

Quechua Knowledge, Orality, and Writings

The Newspaper Conosur Ñawpagman

In this essay I reflect on some aspects of Quechua knowledge, orality, and writing found within a concrete case inscribed in writing: the *Conosur Ñawpagman* newspaper.¹ To this end, I offer reflections on this means of communication, focusing on its objectives as well as its linguistic and epistemic usage practices. I concentrate especially on the inscription of oral discourse and thereby offer a pragmatic and epistemic defense of Quechua peasant *yachay*.² I begin by offering three clarifications by way of introduction: how and why I use the term *peasant*; what, more concretely, I mean by Quechua *yachay*; and a short reflection on my authority, as an outsider, to represent Quechua voices.

In contemporary social science discourse, scholars are working to move beyond a classist-Marxist vision so as to rightly recognize other forms of exclusion. Among those forms of exclusion, ethnic identity occupies a privileged place. Events of the past decades have contributed to the centrality of interest in culture and identity within social and political analyses of different national and multinational spaces (Garcés 2006). Several scholars have linked this newfound attention to other forms of exclusion to the changes contemporary global capitalism has suffered over the past thirty years (Castro-Gómez 2003; Jameson 1984; Žižek 1993). In the case of Abya Yala, scholars have increasingly emphasized that the colonial restructuring of local societies involved systems of inequality, based on social class, and of exclusion, based on categories like race and gender (Quijano 2000; Santos 2003).³ Under such conditions, my use of the term *peasant* necessarily calls for a rethinking of the imaginary of class, enriching it with a concern for the processes by which contemporary identities are politicized (Regalsky, 2003).

A second reason for my using the term *peasant* involves the term's historical baggage in the Bolivian context. What can be called the indigenous vein in Bolivia has combined the experiences of organizations with so-called traditional indigenous structures and those of others whose historical experiences have prompted them to organize their interests as Andean communities through the structure of the rural union. An important example of this is the Tiawuanaku manifesto, which Sarela Paz describes as a key milestone in the maturation of the notion of indigenous peoples in the Andean world. Via that manifesto, urban and rural Aymara sectors converged with diverse peasant sectors around *Katarismo*, expressing "the culture's historical horizons and ideological themes." For this author, "The Manifesto gathers peasant Quechua/Aymara voices that revindicate their autochthonous culture and the origin of double oppression: economic in terms of peasants and cultural in terms of excluded peoples" (Paz 2005, 2).

Here we see that the term *peasant* retains a presence as a category of self-denomination among rural Bolivians and within Bolivian social movements, even as in the new context of struggle they have also reformulated their identities as aboriginal or indigenous.⁴ In the Department of Cochabamba, where the bilingual newspaper treated in this essay primarily circulates, it is the form most frequently found. None of the above denies the validity of discourses and practices that revindicate the aboriginal and indigenous character of many communities and collectivities in Bolivia. I think that in this case we can gain more from a comprehensive, capacious vision than from a restrictive, exclusive one.

As part of this more capacious vision, it is important to reflect systematically on the term *Quechua yachay*, by which I mean the collective knowledge produced and reproduced orally by Quechua-speaking communities. While I do not believe there is a direct and exclusive association between a language, a type of knowledge, and a single, distinct nation or people, I nonetheless prefer the term *Quechua yachay* to other, more general and less precise ones. *Andean knowledge*, for example, at least in the Bolivian case, includes as well Aymara communities, while *indigenous knowledge* refers as well to the lowland indigenous peoples. Thus, *Quechua yachay* has a certain practical use.

To think of Quechua knowledge as oral also forces us to recognize the geopolitics of knowledge that has colonially subalter[n]ized certain languages, among them Quechua (Garcés 2005a). My understanding of

Quechua *yachay* as being fundamentally oral might seem to rearticulate the colonial imaginary within which indigenous languages were classified as “lower” because they did not express modern, abstract, or spiritual ideas (Mannheim 1991, 61–79; Mignolo 1999). On the contrary, I want to emphasize that colonial differentiation has also provided subalter[n]ized languages with a certain epistemological power reproduced at the margins or in the interstices of colonial power (Rivera 1987; Mignolo 2002). While there has been a history of permanent contacts between orality and the world of written communication, from colonial times and in a much more intense way in the contemporary period, the vast majority of the Andean world continues to privilege oral knowledge in everyday communicational spaces. As I will show, this is because Quechua *yachay* and its oral production and reproduction are counterhegemonic responses to a global colonial epistemology.

My final clarification has to do with the *pacha* from where I think and articulate my own intellectual and political practice with regard to Quechua.⁵ My connection with the Quichua and Quechua languages is rooted in my involvement with diverse bilingual education programs, my support for local research projects, and my relationships with the newspaper’s editorial team. Through these experiences I have found myself in a growing struggle with my own personal history of colonization, aware that my ability to partake of this process of reflection and intervention places me in a position of power. I thus develop my ideas about Quechua and Quechua *yachay* in a highly charged context of struggles over representation in which I myself am a participant (Castro-Gómez 2000).

In this text, as I attempt to map politically the environments in which the power of knowledge and languages moves, I necessarily involve myself in struggles over power and over different positions concerning Quechua and its *yachay*. I speak, then, from a location marked by my own subjectivity and history: as a white intellectual, male, native Spanish speaker, and as full of contradictions. At the same time, I constantly labor to insert myself into a learning process marked by crisis and rupture, a process that is the product of interaction with other women and men also displaced in the act of speaking and knowing. This essay emerges from a kind of frontier, a position where I know myself to be part of the system of power yet am also in constant conversation with other forms of knowing, thinking, speaking, and silencing.

Background on the Conosur Ñawpagman

The *Conosur Ñawpagman* newspaper was created in 1983 in association with the Portales Center of the Simón Patiño Foundation.⁶ Financed with Swiss aid, the newspaper served to promote reading in Mizque, a province of the Department of Cochabamba. The newspaper was created through an agreement with the San José de Mizque Cooperative, under the name *El Mizqueño*. Initially, the paper was geared to the people of the Mizque community and supported the work of the popular libraries that the Portales Center had created in different provinces of the department.

The year the *Conosur* was born was one of significant drought in the valleys of Cochabamba and marked the arrival of many nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that brought with them large quantities of money for peasant communities. The *Conosur* began publication in an attempt to analyze the impact of development projects in the communities. The first issues of the newspaper addressed the supposed benefits that development institutions brought to the countryside and the opinions of peasants who opposed the institutions' overwhelming presence. The following year, in an agreement with the Moyopampa Agricultural Union (Titora, Carrasco province), *El Totoreño* emerged and essentially reproduced *El Mizqueño*'s content but with different headlines. *El Totoreño* sought to be a more direct nexus with the communities and separate itself from the small-town sector to which it was initially linked.

The *Conosur* newspaper explored the issue of appropriate technologies and began to conduct research in different communities to test the hypothesis that the introduction of modern technology, instead of benefiting the communities, actually accelerated the erosion of peasant knowledge, just as it eroded the soil (Gonzalo Vargas, interview, 09/10/01). In Raqaypampa, for example, research demonstrated that peasants developed their own strategies, in which families and local grass-roots organizations acted together to counter the effects of introduced technologies and the constant, overwhelming assault of the market. It was possible to observe the cultivation of crops linked to each other, the use of diverse ecological niches, highly precise weather forecasting, seed varieties, and so forth.

At a meeting in 1986 of the trade union centrals of the three southernmost provinces of the Department of Cochabamba (Titora, Mizque, and Carrasco), the participants asked that each province have its own newspaper.

Taking stock of limited institutional capacity, the participants decided to create one newspaper linked to peasant organizations, especially the Mizque Provincial Trade Union, the Moyapampa Union, and the Departmental Peasant Federation itself.⁷ At the same meeting, the newspaper was given the name *Conosur Ñawpagman* because it dealt with the provinces in the department's southern cone.

In 1988 the Andean Communication and Development Center (CENDA) considered the possibility of focusing on radio communications. As a result, the *Conosur's* publication was suspended for almost a year, and the newspaper underwent an evaluation. Pressure from organizations and the political climate created by the upcoming general elections drove the editorial team to resume publication of *Conosur* and to define the newspaper's political stance. The paper's initial regional focus thus became connected with national concerns. The newspaper resumed publication in 1989, the same year the Unified Confederation of Bolivian Workers and Peasants (CSUTCB) was born at the Tarija Congress. At the congress, the delegates also discussed the possibility of creating a political mechanism to support peasant organizations.

The *PCÑ* has gone through a gradual process of self-definition that affected its stated objectives. By 1992 there was increasing discussion about the issue of a political mechanism, and a proposal was made to render the union organization independent of traditional political parties. The *Conosur* also made explicit its objective and defined itself as a tool of the peasant movement's critical intellectuals, not of the movement's leadership. Starting with the promotion of Quechua reading and writing and its transcription of speakers' testimonies, the newspaper began to define itself as part of a greater political objective. This objective, as stated earlier, was to be a tool for discussion among critical thinkers in the department's peasant movement. The editorial team's question was: Where is that sector of critical thinkers? From what it understood, the sector never took shape, not even after the Movement toward Socialism (MAS) was formed as the desired political mechanism.⁸

The role the newspaper played within the Quechua peasant movement was therefore not as an immediate means of communication, but as a space for reflection that linked the *PCÑ* to the particular conjuncture of peasant mobilization. The sale and distribution of the paper became massive at times of social mobilization in general and of peasant mobilization in particular. It

was at these times that the *Conosur* responded most closely to its objectives, serving as the repository of memory and as an instrument of reflection for the peasant political movement.

Initially, the paper was aimed at the leadership sector. Starting in 1989, as part of its institutional evaluation and renovation, it sought closer ties to the grass-roots among the department's peasants, in search of the aforementioned critical sector. That sector, in general, was composed of people with low levels of education in reading and writing. This, however, did not deny the presence of the leaders' voices, and rural teachers, merchants, truckers, and even semiurban neighborhood organizations requested copies of the newspaper.

The *PCÑ* is distributed in what can be called a personal manner, with representatives visiting the department's important fairs and attending the various events held by the department's peasant organizations. The moment of the newspaper's distribution is at the same time the moment of research through specific interviews and the recording of speeches at the events. The resulting articles are largely testimonials, recordings, and interviews. Rather than more usual forms of writing, they are constructed texts.⁹

The newspaper is published bimonthly (it might even be called a magazine), and it deals with such subjects as the Andean productive system; weather prediction; community history; education; events and resolutions sponsored by peasant and indigenous organizations at the local, regional, and national levels; community events; national and international news; and the ever-present personal story. Currently, its printing varies from thirty-five hundred to four thousand copies. About twenty-five hundred to three thousand copies of each edition are commonly sold, although at times of mobilization the issue sells out. An important fact is that approximately 40 percent of the issues are sold in Chapare, a zone of permanent tension because of government and U.S. efforts to forcibly eradicate coca. While the newspaper has a token price (3 *bolivianos* in the city and 1 or 1.50 in rural areas), it is never given away. Significantly, some readers, especially children, barter community products (grains, potatoes, and so on) for the *Conosur*.

The Politics of Written Orality in the PCÑ

One of the *PCÑ*'s characteristics is to work with Quechua writing based on the orality of the speakers. This involves the politics of inscribing oral discourse (Marcone 1997) that is not limited to the simple reproduction of an

act of speech but instead creates a new form of communication. To inscribe orality becomes a political act that involves a textual selection based on the editor's or inscriber's needs and interests. One example of this in the *Conosur* involves an expanded notion of intertextuality.

Literary and textual linguistic studies frequently use the concept of intertextuality to mean the construction of a text from a mosaic of references as well as the absorption and transformation of another text (Kristeva 1982). In this sense, intertextuality creates new texts through the re-elaboration of existing ones. For me, intertextuality has a different meaning with regard to the *Conosur's* practice of inscription. I understand intertextuality not only as a textual interrelation fashioned on paper, but also as the construction of a series of plots that are *textual* (in the broadest sense of the word), where diverse visual, textual (in the sense of written), and oral codes are in figurative battle. Intertextuality is a conflictual process whereby diverse actors construct texts as they move in different cultural imaginaries. Intertextuality also considers the diverse contexts of textual production and conflictive and diverse reception.

Intertextuality can be exemplified in the newspaper's inscribed written (and visual) practice. The *PCÑ* publishes news and produces information in Quechua and in Spanish. On the one hand, the editors' explicit principal criterion is that events occurring in one language be described in that same language, be it Quechua or Spanish. On the other hand, anything that has to do with the world outside the communities and the organizations (for example, national and international news or agricultural technical subjects) is written in Spanish, while matters involving internal interests (community history, weather forecasting, evaluation of the agricultural cycle, stories, and so forth) are written in Quechua. This is the general tendency that emerges from the Bolivian diglottic framework in which the newspaper exists.¹⁰

One could also describe the *PCÑ's* textual-linguistic economy from the perspective of the confrontation between official and unofficial discourses. From this perspective, official and legal discourse and the expressions or relations of the discursive and hegemonic state environment are published in Spanish. For example, even if the agenda for discussion at an organization's local meeting is written in Quechua, its resolutions generally appear in Spanish. This occurs because said resolutions politically position the organizations and communities in relation to the mechanisms of state domination. In this way, the construction of news not mediated by orality also appears in Spanish. That which forms part of the organizational and communal

(not necessarily local) discursive environment is treated in Quechua. Here, stories and weather forecasting are as much a part of the discussion as local peasant events and national and international news (Constitutive Assemblies, the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA), the North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), World Bank policies about agriculture, and so on).

Nevertheless, this spatial-textual distribution is not that simple, for there are also frequent intertextual games. For example, in a given news piece the title may be in Spanish and most of the information in Quechua (or vice versa). Within a given article, there may be changes or jumps back and forth between Quechua and Spanish.

According to the rules of inscription, there are three criteria to follow in the face of the Spanish written word: to the extent possible, recover endangered Quechua vocabulary; create neologisms for those terms that are not historically found in the language and that current communication demands; and, when necessary, incorporate a Spanish term by either keeping the original spelling in Spanish or providing a phonetic rendition in Quechua (Plaza 1995, 58). Under these criteria, resorting to Spanish is a last resort, reflecting an explicit policy of recovering and strengthening Quechua. The presence of Spanish terms is considered a lesser evil. I will later touch on the topic of the PCÑ's periodic effort to recover the ancient Quechua vocabulary, but for now I will focus on some examples of the newspaper's norm for dealing with Spanish terms.

The PCÑ does not have an explicit policy for the creation of neologisms in the sense that it is the editorial team that proposes new Quechua terms. Nevertheless, and as a result of the collection of oral information, I can offer a few examples that prove speakers' creativity. In some cases, that creativity involves the description of characteristics, while in others it involves the appropriation and conceptual reformulation of the original Spanish term. We thus have a physical place where a radio functions, *wayra wasi* (54:12) (lit. 'wind house');¹¹ for airplane, *lata p'isqu* (63:4) (lit. 'iron bird'); for handkerchief, *qhuña pichana* (61:11) (lit. 'snot cleaner'); for members of the Mobile Unit for Rural Patrolling, a repressive force charged with the aggressive eradication of the coca leaf, *p'alta uma* (46:3) (lit. 'flat head'); to refer to *gringos* or foreigners in general, *jawa puka kunka* (50:4) (lit. 'red neck from abroad').

Beyond the effort of lexical recreation through neologisms, it is common practice in the PCÑ to use Spanish terms, written according to Spanish grammar. This is observed at different levels, such as the following:

a. In entire phrases:

[. . .] *lluksinankupaq representantes
genuinos de las provincias
compañeros* (39:3).

For them to become **genuine
representatives of the provinces,
comrades.**

b. In the lexical-morphological combination of Spanish and Quechua:

*Munayku Escuela Fiscal kananta,
mana privatizakunanta campesinos
manachay escuelas privadasman
pagayta atiykumanchurayku* (44:19).

We want that the **school be public,**
that it be not **privatized;** we the
peasants would not be able to **pay**
for these **private schools.**

c. In the consignment of different types of acronyms and the institution's full name:

*CSUTCB uchhika q'ayma kachkan,
imata nisun? Central Obrera
Boliviana q'aymallataq, uraman
yaykuyta munachkan* (79:6).

The **CSUTCB** is a little bit unenthusi-
astic (lit. 'insipid'), what would we
say? The **Central Obrera Boliviana**
(**Bolivian Workers' Union**) is also
unenthusiastic and it is becoming
down.¹²

Quechua in the PCÑ

Few studies deal with the presence of indigenous languages in the media (Albó 1998), even though there is a relatively strong presence of Aymara and Quechua on urban radio stations in La Paz and Cochabamba, respectively.¹³ In the written press, the daily *Presencia* published one page in Quechua and another in Aymara every day for a year. Unfortunately, this experiment in the media ended because the newspaper closed. Albó and Anaya (2003) describe the experience of the newspaper *Jaima*. It initially published texts in Aymara, and now it also does so in Quechua and Guaraní as a weekly under the new name of *Kimsa Pacha Ara Mboapi*, which is distributed together with the daily *La Prensa*. The *Conosur* is thus one of very few means of diffusion outside of the academy that generates information in an indigenous language in Bolivia.¹⁴

The first issues of newspapers like *El Mizqueño* and *El Totoreño* distinguished themselves by their limited use of Quechua. Nevertheless, with the *New Era* of the *Conosur* (starting in 1989) the revaluation of Quechua be-

came a priority. A new era of debate over standardization begins, which can be summarized as “do we completely normalize Quechua or respect the testimony?” (Julia Román, interview, 05/10/01). Asked in a more conciliatory way: how to achieve equilibrium between the norm and an inscribed written variety that readers could understand even without a high level of standardization? In the *PCÑ*, the basic criterion was to use a comprehensible Quechua even though it did not entirely conform to the current exigencies of standardization. This practice began from thinking through the writing from the actual words of the speakers. However, there was a moment (*PCÑ* numbers 44 to 55) when the newspaper explicitly intervened idiomatically to purge the newspaper’s Quechua speech of excessive use of Spanish vocabulary.¹⁵

The *PCÑ*’s thematic sections move, disappear, or reappear from issue to issue. There is, however, an inalterable section that is not subject to the political articulation of the moment: the story. In each issue the story appearing on the last page is unchanged not only in its appearance, but also in the linguistic code it represents. In the story, we find Quechua in its purest form, as if it managed to condense forms impervious to modern communication requirements.

I have carefully studied the *PCÑ*’s greater or lesser observation of the norms of written Quechua (Garcés 2005b).¹⁶ Overall, and in spite of the editorial team’s effort during a specific period of time, I could generally not find orthographic consistency. The newspaper’s editors have a basic knowledge of grammatical norms and rules, since they occasionally attend training seminars or courses on the normalization of Quechua, but they do not necessarily apply them directly. This is because the paper’s unique strength is dealing with Quechua writing based on its informants’ orality—the voice of those who offer their testimonies and *speak*.¹⁷

Traces of Orality in the PCÑ

Conosur is a space of textual production, starting from the inscription of oral discourse. In the hands of the newspaper’s editors, this is a political practice that implies a process of textual selection and reconstruction. In my view, this practice responds to three main issues in the extensive literature about the relations between orality and writing. First, it contradicts the idea that orality is less valuable than writing, largely because it contributes little or nothing to the configuration of abstract thought and the develop-

ment of intellect (Goody 1968; Olson 1994; and Ong 1982, 1992). Second, it problematizes the notion that there is rupture rather than continuity in the relationship of orality to writing, what Street (1984) and others have called the “great divide.” And third, it provides an alternative to the quandary we face when elaborating written forms of subordinated languages from the model of the dominant languages, thus producing a functional and political copy that also reproduces the linguistic colonialism present in our societies (Garcés 2005a, 2005b). Indeed, through these interventions *Conosur* serves as an example of the political uses of subaltern sectors’ writing, which some authors have noted can impart a sense of history to local struggles (Portelli 1989) or counter-hegemonize or negotiate with the written inscribed officiality (Rappaport 1990).¹⁸ With the aim of contributing to the debates about linguistic politics and the practice of written interventions in Quechua and Aymara, I offer examples of the most frequent and important cases of the oral presence that I found in *Conosur*’s writing.

One example of the oral presence in *Conosur* is the appearance of conversational ties, including *í*, which in Bolivian Quechua allows the speaker to express uncertainty and doubt, while also asking the interlocutor to voice their own opinion on the topic in question (Herrero and Sánchez de Lozada 1979). In *PCÑ* 68:14, we find the following: *Nuqaykup lugarniykumanta papa muju í, Laqmu tarpuyku* (“It is a potato seed from our place, **you see**; we sow laqmu . . .”). The presence of *í* would be normal in an oral interaction, where one of the speakers demands the participation of the other speaker.

Another way in which the *PCÑ* reproduces the context of oral conversation in the written text is by trying to reproduce the performative aspects of the linguistic event. Issue 84:11, for example, details the experience of a Workshop for the Handling of Potato and Corn Varieties organized by the Women’s Organization of Kuyupaya. The expert in distinct varieties of potatoes and corn seeds carried out a demonstration for the attendees at the workshop. The newspaper covered this presentation in the same way the linguistic event unfolded:

*Ñuqa apamurkani saritasta, papitasta
riqsichinaykupaq. Riqsichisaykichi:
Yuraq sara waltaku, ranqhanapaq,
sara lluch’usqapapis walliqlлатаq;
Guinda sara nisqa jank’apaq; kaytaq
Q’illu sara Lurivayu, lawapaq,*

I had brought some corn (maize) and potatoes for display. I will show them to you: the Waltaku white corn, is for selling; it is also good for being peeled; the purple corn (is good for) being toasted; and this one the yellow

*jank'apaqpis, jak'upis sumaq,
bajiyupi puqun, patapipis kallantaq.
Kaytaq Uchpa sarita jank'apaq,
ranqhanapaq; kay Yuraq sara rosada
jina, tukuy imapaq; Phasanqalla sara,
muchhaspa jank'anchiq. Kaytaq
Yuraq sara, puka q'uruntañataq
lluch'usqapaq, ranqhanapaq, tukuy
imapaq . . . (84:11).*

corn (called) Lurivayu, for soup, for being toasted, it is also good for flour; it grows in the lowlands and also in the highlands. And this one is the Ashes corn, good for being toasted and for selling; this white, pinkish one, is good for everything; this is popcorn corn, it is toasted getting the grains out from the cob. And this one is the White corn, it has a red corn-cob, it is good for being peeled, for selling, for everything . . .

The text is accompanied by a photo of a lady presenting different corn varieties. In this way, the newspaper attempts to insert the reader into the interactional context and moment of speaking. By reproducing the environment in which text is produced, this type of textual construction distances itself from the rules of objectivity that should mark a formal written text and that give writing its character as a technology of abstract intellectual development.¹⁹

Another important presence of orality in the newspaper occurs in its quotation system. In the following example we see reproduced the most common Quechua quotation practice:

*gubernopunicha kachamun "runasta
maqamuychis" nispa fruta sachasta
aqnata machitiamuychis nispa
(72:15).*

It is most possible that it was the government itself that sent them, "go ahead, go to beat the peasants," saying, "go and cut them down with machetes as if they were fruit bearing trees," saying.

In addition to the classic system of quotation unique to Quechua's discursive structure, in its testimonies the PCÑ often relies on a generalizing anonymity through constructions like "it was said," "a leader said," and "the peasant delegates said." On other occasions the testimony directly attributes the words to their speaker:

*Compañera cocata puquchik
Eugenia Blanco jaqay Central*

The coca producer comrade **Eugenia Blanco** from the Copacabana Union

Copacabanamanta kay jinata willariwayku: “Kay jinata cocaykuta t’irapuwayku, mana cocayuqta saqirpawayku, kunan imawantaq wawasniykuta uywasqayku. Coca mana kaptin imawan kawsasqayku, cocallamanta qullqi jap’ikuq kani, mana ni ima puqunchu kaypi” (85: 11).

has told us this: “That’s the way they ripped off our coca plants, they left us without any coca, now how are we going to feed (raise) our children. If there is no coca how are we going to live, I only get money from (selling) coca, nothing else grows here.”

But in a third example, in *PCÑ* 41: B6–B8, after a page and half of discussion on *Ch’iñi laqatu* (Andean weevil) in a clearly journalistic style, the article suddenly poses the following question: *Imata ruwaq kanku ñawpa runas chay khuruta pisiyachinankupaq mana anchá jatarinanpaq?* (“What did people used to do to control the bugs, so that they do not proliferate?”). An unidentified interviewee directly responds: *Bueno, yachasqayman jina . . .* (“Well, according to what I know . . .”). As of this moment, since the text contains no quotes or any other sign that divulges its production or authorship, we do not know with certainty what belongs to the newspaper’s editors and what belongs to the interviewee.

A dramatic instance of orality’s presence in the newspaper is the use of oral formulas. As mentioned earlier, one of the enduring features in the *PCÑ* is the concluding story. With an exception here and there, all of the newspaper’s stories conclude with the explicit formula of oral narration. For example, *PCÑ* 46:19–20 states, *Kunan kuti chayllapi tukukun kay kwintituqa. Waq kutikama* (“On this occasion this little tale ends just there. See you.”); or also *Kaypi tukukun kay willanita* (“This little tale ends here.”) (49:16). In addition, attempts to reproduce oral onomatopoeic or interjective forms appear as often in the stories as in other testimonial texts: *yuthuqa, churrrrrr nichkaqta pawarikapusqa* (77–78:16) (“The partridge flew away ‘churrrrr’ saying”); *Chaymantaqa compadren nisqa: —Ayyy kumpa, mana ajinatachu luz kanchaytaqa wañuchina, kay botonllata ñit’ina, chaywan wañun* (91:12) (“Then his compadre said: —hey buddy, that is not the way to turn off the light, you just have to press this button, that turns it off”); or the important case of the cover of *PCÑ* 45: *Kunan uqharikuna . . . a.a.a . . . !* (“Now let us riseeee . . . !”).²⁰

Everyday Metaphors and Similes in the PCÑ

“Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of what we think and act, is fundamentally of a metaphoric nature,” write Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 39). They show how the metaphor impregnates language, thought, and action. Metaphors are constructed and circulated in an everyday linguistic market. They are not the fruit of specialists, as the Western literary intellectual class would prefer. Indeed, we find in metaphors the key to understanding relations between language, culture, and the comprehension of reality.

In such a context, the fact that the PCÑ’s metaphoric world is especially evident in sociopolitical discourse demands attention. In reference to the Law of Popular Participation, for example, whose negative implications for peasant movements could not be clearly understood, the newspaper stated, *Imaynatacha katarita ch’uskirinchik, kikinta kay kamachiyta ch’uskikurqa* (“Just as we peel off a snake, likewise we peeled off this law”) (62:3). On other occasions, we see a much more visual comparison than traditional political parties are able to conjure:

<i>Eleccionespiqa imaynatachus ch’uspi</i>	In the elections just as the flies fall
<i>leche mankaman urmaykun ajinata</i>	into the milk pot, they fall into the
<i>wakin partidos tradicionalespaq</i>	rear of some traditional political
<i>qhipanman urmaykunku, paykunapaq</i>	parties, the votes for them appear.
<i>votos rikhurin</i> (84:5).	

And throughout different Quechua texts of the PCÑ, we see the popular comparison of different organizational situations of the peasant movement with the movement of ants (see, for example, 50:3 and 50:4):

<i>Sik’imira jina, ch’inllamanta tukuy</i>	As ants, quietly all the women,
<i>warmikuna, wawa uqharisqa, uk runa</i>	holding our babies, just as one single
<i>jinalla, auto yankuna wisq’asunchis</i>	person, will close down the roads
(69:5).	(will block the roads).

Perhaps one of the richest sets of metaphoric uses from Quechua involves elements of human corporeity: *uma* (head), *sunqu* (heart), *maki* (hand), and *llawar* (blood). *Uma* means, among other things, the center of desires and intentions as well as of ways in which ideas are received:

<i>Kunitan gobiernop umanpiqa</i>	Right now in the mind of the govern-
<i>campesinosta wich’uy munachkan jaqay</i>	ment they are thinking of driving the

<i>Parque Isiboro Sécuremanta, chayman gringosta sat'inankupaq</i> (64: 5). <i>Participación Popular, mana umaykuman yaykunchu</i> (57:13).	peasants from the Isiboro Sécure Park, to place the gringos there. The Grass Roots participation (idea) does not enter in our minds.
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Starting with these first examples, we can better understand the fact that *uma* is in permanent relation with intentions, deceit, or confusion:

[. . .] <i>uk yana uwija warmikunaq qutuchakuynin ukhupi rikhurisqa, umaninkuta muyuchiya munaspa, jinamanta atuqman qarananpaq warmi masisinta</i> (46:17).	A black sheep had appeared inside the women's organization, swirling their minds, thereby feeding the women to the fox.
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Uma also metaphorically designates the leaders and important posts of peasant organizations:

<i>Kunanqa musuq umallichik kayku, chaytaq jatun thaskiriy, Federacionqa manamin pukllakuyku</i> (51: 3).	Nowadays we are the new leaders, this is a great step (for us), (for) the Union is not a game.
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This is precisely why *uma* also refers to the lack of leadership of a determined social entity. We see this, for example, in critiques of the government for incompetent social leadership: *Kay gobiernolta mana tiyanchu uman, qhasimanakaq* (88:3) ("This government has no head, it is there in vain").

The other organ of the body that is a key starting point for the formulation of Quechua metaphors is the heart. *Sunqu* is a very versatile word because of its many metaphoric connections to multiple realities, states of being, and situations. Through *sunqu*, it is possible to speak truthfully and not just with words:

<i>Dirigentesta qullqiwan umata muyu-chichkanku, chayrayku dirigentes kanku cuchillo de ambos filos, qullqirayku mayladomanpis kutirillanku, simillawan k'achituta parlanku, mana sunqukuwanchu</i> (94:8).	The leaders are swirling the minds with money, that is why the leaders are double edged knives, for the money they will go in any direction, they speak beautifully with their mouths, not with their hearts.
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But *sunqu* also refers to the center of a given reality, in its conception of the "middle," "importance," and "clandestine" character. For example, with respect to the night, we find these types of sentences:

Chawpi tutaq sunqunpi sublevacionta ruwarqayku (suplem. 77–78:1).

We had made a rebellion in the middle of the night.

In terms of the earth:

Chayniqta Reservas Fiscales, Parques nispa jallp'akunata Instituciones-Empresaspaq makinman jaywarapusanku. Imapaq? Astawan Pachamama jallp'aq sunqunta waqcha runakunaq pulmonisninta ch'irwanankupaq (70–71:2).

That is why they are delivering the state reservations, the parks, the lands to the hands of the (private) enterprises. What for? For them to squeeze the heart of Mother Earth and the lungs of the poor people.

A group of important associations with the term *sunqu* relate to the fact this is an organ thought to be the seat of satisfaction, conformity, rest, and rejoicing. In contrast, to say that you are not with *junt'a sunqu* indicates you are disquieted, dissatisfied, and anguished:

Mana sunquy junt'achu Instrumento Politicota vendesqankumanta (73–74:3).

My heart is not happy due to the fact that they have sold out the Political Instrument (of the people).

In terms of calmness, tranquility, serenity, the effect is achieved through the formula *sunqu tiyaykuy*:

Sindicatos p'utusqanmantapacha sunquyku tiyaykun (suplem. 77–78:1).

Since the birth of the unions our hearts are in peace.

The pain of the heart vivifies situations of suffering, at the same time its absence indicates insensitivity:

Gobiernuqta mana sunqun nananchu waqcha runakunamanta, payta nanan chay qhapaq runamasinmanta (92:7).

The heart of the government does not ache for the poor people, it aches for the rich people.

The topic of social and political control is expressed by resorting to the metaphoric construction of “being in the hands of. . . .” In this sense, the formula *maki* + (nominal suffix of a person) + *-pi ~-man* is used to express the idea of having someone subjected to the power, control, and authority of another person:

Tawa diputados indígenas basespaq makinpi (75:1).

The four indigenous deputies are in the hands of the grass roots.

*Estados Unidospaq makinpi
tusuchiwachkanchik* (67:3).

They make us dance in the hands of
the USA.

Additionally, adding the root *tusu* in this last example demonstrates that this control is manipulative, managing others as if they were puppets that could be made to dance on demand.

Another element of human corporality frequently used as a metaphoric base is *llawar*. “I do not have blood” indicates insensitivity, not feeling in the presence of the other:

*Gobiernoqa k’ullu, uk rumi churakun
mana llawarniyuq gobierno* (67:4).

The government does not listen to
(the people), making themselves hard
as a rock, it does not have blood.

In contrast, to do something “with blood” indicates effort, suffering:

*Federacionqa manamin pukllakuyku,
manataq uk institucion jina qhawa-
sunmanchu, ni Prefecturawan, ni
Alcaldianwan, ni Policiatawan, chay-
kunaqa qullquiwan ruwasqa kanku,
Federacionninchiktaq llawarwan
ruwasqa kachkan* (51:3).

The Union is not a game, but we
cannot consider it just as any other
institution, neither as the Prefecture,
nor the municipality, nor the police,
those are made with money, but our
Union is made out of blood.

A special type of metaphor found in the newspaper refers to the personification of nature. Quechua testimonials in the *PCÑ* refer to nature or its elements as entities that get tired, walk, know, predict, get angry.²¹ Here are some examples:

*Pitaq juchayuy kay pacha sayk’usqa
kananpaq?* (46:1).

Whose fault it is that nature is tired?

*Sach’akuna waliq wata waqyamuch-
kawanchik* (53:8).

The trees are predicting a good year
for us [lit. ‘calling for’].

*wakin yakusqa phiñas chullchuya-
chiwasunman* (35:7).

Some waters are mean, they might
make us sick.

In the same way, peasant knowledge is anthropomorphized because it exists, it grows, and it stays with the Quechua speaker:

*Yachayniykuqa nuqaykuwan kashan.
Wawita kasqaykumanta pacha kay
yachayniykuqa miranan tiyan*

Our knowledge is with us. This
knowledge of ours has to grow (multi-
ply) ever since we were children and

wiñaypaq wiñayninpaq, kay yachayqa forever and ever, this knowledge
ni jaykaq tukukunanchu tiyan cannot ever end.

(Seminario sobre Escuela Campesina
de Raqaypampa, in 44: 6).

Kawsayniyku, yachayniykuqa, Our life, our knowledge live with us
unaymantapachapuni nuqaykuwan from time immemorial.
kawsan (Pedro Olivera, in 79:13).

Overall, the newspaper's metaphoric world offers many possibilities for idiomatic development. The role of bridge that the *PCÑ*'s editorial team plays is significant given that its members are also Quechua speakers who move between the world of oral informants and that of the writing skills required for the newspaper's journalistic function. On the one hand, they intuitively use the Quechua metaphors mobilized by villagers and leaders and, on the other hand, they permanently struggle to render writing that is comprehensible to readers because it follows certain norms.

Yachayniyku, or the Politics of Quechua Knowledge

In the past, the knowledge produced by subaltern groups was used to think about them and formulate policies for them. Today we seek the reevaluation of local knowledge and the active participation of the actors themselves in policymaking. Three factors have influenced these changes. First, the transformation of global capitalism requires the further expansion of transnational markets and access to new, often scarce, resources (Lander 2002a, 2002b). Second, postmodern discourses have highlighted the essentialist and binary character of modern knowledge, making its positivisms and absolutisms more flexible (Coronil 2004). Third, and in contrast, many counterhegemonic groups have made the defense of place a theoretical, political, and ecological project (Escobar 1999, 2000).

At the same time, we continue to exist within a framework that Mignolo calls the geopolitics of knowledge (2000, 2001). Eurocentrism (in its historical form) and North-centrism (in its current form), both characteristic of contemporary global coloniality, have canonized and validated one knowledge as legitimate and considered it universal. Local knowledge, that of the colonial and global peripheries, is dismissed as local, aboriginal, indigenous, or "ethnic" knowledge. It is useful but not legitimate—a knowledge that can be studied and learned but that is not worthy of incorporation into the para-

digmatic knowledge of thinking and living (Garcés 2005a). What is forgotten in this context is that so-called universal knowledge is also a local knowledge, but one that managed to impose itself onto the emerging capitalist world-system. As a result, this knowledge defined itself as universal and led others to recognize it as such (Santos 2003).

In the *Conosur* newspaper, we see a space for the communication of a wide gamut of topics related with the yachay—local knowledge, in the deepest sense—in Quechua communities. Some are technical or agricultural in nature: types of soils; elements of Andean technology, including the construction of ditches and furrows; control of plagues such as the *saq'u* and the *ch'iñi laqatu*; weather forecasting; native seeds; water source management; forest management. Others involve the communal management of health, including traditional medicine, medicinal plants, and animal sanitation. And still others deal with sociopolitical or symbolic aspects: reciprocity institutions like the *ayni*; community history; the mapping of Andean territory; rituals associated with productive and spatial control like the *q'uwa*, the *ch'alla*, and the *pijchu*; local educational institutions; and narrative traditions like riddles and stories. Throughout the *Conosur*, four major themes emerge in relation to Quechua yachay: its value; its location in different physical spaces; its relationship to language; and its roots in community production and cultural practices. I will provide some concrete examples of each.

A basic affirmation in the *Conosur* is that Quechua peasant knowledge is better than Western or urban knowledge, that it is professional and should not be lost. These beliefs can be seen, for example, in references to knowledge about weather forecasting and tending the land:

*Chay campesinoq yachaynin aswan
sumaq kasan. Nuqaykutaq taripayku
ñawpaqpi kanan chay campesinoqta
yachaynin. Pay yachan tiempota qha-
wayta uj wata tarpuypaq. Imaynachus
jamuq wata kananpaq señasta riq-
sillantaq. Mana chayqa, imaynatachus
jallpata waqaychaq kanku achachis-
ninku (37:7).*

The knowledge of the peasant is better. We realized that, long before, peasants had knowledge. They know how to observe the weather for the yearly planting. They recognize the signs for the coming year. Or else, (they know) how their ancestors knew how to take care of the land.

*Profesionales kanchiq yachayninchiq-
manta (Clemente Salazar, in 46:4).*

We are professionals in our knowledge.

Nuqanchis unaymanta pachapuni montesninchikta jallch'ayta yachaq kanchiq" (Zacarias Ortiz 76:4).

We knew from times past how to take care of our forests.

Nuqaykuqa mana munaykuchu yachayniyu wiqch'usqa kananta (54:14).

We do not desire that our knowledge be put aside.

Nevertheless, even though this expert knowledge has responded to the environment better than Western capitalist knowledge, it is met with disrespect and scorn:

"Tecnología científicamanta" técnicos, instituciones, gobiernos, Estado ima ch'ipakullankupuni, comunidadpata yachayninta manaraqpuni wali-chinkuchu. Ch'irwarkullaytapuni munawayku (63:14).

The technicians, institutions, governments, even the State continue swarming around "scientific technology," (and) they do not value the knowledge of the community. They still want to squeeze us.

There is a contempt for peasant goods and labor which rests on a type of racism that values production and knowledge from a colonial point of view:

Campesinospata productonchis mana valenchu, trabajonchis mana valenchu; todavía chaywan mana contentakuwanchiqchu kay pueblopi kaqkuna kay khapaq runas, paykuna noqanchista millachikusawanchis, imatá yachan kay indio bruturi nispa compañeros (Valeriano Romero, 34:6).

Our crops are not appreciated, our work is not appreciated; not happy with that (work), the town people, the rich, are getting disgusted by us, — what does an ignorant Indian know — saying, comrades.

As a result, peasant production and knowledge are degraded as a result of changes introduced by modern technology and its ideology. Peasant yachay is subordinated to urban and scientific knowledge at the service of dominant sectors:

[. . .] *ñawpataqa allinta puquykunata apayqachasarqayku, jallp'apis sumaq kallpayuq kachkarqa mana kunan jinachu, chayman chayanapaqqa karqa rikhurimusqan chay kimiku, maychus jamun tecnología moderna nisqawan,*

In the past we knew how to handle the crops well, the soil was also very fertile, not as it is today. The chemicals that appeared led us to this situation, the so-called modern technology, the town people resort to this discourse.

llaqtarunakuna kay parlayta apayqa-chanku. Kunanqa jallp'akunaqa chuqruman tukun, compañeros rikunku kay kimiku jallp'apaq uk veneno kasqanta. Chaywanpis, llaqtarunapaq Universidad yachay wasipi yachaqkunaqa mana campesinota valechinkuchu, ninku: -imata campo runa yachanri nuqayku Universidadpi yachayku, yachaykutaq kimiku venenochus manachus-, ajinata paykunapis parlanku, jinapis compañeros, yachanchik imaptinchus parlanku chayta, mana kimikusta rantisunman chayqa, mana qulqi yaykunmanchu qhapaqkunapaq, chayta yachaspa paykunaqa, chay tecnicosqa, comunidadespi yachachispa kanku qhapaq runaq kawsayninman jina, paykunaqa qhapaq runaq kawsayninta jark'akunku (Florencio Alarcón, in 60: 4).

The second major theme in the *Conosur* is that Quechua yachay is expressed and socialized in many places, but here I will limit myself to showing the tension of two locations: the school and the community. At its most fundamental level, education takes place within the community and the organization:

Sapa comuna ukhupi nuqayku pura yachachinakuyku (Fructuoso Vallejos, in 64:10).

Nowadays the soil has become hard. Our fellow countrymen have seen that these chemicals are a poison for the soil.

In spite of that, the ones who have studied at the universities do not value the peasant's knowledge. They said—what does the peasant know? We studied at the university, and we know whether the chemical (fertilizer) is poisonous or not. That is the way they speak, comrades. Thus comrades, we know why they speak like that. If we did not buy those chemicals, there would be no income for the rich. Because they know that, the technicians are teaching in the communities the ways of the rich, they defend the way of life of the rich.

Inside every community, we teach each other.

Jatuchik tantakuykunaqa chaqrarunakunapaqqa uk yachay wasipis kanman jina (67:6).

The large meetings [congresses and union leaders meetings] are like schools for us the peasants.

Likewise, there is a clear awareness that the family provides a better education than schools and that schools must respond to the community's way of life and productive system:

*Yachayqa mana yachay wasi
ukhullapichu (64:10).*

*Aswan allin wasipi mama tataq
yachachisqan, mana ni qhillqayta,
nitaq ñawiyta yachan (64:11).*

*Educación nuqanchikpaq kawsaynin-
chikman jina, nuqanchikpaq
llankayninchikman jina kachun (57:14).*

Knowledge is not found only in the schools.

The teachings of our parents at home were better, (even) without knowing how to read or write.

Let education for us be according to our culture, according to our work.

A specific historical case that illustrates the tension between family and community on one side and the school on the other occurred in 1986 in Raqaypampa, in the Mizque highlands. The community criticized the teachers for being arrogant with parents and community leaders; for impeding the children's learning by teaching in Spanish instead of Quechua; and, perhaps most important, for not respecting the community's work calendar. In response, the parents took their children out of the school. The following year the community named "peasant teachers" to manage the school in the neighboring community of Rumi Muqu. In an experiment under the name Ayni School (Garcés and Guzmán 2006), the community paid these teachers with products and labor in their fields, and, in turn, the teachers taught in Quechua and worked from June 24 to September 24.

The conflict, which persisted until 1992, revolved around two central points: the school calendar and who had jurisdictional authority. On the first point, community members argued that if their children were in school when they were needed for agricultural work, they missed the opportunity to be educated by their parents (Arratia 2001; Garcés and Guzmán 2006). On the second point, the community felt that the school, being practically the only state representative in the community, had to submit to communal authority (Garcés and Guzmán 2006; Regalsky 2003). The *Conosur* articles from those years, therefore, emphasized that the schools responded to the interests of the rich, not to the desires and needs of the peasant:

*yachanchik jina kunankamaqa educa-
ción qhapaqkuna yachakunankupaq
jina, mana nuqanchikpaq munaynin-
chikman jinachu (Florencio Alarcón,
in 56:6).*

As we know, up to this date (formal) education has been for the rich; it has not been (designed) according to our needs.

Building from this experience, people emphasize that *Educacionqa kawsayninchikmanta kawsayninchikpaq kanan tiyan* (“Education has to be [designed, implemented] from our life and for our life”) (Garcés and Guzmán 2003). On the basis of this principle, the Educación Intercultural Bilingüe project (Intercultural Bilingual Education, or EIB) is criticized as being imposed from outside and as being unsuitable to peasant life because, even though the project is bilingual, it does not respect the community’s time and rhythms. In that context, the experience of Rumi Muqu serves as a valid counterproposal.

Nuqa uchhikitanta niyta munani chay iskay qallupi yachanakuyamanta (Educación Intercultural Bilingüe), nuqanchik chaqra llank'aypi tarikunchik manataq kay yachakuykunamanta mana nuqanchikpaq mana kawsayninchikman jinachu. Chaytataq nuqa kay-patamanta autoridadesninchikmanta mañakuni, nuqanchikpaq kawsayninchikman jina, calendario escolar ruwa kunanta. Ñawpaq watamanta pachaña nuqanchik aynipi uk campesino yachachik churakuspa llank'aynin chikman jina risan, kikillantapuni llank'ananta yachay wasin Rumi Muqupi munani, chaywan nuqanchik yachasqa kachkanchik (Nicolas Pardo in 52:4).

I would like to say a little about that education in two tongues (Intercultural Bilingual Education), we are peasants but those teachings (of formal education) are not for us, are not designed according to our way of life. I would like to request to our authorities up here, that the school calendar be designed according to our life. For a few years, we have placed a peasant teacher in ayni (reciprocity system), and he is teaching according to our work. I wish they work in just that manner, as in the Rumi Muqu school; we are used to that.

The central criterion is that the indigenous organization must control any educational proposal. School calendars, teachers, and curriculum must all respect community values. On the question of calendars, if the school functions during the seasonal peak of agricultural labor, it breaks the community’s educational time:

Nuqaykupaq chay tiempo escuela kanan mana waliq kasqanta k'ala entero agricultorespaq. Nuqa qhawarqani mayk'aqchus ima tiempochus nuqayku llank'ayniykumanta llawqiyaykuman

For us, for all the peasants the school time is not good. I had thought that the time we relax in our farming, that’s when the schools for the children should start. The fact is that our

*chaymanta qallarinman escuelas
wawapaq . . . Nuqaykuqta kawsayniy-
kuqawaqjinataq, Ilaqtaq kawsaynin
waqjinataq* (Luis Albarracín, in 38:13).

life is of one kind, and the life of the
cities is of another type.

On the question of teachers and curriculum, for the school truly to belong to the community, it must have its own peasant teacher so that Quechua children can study according to their own knowledge and language and at the same time benefit from the knowledge of their elders:

*Waturirqayku, imaraykutaq mana
kanchu maestros campesinos wawa-
kunata yachachinapaq? Waliq kanman
wawakuna escuelapi yachakunanku
imataq jallp'a patapi kapuwasqan-
chikmanta, yachayninchikmanta,
organización sindicalmanta, kay
tukuytaqa qhichwa qallunchikpi.
Atillasunmantaq intercambio de
conocimientos nisqata ruwayta, kuraq
tatakunaq yachayninta uqharispa,
chayman jina purinapaq* (Un
comunario de Tacachi, in 83:7).

We asked why are there not teachers
to teach the peasants' children? It
would be good that the children at
school learn about what we have on
the soil, about our knowledge, our
organization as unions, and all of
this in our Quechua tongue. We
could also make an exchange of the
so-called knowledges, resorting to the
knowledge of our elders, so we could
walk according to that (knowledge).

The third major theme in the *Conosur* on the subject of Quechua peasant *yachay* is its close linkage to the language in which it is expressed (Garcés 2005a). From the perspective of the geopolitics of knowledge, indigenous languages have been subalter(n)ized, or constructed as inferior, in the process of colonial differentiation. The knowledge expressed in indigenous languages has been dismissed as a knowledge that, in the best of cases, expresses the emotive environment of these communities of speakers (Ong 1982). EIB programs, on the other hand, have attempted to normalize and standardize indigenous languages, to give them an inscribed written form, and to revalorize indigenous knowledge. Among the psycholinguistic justifications for EIB programs has been the promise of better cognitive development and scholarly results through learning in the mother tongue (López and Küper 2000).

What we find in *Conosur*, however, is that the Quechua language cannot be studied in isolation from the power relations in which it is embedded. The

discrimination experienced by the Quechua peasant is seen as similar to the discrimination Quechua suffers as a language:

<i>Qhishwa parlayninchista k'alata kunankamaqa saruchisanku kastillanu rimaywan</i> (33:12).	They are allowing our Quechua language to be completely stepped upon by the Spanish language.
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Because of this, Quechua positions itself conflictively and in opposition to Spanish; to compete with Spanish means to defend, value, and develop one's own culture:

<i>Qhishwata pataman tanqananchik tiyan maqanachinapaq waq qalluwan. Chantapis kulturanchikta astawan pataman uqharinapaq</i> (Pablo Vargas, in 59:10).	We have to push Quechua upward so that it can compete with another tongue. Also to raise our culture higher.
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The study of Quechua is never an end in itself. In order to serve as a tool of liberation, it must operate in tandem with other strategies, such as its written inscription according to its oral use and not according to what a group of planners says:

<i>Tukuy campesinos qhishwa parlay- ninchispi rimaspa qhilqasunchis. Kunan manta ñawpaqmanjinamanta par layninchista uqharisunchis, kay KULLASUYU llaqtanchispi imaray- kuchus kay phisqapachaq wataña qhishwa parlaq runaqa engañasqa rikukuyku tukuy imapi. Chaymanta qhishwa rimayninchispi qhilqasunchis chayqa librostapis ruwasunchis parlay- ninchisman jina</i> (Santos Albarracín, in 39:16).	All the peasants who are speaking in our language will also write. From now on, in this way we shall raise our language. Because in the Qulla Suyu, we the Quechua-speaking people have found ourselves deceived in every thing for five hundred years. That's why, if we write in our Quechua language, we will make the books according to our own speech.
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In this sense, Quechua can be an instrument of liberation or oppression, as happened in the colonial period. It would seem that the key matter is not only to develop, inscribe in writing, or intellectualize the language, but to determine what practical purposes and sociopolitical practices the language can serve. In this sense, the language—like communal institutions themselves—can be put in the service of systems of state control:

*Gobierno qallunchikpi apay munach-
kawanchik paykunaq yuyayninllanku-
manta* (Félix Santos, in 57:14).

The government is trying to lead us to
their thinking in our own tongue.

This brings me to the fourth and final theme in the *Conosur* dealing with Quechua yachay, which is that Quechua peasant knowledge has two closely related roots that feed it: the peasant system of production and reproduction and the indigenous peasant community. In relation to the first root, the *Conosur* collects Quechua knowledge on such topics as how granaries are built, which varieties of corn seed are known, and what medicinal plants are present in a particular area and how should they be used. It also uses research CENDA has conducted in Raqaypampa over many years to demonstrate the benefits of the Quechua productive system.

Perhaps one of the most important topics is weather prediction, and the *Conosur* has dedicated abundant space to it. As a front-page headline in *PCÑ* 32 proclaimed, “Predicting the weather is peasant wisdom.” Later on in the same issue (8–9), several community members’ testimonies on the topic are presented in a section entitled, “The principal peasant art is weather forecasting.” The section then concludes in Spanish: “The principal art of peasants continues to be predicting the exact behavior of the rains and, accordingly, to organize the planting of different crops in the best places and on the best soils to ensure the rains’ maximum advantage” (32:20). This continuous concern is perhaps best represented in the annual Weather Prediction Contest. In 64:8, we find an annual announcement:

*Kay wata 1995–1996 qallarikullanña-
taq, imaynataq kay wata kanqa,
watuna kachkan, amañana siñakuna
qhawayta: sach’akuna, wayra, chiri,
uywakuna, phuyukuna, waqkuna ima
chayllamanta astawan waliq kanan
tarpuyinchik. Kay watapaq para
imaynataq kanqa, mayqin makistataq
para yanapanqa, manachayqa luku
parachu kanqa, imaynataq?*

This year 1995–1996 has already
begun, how is this year going to be?
We have to ask, we need to predict
how it will be, accustomed as we are
to reading the signs: the trees, the
wind, the domestic animals, the
clouds and other things; for making
our farm fields better. How will the
rain for this year be, who will the rain
help, or will the rain be a downpour,
how will it be?

The newspaper interviews participating elders and publishes the different versions of their forecasts for the upcoming agricultural year. At the end of

each cycle, the newspaper evaluates the cycle in relation to the readers' testimonies and selects the elder with the closest prediction. By means of this contest the newspaper seeks to preserve and stimulate the circulation of the Quechua yachay about weather prediction and hopes that writing will safeguard this yachay given that global climate change is endangering weather prediction:

*Ñawpa kuraqkuna astawan yachaq
kanku kay tiempo qhawaymantaqa.
Kay tiempo runasqa mana anchata
yachankuñachu. Yachaymanchus
ñawiyta, qhilqayta imaqa, tukuy
qhawasqayta sapa wata qhilqiyman
papelpi mana qunqanapaq. Ikillapis
tukuy yachankuman tiempoman
jinañachu. Chaytaq qhasiman rin
llankanku* (Fermín Vallejos, in 39:8).

The elders are the ones who know more about these weather predictions. The people of today do not know very much. If I knew how to read and write, I would write down all my predictions for the year on paper so that they are not forgotten. Probably, all would already know about the weather in that way (written down on paper). But they work in vain (if they do not observe the signs).

The newspaper works as well to preserve knowledges that serve to control plagues like the *ch'iñi laqatu* (weevils of the Andes) and degenerative diseases like the *saq'u*. As the newspaper affirms, *Yachayninchiqwan khurukunamanta jark'akuna* (104:14) ("With our knowledge let us defend ourselves from the plagues"). The topic of traditional medicine is covered in articles on the uses of traditional medicinal plants such as rosemary and horsetail (*PCÑ* 38:7).

The second root that sustains peasant knowledge is the social organization of the community. Because modern techniques often seek to destroy communal organizations by imposing a different rationality of production on them, one of the principal topics of the Quechua yachay deals with the subject and practices of development. *PCÑ* 32:8 reports that state institutions as well as agrochemical companies and their sales representatives pressure peasants to "modernize." According to them, peasant agriculture would benefit through the introduction of improved seeds, the increased use of chemical fertilizers, pesticides, herbicides, and insecticides, and the introduction of mechanization. Mechanization is also achieved through regularizing the size (*medianización*) of the agricultural plots. Afterward, the newspaper cites CENDA experiments that show a rather different reality, namely, that "the introduction of improved seeds or the increase in fertilizers and

pesticides are of secondary importance and sometimes detrimental to crop yields; while traditional peasant knowledge about weather prediction (in relation to soils and plants) continues to be what defines the success or failure of a crop.”²²

CENDA, in agreement with a local organization, carried out a series of tests on fifteen plots of land in Raqaypampa community during the 1987–88 agricultural cycle. The results, presented in *PCÑ* 32, contained three main points. First, the local varieties of potato are more productive than the newly introduced “improved” variety, since they have the advantage of suitability to the type of rain and soils of the area. Second, fertilization does not ensure greater production because a hailstorm or lack of rain can reverse its positive effects. And third, the technological element of greatest importance is weather management, which implies weather forecasting in relation to suitable varieties for the types of terrain, the dates of planting chosen according to the types of soil and varieties, and the management of family members’ labor. “In other words,” the article concludes, “the most important techniques in the region’s agriculture are based entirely on peasants’ traditional knowledge and, by comparison, ‘modern technology’ can make few solid and effective contributions.”²³

A series of articles in the *Conosur* critiques patents, the appropriation of peasant-indigenous knowledge by transnational agro-food and pharmaceutical companies, and institutions that introduce into the communities technological packages inherited from the green revolution. Examples of the first case are found in *PCÑ* nos. 76 and 77–78, which discuss the patent of quinoa, the protest by the National Association of Quinoa Producers, and the patent’s subsequent annulment. *PCÑ* 86:8 contains an article denouncing Monsanto’s attempts to introduce transgenic seeds into the country.

The link between the yachay and communal organization is a subject of great importance to the newspaper. It could be said that knowledge is valued because of the ways in which it contributes to strengthening communal organization. While individual knowledge may be more prestigious in a national imagined community, it does not work at the community level:²⁴

*ñawpata papasusninchik mana qill-
qayta, ñawiyta yacharqankuchu, jinapis
organización sindical sumaq purichik
kanku. Nuqanchik ñawpata jina uk
runa jinalla purinanchik tiyan, sut’inta*

In the past our parents did not know how to read or write, but in spite of this they made the Union function well. We have to walk as in the past, as one single man, speaking the truth;

*parlana, nuqanchikqa uk chhika
yachytawankama ñapis politikuq
chupanta jap'itawan purichkanchik,
ukman ukman k'askachkanchik,
chaywanqa mana ni jayk'aq kay llakiy
kawsay sarusunchu (56:6).*

knowing a little bit, we are already
grabbing the tails of the politicians,
sticking to one or another; in that way
we will never overcome this life of
misery.

Modern knowledge, therefore, is unable to offer organizational strength, and education cannot consist only in knowing how to read and write; rather, it must involve knowing local Andean technology and communal organizational forms:

*Educacionqa mana ñawiriy-
qillqariyllachu, kawsayniykumanta
'tecnología andina' yachayta, sindi-
calismota yachay wasiman churayta
munaspa Consejo Comunal de Educa-
ciontaqa jatarichirqayku (Florencio
Alarcón, in 64:10).*

Education is not only reading and
writing. We created the Communal
Council of Education because we
wanted to introduce Andean tech-
nology and unionization to the
school.

Quechua yachay and the social organization that sustains it are intimately connected: if unique organizational forms are lost, social knowledge is also lost. Consequently, it does not make sense to defend peasant knowledge in and of itself, but in close connection with the preservation of territorial autonomy:

*Ñawpataqa yakuyuq jallp'akunapiqa
karqapuni qarpanapaqqa, comunidad
sindicatowan khuska apaykachaq
kanku mit'asta, paykuna rak'iq kanku
yakutaqa. Kay qhipamanri Instituciones
de desarrollo q'alata tukuyiniqman
junt'aykamuwanichik, paykunataq
comunidadespiqa ruwanku obrasta:
canales de riego cementowan, jatuchik
quchas tukuy imata. Kay jina
obraswanqa comunidadpaq yachay-
ninqa chinkan, sindicatopis manaña
makinpichu jap'in, chay institucionesqa
kamachinku jatarinanta Asociaciones
manachay Comités de Riego" (68:11).*

Before, there was water for irrigation
and the community with the union
organized turns for everyone. They
would distribute the water. In recent
times, however, development agencies
put us all together and carried out
public works in the communities:
irrigation canals that are paved and
blocked off. With public works like
these, the knowledge of the commu-
nity disappears, neither is this in the
hands of the unions; these institutions
ordered us to create new associations
or committees for irrigation.

The link of the yachay with communal organization and territorial autonomy is, however, located in a broader context that seeks independence from the institutions and foreign nations attempting to change peasant life in order to incorporate it into capitalism:

*Campesino yachan, tukuy imamanta
experiencia tiyan: tiempota qhawan,
jallpata llank'ayta, mujuta churayta,
trojaspi mikhunapaq waqaychayta,
vendenanpaq ima. Tukuy kayta organi-
zacionninwan mana dependespa ni
pimanta. Wakin Institucionesqa mana
qhawankuchu, mana yuyankuchu.
Mana kay culturasta respetaspalla,
cambio socialta mask'anku nispa ninku.
Jawa nacionesmanta dependenanta
munanku chaywan culturanchista
cambiananta (Dirigentes de Campero,
in 37:11).*

The peasant knows. He has experience with everything: he watches (predicts) the weather, works the soil, sows the seeds, knows what to store for eating and what to sell. All of this is done independently, with the organization, without depending on anyone. Some institutions do not see, do not think. Without respecting the culture they strive for social change. They want us to depend on other countries, to change our culture.

The communal organization of the Quechua peasantry, then, is not simply an administrative apparatus, but also the main line of defense and control of territory in order to preserve political autonomy in the face of attempts at destructuring by the state and transnational capital. As the fundamental element in the historical continuity of Quechua communities, it also oversees other entities present in the community, such as the school, and controls access to resources. It is for this reason that the resolutions of a peasant congress in Campero province (PCÑ 42:5) prohibit merchants from cutting trees in the forest and selling the wood; request that the CSUTCB guard the communities' forests by, among other measures, ensuring that the lumber companies do not profit from the sale of communal forests; and prohibit merchants from stealing and selling trees that belong to the communities.

Conclusions: Rethinking Power, Knowledge, and Linguistic Practice

Historically, Quechua's process of inscription and system of writing have been unable to get beyond their use for specific ends, such as religious conversion and training, education, and so on. In general, linguistic policy in relation to minority or oppressed languages basically exists solely to pro-

mote the written inscription of these languages. In the Bolivian case, over the past few years the main effort has been to develop a process of the inscription of Quechua through two fundamental mechanisms: the standardization of Quechua writing through a unified orthographic normative, the creation of neologisms and the establishment of a certain morpho-syntactic normative; and the diffusion of this generalized system through the Educational Reform.²⁵

Bolivian linguistic policy toward Quechua, even if supposedly a policy of recovery, is being formulated on the basis of four arguable assumptions: (1) that the maintenance and revitalization of Quechua must be built from its inscription in writing and through teaching it in the schools; (2) that a pan-Andean unification of Quechua will promote the empowerment and the destigmatization of Quechua speakers; (3) that the written form's standardization is key to the language's development and fortification; and (4) that historical criteria are the best guide for developing a standard form when faced with existing dialectical variation (Luykx 2001). As Luykx notes, these assumptions emphasize a linguistic policy that (a) directs efforts to situations in which Quechua is at a disadvantage with Spanish; (b) prioritizes the preoccupations of language and educational planners above those of the Quechua-speaking majority; and (c) links dialectical variation to the prestige and hierarchy of one class, which stigmatizes nonstandardized varieties.

This policy starts from a set of criteria developed with reference to Spanish and the interests of policymakers, including criteria of inscription in writing, scholasticization, pan-Andean standardization, and historicism. In an attempt to overcome diglossia, policymakers are elaborating a prestige-based, academicist model that prioritizes intellectualization and writing. They do not begin from the linguistic reality of the majority of speakers or from their concrete communicational interests and necessities. In the end, they do not pay attention to the language's own sociocommunicative capital, but instead seek to impose its standardization through a comparison with the practices of the language and the group in power.

What I have attempted to show here is that the *Conosur Ñawpagman* newspaper offers a way to research writing as it emerges from concrete linguistic practices. This is especially interesting because it deals with an extra-scholastic experience that seeks to inscribe speakers' oral discourse. I think that in this process there is potential for developing a written inscription that has not received much attention in terms of linguistic planning, one that seeks to overcome normative and elitist visions. The very creation of neolo-

gisms would benefit from the incorporation of speakers' everyday metaphors, rather than resorting to desktop creations or to the resurrection of obsolete historical forms which, even if passionately sought after by the linguist, sound strange to contemporary speakers.

As for the topic of the Quechua *yachay*, I think it is important to reflect—even if hypothetically—on the relations between knowledge and territoriality. As the topic of local, indigenous, or native knowledge has become central to the academic agenda of many intellectuals, whether indigenous or not, we risk building a decontextualized, abstract discourse about indigenous knowledge that can be managed by global capitalism. If this happens, indigenous knowledges would be disqualified in the name of science and progress even as global capitalism sought, through legal mechanisms, to appropriate and pillage those very same knowledges.

Within the current system of globalization, the development of biotechnology and the appropriation of the collective knowledge of indigenous-peasant communities could constitute an important resource for capitalism when faced with crisis. We are on the verge of a qualitative leap in how knowledge can be linked to relations of neocolonial domination in the contemporary world, in the sense that it can “*immediately and directly* create new forms of subordination and new relations of domination and exploitation” (Lander 2002b, 73).

For those who have created the global order, Western knowledge is objective and universal and therefore worthy of protection through private property rights. Other knowledges are nonknowledge and can therefore be appropriated through pillage and piracy. Scientific and entrepreneurial knowledge is *the* knowledge, meaning it has to be protected by exacting payment for its use. Here we have “one of the most important methods for the concentration of power and the increase in the inequalities that characterize the current globalization process. For that reason, it constitutes one of the more significant dimensions in the geopolitics of contemporary capitalism” (Lander 2002b, 74).

The development of biotechnology has recently seen impressive advances with experiments in cloning, genetically modified crops, and the decoding of the human genome. To realize such development, biotechnology requires legal and commercial-economic security mechanisms, designed over the course of several years, to allow it unfettered accumulation. In recent international agreements and treaties, such as NAFTA, the creation in 1995 of the World Trade Organization, efforts to subscribe to the Multilateral Invest-

ment Agenda, and now attempts to formalize even further “free trade” negotiations such as the FTAA and the Andean free trade agreement, the topics related to agriculture and intellectual property rights receive a great deal of attention.

It was no accident that in these agreements and treaties the concept of intellectual property rights was expanded; it no longer is limited to that which is invented, but now includes that which is discovered. As has been true for over five hundred years, colonial modernity continues discovering and conquering. Before, colonial modernity *discovered* America, meaning it became aware of that which was previously unknown to it, and that awareness translated into conquest, domination, and accumulation. Today, colonial modernity *discovers* genetic diversity and privatizes the rights to access and use of the planet’s genetic-biological wealth. In both cases, previous knowledge—collective, orally circulated, and indigenous—does not count or even exist. Only colonial-imperial jurisprudence has the power to create and to give the ability *to be* to nature, to human beings, and to their knowledge.

A few years ago during the triumphant green revolution, which promised to abolish world hunger, the knowledge of allegedly ignorant Indians and peasants was denied in the name of a modern scientific perspective that boasted objectivity, precision, and veracity. Driven by this denial, missionaries of development poured into peasant and indigenous communities to teach Indians how to sow, what seeds to use, and how to increase production. Today, people continue to deny that Indian knowledge is knowledge (*conocimiento*)—at most, it gets to be wisdom (*saber*) or ethnic wisdom—but community knowledge is surreptitiously usurped, robbed, plundered. The knowledge of Indians is not worthy of written legal protection, but it is very useful to unfettered capitalist accumulation.

In the PCÑ, indigenous peasant knowledge and Quechua yachay are linked to the political and territorial autonomy of communities and their organizations. Quechua yachay defends the indigenous peasant way of life and is a weapon to combat governmental and nongovernmental development policies. In this sense, *yachayninchik* ~ *yachayniyku* (“Our knowledge [inclusive] ~ knowledge [exclusive of second person]”) is related to *kawsayninchik* ~ *kawsayniyku* (“Our life ~ life”) as an expression of a territorial presence. In the voices represented by the newspaper, almost everything must be *kawsayninchikman jina* (“According to our life”): the organization, education, environmental management, health, and so forth.

As such, it does not make much sense to speak of local or indigenous knowledge in the abstract. Defending it makes sense only in the context of the struggle for the territorial revindication of Bolivia's indigenous peasant movement. This knowledge is linked to the control of territory understood as a defense of communal jurisdiction and peasant autonomy before the state and a defense from the attacks of global capitalism.

This struggle against racism is expressed in multiple ways and has inspired don Roberto Albarracín to say:

<p><i>Maypi yachayninchiq, rimayninchiq, wich'usqa kasanman karqa. Nuqanchiq yachananchiq karqa. Nuqanchiq qhiswaruna kanchiq. Nuqa chayta tapurikuni, yachayta munayman</i> (Roberto Albarracín, in 46:1).</p>	<p>Where have our knowledge and our words been wasted? We were supposed to know. We are Quechuas. I ask myself that, I would like to know.</p>
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The ideas presented in this essay run parallel to the question don Roberto asks from within his community. Taking as a pre-text the voices of the *Conosur Ñawpagman* newspaper, I have attempted to understand, through continual discussion with community members and leaders in Raqaypampa and Ayopaya, where and how the knowledge and words that are uncomfortable for global capital are being lost. I am conscious that, as a *q'ara*, and since I am known to belong to this space of academic power, I can be a discursive tool and act as a *jawamanta yachay* ("knowledge from abroad"), enabling the interstitial resistance of Quechua's *yachay*. In this way I seek to convey the idea that don Roberto's question is not final, that such knowledge and such words have not been entirely lost. They are worth the impertinence of continuing to live, the impertinence of continuing to bloom, as Tata Fermín knew so well:

<p><i>Kay pata chiri jallp'akuna pampas ñuqanchikpata, ñawpa tatakunanchik saqisqanku, kaypi tiyakunchik. Chay- taqrimana chinkaq, mana tukukuq, kunankamapis kawsachkallanchikpuni, kay kikinpi saqisqas, kikinpi wañuq, kikinpi kawsaq. Mana waq llaqtaman- tachu rikhurinchiq, kay kikin llaqtayuq</i></p>	<p>These high and cold lands are ours, our old ancestors' inheritance, we live here. And that is nondisappearing, never ending, we continue living even to this day, left (to live) here, to die in the same place, to live in the same place. We have not appeared in another land, we belong to this land,</p>
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<p><i>kanchik, qhurajina kanchik mujumanta</i> <i>watanpaq watanpaq kutirin mana</i> <i>tukukuq, qhura jina mana tukukuq</i> <i>kanchik</i> (Fermín Vallejos 1995:3–4).</p>	<p>we are as weeds that return from the seeds year after year, never ending, we are as weeds that die out not.</p>
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Notes

I thank Florencia Mallon, not only for inviting me to the conference that provided the framework for this paper, but also for her comments on my work. I also thank Pedro Plaza, who helped me with the translation of Quechua texts into English, and Soledad Guzmán, who helped me shorten the presentation. I dedicate this article to my brother, Armando Muyulema, who knows the creative and transformative power of language, both in its oral and its written forms.

1. Throughout this essay I opt for using the phrase *inscription in writing* and the word *writing* in place of *literacidad*, ever more common in the existing bibliography as a loanword of the English *literacy*. In spite of Zavala’s justification, I think *literacidad* evokes in Spanish the world of literature, marked by its elitist and academic (*ilustrado*) character. I agree with Zavala’s definition of the term: “A social phenomenon that is not restricted to technical learning in the educational arena” (Zavala 2002, 15). I will refer to this publication as the *Conosur*, the *PCÑ*, or *the newspaper* throughout the text. *Ñawpagman* means “go forward.”

2. *Yachay* can be translated as “knowledge.” However, it is the basis of an entire semantic field related to knowledge, learning, teaching, and even to a way of life. For an ethnographic study on this concept, see García (2005).

3. The Cuna peoples use the term *Abya Yala*, meaning “mature and fertile earth,” to name America. Many countries’ indigenous organizations have adopted this term to refer to a geographical space. If to name is to struggle, as Muyulema states (2001, 328), and if America and Latin America result from naming policies that partially implanted the conquistadors in this communication, then I insert myself in that struggle. I thus opt to use *Abya Yala* to refer to what has usually been constructed as America or Latin America.

4. In two of the regions that witnessed recovery of territory in Cochabamba Department, peasant organizations stated their organizational position in their legal documents as “Unified Regional Trade Union of Indigenous Peasants of Raqaypampa” and “Unified Regional Trade Union of Indigenous Peasant Workers of Ayo-paya.”

5. The term *pacha* is one of the richest, most complex terms in Quechua’s semantic universe. It refers to the entire and very ample spectrum of space and time in which we are located.

6. This section is a synthesis of a previous discussion (Garcés 2005b, 82–104).

7. The same group that started the newspaper had created CENDA, a nongovernmental organization, the previous year. At first, CENDA worked on the issue of introduced technologies and their effects on peasant communities, primarily the community of Raqaypampa.

8. Evo Morales, leader of the Peasant Federations from Cochabamba's Tropical Region, founded the MAS political party. In June 2002 MAS participated in national elections and won 20 percent of the votes (1 percent less than the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada's party) and thirty-five parliamentary seats in the Congress (Postero, 2005).

9. At one point the newspaper carried out an experiment in which the readers themselves wrote the articles. The experiment did not work because, among other things, leaders critiqued it for wanting to create a select group of writers.

10. *Diglossic* is a sociolinguistic term referring to the conflictive coexistence within a territory of two or more languages or variants of a language in asymmetric conditions of use and value. One of the languages appropriates to itself all the uses and functions, while the rest restrict their uses and functions to domestic and agricultural arenas. For the term's technical specificities, see Albó (1998), Fishman (1995), and Luykx (1998).

11. I cite texts of the *PCÑ* by indicating the number of the issue followed by the page numbers.

12. These examples are merely illustrative and intended to support the assertions I make.

13. For the case of Aymara in radio, see Condori's work (2003). Currently, Soledad Guzmán is investigating the broadcasting of Quechua in a Cochabamba urban area as part of her master's thesis at the PROEIB Andes (Guzmán 2005).

14. In addition, CENDA publishes a Children's Supplement in Quechua called the *Añaskitu*. It is a monolingual magazine that seeks the socialization of children's Quechua knowledge through interschool correspondence and the valuation of community knowledge.

15. On the strong presence of Spanish in Bolivian Quechua and especially Cochabambino, see Sichra (2003, 105–16).

16. The Quechua alphabet currently used in Bolivia is based on the *Alfabeto Único para el Idioma Quechua* (Unified Alphabet for the Quechua Language), made official and published in the Supreme Decree No. 20227 (*Gaceta Oficial de Bolivia* 25:382, 10 April 1984) by President Siles Suazo. Bolivian Quechua's normative written inscription is developed on the basis of scholasticized Pan-Andean standardization and historicized criteria (Luykx, 2001). This development seeks to recover the etymological forms of Quechua's previous states. It takes into account regional variation as a way of diagnosing current forms of usage, but these usages absolutely do not impact the norm's definition.

17. The topic of writing with an oral base is not an entirely novel phenomenon.

For the case of Spanish, see the studies of Oesterreicher, Bustos, Cano, Eberenz, and Stoll in the edition of Kotschi, Oesterreicher, and Zimmermann (1996).

18. This last one is a practice with a long tradition in the Andean world (Guamán Poma 1615; Pachacuti Yamqui c. 1613; Yupanqui 1570; Lienhard 1990).

19. Virginia Zavala (2002, 62) questions whether objectivity is in fact an intrinsic characteristic of writing, or instead a part of the imaginary created by the scholasticization associated with it.

20. Beneath the heading on the cover there are two photos of the indigenous peasant mobilizations of 12 October 1992.

21. See Pari (2005, 77–79), who posits that nature is one of the teachers of peasant knowledge.

22. See *PCÑ* 51, which has a four-page (9–12) critique of chemicals in relation to “natural” peasant production.

23. What I am interested in showing with these data is that the NGO that publishes the newspaper uses the same tools of Western technological knowledge to delegitimize it. Moreover, it shows the singular interaction between the NGO’s political positioning and peasant knowledge in an effort to validate this knowledge. This means that for the *Conosur* or for *CENDA*, knowledge is a tool used to struggle against development and prepackaged technology rather than an end in itself.

24. A connection with this topic can be found in the research of Romero (1994). He shows that the *ch’iki* makes reference, in the community of Titicachi, to a type of social intelligence adults value positively. The *ch’iki* is the intelligent child who knows how to behave socially in the proper context. By contrast, *sagra* refers to children who dazzle others with their individual cognitive intelligence, but who do not receive positive reinforcement from the community because their individualized behavior locates them just outside its borders.

25. On this last aspect, see Arnold and Yapita (2000). The authors propose that writing promoted by the Bolivian Education Reform fulfills the same dominating role as that implanted by the colonial evangelization model.