

Digitizing *Cronicawan*: Peru's first and only state-supported Quechua-language newspaper

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Abstract

This article examines *Cronicawan*, Peru's first and only state-supported Quechua-language newspaper, as a critical site of negotiation between state power, Quechua political engagement, and popular media. Published briefly in 1975 during the Revolutionary Government of Juan Velasco Alvarado, this paper argues that *Cronicawan* functioned as both a product of and a tool for the revolutionary state's ideological project of reconnecting to an imagined shared Indigenous past. Drawing on theoretical frameworks from Goldberg (2002), Scott (1994), and Krupa & Nugent (2015), this paper situates the newspaper within broader debates on language, state formation, and popular culture. Through a close analysis of its content, this article explores how the newspaper mediated revolutionary state narratives, reckoned with Indigenous agency, and negotiated meanings of resistance, land, empowerment, and linguistic identity for Quechua speakers during a pivotal political moment.

This research further argues that the use of written Quechua language played a central role in shaping and contesting state power, highlighting the tensions between officialization and enduring marginalization. As part of a larger digital humanities initiative, the project included digitizing *Cronicawan* to prevent its archival obscurity and silence. The project makes *Cronicawan* accessible to the public through digitization, transcription, and hosting on a static website. The effort to digitize the work contributes to ongoing efforts to document and amplify Quechua-language media, challenging the fragility and historical erasure of Indigenous voices in state and archival records. It also hopes to encourage *Cronicawan's* inclusion in ongoing scholarship in media studies, Indigenous studies, and Quechua linguistics.

Introduction

In 1975, a shift in the political positioning of Quechua and its speakers made the creation of a Quechua-language, state supported newspaper in Peru possible. *Cronicawan*, published under the Revolutionary Government of Juan Velasco Alvarado, is a symbol reflecting the broader state's effort to integrate Indigenous identity into national discourse. Though short-lived, this publication represented not only a deep shift in Peruvian linguistic policy, mirroring the officialization of Quechua in Peru in 1975, but a complex interplay between state power, media, and Indigenous representation. *Cronicawan* was published as an extension of *La Crónica*, a newspaper that was nationalized under the Velasco government, and was written primarily in Quechua with partial Spanish translations. As a product of a military government that sought to redefine Peruvian national identity through national Indigenous inclusion, *Cronicawan* functioned as a tool for both state messaging and as a space where Quechua speakers could engage with national and international affairs in their own language for the first time. The newspaper was published for 16 or 17 issues¹ in 1975, until publication suddenly stopped with Velasco's ousting in an August 1975 coup by Francisco Morales Bermúdez.

Since its publication, *Cronicawan* has not been engaged with or examined sufficiently in the academic canon involved with this time period, Quechua linguistics, or Indigenous media. Scholarly discussions on the Velasco government have primarily consisted of examination and critique of the government's leftist reform efforts. This project departs from this tradition, focusing instead on the messaging about these reforms to Indigenous peasant populations through *Cronicawan*, influences on that messaging by the military dictatorship, and its effectiveness in reaching its proposed audience. This article approaches this topic from within

¹ The collection at the Centro Bartolome de las Casas in Cusco, Peru, held 16 editions of *Cronicawan*. The 16th edition covered August 16-23, 1975. However, other institutions, like Cornell Library, have a 17th edition listed. It is unlikely that *Cronicawan* continued publishing after the Morales Bermúdez coup.

the frameworks of state formation, media creation, and nationalism. It also includes other Indigenous and Andean scholar's examinations of Indigenous peasant and *campesino* worldviews to see if those views are represented within *Cronicawan* or not. Media scholars have long examined how state-controlled newspapers function as instruments of ideological dissemination and propaganda, yet *Cronicawan* remains understudied as a unique case of Indigenous-language media directly supported by a state apparatus. The digitization project aims to ensure that the newspaper is accessible for a wider audience and can contribute to understandings of Indigenous engagement during this time.

This article argues that *Cronicawan* can illuminate contradictions inherent in state-sponsored Indigenous media, functioning simultaneously as a site of state ideological dissemination and Indigenous agency. Through an analysis of the newspaper's content, I explore how *Cronicawan* negotiated political discourse – specifically through community representation and linguistic authority, offering Quechua speakers a form of mediated participation in the revolutionary project of the Velasco government. I examine how *Cronicawan* both reflected the state's vision of Indigenous inclusion and the tensions embedded within that project, especially through the subjects of extractivism, land reform, the use of written Quechua, and community building.

The significance of *Cronicawan* extends beyond the short period in which it was published; it represents a rare moment when Quechua was positioned as politically and linguistically equal to Spanish in state discourse, a moment that has not been replicated since. Fifty years later, by situating *Cronicawan* within larger discussions of state formation, media, language, and Indigenous agency, this article highlights the ways in which language recognition and officialization can serve both as a tool of empowerment and as a means of messaging

control. This article contributes to the growing field of Indigenous media studies by centering *Cronicawan* as a critical case in the history of Quechua-language media and state-Indigenous relations in Peru.

This article is split into four parts. First, I ground the article in literature that explores state formation, linguistic hegemony, and media control. This framework then forms the lens through which the context and content of *Cronicawan* is explored in this article. Specifically, I look at policy changes and laws created by the Velasco government that form the context in which *Cronicawan's* creation is possible. I then look specifically to the content of *Cronicawan*, and examine the writers' approach to issues of extractivism, land reform, and Quechua language use. Finally, I explain the work in digitizing *Cronicawan* that is the complement to this article. By preserving and making the newspaper accessible online, I hope to challenge historical patterns of Indigenous erasure in archives. Ultimately, this project aims to recover *Cronicawan* as both a representation of a historical moment and a living document that explores the interplay of Indigenous engagement and state power.

A note on Language & Translations

It feels necessary to ground this article in a note about language and translations, given not only the context but the content of *Cronicawan*. In this article, I've made deliberate choices in language that reflect my positionality as a researcher. I have learned Quechua through the NYU program in the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, but Quechua is not my first (or even second) language. I recognize my own positionality as a researcher from the United States and attitudes that I can impart as someone with an intermediate, but not intimate understanding of Quechua and its complexities. With this in mind, what I attempt to do in this article is to interpret, rather than directly translate from Quechua. In this article, I interpret

portions of articles, headlines, and captions from Quechua into English. I critically engage with the sentiment behind these articles and manifestations of Quechua; however, I am not interested in dichotomies of “right” and “wrong” in the ways that Quechua is used or written by the authors. The difficulties of interpreting the newspaper at a large scale cannot be understated. There exist insurmountable differences between Quechua, Spanish, and English, not only in grammar, syntax, and morphology but in the worldview that grounds them. These translations have been checked by my advisors, themselves Quechua speakers, but they should still be engaged with as interpretations, not absolute truths. It is also for these reasons that on the website for this project, I have chosen not to add any additional translations than what was provided by the authors of *Cronicawan* themselves. To impart my own meaning onto these texts would always hold an amount of disingenuousness, especially without the consultation of the original authors themselves.

Throughout the article, I’ve made specific choices to use language to refer to the populations that this article is concerned with. I have decided to use “Indigenous peasants”² to refer to the proposed audience of *Cronicawan*. This language recognizes the ethnic, racial and socioeconomic realities of the specific populations that *Cronicawan* claimed to both represent and speak to. This contrasts with the language used in the newspaper, who instead identifies with and speaks to *campesino* (peasant) populations. I position away from this language because of its historical use to erase Indigeneity in these specific, Indigenous-language speaking, rural populations. The racialization of the term Indigenous (*indígena*, in Spanish) is still held with trepidation in conversations about identity in the Andes, however, the newspaper was concerned

² In conversations I had with Quechua speakers, historians, academics, and community members in Cusco, I heard a variety of responses to the terms “*indígena*” and “*campesino*”. While some were uncomfortable with the racialization and suspected similarity to “*indio/a*” that *indígena* carries, others preferred this term as it served to recognize the history of Indigenous groups in the nation. The push of the label *campesino* to replace racialized terms like *indio/a* was itself a project of the Peruvian state after the 1920s. For more on the relationship between the labels *indígena*, *campesino*, and the politics of labels, see Heilman & Llamajha (2016) and Del Pino (2017).

with a specific population that is more fairly and accurately described as Indigenous peasants. To speak about *campesinos* ignores the clear racialized experience that Quechua (and other Indigenous language) speakers face throughout Peru's history.

In the article, I make reference to several articles, whose contents are in English, Spanish, and Quechua. Translations within this article are done by myself, unless noted otherwise.

Quechua and Spanish excerpts quoted directly within this article will both be marked by their italicization. All translations from Quechua will include the original text as well. For ease of reading, all translations from Quechua that are more than one line of printed text will be footnoted with the original Quechua text. In specific instances where Spanish and Quechua excerpts occur in proximity to each other and italicization would not distinguish the two, Quechua is presented in ***bold italics***, and Spanish in *italics*.

Language, state formation, and popular media

This essay is concerned with the role of language and identity as they are informed by and inform the state. The physical nature of language through sound assists in compartmentalizing, clarifying and describing difference. The establishment of hierarchies based on language and race in Latin America can be traced from the colonial period in the first reworkings of state in a new context. In the Peruvian colonial period, the creation of documentary texts for non-Spanish language influenced bilingualism in Spanish and Indigenous languages in both state and subject persons. The express purpose for colonial-era bilingualism (Spanish and an Indigenous language) and the creation of a writing system for Indigenous languages like Quechua was the subjugation of Indigenous populations through the establishment of economic, linguistic, and power hierarchies. Ultimately, this utility was expressly for the Indigenous language speakers' conversion to Christianity and participation in the colonial state making project. Following this,

the justification for and effect of this compartmentalization through language use has seen several phases throughout this geography. Indigenous rebellions, not least of which the 1780 Túpac Amaru II rebellion, were the catalyst for the Peruvian state to ban the public use of Quechua, the largest Indigenous language spoken in the region. Nevertheless, Quechua language use continued in the private sector.

The recognition of Quechua as an official language of Peru in 1975 under the military government of Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975) was a defining mark in a new, multicultural and neoliberal framework. The state's sudden shift in perspective about appreciating its historical linguistic diversity during a volatile political period was coupled with agrarian reform, economic expansion, and a new perspective of Indigenous peasant political participation. Calls to the legitimacy of the precolonial way of life (primarily in language use) were highlighted during this time. This also formed the context in which the focal point of this project, *Cronicawan*, exists. By engaging with scholarship in state formation, identity creation, state-sponsored media, and news production in Peru, this section explores why *Cronicawan* can exist as a unique physical tool of both state-making and state resistance. It also explores questions around *Cronicawan's* twofold goal of advancing the positive perception of the Velasco Alvarado government and engaging some Quechua speakers in political participation.

In this section I draw on the tradition of scholars to refer to the state as an apparatus for identity forming, power negotiating, and as a process by which hegemony, resistance, and revolution can also be formed.³ This section is specifically concerned with the role of language and Indigenous reckonings within state formation. To this end, this section explores the significance and context of linguistic policy in the formation of race through legalization. For

³ In this way, "state" in this section refers not only to the political power of specific rulers (here, in particular, Velasco) or a specific nation-state (Peru), but an operation through which a sense of belonging and acceptance is created.

Goldberg, “Law fashions state identity and order over increasingly diffuse regions, people(s) and activities... even as law defines and divides those it united in contradistinction to those falling outside the defining criteria” (2002, 139). In doing this, the lingua franca of law fashions two identities, that of the exemplary person, a reasonable person and the standard; and the outsider, the irrational person, the threat. Goldberg insists that in distinguishing “exemplary persons” through law and legalization, the modern state narrows heterogeneity in form as it sharpens the particularity of social distinction (2002, 149). One of the diffuse activities implicated in identity-making is language. Through colonial language hierarchies that posited Spanish as the “correct” or “standard” language, this attitude extends to the speakers of Spanish as “correct” or “standard” as well. In the case of Indigenous languages, its “incorrectness” and “outsideness” is also indexed onto its speakers and the state’s labels for them, like *indio/a*.

Identifying Spanish as an “official” language relegates all other language as nonofficial and unvalued, at least in the eyes of law, administration, and state. Language can become minoritized, even if not representing a minority population of speakers in a geopolitical space. The “abstracted connectivity and fabricated similarities” (Goldberg 2002, 140) of people are fashioned to physical language, becoming an index of race, class, attitudes, and membership to ingroups. This subsequently attaches to its speakers the same racial attitudes of inmodernity, incapacity, or an inherent or historical human lack, and thus, a threat to modernity, progress, or social order.

This remained the case in Peru until the officialization of Quechua in 1975, marking a shift in the way Quechua could be used, heard, and reacted to. Goldberg suggests that the state molds a language, a grammar and a vocabulary, through which it rules – particularly through law, administrative lexicon and the spoken word (2002, 150-152). In this model, “language” exists as

both a metaphysical language system that defines and refines the set of codes that inscribe heterogeneity through law and administration, and a physical language system through the spoken and written word. Upon this shift in the officialization of and attitude toward Quechua, there became new opportunities for Indigenous representation and negotiations through forms of communication and media that were previously out of reach for Quechua speakers.

Cronicawan represents a unique opportunity to study history as a negotiation between “below” and “above,” aligning with Krupa & Nugent’s (2015) critique of these otherwise dichotomous approaches. As Quechua as a language began to occupy a new space in reckonings with the state, the state-sponsored nature of the newspaper presents an interesting intersection of Indigenous intellectualism, wants, and demands with the influence of state-sponsored media. This newspaper created a space that allowed for Quechua and its speakers to engage in new ways as equals within the state, though mediated through the boundaries of that state. State formation involves constructing the identities of subjects through moral regulation, administration, and ritual. Mass media, including the dissemination of news, play a role in this process by providing both points of resistance and opportunities for reinforcing popular traditions. Representation of people within media is an important tool in state formation, where “material acts of presenting parts as if they stood for wholes, objects as if they indexed entities, and the linkages of force and meaning that announce how such representations are to be read.” (Krupa and Nugent 2015, 11). This conceptualization explains how *Cronicawan* functioned within the Velasco state-making project – its representation of Quechua speakers in a state-sponsored written medium both elevates and controls their participation, presenting their inclusion as evidence of national unity while maintaining the state’s authority over linguistic and cultural narratives.

Joseph & Nugent suggest that consciousness of and in revolution is “predicated upon selective (and always contested) traditions of historical memory that reside and are nourished in popular ‘subcultures of resistance’” (Joseph & Nugent 1994, 11). The government of Velasco Alvarado is also referred to as the Revolutionary Government – a title that would directly influence the ways that the terms *revolution* and *resistance* were negotiated in the newspaper. *Cronicawan*’s tagline, *Revolusionpa Rimaynin* (Voice of the Revolution, or the Revolution’s Speech) represents a direct interpretation of this claim. The officialization of Quechua shifts the use of Quechua language as a resistant act (as it had been following Quechua’s public ban) to an act approved and encouraged by the state, further complicating what *revolution* and *resistance* can mean in this context. That is to say, writing a community-funded newspaper before the officialization of Quechua may be seen as a resistant act towards the state keeping in this scholarly tradition. However, the state’s economic and legal support of this newspaper shifts what can be considered revolution, especially within a state that relies on its revolutionary title and image to affect change. This aligns with Joseph & Nugent’s examinations, that the state, and therefore hegemony, resistance, and revolution, are continual processes rather than static moments to study.

State control can significantly influence media production, particularly in news, through various mechanisms – through censorship, regulation, appropriation, and manipulation. The effects of state control in Peruvian media have ranged from subtle biases to outright propaganda. A variety of work has been done to examine the effects of Velasco Alvarado’s government on news media (Bonifaz et al. 2024; Gargurevich 2000; Roncagliolo and Macassi 1989). What is unique about the Velasco government is the gradual control over media, regulating criticism and pressuring expropriated news forums to favor his government and prevent intellectual production

that criticized his government. This context informs the direct relationship that the state had with the authors and readers of *Cronicawan*. The contradictory nature of popular culture is made through its relationship with dominant symbols and narratives. Popular culture, including news media, can embody and elaborate these symbols and narratives, but also contest, challenge, contextualize, or reject them (Williams 1977; Gramsci 1971). Because *Cronicawan* also occupies the specific space of being within the state, but not in a language that state representatives speak, its boundaries are less clear in the messaging that will be examined in this article. In the following sections, I will engage with this literature as a basis to examine the content of *Cronicawan*.

Cronicawan represents a concrete relationship between language, state formation, and media. It is both a state instrument and a site of Indigenous peasant engagement. The questions that arise from this analysis then become those of defining the goals of the authors of *Cronicawan*, their motivations, how those are maintained or shaped by the state, and how the state is shaped by them. Put another way, this analysis becomes a question of appropriation and resistance – are the authors of *Cronicawan* appropriating the medium of news and the linguistic form of Quechua to resist historical subjugation? Is the state appropriating Quechua to shape public discourse within Indigenous, peasant, Quechua-speaking communities? The answer isn't clear, but through an engagement with textual analysis, the remaining sections will explore both possibilities.

The Context of *Cronicawan*

The volatile period of the 1960-70s in Peru form the backdrop for the creation of a unique and previously inconceivable state-supported written Quechua project. Frustrated by the simultaneous extraction and international exploitation of Peruvian resources, and the harsh

realities of the lives of rural Indigenous peasants, revolution brewed from the countryside against the administration of Fernando Belaúnde. In 1968, the then-Commander of Armed Forces, Juan Velasco Alvarado, performed an overnight, bloodless and successful military coup d'état and assumed leadership of the country. This ousting of the democratically elected President established the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces (*Gobierno Revolucionario de las Fuerzas Armadas*). Velasco Alvarado's goals were centered on transforming Peru's economic, social, political, and cultural structures to achieve a society grounded in a unified Peruvian national identity and characterized by justice initiatives that redistributed land, power, and wealth across the country.

The Velasco Alvarado government quickly implemented a series of leftist reforms to address these historical injustices within the Peruvian state. Key objectives of these reforms included the nationalization of multiple industries – including petroleum, mining, and media. Other reforms, focused on economic redistribution, included refinancing the national debt, agrarian reform, and a major investment into education, health, and housing. Of most importance to understanding the significance of *Cronicawan* are the laws declaring the nationalization of news media and the official recognition of Quechua language, represented by *Decreto Ley* No. 20681 (1974) and No. 21156 (1975), respectively.

Decreto Ley No. 20681, passed on July 26, 1974, defined the terms under which news media would be expropriated under the Revolutionary Government. It declared that all nationally distributed news media be “true informational, educational, and cultural media... destined to inform the national conscience (*ser verdaderos medios informativos, educativos y culturales... destinado a formar la conciencia nacional*)” (1974). Cant (2021) discusses the complexity of a nationalized press under a military dictatorship: While the nationalization of media under

dictatorships typically leads one to think of the silencing of opposition, the Velasco government had very different means in mind. The efforts of the Velasco government to nationalize the press were more concerned with dismantling the media monopolies that were characteristic of Lima-based newspapers. This nationalization proposed that each of the national daily newspapers would address specific sectors of the population, delivering news that was informed by their experiences and interests (Cant 2021, 115-116). These sectors included labor communities (both laborers and entrepreneurs); professionals (lawyers, doctors, economists); service organizations (construction, commerce, transportation); and educational communities (teachers, students, and academics), and were informed by organizations that represented these specific groups.

The second piece of legislation that forms the context for *Cronicawan*'s creation is the *Decreto Ley* No. 21156, codified on May 27, 1975, which recognized Quechua language's significance for the first time in Peru's history. The law contained 5 articles, all aimed at recognizing the importance of Quechua and strengthening the power of Quechua speakers within state relations. Specifically, Quechua became an official language of the state of Peru, equal with Spanish. It also decreed that beginning in 1976, Quechua education be obligatory at all levels of education, and starting in 1977, in all judicial actions in which the parties are Quechua speakers, Quechua must be the language of the court.⁴ Finally, the decree tasked the *Ministerio de Educacion* to create dictionaries, texts, manuals, and other documents necessary for the compliance of the law. On the reasoning behind the legislation, the law declares:

“Que la lengua quechua constituye un legado ancestral de la cultura peruana, cuya esencia debe ser preservado por el estado... Que es una obligación moral del Gobierno Revolucionario, rescatar nuestro Idioma nativo, como medio esencial para lograr la unificación nacional.”

⁴ These later decrees, and even the officialization of Quechua, were later revoked after Bermúdez assumed power in late 1975.

That Quechua language constitutes an ancestral legacy of Peruvian culture, whose essence must be preserved by the State... That it is a moral obligation of the Revolutionary Government to rescue our native language, as an essential means to achieve national unification. (1975)

The convergence of *Decreto Leyes* No. 20681 and No. 21156, along with the Revolutionary Government's goals of creating and strengthening a national identity formed the conditions for the emergence of *Cronicawan* as a unique, state-sponsored Quechua newspaper. *Decreto Ley* No. 20681 sought to dismantle Lima-based media monopolies and create a press system that catered to specific sectors of the population, including rural and Indigenous communities.

Simultaneously, *Decreto Ley* No. 21156 reinforced Quechua's legitimacy in public life and legislation by mandating its use in education, legal systems, and government communications.

La Crónica was included in the newspapers that were expropriated by *Decreto Ley* No. 20681.

Starting in June 1975, shortly after the passage of *Decreto Ley* No. 21156, *La Crónica* began publishing a separate weekly newspaper for its rural, Cusco-based Quechua audience,

Cronicawan (With the Chronicle, *Con La Crónica*).

Cronicawan's many editors and contributors included Guillermo Thorndike, Angel Avendaño, Luis Gonzales Posada, William Hurtado de Mendoza, Zaida Bustamante, and Hernando Aguirre Gamio. Thorndike, a Lima-based journalist was deeply involved in the journalistic scene before the expropriation of newspapers by Velasco, founded the newspaper *La República*, which was named specifically in *Decreto Ley* No. 20681. He was later the directorate of the newspapers *La Tercera* and *La Crónica*. Avendaño and Hurtado de Mendoza were both from Cusco and bilingual Quechua/Spanish speakers (Gonzales 2019, 250–52). The two published poetry in both languages and wrote many of the reflection pieces throughout the newspapers. Zaida Bustamante wrote primarily in the Women's Voice (*Warmi Rimay*) sections.

Many of the other contributors do not have biographical information that is easily accessible in the newspaper or online, and this remains a route for further study in this project.

Cronicawan ran for 16 or 17 issues (*yupana*) from June (*Inti Raymi Killa*) to September (*Chajra Yapuy killa*) 1975. The first 11 issues were produced at a broadsheet size and produced primarily in Quechua (*Runa Simi*). Issues 2-11 included a double-sided insert page that contained translations of the articles into Spanish. Each of the first 11 issues sold for 4 soles, which was subsidized by the Velasco government as part of Ley No. 21156. Starting with issue 12, the newspaper was produced at a smaller A4 size, and featured articles that were written parallel, first in Quechua and after translated into Spanish. These later editions sold for 4.50 soles. Production likely ended shortly after the military coup of Francisco Morales Bermúdez on August 29, 1975, which deposed Velasco and later reversed many of his reforms regarding Quechua language and Indigenous engagement.

Cronicawan emerged as a product of the ideological shifts emphasized in this government, serving not only as a medium for state messaging but also as a platform where Quechua speakers could engage with national and international affairs through their own linguistic and cultural lens. *Cronicawan* represents a complex moment in which Quechua is positioned as equally viable to Spanish politically, challenging the historical dominance of Spanish. It also serves as a transmission system for state messaging under a military dictatorship. In forming a national identity directly tied to Indigenous ancestry and language, Velasco sought to unify the nation and strengthen national pride, as well as increase support for the state initiatives of nationalization of other industries. Today, Quechua represents just one of the 42 Indigenous languages recognized within Peru (Panizo 2022). But in 1975, the official recognition of Quechua in a legislative setting was essential in the Velasco Alvarado's government plan to

create a more unified Peruvian national identity. The law refers to Quechua as the “ancestral legacy of Peruvian culture,” and as “our native language,” engaging all Peruvians, regardless of their relationship to Quechua language, as part of the efforts to “rescue” the ancestral legacy of Indigeneity within Peru. In the next section, a close analysis of the content of *Cronicawan* will show the negotiations of power, potential appropriations of Quechua for state messaging, and Indigenous reckonings with the state in Peru represented directly in *Cronicawan* and between the lines.

The Content of *Cronicawan*

Cronicawan ran in a very limited print from June to September of 1975, producing sixteen or seventeen issues in total. At the Centro Bartolome de las Casas (CBC) in Cusco, I had access to issues 1-12, and 14-16. Across these issues, the newspaper underwent various changes in content, language, and form. The clearest division exists between the first eleven issues (published weekly, June 3 - August 12, 1975) and the final four (published bimonthly, August 26 - September 23, 1975). The inaugural issue, *Ari: Qanwanmi Kasaq* (Yes: I’ll be with you), was published on June 3, 1975, just a week after *Decreto Ley No. 21156* that officialized Quechua’s status in Peru. This first edition was 8 pages, published at a broadsheet size, and provided no translation support into Spanish. Issues 2-11 were expanded to include a single, double-sided insert page that translated some articles into Spanish. Issues 12-16 mark a shift towards fully bilingual production, introducing articles first in Quechua, and translating into Spanish on the same page. Table 1 is a catalog of the collection held at CBC (including editions 1-12, 14-16), including their edition, publication date, and title and its interpretation into English.

Table 1: Catalog of Issues 1-16

<i>Yupana</i> (Edition)	Date	Title (<i>Runasimi</i> /English)
1	3 Jun, 1975	<i>Ari: Qanwanmi Kasaq</i> Yes: I'll be with you
2	10 Jun, 1975	<i>Revolusiunmi sunqunchista phutuchin: Kuraqyashanmi Kallpanchis</i> The Revolution Makes our Hearts Blossom: Our Strength is Growing
3	17 Jun, 1975	<i>¡Tupaq Amaru Qanlla Qaylla!</i> Tupaq Amaru, You are the one!
4	24 Jun, 1975	<i>Wiñaypaq Sayariyku</i> We Stand Forever
5	30 Jun, 1975	<i>Allpaqa Kawsaymi</i> The Earth is Life
6	8 Jul, 1975	<i>Llank'aspan Hatunyananchis</i> We Must Grow Working
7	15 Jul, 1975	<i>Wiñaq Waynakunawanmi Saminchis Chayamushan</i> Our Success Arrives with the Youth
8	22 Jul, 1975	<i>Paypaqmi Paqarimun Revolusiun</i> A Revolution is Born for Him
9	29 Jul, 1975	<i>Ch'ulla Qhari Hina P'unchayniyki Llaqtallay</i> On Your Day, as One Man, My People
10	5 Aug, 1975	<i>¡Kawsay! Pacha T'ijraq</i> Live! You Who Turns the Earth
11	12 Aug, 1975	<i>Bayovar: Apu Thaskiywan</i> Bayovar: With the Calm of a God
12	26 Aug, 1975	<i>12 Yupana</i> Edition 12
14	9 Sep, 1975	<i>Qhari Chakiwan Yapusun</i> Let's Plow the Land with Firm Footing
15	16 Sep, 1975	<i>Qaynamanta Aswan Pukarasqa</i> More Protected than Yesterday
16	23 Sep, 1975	<i>Q'ayapaq Ñanta Kichaspa</i> Opening the Path for Tomorrow

Across all issues, *Cronicawan* carried a wide variety of content, including long-form stories to cover local events and government updates, short-form stories covering major world news, songs, poetry, interviews, letters to the editor, and reflections. After the shorter inaugural edition, issues 2-11 share a relatively consistent structure and editorial rhythm. These issues were

published weekly, and were presented entirely in Quechua with only limited translation support into Spanish with the insert page (12/13). Table 2 outlines the most common content types and their typical cadence within this first run of issues.

<i>Table 2: General Layout (issues 1-11)</i>		
Page	<i>Runasimi</i>	English
1		Title (Varies)
2	<i>1 Yupana: Petrollo apaq</i> <i>2 Yupana: Complejo pesquero de Paita Nisqamanta</i> <i>3 Yupana: Minero Peru</i> <i>4 Yupana: Tiqsi - Revolucion Peruanaq Tiqsinpi Yuyaymanaspa</i> <i>5 Yupana: Tiqsi - Kaymi qusqupi fartac ruwasqan</i> <i>6-8; 11 Yupana - Qanchis P'unchay</i> <i>9 Yupana: Watantinpi ruwasqanchis</i> <i>10 Yupana: Qhari rimaywan</i>	Edition 1: The Oil Pipeline Edition 2: Paita Fishing Complex Edition 3: Mining in Peru Edition 4: Tiqsi: Thinking about the Peruvian Revolution's Bases Edition 5: Tiqsi: What FARTAC did in Cusco Editions 6-8; 11: The Seven Days Edition 9: What we've done through the year Edition 10: Word of Man
3	<i>Llaqtanchismanta</i>	About Our Country (National News)
4	<i>Hawa Llaqtamanta</i>	About Foreign Countries (International News)
5	<i>Hamut'aypa Kallpan</i> <i>9 Yupana: Wasinchismanta</i>	The Strength of Knowledge Edition 9: About our Home
6	<i>Huayanaypa muchuriqnin</i> <i>11 Yupana: Yachaypi Yapuspa</i>	<i>Huayanay's</i> suffering Edition 11: Plowing knowledge
7	<i>Llaqtaq sunqunpi</i> <i>1 Yupana: Llaqtanchismanta</i> <i>3 Yupana: Karunchaq rimaynin</i>	In our Nation's Heart Edition 1: About our country Edition 3: News from distant villages
8	<i>Arariwa</i>	Poems and Songs
9	<i>Runa Simi Arwi</i>	Quechua Poetry
10-11		Long form story (varies)
12-13		Translations
14		Closing slogan (varies)

These editions typically start with a story about the activities conducted by revolutionary government – like the building of an oil pipeline, and the expansion of mining – or explaining the ideological bases and activities of the Revolutionary Government and organizations like FARTAC. This was followed by pages documenting national news (*Llaqtanchismanta*) and international news (*Hawa Llaqtamanta*). Following this, various reflections, interviews, and stories from the editors were included about a variety of subjects, like Quechua’s officialization, interviews with prominent academics and leaders in the Quechua community, and comic books and political cartoons in Quechua (*Hamut’aypa Kallpan*, *Huayanaypa muchuriynin*, *Llaqtaq Sunqunpi*). Pages 8 and 9 (*Arariwa*, *Runa Simi Arwi*) are generally dedicated to poetry and songs from local Quechua speakers, along with games to learn Quechua. The issues typically include one final long-form story that varies in topic, the translation insert, and a final slogan that includes photos of Indigenous peasant laborers.

As the newspaper transitioned into publishing in a new A4 size, *Cronicawan* also underwent significant editorial and formal changes. Issues 12 through 16, published every two weeks, introduce a new structure, different foci, and crucially, a bilingual format. Instead of a separate insert that translated some articles, Issue 12 introduced a side-by-side publishing model, where the authors write “first in Quechua, then in Spanish, because we want everyone to read us” (12 Yupana, 5), signaling an effort to expand the newspaper’s reach and audience. This would become the standard of the final issues of *Cronicawan*. Table 3 presents a general layout for these issues and highlights recurring features and content areas across this phase of publication.

Table 3: General Layout (issues 12-16)		
Page	<i>Runasimi</i>	English
2	<i>Teqse Muyupi</i>	In <i>Teqse’s</i> Circle

3	<i>Revolusionpa ruwasqan</i>	Activities of the Revolution
4	<i>Yuyaymanaspa</i>	Reflections
5	<i>Hamut'aypa Kallpan</i>	Intellectual Strength
6-7	<i>Willay Tapuy</i>	Story Inquiries
8-9	<i>12 Yupana: Runaq Kurkun Huj</i> <i>14 Yupana: Qhawasqaykita riqsiy</i> <i>15 Yupana: Mikhusqanchista Riqsispa</i> <i>16 Yupana: Wasinchista Sutichaspa</i>	Illustrations for learning Quechua Edition 12: The Body Edition 14: Land Formations Edition 15: What We Eat (fruits/vegetables) Edition 16: Parts of Our House
10	<i>Llaqtanchismanta</i>	About Our Country
11	<i>Hawa Llaqtamanta</i>	About Outside Countries
12-13	<i>Nunayku</i>	Our Soul
14	<i>Warmi Rimay</i>	Women's Voice
15	<i>Peru Wiñasqan</i>	Peru's Growth
16	<i>Mana iñinapaq</i>	Unbelievable Stories

Each of these later issues opens with *Teqse Muyupi* (“In Teqse’s Circle”), a section that includes news about the president, cabinet meetings, decrees, and Peru’s international relations. This is followed by *Revolusionpa Ruwasqan* (“Activities of the Revolution”), which documents concrete state activities – such as infrastructure development, new cooperatives, or policy rollouts, which included the transition of the state to Morales Bermúdez in its final editions. Pages four and five offer more reflective content by the editors: *Yuyaymanaspa* (Reflections) tackles complex social questions, while *Hamut'aypa Kallpan* (Intellectual Strength) continues as space for intellectual and ideological commentary. These sections often included the political cartoon *Inga Mandinga Rimaynin*,⁵ which had been a constant since the first issue that combines

⁵ *Inga Mandinga Rimaynin* was a recurring political cartoon that featured caricatures of “Inga” and “Mandinga” interlocutors. This is a play on a popular phrase that refers to Peru’s historical racial makeup: “*El que no tiene de inga tiene de mandinga*” (He who doesn’t have [Incan] ancestry has [African] ancestry). The comic strip features short jokes between the characters about the Revolutionary Government, agrarian reform, and other policies implemented during the run of the newspaper.

humor, political critique, and cultural insight. *Willay Tapuy* mirrors the page 2 articles from editions 1-11, whose long-form content varies by issue. Page 8 and 9 introduce a new feature of these later editions, a full-color spread that is reserved for Quechua vocabulary terms that are reminiscent of early language education classroom posters. These visual guides explore culturally grounded themes, like the human body, landscapes, foods, and the home.

The following pages return to the thematic scope of the earlier issues. *Llaqtanchismanta* and *Hawa Llaqtamanta* return, while the *Nunayku* section (pages 12-13, typically) returns to the poetic traditions of earlier issues but with a new global focus – adding works by global poets like Langston Hughes and Mirko Lauer that have been translated into Quechua. The final pages of these editions offer content that departs from earlier editions. *Warmi Rimay* (Women’s Voice) highlights women-authored stories and testimonials, while *Peru Wiñasqan* (Peru’s Growth) gathers narratives of labor – highlighting land workers, artisans, and weavers. The closing section, *Mana iñinapaq* (Unbelievable Stories) is the largest departure from earlier editions, and features sensational or extraordinary stories, ranging from cockfighting traditions to the first successful gender confirmation surgery in Peru. The shift in structure not only reflects a shift in editorial focus, but also a change in imagined readership.

The variety of formats provided a wealth of approaches to different topics that were salient to the time period. The following sections explore specific themes within the issues of *Cronicawan*, specifically, their approaches to and framing of extractivism, agrarian reform, and Quechua use.

Extractivism

One dominant theme in *Cronicawan* was the state’s nationalization of a variety of resource extraction industries as a means of national development. The Velasco government promoted oil

extraction and nationalization as a path toward economic independence, framing it as essential for securing Peru's sovereignty and lifting rural populations out of poverty. In fact, the nationalization of oil and divestment from American oil companies was one of the most significant contributing factors in the coup led by Velasco Alvarado, so this emphasis is not surprising. This narrative is also present in the earliest editions of *Cronicawan*, which celebrated the construction efforts of the *Oleoducto Norperuano*, a pipeline that cut through the Amazon to transport crude oil from the northern Peruvian jungles to the Pacific coast.

Cronicawan's portrayal of the pipeline reflects this broader ideological framework of the Revolutionary Government: natural resources belonged to the people, and their exploitation was interpreted as a means of redistributing wealth. Oil is described as a treasure hidden within the forest, one that other nations want to control and sell, and one that would transform Peru into a wealthy and self-sufficient nation. In Issue 2, an article about the pipeline states, "For a better tomorrow. The place that has oil is rich. We work to make Peru rich now."⁶ In describing the process of building the pipeline, the authors write: "In this forest there is oil that we need to extract, for that we need to construct a pipeline to bring the oil, which will go through the mountain, through the river, and through the forest."⁷

The article presents oil extraction as a revolutionary act that would ensure economic justice for Peruvians through the revolutionary government, particularly those in rural and Indigenous communities, while ignoring the potential realities of destruction and inequality that are salient with relationships between Indigenous people and oil extraction today. Opposition to the extraction projects was instead framed as counter-revolutionary, with critics of the pipeline

⁶ "Paqarin aswan allin kawsananchispaq. Mayqen llaqtan petrolloyuq; chay llaqtan qhapaq llaqta. Peru llaqtanchis qhapaq kananpaqmi kunan llank'ashanchis."

⁷ "Chay sach'a ukhupin horqonanchispaq petrollo kashan, chaypaqmi oleoductura ruwakunan, petrollo apamunanpaq, chaytan ruwanqaku orquta tuquspa, mayunta ichispa, sach'a sach'anta apaspa."

described as “enemies of the revolution” (*revolusionpa awqankuna*), who sought to keep peasant communities in poverty. This rhetoric, while reinforcing the Revolutionary Government’s vision, also raises questions about how perspectives on land destruction, resource management, and extractivism were incorporated or excluded from the state’s narrative.

Those who would be most directly impacted by the pipeline were likely not Quechua speakers. Due to its path (the northern forests to Lima), the Indigenous groups affected were more likely groups in the Amazonian region. This geospatial and metaphysical removal from the direct impacts of the pipeline may contribute to this attitude. However, this industrial framing of land is surprising compared to other Andean worldviews that regard not only human and non-human animals, but land, mountains, rivers, and forests as living entities with intrinsic value, or Earth-beings (de la Cadena 2015). This is what makes the simplistic framing of what the pipeline does stand out. That the newspaper can gloss over the impact of building a pipeline through these entities for a sole economic benefit suggests that this state-led initiative and the framing of it within the newspaper did not necessarily align with Indigenous perspectives on environmental stewardship. The articles, rather than reflecting on the meaning and consequences of extractivism, instead reflect on this framework in which participation in the revolution meant supporting extractive policies, regardless of their long-term consequences for Indigenous lands and ecosystems.

Additionally, in issue 3, the article *MINERO PERU: Llaqtanchispa saywan* (Minero Peru: Pillar of Our Community) has a focus on the newly developed MINERO PERU, Peru’s nationalized mining industry. The article echoes the same frameworks from the earlier article on the *Oleoducto Norperuano* that highlight the exploitation of resources for foreign profit, and its use in supporting the revolution. The article presents a binary worldview in which few wealthy

nations (*qhapaq llaqtakuna*) exploit poor nations (*wajcha, mana qelqaq llaqtakuna*) for their natural resources, preventing them from achieving self-sufficiency. The answer to this, for both the Revolutionary Government and *Cronicawan*, is the effort to reclaim Peru's resources from international corporations and ensure its use for the economic benefit of Peruvian people.

However, this article presents the same tension in extracting resources for purely economic benefit that the oil pipeline presents. The authors do not engage with the consequences of the commodification of natural entities, Earth beings, or the environmental and social impacts of extractivism, particularly on Indigenous communities. Instead, the article emphasizes job creation and national industry-building, listing specific mines and their projected employment figures. This approach reinforces the broader economic narrative about extraction as not just about securing national wealth, but also about providing better livelihoods for *campesino* Peruvians. However, this rhetoric obscures the long-term consequences of mining, including land displacement, environmental degradation, and labor exploitation, which historically have accompanied Peruvian and other Latin American mining sectors.

Like the article on oil extraction, this article presents resource nationalization as a revolutionary necessity for *campesino* populations, with little room for criticism. It reinforces the idea that industrialization and extractivism are the keys to Peru's economic future, which sidelines alternative economic models or Indigenous-led approaches to land use. While the revolution is framed as anti-imperialist, and this state-led extractivism supports this, the industries still rely on large-scale resource exploitation, land destruction, environmental degradation, and lead to adverse health effects that all disproportionately affect rural Indigenous people.

The role of extractivism in this revolutionary government reveals one tension present in *Cronicawan*. While the newspaper reflects the state's powerful critique of transnational corporate control of natural resources, it does little to critique this vision of development that may not fully align with Indigenous Andean perspectives on land and sustainability. The tension between reclaiming resources from international powers and continuing extractivist practices under state control would remain a crucial aspect of the Velasco government's economic policies and their historical impact on rural Indigenous communities. The framework of extractivism as both a revolutionary necessity and a symbol of national sovereignty reveals the singular vision of development presented by the newspaper (and Revolutionary Government). This vision is one in which participation in *the* revolution necessitated supporting industrialization and large-scale resource exploitation.

This model, rooted in a logic of productivity, extractivism, and state-led modernization, left little room for alternative economic paradigms, including possibilities from Indigenous peasant leaders. It ignored worldviews that regard land and resources not as market potential to be extracted, but as living entities embedded in reciprocal relationships. The revolution, as presented in *Cronicawan*, was not a negotiable project, but a fixed, pragmatic, and focused model of progress that mirrored global (largely Western) ideas of economic growth, freedom, and self-sufficiency. This version of *the* revolution was presented to rural Indigenous peasant populations whose lived realities often did not reflect the same goals. While extractivism was framed as a collective good, its profits and harms were uneven. Land degradation, displacement, and labor exploitation were all living factors of this extractivist proposal, and were disproportionately held by these very communities the revolution claimed to uplift.

Cronicawan's focus on extractivism presents one vision of development from above. Agrarian reform, on the other hand, was often framed as a revolutionary transformation from below – a promise to return land to “those who work it.” The next section examines how *Cronicawan* depicted this complicated process, highlighting the freeing rhetoric of land redistribution and the limits of this reform and messaging around it in capturing the full scope of Indigenous peasant experiences.

Agrarian Reform and Indigenous Peasant Struggles

In seeming contrast to its stance on resource extraction, *Cronicawan* took a more explicitly pro-Indigenous and pro-peasant position on land redistribution. Agrarian reform was one of the most significant policies of the Velasco government, aimed at dismantling large landholdings and redistributing land to rural workers (i.e., “land to those who work it”). *Cronicawan* positioned this reform as a long-overdue correction to the centuries of economic and social inequality, perpetuated by *gamonales* (large landowners that relied on large scale worker exploitation and free labor in exchange for land leasing), and portrayed land redistribution as a means of directly empowering *campesino* communities. In Issue 6, the authors critique previous agrarian reforms that “only served to impoverish the peasants further,” particularly referring to Fernando Belaúnde Terry (1963-68)'s attempts at agrarian reform, which were widely considered unsuccessful. By contrast, the agrarian reform initiated by the Velasco government is presented as a new, better, and transformative moment in Peruvian history. The newspaper emphasized *Decreto Ley 17716* (1969), the General Law of New Agrarian reform, that transferred land directly into the hands of those who worked it, as revolutionary, because it came without the exploitative conditions that characterized previous land reforms.

In this way, the framing of land redistribution as a gift of the state reinforces the idea that the Velasco government was truly acting in the best interests of *campesino* communities, in fact becoming a liberator of these communities, who were central figures in Velasco's revolutionary processes. However, the newspaper did not shy away from sharing the difficulties of implementing large-scale agrarian reform. In issue 5, the coverage of FARTAC (Tupaq Amaru Revolutionary Agrarian Federation of Cusco) emphasizes that this agrarian reform was not just a state-led project, but also involved grassroots organizing by peasant federations. They interviewed Aquiles Delgado, the President of the Organizing Committee of FARTAC, who organized an agricultural fair that had previously been organized by local *gamonales*. This, the newspaper stated, was an unfair representation because "the local *gamonales* never knew what it was to bend over in a furrow".⁸ Delgado praised the change of hosting the fair to the hands of local community groups. He stated, "Since the Agrarian Reform gave us back the land, we have begun to work it well, without the orders of the *gamonales*. Taking our hearts in our hands, we are making the land produce better, without suffering, with happy heart, as one people".⁹ By showcasing these agricultural fairs, where anyone could purchase items directly from local farmers, *Cronicawan* depicted a model of economic self-sufficiency that contrasted with other systems of exploitation.

However, *Cronicawan* also acknowledges the challenges that Indigenous peasants faced after receiving land. In an issue 7 article about Agrarian Cooperatives from Cerro de Pasco helping other communities, Elías Estrella Niño, President of the Agrarian Federation of Cerro de Pasco, pointed out that "87 peasant communities lack economic resources and the means to

⁸ "Gamonalkuna ruwarqan chay feria ta suqta watata, hinaspa kanpisinu sutinpi, llaqtaman qhawarichiranku kaymi llank'asqayku nispá, manataq paykuna hayk'aqpis huj wachupi k'umuyta yacharankuchu"

⁹ "Reforma Agraria allpata kutichipuwashqankumanta pachan, ñuqayku allinta llank'ayta qallariyku, manaña gamunalwan kamachikuspañachu, sunquykuta hap'iykuspa, allpata astawan ruruchiy ku, manaña muchuypiñachu, astawan kusi sunqulla, ch'ulla runa hina"

improve themselves... in contrast to the peasant cooperatives that, thanks to the agrarian reform, are well organized”¹⁰ (*¡Tupaq Amaru Qanlla Qaylla!* 3). Additionally, in Issue 5, the editors called for more investment from the Agricultural Development Bank, which had reduced its financial support of FARTAC and local agricultural initiatives. While land redistribution was a major step, Indigenous peasants still faced structural barriers to making land “productive.”¹¹

This emphasis on land productivity, and land ownership as a concept, are foreign to Indigenous Andean worldviews. “The notion of property did not exist in the Andes, since the land was a sacred good that only produced” (Dávila Corrales 2010). Gonzales Jimenez also explains that with the European introduction of “wealth” and “private property,” land became something to own, rather than something that provides. Andean logics of work as an intrinsic, permanent, and continuous exercise that benefit the many were disrupted by this worldview that is based on profit and individual gain over the collective’s work (2023, 37). By contrast, speeches by Indigenous leaders like Saturnino Willka during this time provide a different orientation to land. In a 1969 address, Willka declared: “*qhapaqkuna enemigowaqtinmi; kay allpata kunanqa **chaskikapusunmi** kunanqa llapanchis, wayqeykuna...*” (“the rich have made me their enemy, now we will **take back** this land, now we will all rescue [the land], brothers”). This orientation to land is rooted not in property, ownership or productivity, but in reclamation and kinship (among human community members and the more-than-human beings like *Pachamama*, mountains, rivers, etc.). For Indigenous peasants, land is vital for their territorial identity, culture, spirituality, and livelihood. This bond extends beyond mere ownership, incorporating spiritual, social, and economic aspects within an intricate ecosystem that

¹⁰ “*Chaynaman ni, pusaq chunka qanchiniyuq (87) kanpisinu kumunidadkuna, kunankama manaraqmi llallinkuchu kawsayninpi, mana allin allpayuq kaspas, allin chajraman tukuchinankupaq. Wakin kanpisinu Cooperativakunaq ñawparinkuña suma kawsayninpi Reforma Agraria rayku, allinta qispichispa kikin Cooperatikunata*”

¹¹ For more on the impact of agrarian reform and local peasant resistance, see Javier Puente’s *The Rural State: making comunidades, campesinos, and conflict in Peru’s Central Sierra* (2022).

transcends the Western society-nature divide. This perspective is evident in Willka's role as a *pampamisayuq* (a kind of priest, who has a ritual function of interacting with cosmic and more-than-human entities) in his community, which was marginalized or overlooked in Velasco's agrarian reform policy.¹² This policy primarily focused on the economic and political aspects of peasant life and treated land merely as a means for economic exploitation. Willka's language reframes land as not something to be owned, worked, or gained, but as something that must be rescued, as something that has been wrongfully taken. This framing challenges exploitative and capital-based conditions of the past and the productive logic embedded in the Velasco government's vision of agrarian reform.

Cronicawan, like the Velasco government, emphasized land productivity and economic uplift as markers of successful reform. But this emphasis ignores a tension between this revolutionary rhetoric and Indigenous cosmologies and relations to land. Where Andean cosmologies have traditionally viewed land for farming use (*allpa*, *ch'eqta*, or *pacha* in a more spiritual connection) as sacred, generative, and collectively stewarded, Velasco's policies reinscribe relationships to land within a system of legal ownership, commodification, and output. The slogan "land to those who work it" contains traces of this contradiction. In precolonial conventions of work, *llank'ay* (to work) refers to the work that one does for themselves and their communities. Land was divided into four sections, where agriculturalists would work to grow food for the state, for people in need, for food repositories, and for their own families' sustenance. Working land was primarily concerned with the communal benefit and communal ownership of the material outputs of working with land. Another word was developed after the

¹² For more details on Willka's function as *pampamisayoq*, see Claudia Arteaga, "Una representación indígena en tiempos revolucionarios velasquistas: Runan Caycu (1973) de Nora de Izcué," in *Memoria del Perú. Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Peruanistas en el Extranjero*, José Antonio Mazzoti and Luis Abanto Rojas, eds. (Lima: Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana, 2018), 168-169.

introduction of land ownership and working for profit. This word, *llank'apakuy* (to work for another, exploitative work) includes the suffix *-paku*, which indicates a level of exploitation or benefit for another person other than one's self or community. This suffix subtly shifts the meaning of labor towards economic exchange and ownership, a consequence of the introduction of colonial frameworks of profit-based, private land ownership.

While the Revolutionary Government and *Cronicawan* regularly invoked Incan heritage, peasant solidarity, and pride in an Indigenous past, its economic and political frameworks often mirrored imported ideas of land use and development. The result is a hybrid narrative, part restorative and part imposed, that invites both recognition and critique. Is it possible, or even fair, to expect a return to precolonial ways of relating to land in a moment so deeply shaped by global capitalism and state modernization? *Cronicawan* cannot resolve this question, but it makes the stakes of the inquiry clear. What emerges from this tension is not a complete dismissal of agrarian reform, but a recognition of its complexity.

For many rural, Indigenous, and peasant communities, the transfer of land was a monumental and deeply felt shift. This shift enabled both real material gains and symbolic empowerment. But the deeper meanings of relating to land – how it is worked and lived with, spoken about, and experienced – cannot be fully captured in legal reform. These meanings live in speech, in action, in community, and in the language of leaders like Willka who saw land as more than terrain for production. The next section turns to these deeper linguistic nuances, exploring how the use of Quechua carries not only political messages but entire worldviews and cosmologies. Through a closer look at the language specific to *Cronicawan*, an understanding of not only what the newspaper said, but who it said it to, and what it could and could not convey, can be made.

On Quechua Use

Of course, one of the most defining characteristics of *Cronicawan* is its linguistic significance. At the heart of this significance are two fundamental questions: Who was reading *Cronicawan*? And equally important, what was *Cronicawan* trying to say? It was the first and remains the only state-sponsored Quechua-language newspaper in Peru. It marked a rare moment in Peruvian history when Quechua was officially recognized as an important part of governance and public discourse. This recognition was made explicit immediately within the newspaper, with the first edition declaring: “[We speak] the language of Cusco, the language of Andahuaylas... we will speak our true language again, as in the times of the Inca, without shame, without concealment, without the shame of our country.”¹³ (*¡Ari! Qanwanmi Kasaq*, 5). This statement framed *Cronicawan* not only as a newspaper but as a political and cultural project, particularly tracing a line of the nearly 200 years since Quechua had been present in political discourse. However, these milestones and claims sit in tension with the linguistic and political realities of Quechua during this time. The majority of Quechua speakers in Peru were not literate in Quechua, nor, in many cases, Spanish. This raises critical questions about the newspaper’s actual readership and the imagined communities that *Cronicawan* gave voice to and spoke to.

This section explores how *Cronicawan* navigated tensions of linguistic desires and realities in Quechua through its orthographic choices, appeals to cultural heritage, and efforts to formalize Quechua both as a written language and as a language that engages with modern politics. In particular, the newspaper’s filtering of European leftist thought into a Quechua linguistic structure reveals a veneer of Indigeneity placed upon cosmologies that are not compatible with Quechua. At its core, this section aims to question what it means to directly

¹³ “¿Ima simitan rimasun nispa? Qosqopi rimasqankutachu, icha Andawaylaspi rimasqantachu... Hoqmantan inkaq kawsayninpi hina rimasun, cheqapaq rimayninchista, manaña p’enqakuspa, mana pakarikuspa, kusiqa, mana llaqtanchismanta p’enqakuspa.”

translate concepts like revolution, private property, land ownership, and capital into a language whose grammar, cosmology, and epistemologies are fundamentally misaligned with such ideas, and who that translation benefits.

Prior to *Decreto Ley* 21156, the last time a law was made about the nature of Quechua use was its ban in 1781, following the Tupac Amaru II Indigenous rebellion. Another passage from the first edition of *Cronicawan* speaks to this complicated history of Quechua use since the colonial period: “This language has stopped growing for five hundred years. Those who broke its divine stature have not been able to kill it. They first took away our people’s freedom, then they took away their speech”. They state plainly, “We wouldn’t be able to speak Quechua without the Peruvian revolution.”¹⁴ (*jArij Qanwanmi Kasaq*, 5). This focus on how *Cronicawan* fits into Quechua’s historical narrative in Peru reflects a deep desire to right the wrongs of this past. By asserting Quechua as a language of news dissemination, intellectual debate, and critically, of revolution, *Cronicawan*’s writers hoped to challenge the long-standing association of Quechua with marginalization, backwardness, and periphery. It positioned the language instead as central to a new, revolutionary Peru.

However, *Cronicawan*’s existence as a tool of written Quechua political engagement reveals a challenging question of audience. Quechua was and remains today a primarily oral language. Who, exactly, was reading *Cronicawan*? While the newspaper claimed to speak for and to Indigenous peasant communities, its actual readership was likely far more limited. The newspaper could have been read by a small but growing class of college-educated Quechua speakers – bilingual, *mestizo* teachers, intellectuals, and government officials who had been empowered under Velasco’s policies. For these readers, *Cronicawan* may have served as both a symbolic and physical validation of Quechua as a legitimate language of modern political

¹⁴ “*Mana revolucion peruana kantinqa, ni runa simitapas rimasunmanchu.*”

discourse. For the majority of rural Quechua speakers, *Cronicawan* would not have been accessible in the way newspapers typically function as accessible public media. In this context, *Cronicawan* may have functioned less as a practical news dissemination forum and more as a political statement and symbolic gesture from the Velasco government. This newspaper could be an emblem of the commitment to documenting Indigenous peasant voices, without necessarily ensuring the people connected to those voices could engage with the medium itself.

Given its oral nature and the authors' familiarity with Quechua, one possibility is that *Cronicawan* was meant to be read aloud and circulated orally within communities. While compelling, this theory is complicated by tensions embedded within the newspaper, both material and metaphysical. The former, here in reference to the written form of Quechua, is itself the result of a colonial imposition of the Latin alphabet onto Quechua phonology. The written form of Quechua is contested and inconsistent, and raises questions about standardization, and who gets to define a "standard" written form of Quechua and for what purposes. The latter is a more conceptual imposition that *Cronicawan* makes, where many of the newspaper's core ideas are derived from European political traditions, echoed by the Velasco government, but do not easily align with fundamental Quechua cosmologies. The conceptual vocabulary embedded in many articles – even those seen previously, centered on land ownership, extractive development, and state capital– does not easily map onto Quechua's inherent linguistic and cosmological structures. The ideas undergo a twofold translation – once into Quechua linguistic forms, and again into contested Quechua orthography. The resulting translation is twice removed from its proposed audience of Indigenous peasants, who engage with Quechua orally. The imposition of foreign ideological forms onto the language shows that Quechua was perhaps just a veneer for

the leftist policies promoted by Velasco, and even less connected to the material realities of Indigenous peasant communities during this time.

The complexity of *Cronicawan*'s material tensions goes further than literacy rates in Quechua speaking communities. Written Quechua was initially a colonial imposition, where Spanish Missionaries adapted Quechua sounds to the Latin alphabet, with the necessary modifications for Quechua phonology¹⁵. The representation of Quechua in the written form has always been shaped by external pressures, forces, and governments. This has led to still-ongoing debates about the spelling, orthography, and even the number of vowels sounds in the language. These tensions appear within *Cronicawan* itself. The newspaper's interview with members of the Quechua Language Academy (*jTupaq Amaru Qanlla Qaylla!*, 7) reflects concerns about these influences in shaping written Quechua. They point to American imperialism entering not only Peru, but the Quechua language, "making us make mistakes, making the Quechua language not clear." (7). There is an implicit anxiety here about how external influences might influence the evolution of Quechua literacy. It is unclear exactly what this anxiety is, but could perhaps be concerned with efforts that may privilege certain dialects or writing conventions over others. At one point, *Cronicawan*'s interviewers' joke that they feared the academy would critique the newspaper's spelling and grammar, suggesting not only a degree of uncertainty in writing conventions, but a dichotomy of a "correct" and "incorrect" way to write Quechua that does not exist¹⁶.

Because written Quechua had not yet been standardized, reader submissions often have the most variety in how certain words are spelled. These inconsistencies reflect the broader lack

¹⁵ Namely, in written Quechua [ll] does not represent the sound /j/, but /k/; similarly, [q] is not /k/ as in Spanish but /q/. The apostrophe is used to represent ejective sounds (i.e., *q'ente* (hummingbird)), and h is used after a consonant sound to represent aspiration (i.e., *qhepay* (to stay in one place)).

¹⁶ This uncertainty is evident within the newspaper's inconsistent spelling practices. The same word can appear in multiple forms – for example, *chakra* and *chajra* are both used to represent the Quechua word /tʃakra/ (meaning field or plot of land).

of consensus on how Quechua should be written, a debate that still persists and complicates the process of writing in Quechua. While members of the Quechua Language Academy assured that *Cronicawan*'s approach "is written the way we write at the academy" (7), this still raises questions and tensions about how (and which form) of Quechua was being legitimized, who could make those decisions, and how accessible any of it was to the broader Quechua-speaking population.

The Quechua Language Academy's goals in coming to *Cronicawan* were not only to talk about written forms of Quechua, but also to raise awareness about the academy's funding. Delia Blanco de Valencia, a member of the academy, remarked that in 1959, each member received 10 thousand soles from the government for the continuation of the academy and their salary. Since that time, wages were reduced year over year to at the time only 2 thousand soles. Additionally, the space that the academy was located within was repossessed from the academy, and they came to *Cronicawan* to express their discontent with these decisions and solicit funds from the government. Upon hearing this news, the interviewer remarks, "Our president should know that." The Velasco Alvarado government may have not known of the funding changes, but it does reveal a broader tension within the Velasco government's approach to Quechua inclusion.

The metaphysical linguistic tension I've identified within *Cronicawan* is not one that I could have made myself. One of my first conversations about *Cronicawan* and its use of Quechua was with Marco Arcadio Huanaco, host of the Cusco-based, Quechua-language radio show *Uyarinakusunchis* (Let's listen to each other). Upon reading the political cartoons in *Cronicawan*, he remarked that they didn't make sense in Quechua, and it was clear that the authors thought of the jokes first in Spanish and later translated them to Quechua directly. This

metaphysical incompatibility of Quechua with ideologies presented in the newspaper has been previously apparent in the sections on agrarian reform and extractivist development.

However, this inherent incompatibility can be traced further into the articles themselves. With the help of Odi Gonzales Jimenez, I was able to trace this line further. Gonzales has previously written about the politics of translating a text to or from Quechua. He states, “translating a text from Quechua into any language entails weighing the sort of synchronous choreography of the arduous suffixes that, with painstaking attention to space/time, directional elements, performative verbs, etc., configure every detail of the speaker's discourse.” (Gonzales 2022, 153). For similar reasons, translating ideas into Quechua from another language can hold certain complexities. In examining the same articles about the nationalization of oil pipelines (*Oleoducto nisqantan Sayarichishanchis*) and mining (*MINERO PERU: Llaqtanchispa Saywan*), Gonzales helped in identifying further inconsistencies in Quechua cosmology.

Qallarinapaq rimasunchis, imaynas chay petrollo chayta. *Petrolluqa q'omer unu hinallan; chaymi k'anchayta qon, chaywanmi karrukunata purichinku, chaywanmi avionkunapas phalayta atinku. Mana petrollo kaqtinga, manan fabrikakuna llank'ayta atinkumanchu. Peru llaqtanchispin chay petrollo kashan; ichaqa kharupitaqmi kashan, kikin antisuyuq chawpinpin, Loreto llaqtapi, chay llaqtan amasonia sutiuyuq...*

*Imapaqtaq ruwakushan, kay sasa oleoducto llank'anari. Petrollo orqunanchispaqmi phabrikanchis llank'ananpaq, karrunchis puririnanpaq, tracturkuna hallpanchista yapunanpaq. Paqarin aswan allin kawsananchispaq. Mayqen llaqtan petrolloyuq; chay llaqtan qhapaq llaqta. **Peru llaqtanchis qhapaq kananpaqmi kunan llank'ashanchis.***

To begin we are going to talk about what this oil is like. Oil is just like green water; that gives light, it makes cars run, it also makes planes fly. If there weren't oil, the factories could not work. In Peru, our country, there is oil, but it is far away, in the very center of the Antisuyu region, in the city of Loreto; that part is called the Amazonian region...

And what is this difficult pipeline work being done for? To extract our oil, to keep our factories running, to keep our cars running, to keep tractors plowing the land. So that we can live better tomorrow. A country with oil is a rich country. **We are working now to make Peru a rich country.**

Excerpt of *Oleoducto nisqantan sayarichishanchis* (*¡Ari! Qanwanmi Kasaq*, 2)
Translation by Odi Gonzales Jimenez

In this article, Gonzales remarks that in the first line “*Qallarinapaq rimasunchis*/To being we are going to talk,” the authors use a rhetorical expression which is never used in Quechua. Instead, in Quechua speech, it is more likely that the story would begin with “*Petrolluqa q’omer unu hinallan*/Oil is just like green water”. Due to its oral nature, Quechua has a tendency towards concrete actions and performative verbs, rather than abstractions, concepts or purely rhetorical expressions. This is present even in the lack of a rhetorical expression like “Hello,” where instead Quechua speakers ask “*Allinllachu?*” (Everything is well?)¹⁷. This would make reading this section aloud sound unfamiliar and confusing for listeners. Moreover, the division between rich and poor seen here, in the article discussing mining operations, and in a number of articles seen throughout the editions, is one that is not natural in Quechua cosmology. This division is one from a Western, feudal, and capitalist perspective. The notion of wealth varies significantly within Quechua understandings.

These forms of imposition, the physical alphabet and the ideological content, mirror each other. Just as Quechua is contoured to fit a colonial script not originally designed for it, it is also asked to carry political meanings that originate outside of its worldview in *Cronicawan*. This parallel calls into question not only who *Cronicawan* was written for, but what it is attempting to say, and whether Quechua and *Cronicawan* were treated a medium of genuine intervention and expression or a vessel for projecting state ideology under an Indigenous facade. This is why translating to and from Quechua is so difficult – there is no way to do it if the core of the idea itself is not compatible with Quechua.

¹⁷ For another example of neologisms and appropriations into Quechua, Gonzales (2023) has documented a present-day case of the welcome sign outside of Cusco’s international airport, which reads “Allin Hamuq | Bienvenido | Welcome.” The abstract nature of “Welcome” is not compatible with Quechua, and the phrase “Allin Hamuq” means nothing to Quechua speakers.

This tension was recognized at certain points by the authors themselves. All but the first edition offered a level of translation into Spanish. Editions 2-11 included a double-sided insert that provided a Spanish translation of some of the articles. By edition 12, the newspaper shifts to publishing concurrently in Spanish and Quechua. The authors write about the shift in format: “[W]e write first in Quechua, afterward in Castilian[;] we want everyone to read us[;] we want everyone to know us, the things we say, where we carry our injuries, where we carry our happiness—it’s like that for us—we don’t hide anything.”¹⁸ Clearly, the newspaper being in Quechua was not only important in solidifying its position as equal to Spanish, both politically and personally, but the authors recognized that publishing their work in both languages together, instead of having an insert with Spanish translations, presented an opportunity for friction in their readership.

The newspaper’s existence demonstrated a commitment from the state to Indigenous peasant inclusion, but its effectiveness as a medium for rural Quechua-speaking readership remains uncertain. The state’s choice in funding a Quechua-language newspaper but not a Quechua Language Academy aimed at standardizing and promoting literacy in Quechua reveals a deeper tension in Quechua representation. If the majority of intended readers could not read Quechua or understand the newspaper’s messaging, was *Cronicawan* truly serving Indigenous peasant communities, or was it a performative gesture meant to signal state recognition of Quechua while still maintaining control over its use, standardization, and effectiveness? *Cronicawan* claims to be *Revolusiunpa Rimaynin* (The Voice of the Revolution) – but if its intended audience cannot understand it, who is the revolution for?

¹⁸ “*Chaypi yuyaymanaspa ñawpaqtaqa runasimipi qelqayku, chaymantataq castellanupi. Lliw riqsinankupaq, imatan rimayku chayta, maypin k’iriykuta apayku chayta, maypin q’ochorikuyniykuta marq’ayku chayta. Manan imatapas pakaykuchu...*” Translated by Odi Gonzales for Cant (2021)

Perhaps the tension with the linguistic realities of Quechua speakers and the newspaper's content becomes more evident with the newspaper's inclusion of community submissions. Unlike many state-sponsored newspapers, *Cronicawan* also actively encouraged reader participation,¹⁹ regularly incorporating reader-submitted poetry, songs, and letters to the editor from Quechua speakers across Peru. Reader-submitted poetry often emphasized themes of resilience, land, and historical memory. These submissions are valuable particularly for this analysis because they are an even rarer form of direct representation of Quechua speakers from the outside community, even outside of the possible state influences of *Cronicawan's* writers. These submissions provide insight into how Indigenous and *campesino* communities engaged with the revolutionary project, *Cronicawan's* existence, and saw themselves reflected in national discourse. Of the 16 editions, these reader submissions are among the least likely to be translated into Spanish. As a choice either through necessity, lack of space, lack of resources, or protection of these authors, this remains significant when analyzing the texts. The politics of choosing to translate or not translate certain sections of the newspaper can point to motivations in protection or exclusivity for certain sections. The difference in these submissions and many of the other articles within the newspaper is clear. Some poems mourned the centuries of marginalization suffered by Quechua speakers, while others celebrated the newfound recognition of their language and identity. Poetry focused on connection to land, its protection, community, and strengthening bonds between Quechua speakers. Importantly, this poetry could easily be read aloud and understood by others, sharing in an oral tradition that is central to Quechua cosmologies. This duality between the articles and reader submissions reveals the complex dynamics inherent to the work of *Cronicawan* itself.

¹⁹ Edition 1: “*Llapan runa simipi qelqaq, runakunatan mink'akuyku, qelqasqankunata chayachimuwankupaq. Llapallan llank'aq runakunatan, wajyakuyku Cronicamanta pacha kawsaynin willakunankupaq.*” (We encourage every writer in Runa Simi to send us their writings. We invite everyone to share their experiences with *Cronicawan*)

The act of publishing Quechua poetry and personal reflections in a nationalized newspaper was itself a radical departure from historical norms. It provided a space where Quechua speakers could articulate their own narratives, perhaps protected by the editors of *Cronicawan* itself, rather than being ignored, lost, or translated for Spanish-language media. For centuries, Quechua speakers were denied the means to represent themselves in national media. The publication of poetry in *Cronicawan*, without translation, provided an opportunity for Quechua speakers to articulate their own narratives, reclaim their heritage, and publicly mourn and celebrate their histories. While the newspaper provided a platform for these voices, *Cronicawan* as a project forces a reckoning with the tension between state control and Indigenous agency. It invites us to consider the ways that *Cronicawan* both empowered and constrained the Quechua-speaking communities it aimed to serve.

Highlighting this complex, dynamic, and layered relationship is one of the key motivations behind the digitization project. By preserving and making these editions accessible online, I seek to ensure that this moment is not forgotten. The project serves as a tool for ongoing engagement with the question of whose voices are heard, whose stories are preserved, and how these narratives are presented in contrast and in context of state power. This reengagement with *Cronicawan* and a critical view of its holdings, positionality, and importance is what this project aims to do.

The Digitization Project

Upon discovering the newspapers and their relative rarity in the academic canon, I knew a major component of my research project would become the preservation and dissemination of *Cronicawan*. Funds from the Tinker grant allowed me to travel to the Centro Bartolome de las Casas (CBC) in Cusco and begin the process of digitizing, transcribing, and hosting these works

online. The 15 editions available in the archive had clearly been exposed to water and other elements, which were starting to degrade the paper and make the newspapers fragile. Digitizing and preserving these works is important to me as a student of Library Science and Latin American and Caribbean Studies. My previous experience in digital archives made this aspect of the project clear to me. The transcription of these newspapers and the translation of their Spanish portions to English would expand the audience for these important and rare newspapers, and hopefully lead to more scholarship on Quechua speakers' politics at this critical moment.

As a newspaper, *Cronicawan* offered a rich variety of content, covering national and international news under the lens of Quechua cultural and linguistic history. More than its content, the newspaper also included valuable insights into Indigenous peasant agency, forms of Quechua orthography, and an object for further academic study. Despite its clear significance, *Cronicawan* has not received the attention it deserves in the academic canon. This is no doubt due to its relative difficulty in accessibility, something this project attempts to address directly. By making the digitized newspapers available on a publicly accessible website, this project will contribute to ongoing research about Quechua's role in community building and cultural preservation from top-down state initiatives.

Modern Optical Character Recognition (OCR) models were not designed to process Quechua-language newspaper formats. These models that are trained on Latin scripts are usually not trained on Quechua, and are not ideal for column-based newspaper formats. Ensuring that transcriptions of the newspaper were accurate and available was crucial to me in ensuring the accessibility of the work on the site. To address these limitations, I began to transcribe the scanned newspapers myself, to eventually employ in the platform *Transkribus*. *Transkribus* is an online platform that utilizes machine learning and AI to recognize handwritten and more

complex print text. I trained a custom AI model tailored specifically to *Cronicawan* and was able to achieve a Character Error Rate (CER) of just 2.05%.²⁰ The final transcriptions used in the project are thus a hybrid of hand transcription, automated text recognition, and manual correction. While efforts have been made to ensure accuracy, disclaimers exist on pages within the site and within the transcription viewer to advise users to exercise caution when interpreting the transcriptions.

Translation posed additional challenges and questions. I made the intentional decision not to translate the Quechua texts beyond the Spanish translations already embedded in the original issues. English translation from the provided Spanish translations is automated through a plugin that utilizes Google Translate API. This choice reflects the cultural and linguistic complexity of Quechua, as well as the well-documented limitations of automated translation tools in capturing nuance, metaphor, and context, particularly for unrelated languages. Users are encouraged to approach these translations critically, and, when possible, engage directly with the text in its original form. A concern I have translating or interpreting directly from Quechua is the manipulation of nuance, specificity, and tone that is crucial to understanding Quechua. Without consultation from the original authors, my bias would be introduced in translation that may not be reflected in their original expressions. This decision reflects not only the difficulty of interpretation from Quechua to Spanish or English, but the scale of the project, and a commitment to linguistic integrity, protecting the authors' meaning, and respectfully engaging with the newspaper.

The website is built using Jekyll, a static site generator with a Wax theme, which ensures long-term accessibility and sustainability. With my experience in static-based web programming,

²⁰ Character Error Rate is the rate at which a model in Transkribus incorrectly recognizes an individual character. A CER of 0% would produce a perfect transcription, whereas a CER of 100% would produce a very inaccurate transcription (READ-COOP 2024)

Wax was the ideal choice for this project due to its simplicity, flexibility, and ability to host high-quality images and structured metadata without a dynamic database. The site includes high-resolution images of each issue, using IIIF standards for flexibility in its use, alongside a transcription viewer, allowing readers to engage with the newspaper both visually and textually. I also created the metadata corresponding to the issues to ensure the accuracy and sensitivity of the metadata. These mindful practices of sustainability, sensitivity, and flexibility in the creation of this resource hopefully reflect a dedication to respecting the data and work of the original authors.

Beyond its technical and archival significance, this website serves a larger purpose: clearly positioning *Cronicawan* as part of the historical narrative of Indigenous intellectual production in Peru, fifty years after its initial creation. The newspaper was created at a moment when the Peruvian state, under Velasco Alvarado, recognized Quechua as an official language and sought to redefine national identity through Indigenous inclusion. Though short-lived, *Cronicawan* represents a rare instance where the state communicated with Quechua-speaking citizens in their own language. By bringing *Cronicawan* into the digital sphere, this project contributes to ongoing discussions about language, media, and Indigenous representation in Latin America.

This work is also done in the context of other Quechua-language archival resources being lost in the archival record. I am reminded in my work of the archival obscurity suffered by Guaman Poma and his 1615 chronicle. *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* was lost to the archival record for 300 years. This substantial text represents another moment of Quechua entering the written canon in communications to or from the state. It was perhaps the beginning of intellectual production transmitted into the written form in Quechua. The text was lost shortly

after its completion, and was “rediscovered” in 1908 by Richard Pietschmann. A facsimile edition of the chronicle was published in 1936, but even in 1993, nearly 400 years after its creation, it could not be consulted in academic work about Indigenous peoples’ experience in colonial Peru (Stern 1993; Adorno 2000). A digital edition of the chronicle and its transcriptions were created in 2001. Since its reentry into the intellectual canon, its impact in scholarship, specifically about Indigenous intellectual production, cannot be understated. My project to digitize *Cronicawan* ultimately aims to ensure that these rare historical moments of Quechua’s written documentation are not lost to the archival record.

Digitizing the newspaper serves a variety of disciplines in further research about the time period and Quechua language. The newspaper could serve journalism and media scholars in analyzing state-sponsored media and the ways it influenced narratives about global events to align with national agendas. The inclusion of reader submissions provides further insights into how Quechua-speaking communities engaged with and interpreted these global and national developments. The newspaper is also a rare representation of standardized written Quechua, which has historically been varied. Even between the different writers and editors, there exists a diversity in written form that could be of value to linguists studying Quechua variants and orthography. *Cronicawan* could shed light on the processes of standardization, regional linguistic variation, and the influence of Spanish on written Quechua. Of course, the newspaper also offers interesting insights to scholars studying the socio-political climate of Peru during one of the most influential and radically left governments in its history, the Velasco Alvarado government. The project ensures that the historically significant publication can serve as a resource for scholars from diverse fields. *Cronicawan* stands uniquely as a cultural artifact, linguistic record, and journalistic archive that deserves to be implemented into further academic studies.

The dual roles of *Cronicawan*, as a means of government communication and as a space for Quechua-speaking writers and readers to engage with contemporary issues, presents a dynamic that is specific and unique to this revolutionary context. It is also informed by the larger history of Quechua and its treatment in Peru. The Cusco-born, Lima-based writers and editors exemplify the intersections of local and national identities. The newspaper raised questions about how Indigenous perspectives were shaped, represented, and influenced within this state-sponsored initiative. My analysis of *Cronicawan* serves as an initial examination of its implications for understanding the history of written Quechua, particularly in terms of its use to negotiate identity, power, and resistance within the state. Ultimately, the goal of this project, including this analysis and the website, is not just to preserve *Cronicawan* but to make it a living resource—one that sparks new research, fosters linguistic engagement, and continues the work of amplifying Quechua voices that have long been sidelined in historical narratives. As the project evolves, I hope it will serve as a model for similar efforts to digitize and share Indigenous media, ensuring that these critical pieces of cultural and linguistic history become and remain accessible for generations to come.

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