

ANDEAN ECONOMY, TECHNOLOGY, AND SOCIETY:

A Review of Recent Literature

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COVERING GROUND: COMMUNAL WATER MANAGEMENT AND THE STATE IN THE PERUVIAN HIGHLANDS. By David W. Guillet, with introduction by Robert C. Hunt. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992. Pp. 250. \$39.95 cloth, \$16.95 paper.)

IRRIGATION AT HIGH ALTITUDES: THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF WATER CONTROL SYSTEMS IN THE ANDES. Edited by William P. Mitchell and David Guillet. Society for Latin American Anthropology Publication Series, no. 12. (Arlington, Va.: American Anthropological Association, 1994. Pp. 305. \$15.00 paper.)

POVERTY AND PEASANTRY IN PERU'S SOUTHERN ANDES, 1963-90. By R. F. Watters. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994. Pp. 366. \$75.00 cloth.)

THE COCA BOOM AND RURAL CHANGE IN BOLIVIA. By Harry Sanabria. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993. Pp. 277. \$47.50 cloth.)

PERU, EL PROBLEMA AGRARIO EN DEBATE: SEPIA II. Edited by Fernando Eguren, Raúl Hopkins, Bruno Kervyn, and Rodrigo Montoya. (Lima: Seminario Permanente de Investigación Agraria, 1988. Pp. 542.)

PERU, EL PROBLEMA AGRARIO EN DEBATE: SEPIA III. Edited by Alberto Chirif, Nelson Manrique, and Benjamín Quijandría. (Lima: Seminario Permanente de Investigación Agraria, 1990. Pp. 482.)

PERU, EL PROBLEMA AGRARIO EN DEBATE: SEPIA IV. Edited by Carlos Iván Degregori, Javier Escobal, and Benjamín Marticorena. (Lima: Seminario Permanente de Investigación Agraria, 1992. Pp. 597.)

PERU, EL PROBLEMA AGRARIO EN DEBATE: SEPIA V. Edited by Oscar Dancourt, Enrique Mayer, and Carlos Monge. (Lima: Seminario Permanente de Investigación Agraria, 1994. Pp. 757.)

Seven of the eight books under review in this essay discuss social and economic issues in the Peruvian Andean highlands. The exceptions are Harry Sanabria's study of the coca boom, which addresses migration between the Bolivian highlands and the eastern lowlands, along with a few articles in the volumes published by the Seminario Permanente de

Investigación Agraria (SEPIA) that discuss Peruvian Amazonian tribal society and coastal plantations. Given the complexity of reviewing the works of more than fifty authors, I have divided this essay into two sections, according to the languages in which they were published.

The first section will review the books in English, three by single authors and one edited volume (*Irrigation at High Altitudes*) containing ten contributions by individual investigators. All four are monographs or case studies of individual peasant communities that discuss technology or economy from the local viewpoint and attempt to revise stereotypical models of Andean peasant society.

The second section of the review essay will discuss the books in Spanish, an interesting sequence of essays on the Peruvian rural economy and government policies implemented between 1985 and 1993. The contributors belong to the Seminario Permanente de Investigación Agraria (SEPIA), a Peruvian association founded to achieve a better understanding of the Andean peasantry and to propose solutions to its problems.

It would be an oversimplification to think of Andean studies as divided between "insiders" and "outsiders," worse, still to generalize that authors writing in English are necessarily outsiders while Peruvian authors are insiders. Yet the literature discussed in this essay invites some generalizations. Some of the English-language books and essays reveal a lack of fluency in Spanish, little if any knowledge of Andean native languages, and insufficient exposure to the intricacies of Andean society and government policies. Many such works are addressed specifically to the English-language academic audience. One book and several of the contributions to the volume on irrigation derived from dissertations written within mainstream social sciences. Most of these authors gloss over *la comunidad* as an institution. The exceptions are R. F. Watters, who considers the modern institution of *comunidades indígenas* or *comunidades campesinas* as an impediment to integrating Andean people into the national economy, and David Guillet, who discusses the world beyond the household at length.

In contrast, the SEPIA volumes published in Spanish were intended to influence official and unofficial policies. Many of these essays deal specifically with the Peruvian national economy and legislation as well as with the *comunidad* as a desirable institution. The operating assumption is that by understanding better the causes and effects of rural poverty, ways and means can be found to ameliorate the conditions affecting the still large categories of Andean peasants and Amazonian tribes. Yet while nearly all the SEPIA authors are native speakers of Spanish who have a sophisticated understanding of state policies, only a few of them qualify as "insiders." Most come from urban environments and have had little direct exposure to rural conditions. Moreover, they were trained in foreign universities or in Peruvian academia, which is also heavily influ-

enced by Western models and ideologies. Few of these Spanish-speaking analysts are aware of Andean and Amazonian thought, which stems from non-Western patterns that may be comparable with Eastern systems or even have originated from them. Notwithstanding the presumed intention of finding “solutions,” few of the SEPIA essays propose mechanisms that will make their findings usable for political parties, the state, or officials with decision-making power.

THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE LITERATURE

These four books deal primarily with contemporary technological, social, and economic issues. Only the Guillet monograph and the contributions by Jeanette Sherbondy and by Linda Seligman and Stephen Bunker in the volume on irrigation discuss past institutions and systems at any length.

David Guillet figures prominently in the literature discussed here. He wrote *Covering Ground*, co-edited *Irrigation at High Altitude*, coauthored its introduction, and contributed an essay to it. *Covering Ground: Communal Water Management and the State in the Peruvian Highlands* is the first in a new series entitled *Linking Levels of Analysis*. Edited by Emilio Moran, the series “concentrates on understanding the relationship of local-level systems, and larger, more inclusive systems” (p. ix). Guillet analyzes current irrigation practices in Lari, a village in the Colca Valley in the Peruvian sierra (three to four thousand meters above sea level) north of Arequipa in Southern Peru, and the effects of recent state intervention in traditional methods of water distribution. Guillet’s research is based on government censuses, data from the Ministerio de Agricultura, colonial and republican documents, secondary sources, and field observations by the author and his three assistants, students at the Universidad Nacional San Agustín in Arequipa.

The Colca Valley is one of several inter-Andean valleys of the western watershed where the rainy season is short, irregular, and inadequate for sustained agriculture. Because the limiting factor is water rather than land, local inhabitants developed terraced irrigation agriculture before the Spaniards arrived. Guillet believes that methods of water distribution have changed little since the sixteenth century and that state intervention has been a constant from Inca rule and throughout the colonial and republican periods. One could argue, however, that before Peru became independent in 1821, native headmen controlled extensive *repartimientos* (administrative sectors)—from the sources of streams in the snowbelt to the deeply incised Colca River that drains the region—and regulated the flow of irrigation water as needed. After independence, the republican government broke up colonial *repartimientos* into many *dis-*

tritos that had limited access to water, an arrangement that led to conflicts among individual “owners” of water sources and canals.

Guillet’s major theme is coordination in Lari among households, the “community,” and the state as represented by the office of the Ministerio de Agricultura in the nearby provincial capital of Chivay. Guillet presents his arguments with acumen and clarity, but some of them are not documented sufficiently. For example, he assumes that during Inca times, throughout the colonial period, and up to the present, the “irrigation cluster” (the group of farmers using a specific source of water) has formed the basic social “building block.” But Guillet ignores the fact that individual farmers have historically belonged to more than one “irrigation cluster” in order to have access to a variety of ecological niches, although he notes the system.

Guillet’s essay in *Irrigation at High Altitude*, “Canal Irrigation and the State: The 1969 Water Law,” discusses in great detail the modern Peruvian Ley de Aguas and its application in Lari. But he neglects to explain that this piece of Peruvian legislation gave priority to the water needs of Lima, the nation’s capital (which contains at least a fourth of the national population and most industries) and to irrigation of the coastal valleys where large plantations and vertically integrated agribusinesses prevailed and small farms were the exception. Capital-intensive farming in the highlands is unusual, and the needs of villages in the Colca and other Andean valleys ranked much lower in the Peruvian government’s priorities in formulating the Ley de Aguas. As a result, in Lari, a village of less than two thousand inhabitants, drinking water in homes is neglected in favor of more pressing agricultural needs for water for irrigation.

The Colca Valley figures prominently in three other essays in *Irrigation at High Altitude*. In “Channels of Power, Fields of Contention,” Paul Gelles discusses irrigation policies in Cabanaconde, a village in the lower Colca Valley. Based on Gelles’s recent dissertation, this essay addresses the struggle between local peasants and government officials who are attempting to impose a system of irrigation that is unacceptable to villagers. Although Guillet argues that the system at local and state levels works to maintain egalitarian principles, Gelles reveals the hierarchy of power elites within Cabanaconde. At the local level, dominance bears a semblance of “reciprocity,” but outside imposition is rejected by all.

One essay in *Irrigation at High Altitudes* is dedicated to the memory of John Treacy. His essay entitled “Teaching Water: Hydraulic Management and Terracing in Coporaque” was edited by William Denevan from Treacy’s 1989 dissertation in geography, completed shortly before his untimely death. “Teaching Water” is considered a major contribution to understanding Andean terracing and irrigation.¹ Treacy’s essay argues

1. Treacy’s entire dissertation was recently translated into Spanish and published in Peru

convincingly that the key to understanding the technology of terracing is the need to irrigate farmland where rainfall is insufficient or irregular: terraces provide a gently sloping surface that facilitates flooding and the absorption and retention of humidity. The various classifications of terraces are explained as are the technology for harnessing snowmelt, upland rainfall, and a stream's flow and the system of distributing water via a complex network of feeder, secondary, and tertiary canals.

The fourth essay on the Colca Valley is Karsten Paerregaard's "Why Fight over Water?" It presents the contrasting example of the village of Tapay, which has decentralized irrigation systems arising from fifty-two different water sources from rivers, streams, and springs. Conflict over access to water was unknown until recently, when officials from the Ministerio de Agricultura instituted a centralized irrigation committee, which was ignored by most farmers but joined by a handful of local evangelical Protestants. These new "authorities" attempted to impose a nonritualized system for controlling infrastructure that flew in the face of the recognized worship of water spirits (thinly disguised with a veneer of Catholic symbolism), as traditionally practiced in Tapay. Thus conflict, always latent in Andean communities, surfaced not over physical control of water but for political and ideological reasons.

Bruce Winterhalder's "The Ecological Basis of Water Management" compares the Colca and Sandía Valleys. It provides abundant meteorological documentation as to why irrigation is necessary in the Colca Valley, located in the semi-arid Andean western escarpment and subject to frost, but not in the Sandía Valley in the eastern escarpment, which enjoys higher levels of rainfall and temperature.

"Dam the Water" by William Mitchell deals with irrigation in another semi-arid environment in southern Peru, Quinoa in the department of Ayacucho, the Andean area most affected by Sendero Luminoso since it emerged in the 1970s. Mitchell details peasant flexibility under varying circumstances. During the 1960s, farmers in Quinoa went to great effort to increase their water supply by damming a river, despite the opposition of powerful *hacendados*. But after the project failed, these peasants shifted their priorities according to perceived economic advantages, away from farming and into nonagricultural activities.

The remaining essays in *Irrigation at High Altitude* discuss the Cuzco area in the eastern watershed. Karl Zimmerer's riveting essay entitled "Transforming Colquepata Wetlands" presents a contrasting alternative to the commoner model of seeding former agricultural fields with alfalfa for cattle grazing. He describes an example in which Andean grazing

by the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. See *Las chacras de Coporaque: Andenería y riego en el valle del Colca*, edited by Maria A. Benavides, Blenda Femenías, and William M. Denevan (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1994).

land was transformed by ultramodern techniques of fertilization and pest control into potato fields that require the withdrawal of cattle during several months of the year. Here the technology required is the drainage of highland bogs, not the irrigation of semi-arid land. Zimmerer shows the versatility of Peruvian peasants, who are perfectly capable of "inventing" new technologies and adapting to different circumstances. The questions that come to mind are, will future prices of nontraditional inputs outweigh their benefits, and will land eventually revert to year-round pasture?

In "Levels of Autonomy," Inge Bolin discusses theoretical implications of controlling irrigation water according to a Weberian perspective. She concludes that state intervention in the Vilcanota Valley of Cuzco is not necessarily detrimental to community autonomy. Linda Seligman and Stephen Bunker pursue fascinating questions in "An Andean Irrigation System." Why and when were ancient canals in the department of Cuzco abandoned and new ones built? Could the early waterways be repaired, and if so, to what advantage? Jeanette Sherbondy's "Water and Power," taken from her dissertation, focuses on the colonial period rather than on the contemporary problems discussed in the rest of *Irrigation at High Altitudes*. On the whole, this edited volume covers a multitude of aspects of Andean agriculture and shows the importance of access to irrigation water in the mountains of Peru, a necessity often neglected by development agencies in planning large-scale irrigation schemes for the coastal desert.

Harry Sanabria's *The Coca Boom and Rural Changes in Bolivia* (based on his recent dissertation) is the second title in Emilio Moran's new series, *Linking Levels of Analysis*. Sanabria's study purports to explain the links between Bolivian production of coca leaf, its transformation into cocaine, and consumption of the finished product in the United States. In reality, however, the study concentrates primarily on migration from Pampas, a highland village in the department of Cochabamba, to the Chaparé, the major Bolivian coca-growing region in the eastern lowlands.

Sanabria's book presents a remarkable collection of bibliographical and fieldwork data that includes almost five hundred bibliographical references. Sanabria draws on his detailed census of nearly a thousand households in Pampas to explain the economic motivation and household organization that result in the temporary or even permanent absence of one or more family members. A native speaker of Spanish from Puerto Rico with some knowledge of Quechua, Sanabria argues that the innumerable small coca farms, owned and operated by migrant Andean villagers who sell their production to drug traffickers, belie prevailing theories about peasant immobility, avoidance of risk, overriding subsistence values, and difficulty in integrating into a market economy. He asserts that depending on circumstances, peasants may diversify into

cash farming even at the risk of massive repression and possible total loss of “investment.”

The Coca Boom and Rural Changes in Bolivia is related to the other three works in English in that Sanabria discusses peasant mechanisms for “beating the system” that condemns them to poverty. Peasants throughout the Andes migrate temporarily or permanently to the eastern lowlands to grow coca (or less popular crops), thus choosing an alternative to migrating to the cities in order to escape demographic pressures. Sanabria refers only in passing to the displacement of lowland tribal natives, however. The indigenous groups were removed forcibly by the Bolivian government to make room for Andean migrants. But according to William Denevan, only a few hundred natives were living in the Chapare region in the 1960s, and colonists displaced them with the help of missionaries.² Sanabria provides no information on the numbers and subsequent fate of the natives who have lost in the “coca boom.”

Andean poverty is the main topic discussed by R. F. Watters, a professor at Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand who has analyzed peasants in several Latin American and Asian countries. *Poverty and Peasantry in Peru's Southern Andes, 1963–90* focuses on the community of Chilca in the Pampa de Anta near Cuzco, which Watters studied over a twenty-five-year period as part of his research in Peru for the Food and Agriculture Organization. This book is intended to contribute to a broader theory of peasant society and the study of underdevelopment. It rightly identifies poverty in Peru with peasants, peasants with Indians, and Indians with a social group that has adapted to meager conditions in order to survive at a very low standard of living.

In reaching this conclusion, Watters reviews the abundant literature on peasants in general and in the Andes in particular as well as that on Peruvian ecology, history, and legislation encouraging Indians to organize into *comunidades* as part of the Constitution of 1920 enacted under President Augusto Leguía (1919–1930). Recalling the words of George Kubler, Watters comments insightfully that in resisting the “expansion of capitalistic haciendas [in the sierra and in] defending their independence, the peasants condemned themselves to a future of isolation on the margins of progress . . .” (p. 67). Watters concludes that any of the systems adopted in the rural hinterland—the traditional hacienda, cooperatives like those instituted by the government led by General Juan Velasco Alvarado, or parcelation as practiced in smaller communities—will lead to the enrichment of local leaders or “strongmen” without necessarily improving conditions for the very poor. In his view, the ongoing system is accepted because in principle strongmen defend the rights of the poor and grant them protection, brokerage, and patronage. Watters’s final chap-

2. William Denevan, personal correspondence, 7 Feb. 1995.

ter discusses the Peruvian land reform of 1969, Sendero Luminoso, and the coca boom as ongoing historical events that affect basic structures only temporarily. Although *Poverty and Peasantry* breaks no new ground, it is nonetheless a readable and well-organized monograph.

THE SPANISH-LANGUAGE LITERATURE

This group of books consist of four volumes published by SEPIA between 1988 and 1994 (the proceedings of SEPIA I are now out of print). The Seminario Permanente de Investigación Agraria was founded at the initiative of Economist Adolfo Figueroa and FOMCIENCIA, a Peruvian institution dedicated to scientific research. Several meetings of agrarian investigators between 1977 and 1980 concluded that anthropologists and agronomists needed to join forces to analyze the condition of the Peruvian Andean peasants and to improve agricultural production. SEPIA was founded to work toward a set of goals: to determine which issues required investigation most, to provide a forum for debate, to promote the exchange of information, to coordinate national and international research, and to promote communication between the social sciences and agronomic studies. Even more significantly, SEPIA proposed to “contribute to the design and debate of agrarian development policies, coordinating the agrarian investigation with the need to take political alternatives into account” (see *SEPIA II*, 10).

The first meeting in Piura was followed by biannual events in other Peruvian cities, with increasing participation by agronomists and anthropologists as well as by historians, economists, and lawyers. The discussions at the second, third, fourth, and fifth meetings centered on technology, land tenure, constitutional rights of peasants, and current and future policies for integrating peasant production into national and international markets. Four themes recurred: the high costs and low prices of native products that led to or were caused by importing expensive agricultural inputs and cheap food; the Ley de Reforma Agraria of 1969 that established cooperative organizations in formerly “capitalist” coastal plantations and highland stock farms; the subsequent bankruptcy of many cooperatives, which resulted in parceling land among cooperative members in the 1980s; and the utility or nonutility of the “traditional” peasant comunidad, a legal construct under which localized peasant groups have joint legal representation and members may farm but not own the land they work.

As terrorism escalated in the late 1980s, papers read at the SEPIA meetings covered the abandonment of land and decrease in production in the highland provinces affected most by Sendero Luminoso and military repression, but they avoided discussing the specifically political problems related to what became known as the “dirty war.” The subject of tribal

and highland migrants in the Peruvian *selva* or *montaña* (the eastern lowland rain forest pertaining to the Amazon River Basin) was addressed only in the SEPIA III and IV meetings, reflecting greater preoccupation with terrorist infiltration than with illegal production of coca leaves.

As SEPIA has increasingly attracted the best Peruvian specialists as well as a few foreign experts in various fields, the meetings, the editing of papers, and the resulting books have become better organized. Outstanding participants and organizers at the meetings and editors of the proceedings have included anthropologists Enrique Mayer, Rodrigo Montoya, and Orlando Plaza; sociologist Fernando Eguren; historians María Isabel Remy, Manuel Glave, Manuel Burga, and Nelson Manrique; and economists Adolfo Figueroa, Bruno Kervyn, and Raúl Hopkins. The earlier volumes covered the discussions occurring after each paper, but *SEPIA V*, which exceeds seven hundred pages, hardly mentions comments. Given the impossibility of reviewing the twenty or more contributions to each of the four SEPIA volumes, only the more innovative contributions can be mentioned.

SEPIA II

The second meeting took place in Ayacucho, capital of the province where terrorism was rampant at the time. The location was chosen as a sign of solidarity with the University San Cristóbal de Huamanga, which continued to function in the midst of political violence (p. 10). *SEPIA II* is divided into four parts: "Economía campesina," "Reforma y reestructuración agraria," "Políticas agrarias," and "Ayacucho." Orlando Plaza's introduction, "Pensamiento y política agraria: Imágenes y realidades," enters into a philosophical discussion of "knowledge" to argue that knowledge does not automatically convert into valid proposals for action but is colored by a society's philosophy and history, which create images of reality rather than reality itself. In his view, the belief that the state can change conditions in the Peruvian Andes is a fallacy because the state is a reflection of Peruvian mentality. Government agencies, political parties, unions, nongovernment organizations, and academic institutions treat the Andean population as a separate entity, in which the *comunidad* is mistakenly defined as a unit of production synonymous with collectivism. In general, Plaza argues, urban Peruvians consider rural society as static, ignore the effects of migrations and peasant movements, and envision Peruvian society as a dual one divided between a modern industrial sector and a backward rural sector. Although Plaza critiques mainstream interpretations of Andean society, he also warns against the alternative of idealizing peasant rationality and logic.

According to Bruno Kervyn's "La economía campesina en el Perú: Teorías y políticas" (in the first section), economic studies in Peru have

been almost exclusively empirical, showing little effort to interpret data theoretically from either a neoclassical or a Marxist perspective. Neoclassical economists do not undertake agrarian research, and Marxist economic theory has been little studied in Peru. Regarding the dichotomy between peasant subsistence and accumulation, Kervyn points out that historically, Andean peasants have been obliged to produce a surplus to pay tribute and other forms of precapitalist rent and that accumulation does not necessarily imply possessing more land but can mean improving land by terracing and irrigating it. Kervyn argues that peasant production is extremely flexible, adapting according to changing circumstances. He analyzes theories of "peasant efficiency" versus "inefficiency," concluding somewhat arbitrarily that "comunidades campesinas are based on egalitarian and not on hierarchical principles [and are] an indispensable form of organization for economic progress" (p. 74).

The essay by Benjamín Quijandría, Cristina Espinoza, Víctor Agreda, Rosario Valer, and Amalia García, "Sistemas de producción y economía campesina," comments on the APRA government's policy of "zero-interest loans" to peasants. They were effective initially but ultimately doomed to failure because most rural borrowers defaulted and policies of commercialization, prices, and imports were not coordinated with the loan system. Fernando Eguren's "Revisión y balance de los estudios sobre estructuración de empresas agrarias asociativas" comments on the collapse of cooperatives and the subdivision of what had been collective property under the Ley de Reforma Agraria of 1969. It also discusses Eduardo Grillo's proposition that the peasant comunidad could replace previous frameworks of social organization. In "La política agraria del APRA en perspectiva," Adolfo Figueroa and Raúl Hopkins note that Andean agriculture came to a standstill despite more than two hundred million dollars assigned by the Peruvian government in 1986 to the Fondo de Reactivación Agropecuaria y Seguridad Alimentaria. That same year, more than three hundred million dollars were spent on importing food. Figueroa and Hopkins conclude that the major problem in the sierra is the lack of transfer of modern technology in order to increase local production.

In the last section, Rodrigo Montoya's "El debate: Ayacucho, una introducción necesaria" notes that none of the papers read at SEPIA II addressed Sendero violence because "there was not enough information to assess the war." In another essay, Waldo Mendoza Bellido's "La crisis agraria en el departamento de Ayacucho" posits that the first effect of subversion was massive abandonment of farmland and increased migration to the cities. His figures show that in 1985, little more than a third of the department's agricultural land had been harvested.

SEPIA III

The 1989 meeting in Cuzco brought together 130 investigators under the auspices of the Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas and the Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad. The edited volume contains three groups of essays under these headings: "La agricultura y la ganadería en el Perú: Proceso histórico y perspectivas," "Las experiencias de desarrollo rural," and "El problema agrario en la selva."

In the first section, "Rasgos fundamentales de la historia agraria del Perú, siglos XVI–XX" by Manuel Burga and Nelson Manrique traces the history of Peruvian agriculture since the mid-seventeenth century and the introduction of European crops and cattle. After independence, Peru became an exporter of agricultural products: sugar and cotton from the coastal valleys, wool from the southern highlands, rubber from the eastern lowlands, and more recently, coffee from the eastern valleys at medium altitudes. Burga and Manrique argue that the internal market for cane alcohol, consumed massively by Andean farmers, helped to integrate production in the sierra with that of the coast and to supply the cities. By the end of the nineteenth century, the capital of Lima contained only a hundred thousand inhabitants, a tenth of the national population, which was fed by Peruvian products. Today, Lima encompasses more than seven million inhabitants. Now 60 percent of all Peruvians live in cities, where patterns of food consumption have changed so markedly that urban Peruvians depend heavily on imported wheat and rice.

Burga and Manrique consider the Ley de Reforma Agraria of 1969 a valuable development that "destroyed the social sector of big landowners in the sierra and the agricultural exporting bourgeoisie on the coast" (p. 53). Large properties were not broken up but reorganized. This trend was resisted by Senderistas, who have fought all social systems (including comunidades campesinas) by engaging in violence, a long-standing tradition in the Andes according to Burga and Manrique. Subsequently, the illegal coca trade has corrupted all social strata, supposedly enmeshing guerrilla forces as well.

In "Historia agraria cusqueña: Balance y perspectivas," María Isabel Remy questions the usual approach of analyzing haciendas and comunidades separately. Archival materials show that, at least in the Cuzco region, neither institution has been a permanent fixture. Land changed hands frequently, shifting from comunidad to hacienda and back again as landowners acquired land or went bankrupt and were forced to sell it.

In the pre-Hispanic period, Remy argues, the risks of farming were shared by peasants and the state in that peasants were required to provide labor rather than products. This system was altered fundamentally during the Spanish colonial administration, which established a permanent head tax in products, irrespective of good or bad years. After

the 1570s, when tribute could be paid in specie instead of in kind, monetization made Indian labor more available. According to Remy, in the twentieth century, urban Peruvians envisioned a nondifferentiated indigenous population that was isolated, engaged in subsistence, and lacked contact with the market. This image was as far from reality as that of great hacendados in the sierra living off their rents, as evoked by José Carlos Mariátegui, the founder of Peruvian communism. This erroneous vision of rural society was incorporated into the Ley de Reforma Agraria of 1969.

Enrique Mayer and Manuel Glave examine costs and prices in "Papas regaladas y papas regalo: Rentabilidad, costos e inversión." They assert that small farmers cannot compete with the capital-intensive production of commercial potato farms in the Mantaro Valley, one of the few Andean valleys that are highly commercialized. Nor can small farmers on the coast compete with the prices of imported wheat. Mayer and Glave recommend state intervention to guarantee better prices for small potato and rice farmers on the grounds that both crops are labor-intensive and could provide needed employment in the field.

Víctor Caballero Martín's "Cambios en la propiedad de la tierra" shows that the Sociedad Agrícola de Interés Social Cahuide, located in the highland province of Huancayo, accounted for much of the livestock and dairy products and was the largest such association in Peru in the 1970s. But it often ran into conflict with surrounding comunidades campesinas, whose land hunger had not been resolved by the land reform law, even though many were officially "*asociados*" of Cahuide. Sendero Luminoso encouraged *comuneros* to invade Cahuide, destroy equipment, and appropriate cattle. Caballero thinks that making more agricultural land available is the only way to appease *comuneros*, pacify the area, and increase agricultural production.

In the second section, Orlando Plaza's "Cambio social y desarrollo rural" traces the introduction of nongovernment organizations (NGOs) into the Peruvian sierra in the 1970s. Having already discovered that the consciousness-raising techniques proposed by Brazilian sociologist Paulo Freire were insufficient to improve conditions, NGOs initiated projects to improve technology, trade, health, education, and housing. They also attempted to strengthen collective institutions by implementing models that turned out to be unsuited to Andean society but did lead to the development of agrarian research. Roberto Haudry de Soucy's "Proyectos de inversión en la sierra y políticas de desarrollo rural" provides cost estimates for the more than two hundred "development projects" in Bolivia and Peru. The investment is calculated at more than three hundred million dollars in five years (sixty million per year), of which at least half was earmarked for Peru. Haudry de Soucy's lists the major projects of international banks, the United Nations, and government and nongov-

ernment organizations. He concludes that most of them have failed, primarily because both the demand for peasant products and the rural labor force are constantly shrinking.

In the third section, the title of Alberto Chirif's "Investigación y proyecto indígena" reflects the fact that the terms *indígena* and *nativo* are no longer being applied to Andeans, only to Amazonian tribes who have preserved their language, customs, and ethnic identity. In the 1960s, several of these ethnic groups joined together in organizing federations that showed the leaders' "consciousness of identity in the face of colonization pressures" and in response to "the pioneering efforts of some professionals" (p. 363). In 1974 the government headed by General Velasco enacted the first Ley de Comunidades Nativas, which recognized the collective land rights of indigenous groups. For the first time, local awareness existed of *native identity* in the generic sense of the term. Yet the universities in the region, located in Iquitos, Tingo María, Tarapoto, and Pucallpa, had no programs in the social sciences.

Chirif asserts that social scientists are usually unaware of current conditions in the eastern lowlands and tend to envision indigenous groups as they were in the past rather than as they are now, since the changes caused by "colonization" (the introduction of extractive industries and the immigration of Andean settlers). This view is not necessarily correct. Although Chirif claims that studies of indigenous groups have generally been made only by missionaries and anthropologists, in fact geographers and historians have conducted important research in Amazonia. Chirif is right, however, in arguing that native groups are not integrated into Peruvian national society, which in general discriminates against them.

Federica Barclay's contribution notes that for the first time, *SEPIA III* included studies of indigenous populations. Until that time, the image of the lowlands as socially and economically insignificant, as proposed in the 1920s by José Carlos Mariátegui, still prevailed. The marginal position to which the selva and the montaña have traditionally been relegated reflects political realities: Amazonia is still regarded as an easy escape hatch for alleviating short-term demographic pressure. Peruvian government agencies now propose to introduce modern mechanized technology, monocropping, and traditional forest exploitation despite the warnings by specialists that the fragility of the rain forest ecosystem requires technology suited to that terrain. Barclay is pessimistic about the prognosis because short-term interests usually prevail over the longer view.

Fernando Santos Granero's "Integración económica, identidad y estrategias en la Amazonía" states that by 1978, 95 percent of the ethnic groups in Amazonia had already been integrated into the Peruvian economy to varying degrees. According to Santos, the Cocama-Cocamilla people numbered about a hundred thousand in 1930 and represented the western-most speakers of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic group. All were

subject to *patrones* (immigrant merchant bosses). By 1982, the Cocama-Cocamilla population had plummeted to less than twenty-one thousand, its members having commingled with the riverfront mestizo settlers and thus lost their indigenous identity. Many had become schoolteachers, newspaper reporters, merchants, or small *patrones*—the “invisible natives” of Peruvian Amazonia.

The Ashaninka, estimated at forty-seven thousand in 1988, belong to the Arawak linguistic group and inhabit the mid-level selva inland from Lima. Although subjected to sixteenth-century Spanish incursions and eighteenth-century Franciscan missions that relied on native labor, the Ashaninka have managed to preserve their indigenous identity. A number of them work on haciendas, grow some European crops, and (since the 1975 Ley de Comunidades Nativas) have obtained titles for part of their land. In 1986 they requested loans from the Banco Agrario. According to Santos, about two-thirds of their cultivated land was seeded with commercial crops at that time, although this estimate does not take in account more remote Ashaninka territory.

The Aguaruna and Huambisa form part of the great Jivaran nation in Ecuador and northern Peru. They were the only Amazonian peoples subjected to Spanish colonial *encomiendas*, which obliged them to gather gold from the rivers in their territory. Since 1947 the Protestant group known as the Summer Institute of Linguistics has attained wide influence in the area.

SEPIA IV

The SEPIA IV meeting took place in Iquitos in 1991 and included papers on terrorism and Amazonia. Although these topics were relegated to the last section of the resulting volume, I will deal with the essays on these subjects first.

The article “Campesinado andino y violencia” by Carlos Iván Degregori, considered an authority on Sendero Luminoso, surveys the history of violence, uprisings, and guerrilla warfare in Peru throughout the twentieth century. He refers to Orin Starn’s well-known article “Missing the Revolution,” which (with the wisdom of hindsight) criticized U.S. cultural anthropologists for downplaying or outright ignoring early symptoms of unrest.³ Degregori rightly comments that Peruvian investigators are also open to criticism. He cites the example of the Comisión Vargas Llosa set up to investigate the 1983 murder of eight reporters in the mountain village of Uchuraccay, which was headed by Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa and included three outstanding Peruvian anthropologists of the mainstream structuralist school. The commission decided that

3. Orin Starn, “Missing the Revolution: Anthropologists and the War in Peru,” *Cultural Anthropology* 6, no. 1 (Feb. 1991):63–91.

these assassinations were the result of a “misunderstanding” arising from Peru’s supposedly dual social and ideological structure that pitted urban Western culture against Andean “traditional” culture. Degregori’s conclusion is nevertheless weak in calling for further studies to determine whether Sendero should be considered a new development of old traditions of resistance or a foreign ideology imposed in a new, unpredictable pattern.

José Luis Rénique’s “Violencia y democracia en la sierra sur del Perú” discusses relations in 1988 between the Sendero branch in Puno, the southernmost Andean department of Peru, and the left-wing political party known as the Partido Unificado Mariateguista. The PUM opposed the APRA party, which was attempting to attract peasant groups in the northern part of the country. Rénique points out that violence was escalating as government repression increased.

In “Autodefensa ashaninka: Organizaciones nativas y autonomía indígena,” Margarita Benavides discusses the effect of political violence on the native population of the Peruvian rain forest. The Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru (MRTA) and Sendero Luminoso both attempted to take political control of the Ashaninka in the Pichis, Upper Perené, Satipo, and Ene River Basins. Benavides analyzes the varying responses of the natives to terrorist pressures, attempting to determine the underlying reasons for the differences. The native populations defended themselves in the Pichis, the Upper Perené, and the Satipo River Basins but succumbed without a struggle in the area of the Ene River. According to Benavides, the differentiating factor was the lack of an autonomous social organization along the Ene River. In contrast, when Alejandro Calderón, president of a native association, was kidnapped and murdered by the MRTA in the Pichis River Basin in December 1989, the Ashaninka took revenge into their own hands by “executing” several MRTA members. The others subsequently withdrew from the area.

In the first section of *SEPIA IV*, entitled “La agricultura peruana en el contexto internacional,” Javier Escobal D’Angelo’s essay of the same title surveys Peru’s role in the world market. It argues that although Peruvian agriculture was never isolated from international markets, its connection to the world market of agricultural products was insignificant prior to the early twentieth century. The two world wars resulted in efforts by European countries to become self-sufficient in food production, a trend that hurt traditional exporters of grain like Uruguay and Argentina. Subsequently, the Treaty of Rome in 1975 resulted in the termination of a number of bilateral treaties. Capital-intensive and state-subsidized production in the European Community and in the United States, followed by GATT meetings, have caused deep structural changes in international agricultural trade. Underdeveloped countries that were previously net exporters of agricultural products have become net importers. In pursuing import substitution, Peruvian macroeconomic policies turned

to excessive protection of the industrial sector, which resulted in heavy dependence on foreign foods at prices below national production costs. It remains unclear whether increasing imports of food products caused the recent retraction of the Peruvian agricultural sector or vice versa. In Peru, the state is currently the major importer, although in the first half of the twentieth century, income from mining and agricultural export taxes provided a major source of government revenue. Escobal D'Angelo argues that the country would benefit from long-term policies favoring free trade.

Raúl Hopkins's "La macroeconomía de la agricultura peruana" notes the increased emphasis on "macroeconomy" in the current literature. Following the 1974 break with the Bretton Woods system and the establishment of free exchange, credit for modern agriculture became much more important and required adjustments in such agriculture. Hopkins claims that domestic food production does not necessarily reflect prices or even demand, given that changes in agricultural production require a period of development and funding. Thus, in his view, a market economy and credit are necessary but insufficient requirements for increasing agricultural production.

Elena Alvarez's "Reflexiones en torno a la economía ilegal de la coca" discusses the importance of coca cultivation from an economic perspective. The variety of coca known as Huánuco (or Bolivian) contains the highest content of alkaloid and is grown in Peru's upper Huallaga River Basin and in the Chaparé in Bolivia. The poverty level of some peasant sectors in both countries, comparable with those of the least-developed countries in Africa and Asia, promotes the flow of cheap labor to the areas producing coca. Established coca growers hire the poor migrants as temporary workers, thus involving them in illegal activities and possibly guerrilla warfare. These activities require many accomplices, but they also reflect to some degree the recent widespread drought in the Peruvian sierra and the collapse of the Bolivian tin industry.

Víctor Agreda's "El mercado internacional y los productores de economía campesina y agricultura comercial" discusses production of alpaca wool in the southern provinces of Peru. It accounts for nine-tenths of world production, estimated at forty-five hundred metric tons. Bolivia produces the remainder. Jackeline Velazco Portocarrero's "Azúcar: Verdad y mito de una prolongada crisis" analyzes the twelve cooperatives created by the Ley de Reforma Agraria of 1969 on the sugar plantations of the Peruvian northern coast, which employ thirty-two thousand workers. According to the author, sugar has become a staple of the Peruvian diet, with nearly 58 percent of Peruvian production consumed within the country. Although sugar is currently both exported and imported, the Peruvian sugar industry is in danger of disappearing.

SEPIA V

The proceedings of SEPIA V include edited versions of thirty papers read at the 1993 meeting in Arequipa. The introduction was written by historian María Isabel Remy, who served as president of the SEPIA Comité Directivo from 1993 to 1995. *SEPIA V* is divided into three parts. The first part, "Transformaciones en la sociedad rural," is given over to theoretical discussion. The second, "Políticas de estabilización, ajuste estructural, liberalización, y agro," contains essays by economists and geographers focusing on production, prices, and the marketing of rural products. The third part, "Recursos naturales, medio ambiente, tecnología y desarrollo," discusses ecology, conservation, and Andean biology (*SEPIA V* does not include a section on Amazonia).

In Part 1, Guillermo Rochabrun's "Mirando el campo con ojos urbanos?" follows contemporary trends of "psycho-anthropology" in arguing that practically all research on "rural society" is conducted by researchers from urban environments who tend to encapsulate the population observed into one of two categories: traditional farmers or modern farmers, depending on whether they engage in subsistence farming with few links to the national economy or participate in agribusiness (meaning market-oriented production for national consumption or export or both). Rochabrun then argues that despite the heaps of monographs and studies published over the last forty years, little understanding has been gained of what is actually a heterogeneous and extremely complex population.

Carlos Monge's "Transformaciones en la sociedad rural" addresses the same issues but at a more practical level. He asks whether "rural society" exists at all. Censuses taken between 1940 and 1981 show that migration between subsistence and agribusiness areas and between mountain villages and shantytowns surrounding cities on the Peruvian coast break down categories. Monge neglects, however, to mention a notable contradiction: in the Andean village where peasants were born, they are comuneros (members of a comunidad) who are legally permitted to till but not own the land they work, yet the same peasants can become proprietors on the coast if they have the means to buy a plot of land. Such outcomes have occurred in the Proyecto de Irrigación Majes, in the coastal desert west of Arequipa. Monge considers comunidades to be the better system of rural social organization for working with the state and protecting the environment. He notes that workers in the more market-oriented coastal farms are a polarized, unorganized, and marginal population (he avoids the term *lumpen*), while Andean comunidades in the sierra are better integrated and more homogeneous.

Deborah Urquieta's "Dimensión jurídico-ciudadana en las comunidades campesinas" breaks new ground. Her analysis is based on a study of archival material on the years 1969–1989 from four *juzgados de tierras*

(land justice courts) in the department of Cuzco. These courts were made subject to the *Fuero Agrario*, a branch of Peruvian law established by the military dictatorship of President Velasco Alvarado as part of the *Ley de Reforma Agraria* of 1969.

Peruvian Andean peasants, Urquieta argues, function at two levels in relationship to the state: as individuals when using their legal Peruvian identity cards (the *Libreta Electoral* that grants voting rights to all adults over eighteen years of age) and as representatives of their *comunidades*. She found that the largest number of lawsuits arose from conflicts between *comunidades* over land rights, with petitions outnumbering existing *comunidades* during the score of years analyzed. Many new *comunidades* requested legal recognition, reflecting in Urquieta's view the new legislation favoring *comunidades* over other forms of landholding. The archival material makes it apparent that Andean peasants have a good grasp of legislation and attempt to use it at personal as well as collective levels.

Urquieta's contribution poses as many questions as it answers. What is a *comunidad* before it is recognized as such? What roles if any do kinship, locality, municipal rule, irrigation, common pasture, agriculture, and other factors play in a *comunidad* before and after recognition? How does the decision to request recognition occur? Is it necessarily unanimous, or is there room for dissent? To what degree does a *comunidad's* internal organization change when it is recognized by the state?

The main article in Part 2 of *SEPIA V*, Oscar Dancourt and Waldo Mendoza's "Agricultura y política de estabilización en el Perú, 1990–1992," shows the decline in real prices for agricultural products after President Alberto Fujimori was inaugurated in July 1990. During the two years analyzed, the real price of potatoes and wheat dropped by 22 percent, rice by 9 percent, and coffee (a major agricultural export) by 10 percent. Many agricultural areas had been abandoned temporarily due to drought and terrorism. Because of the low prices of imported dairy products and grains and the high costs of Peruvian production, transportation, and distribution, international trade began to replace interregional trade in Peru.

In Part 3, Enrique Mayer's major contribution, "Recursos naturales, medio ambiente, tecnología y desarrollo," discusses theoretical approaches, reviews the literature, and debates proposals made by "colleagues who hold that the only valid development strategy is to uphold Andean values" (p. 479). Mayer argues that social scientists and agronomists need to work with farmers to achieve long-term increases in agricultural production. Mayer's lengthy bibliography of works in English, Spanish, French, and German shows his familiarity with the literature. He concludes that the Andean *comunidad*, when compared with traditional haciendas and the cooperatives established by the Velasco government, is the social system best suited to sustained production and ecological conservation in the Andes.

CONCLUSION

As noted, the books in English reviewed here generally take an empirical approach, describing economic and technological developments rather than discussing theoretical issues. Their authors tend to analyze Andean society from the perspective of individual families.

The Spanish-language literature considered here stresses the importance of the *comunidad campesina* as a unit of analysis. Peruvian economists and anthropologists consider the *comunidad* as not merely the best but the only viable Andean social system.⁴ Yet although this viewpoint is couched in terms of Andean ecological and historical specificity, it is essentially non-Andean in that it stems from Western ideologies. Beyond theories about the “evolution” of tribal societies into peasant societies, community as a Western ideal of social organization is far from dead, as shown in recent publications.⁵

According to *The Economist*, the communitarian movement is an informal association of like-minded individuals who live in Europe or the United States. At its core is a group of academics in the social sciences and commentators considered to be “high” or “low communitarians,” according to their stances. Communitarians presume that Western societies were once bound together by “solidaristic virtues”: human beings lived in close and extended families, were good neighbors, and felt a sense of duty to one another and to society at large.

Does contemporary Western society really work less well than it used to? Communitarians prefer not to look closely at the past that we have lost. Their appeal is based partly on nostalgia, which can tolerate only so much analysis, and they therefore never examine the past with care. Communitarian nostalgia is accompanied by a forward-looking counterpart that is an equally effective crowd-pleaser—a neurotic fear of the future.

The communitarians’ mission is to restore “community.” But what does that term mean—families, neighborhoods, towns, regions, nations? Reinforcing one kind of community inevitably means weakening another. Moreover, communitarians insist that their program requires at least some government implementation. But one can no longer assume that consensus exists among the members of any putative community that is not based on voluntary association by free individuals. Once the coercive power of the state becomes involved, one must ask how dissent will be dealt with. High communitarians frankly place society and community

4. Anthropologist Frank Salomon shares this view, according to his personal conversation with me in Lima, Dec. 1994.

5. See, for example, “Freedom and Community: The Politics of Restoration,” *The Economist*, 24 Dec. 1994–6 Jan. 1995, pp. 67–70.

above the individual, while low communitarians refuse to take the possibility of conflict seriously.⁶

The arguments for and against communitarianism in recent *Economist* articles recall those debated when discussing Andean social structures at the SEPIA sessions. Since Peru gained independence in 1821, the *comunidades* that many Andeanists value have often fought each other over access to land and water and to the detriment of regional cohesion. Moreover, *comunidades* cannot be implemented without state legislation. When Enrique Mayer read his well-documented paper on Andean ecology and resource management at the SEPIA V meeting, which assumed that *comunidades* understand the environment and its uses and are more conservation-oriented than centralized institutions, the debate became polarized. Agrarian researcher Eduardo Grillo argued in favor of a “return” to communal social structure and nonintervention by the state in Andean society, while sociologist Julio Cotler accused Grillo of a backward-looking “ethnic purism” that was unaware of historical change in social structures. As the discussion escalated, it was not clear which opinion prevailed. Should market forces dominate—that is, should peasants be free to migrate or to choose nonfarming activities if economically more profitable? Or should they be forced to return to “traditional agriculture,” notwithstanding the cost to individual peasant families? Unfortunately, this and other discussions of the SEPIA V papers were not included in the volume of proceedings published afterward.

A basic question that was not addressed by either the papers or the discussion is, does the state recognize *comunidades* because they exist, or do *comunidades* exist because the state recognizes them? This question taps into the historical debate regarding colonial *ayllus* (kinship groups), *parcialidades* (moieties), ethnic groups, and *caciques* (hereditary native rulers). Although all these categories undoubtedly existed before the Spanish invasion, administration by the Spanish Crown reorganized them and maintained them artificially to extract tribute and forced labor from the native population until Peru achieved independence in 1821. After that time, *ayllus* and *parcialidades* became practically nonexistent until they were revived as *comunidades* in the 1920s under the government of President Augusto Leguía. He apparently intended to use *comunidades* to limit the power of *hacendados* in Southern Peru but in the end failed to do so. Modern governments have used *comunidades* to obtain free labor for projects regarded as economically advantageous to the country (such as constructing roads, terracing, and establishing reservoirs and schools) but only nominally beneficial to *comuneros*. The ques-

6. For a short list of high communitarians and some of their writings, see *ibid.* A well-known low communitarian in the United States is Amitai Etzioni, sociology professor at George Washington University and the author of *The Spirit of Community: Rights, Responsibilities, and the Communitarian Agenda* (New York: Crown Publishing Group, 1993).

tion that remains unanswered is, if not *comunidades*, then what system can be employed to address the needs of rural populations? Although this issue has seldom been addressed in Peruvian legislation, surely other alternatives could be found to better represent the interests of the Andean population.