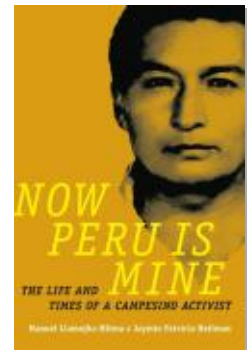
Llamojha Mitma, Manuel and Grant McCall.

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## 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*; Burenus and Torres, *Testimonio de un fracaso Huando*; Muñoz, Matos Mar, and Carbajal, *Erasmus 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*; Jelin, *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.

4. Concepción now belongs to the province of Vilcashuamán, created in 1984.
5. Llamojha's mother was born in Tantar, a small community neighboring Concepción.
6. Salomon and Niño-Murcia, *Lettered Mountain*, 128.
7. Davies, *Indian Integration in Peru*, 131–134.
8. Salomon and Niño-Murcia, *Lettered Mountain*, 139.
9. Davies, *Indian Integration in Peru*, 94; Hazen, "Awakening of Puno," 124.
10. Mantilla, *Libro de lectura*.
11. Bastinos, *Mosaico literario epistolar para ejercitarse los niños en la lectura de manuscritos*. This is the fifty-eighth edition of the book. Salomon and Niño-Murcia note that *Mosaico* was tremendously influential in Spain and Latin America. It was a collection of manuscripts that demonstrated how to produce different genres of documents. Salomon and Niño-Murcia, *Lettered Mountain*, 131.
12. Indeed, Peruvians routinely connected literacy with both race and class identity, automatically associating illiteracy with indigeneity and peasant life and regarding education as central to what anthropologist Marisol de la Cadena calls "de-Indianization." See de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*; García, *Making Indigenous Citizens*, 87–88; Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*, 13.
13. Salomon and Niño-Murcia, *Lettered Mountain*, 25; Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*, 13.
14. For more on hacienda-campesino relations in Peru, see Diez Hurtado, *Comunes y haciendas*; Mallon, *Defense of Community*; Manrique, *Yawar Mayu*; Rénique, *La batalla por Puno*; Taylor, *Bandits and Politics in Peru*.
15. María Elodia Vassallo de Parodi.
16. Sources on the 1920s and the Tawantinsuyo Committee include Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*, 42–70; de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, 86–130; Arroyo, "La Experiencia Del Comité Central Pro-Derecho Indígena Tahuantinsuyo," 1–24; Leibner, "Radicalism and Integration," 1–23; Kapsoli Escudero, *Ayllus del sol*. The Tawantinsuyo Committee also pressed for indigenous peasants' citizenship rights, respect for indigenous peoples, and educational opportunities.
17. Memorial presentado por los vecinos indígenas del pueblo de Concepción, September 20, 1929, Proyecto Especial de Titulación de Tierras Ayacucho (PETT), Concepción de Chakamarca dossier, fol. 1.
18. Memorial presentado por los vecinos indígenas del pueblo de Concepción, September 20, 1929, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarca dossier, fol. 13.
19. Martín Sulca, Nicolás Zea, Alejandro Salvatierra, and Mariano Quispe to Ayacucho prefect, March 29, 1930, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarca dossier, fol. 16.
20. On campesinos' frustrations with Peru's political and court systems, see Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*; La Serna, *Corner of the Living*.
21. Klaiber, *Religion and Revolution in Peru*; Klaiber, *Catholic Church in Peru*, 172–206.
22. Stein, *Populism in Peru*, 56–57, 65. See also Lund Skar, *Lives Together, Worlds Apart*.

23. Klaiber, *Catholic Church in Peru*, 185, 190.
24. Salomon and Niño-Murcia, *Lettered Mountain*, 2; de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*.
25. Masterson, *Militarism and Politics*, 29. For the ties between Andean peasants and the Peruvian military, see Méndez, “Tradiciones liberales en los Andes,” 125–153. For a famous fictional account of cadet life in one of Lima’s military barracks, see Vargas Llosa, *La ciudad y los perros*.
26. González-Cueva, “Conscription and Violence in Peru,” 89.
27. Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*, 20–21; Díez Hurtado, *Comunes y haciendas*, 158; Davies, *Indian Integration in Peru*, 49.
28. Stein, *Populism in Peru*, 200; García Bryce, “A Revolution Remembered, a Revolution Forgotten,” 277–322. On the tense relations between the military and APRA, see Masterson, *Militarism and Politics*, 50.
29. Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds*, 132–136.
30. Davies, *Indian Integration in Peru*, 103; Klarén, *Modernization, Dislocation, and Aprismo*, 129. On the significant regional variations of APRA, see Nugent, *Modernity at the Edge of Empire*; Heilman, “We Will No Longer Be Servile,” 491–518; Taylor, “The Origins of Apra in Cajamarca,” 437–459.
31. See Klarén, *Peru*, 277.
32. The committee later changed its name to the Indian Community of Concepción Chacamarca Pro-Defense Committee and finally to the Concepción Social Central.
33. Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 30–31.
34. Lund Skar, *Lives Together, Worlds Apart*, 107–112.
35. Comité Pro-Comunidad Indígena de Concepción Chacamarca to director of Indian affairs, July 23, 1946, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier, doc. 2034939, fol. 815.
36. Members of the Comunidad de Concepción de Chacamarca to director of Indian affairs, February 15, 1947, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier, fol. 2.
37. Paulino Guerrero, M. J. Llamojha Mitman, and Rosendo Mendoza Villagaray to Cangallo subprefect, February 22, 1947, Archivo Regional de Ayacucho, Subprefectura Cangallo, Vischongo 1947 dossier. Llamojha occasionally added an *n* to his surname in the 1940s.
38. The central government in Lima appointed the prefect, the leading authority in a department, who in turn appointed provincial subprefects as well as district authorities.
39. I discuss the issue of abusive authorities throughout *Before the Shining Path*. Nineteenth-century Peruvian writer Manuel González Prada described such abusive authorities, commenting that indigenous communities suffered “the tyranny of the justice of the peace, the governor, and the priest, that unholy trinity responsible for brutalizing the Indian.” González Prada, *Páginas libres*, 343.



CHAPTER 2: I “MADE THE HACENDADOS TREMBLE”

1. The importance of the Jhajhamarka (officially spelled Ccaccamarca) struggle is shown by the fact that it became the subject of a book by the Peruvian scholar and activist Aracelio Castillo. See Castillo, *Reforma agraria por la vía campesina*.
2. Hobsbawm, “Peasant Land Occupations,” 138. For a periodization of Peru’s twentieth-century land struggles, see Neira, *Los Andes*, 73, 199. A key source on Peruvian peasant struggles over land and resources in the period immediately preceding the 1940s is Mallon, *Defense of Community*.
3. Gilbert Joseph calls for deeper consideration of the “grassroots dynamics and meanings of the Latin American Cold War,” in “What We Now Know and Should Know,” 19.
4. Manuel Llamojha Mitma, *Memoria descriptiva del distrito de Concepción* (2011), unpublished manuscript in Llamojha’s personal collection, 16.
5. See Burns, *Colonial Habits*.
6. For a discussion of the term *gamonal*, see Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca*, 102. For a consideration of gamonal violence, see Poole, “Performance, Domination, and Identity in the *Tierras Bravas* of Chumbivilcas (Cusco),” 97–131.
7. This probably happened in the 1920s.
8. Neira, *Los Andes*, 200; Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 124–154.
9. Both the Parodi and Martinelli families owned haciendas around Concepción and played prominent roles in Ayacucho politics.
10. Unfortunately, Llamojha was unable to recall whether or not he had written this particular document.
11. Cupertino de la Cruz to director of Indian affairs, March 4, 1948, Proyecto Especial de Titulación de Tierras Ayacucho (PETT), Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 1116.
12. Cupertino de la Cruz to director of Indian affairs, March 4, 1948, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 1116.
13. Subinspector Humberto Abad Ramírez to head of the IV Police Region, May 29, 1948, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 206.
14. Salomon and Niño-Murcia, *Lettered Mountain*, 137.
15. Subinspector Humberto Abad Ramírez to head of the IV Police Region, May 29, 1948, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 208.
16. Salomon and Niño-Murcia, *Lettered Mountain*, 147. See the next chapter for a discussion of *tinterillos*, shyster scribes who used their literacy to manipulate and abuse their neighbors.
17. Seventeen Ccaccamarca campesinos to minister of justice and work, June 22, 1948, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 56. The letter also noted that Llamojha had relatives in Jhajhamarka, and in fact one of his sisters did reside there.
18. “Acta de la fundación del Sindicato de Yanaconas de Ccaccamarca (Jhajhamarca),” February 14, 1948, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 198. Although Llamojha uses the spelling “Jhajhamarca” in this document, he subsequently began using a *k* in the final syllable.
19. See Klarén, *Peru*, 293; Peloso, *Peasants on Plantations*, 109–153.

20. Subinspector Humberto Abad Ramírez to head of the IV Police Region, May 29, 1948, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 206.
21. See Klarén, *Peru*, 293.
22. Subinspector Humberto Abad Ramírez to head of the IV Police Region, May 29, 1948, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 206.
23. Subinspector Humberto Abad Ramírez to head of the IV Police Region, May 29, 1948, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 206.
24. Subinspector Humberto Abad Ramírez to head of the IV Police Region, May 29, 1948, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 207.
25. Vicente Condori Condori to civil guard sergeant commander, August 13, 1948, Archivo Regional de Ayacucho (ARA), Subprefectura Cangallo (sc), Institutos Armados 1948 dossier.
26. Luis Alfredo Gutiérrez to director of Indian affairs, July 8, 1948, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 54.
27. Subinspector Humberto Abad Ramírez to head of the IV Police Region, May 29, 1948, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 206.
28. Baptismal certificate prepared by Manuel J. Llamojha Mitman, November 21, 1947, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 201.
29. Drinot, "Creole Anti-communism," 703–736; Heilman, "To Fight Soviet Agents in the Fatherland," 94–120.
30. Subinspector Humberto Abad Ramírez to head of the IV Police Region, May 29, 1948, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 206.
31. Subinspector Humberto Abad Ramírez to head of the IV Police Region, May 29, 1948, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 207.
32. Vicente Condori Condori to civil guard sergeant commander, August 13, 1948, ARA, sc, Institutos Armados 1948 dossier.
33. Vicente Condori Condori to head of the IV Police Region, May 18, 1948, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 46.
34. Luis Alfredo Gutiérrez to director of Indian affairs, July 8, 1948, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 54.
35. It is equally doubtful that Llamojha had any lingering sympathies for APRA by 1948, as the hacendados Carlos and Ernesto Cárdenas were themselves prominent Apristas. Their affiliation would likely have ended any remaining interest Llamojha had in the party. See Heilman, "To Fight Soviet Agents in the Fatherland," 112. For a discussion of politics among Ayacucho's hacendados, see Glave and Urrutia, "Radicalismo político en élites regionales," 1–37.
36. Subinspector Humberto Abad Ramírez to head of the IV Police Region, May 29, 1948, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 207.
37. "M. J. Llamocca Mitma" to "Mr. Cupertino de la Cruz," May 1, 1948, ARA, sc, Institutos Armados 1948 dossier, fol. 8.
38. I made this point in "To Fight Soviet Agents in the Fatherland," 114.
39. "Junta Directiva," n.d., PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier, fol. 199.
40. "Resolución Apoyo Externo," December 20, 1977, PETT, Ccaccamarca dossier,

fol. 23; Casimiro Yupanqui, Miguel Quispe, and Mariano Joya to Ayacucho prefect, March 30, 1964, ARA, Ex-Prefectura. Unfortunately, prefectural documents dating from the 1960s forward were not yet organized into dossiers at the time of research. These documents were simply labelled “ex-prefectura” documents in the Ayacucho Regional Archive. As noted in the introduction, the Velasco government recategorized “indigenous communities” as “campesino communities” in 1969.

### CHAPTER 3: “JAIL WAS LIKE MY HOME”

1. Comité Interamericano de Desarrollo Agrícola (CIDA), *Tenencia de la Tierra y Desarrollo Socio-Económico del Sector Agrícola Perú*, 394; Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 62–81; Klarén, *Peru*, 281, 307, 315.
2. Paulo Drinot, introduction to *Che’s Travels*, 3, notes the dearth of attention to Latin America’s 1950s.
3. It was a hacienda in the district of Cocharcas.
4. Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 30.
5. Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 30.
6. Huanta is a province in northern Ayacucho, Andahuaylas is a province in the neighboring department of Apurímac, and Huamanga is a central Ayacucho province, where the city of Ayacucho is located. Llamojha noted that Grimaldo Castillo’s father, Alejandro Castillo, was also very abusive.
7. Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*, 139.
8. Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*, 199–200.
9. For a detailed study of envarados, see Rasnake, *Domination and Cultural Resistance*. See also La Serna, *Corner of the Living*, 46–51.
10. Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*, 24–26.
11. The exact date of the foregoing events is difficult to pinpoint; I found no record of this incarceration in Ayacucho’s archives. That archival absence means little: many documents—even entire court cases—are missing or misfiled.
12. Representatives of Concepción de Chakamarca to director of Indian affairs, June 22, 1959, Proyecto Especial de Titulación de Tierras Ayacucho (PETT), Concepción de Chakamarca dossier, fols. 106–107.
13. Manuel J. Llamojha Mitma, Samuel Cárdenas Zea, and Emilio Llamojha Mitma to Dr. Alberto Arca Parró, June 25, 1959, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarca dossier, fols. 104–105.
14. Manuel J. Llamojha Mitma, Samuel Cárdenas Zea, and Emilio Llamojha Mitma to Dr. Alberto Arca Parró, June 25, 1959, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarca dossier, fols. 104–105.
15. Interview with Emilio Llamojha, August 21, 2012.
16. This canceled convention is discussed in the next chapter.
17. Sarah Radcliffe discusses Peruvian women’s mid- to late-twentieth-century activism in “People Have to Rise Up—Like the Great Women Fighters,” 197–218.
18. The contradictory attitudes about women in Llamojha’s stories are not unusual. A similar contradiction emerges in much of the literature about gender relations

in Peru's rural Andean communities. Some scholars have highlighted structures of gender complementarity in these communities, noting how Andean women's and men's roles balance and complete one another. Yet other scholars have stressed the prevalence of domestic violence and women's local political subordination. See Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun and Witches*; Bourque and Warren, *Women of the Andes*; Harris, "Complementarity and Conflict," 21–40; Harvey, "Domestic Violence in the Peruvian Andes"; Boesten, "State and Violence against Women in Peru." I thank Frank Salomon for pointing out this contradiction to me.

19. Abel Alfaro to Ayacucho prefect, April 22, 1959, Archivo Regional de Ayacucho (ARA), Ex-Prefectura.

20. One such document is Subprefect Alberto Flores Leyva to Ayacucho prefect, October 15, 1959, PETF, Concepción de Chakamarca dossier II, fol. 61.

21. "Está Preso Por Defender su Pueblo," *Sierra* 19:486, 1st and 2nd fortnights, January 1960, 4. *Sierra* is available in the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú in San Borja, Peru.

22. On the conditions in Peruvian prisons, see Aguirre, *Criminals of Lima*, 164–184.

23. The actual court case appears to be missing, but reference to Llamojha's imprisonment and the charges appears in Cangallo subprefect to Ayacucho prefect, official letter no. 46, October 22, 1957, ARA, Subprefectura Cangallo (sc), Oficios Remitidos a la Prefectura 1957 dossier.

24. Manuel J. Llamojha Mitma and others to president of the Ayacucho Supreme Court, March 6, 1957, ARA, Corte Superior de Justicia (CSJ) criminal case, dossier (*legajo*) 1189, fol. 1.

25. Manuel J. Llamojha Mitma and others to president of the Ayacucho Supreme Court, March 6, 1957, ARA, CSJ criminal case, dossier 1189, fol. 1. Nothing came of Llamojha's complaint. The judge in question accused Llamojha of utilizing the services of an immoral scribe (*tinterillo*) to write the letter and of tricking his fellow prisoners into signing it.

26. On the history of corruption in Peru, see Quiroz, *Corrupt Circles*.

27. These lawyers included individuals named Cavero, García Blásquez, and Gutiérrez.

28. Interview with Hilda Llamojha, November 19, 2011.

29. Interview with Walter Llamojha, November 19, 2011.

30. Interview with Hilda Llamojha, November 19, 2011.

31. Interview with Walter Llamojha, November 19, 2011.

32. Interviews with Emilio and Víctor Llamojha, August 21, 2012.

33. Interview with Walter Llamojha, November 19, 2011.

34. "Movimiento Democrático Peruano," November 24, 1961, ARA, SC, Oficios recibidos y remitidos de la Prefectura 1961 dossier. For Emilio Llamojha's service as Concepción's district mayor, see Emilio Llamojha Mitma to presiding judge, April 28, 1966, ARA, Juzgado de tierras: Fuero Comun Agrario, dossier 49, file (*expediente*) 1, fol. 10.

35. Interview with Víctor Llamojha, August 21, 2012.

36. Interview with Walter Llamojha, November 19, 2011.
37. Interview with Hilda Llamojha, November 19, 2011.
38. “Vda. de” stands for “viuda de,” or “widow of.”
39. Manuel J. Llamojha Mitma to Dr. Manuel Prado, May 2, 1958, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier, fols. 125–126.
40. Representatives of the community Concepción de Chakamarca to director of Indian affairs, June 22, 1959, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarca dossier II, fol. 106.
41. Salomon and Niño-Murcia, *Lettered Mountain*, 137.
42. Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*, 107–115; Becker, “In Search of Tinterillos,” 95–114.
43. Subprefect Guillermo Tutaya to Ayacucho prefect, June 26, 1958, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier, fol. 131.
44. Ayacucho prefect to director general of government, July 3, 1958, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarca dossier II, fol. 19.
45. Criminal trial against Manuel Llamojha Mitma for crimes against the public good in the counterfeit production of money, initiated April 5, 1961, ARA, CSJ Cangallo Province criminal case, dossier 1212, file 10. *Sierra* published a story decrying Llamojha’s imprisonment for the counterfeit case. “¿Un error o un abuso de autoridad?” *Sierra* 25:514, 1st and 2nd fortnights of July 1961, 8.
46. Court certificate prepared by the head of the Cangallo public jail, October 14, 1958, fol. 30; Court certificate prepared by secretary of the Supreme Court of Justice, April 24, 1958, fol. 944. Both documents from PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier.
47. Statement to police by Abel Alfaro, August 19, 1959, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier, fol. 154.
48. Alfonso Martinelli and Abel Alfaro to minister of labor and Indian affairs, June 13, 1958, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier, fol. 953. Martinelli owned the La Colpa hacienda.
49. Alfonso Martinelli and Abel Alfaro to minister of labor and Indian affairs, June 13, 1958, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier, fol. 953.
50. Virgilio Landazuri to director of Indian affairs, July 4, 1958, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier, fol. 955.
51. Resolución Ministerial no. 251, July 22, 1958, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier, fol. 957.
52. Concepción campesinos to Dr. Ricardo Elías y Aparicio, September 21, 1958, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier, fol. 965.
53. Junta Directiva of the Centro Social Hijos del Distrito de Concepción to director general of Indian affairs, October 6, 1958, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier, fol. 969.
54. Whenever the text indicates that someone said something in Quechua, that means that Llamojha used Quechua during the original interview.
55. Subprefect Alberto Flores Leyva to Ayacucho prefect, October 15, 1959, fol. 61; Primitivo Mayhua to Cangallo subprefect, April 20, 1959, fol. 60. Both documents from PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier.

56. "Acta: Elección del Personero o Mandatario Legal," June 19, 1960, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier, fol. 1025.
57. "La Comunidad de Concepción Eligió su Personero Legal," *Sierra* 24:503, 1st and 2nd fortnights of December 1960, 4.
58. Concepción campesinos to secretary general of the Peruvian Peasant Confederation, August 4, 1960, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier, fol. 1043.
59. Vidal Alcántara Cárdenas to head of the organizational division of Indigenous communities, August 5, 1960, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier, fol. 1042.
60. Concepción campesinos to secretary general of the Peruvian Peasant Confederation, August 4, 1960, PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier, fol. 1043.
61. Juan H. Pévez, Alberto Izarra, and Francisco Huamán to minister of labor and Indian affairs, n.d., PETT, Concepción de Chakamarka dossier, fol. 1045.

#### CHAPTER 4: FOR JUSTICE, LAND, AND LIBERTY

1. Zolov, "Expanding Our Conceptual Horizons," 47–73; Gould, "Solidarity under Siege," 367–368; Gott, *Rural Guerrillas in Latin America*. For international travels, see Rothwell, *Transpacific Revolutionaries*, 1, 26. For the broader Latin American experience of the Cold War, see Sorensen, *Turbulent Decade Remembered*; Grandin and Joseph, *Century of Revolution*; Joseph and Spenser, *In from the Cold*.
2. There were also long-standing tensions between the military and APRA that stretched back to the 1930s. See Masterson, *Militarism and Politics*, 17, 46–47. For the 1962–1963 military government under Ricardo Pérez Godoy, see Villanueva, *Un año bajo el sable*.
3. Masterson, *Militarism and Politics*, 187.
4. Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 86, 111, 121; Comité Interamericano de Desarrollo Agrícola (CIDA), *Tenencia de la tierra*, 395–398; Flores Galindo, "Apuntes sobre las ocupaciones de tierras y el sindicalismo agrario."
5. Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 119–121. For a discussion of the Belaúnde regime, see Kuczynski, *Peruvian Democracy under Economic Stress*.
6. Masterson, *Militarism and Politics*, 216, notes that this often-quoted number comes from Rogger Mercado. See Mercado, *Las guerrillas del Perú*.
7. For a detailed discussion of the Pomacocha land seizure, see Heilman, "Yellows against Reds."
8. The department of Ayacucho was not home to as many land seizures or as much peasant mobilization as took place in departments like Cuzco, Junín, and Pasco. Some scholars go so far as to say that Ayacucho lacked major peasant mobilizations in the 1960s. See Rubio Giesecke, "Las guerrillas peruanas de 1965," 140; Poole and Rénique, *Peru*, 36; Degregori, *Qué Difícil es ser Dios*, 185. The cases noted in this chapter show that Ayacucho's countryside was not as quiescent as these scholars suggest.
9. Civil guard report, April 19, 1962, Archivo Regional de Ayacucho (ARA), Subprefectura Cangallo (sc), Institutos Armados 1962 dossier.
10. Germán Rivera Medina to Ayacucho prefect, November 28, 1963, ARA, Ex-Prefectura.

11. Report by Subprefect Aquilino Cornejo, official document no. 109, August 20, 1965, ARA, SC, Ministerios 1965 dossier.
12. Stories on the planned convention appeared in the migrant newspaper *Sierra* in “Los campesinos de Cangallo Tendrán Convención Provincial,” *Sierra* 26:522, 1st and 2nd fortnights of February 1962, 4; “Se realizará la Convención de Campesinos,” *Sierra* 26:524, 1st and 2nd fortnights of April 1962, 4; “No se realizó la proyectada Convención,” *Sierra* 26:525, 1st and 2nd fortnights of May 1962, 1. *Sierra* is available in the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, in San Borja.
13. Federación Provincial de Campesinos de Cangallo circular, March 9, 1962, copy, ARA, SC, Vilcashuamán 1962 dossier. The periodical *Unidad* ran a story outlining the congress’s objectives. “Convención de Campesinos de Cangallo,” *Unidad*, April 2, 1962, 3. *Unidad* is available in the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, in San Borja.
14. It was not until the 1970s and 1980s, with the rise of liberation theology, that activist priests and Catholic political activists began talking about the compatibility of Christianity and leftist social justice struggles.
15. Cangallo subprefect to Ayacucho prefect, Of. No. 19, March 10, 1962, ARA, SC, Ministerios 1962 dossier.
16. Ayacucho prefect to director of Indian affairs, March 21, 1962, ARA, SC, Institutos Armados 1962 dossier. The prefect also justified his decision on the grounds that congress organizers did not have authorization from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. “Convención campesina contra formas esclavistas de labor,” *Expreso*, March 27, 1962, 9. *Expreso* is available in the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, in San Borja, Peru.
17. Civil guard Huber Mendiola to Cangallo subprefect, document no. 53, March 28, 1962, ARA, SC, Institutos Armados 1962 dossier. The original accusation about graffiti appears in Statement by Ruperto Delgado, February 20, 1962, ARA, Ex-Prefectura.
18. Statement by Manuel Llamocca Mitma, May 5, 1962, ARA, SC, Institutos Armados 1962 dossier.
19. “Convención campesina contra formas esclavistas de labor,” *Expreso*, March 27, 1962, 9.
20. Officials from the Ministry of Labor and Indian Affairs telegraphed the prefect shortly after the story appeared, reminding him that unfree labor systems had been outlawed in the 1920s and instructing him to investigate the abuses outlined in the *Expreso* article. See Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Indígenas Telegrama no. 229, March 30, 1962, Proyecto Especial de Titulación de Tierras Ayacucho (PETT), Pomacocha dossier.
21. Ranque, “Les origines et les divisions des partis maoistes peruvians dans les années 1960,” 31.
22. Manuel Llamojha Mitma: Candidato Campesino a una Diputación, handbill, February 1962, ARA, SC, Institutos Armados 1962 dossier.
23. Chapter 5 provides a detailed consideration of Llamojha’s political and ideological sympathies.
24. Report no. 55, prepared by Jorge E. Bendezú, November 14, 1962, ARA, Ex-Prefectura.

25. “Cerca de un millón de campesinos estarán representados en su III Congreso Nacional,” *Unidad*, November 15, 1962, 8.
26. Surprisingly little has been written about this key figure in the Peruvian left. His supporters have produced an informative web page about his life and political work, available at the blog of Frente Democrático Popular: <http://fedep-peru.blogspot.ca/2011/03/dr-saturnino-paredes-macedo.html> [accessed March 4, 2016].
27. Rothwell, *Transpacific Revolutionaries*, 54. An outstanding source for the global impact of the Sino-Soviet split is Lüthi, *Sino-Soviet Split*.
28. The new parties took the names *Unidad* and *Bandera Roja* from the titles of their respective periodicals. For divergent attitudes toward peasants, see Rothwell, *Transpacific Revolutionaries*, 52.
29. Axel Ranque, one of the only scholars to mention Llamojha, states that Paredes selected Llamojha to head the CCP because of their personal ties and Paredes’s view that he could trust Llamojha. Ranque, “Les origines et les divisions des partis maoïstes,” 20.
30. “Segundo Congreso Nacional Campesino,” *Unidad*, June 16, 1962, 8.
31. Confederación Campesina del Perú, *Estatutos y declaración de principios de la Confederación Campesina del Perú*, 3. At a subsequent meeting of the CCP in November 1963, Llamojha and other members of the CCP approved a proposal for an agrarian reform law. See *Reforma Agraria Peruana*, 158.
32. The size of the CCP at this point is almost impossible to measure. The sympathetic Communist Party periodical *Unidad* claimed in 1962 that the CCP represented nearly one million campesinos via its delegates. A CCP publication, in turn, reported that more than 150 delegations attended the 1962 congress. See “Cerca de un millón de campesinos estarán representados en su III Congreso Nacional,” *Unidad*, November 15, 1962, 8; “Acuerdos tomados por el II congreso nacional campesino,” *La Voz del Campesino* 11, July 1967, 23. That said, several scholars have asserted that the CCP was neither particularly well known nor especially strong during the 1960s and early 1970s. See Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 150; Rénique, *La batalla por Puno*, 192. The CCP likely had several hundred individuals who considered themselves members during the early 1960s, based on the fact that about two hundred delegates attended the 1963 special congress. See “El Congreso Nacional Extraordinario de la Confederación Campesina del Perú,” *Bandera Roja* 1:3, December 2, 1963, 2. *Bandera Roja* is available in the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, in San Borja. Ricardo Caro Cárdenas provided me with a copy of this issue of *La Voz del Campesino* from his personal collection.
33. Fioravanti, *Latifundio y sindicalismo agrario en el Perú*, 125–126; Blanco, *Land or Death*.
34. “¿Qué pasa en La Convención?” *Unidad*, December 31, 1962, 7.
35. “Hermanos Campesinos,” *Boletín Informativo de la Confederación Campesina del Perú*, May 1965, 3. This bulletin is available in the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University.
36. These efforts are reported in “Convención Regional de Comunidades del Centro,” *Bandera Roja* 2:2, March 20, 1964, 8; “La tierra a quien la trabaja,” *Bandera Roja*



4:14, 2nd fortnight of May 1966, 6; “Confederación Campesina del Perú Comunicado,” *Bandera Roja* 2:8, July 24, 1964, 7.

37. Masterson, *Militarism and Politics*, 191, 200 n. 50; Sulmont, *El movimiento obrero peruano*, 91.

38. On the election campaign, see Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 85. It is possible that Llamojha’s encounter with Belaúnde happened well before 1963, as Belaúnde traveled across Peru during and between the 1956, 1962, and 1963 presidential campaigns. For Belaúnde’s perspective on his travels across Peru, see Belaúnde Terry, *Pueblo por pueblo*.

39. Masterson, *Militarism and Politics*, 209.

40. “Primer Congreso Provincial Campesino de Huamanga,” *Bandera Roja* 2:8, October 2, 1964, 5.

41. Sierra reported that Llamojha’s arrival in China was the culmination of his “trajectory of struggle.” “De Concepción,” *Sierra* 24:565, 1st fortnight of July 1965, 4.

42. Interview with Pelayo Oré Chávez, December 24, 2011.

43. Central Intelligence Agency, Intelligence Information Cable: Plans of the MIR for Revolutionary Action, Distributed February 12, 1964, p. 3, reel 5, Peru; Central Intelligence Agency, OCI no. 0515/63, March 27, 1963, Memorandum: Cuban Training of Latin American Subversives, pp. 2, 35, reel 1, Cuba; both in United States Central Intelligence Agency, *CIA Research Reports: Latin America, 1946–1976* [5 microfilm reels] (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1982).

44. “Jovenes peruanos becados a Moscú,” *Unidad*, December 8, 1966, 5.

45. The Peruvian ban on travel is noted in *Hispanic American Report* 15:4, April 1962, 348.

46. Rothwell, *Transpacific Revolutionaries*, 61–62; Hinojosa, “On Poor Relations and the Nouveau Riche,” 60.

47. My thanks to Alicia Carrasco for helping me understand the implications of this story.

48. The news was also reported in the Chinese press: “Manuel Juvenal Llamojha Mitma, National Secretary of the Federation of Peruvian Peasants, arrived here today as the guest of the National Committee of the Agricultural and Forestry Workers’ Trade Union of China. He was met at the airport by Sung Chuan, Vice Chairman of the host organization, and Lu Tsung-ying, Deputy Director of the International Liaison Department of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.” “Peruvian Peasant Leader Arrives in Peking,” NCNA-English [Xinhua News Agency], Peking, June 6, 1965, U.S. Consulate General, *Survey of China Mainland Press*, no. 3475, June 11, 1965, 23. For a discussion of foreigners’ political tours of China, see Rothwell, *Transpacific Revolutionaries*, 26.

49. Huancayo is the capital city of the department of Junín. As was often the case, Llamojha shared a slightly different version of this anecdote with his Truth and Reconciliation Commission interviewers.

50. See Ministerio de Guerra, *Las guerrillas en el Perú y su represión*; Mercado, *Las guerrillas del Perú*; Rubio Giesecke, “Las guerrillas peruanas de 1965”; Brown and

Fernández, *War of Shadows*; Béjar, *Perú 1965*; Campbell, “Historiography of the Peruvian Guerrilla Movement”; Gott, *Rural Guerrillas in Latin America*; Koc-Menard, “Social Mediation and Social Analysis,” 114–125.

51. “Universidades: foco de subversiones comunistas,” *Presente* 102, September–October 1965, 36. *Presente* is available in the Nettie Lee Benson Collection at the University of Texas–Austin library.

52. Unfortunately, I was unable to find any court record of Llamojha’s imprisonment between 1965 and 1966.

53. “Libertad para Manuel Llamojha Mitma,” *Bandera Roja* 4:20, May 1966, 7.

54. “Llaman justicia comuneros de Pomacocha,” *Bandera Roja* 4:22, July 1966, 6.

55. For a discussion of student political radicalism at San Marcos University, see Lynch, *Los jóvenes rojos de San Marcos*.

56. Neira, *Los Andes*, 226. Similar charges appear in Montoya’s *Lucha por la tierra*. It is difficult to assess assertions about the CCP’s weakness in this period. Although Llamojha kept a detailed archive of all his work with the CCP, that archive was confiscated, and almost surely destroyed, by soldiers in 1982. Few documents held by the present-day CCP reach back past the 1973 fracture of the CCP, and Peru’s National Library holds only CCP publications produced after 1973. The historian can only hope that copies of 1960s-era CCP publications, especially the CCP periodical *Voz Campesina* (Peasant Voice), survive in personal archives in Peru. So far, only a scattered few issues are known to exist.

57. In our interviews, Llamojha said that Ayacucho’s congressional deputy Pedro C. Cárdenas was the one who told him the Ayrabamba title would be in Ica.

58. This lawsuit was likely initiated in 1965, based on a comment in Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla to president of correctional tribunal, September 21, 1981, ARA, Corte Superior de Justicia, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fol. 944. I have not been able to locate the court record of the actual lawsuit.

## CHAPTER 5: “EVERYTHING WAS DIVISION”

1. Angell, “The Left in Latin America since c. 1920,” 163.

2. There is an enormous literature on the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces and its reforms. Key works include Cleaves and Scurrah, *Agriculture, Bureaucracy, and Military Government in Peru*; Caballero, *Agricultura, reforma agraria y pobreza campesina*; Matos Mar and Mejía, *La reforma agraria en el Perú*; McClintock, *Peasant Cooperatives and Political Change in Peru*; Lowenthal, *Peruvian Experiment*; Seligmann, *Between Reform and Revolution*; Mayer, *Ugly Stories of the Peruvian Agrarian Reform*; Cant, “Land for Those Who Work It.”

3. Of course, many campesinos were themselves leftist activists. The two groups were not mutually exclusive.

4. Mallon, *Courage Tastes of Blood*, 107–111.

5. Hinojosa, “On Poor Relations and the Nouveau Riche,” 68–69.

6. Prominent examples include the 1965 guerrilla leader Héctor Béjar and the Ayacucho Trotskyist peasant leader Antonio Cartolín.

7. Manuel Llamojha Mitma, “La lucha entre dos líneas y la reconstitución de la Confederación Campesina del Perú (May 1973),” *Informativo Agrario: Circulo de estudios Artemio Zavala* 3 (August 1973), n.p. I am very grateful to Ricardo Caro Cárdenas for providing me with a copy of this publication.
8. Llamojha Mitma, “La lucha entre dos líneas y la reconstitución de la Confederación Campesina del Perú (May 1973),” n.p.
9. Llamojha Mitma, “La lucha entre dos líneas y la reconstitución de la Confederación Campesina del Perú (May 1973),” n.p.
10. For discussion of the cooperatives, see McClintock, *Peasant Cooperatives and Political Change in Peru*; Horton, *Haciendas and Cooperatives*; Montoya, *La Sais Cahuide y sus contradicciones*; Mayer, *Ugly Stories of the Peruvian Agrarian Reform*, 111–182.
11. Llamojha Mitma, “La lucha entre dos líneas y la reconstitución de la Confederación Campesina del Perú (May 1973),” n.p.
12. “Confederación Campesina del Perú,” *Bandera Roja* 2:2, March 20, 1964, 8. Not coincidentally, this letter was published in *Bandera Roja*, the paper that represented the views of Peruvian Maoists.
13. “Confederación Campesina del Perú,” *Bandera Roja* 2:2, March 20, 1964, 8.
14. Neira, *Los Andes*, 224.
15. See Blanco, *Land or Death*.
16. Cuzco and Piura are Peruvian departments. Chiclayo is a province in the department of Lambayeque.
17. Rothwell discusses China’s decision to cut funding to the Peruvian Communist Party in 1967, explaining that China generally stopped funding other communist parties at this time. Rothwell, *Transpacific Revolutionaries*, 57, 106 n. 35.
18. It is difficult to determine the exact year when Llamojha’s relationship with Paredes collapsed. Llamojha asserts that the break occurred around 1965 or 1966, and—in keeping with the story Llamojha narrates—other scholars have noted that Paredes faced serious criticism in 1965 at the Fifth Conference of the Peruvian Communist Party; he was accused of embezzling funds and failing to build the military resources needed for armed struggle. See Poole and Rénique, *Peru*, 31. But Llamojha and Paredes were still working together at the CCP’s Third National Congress in 1970. I suspect that the complete split happened shortly after this congress. The fact that Llamojha’s story mentions the Velasco government agency SINAMOS (Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social [National System to Support Social Mobilization]) supports such a periodization, as this body was not created until 1971.
19. Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, *Informe Final*, vol. 2, chap. 1.1, subsection 1: PCP-SL (Partido Comunista del Perú-Sendero Luminoso) Origen. For a detailed discussion of the fractures in the Peruvian left during the 1970s, see Hinojosa, “On Poor Relations and the Nouveau Riche.”
20. Interview with Andrés Luna Vargas, June 23, 2011.
21. Interview with Ricardo Letts Colmenares, October 22, 2012.
22. Confederación Campesina del Perú, *IV Congreso Nacional Campesino*, 8–9.

23. Confederación Campesina del Perú, *IV Congreso Nacional Campesino*, 10.
24. Interview with Ricardo Letts Colmenares, October 22, 2012.
25. Interview with Andrés Luna Vargas, June 23, 2011; Rénique, *La batalla por Puno, 192–193*. Rénique's discussion of the events at Eccash is one of the few academic treatments of the CCP's fracture.
26. Llamojha attended Vanguardia Revolucionaria's National Campesino Assembly—held from August 31 to September 1, 1973—where Vanguardia Revolucionaria established its own faction of the CCP and made plans to convene a national congress the following year. At that National Campesino Assembly, Llamojha ran in the election to choose a president for the assembly but lost that election to Vanguardia Revolucionaria activist Andrés Luna Vargas. Valderrama, "Movimiento campesino y la reforma agraria en el Perú," 103–113; interview with Andrés Luna Vargas, June 23, 2011.
27. A number of sources note Cuzco peasants as Llamojha's key base. See "¿Quién es quién en el campo?," *Marka*, July 12, 1979, 26, 29. *Marka* is available in the Nettie Lee Benson Collection at the University of Texas-Austin library. SINAMOS, *Vanguardia Revolucionaria*, 36.
28. Discussion of Piura campesinos' support for Llamojha appears in Arce Espinoza, *Perú 1969–1976*, 56.
29. "Alerta contra el divisionismo," *Bandera Roja* 11:52, September 1973, 18.
30. "El convenio provincial de campesinos de Cangallo," *Tierra y liberación: Órgano de la Federación Departamental de Comunidades y Campesinos de Ayacucho (FEDCCA)* 1:1, January 1975, 11. This issue of *Tierra y liberación* is contained in Scholarly Resources Inc., *Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection* [microfilm] (Woodbridge: Primary Source Microfilm, 2005), reel 1, folder 1.
31. Confederación Campesina del Perú "Justiniano Minaya Sosa," *Conclusiones y resoluciones del V Congreso Nacional*, 14.
32. Confederación Campesina del Perú, *Manifiesto: Por la Unificación de las luchas populares!* (n.p., 1974), 2. This publication is contained in Scholarly Resources Inc., *Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection* [microfilm] (Woodbridge: Primary Source Microfilm, 2005), reel 1, folder 1.
33. Mallon, "Chronicle of a Path Foretold?," 108–111. For Vanguardia Revolucionaria's criticisms of the Velasco regime, see Confederación Campesina del Perú, *IV Congreso Nacional Campesino*, 11. Llamojha was not the only activist to assert that peasant land seizures benefited the military government. Saturnino Paredes voiced similar claims, as did Shining Path founder Abimael Guzmán. See Arce Espinoza, *Perú 1969–1976*, 80–81. Guzmán disliked land invasions, as he felt that they would diminish campesinos' enthusiasm for a later armed struggle. See Mayer, *Ugly Stories of the Peruvian Agrarian Reform*, 223.
34. Vanguardia Revolucionaria actually formed much earlier; it was founded in 1965.
35. Lino Quintanilla himself reflected on the seizure of Rurunmarca, speaking about it in a November 1974 speech at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú in Lima. Not surprisingly, his perspectives differed sharply from Llamojha's; he insisted

that Llamojha simply refused to assume a leadership role in the land seizures and lied to the peasantry about his motives. The speech was transcribed and published as Quintanilla, *Testimonio de Andahuaylas*. That book is distinct from Quintanilla's well-known memoir, *Andahuaylas: La lucha por la tierra (Testimonio de un militante)*.

36. The Velasco government created the teachers' cooperatives, with one cooperative per department. Like agrarian cooperatives, the teachers' cooperatives were supposed to promote teachers' interests and connect them to the state. Drysdale and Myers, "Continuity and Change," 300.

37. Interview with Nelson Pereyra, June 26, 2011. I am grateful to Pereyra's son, Nelson Pereyra Chávez, for organizing this interview.

38. Interview with Nelson Pereyra, June 26, 2011. For further discussion of teachers and their complex political roles in Peru, see Angell, "Classroom Maoists"; Contreras, *El aprendizaje del capitalismo*, 214–253; Degregori, "Harvesting Storms," 128–130; Heilman, *Before the Shining Path*, 172–175, 179–184; Isbell, *To Defend Ourselves*, 226–228, 233; Seligmann, *Between Reform and Revolution*, 181–185; Taylor, *Shining Path*, 91–95; Portocarrero and Oliart, *El Perú desde la escuela*; Wilson, "Transcending Race?"

39. Confederación Campesina del Perú "Justiniano Minaya Sosa," *Conclusiones y resoluciones del V Congreso Nacional de la Confederación Campesina del Perú "Justiniano Minaya Sosa,"* 14.

40. Confederación Campesina del Perú, *Cuarto Congreso Nacional*, 51–52.

41. Hinojosa, "On Poor Relations," 62–63.

42. Interview with Franco Silva (pseudonym), February 14, 2012; Degregori, *Qué difícil es ser Dios*, 141–143.

43. Degregori characterized the congress as a "resounding failure." Degregori, *Qué difícil es ser Dios*, 141; interview with Franco Silva (pseudonym), February 14, 2012.

44. Degregori, *Qué difícil es ser Dios*, 141.

45. Llamojha Mitma, "Las luchas campesinas y la Confederación Campesina del Perú," 64–65.

46. Mallon, "Chronicle of a Path Foretold?," 115–116.

47. Ricardo Caro Cárdenas discovered this document in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission collection, Centro de Información para la Memoria Colectiva y los Derechos Humanos in Lima and generously shared a copy with me.

48. "Congreso Campesino en Quillabamba," *Sur* 7, October 1978, 1.

49. After the congress, Paredes's supporters claimed that peasants at the congress had criticized both Llamojha and Vanguardia Revolucionaria. See "Crónica de las luchas populares," *Tierra y liberación* 1, September 1978, 82. The prominent Peruvian magazine *Sur*—generally sympathetic to Vanguardia Revolucionaria—offered a very different perspective, praising Llamojha for the self-critical speech he made at the congress and criticizing Paredes's supporters for their continuing invective against the two other factions of the CCP. "Congreso Campesino en Quillabamba," 3.

50. "Congreso Campesino en Quillabamba," 3.

51. The National Agrarian Confederation was dissolved by Velasco's successor, Francisco Morales Bermúdez, in May 1978. "Informe especial V Congreso CCP," *Sur*

6, August 1978, 70. On the dissolution of the CNA, see “Congreso Nacional de la CNA,” *Sur* 21, November 1979, 1.

52. “Representatividad,” *Sur* 6, August 1978, 13.

53. After Paredes won a seat in the 1978 Constituent Assembly elections, joining a body that was to draft a new constitution for Peru and ease the country’s scheduled return to democracy in 1980, he turned his energy and attention away from the CCP and toward his new political organization, the Frente Democrático Popular (Popular Democratic Front; FEDEP). By the early 1980s, Paredes’s faction of the CCP had effectively ceased its operations. Interview with Dario Ventura, May 24, 2011.

## CHAPTER 6: A WOUND THAT WON’T HEAL

1. On Peru’s 1980–2000 internal war, see Berg, “Sendero Luminoso and the Peasantry of Andahuaylas,” 165–196; Degregori, *Qué difícil es ser Díos*; La Serna, *Corner of the Living*; Palmer, *Shining Path of Peru*; Mitchell, *Peasants on the Edge*; Poole and Rénique, *Peru*; Rénique, “‘People’s War,’ ‘Dirty War,’” 309–337; Stern, *Shining and Other Paths*; Taylor, *Shining Path*.

2. Discussions of memory issues relating to the war appear in Degregori and Jelín, *Jamás tan cerca arremetió lo lejos*; del Pino and Yezer, *Las formas del recuerdo*; del Pino, “‘En busca del gobierno’”; Drinot, “For Whom the Eye Cries,” 15–32; Feldman, “Exhibiting Conflict,” 487–518; Gavilán, *Memorias de un soldado desconocido*; González, *Unveiling Secrets of War in the Peruvian Andes*; Jiménez, *Chungui*; Milton, *Art from a Fractured Past*; Milton, “At the Edge of the Peruvian Truth Commission,” 3–33; Ritter, “Complementary Discourses of Truth and Memory,” 197–222; Theidon, *Intimate Enemies*; Yezer, “Anxious Citizenship.”

3. For death toll numbers, see Rabe, *Killing Zone*, xxvii–xxviii. There is an enormous literature on the political violence that devastated Central America and the Southern Cone and a vibrant literature on memory issues linked to that violence. Key works include Gómez-Barris, *Where Memory Dwells*; Grandin, *Last Colonial Massacre*; Jelín, *State Repression and the Labors of Memory*; Stern, *Remembering Pinochet’s Chile*; Todd, *Beyond Displacement*.

4. Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, September 10, 1981, fol. 935; summary of criminal trial against Máximo Hipólito Pizarro Ayala and others for the crime of armed attack against César Parodi Vassallo, case initiated July 25, 1980, fol. 536. Both documents in Archivo Regional de Ayacucho (ARA), Corte Superior de Justicia (CSJ), Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480. Very little has been written about this attack. Brief references to the assault appear in Pareja Pflucker, *Terrorismo y sindicalismo en Ayacucho (1980)*, and Gorriti, *Shining Path*, 61.

5. In an homage to La Torre, Abimael Guzmán wrote, “You initiated the popular war in Chuschi, and in its first campaign, you gave the highest action: Ayrabamba, on the 10th of July 1980. This proved, against all those who denied it, that we had initiated a Maoist guerrilla war and opened the path to encircling the cities from the countryside.” Guzmán Reinoso, *De puño y letra*, 348.

6. Summary of criminal trial against Máximo Hipólito Pizarro Ayala and others for

the crime of armed attack against César Parodi Vassallo, case initiated July 25, 1980, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fols. 531, 540.

7. Summary of criminal trial against Máximo Hipolito Pizarro Ayala and others for the crime of armed attack against César Parodi Vassallo, case initiated July 25, 1980, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fols. 531, 534–535.

8. Mauro Antonio Castillo García statement to Supreme Court, December 1, 1980, fol. 446; Carlos Parodi Donayri statement to Supreme Court, August 29, 1980, fol. 546; summary of criminal trial against Máximo Hipolito Pizarro Ayala and others for the crime of armed attack against César Parodi Vassallo, case initiated July 25, 1980, fol. 532. All documents in ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480.

9. Carlos Parodi Donayri statement to Supreme Court, August 29, 1980, fol. 547; Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, July 25, 1980, fol. 25; Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, September 10, 1981, fols. 934–935; summary of criminal trial against Máximo Hipolito Pizarro Ayala and others for the crime of armed attack against César Parodi Vassallo, case initiated July 25, 1980, fol. 535. All documents in ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480.

10. Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, September 10, 1981, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fol. 932.

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

12. Concepción justice of the peace to Supreme Court, November 8, 1980, fol. 401; Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, September 10, 1981, fol. 935. Both documents in ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480. The community council Herbert served on was an “administration and vigilance council.” These bodies were created by the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces under General Juan Velasco.

13. Herbert R. Llamojha Puklla to presiding judge, March 25, 1981, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fol. 706.

14. Herbert R. Llamojha Puklla to presiding judge, May 12, 1981, fol. 49; Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, July 25, 1980, fol. 25. Both documents in ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480. The Limeño is identified in Herbert’s testimony only as “Victor.” Herbert testified that he had never previously met him.

15. Herbert R. Llamojha Puklla to presiding judge, May 12, 1981, fol. 49; Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, July 25, 1980, fol. 25; Sofia Sosa Ruiz statement to Supreme Court, December 5, 1980, fol. 560. All documents in ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480. La Torre reserved some of the cash to dedicate to future struggles.

16. For more on Augusta La Torre, see Heilman, “Family Ties,” 155–169; Kirk, *Monkey’s Paw*, 89–94.

17. Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, July 25, 1980, fol. 25; Carlos Parodi Donayri statement to Supreme Court, August 29, 1980, fol. 547;



Sofia Sosa Ruíz statement to Supreme Court, December 5, 1980, fol. 561; Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, September 10, 1981, fols. 934–935; summary of criminal trial against Máximo Hipolito Pizarro Ayala and others for the crime of armed attack against César Parodi Vassallo, case initiated July 25, 1980, fol. 535. All documents in ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480.

18. Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, July 25, 1980, fol. 25; summary of criminal trial against Máximo Hipolito Pizarro Ayala and others for the crime of armed attack against César Parodi Vassallo, case initiated July 25, 1980, fols. 531, 535–536. Both documents in ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480. When César Parodi and the civil guards he had sought out finally arrived at the hacienda, Carlos Parodi and Flora Gutiérrez had been untied by sympathetic hacienda workers, and five other civil guards were already on scene.

19. Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, July 25, 1980, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fol. 25.

20. For initial reports, see police statement by Mauro Antonio Castillo García, December 1, 1980, fols. 426, 431; Flora Gutiérrez's accusation is referenced in Herbert R. Llamojha Puklla to presiding judge, December 4, 1980, fol. 420; César's accusation is provided in summary of criminal trial against Máximo Hipolito Pizarro Ayala and others for the crime of armed attack against César Parodi Vassallo, case initiated July 25, 1980, fol. 533. All documents in ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480.

21. Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, September 10, 1981, fol. 935; summary of criminal trial against Máximo Hipolito Pizarro Ayala and others for the crime of armed attack against César Parodi Vassallo, case initiated July 25, 1980, fol. 536. Both documents in ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480.

22. Herbert R. Llamojha Puklla to presiding judge, December 4, 1980, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fol. 420.

23. Herbert R. Llamojha Puklla to presiding judge, March 25, 1981, fol. 706; Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, September 10, 1981, fol. 935. Both documents in ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480.

24. Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, September 10, 1981 ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fol. 935.

25. Rufina Rosa Martínez Sulca to president of the Ayacucho Supreme Court of Justice, February 10, 1981, fol. 651; Félix Gómez Salvatierra statement to Supreme Court, September 10, 1981, fol. 931; Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, September 10, 1981, fol. 935; Marina Loayza Palomino statement to Supreme Court, September 21, 1981, fols. 953, 955. All documents in ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480. To this day, Marina Loayza maintains her innocence and insists that she was not even in Ayrabamba on the day of the attack; interview with Marina Loayza, February 27, 2012. There is also a brief reference to this school-based conflict in Concepción campesinos to Ayacucho prefect, letter no. 182,



May 2, 1974, ARA, Subprefectura Cangallo (sc), Oficios remitidos a la superioridad 1974 dossier.

26. Marina Loayza Palomino statement to Supreme Court, September 21, 1981, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fol. 955. For a back history to these complaints against Víctor Llamojha, see Comuneros de la Comunidad Campesina de Concepción to presiding judge, July 3, 1977, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 149, file. 2977, fol. 21.

27. Víctor himself offered radically different sentiments in our own interview, denouncing local hacendados; criticizing the abusive district authorities Agüero, Castillo and Chávez; and praising his brother Manuel's activism. Without question, the context of the interview made it unlikely that Víctor would criticize his brother: Alicia and I were forthright in our initial description of the project, explaining that I was cowriting a life history with Manuel Llamojha, and Manuel's daughter María both arranged and participated in the interview. Interview with Víctor Llamojha, August 21, 2012. There has also been a partial reconciliation between the two brothers. As Llamojha described it, "Things are better now, they're okay. [Víctor] no longer speaks out against me. He no longer thinks ill of me. Before, he thought ill of me."

28. Civil guard Marcelino Muñoz Legua to presiding judge, November 30, 1980, fol. 1; Grimaldo Castillo Gutiérrez statement to Supreme Court, December 17, 1980, fol. 2. Both documents in ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 187, file 13180. This file contains the court proceedings for both the downing of the telegraph poles and the bombing of Grimaldo Castillo's house.

29. Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, December 17, 1980, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 187, file 13180, fol. 23.

30. Dr. Germán Yanqui Takari to presiding judge, October 19, 1981, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 187, file 13180, fol. 81.

31. Civil guard Marcelino Muñoz Legua to presiding judge, November 30, 1980, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 187, file 13180, fol. 1.

32. Grimaldo Castillo Gutiérrez statement to Supreme Court, December 17, 1980, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 187, file 13180, fol. 2.

33. Grimaldo Castillo Gutiérrez statement to Supreme Court, December 17, 1980, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 187, file 13180, fol. 3.

34. Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla statement to Supreme Court, May 2, 1981, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 187, file 13180, fol. 61.

35. Supreme Court decision, June 18, 1981, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 187, file 13180, fol. 93; Supreme Court decision, November 4, 1981, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fol. 290.

36. Herbert Llamojha Puklla to presiding judge, September 26, 1980, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fol. 220.

37. Herbert Llamojha Puklla, Félix Gómez Salvatierra, Florentino Gómez Ochoa and Teodosia Gómez Ochoa to presiding judge, September 15, 1980, fol. 269; Herbert Llamojha Puklla, Félix Gómez Salvatierra, Florentino Gómez Ochoa and Teodosia Gómez Ochoa to presiding judge, September 17, 1980, fol. 328; Herbert Llamojha

Puklla to presiding judge, August 29, 1980, fol. 414; Herbert Llamojha Puklla to presiding judge, March 25, 1981, fol. 706. All documents in ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480.

38. Herbert Llamojha Puklla, Félix Gómez Salvatierra, Florentino Gómez Ochoa, and Teodosia Gómez Ochoa to presiding judge, September 15, 1980, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fol. 269.

39. Herbert Llamojha Puklla, Félix Gómez Salvatierra, Florentino Gómez Ochoa and Teodosia Gómez Ochoa to presiding judge, September 17, 1980, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fol. 328.

40. Herbert Llamojha Puklla to presiding judge, December 4, 1980, fol. 420; Herbert Llamojha Puklla to presiding judge, March 27, 1981, fol. 701. Both documents in ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480.

41. Herbert Rolando Llamojha Puklla and eleven others to president of Supreme Court, June 22, 1981, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fol. 863.

42. Herbert Roland Llamojha Puklla to president of the correctional tribunal, September 21, 1981, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fol. 944.

43. Santiago Salvatierra Puklla statement to Supreme Court, January 26, 1981, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fol. 506.

44. Santiago Salvatierra Puklla statement to Supreme Court, January 26, 1981, ARA, CSJ, Cangallo Province criminal cases, dossier 188, file 28480, fol. 507. Accusations and assumptions about Llamojha's supposed participation in the Ayrabamba assault endured. A 1983 story in the Peruvian newsmagazine *Oiga* offered a dramatic—but error-riddled—description of the events of July 10, 1980. See “En Airabamba comenzó la guerrilla,” *Oiga* 119, April 4, 1983, 24–27.

45. Interview with María Llamojha, May 5, 2013.

46. Centro de Información para la Memoria Colectiva y los Derechos Humanos (CIMCDH), Testimony 200445; Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR), *Informe Final*, vol. 2, chap. 1, sec. 1.1, subsection 2. PCP-SL (Partido Comunista del Perú-Sendero Luminoso) 1980–82, 36. For the history of another detainee who escaped during the prison attack, see Mark Cox, *La verdad y la memoria*.

47. Llamojha, personal notebook for period October 22, 1989 to July 17, 2000, undated passage. Notebook in Llamojha's personal collection.

48. Interview with Hilda Llamojha, November 19, 2011.

49. Interview with Walter Llamojha, November 19, 2011.

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

51. “Edith Lagos dirigió ataque a Concepción,” *La República* 1:117, April 5, 1982, 2. *La República* is available in the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, in San Borja, Peru.

52. Grimaldo Castillo probably suffered the more brutal killing described above in *La República*.

53. Burt, *Political Violence and the Authoritarian State in Peru*, 103.

54. Kirk, *Monkey's Paw*, 189.

55. CIMCDH, interview with Magno Ortega, n.d. For the continuing divisions in the Peruvian left during the 1980s, see Feinstein, “How the Left Was Lost.”

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

57. Interview with Walter Llamojha, November 19, 2011; Rénique, *La voluntad encarcelada*, 70. There was a simultaneous massacre at the Lurigancho prison, likewise in response to an uprising by Shining Path prisoners, where all 124 Shining Path inmates were killed. At the Santa Bárbara women’s prison, two Shining Path prisoners were killed. Aguirre, “Punishment and Extermination,” 194. See also CVR, *Informe Final*, vol. 7, chap. 2, sec. 2.67, “Las ejecuciones extrajudiciales en el penal de El Frontón y Lurigancho”; Feinstein, “Competing Visions of the 1986 Lima Prison Massacres,” 1–40.

58. Llamojha, personal notebook for period October 22, 1989 to July 17, 2000, undated passage.

59. Interview with Hilda Llamojha, November 19, 2011.

60. Burt, *Political Violence and the Authoritarian State*; Conaghan, *Fujimori’s Peru*; Degregori, *La década de la antipolítica*.

61. Llamojha, personal notebook for period October 22, 1989 to July 17, 2000, passage dated May 4, 2002.

62. Llamojha, personal notebook for period October 22, 1989 to July 17, 2000, undated passage.

63. Llamojha wrote this on a personal web page, previously available at <http://www.fortunecity.com/victorian/hymn/30/historia.htm/> [accessed May 13, 2009]; unfortunately, the page is no longer available. “Cambio 90” literally means “Change 90.” It was Fujimori’s party when he ran in the 1990 presidential election.

64. Many residents of the Ayacucho community of Carhuanca, for example, returned to the community from Lima in 2000.

65. On the challenges of postwar reconciliation in Andean communities, see Theidon, *Intimate Enemies*.

#### AFTERWORD: “YOU HAVE TO STAND FIRM”

1. See Grandin and Joseph, *Century of Revolution*.
2. Grandin, “Living in Revolutionary Time,” 10.
3. Grandin, *Last Colonial Massacre*, 11; Heilman, “Yellows against Reds.”
4. Those presidents are Alejandro Toledo and Ollanta Humala.
5. This resurgence has been referred to as the “pink tide” and Latin America’s “left turn.” See 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.
6. Desmarais and Hernández, “Voices From Maputo,” 22–26.
7. Grandin, *Last Colonial Massacre*, 198.
8. Degregori, “Harvesting Storms,” 143–144.
9. Document from Llamojha’s personal archive.
10. Llamojha’s daughter María took responsibility for building a new home for her

parents, and the new residence is so lovely that Llamojha laughingly refers to it as a house suitable for a wealthy hacendado.

11. Personal communication with María Llamojha, May 6, 2012.

12. Salomon and Niño-Murcia discuss the importance of personal document and book collections in the Andean community of Tupicocha. See *The Lettered Mountain*, 3, 147.

13. Since suffering a massive stroke in 2014, Llamojha has no longer been able to write or teach.

14. Personal communication with María Llamojha, June 20, 2011.

15. Federación Universitaria Departamental Ayacuchana to minister of state, received August 5, 1959, Proyecto Especial de Titulación de Tierras Ayacucho (PETT), Concepción de Chakamarca dossier, official letter no. 86, fol. 986.

16. Llamojha Mitma, *Historia y tradición del Pueblo de Concepción*, unpublished manuscript in Llamojha's possession, 15.

17. Ricardo Caro and Valérie Robin, "El león de pampas," *La República*, September 5, 2010, <http://larepublica.pe/05-09-2010/el-leon-de-pampas> [accessed February 29, 2016].

18. Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe*.

19. Llamojha, personal notebook for period January 1, 2011 to May 24, 2012, passage dated May 23, 2012. Notebook in Llamojha's personal collection.

20. Llamojha, personal notebook for period January 1, 2011 to May 24, 2012, passage dated May 24, 2012.

21. Interview with Hilda Llamojha, November 19, 2011.

22. Llamojha, personal notebook for period January 1, 2011 to May 24, 2012, passage dated January 3, 2012.

23. On witchcraft, see Vindal Ødegaard, *Mobility, Markets, and Indigenous Socialities*, 139–141.

24. Llamojha, personal notebook for period January 1, 2011 to May 24, 2012, passage dated May 23, 2012.

25. Llamojha, personal notebook beginning with undated essay titled "Manzanayoq" and ending with undated essay titled "Costumbres tradicionales [traditional customs]," passage dated July 18, 2004. Notebook in Llamojha's personal collection.

26. Llamojha, personal notebook for period January 1, 2011 to May 24, 2012, passage dated January 4, 2012.

27. Personal communication with María Llamojha, May 1, 2014.

