

Indo-America and the Politics of APRA Exile,

1918-1945

By

Geneviève Dorais

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The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Suzanne Desan, Vilas-Shinners Professor, History

Christina Ewig, Associate Professor, Political Science

Florencia E. Mallon, Julieta Kirkwood Professor, History

Francisco Scarano, Professor, History

Steve J. Stern, Alberto Flores Galindo and Hilldale Professor, History

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Abstract

The American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), the political movement that first envisioned and theorized Indo-America, emerged in the mid-1920s as a hemispheric anti-imperialist movement that promoted the political and economic unity of Latin American republics. This dissertation argues that Indo-America came to be portrayed in the late 1930s as a bulwark against the rise of fascism in Europe, rather than the anti-US wall it originally claimed to be, not only as a result of world events but also out of the necessity of political survival at the national level. The persecution against the Peruvian APRA Party (PAP) in Peru, combined with APRA's transnational political strategies, contributed to forging a sense of continental solidarity based on the defense of individual political rights and democratic regimes in Latin America. Indo-America helped the PAP externalize its domestic demands for democracy by universalizing its cause before an international public opinion.

By tracing the journey that underpinned the creation and development of Indo-America, first as a cultural hemispheric consciousness in the 1920s, then as a political hemispheric project beginning in the 1930s, this dissertation reveals the worlds of radical activism that carried this project through the wheel of time. It suggests that the yearnings for inclusion that propelled the "populist moment" to the forefront of Latin American politics in the 1930s and 1940s is best understood as a result of collective and radical labors of transnational organization rather than the leadership of unique, purportedly larger-than-life political figures. It also permits to imagine the political life of APRA other than through the self-made myths that pervade its ideological and political texts.

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This was always going to be the best part. The part where I'd stop and reflect back upon the whole adventure, and linger in memories of friends and colleagues who contributed to making this dissertation possible. James Baldwin once wrote: "To be sensual, I think, is to respect and rejoice in the force of life, of life itself, and to be present in all that one does, from the effort of loving to the making of bread." My dissertation is no exception to Baldwin's rule of sensuality. In the solitude of archival work and the seclusion of writing retreats, I have learned to respect and rejoice in the force of past lives. In my study of worlds long gone lay, sometimes surprisingly so, a resolve, a thirst for meaning I have rarely experienced so crude and raw. In it also lay the magic of collective endeavors, for to be present in this project as I have in the past seven years – to be *sensual* in creation – required the efforts of many allies I now wish to celebrate.

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Introduction

This dissertation explores how and why transnational communities of Peruvian political exiles developed projects of hemispheric unity in early twentieth century Latin America. It presents the sociology of knowledge of one of the most important continental utopias of the Western Hemisphere, Indo-America. As Peruvian politician Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre advocated in 1930, while living in Berlin, “The new revolution of our America will have Indian foundations and meaning. It will be based on an indigenous consciousness or sub-consciousness, which will be expressed through economic and social renewal.”¹ Indo-America, he wrote, is “the expression of the new renovating conception of America” and stems from the continental revolution under way.² Indo-America emerged at the beginning of the last century as a continental and revolutionary ideal, one that emphasized the indigenous roots of Latin America. Today, Latin Americans continue to associate Indo-America with a form of resistance against other Pan-American visions that are either entrenched in European outlooks or fastened to US dominance in the region. My dissertation traces how this project of continental unity came to life politically. Because the history of Indo-America is intimately connected with the history of the historical actors that imagined it, it is impossible to shed new light on one without further studying the other. Therefore, this dissertation offers at once a

¹ “La nueva revolución de nuestra América será revolución de base y de sentido indio. De conciencia o de subconciencia indígena expresada en una renovación económica y social.” Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, “La cuestión del nombre,” In *¿A dónde va Indoamérica?*, Santiago de Chile: Editoriales Ercilla, 1935, p. 29.

² “La expresión de la nueva concepción renovadora de América.” Haya de la Torre, *Idem*, p. 23.

revision of the history of APRA, the political movement that first envisioned and theorized Indo-America.

The American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) emerged in the mid-1920s as a hemispheric anti-imperialist movement. Established by a handful of leftist Peruvian exiles, this international organization demanded political, economic, cultural, and spiritual sovereignty for the people of Latin America. Apristas positioned continental unity at the forefront of their combat against economic imperialism and mental colonialism. Indo-America, they argued, would bring both freedom and moral revival to Latin Americans. The founders of APRA were university students and labor activists who had engaged in anti-governmental activities and attacked the political and social conditions that reigned in early twentieth century Peru. Persecution is the price they paid for their political activism; they suffered arrests and waves of deportations starting in the spring of 1923.

Using both domestic and transnational frameworks of historical analysis, my dissertation investigates the context of production of APRA's vision of continental integration. More specifically, it concurrently historicizes the production of Indo-America as political project and as the experience of exile and persecution lived by APRA members who took part in the making of Indo-America between 1923 and 1945. Because of its anti-governmental activities, the APRA was never able to fully and openly participate in Peruvian politics before 1945.³ During most of the interwar period, its members were either imprisoned in Peru or sent into exile abroad. As a result, these actors began to reflect upon notions of continental nationalism and later developed new forms of continental consciousness as they moved back and forth between the homeland and spaces of

³ The election of José Luis Bustamante y Rivero in 1945 hallmarked in Peru an era of democratic hopes. For the first time since 1931, the head of the Peruvian state was freely elected. In May 1945 the APRA party achieved legal status in Peru and prepared for forthcoming elections. Several Apristas were elected in Congress shortly thereafter. The Peruvian "democratic spring," however, was rapidly undermined by a spiral of governmental crises that rocked the country and ultimately led to the return of military rule and authoritarian control in October 1948. Harry Kantor, *The Ideology and Program of the Peruvian Aprista Movement*, New York: Octagon Books Inc., 1966; Peter Flindell Klarén, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

exile. My dissertation traces how continuous travels between Peru and places of exile in Europe and across the Americas progressively changed the meaning and nature of the Indo-American project.

Contributions to Scholarship on APRA

At the core of my work are two interrogations: Who thinks of the Americas and more broadly continental nationalism? How and why do non-state actors produce political knowledge that advocates hemispheric unity? In the Latin American context, the answer to these questions usually lies in struggles for identity politics or economic concerns. To give but one example, the nineteenth century Bolivarian project, the first regionalist project to have emerged in the Western Hemispheres, was rooted in the Hispano-American ideal of federating all the newly established nations of Spanish culture.⁴ More recently, contemporary interpretations of this Bolivarian project helped put together counter-hegemonic efforts against US-sponsored and commercially driven regionalism projects like the NAFTA or the FTAA.⁵ The most famous and certainly most discussed of these attempts in recent years is Hugo Chavez's ALBA.

The question of *Americanidad* finds echoes in North American national contexts as well. In Québec, writers, literary scholars, and artists used and conceptualized the concept of *Américanité* starting in the 1960s and 1970s. These efforts initially sought to distance Québec from its European roots and highlight instead the American component of Quebec's identity. More recently, historians and political scientists in Québec have returned to the concept of *Américanité*, armed this time with

⁴ Bolivarianism takes its name after Simon Bolívar, one of the leaders of the independence movement in Latin America (1810-1824). This project uses Hispanic culture as counter-hegemonic efforts against Monroeism, defined by Mexican politician and intellectual José Vasconcelos as "the Anglo-Saxon ideal of incorporating [...] the Hispanic nations to the Northern empire by means of the politics of Pan-Americanism." José Vasconcelos, cited in Greg Grandin, "Your Americanism and Mine: Americanism and Anti-Americanism in the Americas," *The American Historical Review* 111:4 (October 2006), p. 1044.

⁵ Marianne H. Marchand, "Contesting the Free Trade Area of the Americas: Invoking a Bolivarian geopolitical imagination to construct an alternative regional project and identity," In *Critical Theories, International Relations and "the Anti-Globalisation Movement": The Politics of Global Resistance*, Edited by Catherine Eschle and Bice Manguascha, New York: Routledge, 2005, pp. 103-116.

new questions, to stress in innovative ways how continental influences shape Québec' identity.⁶ Comparative analyses and transnational approaches assist these recent research trends.

In the United States, scholars interested in the notion of Americanness turn to this concept to debunk the exceptionalist narratives of US histories. Post-colonial literary scholars are particularly fond of this concept. To downplay the hegemonic weight of the term "America," they either highlight its plural nature or else reveal its imperial pretensions.⁷ Other scholarly contributions, particularly in the field of history, are currently revising common understanding of Pan-Americanism. By moving away from diplomatic-centric approaches to Pan-Americanism, they contribute to emphasizing the multiplicity of meanings ascribed to the notion of Americanness.⁸

The scholarship on Americanness, whether produced in Latin America or in North America, shares one important paradox: it challenges national myths, yet cannot escape the urge to re-create collective myths of their own that are nevertheless still entrenched in questions of identity politics. The relation between the Indo-American project, a form of continental nationalism, and the respective nationalism of Latin American Republics, stemmed from a similar paradox. Revising APRA's political history from a transnational perspective feeds into this growing scholarship.

⁶ Gérard Bouchard, *Genèse des nations et culture du Nouveau Monde : Essai d'histoire comparée*, Montréal : Éditions du Boréal, 2000. Yvan Lamonde, « Pourquoi penser l'américanité du Québec ? » *Politique et Sociétés* 18 :1 (1999) : 93-98; Joseph Yvon Thériault, *Critique de l'américanité. Mémoire de démocratie au Québec*, Montréal : Éditions Québec Amérique, 2002. The Groupe interdisciplinaire de recherche sur les Amériques (GIRA) has been a pioneering force in advancing this scholarship. See recent efforts by Québécois Latin Americanists to push these reflections forward: Maurice Demers, *Connected Struggles: Catholics, Nationalist, and Transnational Relations between Mexico and Québec, 1917-1945*, Montréal, MQUP, 2014; Michel Nareau, *Double jeu: baseball et littératures américaines*, Erres Essais, 2012; Geneviève Dorais, "Penser l'américanité québécoise depuis le sud du Rio Grande. Une entreprise salutaire?" *Québec, Amérique latine et circulations continentales. Missionnariat et droits de la personne*, Congrès annuel de l'ACÉLAC (Association canadienne des études latino-américaines et des Caraïbes), Université Laval, Québec, May 2014.

⁷ See for example José David Saldívar, *Trans-Americanity: Subaltern Modernities, global Coloniality, and the Cultures of Greater Mexico*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2012; Anibal Quijano and Immanuel Wallerstein, "Americanness as a Concept, or the Americas in the Modern World-System," *International Social Science Journal* 134 (1992): 549-557; Walter D. Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*, Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publication, 2005.

⁸ Ramón A. Gutierrez and Elliott Young, "Transnationalizing Borderlands History," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 41: 1 (Spring 2010): 26-53; Panel: *Revisiting Panamericanism: It's Meaning, Chronology and Legacy*, XXXII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association. Chicago, May 2014.

The classic body of literature produced on APRA is infamous for its astounding profusion and lack of objectivity. Up until the early 1960s, Peruvians produced the bulk of Aprista scholarship. These works either correspond to Aprista celebrations of the group's historical mission and leader, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, or contrastingly spend most of their energy disparaging the latter and APRA's political program.⁹ By the late 1970s, North American scholars had in turn produced a number of analyses on APRA that fed into classic literature on Latin American mass parties. These studies largely brought into focus and usually praised the reformist and democratic character of post-Second World War APRA. Regrettably, by giving prominent attention to APRA's doctrine and discursive frames of analysis, initial North American studies regularly ended up reproducing official Aprista histories.¹⁰

While works of greater analytical value were produced in later decades, two recurrent themes characterize the body of literature produced on APRA prior to the year 2000.¹¹ First, Haya de la

⁹ Official historians of the party recorded their experience amid Aprista lines and uncritically commemorated the history of their organization. The most important works include Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Apuntes para una biografía del Apra*, Lima: Mosca Azul Editores, 1978; Sánchez, *Haya de la Torre y el Apra: Crónica de un hombre y un partido*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial de Pacífico, 1955; Sánchez, *Haya de la Torre o el político: Crónica de una vida sin tregua*, Santiago: Ediciones Ercilla, 1934; Felipe Cossío del Polmar, *Biografía de Haya de la Torre*, México: Editorial Cultura, 1961; Cossío del Polmar, *Haya de la Torre: el indoamericano*, México: Editorial America, 1939. On the other hand, Aprista enemies and defectors published copious critiques, from both left and right ends of the political spectrum, to render public what they deemed deceitful maneuvers amid APRA. See for example Mariano Valderrama, "La evolución ideológica del APRA, 1924-1962," in *El APRA: Un camino de esperanzas y frustraciones*, ed. Mariano Valderrama et al., Lima: Ediciones El Gallo Rojo, 1980; Hernando Aguirre Gamio, *Liquidación histórica del APRA y del Colonialismo Neoliberal*, Lima: Ediciones Debate, 1962; Alberto Hernández Urbina, *Los partidos y la crisis del Apra*, Lima: Ediciones Raíz, 1956; Magda Portal, *La Trampa*, Lima: Ediciones Raíz, 1956; Portal, *¿Quiénes traicionaron al pueblo?*, Lima, 1950; Alberto Hidalgo, *Por qué renuncié al Apra*, Buenos Aires: Imprenta Leomir, 1954. Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera, *Haya de la Torre, la estafa política más grande de América*, Lima: Ediciones del Pacífico, 1951.

¹⁰ Liisa North, "The Peruvian Aprista Party and Haya de la Torre: Myths and Realities," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 17: 2 (May, 1975), 245-253; Harry Kantor, *The Ideology and Program of the Peruvian Aprista Movement*, New York: Octagon Books Inc., 1966 (1953); Frederick B. Pike, "The Old and the New APRA in Peru: Myth and Reality," *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, 18 (Autumn, 1964): 3-45; Grant Hilliker, *The Politics of Reform in Peru: The Aprista and Other Mass Parties of Latin America*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971; Robert J. Alexander, *Aprismo: The Ideas and Doctrines of Victor Raul Haya de la Torre*, Kent: Kent State University Press, 1973.

¹¹ Earlier works that provided critical and original perspectives on APRA include: Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez, *La Literatura Política de González Prada, Mariátegui y Haya de la Torre*, México: Ediciones de Andrea, 1957; Peter Flindell Klarén, *Modernization, Dislocation, and Aprismo: Origins of the Peruvian Aprista Party, 1870-1932*, Austin and London: The University of Texas Press, 1973; Jeffrey L. Klaiber, "The Popular Universities and the

Torre attracts overwhelming attention. It has proved very hard for scholars to detach the evolution of APRA from its historical and charismatic leader. Second, research has turned selectively to the Peruvian national scene in order to grasp the complex evolution of APRA. It largely focuses on the history of the Peruvian APRA Party (*Partido Aprista Peruano*), the national party that APRA founded in Peru in 1930.¹² Yet, the movement's foundational years passed in exile throughout the 1920s are merely mentioned, not studied. As a result, pragmatism and hypocrisy have alternately explained, through the exclusive lens of Peruvian politics, the ideological shifts that Haya de la Torre prescribed between 1923 and 1945 to what is often thought of as his political organization. To be sure, this literature has produced important and valuable works. But their shortsighted focus has yielded very limited considerations to APRA and its Indo-American project as transnational phenomena. My contention is that we cannot fully understand Indo-America without granting serious attention to the recurrence of state persecution against APRA, either in the form of exile abroad or imprisonment in Peru. Historians must ask, I assert, how the practice of political survival affected Apristas' intellectual production.

My project on Indo-America contributes to the scholarship currently produced on *Aprismo*, which has fortunately begun to address the aforementioned loopholes. Following in the footsteps of Peter F. Klarén's earlier work on APRA as popular movement, a trend of literature on APRA is currently seeking to move away from Haya de la Torre-centric studies.¹³ Jaymie Patricia Heilman's

Origins of Aprismo, 1921-1924," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 55: 4 (Nov., 1975): 693-715; Klaiber, *Religion and Revolution in Peru, 1824-1976*, Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977; Steve Stein, *Populism in Peru: The Emergence of the Masses and the Politics of Social Control*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1980; Imelda Vega-Centeno, *Aprismo popular : Cultura, Religión y Política*, Lima : Tarea, 1991.

¹² On 25 August 1930, Lieutenant Colonel Luis M. Sánchez Cerro fomented a military coup and successfully seized power. The end of the presidential rule of President Augusto B. Leguía marked a short-lived political opening in Peruvian politics. APRA members returned from exile and founded a national party in view of participating to the 1931 Peruvian elections.

¹³ Peter F. Klarén contended early on that the charisma of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre cannot alone explain APRA's long-lasting success as political force in Peru. In *Modernization, Dislocation, and Aprismo*, he traces the transformations that rocked the sugar planting industry of the Peruvian northern coast between the late nineteenth

research demonstrates the APRA party's interest in rural Ayacucho in the 1930s, and invites us to move beyond Lima and investigate regional Aprista dynamics. Similarly, David Nugent dedicated one chapter of his work on state formation in northern Peru to APRA's connections with the peasantry of Amazonas in the early 1930s. Nelson Manrique's most recent efforts to connect the life of Haya de la Torre with other party members gives valid results, but his analysis, however insightful, tends to stay within the confines of earlier debates regarding APRA's anti-oligarchic nature.¹⁴ Conversely, other scholars have increasingly turned to marginalized Aprista leaders and vindicated the weight of their contributions to the movement.¹⁵ Peruvian poet Magda Portal has been, to the present, the hub of these renewed efforts.¹⁶ In similar fashion, by exploring the group dynamics particular to transnational APRA and unveiling the symbolic politics that turned Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, certainly a key and very important political actor in the movement, into the only apparent legitimate representative and ideologue of APRA, my dissertation enriches and helps decenter the study of *Aprismo*.

and the early twentieth centuries. Klarén examines how these socio-economic transformations dismantled the traditional social fabric of the northern countryside and how, as a result, they fostered APRA as popular movement. Peter F. Klarén, *Modernization, Dislocation, and Aprismo: Origins of the Peruvian Aprista Party, 1870-1932*, Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1973.

¹⁴ Jaymie Patricia Heilman, "We Will No Longer Be Servile: Aprismo in 1930s Ayacucho," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 38 (2006): 491-518; David Nugent, *Modernity at the Edge of Empire: State, Individual, and Nation in the Northern Peruvian Andes, 1885-1935*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997; Nelson Manrique, "¡Usted fue Aprista!" *Bases para una historia crítica del APRA*, Lima : Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2009.

¹⁵ Martín Bergel discusses this theme in "Los 'intelectuales menores' en la génesis del Partido Aprista Peruano. Algunas consideraciones iniciales," *Revista de historia intelectual*, 17 (2013): 193-198.

¹⁶ Iñigo García-Bryce, "Transnational Activist: Magda Portal and the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), 1926-1950," *The Americas*, 70: 4 (April 2014): 667-706; Kathleen Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel: The World of Magda Portal. With a Selection of Her Poems*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009; Ivonne Wallace Fuentes, *Becoming Magda Portal: Poetry, Gender, and Revolutionary Politics in Lima, Peru, 1920-1930*, PhD diss., Department of History, Duke University, 2006; Daniel R. Reedy, *Magda Portal, la pasionaria peruana: biografía intelectual*, Lima: Ediciones Flora Tristán, 2000. Also, in the years 2000, the Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú has deemed important to highlight in published anthologies the intellectual merits of the Aprista leaders Antenor Orrego, famous philosopher of the *Pueblo-Continente*, and Manuel Seoane. *Antenor Orrego : la unidad continental y los orígenes de la modernidad en el Perú*, ed. Juan Abugattás *et al.*, Lima : Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2009; *Antenor Orrego : Modernidad y culturas americanas, páginas escogidas*, ed. Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez, Lima : Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2004; *Manuel Seoane, páginas escogidas*, ed. Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez, Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2002.

My efforts to study the networks of solidarity that bonded APRA members and foreign allies in the face of recurrent persecution, including imprisonment and exile, join contemporary endeavors of Latin America and Europe-based scholars who have granted increasing attention to APRA during its successive periods of political exile. Starting somewhat timidly in the 1990s, notably with the work of Ricardo Melgar Bao, pioneering historian of the APRA exile in Mexico, an outburst in recent scholarship takes pains to reconstruct Aprista networks of exile, tracing intellectual exchanges between Latin American political communities, and studying APRA's mythic and symbolic construction of exile.¹⁷ In response to Daniel Iglesias' call to address the sociological formation of transnational *Aprismo* and steer clear of exclusive discursive analysis, my dissertation grants attention to movement and exchange within the transnational networks of solidarity that made the institutionalization of persecuted APRA viable.¹⁸ Correspondingly, part of my endeavor in my work

¹⁷ Martín Bergel, *Con el ojo izquierdo. Mirando a Bolivia, de Manuel Seoane, viaje y deriva Latinoamericana en la génesis del antiimperalismo Aprista* (unpublished) 2009; Bergel, *Manuel Seoane y Luis Heysen : El entrelugar de los exiliados Apristas Peruanos en la Argentina de los años veintes*, (unpublished) 2008 ; Bergel, *Nomadismo proselitista y revolución. Notas para una caracterización del primer exilio aprista (1923-1931)*, Universidad de Buenos Aires / Programa de Historia Intelectual de la Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, (unpublished) 2008 ; Bergel, "La desmura revolucionaria. Practicas intelectuales y cultura del heroísmo en los orígenes del aprismo peruano (1923-1931)," *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, Coloquios, 2007; Pablo Yankelevich, "La Revolución Mexicana En El Debate Político Latinoamericano: Ingenieros, Palacios, Haya De La Torre Y Mariátegui," *Cuadernos Americanos* 3, 111 (2005): 161-186; Daniel Iglesias, "Articulaciones Relacionales y Redes Transnacionales: Acercamiento Critico Para Una Nueva Historiografía Del Aprismo Continental," *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, 2007 ; Ricardo Melgar Bao, "Notas para leer un proceso a la intelectualidad oligárquica: Balance y liquidación del novecientos de Luis Alberto Sánchez," in *Nostroros: Revista critica latinoamericana*, 1, 1 (2007): 18-28; Melgar Bao, "Redes y espacio público transfronterizo: Haya de la Torre en México (1923-1924)," in *Redes intelectuales y formación de naciones en Espana y América Latina (1890-1940)*, ed. Marta Elena Casaús Arzú and Manuel Pérez Ledesma, Madrid: Ediciones de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2004: 65-106; Melgar Bao, *Redes e imaginario del exilio en México y América Latina: 1934-1940*, Argentina: LibrosenRed, 2003; Melgar Bao, "Redes del exilio aprista en México (1923-1924), una aproximación," in *México, país refugio*, ed. Pablo Yankelevich, México D.F.: Plaza y Valdés: 245-263; Melgar Bao, "Militancia Aprista en el Caribe: la sección cubana," *Cuadernos Americanos* 1, 37 (1993): 208-226.

¹⁸ Daniel Iglesias, "Réseaux transnationaux et dynamiques contestataires en exil. Sociologie historique des pratiques politiques des dirigeants des partis politiques apristes (1920-1962)." Ph.D. diss., Université Paris Diderot (Paris 7), 2011; Iglesias, "Articulaciones relaciones y redes transnacionales: Acercamiento critico para una nueva historiografía del Aprismo continental," *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, 2007. Scholars usually grant importance to one specific community of Aprista exiles at a time. Ricardo Melgar Bao has primarily worked on the Comité Aprista de México. Martín Bergel and Leandro Sessa focus on APRA in Argentina. Fabio Moraga Valle has demonstrated initial interest in the Aprista community of exiles in Chile.

is to historicize the workings of transnational solidarity networks that assisted the process of development of APRA as persecuted political group.¹⁹

The main questions that underpin my dissertation are: What was the impact of state persecution on the crafting of the Indo-American project? How is it that Indo-America, a product of the 1920s, survived throughout all these years despite the return to Peru in 1930? How did the lived experience of persecution, both at home and abroad, shape the making of Indo-America? To what extent did the practice of political survival shape the intellectual production of APRA? What types of local demands and realities shaped the crafting of its continental project? Is it possible to explain the ideological changes in the Indo-American project without having recourse to the betrayal thesis?

Definition(s) of APRA

APRA means different things to a large number of different actors. During the period under study in my dissertation, *Aprismo* alternately designated a revolutionary social movement, a left-wing reformist national party, and an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic doctrine. It even came to signify, for many Aprista followers in Peru, a moral code of conduct and a unique, holistic way of being. To be sure, defining APRA is no easy task, and lucky are those who can find in the scholarship a single, simple answer to their queries.

¹⁹ In order for readers to fully grasp my research intentions, allow me one additional conceptual detour. In a thoughtful and theoretically concise essay published in 2007, sociologist Daniel Iglesias heralds a promising change of methodology to better explore the mechanisms and social articulations that shape political communities that are transnational in nature. More specifically, Iglesias' article calls for re-addressing the meaning of *Aprismo*. Many social categories undergirded the transnational solidarities that helped create the networks Aprista actors navigated between the 1920s and 1960s. Iglesias rightly reminds us to grant attention to relational dimensions between actors, for transnational solidarities affected the individual trajectories of those who founded political movements from exile. "Se trata de desplazar el campo de análisis" he writes, "sobre los fenómenos de circulación, de negociación, de apropiación a todo nivel." This change in focus implies that historians of APRA must learn how to play with different levels of analysis. It demands that we grant increasing attention to individual identities on the one hand, without disregarding, on the other, the weight that collective identities (such as affiliations to groups with specific agendas) – whether they be political, economical, cultural, or even spiritual – exert in defining, orienting, and shaping individual actions. Daniel Iglesias, "Articulaciones relaciones y redes transnacionales: Acercamiento crítico para una nueva historiografía del Aprismo continental," *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, 2007, p. 5.

One reason to explain this array of definitions is that the revolutionary ideology of APRA changed over time.²⁰ At its beginnings, the APRA argued that Latin American countries had to come together and unite as a means to better expose and resist US imperialism. APRA's anti-imperialism was rooted in Latin American nationalism. Starting at the turn of the century, the advance of North American capital in Latin America and the repeated interventions by the US marines in Central America and the Caribbean (ostensibly in the name of law and order but really to protect US business interests abroad) left a strong legacy of anti-Americanism in the region.²¹ Apristas, like many of their contemporaries, censured Washington's expansionist policies in the Western Hemisphere.²² The revolutionary outbursts in Mexico (1910) and Russia (1917) also contributed to shaping the Aprista doctrine, or *Aprismo*. They yielded the promise of social changes and made the young founders of APRA dream of emancipated nations and fairer societies.²³

As we shall see, however, fierce anti-US sentiments gradually gave way to more moderate positions vis-à-vis the northern power starting in the 1930s. Anti-imperialism continued to be a defining feature of Indo-America, but Apristas placated their attacks against the United States and expanded their understanding of imperialism.²⁴ In 1936, one important doctrinal tenet of APRA

²⁰ For a positive assessment of these ideological changes see Roy Soto Rivera, *Aprismo y antimperialismo*, Arequipa: Editorial Mirando, 1970. For a negative assessment see Mariano Valderrama, "La evolución ideológica del APRA 1924-1962," en Valderrama *et al. El APRA: Un camino de esperanzas y frustraciones*, Lima: Ediciones el Gallo Rojo, 1980, pp. 1-98.

²¹ In 1904, The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine turned a defensive dictum contained in the Monroe Doctrine (1823) into an aggressive policy of US supremacy in the region. This aggressive foreign policy lasted until the promulgation of the Good Neighbor Policy in 1933 sought to curb some of Washington's fiercest expansionist policies. Serge Ricard, "The Roosevelt Corollary," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 1, Presidential Doctrines (Mar., 2006): 17-26. Edward S. Kaplan, *U.S. Imperialism in Latin America, Bryan's Challenges and Contributions, 1900-1920*, Westport and London: Greenwood Press, 1998.

²² These anti-US sentiments were influenced but not determined by the expansion of international Communism following the creation of the Comintern in 1919. Jeffrey L. Klaiber, "The Non-Communist Left in Latin America," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Oct. – Dec., 1971), p. 607.

²³ Pablo Yankelevich, "La revolución Mexicana en el debate político latinoamericano: Ingenieros, Palacios, Haya de la Torre y Mariategui," *Cuadernos Americanos*, Vol. 3, Núm. 11 (Mayo, 2005): 161-186.

²⁴ Valderrama, "La evolución ideológica del APRA..." , p. 42.

read: “Nuestros pueblos deben emanciparse del imperialismo, cualquiera que sea su bandera.”²⁵ Apristas began to translate the anti-imperialist struggles of the 1920s into a continental battle against national dictatorships and in favor of democracy. The promulgation of the Good Neighbor Policy in 1933 partly explains this change of position. By the 1940s, the double threat of Nazism and Fascism finished propelling cooperation between Indo-America and the United States at the center stage of APRA’s political agenda. Apristas hereafter envisioned Indo-America as a democratic bulwark against rising totalitarian regimes in Europe. They embraced inter-American affairs and completely stopped its indiscriminate critiques against the US power.²⁶

Many critics have chastised the conservative drift of the party’s program. They suppose that APRA’s political agenda has followed in the course of its history a leftwing to rightwing linear, inexorable progression. Recently, the neoliberal policies that characterized the second presidential term in Peru of Aprista Alan García (2006-2011) seem to prove these critics correct. In a 2011 publication, García openly parts with the party’s social-democrat tradition by defining democracy in terms of consumer rights and market opportunities. García’s *Contra el temor económico: Creer en el Perú* argues that the pursuit of a neoliberal political agenda will bring Peru into modernity and help solve its social problems. As a result, García lets go of the Indo-American dream and instead enthusiastically promotes *La Alianza del Pacífico* (Chile, Peru, Colombia Mexico, Panama) as the best plan for regional integration.²⁷ Still, in contrast to these critics, I contend that the leftwing versus rightwing debate is too simplistic to capture the full complexity behind APRA’s ideological disagreements and alterations, mainly because it focuses exclusively on the national scene to explain

²⁵ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, “El Antiimperialismo y el APRA,” in *Obras Completas*, Vol. 4, Lima: Editorial Juan Mejía Baca, 1976-1977, p. 25.

²⁶ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, *La defensa continental*, Buenos Aires: Ediciones Problemas de América, 1941. Manuel Seoane, *Nuestra América y la Guerra*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Ercilla, 1940. Luis Alberto Sánchez, “A New Reinterpretation of the History of America,” *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (August, 1943): 441-456.

²⁷ Alan García, *Contra el temor económico: Creer en el Perú*, Lima : Planeta, 2011.

these transformations.

Many scholars have also attempted to elucidate APRA's ideological changes. Some suggest that they are due to Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre's insatiable thirst for power. His cunning pragmatism, argue these Peruvian-centric studies, led Haya de la Torre to change the APRA doctrine whenever he deemed it necessary to serve his political ends. Others focus on the international scene. They point to the combination of fresh perspectives for inter-American cooperation, yielded by the Good Neighbor Policy (1933), and new threats worldwide, epitomized by the Spanish Civil War and the rise of the Third Reich in Germany, to explicate the transformations of APRA's maximum program.²⁸ These studies offer serious and interesting points of view, but they miss one important tension that has caused ideological change in APRA: the going back and forth of historical subjects between Peru and abroad. By establishing a dialogue between the Peruvian and the international scene, my dissertation sheds new light on the reasons that motivated APRA leaders to shift their radical stances to reformist proposals and, by the same token, lessen its attacks on foreign capitals and US investment.

In effect, one central argument of my dissertation is to show how living in exile and suffering persecution in Peru shaped the way in which APRA leaders experienced and conceived of democracy. My dissertation demonstrates that Apristas adapted their tactics and political strategies according to the changing national and international contexts.²⁹ If from radical Marxist revolutionaries in the 1920s Apristas progressively turned into reformers and social democrats during the next decade, it had as much to do, if not more, with the "political opportunity structures"

²⁸ See for example Klarén, *Modernization, Dislocation, and Aprismo...*, pp. 155-156.

²⁹ Although the APRA has usually privileged democratic and pacifist means of action to meet its ends, it also organized on a number of occasions violent uprisings in Peru. Though none of these uprising resulted in APRA's conquest of state power. They were all quelled and met with reprisals by the Peruvian authorities.

that were available to them at specific moments in time and space as it did with intellectual influences they absorbed from international phenomena.³⁰

In addition to exposing how the lived experience of exile shaped the Indo-America's formation, my work suggests that Indo-America was also shaped by the context of state persecution in Peru. Sydney Tarrow highlights that groups seek to externalize specific claims and agendas by transforming them into "universalistic terms that would appeal to international allies."³¹ This statement sheds light on the past of Indo-America. In effect, my dissertation demonstrates that, being deprived of basic political rights and facing the impossibility of democratic participation at the national level, Apristas vied for access to state power through indirect mechanisms. Thus it is not surprising that the first serious attempts by Apristas to theorize Indo-America came in the 1930s. Before the impossibility of democracy at home, APRA invented strategies that tied them ever more intimately with the continental scene.

Another reason to explain the confusing iteration of definitions given to the APRA is that it operated on two fronts: international and national. National-centric studies of aprismo tend to point to the 1930s as a moment of retreat for APRA, arguing that soon after the foundation of a national party in Peru, this organization turned its gaze toward the Peruvian scene at the expense of its continental revolutionary project. The new scholarship on transnational APRA has started, rightfully so, to challenge these conclusions. My dissertation contributes to this scholarship by tracing the evolution, and resilience in time of the notion of Indo-America. While scholars of APRA normally

³⁰ Hein-Anton Van Der Heijen provides the following definition of political opportunity structure: "Political opportunity structure refers to the specific features of a political system (e.g., a country) that can explain the different action repertoires, organizational forms and impacts of social movements, and social movement organizations in that specific country." Hein-Anton Van Der Heijen, "Globalization, Environmental Movement, and International Political Opportunity Structures," *Organization Environment* 19:1 (March 2006): 28-45. Political sociologists have produced a rich scholarship on how "structures of opportunity" orient the political action, and frame the political demands, of social moments. See Sydney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movement and Contentious Politics*, 3rd ed., New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011. Charles Tilly, *Regimes and Repertoires*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006. Jack A. Goldstone, "More Social Movements or Fewer? Beyond Political Opportunity Structures to Relational Fields," *Theory and Society* 33: (2004): 333-365.

³¹ Sydney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 144.

suggest that APRA's interest for its continental project waned after it turned into a national party in the early 1930s, I show that, quite the contrary in fact, the creation of the Peruvian APRA Party in 1930 propelled Indo-America to the center-stage of the Aprista doctrine. Turning my focus away from the Peruvian scene, without however discarding its importance to study the Peruvian APRA, enables me to understand better the changes that took place in the APRA doctrine during the interwar period.

Genesis of APRA

The moral crisis that rocked Latin America in the early decades of the twentieth century resulted in drastic revisions of its governing liberal-conservative order.³² If from the Independences onward clashes between liberal and conservative political factions had dictated the pace of nation-state formation for young Latin American republics, a new generation of middle-class intellectuals and political activists was determined to challenge this order and drive continental development toward overhauled notions of progress and modernity.

No event had perhaps more influence on future Apristas than the Latin American student movement. This historical movement, often referred to as *La Reforma*, started in July 1918 with a student strike at the University of Córdoba, Argentina. Demands to modernize higher education are what motivated the strike in the first place. But the "Grito de Córdoba" did much more than reform one university. The struggle unleashed dormant tensions that had been intensifying for more than a decade as streams of middle class students and intellectuals flooded Latin American urban centers.³³

³² Patricia Funes, "El pensamiento latinoamericano sobre la nación en la década de 1920," *Boletín Americanista* 49 (Abril 1999): 108-109.

³³ The first American student congress met in Montevideo in 1908. There, students proposed to transform universities into popular arenas where intellectuals and workers, through transmission of cultural knowledge, could better challenge the power of elitist universities. Klaiber, "The Popular Universities and the Origins of Aprismo..." Carlos Tünnermann, *Sesenta años de la reforma universitaria de Córdoba, 1918-1978*, Costa Rica: Editorial Universitaria Centroamericana (EDUCA), 1978.

Latin American reform students opposed national oligarchic power as well as the dominant positivist philosophies. They proposed in their stead models of continental community, in which beauty, morals, and anti-materialism constituted the mainstay of modernity and future hemispheric unity.³⁴ Furthermore, animated with a sense of social mission, liberal and radical students knitted their academic demands with outward political and social vindications. According to them, the democracy they strove for in their classroom must also expand to society as a whole.³⁵ The reform movement snowballed across the continent and soon led to the creation of organized student movements in many other Latin American countries.

In Peru, the student reform movement that began in 1919 reflected the same ideals. Peruvian Reform-minded students were dubious of only improving “certain aspects of the lives of lower classes,” writes historian Jeffrey L. Klaiber, and “came to realize that the social regeneration of Peru could only be effected through a total transformation of all of society itself.”³⁶ They pursued their goals through struggles both inside of the classroom and outside. The recognition they gained as a result of their participation in the January 1919 general strike in the region of Lima-Callao, when thousands of workers walked out to demand the eight-hour workday, encouraged university students to further their association with the workers of Peru.³⁷ The foundation in 1921 of the González

³⁴ Of foremost importance within the rhetoric of cultural regeneration was José Enrique Rodo’s celebrated call to the *juventud* of Latin America. It left profound marks on the imaginaries of subsequent generations. Consult José Enrique Rodo, *Ariel*, México D.F.: Editorial Calypso, 1948 (1900).

³⁵ Tünnermann, *Sesenta años de la reforma universitaria...*

³⁶ Jeffrey L. Klaiber, “The Popular Universities and the Origins of Aprismo, 1921-1924,” *The Hispanic American Review*, 55: 4 (Nov., 1975), p. 715.

³⁷ The traditional scholarship on APRA portrays this event as the beginning of an organic alliance between reform students and workers. In fact, many workers seemed wary of their involvement and expressed concern about incompatible interests between their cause and the motives of middle-class students and intellectuals. Julio Portocarrero, *Sindicalismo Peruano. Primera Etapa, 1911-1930*, [Lima?]: Editorial Gráfica Labor S.A., 1987, pp. 54-56; Steven J. Hirsch, “Peruvian Anarcho-Syndicalism: Adapting Transnational Influences and Forging Counterhegemonic Practices, 1905-1930,” in Steven Hirsch and Lucien van der Walt ed., *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870-1940: The Praxis of National Liberation, Internationalism, and Social Revolution*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, Hotei Publishing, 2012, p. 233.

Prada Popular Universities in Lima and Vitarte served this goal.³⁸ These cultural centers offered night classes to the poor and uneducated. Some argue that, in the end, the Popular Universities contributed as much to instilling in students who taught the classes the belief that they were a crucial, modernizing influence for society as they did to help raise social awareness among the workers of Peru.³⁹ Political dissent soon became the pedagogical pedigree of the academic training imparted to reform students. By all accounts, the generation of future Apristas devoted much more time to standing in picket lines and joining street demonstrations than to studying for graduation exams. Sedate blackboards had little to offer in comparison to the dazzling atmosphere of the reform movement.⁴⁰

The heyday of the reform movement in Peru, however, did not last; the state's repressive tactics proved stronger than student dissent. The period of relative conciliation and compromise that initially characterized the relation between popular sectors and the government of Augusto B. Leguía, from 1919 through approximately 1923, gave way to an era marked by arbitrary rule and state repression.⁴¹ Though relations between Leguía and the *Reformistas* had already deteriorated between 1921 and 1923, the crisis reached its climax in May 1923.⁴² In response to Leguía's attempt to consecrate Peru to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, student activists and union leaders spearheaded a mass protest in the streets of Lima to oppose this measure.⁴³ Violence against protestors ensued, resulting in two casualties and many more injured. The clash ended in a bitter victory for protestors:

³⁸ The foundation of the González Prada Popular Universities by Peruvian students at the San Marcos University in 1921 became a landmark of the university reform movement as it expanded outside Argentina.

³⁹ Ernesto Cornejo-Coster, "Creación y funcionamiento," (n.d.) in Dardo Cúneo, *La Reforma universitaria*, Caracas : Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1978, pp. 71-72.

⁴⁰ Jorge Basadre, *La Vida y la Historia: Ensayos sobre personas, lugares y problemas*, 2nd ed, [Lima?], Lluvia Editores, 1981, pp. 258-259.

⁴¹ It became clear by 1923 that Leguía's "Patria Nueva" had failed to live up to its promises. In the face of increasing social unrest, Leguía flip-flopped on his social reform agenda and renewed alliance with the oligarchy in an effort to placate US investors and keep the flow of capitals running. Teresa Tovar, *Movimientos populares y crisis oligárquica (1900-1930)*, Lima: DESCO, 1985, pp. 36-37; Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1982, pp. 169-170.

⁴² Jorge Basadre, "En torno a la universidad de San Marcos entre 1920 y 1929," *Vida y la historia. Ensayos sobre personas, lugares y problemas*, pp. 239-336.

⁴³ Hirsch, "Peruvian Anarcho-Syndicalism: Adapting Transnational Influences..." p. 242.

Leguía ultimately balked and halted the project, but the price to pay came in the form of arbitrary arrests and deportations of students and workers.

The fact that the university youth of Córdoba planted the continental premise of liberation in its opening manifesto exhibits the early commitment of this generation to thinking beyond the confines of the nation-state.⁴⁴ The series of discourses and declarations that sprang from other Latin American student federations in the following years reinforced this position; the revolutionary proposal that reform students championed would have continental dimensions or would not exist at all. But, while this all-or-nothing approach gave short shrift to doubts regarding the urgency of a revolutionary proposal rooted in American ideals, the specific contents of this proposal was left up for grabs. This generation of new political players had fallen prey to its stout ambitions. They knew they wanted democratic and de-centralized models of modernization, able to counter the cannons of a barren mode of capitalist development. They also sensed that the creation of foundational myths was important to give the impetus and the energy they needed to imagine and yield solutions to the evils that afflicted Western civilization. The consensus surrounding the revival of American utopias, however, stopped there.⁴⁵

What constituted the essence of Latin America? How to imagine projects of hemispheric unity truly original in form and content? Which type of continental design would concurrently challenge oligarchic powers from within and imperialist threats from without? Rejecting the old order on one hand, professing the onset of “una hora americana” on the other: these only

⁴⁴ “La juventud Argentina de Córdoba a los hombres libres de Sud América,” Argentina, 1918, in Dardo Cúneo, *La Reforma universitaria*, Caracas : Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1978, p. 3, 7.

⁴⁵ For an introductory survey to the notion of the Americas as a utopian geography since the “discovery” of the New World consult: Alberto Flores Galindo, *In Search of An Inca: Identity and Utopia in the Andes*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 10-17.

represented a first step towards igniting the expected revolution of the spirits.⁴⁶ The Latin American youth knew very well that an intense labor of creation was needed to foster genuine regeneration.

The handful of Peruvian students and labor activists who founded APRA endeavored to find answers to these questions. They initially conceived of their movement as an international organization. The first Aprista committees were concurrently established in Paris, Buenos Aires, and Mexico City between 1926 and 1928.⁴⁷ From exile, Aprista members came face to face with Latin American realities. Many echoed the reflection of one of its founding members on the impact that the exile had left on his political beliefs: “mi reciente viaje por Centroamérica, tan fecundo en trascendentes experiencias, me ha permitido ver de cerca la lucha de uno de los más importantes sectores de la América Latina contra el imperialismo invasor de los Estados Unidos del Norte.”⁴⁸ As a result, Apristas intellectually labored to develop an original revolutionary ideology that would bring freedom and moral revival to Latin Americans. They sought continental unity and strived to consolidate what they came to call the Indo-American nation. From exile, Aprista members also pursued militant activities, organized, and expanded their political movement into Europe and most of the Americas.

The political platform of APRA reflected its international roots. In 1926, it released a five-plank program, which it called the “maximum program,” as a means to orient and coordinate the struggles of national liberation it hoped to help bring about at the continental level. Its fundamental proposals were: “1) Action against Yankee imperialism 2) For the political unity of Latin America 3) For the nationalization of land and industry 4) For the internationalization of the Panama Canal 5)

⁴⁶ “La juventud Argentina de Córdoba a los hombres libres...”, p. 3, 7.

⁴⁷ Bergel, “La desmura revolucionaria...” Taracena Arriola, “La Asociación General de Estudiantes Latinoamericanos...” When the APRA was officially founded remains unclear. Scholars attempt to pinpoint which committee first saw the light. I contend that to answer this question with precision is neither possible nor intellectually crucial to begin with.

⁴⁸ “My recent trip to Central America, which fueled transcendental experiences, enabled me to closely observe the struggle that one of the most important sectors of Latin America was leading against the invading imperialism of the United States.” Haya de la Torre, “La lucha de Centroamérica contra el imperialismo,” in *¿A dónde va Indoamérica...*, p. 41.

For solidarity with all peoples and all oppressed classes.”⁴⁹ The APRA rejected political institutions and revolutionary ideologies that came from Europe or the United States. They proposed instead to build a revolutionary doctrine indigenous to the Americas, one that reflected Latin American realities rather than emulate European conditions.⁵⁰ Significantly, the influence of APRA expanded beyond Peru. Parties similar to the Peruvian APRA party surged in other Latin American countries, including: The *Acción Democrática* (Venezuela), the *Liberación Nacional* (Costa Rica), the *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario* (Bolivia), the *Partido Febrerista* (Paraguay), the *Partido Revolucionario Dominicano* (Dominican Republic), the *Mouvement Ouvrier* (Haiti), the *Partido Popular Democrático* (Puerto Rico), and the *Auténtico* and *Ortodoxo* parties (Cuba).⁵¹

Latin American Marxist thinkers have traditionally produced critical knowledge on two parallel fronts. First, their work supplied Latin Americans with in-depth historical interpretations of their surrounding political and social conditions. Prior to offering a revolutionary model, Greg Grandin reminds us, Marxism possessed one central quality: it empowered segments of oppressed people to envision their place in the world and critically reflect upon their experience.⁵² Second, twentieth century Marxist thinkers in Latin America have by tradition pursued radical political agendas that were not only reflexive but also transformative. This means that, according to these thinkers, to decipher and understand better Latin American conditions was useful in as much as it assisted the alteration of these very conditions.⁵³ Apristas ideologues did not escape that rule: their pursuit of abstract thought was deeply entrenched in a struggle for survival.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, “What is the A.P.R.A.?” *The Labour Monthly*, December 1926, pp. 756-759.

⁵⁰ Luis Alberto Sánchez, “A New Interpretation of the history of America,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Aug., 1943), p. 444.

⁵¹ Alexander, *Aprismo: The Ideas and Doctrines...*, pp. 27-28. Víctor Alba, *Historia del movimiento obrero en América Latina*, México: Librerías Mexicanas Unidos, 1964, pp. 284-314.

⁵² Greg Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin American in the Cold War*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004, pp. 182-183.

⁵³ Sheldon B. Liss, *Marxist Thought in Latin America*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1983, p. 9.

⁵⁴ *Idem*, p. 6.

Apristas defined imperialism through economic terms. They had read John A. Hobson's thesis on imperialism attentively and understood that territorial expansion was but one expression of imperialist phenomena.⁵⁵ Travels to Europe in the 1920s introduced José Carlos Mariátegui and Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, two prominent founders and ideologues of APRA, to dialectical materialism, which contributed to shaping their reading of the Peruvian and Latin American realities.⁵⁶ Although they initially flirted with communism, as we shall see, Apristas ultimately rejected the rule of the Third International and proposed to create instead an original movement indigenous to the Americas. Aprista ideologues conformed to what Sheldon B. Liss has called "plain" Marxists, that is, Marxists "who work openly and flexibly, as did Karl Marx, and believe that his ideas are applicable to present situations."⁵⁷ Apristas were, in sum, Marxists who refused ideological dogmatism. They dreaded one size-fits-all interpretation and would rather have abandoned Marxist claims than try to force social realities onto a given doctrine.

According to Apristas, capitalism in Latin America should not be destroyed but rather controlled.⁵⁸ This conclusion stemmed from their peculiar reading of Vladimir I. Lenin. Apristas argued that Lenin's theses on imperialism did not reflect the historical and economic development particular to Latin American countries. They viewed communism as essentially a European phenomenon. Because the socio-economic problems of Europe and Latin America were different, the solutions that their respective problems called for were necessarily different as well, they argued, especially in regard to the relation between capitalism and imperialism. Here probably lies the single most important and original contribution of Apristas to Marxist thought in Latin America: Apristas

⁵⁵ John A. Hobson is one of the first to have explained and theorized the origins of modern economic imperialism. John A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study*, New York: J. Pott and Company, 1902.

⁵⁶ Mariátegui later helped form the Peruvian Socialist party and Peru's General Confederation of Workers.

⁵⁷ Liss, *Marxist Thought in Latin America...*, p. 2

⁵⁸ Haya de la Torre, "El Antiimperialismo y el APRA...", p. 20.

turned Lenin on his head.⁵⁹ In contrast to what Lenin posited in his seminal work *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, APRA argued that in non-industrialized nations imperialism represented the first rather than the final stage of capitalism.⁶⁰ Haya de la Torre first exposed and developed this thesis in *El Antimperialismo y el Apra* (1936) and refined it in later years in *Espacio-Tiempo-Histórico* (1948).⁶¹ “El imperialismo es la ultima etapa del capitalismo en los pueblos industriales,” he maintained, writing on behalf of all Latin Americans, “pero representa en los nuestros la primera etapa. Nuestros capitalismos nacen con el advenimiento del imperialismo moderno. Nace pues, dependiente, y como resultado de la culminación del imperialismo.”⁶² Other Aprista ideologues produced important works on Latin American anti-imperialism as well, including Carlos Manuel Cox, Fernando León de Vivero, Pedro Muñiz, Magda Portal, and Manuel Seoane.⁶³

APRA’s ideological take on imperialism had one major consequence in terms of political organization. In countries understood as still grappling with feudal and semi-feudal economies, like is the case in Peru and most Latin American Republics, the proletarian class was weak or non-existent and could therefore not successfully lead the socialist revolution. The APRA proposed instead a multi-class alliance between the workers, peasants, and the middle classes, one that would constitute the anti-imperialist state. The idea of an “anti-imperialist state” is central to APRA’s thesis on imperialism. At the national level, the anti-imperialist state would exert control over foreign capital and orient it toward national development; it would not eliminate it. It would likewise work

⁵⁹ Jeffrey L. Klaiber, “The Non-Communist Left in Latin America,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Oct. – Dec., 1971), pp. 613-615.

⁶⁰ Haya de la Torre, “El Antiimperialismo y el APRA...”, pp. 18-21.

⁶¹ *Idem*, pp. 9-24. This work came as a response to the critique that the Cuban communist and revolution Julio Antonio Mella directed against APRA. Haya de la Torre argues that this work was meant to counterbalance the advance of both leftist and rightist extremism in Latin American revolutionary proposals. Although Haya de la Torre claims to have written this book in 1928 while in Mexico, this work was first published in 1936.

⁶² Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, cited in Víctor Alba, *Historia del movimiento obrero en América Latina*, México, D.F. : Libreros Mexicano Unidos, 1964, p. 278.

⁶³ Carlos Manuel Cox, *En torno al imperialismo*, Lima: Editorial cooperativa aprista “Atahualpa,” 1933. Fernando León de Vivero, *Avance del imperialismo fascista en el Perú*, México, D.F.: Editorial Manuel Arévalo, 1938. Pedro Muñiz, *Penetración imperialista (minería y aprismo)*, Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ereilla, 1935. Magda Portal, *América latina frente al imperialismo*, Lima: Editorial Cahuide, 1931. Manuel Seoane, *La garra yanqui*, Buenos Aires: Claridad, 1931.

against the feudal oligarchies that had taken over the region as a result of the export-led economy of the late nineteenth century.⁶⁴

Argument and Sections

My dissertation has two parts. Part 1 comprises three chapters and runs from 1918 through 1930. It argues that Indo-America as political project began to take form at the crossroads of the experience of exile such as lived by young Peruvian APRA members in the 1920s, including encounters with foreign protagonists abroad, emotional struggles, and ideological conflicts. In Part One, Indo-America is a work in progress. Its meaning is flexible and plural and its political structure has yet to be clearly defined. This explains why historical protagonists seldom and unsystematically used the term Indo-America prior to the 1930s.

To fully grasp the implications of exile and persecution for the production of APRA's ideology and the group's political activism, we must find ways to evaluate how APRA members thought and engaged with and against individuals who belonged to different, yet adjacent, ensembles. Chapter One takes up this challenge. It begins to historicize the workings of transnational solidarity networks that assisted the process of development of APRA as a persecuted political group. I do so, first, by sketching in the relationships that bonded Christian missionary John A. Mackay and Christian pacifist and internationalist Anna Melissa Graves to Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre in the 1920s and, second, by contextualizing their individual motives and actions within the networks that these actors navigated and helped generate all at once. Chapter One demonstrates that Reform-minded students in Peru, soon to become APRA members, did not think of the Americas alone. They did not reflect upon Indo-America in some sort of Latin American vacuum. European and North American actors also took great interest in continental philosophies starting early in the

⁶⁴ Klaiber, "The Non-Communist Left..." p. 615. Valderrama, "La evolución ideológica del APRA..." p. 14.

twentieth century. They engaged dialogues and built alliances with Latin American leftist intellectuals, who like them, pondered projects of continental integration.

As mentioned previously, little connection has been established in the literature between the international content of APRA members' political work and their status as travelers and exiles.⁶⁵ Scholars have raised few if any questions concerning the impact that forceful repression, which came in the form of periodic exiles and travels abroad and chronic imprisonment in Peru, had on the cultural identity of these politically active intellectuals and artists. My dissertation remedies this neglect by showing in Chapter Two that exile was necessary in the 1920s for young APRA members to break away from their pasts and envision the future of the Americas in new ways. The internal struggles that they underwent while initially traveling to Europe and across the Americas, I argue, as well as the political alliances that they built with non-state actors abroad, helped define the rise of broader hemispheric consciousnesses.

Chapter Three complements this argument. Spread through space, members and leaders of APRA worked toward a common goal from havens of small, dispersed groups as well as sporadically from solitary confinement. This led to conflict between APRA members who tried to interpret and define Indo-American realities from different social contexts. Chapter Three shows that in a context where the burden of distance, miscommunication, and recurrent persecution weighed heavily on APRA, the meaning of this political movement remained plural and flexible. More important, by revising common understanding of the role and nature of ideological conflicts in APRA in the late 1920s, I show that, contrary to what the scholarship implies, what APRA was and stood for at the

⁶⁵ Contrastingly, the scholarship on *indigenismo* has instructively granted attention to the geographical location of the intellectuals who fostered indigenist philosophies. These studies show that many Peruvian intellectuals developed an indigenist political discourse in tandem with the need to legitimize their role as active participants in the Peruvian nation. Cynthia Vinch, *Indigenismo de Vanguardia en el Perú: un estudio sobre el Boletín Titikaka*, Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2000; Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003.

time was not set in stone yet. This matters because internal conflicts will continue thereafter to shape the meaning of Indo-America in different ways.

Part II spans the years between 1930 and 1945. It foregrounds one major thrust of my research: to show that the Indo-American project became ever more important to identify and clearly define in the 1930s. While scholars of APRA normally suggest that APRA's interest for its continental project waned after it turned into a national party in the early 1930s, I show that, quite the contrary in fact, the creation of the Peruvian APRA Party in 1930 propelled Indo-America to the center-stage of the Aprista doctrine. Concurrently, Part II posits that persistent state persecution against the Peruvian APRA party, combined with APRA's innovative political strategies, contributed to imagining in the 1930s and early-1940s an Indo-American project based on the defense of political rights and democracy rather than a bulwark against US imperialism. During the 1930s, in effect, APRA translated its anti-imperialist theses of the 1920s into a battle against military dictatorships in Latin America and in favor of the return to democracy in Peru. Indo-America ultimately lost its revolutionary posture, I contend, and became an instrument of political legitimacy closely associated with the political leadership of a single individual, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre. The last three chapters of my dissertation trace how this happened.

Chapter Four turns to the question of the political legitimacy of APRA exiles after they returned to Peru in the course of the summer and fall 1930. During the period corresponding to the formation of APRA as a national political party, between August 1930 and October 1931, Apristas faced internal and external ideological adaptations. Internally, APRA leaders in Peru had to accomplish the feat of envisioning an ideology that, on the one hand, would remain flexible enough to encompass the variegated experiences of its founding members, while it tried to integrate, on the other, political positions particular to different APRA exiles into a single philosophy of action. Externally, the same APRA leaders needed to propose a unified proposal that Peruvian people could

understand, recognize, and identify with. Chapter Four shows how stories of past travels assisted the newly constituted Peruvian APRA party (PAP) in managing these two tasks. APRA leaders sought to validate their authority before Peruvian audiences through associations with foreign contacts. Starting in the fall of 1930 and all through 1933, they portrayed themselves as intermediaries between Peru and the rest of the world, as some sort of “foreign experts” bestowed with the intellectual capacity to translate to a Peruvian audience what they had learned about, and witnessed in, Indo-America during their travels abroad. More important than the actual ideological translation, here was the validation of their authority as translators of Indo-American realities.

Chapter Five argues that having access to transnational networks of solidarity located outside Peru enabled APRA leader Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to impose his political leadership in August 1933 and take control of the APRA party thereafter. I show how being connected to the outside world gave him access to two decisive political advantages. First, it gave him access to political support abroad with direct consequences in Peru. Haya de la Torre retrieved his liberty in the spring of 1933 thanks to an international advocacy campaign that requested his immediate release from prison. Second, being connected to the outside world gave him access to symbolic power within Peru. The travel trope associated with Indo-America, which I introduced in the previous chapter, became ever more associated with the exclusive leadership of Haya de la Torre beginning in the summer of 1933.

Before the impossibility of exercising democratic political rights at the national level, I show in Chapter Six, Peruvian APRA leaders close to Haya de la Torre turned outward and looked ever more forcefully for potential allies abroad. Engaging information politics outside Peru was a means for the PAP to jeopardize the monopoly that Peruvian authorities maintained over media outlets in Peru. It also aimed to court democratic allies outside Peru, in the hope that, through mediation, they might persuade governmental forces to reinstate civil liberties in Peru. Together, Chapters Five and

Six demonstrate that Peruvian APRA leaders became very aware of the benefits that transnational networks of solidarity could yield for their movement on one side and for their own legitimacy as political leaders on the other. I show that being connected to the outside world, and to the idea of Indo-America in particular, gave them access to material support as well as symbolic power within Peru; hence the importance to hold on to the Indo-American project even while engaging in politics in Peru.

A denouement follows this last chapter. It confirms the crucial role that Indo-America had come to play in the course of the 1930s as a pragmatic political instrument rather than a utopian dream. I argue that this transformation enabled “Indo-America” to survive as a political project, which explains why it continued to evolve in the 1930s despite the creation of a national APRA party. My dissertation concludes that Indo-America, a project of continental integration, ultimately helped the APRA party have a say in national politics and achieve legal status in May 1945 and, at long last, openly participate in Peruvian politics.

Methodology

The narrative structure that undergirds my dissertation is both thematic and chronological. It is thematic, to begin, because each chapter tackles one theme that relates to either the condition of exile or persecution, and asks how this condition affected the way that Apristas imagined projects of continental integration. Consider, for example, “Chapter 1: Allies.” One subsuming question could read: How did foreign allies affect the rise of new continental consciousness in the Peruvian Youth? “Chapter 2: Exile,” in turn, investigates how the lived experience of exile shaped the way in which Apristas conceived of new continental consciousnesses. This continues for the other chapters as well. Once introduced, each theme will intermittently come back in the course of the next chapters. The narrative structure of my dissertation is also chronological, not only because historians work

this way – that is, to trace change over time – but also because I want to tell a story that starts with people and ends in their intellectual production rather than the opposite. Political actors are human beings, complex and changing, whereas political texts appear polished, if not static and frozen in the wheel of time. To investigate the former I must first tell stories about those who produced Indo-America. A chronology of their actions and reflections in time seemed best suited to serve my intellectual pursuits.⁶⁶

Indeed, my work insists on this notion of creation. Looking back to the intellectual work of Aprista ideologues from the weight of decades of political institutionalization, during which the APRA has repeatedly published and re-edited texts whose contents are introduced to the readership as fundamental doctrinal tenets of the 1920s, we face the risk of ascribing too much political meaning and seeing too much ideological clarity where creation and reflection still prevailed.

To be sure, a panoply of serious studies on continental nationalism in Latin America has underscored the thirst for creation that the end of the First World War as well as the crisis of oligarchic parties brought in their wake. In fact, most of this scholarship carefully contextualizes their case studies within a period of fracture from which rose re-definitions of the possible futures. I am therefore not contending that the notion of creation, so crucial to proposing new visions of the nation during the interwar period, has been altogether ignored. But contextualizing does not necessarily mean historicizing. In effect, intellectual historians tend to study continental nationalism, and particularly the Indo-American project, through the texts of intellectuals. Their approach is driven by two recurrent variables. First, the focus is on the work of particular individuals. Second, the study of their ideas centers on published and polished texts as primary sources. In other words, intellectual historians who investigate projects of continental nationalism are primarily interested by

⁶⁶ For a beautiful text on historians as storytellers, see William Cronon's presidential address to the American Historical Association on 4 January 2013. William Cronon, "Presidential Address: Storytelling," *American Historical Review* (February 2013): 1-19.

the end point of the creative process, rather than the creative process itself, and tend to focus on individual thinkers rather than groups of thinkers.

In the case of Indo-America and other early twentieth-century projects of continental integration, scholars have amply commented the role that Latin American cultural journals such as *Amauta* (Peru), *Repertorio Americano* (Costa Rica), and *Claridad* (Argentina) played to break away from the past and envision the nation in new ways. I am particularly interested in their treatment of projects of hemispheric unity. Two main trends usually orient these considerations. First, many follow in the footsteps of Benedict Anderson and focus on notions of “circulation” and “belonging” when studying projects of hemispheric unity.⁶⁷ “Imagined communities,” as a theoretical concept, was attractive to scholars who examined the rise and demise of continental utopias during the interwar period. According to these studies, the main achievement of these publications is to have buttressed the diffusion of a new political culture as well as the dissemination of ideas that posited unity between Latin American countries.⁶⁸ Second, this scholarship establishes stark boundaries between definitions of continental communities. *Bolivarismo*, *Hispano-Americanismo*, *Ibero-Americanismo*, *Latino-Americanismo*, *Pan-Americanismo*, *Indo-Americanismo*, *Indo-Iberismo*, *telurismo*, *criollismo*: each occupies its own little box and is presented with definite and easily recognizable features. By granting exclusive attention to the discursive value of these articles, however, we lose sight of the collective struggles that underpinned the unsteady creative process of their authors.

Given the context of creation of Indo-America, intellectual historians would be well advised to listen to Karl Mannheim’s warning regarding the pitfalls that await those who study ideology

⁶⁷ To be fair, diplomatic history has addressed questions of Pan-Americanism without granting attention to either cultural expression or cultural formation that accompanied the development of inter-American affairs.

⁶⁸ Jussi Pakkasvirta, *¿Un continente, una nación? Intelectuales latinoamericanos, comunidad política y las revistas culturales en Costa Rica y el Perú*, San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1997.

through exclusive individual perspectives.⁶⁹ This rings particularly true in the case of APRA. “The aim [...] is to investigate not how thinking appears in textbooks on logic, but how it really functions in public life and in politics as an instrument of collective actions.”⁷⁰ This succinct introduction to the work of sociologist Karl Mannheim encapsulates the driving force behind his intellectual stamina. Writing in the 1930s, the German sociologist took issue with the individual-centric approach that recent advances in psychology had brought forth in works that studied the action of thinking. Mannheim readily recognized that individuals are the ones who think. But he also stressed that the ways in which individuals think are constrained and delineated by the group from which they think.⁷¹ According to Mannheim, understanding how individuals think with and against each other in a given historical and sociological context can bring us, if not to the truth, at least close to it – to what he calls the “optimum of truth.”⁷² Thus my dissertation challenges the intellectual biographies of Aprista thinkers. It moves the focus toward group dynamics, on one side, and on the hardship of a creative process, on the other.

The second observation concerns the figure of Haya de la Torre. This dissertation was not supposed to be yet another study that revolved around the figure of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to explain the historical significance of APRA. During my two-year research cycle, I would not let go: my dissertation was going to be about APRA leaders other than Haya. I was also determined to place my reflections on the idea of *Americanidad* at the center of my work. Focusing on Indo-America, I thought, was the best way to achieve both of these goals. The latter intention worked out. In the former I failed miserably.

⁶⁹ Karl Mannheim, *An Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction To The Sociology of Knowledge*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949 (1st ed. 1936), p. 52.

⁷⁰ *Idem*, p. 1.

⁷¹ *Idem*, pp. 1-48, pp. 2-3.

⁷² *Idem*, p. 71.

One reason for this is that most archives that exist on APRA, whether Peruvian or international, are organized in accordance with the main leaders of APRA that official histories of the party have recorded. Another reason is that Haya de la Torre has truly been a determining figure in the history of both APRA and Indo-America. During my doctoral research, I tried so hard to make this dissertation about whoever in APRA but Haya de la Torre that I often lost track of what my primary sources were trying to say. More than once I found myself drifting in interminable archival detours, desperately wanting to forego the work and life of Haya de la Torre as a means to shed new light on the Indo-American proposal, only to be thrust, without fail, right back to him and to the significance he had for APRA. Each time that this happened, each time that the archives forced upon my reflections a return to Haya de la Torre, it made clearer the inescapability of this historical figure to fully understand the development of APRA, both inside and outside Peru. Counter-intuitively, however, each time that this happened, my urge to avoid placing Haya de la Torre at the center of my narrative also grew stronger. I was operating, in many ways, as the desperate lover who won't take no for an answer. This stubbornness went on for close to three years.

My resolve to think of APRA differently ultimately paid off. How did persecution affect the activities of the Peruvian APRA party? Asking the questions in archives inevitably took me back to Haya de la Torre and his close allies in the party. Asking these questions also inevitably brought me back to Indo-America. But if I could not avoid him I was at least able to question and recast his unique leadership. As such, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre is the main thread around which my story is organized, but the endpoint is not about him. Rather, tracing the ways in which Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre was able to exert his dominion over the Peruvian APRA Party forced me to re-think the place of the main protagonists in historical narratives.

This dissertation partly follows Haya de la Torre through space and time as a way to trace how and why historical actors engage in political philosophies that take the continental space as the main area of investigation. A corpus in intellectual history has dealt with these issues. What I try to do in what follows, is step back from the discourse produced on Indo-America. Rather than focusing on the intellectual production particular to a small band of middle class persecuted political elites, I investigate how its context of production shaped both its meaning and the reasons that encouraged Aprista members to produce and hold on to this political philosophy in the first place. The *extra-ordinary* life of Haya de la Torre, then, helps explore the way in which notions of “*Americanidad*” come to life. These concepts rise from everyday circumstances. They are as rooted in local demands and immediate realities as they are in cosmopolitan identities. My dissertation blends micro-history with a transnational approach.

Part I
(1918-1930)

0.1

(Change of plans)

Youth and learning and the feeling of knowing it all: this, or something close to it adults have told me as a child. Haven't they told you the same, or something close to it?

You're down in the streets, you cry out slogans. Someone beside you presses your arm. Another in front of you leans her back against your chest. Limbs you cannot see (they are not yours) but that you feel so clearly, pushing and hauling and prodding at you, rock your body forward, backward: watch the sidewalk, mind your step, come here, with me, on the other side, with them.

While your body is being swayed by all these other bodies you feel but do not know (but wait, aren't they yours after all? Aren't we all in this together, you start to wonder), your determination keeps growing firmer and stronger. By the time the air around you smells of nothing but sweat, by the time your eyes see nothing in the way but a mass of body parts you now trust are yours, too: you lift your head and recall something.

You're the leader.

Everyone, every single soul present is with you. These bodies pressing against yours convince you of this. "They're eating out of my hand," you probably remark but don't say out too loud. This type of arrogance you'll keep for later.

Youth, though this time after the first disillusion, after that one true, significant hurdle came your way and shattered to pieces the narrative you had built for yourself.

We never really know which one it was for us, do we? Between you and I, tell me, was it because of her, of him, or because of higher forces you blame for the plights you sometimes wish – when you feel most poetic – you'd endured.

They lock you up. They throw you out of the country. Far away, way too far, they think, for you to ever bother them again. Perhaps you swear revenge. In your case you definitely do.

The precise moment when you pass from knowing everything to suddenly knowing nothing at all, except perhaps the status of your own abysmal ignorance. You don't know the rules yet. The codes are missing.

But you'll learn, you promise yourself. This is a turning point, others assure you. It's a necessary yet temporary interval between two parts of your life. And out of these exchanges and the experience of despair you hush up (you're a proud man) rises a tale you start to believe in and to repeat to yourself when the London sky is too heavy to bear on your shivering shoulders.

How sweet the fruit of victory but how bitter the taste of your first regret. How Milan Kundera, the Czech writer born years after you, has written better than you ever have about the survival instinct associated with poetic memories. The need to later on make sense of events that, to you, make no sense at all right now.

How my grandmother and how perhaps your grandfather used to tell us stories of past glories and pristine versions of pristine times located in the before and the earlier, whenever that before and earlier stood, as long as it's not today and stays far from tomorrow.

How nostalgia roils memories. How it interferes with remembering past events the same way political necessities closed in your initial recordings anyway.

How you forget. How I remember.

And how Haya escaped none of it.

Chapter 1: Allies

On late summer afternoons of the year 1923, two pence bought bystanders a chance across Scotland, Canada, and Newfoundland to instructively kill time, skimming through news that told of the Anglo-Catholic Congress recently held in London or the way prayers worked in modern Presbyterian worship.¹ *The Monthly Record* of the Free Church of Scotland, a Presbyterian and reformed denomination formed in the mid-nineteenth century, took pains to keep its followers up to date on recent events and miscellaneous affairs of Christian interest. That year, readers who flipped through the pages of the August issue must have felt proud of the Free Church's investment in its missionary College in Lima, for William Stanley Rycroft's "graphic story" extolled the student upheaval that was rocking the Peruvian capital. "Last week was one of the most remarkable in the history of the Peruvian people," he stated. Rycroft's breathtaking tale chronicled how the Peruvian student movement led "a violent attack on the whole religious system" of Peru, where a greedy government and a despotic Catholic Church were to blame, the article emphasized, for the social and political ills that afflicted the country.²

¹ The *Monthly Record* was registered for Transmission to Canada and Newfoundland. Consult sections "Current Topics" and "Letters to the Editor" in *The Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, August 1923, pp. 131, 135, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Box 3, Folder 3.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

² W. Stanley Rycroft, "An Upheaval in Peru," *The Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, August 1923, pp. 133-135, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Box 3, Folder 3.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

Likewise, in March 1924, the *New Student* enthusiastically portrayed the student protests that had been rocking Peru the year before. Under the auspices of the New Student Forum, a moderate antiwar student body in the United States, this US bi-monthly publication congratulated the students of the University of Lima who had risked their “necks” and “fortunes” to oppose the consecration of Peru to the “Sacred Heart of Jesus,” an act, it was esteemed, that would have finished enslaving the Peruvian state to the Catholic juggernaut.³ Student leader Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre received particular attention.⁴ This “pleasant fellow,” the editorial read, had sailed above the fray with courage and dignity, inspiring his fellow students to withstand governmental repression without violence or demeaning actions. “The attack of the government had stirred the people, and the report is that only the pacifism of de la Torre prevented retaliation by them,” the *New Student* commendably assessed in its March issue.⁵

This journal was not the only press media in the United States to give favorable attention to the Peruvian student movement. Four months after the initial release of *The New Leader*, one of the latest weekly newspapers dedicated to questions of interest for socialist groups and labor movements, Anna Melissa Graves, a renowned internationalist and pacifist actor, turned its pages into a platform that sang the praises of Peruvian student leader Haya de la Torre. “When [Haya de la Torre] became president of the Student Federation of Peru,” Graves informed her readership of US workers on 26 April 1924, “—immediately a new spirit—a searching for light—became manifest among the students and his approach to social questions has always been that of one who desired to

³ “Peruvian Students in Revolt,” *The New Student*, New York, Vol. 3, No. 12, March 15, 1924, p. 1, Wisconsin Historical Society Library Microforms Room, Micro film P71-1579 2p [1922-1929]. Patti McGill Peterson, “Student Organizations and the Antiwar Movement in America, 1900-1960,” *American Studies (AMSJ)*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Spring 1972): 131-147.

⁴ “Peruvian Students...” and “Peruvian Revolt Continues,” *The New Student*, New York, Vol. 3, No. 3, March 29, 1924, p. 8, Wisconsin Historical Society Library Microforms Room, Micro film P71-1579 2p [1922-1929].

⁵ “Peruvian Students...”

make the people see that more light and more sweetness should be their aim rather than more rights only.”⁶

There is more. Only two weeks earlier, *The Nation* had similarly disseminated a vivid political image that equated persecuted Peruvian students and intellectuals with pacifism and Christian values. Like the previous pieces, this article focused on Peruvian student leader Haya de la Torre and introduced him to *The Nation*'s subscribers as an impassioned Christian pacifist, “absolutely opposed to violence of any kind.”⁷

The plotlines of these articles, if slightly different in form, share a common denominator. They all present the Peruvian student reform movement as an inspiring model of moderate radicalism and Christian integrity – a roadmap for bringing students and workers together in the fight for social justice and political rights while eschewing violence.⁸ Significantly, in these trans-Atlantic narratives, Peruvian student leader Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre stood as a symbol of advisable leadership in the face of unfair persecution: his reported religious values, as well as his alleged pacifism, attracted high rates of approval outside Peru.

Why was this the case? How can we make sense of the curiosity that a Peruvian student of twenty-eight, whom many dismissed back home as a frivolous gadfly, aroused in countries like the United States or Scotland? What was at stake in the construction of Haya de la Torre as a symbol of pacifism for non Latin American, let alone Peruvian, actors? Did this have any impact on the future formation of APRA?

⁶ Anna Melissa Graves, “Haya de la Torre,” *The New Leader*, Saturday, April 26, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Box 3, Folder 3.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁷ If its left-leaning interest in politics and culture inspired this weekly magazine to report on the Peruvian student protests, it primarily did so through the gaze of the Free Church of Scotland's interpretation. The editorial board of *The Nation* quoted extensively from the Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland and thus indirectly entrusted most of the narration of the events to W. Stanley Rycroft. *The Nation*, April 9, 1924, pp. 406-407. Memorial Library Microforms/Media Center, Micro Film 2920.

⁸ The expression “moderate radicalism” is not mine. I acknowledge the work of Robbie Gross who conceptualized this notion of moderate radicalism. Consult his superb Masters thesis: Robert Gross, *Keeping the Faith Outside School: Liberal Protestant Reform and the Struggle for Secular Public Education in the Upper Midwest, 1890-1926*, M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Department of History, 2009.

A small but significant literature exists on the relationship between Protestantism and the student reform movement in Peru.⁹ Such contributions are commendable, for they help examine crucial years of artistic, spiritual, and intellectual formation for future Apristas. But while these studies provide bases for understanding how Protestant circles first operated in the formation of Peruvian intellectuals, the conclusions they draw on how these relations evolved in both time and space are limited in scope. They unfortunately cannot help elucidate what was at stake in the transnational dynamics that sought to turn Haya de la Torre into a symbol of peace and laudable resistance to despotism and persecution. Nor can they trace future developments of these relations.¹⁰ In these narratives, allusions to, and factual descriptions of, the relations that bonded future Aprista leaders with individual Protestant actors, and with Reverend John A. Mackay in particular, usually prevail over consideration of group dynamics and direct focus on APRA. APRA is present, but in passing only. More problematically, getting access to primary sources outside Peru proved difficult

⁹ The essays that Tomás J. Gutiérrez and Raúl Chanamé wrote in 1995 are remarkable for the knowledge they were able to extract from limited primary source material. Granting special attention to Reverend John A. Mackay, Peruvian temperance leagues, and Latin American YMCAs, Gutiérrez traces the relationship that bonded Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre with Protestant circles between 1917 and 1923. Doing so allows him to effectively survey the religious and secular bases that underpinned the Peruvian student protests against Leguía and the Catholic Church in 1923; Tomás J. Gutiérrez, *Haya de la Torre y los Protestantes Liberales (Perú, 1917-1923)*, Lima: Editorial “Nuevo Rumbo”, 1995. Reverend John A. Mackay is also a central figure in the work of Chanamé. Though he never directly mentions APRA, Chanamé signals how Mackay spiritually and intellectually bonded with many of the Peruvians who were part of future Aprista circles. But in his work, it is José Carlos Mariátegui, the other famous yet short-lived APRA initiator, who stands as the central node of the story; Raúl Chanamé, *La Amistad de dos Amautas: Mariátegui y John A. Mackay*, Lima: Editora Magisterial, 1995. In 2002, Juan Fonseca Ariza called for more serious studies to illuminate the relationship between APRA and Protestantism. Six years later, he honored his own invitation and published a piece of great quality on the relationship that bonded Reverend John A. Mackay with Peruvian intellectuals who were part of the Generation of the Centenario. Though short, Fonseca contributes important insights on the ways in which religion shaped Aprista ideology and political program. One of Fonseca’s most insightful propositions is to argue that Mackay helped thinkers such as Haya de la Torre understand religion as a force of social change and political mobilization. Juan Fonseca, “Dialogo intercultural y pensamiento religioso: John A. Mackay y la Generación del Centenario,” in Carlos Aguirre y Carmen Mc Evoy ed., *Intelectuales y poder. Ensayos en torno a la republica de las letras en el Perú e Hispanoamerica (ss. XVI-XX)*, Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2008, P. 281-302.

¹⁰ For example, the introduction of John M. MacPherson’s monograph, which focuses on the history of the Colegio Anglo-Peruano in Lima, takes us into the early relationship that bound the young Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre and the Free Church of Scotland through Reverend John A. Mackay. And though APRA is not the focus of MacPherson’s book, several passages allude to Aprista actors, such as Pedro Arana and Luis Alberto Sanchez, who were close to Evangelical circles in Peru; John M. MacPherson, *At the Roots of a Nation: The Story of San Andrés School in Lima*, Peru, Edinburgh: The Knox Press, 1993. See also Juan Fonseca Ariza, *Misioneros y civilizadores: Protestantismo y modernización en el Perú (1915-1930)*, Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2002.

for many of these scholars. Complex logistics and costly research travel made it difficult to explore how these relationships carried on beyond Peru and the 1920s – when future Aprista leaders first left into exile.¹¹

As a result of these limitations, and despite the evident quality and value of the extant scholarship on the subject, something remains unclear as to why actors like John A. Mackay or Anna Melissa Graves took such a vivid interest in these friendships and why, as we shall see, they spent so much energy maintaining and supporting them during the interwar period. In attempting to provide answers to this question, scholars have either omitted to pose, or else neglected to seriously investigate questions that, in all fairness, seem at first sight to have little to do with Peru. Yet part of the explanation for the interest that North American and European Christian actors took in Latin American reform-minded students, and in Haya de la Torre in particular, is to be found precisely outside Peru.

This chapter takes up the challenge to track down outside Peru the motives for the creation and the international circulation of stories that extolled the exploits of the young Haya de la Torre. In doing so, chapter one calls attention to one fundamental premise for my work: Reform-minded students in Peru, soon to become Apristas, did not think of the Americas alone. They did not reflect upon Hispano-America, Ibero-America, or Indo-America, however they called it (depending on the circumstances), in some sort of Latin American vacuum. To the contrary, as I demonstrate in chapter one, European and North American actors also took great interest in continental philosophies starting early in the twentieth century. Their reasons to do so varied, yet they shared

¹¹ In 1995, Tomás J. Gutiérrez briefly yet perceptively pointed to the protection that Reverend John A. Mackay offered Haya de la Torre when the Leguía government retaliated against the student movement. He also correctly hypothesized that Mackay and Haya de la Torre remained in touch thereafter: “La relación Mackay-Haya va a proseguir, e inclusive existen notas de apoyo a la obra emprendida por Haya en las Américas después de su deportación.” Tomás J. Gutiérrez, *Haya de la Torre y los Protestantes Liberales (Perú, 1917-1923)*, Lima: Editorial “Nuevo Rumbo”, 1995, pp. 54-55.

enough ground in intentionality and purpose to think of joining forces with Latin American peers, and with Latin American reform-minded students in particular. For all of them, in effect, the Americas provided a foil for the wrongs of Western civilization. Once reinvented, they thought, this utopian geography would know how to shepherd the world toward better days. In other words, whereas they often disagreed on the means to the end still these actors agreed on which end to pursue.

Part of my endeavor in chapter one is to begin to historicize the workings of transnational solidarity networks that assisted the development of APRA as a persecuted political group. I do so, first, by sketching in the relationships that bonded Christian pacifist and internationalist Anna Melissa Graves and Christian missionary John A. Mackay to Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre in the 1920s and, second, by contextualizing their individual motives and actions within the networks that these actors navigated and helped generate all at once. Together, chapters 1 and 2 will show that Mackay and Graves constituted a beneficial hub of transnational networks for young Peruvian exiles, and for Haya de la Torre in particular, eager to foster the liberation of the Americas without as yet the means to do so. With specific agendas of their own and affection for the young Peruvian intellectuals connected to the Colegio Anglo-Peruano in Lima, these two protagonists established themselves as loyal supporters of their initial efforts. This would have major consequences, as we will see in following chapters, for the ways in which the Indo-American project came to life and continued to evolve thereafter.

At a theoretical level, chapter one serves my broader argument in two crucial ways. First, it summons readers to reckon with the fact that there might be more at stake than individual acumen when unique protagonists rise in history and change its course. In their influential work on international activists, sociologist Margaret E. Keck and political scientist Kathryn Sikkink grant close attention to the ways in which transnational advocacy networks use symbolic representation as

a process of persuasion by which these networks can thereafter shore up transnational awareness and collect international supporters to a cause.¹² The production of information on specific local events, then, becomes deeply embedded in the expansion of transnational networks both capable and willing to spread this information. The name that Keck and Sikkink give to this process, symbolic politics, helps us ponder in this chapter what was at stake in the transformation of specific Latin American student leaders, and of Haya de la Torre in particular, into symbols that helped broadcast a larger transnational cause.¹³

The legendary charisma of APRA leader Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre cannot satisfactorily explain the reasons why Christian pacifist and leftwing US publications would take such a marked interest in his early political endeavors. Certainly his charisma is part of the answer, but in no way can it provide a valid answer on its own. Thus, in addition to assisting my reflection on allies in this chapter, the concept of symbolic politics provides an interesting tool of analysis to expand common treatments of charisma in populism. Political scientist Alison Brysk contends that in politics the “qualities of the message, media, and receivers” (which is to say, in the aforementioned examples, Haya de la Torre as international symbol of pacifism, foreign articles, and North American and European audiences) matter just as much as the qualities of the charismatic speaker (or future APRA leader Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre in my case study). According to her, “symbolic politics frames charismatic leadership as one element of successful communication, and offers a broader discussion of other determinants of persuasion.”¹⁴ In other words charismatic leadership is part of the equation among different factors rather than the unique variable at play. By inserting a charismatic figure into a larger narrative, symbolic politics help frame the stories that advocacy groups need to canvass

¹² “Symbolic interpretation is part of the process of persuasion by which networks create awareness and expand their constituencies.” Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998, p. 22.

¹³ *Idem*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁴ Alison Brysk, “‘Hearts and Minds’: Bringing Symbolic Politics Back In,” *Polity*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Summer, 1995), p. 563.

support and boost their political leverage.¹⁵ This dissertation will trace different iterations of a symbolic use of the figure of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre.

Second, I bring to the fore of my narrative in chapter one a reality that historians of APRA have acknowledged, it is true, but never as a core component of what could explain or shape the evolution of this movement through time: alliances with foreign protagonists pervade the history of APRA, from before its foundation in the mid-1920s throughout its institutionalization in the 1930s. Understanding why and how this began to take place will help assess in future chapters how Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, and later other APRA leaders as well, progressively learned to use and benefit from alliances with foreign actors.

At stake here is the concept of friendship, or, to say it after Jacques Derrida, at stake here are the “politics of friendship.”¹⁶ Literary scholar Leela Gandhi assists my reflection on the subject. While postcolonial scholarship has surveyed in shrewd and enriching ways repertoires of anti-colonial performances launched in the face of oppression, Gandhi regrets that it has done so through the restricted gazes of either “oppositonality” or “infiltration.”¹⁷ In *Affective Communities*, she studies late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century “metropolitan anti-imperialists” in an attempt to decipher western critiques of empire; that is, western outcasts who, from the frontiers of their social

¹⁵ For an example of how historians can benefit from the extant literature on collective action and social mobilization while studying international symbols, consult: Lisa McGirr, “The passion of Sacco and Vanzetti: A Global History,” *The Journal of American History* (March 2007): 1085-1115. This article traces the construction of transnational labor heroes during the six-year long trial, between 1921 and 1927, of Italian anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. McGirr demonstrates that the international context must be studied in combination with an array of local scenes in order to better appreciate the worldwide frenzy that built up around the Sacco and Vanzetti affair.

¹⁶ Jacques Derrida, *Politics of Friendship*, London and New York: Verso, 1997; John von Heyking and Richard Avramenko, *Friendship & Politics: Essays in Political Thought*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008.

¹⁷ Writes Gandhi: “Over the last few decades postcolonial scholarship has tended to designate anti-imperialism ‘proper’ as an action performed solely by the putative non-West upon the putative West, through gestures of either oppositionality (culturalism, nativism, fundamentalism) or infiltration (hybridity, mimicry, reactive interpellation, ‘the journey in’).” Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006, p. 1.

marginalization, assessed the awry legacy of western civilization and its enlightened modernity with as much dissatisfaction as colonized agents.¹⁸

To better appreciate the implication of radical friendships as a trope of anti-colonial thought, Gandhi develops a theoretical framework that rests on Derrida's discussion of friendship as radical democracy. Gandhi's theoretical framework, one in which affective bonds and sentiments unleash in cosmopolitan actors true capacity for self-othering, and where friendship as political category becomes the place of utopian communities, help us think through the implications of external alliances in the case of future Apristas. To be sure, the Christian and pacifist actors who traverse chapter one are not unlike these metropolitan anti-imperialists. They, too, were critical of a system they belonged to. They, too, sought to develop friendships – emotionally invested and politically meaningful friendships – with Latin American actors rather than seeking to impose from above a set of moral reforms deemed necessary to their salvation.¹⁹ A work of creation was at play. And in this work of creation, everybody was called to think with and against each other to determine the contours of the future they wanted so.

Anna Melissa Graves (Part 1)

The destiny of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, much less of Indo-America, would not have been the same had he not met Anna Melissa Graves in the early 1920s. “Yo recibo con amor sus consejos. Los necesito. Usted debe decirme todo lo que piensa y todo lo que quiere porque yo soy buen hijo sumiso.”²⁰ The Haya de la Torre who addressed these words to Anna Melissa Graves on

¹⁸ Gandhi, *Affective Communities...*, pp. 1-12.

¹⁹ The scholarship on Protestant missions usually points to the exportation of Christian or US values in the name of a civilizing mission. Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010.

²⁰ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, San Angel, México, November 29, 1923, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.1, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

26 December 1923 had yet to grow into the charismatic APRA leader so many have praised for the legendary control he allegedly exerted over party members. Truth is, they barely knew each other when Haya articulated this pledge: he and Graves hardly had time to meet up in Peru, where Graves lived and traveled briefly, before the student protests flared up and inflamed the political scene in May 1923.²¹ And although Haya bothered scribbling a few lines on 16 October 1923 to inform Graves of his deportation from Peru and his imminent arrival in Mexico, the postcard he sent her from Colón, Panama, in transit to Cuba, spoke more of his desire to prepare the ground of his Mexican exile than to maintain a friendship that had not yet begun.²²

Anna Melissa Graves is a strange character. She belongs to the past of APRA the way a prized actress plays a secondary role: the story is not meant to be about the character she personifies, but her presence on the screen is so remarkable that she steals the show regardless. Graves is everywhere in the early history of APRA. To understand why and how this happened, we must first tackle her motivations for initiating contact with young Latin American reformist students in the early 1920s.

In 1917, Anna Melissa Graves, a high school history teacher with twelve years' experience from Baltimore, Maryland, packed up a few belongings and embarked for Europe to assist in the war efforts. At that point in time, Graves already opined that "War was too horrible and too demoralizing to be glorified," but she wondered what to do about it. Sailing to where war wreaked havoc was one way, she was advised, to gain legitimacy and avoid being dismissed in her opinions for being a slacker.²³ During the next three years, she shuttled between France and Great Britain,

²¹ Anna Melissa Graves taught English classes at the North American Institute in Lima, Peru in 1922.

²² Postcard from Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Colón, Panama, October 16, 1923, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.1, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

²³ Anna Melissa Graves, "I Have Tried to Think, 1916-1919," in *"I Have Tried to Think" and Other Papers*, Md.: Baltimore, n.d., p. 2.

working in bouts as a social worker (mainly with children disabled by war and mothers who had lost sons in the war), history teacher, and a YMCA employee.²⁴

Graves later described the young woman she then was, no older than mid-thirties, as an “aristocrat” from the US South, oblivious to the world outside the purview of her own experience, who believed that black people were drastically different from her.²⁵ This was about to change. In the essay “I Have Tried to Think,” she recounts the path that led her to choose absolute pacifism as a form of political militancy. What she saw and witnessed in wartime Europe, Graves explains, induced life-altering changes in her worldview. Confronted first-hand to the horrors of the First World War, struck more forcefully still by its sheer folly, Graves became convinced that differences between human beings existed at the individual level only: differences based on racial or national character, she realized, were deceptive illusions that needed to be fought and brought down. In wartime Europe, Graves also began to understand the extent to which ignorance of others could stoke hatred, wars, and miseries of all sorts.²⁶

Thus began her lifelong quest against national divides and racial discrimination. “I left Europe in June 1919, before the Treaty was signed and while the blockade was still enforced,” Graves wrote in the mid-1940s. “I had decided that I must devote the rest of my life to doing all that I could to prevent war ... I knew how little the people of each country knew about the people of other countries. I knew that in each country the lack of any real knowledge of people across frontiers, of people of a different colour [sic], of people who spoke a different language, of people in a different class was abysmal.”²⁷

²⁴ Graves, “I Have Tried to Think...,” pp. 7-9.

²⁵ Letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Romain Rolland, 13 May 1924, Baltimore, Maryland, Fonds Romain Rolland, NAF 28400, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Manuscrits.

²⁶ Graves, “I Have Tried to Think...,” pp. 1-21.

²⁷ *Idem*, p. 17.

Graves' pacifism was colored by the obsession she soon developed with proving to the world that the achievement of universal brotherhood was possible – that it was *still* possible, more accurately, despite the ominous and all too present lessons of the Great War – on condition, she pleaded, that human beings learn about the artifice of differences based on race and national divides. “If the knowledge that this ‘difference’ did not exist,” Graves reasoned, “if this knowledge could become universal, could the people be so **easily** stampeded into phobias? Would not the propagandists have much greater difficulty in producing these phobias? And hence greater difficulty in making men kill their brothers?”²⁸ Like many interwar pacifists, Graves argued that human beings belonged to the “same species.”²⁹ Because it was of paramount importance for her to establish this verity as universal knowledge, Graves resolved to devote the rest of her life to persuading others she was right.

The plan was simple: it sufficed to educate the world about the merits of internationalism, and frontiers between nations and people would eventually fade away. Like any other utopia, however, the leap between the plan's ideals and its fulfillment posed considerable problems. How to make it happen? What types of resources did Graves have to accomplish this feat? Graves needed evidence to support her argument. She also needed partners to bond and ally with. The ambitious project that Graves devised for herself as the war concluded, a project that would take her, in the course of the next sixteen years, to all four corners of the globe, came as a result of this double necessity: “I decided to go and live, as far as possible with the people themselves, for two years with each of the peoples of the world considered most ‘different’: two years with people of the Far East, two with Latin-Americans, two with the Russians, two with people of the Near East, and two with people of Negro blood in Africa and in the Americas.”³⁰ It took Graves from August 1919 until

²⁸ Graves, “I Have Tried to Think...,” p. 18.

²⁹ Peter Brock, *Twentieth-Century Pacifism*, New York: Litton Educational Publishing, 1970.

³⁰ Graves, “I Have Tried to Think...,” p. 19.

December 1934 to complete this bold agenda.³¹ The extensive correspondence she maintained with Latin American pacifists during the interwar period, and with Haya de la Torre in particular, came as a result of these quixotic ambitions.

If wartime Europe converted Anna Melissa Graves to absolute Pacifism, travels in Latin America in 1922-1923 complemented her rejection of war and violence with affirmative internationalism. Such internationalism provided, according to her, an alternative model of socio-political organization able to forgo the nation-state and eliminate frontiers from world maps, the corollary of which, Graves argued, was a world without divisions or discord; a world, in short, made for peace. Graves did not speak of the Americas per se. But her views dovetailed with those of reform-minded students in Latin America who dismissed the nation-state as a form of proper political organization. She found inspiration in their discourses of continental unity. She admired their determination to engage seriously in political philosophies that sought to highlight what Latin American countries had in common rather than emphasize their differences. This, thought Graves, was a first and exemplary step toward world peace.

The countries that Graves visited after leaving Europe in February 1922 were, in chronological order, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Mexico.³² During her travels, she usually divided her time between exploring and learning about the region, earning a living when teaching positions opened up, and doing proselytizing work on behalf of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), a pacifist non-governmental organization founded in 1915 to oppose war and fight for the emancipation of women worldwide.³³ It is worth noting that, by June 1923, in addition to having joined the WILPF, Graves was a member of a

³¹ Graves, "I Have Tried to Think...", p. 19.

³² Letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Romain Rolland, 17 Septembre 1923, Mexico D.F., Mexico, Fonds Romain Rolland, NAF 28400, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Manuscrits.

³³ The WILPF was initially founded in 1915 as the Women's Peace Party. The organization changed its name to its current denomination in 1919. Joyce Blackwell, *No Peace Without Freedom: Race and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1975*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004.

number of other pacifist organizations, including the Peace Society, the Union of Democratic Control, and the US branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR). Furthermore, she had submitted a membership application to the Women's Peace Society and was waiting for their response.³⁴

A savvy and committed networker, Graves was slowly inserting herself in a series of pacifist groups, many of which were highly influenced by Christian values and ideals. Doing so placed her at the forefront of growing interwar pacifist networks. It was through a combination of organizing work in local communities and sustained correspondence between leaders that activists like Graves were able to weave the web of solidarity networks that later assisted APRA leaders.

Graves passed most of 1922 in Peru. We can trace in that stay the genesis of the interest she later took in APRA. In Lima, she taught English classes at the North American Institute, a Methodist college originally founded in 1906 by the Methodist Women's Foreign Missionary Society.³⁵ Doing so was not only a source of income: it also provided the ground for mixing with the small but active community of Christian missionaries present in the Peruvian capital. Through her connection with Reverend John A. Mackay, W. Stanley Rycroft, and Margaret Robb, all staff members at the Colegio Anglo-Peruano, a protestant missionary school in Lima, Graves developed friendships with Peruvian students and artists who, like her, insisted on the need to include moral and spiritual incentives in revolutionary endeavors.

³⁴ Letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Miss Black, June 20, 1923, Mexico City, Mexico, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Records of the Women's Peace Union, 1921-1940, Box 13, Correspondence G and Correspondence H, 1921-1931, Graves, A., 1923-1931 (Reel 88.12).

³⁵ Biographical data in letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Elinor Byrns, Moscow, January 9, 1927, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Records of the Women's Peace Union, 1921-1940, Box 13, Correspondence G and Correspondence H, 1921-1931, Graves, A., 1923-1931 (Reel 88.12). Juan Fonseca, "Educación para un país moderno: El 'Lima High School' y la red educativa protestante en el Perú (1906-1945)," Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, n.d., p. 7.

“The Señor Haya de la Torre of Lima, Peru is, I believe, the most selfless man I have ever met anywhere in the world.”³⁶ About a year after she first met him, at some point toward the end of 1922, Graves described Haya de la Torre with a mix of admiration and protective instinct. She was particularly impressed with his stamina and resolve in helping the workers of Peru achieve a better education, something she had witnessed in his work with the Popular Universities.³⁷

In addition to being acquainted with Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre in Peru, Graves developed lasting relations with other contemporaries who revolved around the Colegio Anglo-Peruano and who were close, albeit to different degrees, to the Reform student movement in Peru. Peruvian writer Edwin Elmore, a friend of Haya de la Torre, was one of them.³⁸ He took a habit to correspond and discuss at length with Graves even after she left Peru in 1922.³⁹ Although they did not always see eye to eye regarding the moral obligations of political activists, both shared a passion for world peace. They both felt the urgency to organize the spiritual forces of the American continent, mainly as a necessary springboard toward the union of all spiritual forces of the world, and were equally fascinated with the recent explosion of postwar pacifist organizations.⁴⁰

A little over a year after Graves’ departure from Peru, Elmore confessed to feeling isolated in his campaign for world peace. He hoped to travel to the United States, he said, where he could find refuge and work “not in the loneliness which drives one to despair in Lima without any support

³⁶ Letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Romain Rolland, 17 Septiembre 1923, Mexico D.F., Mexico, Fonds Romain Rolland, NAF 28400, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Manuscrits.

³⁷ *Idem.*

³⁸ By mid-summer 1924, Haya de la Torre had severed his friendship with Elmore, for their political activism had evolved along different paths. At that point in time, Haya flirted with violence as a legitimate means to revolutionary ends, whereas Elmore still championed revolutionary changes through peaceful means only. It is not incidental that the former was in Moscow, Russia, when he stated the following: “No me interesa la opinión de Elmore. El nos abandonó como un egoísta. El dejó las filas nuestras en terribles momentos, para irse a la vida descansada, para casarse y no le importó [más] nada.” Letter of Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Moscow, August 20, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Box 1, Folder 1.3, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

³⁹ Consult collections of letters exchanged between Edwin Elmore and Melissa Graves in The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 4, Box 5, Folder 5.9, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, as well as in Swarthmore College, Peace Collection, Anna Melissa Graves Papers (1919-1953), Reel 74.8, Edwin Elmore.

⁴⁰ Carta de Edwin Elmore a José Carlos Mariátegui, Alta Mar, 9 de enero de 1925, José Carlos Mariátegui, *Correspondencia (1915-1930)*, Lima: Biblioteca Amauta, 1984, pp. 71-72.

from institutions which are dedicated to ends such as those I pursue; such for example as ‘The Fellowship of Reconciliation’ [F.O.R.] or the ‘Y.M.C.A.’”⁴¹ It is unclear whether Elmore was first acquainted with the F.O.R., a pacifist Christian organization founded in 1914, through Graves, and evidence points to Reverend John A. Mackay as the one who introduced him to the work of the YMCA in South America. Nevertheless, it is obvious that with Graves gone so was a friend able to understand and encourage him in his fight.

Peruvian artist Julia Codesido expressed similar regrets when Graves left Peru by the end of 1922. Evidence in archives suggests that Codesido assisted Graves’ initial attempts at organizing Peruvian women and later assumed, at least partly, her proselytizing mantle. The plea that Codesido sent to Graves in January 1923 captures the attachment that Peruvians of her generation had formed with Graves: “Don’t forget your friends in Lima. They have great need of your support and your council [sic]. You have already made yourself much loved.”⁴²

Graves never did forget Julia Codesido. They continued to exchange correspondence well into the 1940s, often as a means to gather information about, or pass along instructions to Graves’ protégé, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre (whom Codesido knew and supported), when the latter was in prison or in hiding in Peru during most of the 1930s.⁴³ Nor would Graves ever forget Felipe Cossío del Polmar or Magda Portal, two APRA leaders with whom she corresponded in the 1930s, or any of the profuse correspondence she maintained with actors from different parts of the world, for they

⁴¹ Letter of Edwin Elmore to Anna Melissa Graves, Lima, Peru, February 27, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 4, Box 5, Folder 5.9, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. “Las organizaciones ... oficiales y hasta auto-oficiales, creadas a impulsos de la nueva ideología,” Elmore stated in an essay he wrote in 1922, in reference to pacifism, “prosperan y se multiplican, y una de las más importante es la Liga Femenina Internacional en Pro de la Paz y de la Libertad.” That Elmore publicized the work that feminist and pacifist activists were conducting around the world, and especially the one that Graves attempted to spur in Peru via the establishment of a national section of the WILPF in Lima, points to the relative success that her pacifist overtures met in Peru.

⁴² Letter of Julia Codesido to Anna Melissa Graves, Lima, January 1923, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 4, Box 4, Folder 4.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁴³ Consult collection of letters exchanged between Julia Codesido and Melissa Graves in The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 4, Box 4, Folders 4.7-4.9, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

were the bedrock of her lifelong pacifist enterprise.⁴⁴ She later referred to this panoply of letters as the collected data that proved that race and nation were aberrant concepts. This profuse correspondence was also the key to building networks of support and to courting allies and new adherents to the cause of world peace.

John A. Mackay (Part 1)

The story of the friendship between John A. Mackay and Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre begins in August 1916, when the Free Church of Scotland appointed Reverend John A. Mackay as fellow missionary in Peru. Within a few months of arriving in the Peruvian capital, he and his wife, Jane Logan Well, took over the small primary school that Scottish missionary John Ritchie had established a few years earlier and founded in its stead, on 3 June 1917, the Colegio Anglo-Peruano.⁴⁵ The school grew rapidly. By 1922, the number of students had increased tenfold since its foundation, passing from thirty to 387 enrollments in five years only.⁴⁶ The Colegio Anglo-Peruano aimed to offer primary and secondary school instruction for the educated classes of Lima.⁴⁷ The number of staff members increased as enrollments rose. By 1923, the Free Church had recruited abroad a number of additional professors, including V. R. Browne, Reverend J. Calvin Mackay and his wife (whose name remains unknown), Miss Netta Kemp, Miss Mary Hutchison, Miss Christina Mackay (she was not related to John Mackay), and L. J. Cutbill. It had also opened a second

⁴⁴ See correspondence between Magda Portal and Anna Melissa Graves in Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box1, Folder 1. For correspondence between Felipe Cossio del Polmar and Anna Melissa Graves, consult Swarthmore College, Peace Collection, Anna Melissa Graves Papers (1919-1953), Reel 74.8.

⁴⁵ John H. Sinclair, *Juan A. Mackay: Un Escocés con Alma Latina*, México D.F.: Ediciones Centro de Comunicación Cultural CUPSA, 1990, p. 87.

⁴⁶ Gutiérrez, *Haya de la Torre y los Protestantes Liberales...*, p. 17.

⁴⁷ Although it took a few years before the Mackays were able to offer a five-year program of secondary education, they eventually did, and their students were able to qualify for enrollment in Peruvian universities by the mid-1920s.

missionary field in Cajamarca, in the northern highlands of Peru.⁴⁸ The direction of the school eventually changed hands. William Stanley Rycroft, an English Methodist, joined the Peruvian mission of the Free Church of Scotland soon after he graduated from Liverpool University. He traveled to Lima in October 1922 and took over Mackay's position shortly thereafter.⁴⁹

In a promotional booklet published in 1924, the Free Church's Foreign Missions Committee explains why the Free Church of Scotland had elected Peru to open its first missionary field abroad. Delegates of the Free Church had come to the conclusion, eight years earlier, that Peru was immersed in "spiritual ignorance" – not so much despite the presence of the Catholic Church in the region, it argued, but precisely because of it – and thus advanced that the country was in urgent need of salvation. Stated the Free Church: "There is therefore no spiritual religion in Peru, but there is an abundance of superstition. Christ is absent, but the cross is present everywhere. Religion consists in a childish and superstitious devotion to images, a devotion which is powerless to lift the shadow of fear from men's hearts, to bring the peace of Heaven into their souls, or to exercise any uplifting or purifying influence on their lives."⁵⁰

The decision of the Free Church of Scotland to launch a missionary enterprise in Peru was in line with recent developments in the Christian mission field worldwide. In 1910, the World Missionary Conference, also known as the Edinburgh Conference, confirmed the influence of ecumenism in the conduct of foreign Christian missions in the non-Christian world.⁵¹ Over a

⁴⁸ The Mission in Peru of the Free Church of Scotland, *Light in the Dark Continent*, Edinburgh, 1924, pp. 13-14, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 7, Box 12, Folder "Spanish Articles 1920s," Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁴⁹ William Stanley Rycroft, Oral history of W. Stanley Rycroft for Presbyterian Historical Society, Interview conducted by John Sinclair, MSC, Box 272, Folder 912-914, pp. 1-5, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

⁵⁰ The Mission in Peru of the Free Church of Scotland, *Light in the Dark...*, p. 9.

⁵¹ Ecumenism refers to the principle, or goal, to support unity and cooperation between different Christian denominations. Although the first Ecumenical Conference was held in New York City in 1900, the disorganized nature of the event and the lack of serious preparation beforehand reduced the extent of what it was able to do to foster Christian inter-denominational cooperation. In contrast, the success of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference resided in its effort to foster cooperation as well as in the meticulous groundwork achieved to prepare the meeting.

thousand representatives of Protestant missionary societies from the US and Northern Europe convened on that occasion in Edinburgh, Scotland to discuss and reflect upon the future of the evangelical enterprise worldwide. One major accomplishment of this conference was to enshrine principles of unity and cooperation among the world's Christian churches as the cornerstone of modern evangelization. To this day, the event is remembered as the inception of the Protestant Christian ecumenical movement.⁵²

However, while the Edinburgh conference was celebrated for being “a glorious demonstration of the loyalty of Protestant Christianity to Christ, of its unity of spirit, and of its purpose of active cooperation in evangelizing the world,” a handful of delegates regretted the exclusion of Catholic Latin America from the conference's program.⁵³ Why focus only on the non-Christian world? These delegates argued that “millions and millions” of people there were living “practically without the Word of God” and that Latin American countries should consequently be included in the Protestant missionary agenda as well. Even more problematic, according to them, was the impossibility for Latin Americans to intimately know the Gospel: given the sway of Catholic priests over religious life, evangelical Christians surmised, any reading of the Bible south of the Río Grande was inevitably shrouded by a third-party interpretation.⁵⁴ As a result, pioneering Christian

In 1917, Latin American missionaries reflected in hindsight: “At Edinburgh commission reports, prepared with the utmost care, formed the basis of all the discussion. Each commission had some two years for the preparation of its report. No such authoritative investigation of missionary problems had ever been undertaken before.” The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, “Inception and History of the Congress on Christian Work in Latin America,” *Christian Work in Latin America: Survey and Occupation and Method Education*, Vol. 1, New York City: The Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada (for the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America), 1917, pp. 4-5.

⁵² The array of activities organized in 2010 to celebrate the centenary of the World Missionary Conference evinces this point. Consult the website of the event for more details: <http://www.edinburgh2010.org/en/resources/books.html>. A collection of books was also released in the wake of the festivities. The collection focuses on the impact of the 1910 and 2010 conferences respectively. It includes, among its many titles, the following publications: Kirsteen Kim and Andrew Anderson, *Edinburgh 2010: Mission Today and Tomorrow*, Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2011; David A. Kerr and Kenneth R. Ross, *Edinburgh 2010: Mission Then and now*, Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2010; Kenneth R. Ross, *Edinburgh 2010: Springboard for Mission*, Pasadena, CA: William Cary International University Press, 2009.

⁵³ The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, “Inception and History of the Congress...,” p. 6.

⁵⁴ *Idem*, p. 7.

Protestant missionaries with experience in the region organized an informal committee, which later expanded and evolved into the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America (more on it soon), and endeavored thereafter to bring Latin America to the forefront of the Protestant missionary enterprise worldwide.⁵⁵ The Free Church of Scotland followed in their steps. So did John A. Mackay.

“Aunque escocés por nacimiento y educación,” averred in 1927 the Hispanic newspaper of Christian interest *La Nueva Democracia*, Reverend John A. Mackay “merece muy bien, como él modestamente se llama, ser apellidado ciudadano espiritualmente naturalizado del continente americano.”⁵⁶ Twelve years separated this flattering introduction from the time Mackay first set foot in South America. After graduating from the Princeton Theological Seminary in 1915, Mackay toured Latin America for some time. His trip included brief stays in Panama, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and Uruguay. Mackay then returned to Scotland but left again shortly after for Spain. He stayed eight months in Madrid. There, Mackay met the distinguished Spanish philosopher Miguel de Unamuno, who thereafter influenced his trajectory, and, thanks to a fellowship in theological study, spent most of his time studying Spanish literature, especially the Spanish mystics, and perfecting his Spanish.⁵⁷ These experiences prepared the young Mackay for the influential missionary career he would soon begin in Latin America.

The legacy that Reverend John A. Mackay left to Protestant theologians in Latin America, as well as to a handful of intellectuals close to the Peruvian APRA, has hitherto been regarded with a mix of gratitude and admiration. When in 1989 Presbyterian pastor John H. Sinclair, a disciple and biographer of John A. Mackay, inquired about the lasting influences of his religious mentor in South

⁵⁵ Sinclair, *Juan A. Mackay...*, pp. 63-68.

⁵⁶ Introduction of article by John A. Mackay, “La Desaparición del Panamericanismo y Qué Viene Después,” *La Nueva Democracia*, New York, August 21, 1927, p. 5.

⁵⁷ John Alexander Mackay, Interview 4 conducted by Gerald W. Gillette, Hightstown, N. J., 21 October 1975, pp. 1-3, RG 563, Cassette Tapes 4-5, Mackay, John Alexander, 1889-1983, Transcripts of Interview, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA. The Department of Publicity, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, “Authentic Biographical Sketch of Dr. John Alexander Mackay,” p. 1, June 1953, RG 360, Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

American countries, José Míguez Bonino, an Argentine theologian, enthusiastically recalled; “Mackay nos ayudó a construir una nueva historia espiritual latinoamericana sin rechazar nuestras raíces culturales, y entablar ‘un diálogo de amor’ con nuestra cultura sin separarnos de las raíces bíblicas de nuestra fe.”⁵⁸ This statement captures the most noticeable feature of Mackay’s contribution in the Americas: learning to cooperate.

Mackay dedicated his life to increasing cultural exchanges and mutual understanding between North and South Americans. Whether via the work he did in Peru with the Colegio Anglo-Peruano between 1916 and 1925, the Latin American tours he undertook on behalf of the YMCAs in 1922, and again from 1925 through 1932, or the executive positions he later occupied in a number of religious institutions in the United States, including, among others, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions and the Princeton Theological Seminary, Mackay always managed to keep his actions in line with his words.⁵⁹ His discourse was one of cooperation. So were his deeds.

In Peru, Mackay and his wife made conscientious efforts to distance themselves from the English and Scottish community in Lima: they wanted to stay as close as possible to the national culture, they said, and learn as much as they could about Peru and its people.⁶⁰ In contrast to fellow Protestant missionaries, generally known in Peru for seeking to impose Protestantism as the universal truth on local populations, the Mackays put the notion of dialogue at the forefront of their missionary work.⁶¹ Theirs was a work of collaboration rather than imposition. They took special

⁵⁸ José Míguez Bonino, “Presentación,” in Sinclair, *Juan A. Mackay...*, p. 15.

⁵⁹ John Alexander Mackay, Interview 4 conducted by Gerald W. Gillette, Hightstown, N. J., 21 October 1975, pp. 1-3, RG 563, Cassette Tapes 4-5, Mackay, John Alexander, 1889-1983, Transcripts of Interview, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA. The Department of Publicity, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, “Authentic Biographical Sketch of Dr. John Alexander Mackay,” p. 1, June 1953, RG 360, Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

⁶⁰ John A. Mackay, quoted in Sinclair, *Juan A. Mackay...*, p. 89.

⁶¹ Chanamé, *La Amistad de dos Amautas...*, p. 22; Sinclair, *Juan A. Mackay...*, p. 89. Here, dialogue bore different though complementary meanings. Mackay’s approach to theology, and to the work he conducted in Latin America in particular, began at their crossroads. One dialogue related to culture and religion. Understanding how culture and religion intersected to shape new behaviors was indeed central to Mackay’s intellectual endeavor. Early on in his career, he advanced that theology by itself was insufficient to change habits and actions. Rather, culture had to

pride, for example, in establishing Spanish rather than English as the chief language of the Colegio Anglo-Peruano, which no other Protestant institution in Peru had ever done before.⁶²

While pursuing his work as missionary educator, Mackay took pains to mix with the Limean cultural milieu. He enrolled at the National University of San Marcos, Peru's leading university, where, after completing a doctoral degree on the philosophy of Miguel de Unamuno in 1918, he was offered a teaching position in philosophy. Mackay also took a vivid interest in the Reform student movement that began to rock South America in 1918. He praised the movement for rejecting positivist philosophies and for seeing in José Enrique Rodó an alternative to excessive materialism. Granted Mackay's religious background, and his love for the Spanish mystics in particular, his positions naturally tallied with students' attraction for beauty and spirituality as forces of social change. He even took direct action to hearten the pursuit of these ideals. Mackay was for instance a regular at the weekly reunions of the Limean bohemia, where students, artists, and intellectuals convened to discuss literature and politics.⁶³

Unsurprisingly, Mackay hired several of the young Peruvians who navigated these circles to work for his missionary school. Raúl Porras Barrenechea, Oscar Herrera, Jorge Guillermo Leguía, and Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, to name but a few, counted among those recruited to teach Spanish and history classes at the Colegio Anglo-Peruano. In Peru, not only did Mackay recruit reform-minded students to give classes at the Colegio Anglo-Peruano, he also developed sincere, lasting friendships with many of them.⁶⁴

inform theological instruction. It had a prominent role to play, he argued, in bridging the gap between the word of the Gospel, essentially abstract, and the material expression of its teachings in a given society. Sinclair, *Juan A. Mackay...*, pp. 18, 67, 68-72.

⁶² John Alexander Mackay, Interview 4 conducted by Gerald W. Gillette, Hightstown, N. J., 21 October 1975, pp. 3-4, RG 563, Cassette Tapes 4-5, Mackay, John Alexander, 1889-1983, Transcripts of Interview, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

⁶³ M. MacPherson, *At the Roots of a Nation...*, pp. 1-12; Chanamé, *La amistad de dos Amautas...*, pp. 30-32.

⁶⁴ MacPherson, *At the Roots of a Nation...*, pp. 1-12; Chanamé, *La amistad de dos Amautas...*, pp. 30-32.

The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America

Mackay both reflected and performed the ideals of international cooperation and mutual understanding that underlay the growth of Christian evangelical missionary circles in Latin America starting in the 1910s and ever so more prominently after the First World War. In effect, as the ashes of the Great War slowly settled, they were many to look back through the mist of what, god help them, stood as dreadful forebodings never to return. Enlightened modernity had betrayed Western hopes. Instead of promises of universal brotherhood, it had brought in its wake massive destruction and the experience of collective trauma. For a number of Christian missionaries in Latin America, who like Mackay were close to the ecumenical evangelical movement, the Americas stood as a visionary geography where peace and universal brotherhood might bloom.

“Europe is sinking! America is the hope of the world!” cried John A. Mackay in 1925, before an assembly of fellow missionaries.⁶⁵ This conviction was in itself nothing new. It fed into a long tradition, which dated back to colonial times in both South and North America, where the land west of the Atlantic was perceived as the place where utopian dreams came true, where the faults of the Old World disappeared before the prospects of betterment.⁶⁶ The Americas was in many ways the second chance Europe never had. The advent of the First World War, in addition to the contentious development of Inter-American relations in the 1910s and 1920s, made the question of hemispheric dialogue seem more urgent than ever before. Christian missionaries wanted more of this dialogue. They wanted more cooperation, more mutual understanding, in sum more love, between the people of the continent, and they were poised to make it happen.

⁶⁵ John A. Mackay, “The Report of Commission Eleven on Special Religious Problems in South America,” in The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, *Christian Work in South America: Official Report of the Congress on Christian Work in South America, at Montevideo, Uruguay, April, 1925*, ed. Robert E. Speer, Samuel G. Inman, and Frank K. Sanders, New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1925, p. 309.

⁶⁶ For an introductory survey on the concept of the Americas as utopian geography since the “discovery” of the New World consult: Flores Galindo, *In Search of An Inca: Identity and Utopia in the Andes*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2010, pp. 10-17.

Particularly instrumental in orchestrating missionary efforts to better relations between South and North America was the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, first established in 1913 by representatives of the National Evangelical Churches and the Mission Boards working in Latin America.⁶⁷ Although it started as a modest and primarily administrative body (in 1913 four members were appointed to serve on the committee), the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, based in New York City, gained considerable influence fast and relatively easily (it comprised forty-one members by September 1916, thirteen of whom comprised the executive committee.)⁶⁸ Serving members exerted themselves to advance the cause of Latin America before North American and European peers, which partly explains their success, though a genuine and growing interest in the region was present to begin with. By the mid-1920s, the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America had grown into an important forum of discussion where Christian missionaries from different denominations were able to voice their opinions and together think and reflect upon the nature of the problems that afflicted the Americas.

Different means were put at the Committee's disposal to do so. First, it had a New York-based monthly review, *La Nueva Democracia*. This journal covered continental affairs from a Christian point of view. It also served as a coveted platform for debates between thinkers, clerical and lay alike, from all over the Western Hemisphere.⁶⁹ APRA leader Luis Alberto Sanchez published in its pages throughout the 1930s.⁷⁰ Likewise, the journal customarily reviewed the latest Aprista

⁶⁷ The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, "Inception and History of the Congress...", p. 9. John A. Mackay, *The Other Spanish Christ: A Study in the Spiritual History of Spain and South America*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932, p. 246.

⁶⁸ The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, "Inception and History of the Congress...", pp. 36-37.

⁶⁹ The collection of *La Nueva Democracia* is available in microforms at the New York Public Library. Only a few volumes are missing.

⁷⁰ His contributions include: Luis Alberto Sánchez, "El Anti-Rodó," *La Nueva Democracia*, 25 enero 1934, p. 14; "La Mística de la Nueva América," *La Nueva Democracia*, 25 octubre 1934, p. 11; "Desesperación y Exasperación En la Juventud Indoamericana," *La Nueva Democracia*, 1 enero 1935, p. 24; "Bolivarismo, Monroísmo y Aprismo," *La Nueva Democracia*, 1 marzo 1935, p. 8; "Religión no es Adversaria de Acción," *La Nueva Democracia*, 1 abril 1935, p. 18.

publications and several articles openly advertised the cause of APRA.⁷¹ Second, the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America funded the publication and translation of monographs and conference reports in order to render knowledge on Latin America more readily available to an English-speaking audience.⁷² This encouraged open dialogue between South and North American evangelical Christians. More broadly, it also aimed to offer to the US public alternative sources of information on their southern neighbors. Third, and perhaps most significantly for my argument, the Committee on Cooperation organized two important conferences, in 1916 and 1925 respectively, which aspired to advance cooperation and mutual understanding between the people of the Americas.

The first conference was the Panama Conference. Around the time that the Free Church of Scotland was opening its missionary field in Peru, representatives of the National Evangelical Churches and the Mission Boards working in Latin America convened in Panama City, from February 10 to 20, 1916, to reflect on the growing need for cooperation between South and North America.⁷³ To this end, North American missionary leaders responded to the Committee on Cooperation's invitation and prepared a series of panels and reports, aiming to provide in-depth information on the social, educational, and religious conditions of Latin American countries. They

⁷¹ "Qué es el aprismo? ¿Cuáles son sus propósitos? ¿Quiénes son sus apóstoles?, *La Nueva Democracia*, 25 mayo 1934, p. 20. This particular section proceeded to guide readers through a series of five books, respectively authored by Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, Luis Alberto Sánchez, Serafin del Mar, Carlos Manuel Coz [sic], and Manuel Seoane. An introduction announced: "Léanse los siguientes libros, para estar al tanto de este movimiento extraordinario que tanto desarrollo ha adquirido, particularmente en el Perú, durante los últimos años."

⁷² Consult for example: The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, *Christian Work in Latin America: Survey and Occupation and Method Education*, Vol. 1, New York City: The Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada (for the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America), 1917; Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, *Regional Conferences in Latin America*, New York City: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1917; Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, *Christian Work in South America: Official Report of the Congress on Christian Work in South America, at Montevideo, Uruguay, April, 1925*, ed. Robert E. Speer, Samuel G. Inman, and Frank K. Sanders, New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1925; Samuel Guy Inman, *Problems in Pan Americanism*, New York: George H. Doran Company, 1925; Samuel Guy Inman, *Ventures in Inter-American Friendship*, New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1925; Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, *Directory of Evangelical Missions in Latin America*, New York City: Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, 1929.

⁷³ The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, "Inception and History of the Congress...", p. 3.

knew that sound cooperation, a prerequisite for successful evangelization, entailed the need for more mutual understanding. Hence the heuristic tools put at the participants' disposal to learn about their southern neighbors.

Importantly, the report on this First Congress on Christian Work in Latin America, also known as the Panama Conference, hints at the rising association between the growth of the Christian ecumenical movement and the advance of a continental awareness in these circles. From the start, organizers of the conference justified their motivation for holding the event in light of recent developments in inter-American relations. Among the opportunities that, they said, opened the way to friendly relationships between North and South America was the inauguration of the Panama Canal. "The opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 centered as never before the attention of the whole world upon Latin America," reads the report's introduction. It then enumerates a list of recent Pan American achievements with an optimistic outlook on them: "The multiplication of gatherings over matters of common interest, such as the Panama Pacific Exposition, the Pan American Scientific Congress, and the mutual visits of diplomats and financiers served to break down in considerable measure the long established barriers of reserve, misunderstanding and dislike which have, in the past, so deeply affected the intercourse of Latin America and other parts of the civilized world."⁷⁴ It was not fortuitous that the meeting was held in Panama. According to the conference organizers, the location of the congress "at the crossroads of the nations, where men and products of all peoples pass to and fro," had compelled the fifty participating Christian organizations to "think in world terms" and push the limits of what was once thought impossible for the Western Hemisphere.⁷⁵

The conclusions reached at the Panama Conference would have two major consequences for the progress of evangelical missionary work in Latin America and for the subject of this dissertation

⁷⁴ The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, "Inception and History of the Congress...", p. 3.

⁷⁵ *Idem*, p. 26.

in particular. First, discussions held at the congress sealed the desire to envision the future of the continent in spiritual terms. “[The Panama Congress] has sounded a call to a fuller fellowship of faith and race,” read the conference report, “and to a recognition of the fact that not geography, nor political sympathy, nor commercial interest, nor science, nor trade, but only Christ can ever unite the nations of the North and South or of the East and West.”⁷⁶ North American and European evangelical Christians involved in missionary work in Latin America thereafter bemoaned any initiative that stunted or that risked stunting principles of cooperation and mutual understanding in the conduct of hemispheric relations. The concept of a spiritual fellowship in the Americas was on its way to crystallizing.

Second, participants to the Panama Conference acknowledged that the event amounted to “a process of discovery” without many immediate consequences in the end.⁷⁷ “It did not discharge responsibility; it provided the attitude and the atmosphere essential to vision.”⁷⁸ As a result, the Panama Conference encouraged many Christian missionaries to take more direct action in their attempts to foment change in the region. The onus was now on them, they felt, to oppose more forcefully not only the papal system in the region but also the rise of materialist philosophies across the continent.

The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America organized its second international Congress on Christian Work in South America, also known as the Montevideo Conference, in April 1925. Nine years after the initial Panama conference, representatives of evangelical churches from across the continent gathered again, this time in the coastal city of Montevideo, Uruguay, and confirmed their faith in advancing friendly relations and mutual understanding between South and North America. “The Latin American peoples are our nearest neighbors, and we and they ought to

⁷⁶ The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, “Inception and History of the Congress...,” p. 33.

⁷⁷ *Idem*, p. 33.

⁷⁸ *Idem*, p. 33.

be friends—good friends—respecting and understanding one another,” wrote Robert E. Speer, chairman of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, in the foreword to the conference’s minutes.⁷⁹ The meeting of the second Congress on Christian Work in South America ratified as driving missionary principles postures that had until then primarily worked as informal guidelines. In addition to advocating friendly relations on the continent, reports prepared in view of the Montevideo conference censured the latest development in Inter-American relations. Many are literally replete with outright belligerent stances against North American imperialism.⁸⁰

Nowhere was the rejection of official Pan Americanism more apparent than during the Night of the Open Heart, an event that took place during the Montevideo Conference in the assembly hall of the Hotel Pocitos on March 30, 1925. The opening address of the president of the Congress, Brazilian Professor Erasmo Braga, left no doubt as to the plunge in reputation that Pan Americanism had suffered in recent years. “Pan Americanism,” he said, “is a depreciated term. It has lost any spiritual significance it may have had and has come to signify only commercial relations. It is most unfortunate that the representatives of the United States have generally referred to Pan-Americanism only as important because of commercial relations and have therefore gradually eliminated the cultural and spiritual aspects of the subject. This has meant that the word has come to signify the commercial dominance of our countries by the United States.”⁸¹

Ernesto Nelson, an Argentine educator active in the YMCA of Buenos Aires, echoed these misgivings. He, too, wanted to scrap definitions of Pan Americanism solely based on commerce and money. “Hitherto Pan-American relations have been centered around commerce,” he stated. “But commerce, being an expression of material interest, cannot very well serve as the vehicle of higher

⁷⁹ The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, *Christian Work in South America...*, p. v.

⁸⁰ Consult reports included in The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, *Christian Work in South America...* Citations from the conference that testify to growing resentment against Pan-Americanism are also included in Samuel Guy Inman, *Ventures in Inter-American Friendship*, New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1925.

⁸¹ Cited in Inman, *Ventures in Inter-American...*, p. 46.

ideals. It is necessary today more than ever before that Pan-Americanism be translated into a more complete understanding of the sources of idealism, of that moral strength with which every American country is gifted.”⁸²

North American participants to the Montevideo conference readily heeded the complaints of their South American colleagues. In effect, similar grievances against recent developments of Inter-American relations ran in North American evangelical circles as well. Charles M. Braden, a former evangelical missionary to Chile, urged the following at the 1925 Montevideo conference: “The forces of the world which contribute to the materialization of South America are active; is it not time that the more spiritually minded people make their contribution as well?”⁸³ Samuel Guy Inman, the Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, thought the same way. “Why do North Americans not do something in a large way to put Inter-American relations on a spiritual basis and cease putting so much emphasis on purely commercial exchange,” he asked at the conference?⁸⁴

If in 1916 the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America regarded Pan Americanism in light of the promising opportunities it had to offer, by 1925 the initial sense of optimism had been replaced by disenchantment and a will to fight back. The predominant focus given to questions of commercial and financial interest in the Pan American Union was a thorn in the side of actors who envisaged the Americas in light of its possibilities for spiritual salvation. Some might argue that this sense of initial optimism was, to begin with, a rather naïve outlook on the development of Inter-American affairs in the preceding forty years.⁸⁵ For various Latin American intellectuals, in effect,

⁸² Cited in Inman, *Ventures in Inter-American...*, p. 47.

⁸³ Charles M. Braden, “Report IV: Evangelism,” in The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, *Christian Work in South America...*, p. 339.

⁸⁴ Inman, *Ventures in Inter-American...*, p. 64.

⁸⁵ The period comprised between 1880 and 1933 corresponds to the awakening of the inter-American system under the aegis of the United States government. Although Latin Americans had been toying with projects of hemispheric integration since their political independence from Spain in the early nineteenth century, it is only with the 1889-1890 Inter-American Conference of Washington that the idea of Pan Americanism found its first political

the Pan American Union, first established in 1889 as the Bureau of American Republics, had never been but an instrument designed to prop up US imperialist expansion in South and Central America.⁸⁶ Argentine sociologist José Ingenieros, for example, scolded the hypocrisy of the Monroe Doctrine. He berated with equal vigor the political and economic hegemonic project that the United States attempted to hide behind a façade of Inter-American dialogue.⁸⁷ “No somos, no queremos ser más, no podríamos seguir siendo panamericanistas,” Ingenieros wrote in 1922. “La famosa doctrina de Monroe, que pudo parecernos durante un siglo la garantía de nuestra independencia política contra el peligro de conquistas europeas, se ha revelado gradualmente como una reserva del derecho norteamericano a protegernos e intervenirnos.”⁸⁸

Executive members of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America did not entirely disagree. While in theory Christian missionaries in the region regarded the Monroe Doctrine as an auspicious diplomatic measure for continental politics, members of the Committee on Cooperation cringed at its contemporary applications in the Western Hemisphere. Samuel G. Inman, the Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, was particularly involved in the study of the Monroe Doctrine. Of all evangelical leaders who worked with or within the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, Inman was probably the one who, together with John A. Mackay,

expression. Washington’s expansionist policies became thereafter intimately connected with the newly founded Pan American Union as instrument of US domination in Latin America, and more broadly to the idea that the Western Hemisphere needed protection and guidance from the US white man. Daniel Kerssfield, “La recepción del marxismo en América Latina y su influencia en las ideas de integración continental: el caso de la Liga Antiimperialista de las Américas,” Tesis de doctorado, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2008, pp. 33-50. On the new version, starting in the second half of the nineteenth century, of the US Manifest Destiny based on sea power rather than territorial expansion and of the civilizing mission it called forth, consult: Arthur P. Whitaker, *The Western Hemisphere Idea: Its Rise and Decline*, Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1954, p. 92. Historians usually follow the chronology of historian Pablo González Casanova to point, like I did, to the period comprised between 1880 and 1933 as the first stage of US imperialist expansion in South and Central America. Pablo González Casanova, *Imperialismo y liberación. Una introducción a la historia contemporánea de América Latina*, México: Siglo XXI Editores, 1979.

⁸⁶ Kerssfield, “La recepción del marxismo en América Latina...,” pp. 33-50.

⁸⁷ José Ingenieros, *Por la Unión Latino Americana. Discurso pronunciado el 11 de octubre de 1922 ofreciendo el banquete de los Escritores Argentinos en honor de José Vasconcelos*, Buenos Aires, L. J. Rosso y Cia., Impresores, 1922, p. 6.

⁸⁸ *Idem*, p. 6.

engaged most wholeheartedly the challenges that questions of inter-American friendships posed to evangelical missionary circles in the continent. By 1923, Inman had grown into an illustrious spokesman of American friendships not only in North America but also with Latin American Reform students. The official organ of the Peruvian reform students, *Claridad*, of which Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre was editor-in-chief, hailed Inman that year as “uno de los espíritus libres de mayor relieve en los Estados Unidos.”⁸⁹ It likewise favorably assessed Inman’s indictment of US foreign policy vis-à-vis its southern neighbor: “Ardoroso defensor del reconocimiento de México por su país ha atacado con valentía singular la política imperialista y nada generosa de la Casa Blanca para con el noble pueblo azteca.”⁹⁰

In the course of his numerous travels across Latin America, in addition to a ten-year residency in Mexico, Inman had observed the deplorable consequences that the doctrine, whether or not intentionally, had wrought in Latin American countries since its formulation in 1823.⁹¹ His argument was close to Ingenieros’ motives for despising Pan-Americanism, but their views differed on how to redress the situation. Ingenieros proposed a political alternative, the Latin American Union, in the stead of Pan-Americanism, whereas Inman sought to salvage what remained of the project’s idealism. He insisted that it was not the Monroe Doctrine per se, but rather the misconstrued interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine, which had over the years mangled the doctrine’s original purpose and consequently forestalled the dreams of continental solidarity that visionary forerunners Simon Bolivar and Henry Clay had devised in the previous century.⁹²

⁸⁹ “Del Libro South America To-Day,” *Claridad: Órgano de la juventud libre del Perú*, Año 1, Num. 1, 1923, p. 3. I thank Hugo Vallenás, from *Ojo Izquierdo*, for sharing this primary source with me.

⁹⁰ “Del Libro South America...”, p. 3.

⁹¹ Samuel G. Inman, *Intervention in Mexico*, New York: Associated Press, 1919; Inman, *Through Santo Domingo and Haiti: A Cruise with the Marines*, New York: Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, 1919; Samuel G. Inman, *Problems in Panamericanism*, New York: George H. Doran Company, 1925 (1921 1st ed.); Inman, *Ventures in Inter-American...*

⁹² Inman, “The Monroe Doctrine and Latin America,” in *Problems in...*, pp. 149-194. Inman, *Problems in...*, pp. v-vii.

One of the most controversial measures came in 1904. The declaration of the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine ushered in that year the era of Big Stick diplomacy, during which the US government arrogated to itself the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Central American and Caribbean nations, whenever intervention was deemed necessary to protect US financial interests in the region. By sanctioning the right of the United States to intervene militarily in other Latin American countries, albeit under the pretence of keeping European powers at bay, the Roosevelt Corollary, as Arthur P. Whitaker eloquently puts it, “made the United States not only the policeman of the Western Hemisphere but its judge as well.”⁹³ In the course of the next fifteen years, the United States intervened about a dozen times in Central America and the Caribbean.⁹⁴ This situation was clearly troubling for Christian protagonists, who like Mackay, Graves, or Inman, fought for world peace and for better relations between the people of the Americas in particular.

Nevertheless, in one way or another, participants who took the floor on the Night of the Open Heart, as well as every single panelist who happened to mention or look into the subject of Pan Americanism during the Montevideo Conference, advocated, like Inman had, an overhauled version of Pan Americanism. These interventions all point to a desire to reform Pan-Americanism from within rather than letting go of the project altogether. The Pan Americanism that these actors embraced championed shared ideals and morals rather than free trade and common markets.

⁹³ Whitaker, *The Western Hemisphere Idea ...*, p. 101.

⁹⁴ Walter Lafeber, *The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad Since 1750*, New York: Norton, 1994.

Anna Melissa Graves (Part 2)

The profound and rapid change of consciousness that Graves witnessed while traveling around the American continent hardened her mistrust of nationalism into downright loathing. She shared with Mackay and with his missionary peers of the Committee of Cooperation in Latin America, if not a faith in Pan Americanism per se, at least the same animosity toward nationalist and materialist philosophies. “When I was in Latin America in 1922 and 1923,” she recalled years later, “I watched the sentiment of Nationalism, not extreme when I first arrived, grow into an unreasoning passion.”⁹⁵ She also shared with them the belief that in the Americas lay the salvation of Western Civilization. Graves’ impression of the fast-paced growth of nationalist currents south of the Río Grande was consistent with reality. A rising tide of anti-US sentiment was indeed rocking Latin America as a result of Washington’s expansionist policies in the region. Yet her sense that 1922-1923 was a turning point for Latin American nationalism also had a lot to do with an extended stay in Mexico right at the time when the country was going through a very particular moment of its history.

The rise to power of President Álvaro Obregón in November 1920 ushered in a period of remarkable transformations in Mexican politics. Under his rule, the Mexican state rose from the rubble of its violent revolutionary period (1910-1920) and launched a unique revolutionary experience based on cultural regeneration and national consolidation. Obregón and close associate José Vasconcelos, the Minister of Education in Mexico from 1921 until his resignation in 1924, together devised and began implementing an overarching plan of reforms with two main goals in mind: they wanted to 1) consolidate the Mexican nation as a way to 2) propel the country forward into modernity.

⁹⁵ Graves, “Nationalisme: L’Infâme,” in *I Have Tried to Think...*, p. 32.

The example of the Mexican revolution fired imaginations worldwide. “Until now the Revolution was promises,” wrote US communist organizer Bertram D. Wolfe about 1920s Mexico. “Now the bright promises were to become reality in a new, marvelous, unpredictable world.”⁹⁶ Wolfe was part of the large contingent of US expatriates who had heard of Mexico and rushed there in search of utopias.⁹⁷ On the Latin American side, anti-imperialist advocates and intellectuals from all leftist hues began to praise the Mexican revolution. It set forth an example for the rest of the continent, many argued, which should be emulated. Argentine sociologist José Ingenieros was one of the first to claim the Mexican experience for all Latin Americans. As we have seen in the previous section, he advocated the union of Latin America as the only viable way to oppose US hegemony in Latin America. Ingenieros hoped very much to see the Mexican project of social and political regeneration underway inspire and prod the rest of the continent into pursuing spiritual renovation.⁹⁸

It is in this effervescent context that Graves, after a short stay back in Baltimore, Maryland, and after landing a teaching position at the Colegio María Josefina Hocker, an Episcopal missionary school in Mexico City, arrived in Mexico in April 1923.⁹⁹ In Mexico, first-hand experiences of political change and especially of growing nationalism led Graves to adjust her worldview. More than adjustment, in fact, confirmation of a cause was here at play. Within a month of arriving in Mexico, Graves changed her mind about her intention to organize a Mexican section of the WILPF. Among the reasons she gave to explain this turnabout, Graves mentioned her reluctance to form sections of the league along the lines of national divides, which came at the exclusion, she remarked,

⁹⁶ Bertram D. Wolfe, *The Fabulous Life of Diego Rivera*, New York: Stein and Day, 1963, p. 131.

⁹⁷ Mauricio Tenorio, “Viejos Gringos: radicales norteamericanos en los años treinta y su visión de México,” *Secuencia*, Num. 21 (septiembre-diciembre, 1991): 95-116; Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations Between the United States and Mexico, 1920-1935*, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992.

⁹⁸ José Ingenieros, *Por la Unión Latino Americana. Discurso pronunciado el 11 de octubre de 1922 ofreciendo el banquete de los Escritores Argentinos en honor de José Vasconcelos*, Buenos Aires, L. J. Rosso y Cia., Impresores, 1922, pp. 4-5.

⁹⁹ Biographical data in letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Elinor Byrns, Moscow, January 9, 1927, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Records of the Women's Peace Union, 1921-1940, Box 13, Correspondence G and Correspondence H, 1921-1931, Graves, A., 1923-1931 (Reel 88.12).

of several pacifists who lived and worked in Mexico without being citizens of that country. Graves thereafter advised her peers back home against organizing the WILPF in national sections. “Until the W.I.L.P. changes its constitution and does not emphasize nationalism to the extent that it does,” she wrote on 22 April 1923 “i.e. until it gives a voting status to groups of members who are not organized as national sections – the forming of sections in regions not yet parts of national sections is inadvisable.”¹⁰⁰

By September 1923, Graves was wary of the changing course of the Mexican revolution. She observed with anguish the wave of nationalism that was then rocking Mexico, “partly due to the feeling against the United States, which Mexico thinks forced it to give up its revolution,” she noted, “partly due to contagion from the wave of nationalism which is taking possession of the world.”¹⁰¹ Graves voiced her distress to peer pacifist activists. To Elinore Byrnes, from the Women’s Peace Union, Graves wrote on September 4, 1923: “Just at this moment, the national sentiment is growing by leaps and bounds in Mexico. I notice a marked increase during the five and a half months since I have been here. The women who say that they are Pacifists are deceiving themselves by saying that there can be such a thing as a Nationalism which is creative and not dangerous.”¹⁰² On 17 September 1923, she wrote to Romain Rolland, a world-famous pacifist and eminent Swiss intellectual, to express similar worries in the face of mounting nationalism in Latin America.¹⁰³ Her letter was a cry for help. “If you could make them Latin Americans see that any force so disruptive to humanity is in itself inherently unprogressive and destructive not constructive,” she asked

¹⁰⁰ Letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Zonia Baber, D.F., Mexico, April 22, 1923, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Part III: U.S. Section, Series C: Correspondence, 1919-1999, Box 2, Folder 39, Mexico, 1922-1924.

¹⁰¹ Anna Melissa Graves, excerpt from a letter written in October 1923, reproduced in “Nationalisme: L’Infâme,” in *I Have Tried to Think...*, p. 32.

¹⁰² Letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Miss Byrnes, Mexico, D.F., September 4, 1923, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Records of the Women's Peace Union, 1921-1940, Box 13, Correspondence G and Correspondence H, 1921-1931, Graves, A., 1923-1931 (Reel 88.12).

¹⁰³ Letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Romain Rolland, 17 September 1923, Mexico D.F., Mexico, Fonds Romain Rolland, NAF 28400, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Manuscrits.

Rolland, “and if you could make them see that the glorious things produced by certain peoples were not produced because of nationalism [...] you might save a continent.”¹⁰⁴

Graves included in that letter the names and addresses of seventeen Latin American actors whom she thought Rolland should contact. The Peruvian list comprised Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, Edwin Elmore, and Julia Codesido. A side note informed Rolland of the peculiar situation regarding Haya de la Torre. Because of his first-line involvement in the student protests that had been rocking Peru since the spring 1923, Graves wrote, Haya de la Torre was most probably put under state surveillance. “It might be well to send a duplicate to Haya de la Torre under cover to Dr. Mackay, Colegio Anglo, Peruana [sic],” read the note. “Haya de la Torre’s mail may be seized now.” This side note highlights the role that Graves and Mackay were beginning to play in the system of clandestine communication put in place to insure contact between Peruvian exiles, soon to become APRA members.

A fine observer of her time, Graves also was a hardheaded and passionate person. It was difficult for her to control her fervor when she got started on a subject she took to heart. Testifies a passage where Graves excoriates Mexican pacifists for seeing in internationalism a natural extension of nationalism: “The so-called Pacifists (because only the progressives are even so-called Pacifists in Mexico at this moment), are so intensely nationalistic that their nationalism is filling their hearts and minds and they are enflaming the country as much as the non-Pacifists are and are so preoccupied with this ‘task’ of stirring up national pride, national self-conscious men, national unity, that they have persuaded themselves that it is a necessary precursor of internationalism or world unity (as if a

¹⁰⁴ Letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Romain Rolland, 17 September 1923, Mexico D.F., Mexico, Fonds Romain Rolland, NAF 28400, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Manuscrits.

conscious man of separateness could be a necessary precursor of unity!), and refuse to occupy themselves with internationalism, insisting that it is premature, here.”¹⁰⁵

While this passage testifies to Graves’ favorable take on internationalism, a term she thereafter commonly used in her writings, it also highlights the spirited and obdurate way in which she shouldered the fights she believed in. In contrast to many an anti-imperialist thesis in neo-colonial countries, where the road to liberation was often conceived in steps (including, for instance, an early nationalist stage before the march toward universal peace and freedom could resume), nationalism and internationalism were for Graves two distinct and absolutely irreconcilable philosophies. The former, she thought, belligerent by nature, inevitably subsumed the pacifism of the latter.¹⁰⁶

Graves clung to this dream the way teenagers bring memories of a first love into adulthood: with the unbearable weight of missed opportunities. If only, if only, one muses. “With no traditions or memories of conflicts between national groups, conflicts lasting for centuries,” she wrote in hindsight years later, not without a splash of lyricism with regard to the national histories of Latin America, “they might have made of themselves the model continent: a free and a frontierless one. But they did not – they have not.”¹⁰⁷

Yet at the time Graves saw things under a different light. There was still hope, she thought, for, as of 1923, nationalism was not rooted deeply enough in Latin America so as to cause the ravages it had wrought in Europe. More encouraging still, there were budding pacifist and internationalist forces indigenous to the Americas that promised to run counter to Mexican nationalism. The Latin American student reform movement, and particularly the forces that she

¹⁰⁵ Letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Miss Byrns, Mexico, D.F., September 4, 1923, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Records of the Women's Peace Union, 1921-1940, Box 13, Correspondence G and Correspondence H, 1921-1931, Graves, A., 1923-1931 (Reel 88.12).

¹⁰⁶ *Idem*.

¹⁰⁷ Graves, “Nationalisme: L’Infâme,” p. 32.

witnessed coalesce in Peru around the figure of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, was one of them. Graves was convinced that, with the right allies and a careful work of persuasion, the progression of pacifism in the region would return to its right course. “Latin America has before her the possibility of continental development without the causes of separateness embedded in every other continent,” she stressed in 1923. “She can be saved the evils inherent in nationalism if she is made to see that they are inherent.”¹⁰⁸

John A. Mackay (Part 2)

John A. Mackay was present at the Montevideo conference, the second international conference, you will recall, that the Committee on Cooperation organized in 1925 after the 1916 Panama Conference. In fact, Mackay took an active part in the event’s organization. He presented a panel where he lectured on religious problems in South America. On that occasion, before an audience of North and South American evangelical Christians, Mackay expanded on his commitment to build alliances between Christian missionaries and Reform-minded students in Peru. To justify why he saw these actors as agents of social change, Mackay argued at the conference that remarkable transformations had been taking place in South America since the end of the war. More specifically, he pointed out to his audience that the lingering disaster in European affairs, not counting the complete absence of proposals coming from Europe to rectify the postwar mayhem, had produced a new sense of destiny and of responsibility in the republics of South America.¹⁰⁹ “South American thinkers and scientists have discovered a new confidence in their own powers,” he said. “Europe has lost a great deal of its traditional prestige and South American intellectuals have

¹⁰⁸ Letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Romain Rolland, 17 September 1923, Mexico D.F., Mexico, Fonds Romain Rolland, NAF 28400, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Manuscrits.

¹⁰⁹ John A. Mackay, “The Report of Commission Eleven on Special Religious Problems in South America,” in Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, *Christian Work in South America...*, p. 308.

taken themselves out of their classic sense of inferiority, and have the feeling that in some spheres of life and thought, they are even called upon to give the world a lead.”¹¹⁰

But let’s backtrack a little here, for the end of the war can only explain so much. To fully comprehend Mackay’s reflection, I must explicate the influence that the Social Gospel movement wielded at the time in Protestant missionary circles and on members of the Free Church of Scotland especially. This is key to understanding how and why the “growing spirit of materialism” that Christian missionaries witnessed unfold in the American continent – and which they began to fear right about the middle of World War I, in 1915 – came to have important implications for the formation of alliances in the 1920s between actors like John A. Mackay and Reform-minded students in Peru.¹¹¹

Often regarded as the radical scion of Protestant liberalism, the Social Gospel is a Christian intellectual movement that champions the application of Christian ethics to society as a whole. US scholars have traditionally located the golden age of the Social Gospel between 1880 and 1920, at a time when the social fabric of the United States was experiencing fast paced changes as a result of high industrialization and rapid urbanization.¹¹² The movement was also prominent in Northern Europe. Advocates of the Social Gospel assumed that individual redemption was impossible within the sole confines of the church and of abstract theology. Social structures had to be reformed, and in the meantime programs of social action put in place, they argued, in order for individuals to live a Christian life.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Mackay, “The Report of Commission Eleven...,” p. 305.

¹¹¹ Charles M. Braden, “Report IV: Evangelism,” in The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, *Christian Work in South America...*, p. 339.

¹¹² Recent contributions challenge this periodization and aim to expand it in time. See Doug Rossinow, “The Radicalization of the Social Gospel: Harry F. Ward and the Search for a New Social Order, 1898-1936,” *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Winter 2005), pp. 63-106.

¹¹³ Ronald C. White, Jr. and C. Howard Hopkins, *The Social Gospel: Religion and Reform in Changing America*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976; Paul A. Carter, *The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel: Social and Political Liberalism in American Protestant Churches, 1920-1940*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954;

The Free Church of Scotland adhered to the Social Gospel movement. By the time of the Edinburgh Conference in 1910, its religious leaders had attracted a number of criticisms for their involvement with the labor movement in Scotland. The Anti-Socialist Union of Great Britain excoriated the creation of a special Committee in May 1910, which aimed to encourage members of the Free Church to take part in the advent of a new social order and which supposedly oriented these same members toward socialism.¹¹⁴ The Anti-Socialist Union was half right. Leaders of the Free Church did advance that Christians had to work to beget changes in the social system as a whole, instead of simply focusing on helping indigent individuals, but never did they posit socialism as the only option to do so. To the contrary, the Free Church gave much leeway to its members to interpret what these moral precepts entailed at the political level. Argued Reverend A. Herbert Gray on the Free Church's behalf, "The Christian has no choice, but to desire another social order ... He may, or may not, be a Socialist, ... but a defender of this social order he cannot be."¹¹⁵ These attitudes were in synch with the Social Gospel movement in as much as a discourse of social change accompanied reflections on the society as a whole rather than on individuals only.

Seven years later, the rise to power of the Bolshevik Party in Russia, in the midst of the 1917 revolution, changed the situation. Defending the existing capitalist order was still wrong, according to the Free Church, but the Russian Revolution now offered a counter-example that showed just how bad radical excesses could get. Members of the Free Church were looking for a middle ground between brutal capitalism and its nemesis, communism. Here is precisely when alliances began to consolidate between staff members of the Colegio Anglo-Peruano, the Church's missionary school in Peru, and a number of reform-minded students and artists.

Charles H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915*, New Haven: Yale University press, 1940.

¹¹⁴ Wilfred Barnard Faraday, *Socialism and the United Free Church of Scotland. A Reply to the four pamphlets of the Committee on Social Questions*, Westminster: Anti-Socialist Union of Great Britain, 1911, pp. 1-14.

¹¹⁵ Cited in Faraday, *Socialism and the United Free Church of Scotland...*, pp. 3-4.

By the early-1920s, the Free Church regarded the advance of materialist philosophies in Peru with a mix of hope and apprehension. Positivism had led the educated classes of Peru, it remarked, to be not only anti-Catholic but also downright anti-religious.¹¹⁶ This anti-religious sentiment was deemed advantageous to the Free Church's mission since it came with the rejection of traditional authorities. Thus, a door was left open for new actors to step in and attempt to influence the action of new social movements. Women were organizing in South America. Unions were on the rise as well. Problematically, however, this anti-religious sentiment also meant a breeding ground for the most unwelcome materialist doctrine of all: Russian communism. "They are largely under the influence of a materialistic Philosophy which is not far removed from absolute atheism," noted the Free Church in 1924, in reference to the educated classes of the coastal cities in Peru. "On its political side, this loss of respect for authority has ominous possibilities for the State, and there are indications that it has produced an attitude of mind which is only too hospitable to the sinister influences of Bolshevism."¹¹⁷ This situation called for preventive actions so as to stem the possible advance of communism in the region.

John A. Mackay, the Church's missionary envoy, was even sterner in his rebuke of a proletarian rule. In 1923, while giving a speech in Cajamarca, in the northern highlands of Peru, he strongly warned his audience against the threat that "un proletario inculto e inescrupuloso" posed to civilization. In his view, communism was nothing but a vindictive conspiracy against the bourgeoisie, which apart from crushing this social class had no sustainable plan except that of installing an iron dictatorship in power.¹¹⁸ "El poder a todo costo," said Mackay, "a sangre, a fuego y a engaño, he allí el lema del nuevo imperialismo proletario, según su vocero más autorizado, el

¹¹⁶ The Mission in Peru of the Free Church of Scotland, *Light in the Dark...*, p. 9.

¹¹⁷ *Idem*, p. 9.

¹¹⁸ "El peligro máximo que amenaza la civilización en estos momentos es que llegue al poder un proletariado inculto e inescrupuloso, sin mas ideales que el de la venganza contra la burguesía sin otro afán que el de establecer una dictadura férrea." John A. Mackay, *Los Intelectuales y los Nuevos Tiempos*, Lima: Librería e Imprenta "El Inca", 1923, p. 8.

propio Lenin.”¹¹⁹ No matter how reductive Mackay’s views on communism, they had the quality of being unequivocal and accessible to the Peruvian population.

Mackay was at war and he needed to recruit soldiers to his cause. According to him, Latin American reform students constituted a perfect match. In his 1923 speech, two years prior to the Montevideo conference, Mackay already highlighted the vital role that Latin American intellectuals, and Reform-minded students in particular, were called to play in the face of a degenerate civilization. Since the war, he said, since the experience of trauma and massive destruction it had brought in its wake, Western civilization had been cast adrift in uncertain waters. “Ya está en medio del océano, sin que se vislumbren todavía nuevas playas en lontananza, sin que se sepa con certeza si las hay.”¹²⁰ Mackay’s metaphor captures the fine line that many felt existed between the possibility of better skies ahead and the forecast of impending storms. Which would it be?

There was no redemption to be found in Europe. Nor did any other geography, actor, or society so far possess the key to salvation.¹²¹ One thing was certain, though, according to Mackay: civilization as they knew it had definitely and irremediably parted with its past, for there was no coming back from the horrors of the First World War. Still there was hope. In the face of uncertainty Mackay remained optimistic. The world was at a historic crossroads, he stressed, and before his eyes lay “la aventura más estupenda que jamás ha emprendido la humanidad.”¹²² It is said that after reaching the bottom one can only rise again. Mackay evidently took the maxim at face value, but under one condition. He needed help.

Of sanguine character, Mackay saw the bright sides of things, but he also was a pragmatic and serious man. He knew very well that alone, he could never hinder the forces of destruction that he sensed mounting around him, let alone bring them to a halt and replace them with moral

¹¹⁹ Mackay, *Los Intelectuales...*, p. 8.

¹²⁰ *Idem*, p. 4.

¹²¹ Mackay, “The Report of Commission Eleven...,” p. 308.

¹²² Mackay, *Los Intelectuales...*, pp. 22-24; Inman, *Ventures in Inter-American...*, pp. 4-5.

imperatives. Neither could any of his evangelical peers, for that matter, without the support of large swaths of the world's population. This much he knew. This view explains why Mackay enthused so much about the social possibilities and the spiritual opportunities that postwar South America had to offer.¹²³

That same year, W. Stanley Rycroft, a friend and colleague of Mackay and by then director of the Colegio Anglo-Peruano in Lima, similarly placed in the young Peruvian student movement his hopes to bring about a spiritual liberation in the Americas while preempting a duplicate of the Russian revolution in the region. He wrote in the *Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland*:

“What Peru needs above all things to-day is leadership, leadership of the right kind. Where shall we look for it? Certainly not to the Government, for there we find nothing but the negation of all that is necessary, nothing higher than greed, selfishness, and ambition. On the horizon we see a band of youthful workers following an uplifted, unstained banner but earnestly seeking the guidance of the star that will bring them to the feet of the Master. May God's blessing rest on the work among the youth of Peru, and may the day not be distant when the leaders of the movement towards liberty and freedom and a better order of things come to acknowledge the true Christ as their Saviour and save Peru from the fate of Russia.”¹²⁴

Like many of their peers active in the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, the Christian administrative body in charge of coordinating and stimulating Protestant missionary activities south of the Río Grande, Mackay and Rycroft waged a war against movements and philosophies that forewent spiritual dimensions as a means to make sense of the human experience.¹²⁵ They were not against social revolution per se. But it was of paramount importance

¹²³ Mackay, “The Report of Commission Eleven...”

¹²⁴ William Stanley Rycroft, “An Upheaval in Peru,” *The Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland*, August 1923, p. 135, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Box 3, Folder 3.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹²⁵ Mackay, *The Other Spanish Christ...*, p. 246.

for them to achieve a spiritual revolution in the Americas before a social revolution began to take form in the region. Without the right ethics and the right morals to govern the new social order, whatever shape it took, the new social order would automatically be doomed to failure, they thought. Only the right set of ethics and morals would prevent the world from relapsing into the evils that civilization was now combating. This is precisely what Mackay and Rycroft reproached about the Russian revolution and to communism in general. By gutting their social revolution of spiritual and moral components, Communists committed the same crime that nationalism and capitalist expansion had before them: they were robbing human beings of their souls.

Mackay was particularly impressed with the work that young reform-minded students were conducting in Peru. “These young men and the great masses of workmen with whom they are in contact and whose spiritual leaders they are,” he told his audience, “are strong internationalists, are opposed to militarism and refuse to have anything to do with professional politicians.”¹²⁶ Mackay praised their selfless sense of duty. He welcomed also the changing paradigms that he witnessed among the new intellectual class in Peru, which now posited humanism rather than intellectualism, he highlighted, as the defining feature of social endeavors.¹²⁷

This new intellectual condition was at play in other countries of Latin America as well. From Mexico to Peru and Argentina, artists and thinkers adhered to a form of intellectual activism that gave precedence to actions over words, participation over contemplation, cooperation over isolation.¹²⁸ In these actors seemed to lay the solution that could salvage civilization. “If the new movement continues and gathers strength we may witness in the future,” Mackay conjectured,

¹²⁶ Mackay, “The Report of Commission Eleven...,” p. 308.

¹²⁷ *Idem*, pp. 307-309.

¹²⁸ *Idem*, p. 309.

“under the impulse of a new ideal, the modification of the traditional arrogance and individualism of the race.”¹²⁹

Christian missionaries present at the 1925 Montevideo conference concurred. Not only was postwar Latin America ripe for spiritual and social changes. According to a panoply of reports, panels, and publications that the Committee on Cooperation initiated, this southern geography also offered a world of opportunities to help salvage spiritual truth and work against rising materialist forces worldwide. “Above all, the spiritual awakening among all classes, especially among university students, offers great opportunities for helpful guidance,” confirmed in 1925 a report authored by the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America.¹³⁰

Because they had witnessed the rise of the masses in Latin America in recent years, Christian missionaries, who like John A. Mackay had first hand experience in the region, anticipated with confidence the potential for change that these new actors promised to bring along with them. “Among university students,” members of the Committee stressed, “many have changed their attitude and are now giving themselves to the education of the laborers and working out with them a new democratic conception of national life.”¹³¹ Christian missionaries smiled on “the gradual development of a middle class” in the region. They gave primary focus to the Latin American student reform movement in particular as a legitimate force of social change. According to many, there was no doubt that the key to cramping nationalist wars, racial discrimination, and class struggles and to working toward the spiritual revival of the Western world rested in building alliances with Latin American student leaders.¹³² The next chapters will follow through that thread.

¹²⁹ Mackay, “The Report of Commission Eleven...,” p. 308.

¹³⁰ The Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, *Christian Work in South America...*, p. 4.

¹³¹ *Idem*, p. 5.

¹³² Mackay, *Los Intelectuales...*, pp. 22-24; Inman, *Ventures in Inter-American...*, pp. 5-10.

Conclusion

Chapter one has shed light on the reasons and motives that explain why actors close to the Colegio Anglo-Peruano in Lima spearheaded a campaign of transnational awareness that backed the anti-governmental efforts of student leader (and future APRA leader) Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre in Peru. In the early 1920s, Pacifist and Christian actors, who like John A. Mackay and Anna Melissa Graves were interested in internationalist philosophies, shared with the Peruvian youth two key features. First, they were disillusioned with what a so-called modernity had promised but never delivered. Dreams of a universal brotherhood had yet to materialize. Instead of it, everything now led to the belief that positivism, and brutal capitalism in particular, had robbed Western civilization of its spiritual and moral components. The nation-state had produced artificial barriers that seemed to serve the exclusive interest of imperialist and oligarchic powers. Furthermore, the Great War evidenced that nationalism was not only incapable of fostering world peace but that it in fact actively led to massive destruction. Second, these groups shared an optimistic outlook on the postwar world, for they both believed that from the rubbles of a decayed order could emerge superior civilizations. Peruvian students and North American internationalists and Christian missionaries like Graves and Mackay were, in sum, willing to dream out loud. Importantly, they were also determined to work so as to build these dreams and see them materialize.

John A. Mackay positioned evangelical Christians and Latin American students as agents of social change. It was incumbent upon them, he trusted, to guide the people of the Americas toward a desired spiritual revolution. Anna Melissa Graves thought along similar lines. True, she was less after a spiritual revolution per se than a world free of violence and differences. According to her, internationalism was the key to oppose nationalist sentiments and propose a political model based on pacifist ideals. More important, what linked these actors, beyond the personal ties that they had developed in the early 1920s in Peru, was the faith that they placed in the young Peruvian student

leader, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, as a bellwether for world peace and for a continental American spiritual revival.

As we will see in the following chapters, by tapping into home-based and international networks of solidarity to draw attention to APRA, and to the group's moderate leader Haya de la Torre in particular, Christian pacifists and internationalists like John A. Mackay and Anna Melissa Graves contributed to assuring the political vitality and collective integrity of the APRA party. In the face of recurrent persecution, including imprisonment and exile, it was difficult for APRA to survive politically, let alone thrive as a national political party. The networks of solidarity that bonded Apristas and international allies therefore shaped the political repertoire made available to the group. Chapter one demonstrated that shared values and common ideological grounds regarding the future of the Americas facilitated initial rapprochement in the 1920s. A decade later, the political gains that came with the support of these actors reinforced the clout of Haya de la Torre and the faction that revolved around his leadership. Chapters 5 and 6 will return to this question in greater detail. For now, let us turn to the Peruvian youth who travelled and who conceptualized of Indo-America.

Chapter 2: Exile

Shortly before returning to Peru in view of the 1931 presidential elections, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, while living in Berlin, brooded over the misery that the past few years of exile had forced into his life. “He sufrido y sufro demasiado,” he then wrote to Swiss intellectual and pacifist activist Romain Rolland. The presidential candidate of the Partido Aprista Peruano (PAP) dwelled on the recent past, confessing to having endured the worst times of his youth in the years following his deportation from Peru: “Y tengo sobre mi espíritu el peso de cuatro años, de 1924 a 1928, que considero los años malditos de mi juventud.”¹ This statement sheds light on a human reality often dismissed by official historians of APRA: suffering and yearning for better days compounded with the early political formation of many of its main leaders and ideologues.² “The experience of living

¹ Letter from Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Romain Rolland, Mexico City, February 5, N.D., Fonds Romain Rolland, NAF 28400, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des manuscrits.

² Celebratory narratives of APRA not only omit to reflect upon the emotionally challenging, and more often than not quite humbling experiences that came with exile, but they are unwilling to even begin to try and do so. This is particularly true of the literature that focuses on Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre. Preserving the myth of a man in control of his destiny has been central to the legitimization of his leadership within the Peruvian APRA party. After his death in 1979, hagiographic narratives of his early years in exile have continued to invade the field. This is due partly to the fact that Aprista militants and scholars have few or no other sources at hand that can offer alternative perspectives, but also (and more problematically) because seeing Haya de la Torre as a god rather than a man with flaws and weaknesses provided important symbolic fodder for the cohesion of the APRA party. This is still true of the APRA party in Peru nowadays. Furthermore, the scattered nature of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre’s vast epistolary production continues to create headaches for those who wish to dissect the experience of exile, not to mention those of us who aspire to better understand the social and political realities that foregrounded Indo-America during the foundational years of the APRA movement. More recently, the multiplication of online databases has assisted the location worldwide of understudied primary sources relating to Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, but this archival material is scattered between different countries. As a result, getting access to it remains difficult at best. For celebratory narratives consult: Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre o el político. Crónica de una vida sin tregua*, Lima: Imprenta Editora Atlántida S. A., 1979; Felipe Cossio del Pomar, *Víctor Raúl. Biografía de Haya de la Torre*, México D.F., Editorial Cultura T.G., S.A., 1961; Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez, *La literatura Política. De González Prada, Mariategui y Haya de la Torre*, México: Ediciones de Andrea, 1957; Jorge Luis Cáceres Arce, “Haya de la Torre estudiante peregrino,” in Jorge Luis Cáceres *et al.*, *Tercer Concurso*

in a different culture and communicating in a foreign language irrevocably alters an individual's world view and self-identity," write historians Ingrid E. Fey and Karen Racine. "For some, it is traumatic; for others, liberating. For all of them, however, the experience is intensely personal."³ Chapter two casts a spotlight on this reality by tracing the ways in which the lived experience of exile of three APRA members meshed with the rise of new hemispheric consciousnesses.

Two parallel goals underpin this chapter. To begin, I argue that internal struggles lived in exile helped APRA ideologues envision and define the Indo-American project starting in the mid-1920s. Personal experiences of self-transformation, I contend, were necessary for young Aprista pioneers to break away from their pasts and envision the future of the Américas in new ways. Internal struggles lived in exile altogether assisted the rise of new collective and hemispheric consciousnesses and accompanied the unsteady political formation of anti-imperialist movements during the late 1920s.

To bring home this point, I focus primarily on the lived experience of exile of Peruvian student activist Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre between 1923 and 1928. This chapter tells an untold story about how the young Haya de la Torre experienced exile following his deportation from Peru. Doing so offers at once an invaluable window into the types of negotiations, often emotionally painful, that many APRA exiles had to address on a daily basis while living abroad. That said we should be wary not to indiscriminately extrapolate Haya de la Torre's first experience of exile to all Apristas who were deported in the early to mid-1920s. To be sure, different socio-political contexts and personal development generated a variety of responses and reactions in the face of hardship.

For example, literary scholar Amy K. Kaminsky has explored how gender can affect the experience and the meaning of exile in different ways. Defying studies that focus on exile as an

Latinoamericano de Ensayo Vida y Obra de Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, Lima: Instituto Cambio y Desarrollo, 2006, pp. 15-150.

³ *Strange Pilgrimages: Exile, Travel, and National Identity in Latin America, 1800-1990s*, Ingrid E. Fey and Karen Racine ed., Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2000, p. xvii.

exclusive experience of alienation, Kaminsky counters: “Exile’s initial rupture may be an exhilarating moment as well, a moment of knowledge of survival, of new opportunity.”⁴ This statement is particularly true for women.⁵ In contrast to male exiles, in effect, for whom only the return to the homeland can heal the rupture that they allegedly experienced when first sent into exile, Kaminsky stresses how the Latin American female exile, “who was never completely at one with her country, experiences a different sort of split.”⁶ Her work reminds us to grant attention to the relationship that existed between experiences of personal liberation and social liberation. For Latin American women who are inhabited by the desire to move on, she argues, exile often turns into a favorable environment from which new, original kinds of freedom are able to materialize.⁷

Thus, by inserting the respective stories of Blanca Luz Brum, a Uruguayan female poet who in the mid-1920s mingled and identified with the student and artistic circles that gave rise to APRA in Peru, and Magda Portal, a Peruvian artist who aspired in the 1920s to create new forms of American consciousnesses, I seek to offer an instructive foil for Haya de la Torre’s early experience of exile. As we shall see, Kaminski’s argument dovetails with their first experiences of exile. For Blanca Luz and Portal, in effect, exile initially came as an experience of salvation and connection rather than one of despair and estrangement. Another factor is arguably at play here. Haya de la Torre was forced into exile, whereas the two female protagonists that I study in this chapter embarked on a voluntary exile. Not everybody sees a difference in these conditions. According to Fey and Racine, “Both voluntary and involuntary exiles suffer a sense of dislocation and apprehension in their new environment that produces an intensified awareness of personal and

⁴ Amy K. Kaminsky, *After Exile: Writing the Latin American Diaspora*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999, p. 12.

⁵ Amy K. Kaminsky, *Reading the Body Politics: Feminist Criticism and Latin American Women Writers*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993, pp. 27-46.

⁶ *Idem*, p. 39.

⁷ *Idem*, p. 42.

collective identity.”⁸ That said, my intention here is to shed light on the connection that exists between the international content of their work on one side and their status as travelers and exiles on the other, rather than identify the reasons that led these historical actors to experience exile differently.

The extensive theoretical literature on exile and Diaspora assists my reflections on the subject.⁹ With displacement the capacity to think beyond the self and the nation-state expands. At any rate, this is what exile writers who write about exile typically infer from their experiences. According to distinguished literary scholar Edward Said, juxtaposition offers to intellectual exiles opportunities to reach higher degrees of universality.¹⁰ “Because the exile sees things both in terms of what has been left behind and what is actual here and now,” he writes, “there is a double perspective that never sees things in isolation.”¹¹ Drawing comparisons between the experiences and ideas respectively lived and received in exile on one side and those associated with the homeland on the other, Said argues, “one gets a better, perhaps even more universal idea of how to think.”¹² The unstable condition of exile, which according to Said enables one to move closer to universality, can help us understand better the development of these actors’ Latin American ideals between 1924 and 1928.

⁸ *Strange Pilgrimages...*, p. xv.

⁹ In the course of the past three decades, literary analysis scholars and postcolonial theorists have contributed to laid the foundation of a blooming and highly theoretical scholarship on exile and Diaspora. The works that they produced on exile reflect upon its meaning and primarily look into subjective and individual experiences of dislocation. By and large, this literature portrays exile as either an experience of alienation and rupture on the one side or as a world of opportunities propitious to creation on the other. The way in which human beings experience exile, this scholarship leads us to believe, wavers between a series of fixed binaries. To be sure, these references are crucial to understand better the ways in which the departure from the homeland comes with emotional reactions that affect artists, intellectuals, and activists in contexts of exile. However, I contend that too much emphasis on such binaries can ultimately lead to flat images of exile. See for example Edward W. Said, *Reflections on exile and other essays*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000; Said, *Out of Place: a Memoir*, New York: Knopf: Distributed by Random House, 1999; Said, *Representations of the intellectual: The 1993 Reith Lecture*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1994; Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983; Homi Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, New York: Routledge, 1994; *Creativity in Exile*, Michael Hanne ed., Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi B. V, 2004 ; *Exile and Creativity : Singposts, Travelers, Outsiders, Backward Glances*, Susan Rubin Suleiman ed., Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998; Rajagopalan Radhakrishnan, *Diasporic Mediations: Between Home and Location*, Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

¹⁰ Said, “Intellectual Exile: Expatriates and Marginals,” in *Representations of the Intellectual...*, pp. 49-53; Said, “Reflections on Exile,” in *Reflections on Exile...*, p. 186.

¹¹ Said, “Intellectual Exile: Expatriates and Marginals,” in *Representations of the Intellectual...*, p. 60.

¹² *Idem*, p. 60.

The work of much celebrated Chicana artist Gloria Anzaldúa adds texture to Said's argument. It helps me conceptualize the relation that binds the intimate spheres of life in exile with original intellectual production. In her influential work on cultural borderlands, Anzaldúa argues that the action of writing from the margin (of a given society for example) offers redemptive qualities. From the healing power associated with the action of writing, she claims, rises the possibility of new cultural identities. Psychic unrest and anxieties are beneficial to artists, says Anzaldúa. They enable the creation of new meaning coming out of lived experiences.¹³ She writes: "Because writing invokes images from my unconscious, and because some of the images are residues of trauma which I then have to reconstruct, I sometimes get sick when I do write."¹⁴ The process of creation enables her afterward to make sense of the traumatic experiences lived from what she calls borderland spaces. Explains Anzaldúa: "[I]n reconstructing the traumas behind the images, I make 'sense' of them, and once they have 'meaning' they are changed, transformed. It is then that writing heals me, brings me great joy."¹⁵ According to Anzaldúa, then, the combination of anxieties on one side and the necessity to cope with them on the other enables one to conceive new cultural consciousnesses.¹⁶

Another goal of this chapter is to resume the narrative thread of chapter 1. Because Haya de la Torre's early experience of exile is so intimately connected to pacifist internationalist Anna Melissa Graves and Christian missionary John A. Mackay, focusing on the ways in which his coming of age in exile matched instances of internal changes inevitably takes us back to the question of allies. Taken together, chapter 1 and 2 show that Graves and Mackay constituted a beneficial hub of transnational networks for young Peruvian exiles, and for Haya de la Torre in particular, eager to foster the liberation of the Americas without as yet the means to do so.

¹³ Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, San Francisco : Aunt Lute Books, 2007 (first ed. 1987), pp. 94-95.

¹⁴ *Idem*, p. 92.

¹⁵ *Idem*, p. 92.

¹⁶ "By creating a new mythos – that is, a change in the way we perceive reality, the way we see ourselves, and the ways we behave – la mestiza creates a new consciousness." Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera...*, p. 102.

Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre (Part 1)

The series of arrests and deportations that ended the Sacred Heart protests in May 1923 struck a hard blow to the Peruvian vanguard. Distance, in addition to the brunt of repression and political surveillance, began to cause serious problems of organization and cohesion for the movement. Distance also came with emotional costs for Peruvian exiles. It is indeed easy to imagine the sense of alienation that young student activists must have felt upon being thrown out of their country and all of a sudden cut off from their community of peers. Perhaps more dramatically, deportation wrested them from the political fights that had been underpinning their coming of age as adults. The request that Haya de la Torre addressed to his Peruvian comrades on 4 November 1923 exemplifies how proposals, one time clear-cut in Peru, now cracked under the weight of approximations. “Una vez más recomiendo vivamente la acción persistente,” Haya wrote from exile in Cuba, immediately following the inauguration of the Popular University José Martí. “Ya creo haberos dicho que lo único que me hará sobrellevar con menos dolor la pena del destierro, será la convicción de que estáis todos unidos en la identidad de un propósito y en el amor de un ideal de renovación.”¹⁷ Inviting Peruvian peers to carry on the fight with unabated efforts was one thing; to do so without further commenting on the evolving features of this fight was quite another. The contents of Haya’s “proposal” as well as the nature of this “renovation” remained unspecified.

To be sure, given the foundational hallmark of popular universities, Haya’s paper implicitly appealed to the sacrosanct alliance between students and workers.¹⁸ It was furthermore understood that the ultimate goal should be about reaching “nuestra futura transformación integral.”¹⁹ But now that exile had splintered past ambitions, the contents of the project to defend was not as clear as it

¹⁷ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, “Haya de la Torre en el destierro,” *La Habana*, November 4, 1923 (newspaper clipping); Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 10, Folder 10.1.

¹⁸ Jeffrey L. Klaiber, “The Popular Universities and the Origins of Aprismo, 1921-1924,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (Nov., 1975): 693-715.

¹⁹ Haya de la Torre, “Haya de la Torre en el destierro...”

appeared to be from within the walls of the San Marcos University or while taking the student protests to the streets of Lima. As 1923 came to a close, politically defining ideals and lines of combat just as prescribing guidelines for complete “transformation” seemed close to impossible.

Deficient communication with the homeland compounded this political blur. The first months of impromptu travels appear to have consigned Haya de la Torre to a feeling of disconnection. Letters from Peru, when they reached him, took a long time to do so. Writing from San Angel, a neighborhood on the outskirts of Mexico City, a few weeks after his deportation, this student leader at the helm and heart of thrilling battles earlier that year now longed for updates on recent developments of the Peruvian student reform movement. The celebrated founder of the Popular University González Prada had completely lost touch with the evolution of this institution. “Tengo muchísimo interés en saber si la Universidad Popular continúa. Yo espero que esa obra que debe enorgullecernos legítimamente no decaiga,” Haya wrote in the first official message he sent from exile to the Peruvian youth.²⁰ Yet nearly two months passed before any news of family and friends back home made it to Mexico. Only on 8 December 1923 did Haya acknowledge receiving the first series of correspondence coming from Peru, not without difficulties and delays, for they dated back to October 26. Unfortunately, the news they brought had nothing to comfort him. More abuses, more arrests, more affliction for students and workers back home.²¹ The situation was not about to ameliorate. On 19 January 1924, Haya expressed having one and only wish: “solo espero que pase el invierno y que vengan noticias del Perú.”²² Likewise, friends and acquaintances of his in

²⁰ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, “El primer mensaje del destierro a la juventud del Perú,” (1923) in *Por la Emancipación de América Latina, Artículos, Mensajes, Discursos (1923-1927)*, Buenos Aires: Editor Triunvirato, 1927, p. 35.

²¹ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico, December 8, 1923, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.1, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

²² Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico, January 19, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.1, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

Peru confirmed having a hard time getting in touch with him, scrambling to gather news of his whereabouts either through newspapers or chasing hazy rumors.²³

The initial months of exile replicated the experience of despair that Haya de la Torre avowed having gone through in the aftermath of what, in retrospect, he now regarded as three unsuccessful years of student struggle in Peru. “Yo pretendí morir en las últimas y dramáticas jornadas que culminaron con mi prescripción pero ni siquiera esa esperanza alcancé,” Haya told Swiss intellectual and pacifist activist Romain Rolland on 16 February 1924, referring to the time he spent in prison before his deportation from Peru.²⁴ In light of this confession, the hunger strike that the Peruvian student leader had allegedly launched in the face of unfair persecution, and which the official history of APRA traditionally portrays as a proud fight against the arbitrary rule of Leguía, seemed in fact little more than a suicide attempt.²⁵

Literary scholars and postcolonial theorists have amply studied the way that feelings of alienation intimately mesh with experiences of exile.²⁶ APRA members did not escape this reality. The blues that plagued Haya de la Torre back in early October 1923 overflowed his detention in Peru and strayed all the way into exile. True, the invitation that he received from Mexico while gambling his luck in Panama had been a salve for his broken soul. “[...] Hasta allí fue la voz acogedora de Vasconcelos que generosamente me tendía la mano. Entonces renació mi confianza y comencé a creer que todavía hay bondad en el mundo,” he fondly recalled about the man he admired so.²⁷ But aside from this short-lived interlude of peace and rejuvenating illusions, Haya, for the most part, continued to feel isolated and at a loss in the world.

²³ Letter of Julia Codesido to Anna Melissa Graves, Lima, January 11, 1924, Swarthmore College, Peace Collection, Anna Melissa Graves Papers (1919-1953), Reel 74.7, Julia Codesido.

²⁴ Letter from Haya de la Torre to Romain Rolland, Mexico City, February 16, 1924, Fonds Romain Rolland, NAF 28400, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des manuscrits.

²⁵ See for example Cossío del Pomar, *Víctor Raúl...*, pp. 210-213.

²⁶ See footnote 8.

²⁷ Letter from Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Romain Rolland, Mexico City, February 16, 1924, Fonds Romain Rolland, NAF 28400, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des manuscrits. In December 1923, Haya de la

This state of affairs had an impact on Haya de la Torre's approach to intellectual production. At the time, in effect, Haya looked much more occupied with questions of everyday survival than with the production of meaningful political knowledge. It's not what you know, it's whom you know. This saying rang particularly true for the young Haya de la Torre as he cruised around countries as diverse and far apart as, to name but a few, Mexico, the United States, Russia, England, and France. Given the context of his early exile, courting foreign allies was a crucial strategy, if not the only strategy, made available to him to insure that his basic needs be met. It is consequently not surprising that Haya de la Torre, during his first months of exile in Mexico, docilely participated in the symbolic politics and the controlling relationship that John A. Mackay and especially Anna Melissa Graves sought to maintain over their young Peruvian protégé. Greetings such as dearest "mama Annie" and signatures like "siempre su hijo" routinely framed the letters that Haya wrote to Graves following his deportation from Peru.²⁸

Haya de la Torre first met Anna Melissa Graves in Peru in the course of 1922. The following year their paths overlapped again for a period of approximately two weeks, this time in Mexico City. Graves, fervent pacifist and self-proclaimed internationalist, had traveled to Mexico in the spring of 1923. Between the months of April and December of that year, she assisted with unabated resolve the growth of pacifist organizations in the region, either by way of recruiting Mexican allies to the cause of world peace or of sensitizing women about the need to educate future generations on the dangers of nationalism. Haya de la Torre, for his part, arrived in Mexico City on 16 November

Torre similarly confessed to Carlos Pellicer "¡Ya sabe V. que hablo del Licenciado Vasconcelos a quien admiro como hasta ahora no he admirado a político alguno!" *V. R. Haya de la Torre a Carlos Pellicer. Cartas Indoamericanas*, Ricardo Melgar Bao y María Esther Montanaro Mena ed., México: Sociedad Cooperativa del "Taller Abierto", S.C.L., 2010, p. 30.

²⁸ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico City, April 1st, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. For more examples of this mother-son metaphor consult: The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folders 1.1 through 1.9, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

1923.²⁹ Mexican statesman José Vasconcelos, whom the Peruvian youth admired, had invited him to Mexico and had offered him a small yet prestigious lecturer position on Iberoamerican history through the sponsorship of the Secretary of Public Education (SEP). Vasconcelos' goal was to attract around him original minds to help pioneer new models of Latin American civilization.³⁰ The first stay of Haya in Mexico spanned from November 1923 through June 1924.

It is not clear from the primary sources I collected in archives how many times Graves and Haya actually met in Mexico, though I suspect they seldom did. In effect, it proved difficult for Haya to make himself available for the long discussions he claimed he wanted to start with Graves.³¹ According to the excuses he gave for his lack of reliability, idle moments were hard to find. The flurry of activities the young Peruvian exile committed to upon reaching the capital had by then filled his agenda and could steer him, in the course of a single day, between an afternoon trip to Teotihuacán with members of the Mexican Student Federation and a dinner planned at the local Y.M.C.A in the evening.³² Nor can I assess the types of encounters they scheduled or the nature of the conversations they held during these meetings. What these documents do tell us, however, is that the outcomes of these initial encounters, no matter how scarce or brief they may ultimately have been, were conclusive enough to convince them to remain in touch via correspondence. Graves scavenged the world in search of peace heroes. Cut from the homeland and from his community of student activists, Haya de la Torre was in turn desperate for emotional comfort and material

²⁹ After a short stay in Cuba, between October 31 and November 12, 1923, Haya de la Torre made it to Mexico City on November 16 of that year. The Mexican newspaper *El Universal* announced his arrival the following day. Ricardo Melgar Bao, "Redes del exilio aprista en México (1923-1924), una aproximación," in *México, país refugio*, Pablo Yankelevich ed., México D.F.: Plaza y Valdés, 2002, p. 247; Chang-Rodríguez, *La literatura política de González Prada...*, p. 228.

³⁰ José Joaquín Blanco, *Se llamaba Vasconcelos: Una evocación crítica*, México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1977, p. 123; Melgar Bao, "Redes del exilio aprista en México...", pp. 246-247; Mary Kay Vaughan, *The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880-1928*, Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1982, p. 251.

³¹ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico, December 26, 1923, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.1, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

³² *Idem.*

support. Their respective ambitions were not only compatible but also complementary. A partnership emerged naturally between them.

It is in light of the feelings of alienation that Haya de la Torre first experienced in exile that we should approach the correspondence that he exchanged with Graves. From late November 1923 through February 1924, in a period that amounted to a little less than three months, the contents of the letters that Haya sent to Graves from Mexico suggest that a bond of friendship grew ever more intensely between them on account of common political struggles and mutual admiration. So much so, in fact, that the tone of the initial epistolary exchanges between the future APRA leader and Graves, replete with praises and cajoleries, resembled something close to courtship. “Continuamente pienso en V. y más que nunca admiro su gran corazón,” Haya told Graves on 8 December 1923, shortly after her return to the United States.³³ Two days later he wrote again, this time to respond to the missive that Graves had left him before leaving Mexico. The letter had only now been forwarded to the ranch of the Chilean poet Gabriela Mistral in San Angel, where Haya was staying at the time.³⁴ “Mi corazón se ha estremecido ante su bondad, ante su cariño, ante su ternura maternal,” he stated. “Yo la admiro y la quiero a V. cada vez más, porque su espíritu es muy grande, quizá el mas grande espíritu de mujer que yo he conocido.”³⁵

The fact that Haya de la Torre admitted to feelings of love before Graves’ maternal tenderness was not spontaneous. Graves insisted that the international youth with whom she

³³ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, México, December 8, 1923, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.1, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

³⁴ Melgar Bao, “Redes del exilio aprista en México...”, p. 250; Eduardo Devés y Ricardo Melgar, “Redes teosóficas y pensadores (políticos) latinoamericanos 1910-1930,” *Cuadernos Americanos* (México), Num. 78, noviembre-diciembre de 1999, pp. 148-149. Gabriela Mistral stayed in Mexico for a bit over two years, between 1922 and 1924. There, she took part in a project of social changes for women alongside Vasconcelos. Blanco, *Se llamaba Vasconcelos...*, pp. 109-114.

³⁵ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, San Angel, México, December 10, 1923, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.1, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

maintained epistolary exchanges refer to her and imagine her as a spiritual mother.³⁶ Thus, like many of her other correspondents, Haya complied with Graves' request without hesitation or, not initially at least, any sign of discomfort. The day after Christmas, after thanking Graves for the gift she had recently sent him, Haya assured her that he thought of her as a mother: "Piense V. que yo la quiero como a una madre. Siempre la recuerdo y siempre quisiera estar a su lado. Tengo esperanza de que muy pronto nos veremos."³⁷ By January 1924, he started addressing his letters to her with "mi querida segunda mama."³⁸

Haya de la Torre's thirst for connection and intimacy can partly explain the dramatic tone of his letters to Graves. But the experience of loneliness in and of itself cannot satisfactorily explain the flatteries that he forwarded to Graves following her return to the United States in December 1923. Emotional hardships belied more pressing matters. Losing access to his community of support and affiliation in Peru did not only have emotional consequences for Haya: his need to cope with disconnection came hand in hand with the need to cope with scant resources. Scouting around for allies and new communities of support was therefore essential to compensate not only for his affective loss but also for his sparse access to material support. In exile, one had to engage in this activity as a mean to insure, at best, the pursuit of political activities and, at worst, the guarantee of everyday survival. Luckily for Haya, Christian intermediaries offered both.

Emotional support often came in the form of encouragements. On 28 April 1924, Reverend John A. Mackay wrote a moving and very kind letter to Haya de la Torre, who still lived in Mexico City at the time. Mackay compassionately inquired about his condition. "He tratado de ponerme en tu situación," he wrote, in reference to Haya's exile, "sentir el dolor y hasta cierto punto la desilusión

³⁶ Anna Melissa Graves, *I Have Tried to Think, 1916-1919, And Other Papers*, Baltimore: Md, n.d.

³⁷ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, San Angel, México, December 26, 1923, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.1, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

³⁸ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, January 2, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.1, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

que tu debes haber sentido en los últimos meses, mirar el presente y el futuro con tus ojos, y me he preguntado: ‘Que haría yo en tales circunstancias?’”³⁹ He told Haya that he had been on his mind more than usual as of late: What did he think? How did he feel? For how much longer was he planning to stay in Mexico? Mackay wanted to know.

A few pieces of advice followed his kind words. To better define the particular goal and pursuit of his mission on earth, Mackay encouraged Haya to do like every prophet before him and leave, like Moses or Lenin, for the desert, for a place of seclusion ancillary to finding the peace and the inspiration necessary to reflect upon the moral and social problems that afflicted Latin America. There were indeed not many options available in the face of hardships and exile, thought Mackay: “Si vas a realizar la obra que te propones,” he told Haya, “si vas a servir los verdaderos intereses humanos en este continente, necesitas la soledad.”⁴⁰ England, the letter made clear, was according to Mackay the best place for Haya to find just that. Why not listen to Graves and resume his university studies in London?⁴¹

In addition to emotional comfort, Graves and Mackay readily offered financial assistance to their protégé. Through their respective influence, in effect, a number of Christian intermediaries dispensed precious financial resources to see that Haya, in exile, would not lack the basics essential to everyday survival. On 19 February 1924, Haya confirmed with Graves receipt of her money via an acquaintance of hers who worked at the Y.M.C.A: “Ya le dije en mi carta anterior que, conforme a su deseo, recogí todo el dinero de manos de Miss Smith.”⁴² The following year a certain P. Hopkins, who lived in London, England, penned a note to Graves promising that he would soon make time

³⁹ Letter of [John A. Mackay] to Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, April 28, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 3, Box 3, Folder 3.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁴⁰ *Idem.*

⁴¹ *Idem.*

⁴² Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico D.F., February 19, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

to see her protégé. “I’ve been so busy during the past month that I haven’t had a chance to see Haya,” he apologized, “but I’m now in touch with him and expect to have a chat with him on Monday or so. I received your check for 45 dollars, and I’ll give this to him at that time or before Christmas.⁴³ To be sure, this service did not fully erase the financial hardships that necessarily came with exile. But thanks to the culture of mutual assistance that characterized the networks that Christian evangelical missionaries in Lima navigated, contacts posted abroad regularly channeled Mexican pesos or British pounds into Haya’s pockets when most needed.⁴⁴

Material support obtained by way of connections with Christian intermediaries came under different forms as well. “Estoy buscando casa más barata y creo que podré conseguirla en la YMCA,” Haya wrote on 8 February 1924.⁴⁵ YMCAs in Mexico City and later in London provided community and cheap lodging.⁴⁶ Letters of introduction penned by either Graves or Mackay helped connect Haya de la Torre to renowned intellectuals, such as Romain Rolland or José Vasconcelos.⁴⁷ Graves also connected Haya to US journals where he published articles in exchange for small but welcome monetary compensations. Christian evangelical circles in Peru also helped Haya, despite their disagreement with the project, get access to communist credentials to go to Russia in the summer 1924. They likewise paid part of his tuition fees at the Ruskin College in England in 1925.⁴⁸

⁴³ Letter of P. Hopkins to Anna Melissa Graves, London, December 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 3, Box 3, Folder 3.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁴⁴ For more example consult the series of letters that Anna Melissa Graves exchanged between 1924 and 1925 with the director of the Ruskin College, the director of sanatorium in Leysin, and other actors such as Mackay, Hopkins, and Vargas. The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 3, Box 3, Folders 3.2 and 3.3, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁴⁵ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico D.F., February 8, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.1, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁴⁶ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, December 17, 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁴⁷ Letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Romain Rolland, Mexico City, September 17, 1923, Fonds Romain Rolland, NAF 28400, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Manuscrits.

⁴⁸ The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 3, Box 3, Folder 3.3, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

Furthermore, in the face of high governmental surveillance, organizing political action in coordination with allies and friends back home demanded assistance from external agents. Thanks to the relations that Graves sustained in Peru with reverend John A. Mackay and Margaret Robb, a Christian evangelist who worked at the Colegio Anglo-Peruano, Christian intermediaries stood at the core of an entangled and efficient two-way system of clandestine communication, which enabled Peruvian student leaders and family members to remain in touch with one another. Evidence shows that, to escape censorship, Haya would send to Graves letters and political writings destined for Peru; the latter, usually traveling between the United States and European destinations, mailed Haya's packages under her name so that, with neither searches nor suspicion, they safely reached their evangelical friends in Lima; this last group, in turn, insured distribution of material amongst Peruvian addressees. Conversely, Christian intermediaries in Lima also collected and shipped material destined for Haya.⁴⁹

From Fall 1923 through the first half of 1924, there is little doubt that Haya de la Torre, guided by a precocious bent for pragmatism, felt compelled to reiterate his loyalty to those who had helped insure a smooth transition abroad. Christian intermediaries had displayed a growing commitment to helping him fight persecution while simultaneously combating the burden of

⁴⁹ Abundant yet scattered evidences allowed me to re-construct this two-way system of communication. Consult the collection of correspondence between Anna Melissa Graves and Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre that is comprised in The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folders 1.1 through 1.14, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. Haya de la Torre soon realized, however, that this unique system of communication maintained him into a situation of dependence, one in which he remained at the mercy of Graves' whims. In effect, Graves, as the hub of this communication wheel, had the power to exert control over the dissemination of news and sometimes concealed information, when she deemed it most necessary to protect her ambitions. On 9 September 1924, as Haya de la Torre was planning from Moscow to return to Mexico, he reproached Graves for her failure to forward him mail he restlessly awaited from Peru: "He esperado ansiosamente las cartas de mis amigos del Perú durante dos meses y medio," he reprimanded her. "U. solo me envió cartas de mi madre y de mis amigos de Argentina. Estos quince días han sido de diaria ansiedad por tener las cartas de mis amigos y las noticias acerca de un amigo Mariategui que hasta hoy no se si ha muerto o no. En fin, yo sabré todo en México!" Though it is unclear whether or not Graves deliberately concealed information from Haya de la Torre, similar episodes is probably what convinced him, together with changing political beliefs, to breed and sustain supplementary networks of support so as to enhance his chances, from the initial solitude of exile, of securing accurate levels of communication. Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Moscow, September 9, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.4, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

solitude that came with exile. Graves and Mackay constituted the central hub of a complex network of communication and assistance, rendering it very difficult, if not impossible, for recently deported Haya to eschew their authority and power. Discrepancies in opinions and respective longings for self-assertion, however, soon hindered this initial, synergistic epistolary relationship. The honeymoon period between Graves and Haya de la Torre would not last more than two seasons.

Blanca Luz Brum

Blanca Luz Brum was not Peruvian but she was once deeply in love with a man who came from Peru. It is said that when Juan Parra del Riego, an important vanguard Peruvian poet, first saw Blanca Luz, he never knew afterward how to let go of her. It is also said that when Blanca Luz first saw Parra del Riego, calmly waiting for a friend on a bench in her convent courtyard, she felt exactly the same. Juan and Blanca Luz married shortly after that quaint episode. Rumor has it they even had a few utterly happy and passionate years together before death took him. They met in 1921. Juan died of tuberculosis on 16 November 1925. He was just about to turn thirty-one. The son he had with Blanca Luz was five days old.⁵⁰

Few recall Blanca Luz Brum for her involvement with APRA. In addition to her work as a Uruguayan poet and fiction writer, Brum has been remembered peripherally for her political involvement with the communist muralists in Mexico; most, however, have forgotten her, perhaps, as some suggest, due to her about-face turn from Left to Right later in life.⁵¹ Brum was criticized for embracing Peronism in the 1940s and vigorously chastised, years later, for sympathizing with infamous Chilean general Augusto Pinochet. Authors mention her stay in Peru between 1926 and 1927 (ostensibly so that her child could discover the land of his deceased father), but they usually do

⁵⁰ Blanca Luz Brum, *Mi vida. Cartas de amor a Siqueiros*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Mare Nostrum, 2004. Hugo Achugar, *Falsas memorias: Blanca Luz Brum*, México D.F.: Trilce, 2001.

⁵¹ Blanca Luz Brum, *Mi vida. Cartas de amor...*; Alberto Pineyro Gutiérrez, *Blanca Luz Brum: una vida sin fronteras*, Punta del Este: Botella al Mar, 2011.

so in passing, and always with a story of grief and mourning as common thread.⁵²

Not that the story of grief and mourning isn't real. Brum traveled to Peru in 1926 with her infant son shortly after her husband passed away. She was heartbroken. She felt lost and alone. But at twenty-one years old, she was also a young widow filled with life and with a thirst for new adventures. The scene that she found there seemed tailor-made for what she needed most: "protección y cariño," she confessed years later.⁵³ Surely she also craved the hustle and bustle of new surroundings.

Brum arrived in Lima just as the Peruvian vanguard was experiencing a second wind of militancy. With most student leaders and union organizers either imprisoned or sent into exile as a result of the Sacred Heart protest, the fervor of the popular movement of opposition against the Leguía regime had all but vanished by the end of 1923. José Carlos Mariátegui returned to Peru precisely at that juncture, after having spent four years of exile in Europe (1919-1923), where he had devoted most of his time to studying Marxist texts and to observing the nascent communist movement in the region.⁵⁴ He returned home, writes historian Thomas Angotti, with a Marxist intellectual baggage and an insatiable thirst for change and creativity.⁵⁵ Historian of APRA Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez has argued that "la historia peruana del lustro 1924-1928 corresponde en gran parte a Mariátegui."⁵⁶ He is right. During that time period, the great *Amauta*, as Mariátegui came to

⁵² Significantly, authors discuss her involvement with the Limean bohemia, which revolved at the time around the figure of José Carlos Mariátegui, without ever mentioning the APRA. As if this organization was completely absent from Peru in 1926-1927. Consult for example the short but informative biography of Blanca Luz Brum published by Rodrigo Núñez Carvallo, "Blanca Luz Brum: clara luces y negras sombras," *Suburbano: Revista Cultural Miami*, December 23, 2012. <http://sub-urbano.com/blanca-luz-brum-claras-luces-y-negras-sombras/>

⁵³ Blanca Luz Brum, *Mi vida. Cartas de amor...*, p. 51.

⁵⁴ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre claims that the government of Augusto B. Leguía encouraged and sponsored the travels of José Carlos Mariátegui to Europe. However, most scholars would instead agree with Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker and argue that Mariátegui was in fact forced into exile because of his anti-governmental positions. Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, *¿A dónde va Indoamérica?* Santiago de Chile, Editorial Ercilla, 1935, p. 16. *José Carlos Mariátegui: An Anthology*, ed. Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011, p. 15.

⁵⁵ Thomas Angotti, "The Contributions of Jose Carlos Mariategui to Revolutionary Theory," *Latin American Perspectives*, 13:2, Perspectives on Left Politics (Spring, 1986): 33-57.

⁵⁶ Chang-Rodríguez, *La literatura política de González Prada...*, p. 129.

be billed, emerged as the key player in Peru in the labor of organization at hand.⁵⁷ He was poised to resume his political work and actively prepare the revolution in his country.

With the advent of the 1920s, the proliferation of socio-political and cultural publications across Latin America both points to a thirst for drastic changes and reflects the gritty commitment of a generation ready to give itself the means to tackle the task of regeneration it set about to carry through.⁵⁸ In Peru, a panoply of vanguard initiatives sought to complement the staid contents in social sciences, arts, history, and politics that established Limean journals such as *Variedades*, *Mundial*, or *El Mercurio Peruano* already offered. Although most only had short-lived existences – for example, *Novecientos: Revista Mensual de arte, literatura, historia y ciencias sociales* managed to publish seven meager issues before disappearing in the fall of 1924, and literary journal *Pegaso*, directed by poet Xavier Abril, did not survive the release of its first and only issue in May 1924 –, the intentions that motivated their foundation exhibit the initial excitement of actors hard-pressed to find remedies to the evils that afflicted their world.⁵⁹

Poets took part in these debates in important and innovative ways. Not only did this generation of artists move closer to the workers and the masses, they also set about to engage headlong common political struggles, willing and ready to place their art to the service of collective endeavors.⁶⁰ Peruvian poet and APRA leader Magda Portal remembered in hindsight the

⁵⁷ In Quechuas *Amauta* means “sage” or “priest.” Kathleen Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel: The World of Magda Portal, with a Selection of Her Poems*, University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009, p. 34.

⁵⁸ Publishing journals opened forums of discussions specifically tailored to collective processes of creation. It provided the means to scout around for plans and ideas able to assist the formation of new social designs and together reflect upon the future of Latin America.

⁵⁹ Daniel R. Reedy, *Magda Portal : La Pasionaria Peruana. Biografía Intelectual*, Lima: Ediciones Flora Tristán, 2000, pp. 87-88.

⁶⁰ The advent of the Modernist literary movement in late nineteenth century Latin America had heralded drastic changes for the role that novelists and poets were about to play in society. For the very first time in these young republics, poets started to think of themselves as professional writers with a place of their own in the nation. Their positions as outsiders justified the claim they made about their role as watchdogs and pedagogues of the masses. From the margins of society, akin to sentinels perched on the fort ramparts looking down above the horizon line, Modernists believed to see better than others the faults of their times. And they took it upon themselves to reveal them. Jean Franco, *The Modern Culture of Latin America: Society and the Artist*, New York, Washington, London:

effervescent thirst for creation and active participation particular to this period in Peru and elsewhere in the continent: “America, its youth, searched for action, not contemplation. It desired to demonstrate its active presence, its desire to intervene in the happenings of History not just as simple spectators, but instead as participants in the great tasks of the intelligentsia.”⁶¹

The social implication of this generation of poets reflects the shift in the role that artists had increasingly been assuming in their societies since the late nineteenth century. As literary scholar Jean Franco has argued, Latin American Modern art would henceforth be known as an artistic tradition where social attitudes took center stage in defining creative styles and aptitudes and where humane preoccupations fueled artistic currents to a greater extent than artistic techniques alone. Franco states, “The Latin American has generally viewed art as an expression of the artist’s whole self: a self which is living in a society and which therefore has a collective as well as an individual concern.”⁶² The art of Modernists was first made to serve the cause of self-discovery as a people. Progressively, younger generations of artists, in Peru as well as elsewhere in Latin America, took up the challenge to investigate models able to rejuvenate the nation and to change the social fabric of their society.⁶³

Mariátegui opined that artists were in a privileged position to help rescue truth and chaperone the sought after revolution of the spirits.⁶⁴ He excelled at coordinating the efforts of

Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1967, pp. 14-39, 162-163; Vicky Unruh, *Latin American Vanguard: The art of Contentious Encounters*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1994, pp. 81-82.

⁶¹ Magda Portal, cited in Yvonne Wallace Fuentes, *Becoming Magda Portal: Poetry, Gender, and Revolutionary Politics in Lima, Peru, 1920-1930*, Doctoral Dissertation, Duke University Department of History, December 2006, p. 29.

⁶² Franco, *The Modern Culture of Latin America...*, p. 1.

⁶³ In terms of artistic mission, Franco suggests that while in the early twentieth century artists saw themselves as “pedagogue or as moral leader,” they began to engage political struggles in the 1920s and 1930s, to finally slowly jettison their belief that they could change something in society. Franco, *The Modern Culture of Latin America...*, p. 281. Literary scholar Vicky Unruh similarly suggests that the “drive toward a ‘rehumanization’ of art” is what characterized best Latin American avant-garde movements across the continent in the 1920s and 1930s. Unruh, *Latin American Vanguard...*, p. 21.

⁶⁴ José Carlos Mariátegui, cited in Blanca Luz Brum, *Blanca Luz Contra la Corriente*, Santiago de Chile : Ediciones Ercilla, 1936, p. 9. The journal *Amauta* disseminated these views. Many authors published in its pages articles that granted a crucial place to poets and artists as agents of political change. They pondered the social role of artists and

poets and intellectuals in Peru and at channeling them into a singular but collective project of creation. To that effect, he established the journal *Amauta* in 1926, a monthly magazine where vanguard artists and leftist intellectuals from all over Latin America and other parts of the world as well wrote and debated about arts, politics, and culture. Peruvian scholar Alberto Tauro rightly points to the purpose of creation and reflection that gave birth to *Amauta*. He argues that we should approach this journal as the beginning of the conversation that vanguard actors in Latin America wanted to open rather than see it as an end in itself.⁶⁵ Citing Mariátegui, Tauro insists that *Amauta* was founded as a forum of discussion “para inaugurar y organizar un debate, no para clausurarlo.”⁶⁶ The idea was to provide a space where participants could dissect the contemporary problems that afflicted Peru and the world. In effect, only after a thorough revision of the Peruvian society and of its principal ailments, thought Mariátegui, would it be possible to design the revolution that best fitted Peru. *Amauta* served this end superbly.

Within a few weeks of arriving to Peru, Brum had mingled with the community of artists, students, and intellectuals who revolved around the grupo *Amauta*. In her memoirs she writes with enthusiasm of her outings in Lima with Peruvian painters José Sabogal, Julia Codesido, and Carmen Saco. “Era como si una gran familia me hubiera tomado bajo su égida y protección,” she recalls about her first weeks in Peru.⁶⁷ These artists regularly gathered at the house of Mariátegui where they discussed and argued over how best to foster change in Latin American societies or how to place arts to the service of truth.⁶⁸ Kathleen Weaver has described elsewhere the effervescent nature of these encounters: “Frequenting Amauta’s informal salon were writers, artists, students, labor leaders,

reflected upon the nature of “true” poets. See for example: George Grosz, “El arte y a sociedad burguesa,” *Amauta*, 1:1, Setiembre de 1926, p. 25; José Carlos Mariátegui, “Arte, Revolución y decadencia,” *Amauta*, 1:3, Noviembre de 1926, pp. 3-4; Miguel Ángel Urquieta, “Izquierdismo y Seudoizquierdismo Artísticos,” *Amauta*, 2:7, Marzo de 1927, p. 25.

⁶⁵ Alberto Tauro, *Amauta y su influencia*, Lima : Editora Amauta, 1960.

⁶⁶ *Idem*, p. 10.

⁶⁷ Blanca Luz Brum, *Mi vida. Cartas de amor...*, p. 51.

⁶⁸ Most of them also published in the journal *Amauta*.

archaeologists, historians, and sociologists. Foreign radicals were sometimes present, and delegations of factory workers or miners often stopped by to confer with Mariátegui on specific labor issues.”⁶⁹ Brum began to attend these meetings as well. There, she befriended many future APRA leaders, such as Peruvian poets Magda Portal and Serafín Delmar, with whom she immediately connected. “Pronto se apoderaron de mi, como de algo que les pertenecía,” Blanca Luz recalls about Aprista militants and socialist intellectuals she met in Peru. “Me llevaron a un mundo diferente al que yo hasta entonces conociera, a un mundo de conflictos y luchas sociales ... Estos tenían la piel oscura, estaban mal vestidos y algo desesperado y angustioso temblaba en el fondo de sus pupilas. ¡Eran apristas!”⁷⁰

The warm reception that these Apristas gave to Brum upon her arrival to Lima overwhelmed her. Everybody seemed to love her, she recalls. She felt good and at ease with them.⁷¹ Of all the encounters that Brum made in Peru, the one with Peruvian intellectual José Carlos Mariátegui in 1926 struck her the most. Her memoirs plainly captures the intensity of the life changing experience which Brum sensed having gone through after meeting him for the first time. “¿Quién me llevo a su casa ese día? No sé, no lo recuerdo. Sin duda fue un ángel,” she writes. “Él puso una luz en mi inteligencia y otra en mis manos.”⁷² Mariátegui’s rectitude and high morals inspired her. His strength of character deeply moved her. In the end, it was these commendable human qualities, more so than a political discourse she did not fully master yet, which prompted Blanca Luz to see in Mariátegui the *Amauta* who shepherded her toward the path to seeking truth.⁷³ She would have done anything to please him and indeed remained unwaveringly loyal to him until his premature death in April

⁶⁹ Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel...*, p. 34.

⁷⁰ Blanca Luz Brum, *Mi Vida: Cartas de amor...*, p. 51. Blanca Luz’s reflection indicate that, although Haya de la Torre had yet to publish in the *Labor Monthly* issue of December 1926 the article “What is the A.P.R.A.,” often deemed one of the foundational texts of APRA, vanguard actors in Peru were already beginning to call themselves Apristas. Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, “What is the A.P.R.A.?” *The Labour Monthly*, December 1926, pp. 756-759.

⁷¹ Blanca Luz Brum, *Mi Vida: Cartas de amor...*, pp. 50-53.

⁷² *Idem*, pp. 52-53.

⁷³ Letter from Blanca Luz Brum to José Carlos Mariátegui, February 1st, 1928, *José Carlos Mariátegui: Correspondencia...*, pp. 346-347. Blanca Luz Brum, *Mi Vida: Cartas de amor...*, pp. 54-57.

1930.⁷⁴

In similar fashion to Haya de la Torre in 1923-1924, whom she is unlikely to have ever met, Brum was in 1926 craving emotional comfort. Their reasons to do so differed. Haya felt downhearted and blue in exile. He consequently turned to foreign allies, in hopes of gaining access to material resources, it is true, but also to feel connected to friends, to people who believed in him, to a project that would not begin and end with his own solitary travels in exile. Brum, on the other hand, felt terrible and unhappy in Uruguay, her homeland. Her self-imposed exile to Peru following the death of Parra del Riego was not the reason of her misery but rather the trigger that made her feel alive again. Still both Haya and Brum sought connections eagerly. Both wanted and needed emotional comfort as they lived through their initial experience of exile. And for both of them, this would have important consequences for the artistic work and the political knowledge that they began to produce while in exile.

The poetry that Brum first published in Peru demonstrates the feelings of affinity that she began to experience anew in 1926. Mourning comes easier when surrounded by love. It may also feel lighter when in creation alongside peers with whom one identifies. Her work in self-imposed exile summoned images of peaceful and pacifying spaces – utopias. Replete with heaven-like settings, her poetry was conducive to an atmosphere of dreams and creation. The poem “La Noche,” which appeared in the second issue of the journal *Amauta*, in October 1926, touches on two subjects closely associated with its title: the question of dreams, and the state of stillness and peace. The tone of this piece leaves us with a general impression of serenity. Each strophe plays a part in the sequence from earth to stars, enabling in the end the author to escape reality. In “La

⁷⁴ Letter from Blanca Luz Brum to José Carlos Mariátegui, February 1st, 1927, *José Carlos Mariátegui: Correspondencia...*, p. 347. “Cuente conmigo de todos modos,” she told him on 1st February 1928. “Yo le puedo vender uno por uno los números de Amauta, puedo conseguirle suscriptores y puedo salir con el fusil en las manos y dejarme matar por Ud. Querido y extraordinario hermano.” Blanca Luz was then writing from Chile, where she was deeply involved in organizing the APRA cell of Santiago de Chile.

Noche,” the stars and the moon stand as invitations to dreaming and to seeking human redemption, in stark contrast to the land - here symbolizing reality -, which can only bring suffering and anxieties. “¡Noche más! ¡Noche de hace tiempo más!/ Las que amé en mis campos tirada en la hierba/ mientras hincaba dedos y dientes a la tierra/ loca de ansiedades/ y torturada por cosas eternas,” writes Blanca Luz. Lying down on the ground, a simple gaze at the sky has the effect of appeasing her mind: “Me quedaba rendida de paz,/ ¡muerta de paz!/ en un inmenso reposo beato.”⁷⁵

“Nocturno” and “Mañana,” both published in February 1927, similarly capture a sense of optimism. Again, Blanca Luz uses metaphors that emphasize communion with nature as a means to suggest that one reaches peace of mind in dreams and fantasies. “Las estrellas/ tropiezan con los árboles/ y se caen en las aguas,” reads the second strophe of “Nocturno.” In the poem, the night and the stars permit dreams to rise and the morning awakening comes replete with an aftertaste of fantasy: “Por un recodo/ se asoma la mañana/ blanca de sueño.”⁷⁶ It is not accidental that “Mañana” directly follows “Nocturno” in the page disposition of the journal. Here, as the night retreats, the sun becomes the leading star. Its gentle heat accounts for new openings and carries hope along with its rays: “La caricia del Sol/ se hunde en la frescura/ del suelo/ Y se va abriendo/ en cantos de verdura/ la tierra.”⁷⁷ Going from night to morning, the metaphor alludes to a world of possibilities that emerges from darker times.

A world of possibilities Brum was indeed discovering in Peru. Her recollection of her time in Lima between 1926 and 1927 reflects how the community of artists, workers, and reform students who were part of the nascent APRA circles in Peru first kindled her awareness of Latin America’s plights. “Por el Perú entré a la cultura de América,” she writes in her memoirs, “participando de los procesos políticos y sociales que por entonces agitaban las banderas americanistas de esos

⁷⁵ Blanca Luz Brum de Parra del Riego, “La Noche,” *Amauta*, No. 2 (Octubre, 1926), p. 16.

⁷⁶ Brum de Parra del Riego, “Nocturno,” *Amauta*, No. 6 (Febrero, 1927), p. 20.

⁷⁷ *Idem*, p. 20.

pueblos.”⁷⁸ Whereas Mexico played an important role in shaping her political views in the late 1920s and early 1930s, it is her earlier travels to Peru that first aroused her awareness of Latin American social and political problems. To say it differently: Brum politically came of age in Peru. The way in which she enthuses in her journal about the radical transformations that she there underwent, praising for example the combative energy which she felt running in her new social circles, expresses the importance that connection to immediate surroundings had for honing revamped forms of American consciousnesses. It also evinces the role that group dynamics played in yielding feelings of belonging and affiliation to hemispheric communities.

Literary scholar Jean Franco argues that the true originality of Latin American art resides in the fact that “it kept alive the vision of a more just and humane form of society and it continues to emphasize those emotions and relationships which are wider than the purely personal.”⁷⁹ This conclusion illuminates the role that poetry played for poets, who like Brum, lived and worked in exile. The everyday reality of exile intervened in, and shaped, the complex dialogical process that tethered the changing self of individual artists to the ever more palatable collective mission that vanguard artists shared as a group.

Brum’s artistic work reflects a growing militancy from 1927 onward. The increased politicization of her poems published in *Amauta* in the course of that year testifies to her awakening to a hemispheric social awareness. In March 1927, “Regreso del Trabajo” calls to revolutionary action “los hombres nuevos.” The contrast between this type of artistic work and her poems released only a month earlier is striking. In it, the focus shifts from dream to action, from rural to urban settings, finally from stars and nature to industry and technology. “Regresa solitario del mar/ vagabundo de las noches/ por los puertos heridos de partidas,” Brum begins. “Regresa,” she commands, “límpiame el polvo de las estrellas/ con las arenas blancas del día.” Following the return

⁷⁸ Brum, *Mi Vida: Cartas de amor...*, p. 56.

⁷⁹ Franco, *The Modern Culture of Latin America...*, p. 282.

to reality, away from unproductive solitary fantasies, the city acts as a springboard for organized change. It enables individual dreams to turn into collective action: “Aquí la gran ciudad te espera/ alerta con sus cien chimeneas de humo./ ¡Aquí la acción!”⁸⁰ The way in which “Regreso del Trabajo” invites dreamers to march in lockstep and to join the “new men,” the bearers of change, suggests a drastic change in Brum’s political consciousness.

A series of subsequent politicized poems similarly reveal Brum’s active social commitment. Two months later, in the ninth issue of *Amauta*, “Poema” sang the praises of Russia and social solidarity. In it, Brum took position regarding contemporary events and, once again, used her artistic work in order to call for revolutionary action. “Arriba los pobres del mundo,/ de pié los esclavos sin pan,” Blanca Luz summons by way of conclusion.⁸¹ Further the infamous trial of the Italian anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti entered her repertoire. Blanca Luz refers to them as brothers in arms. In similar fashion, the poem “Himno de las fuerzas,” published in October 1928, enshrined themes of social solidarity in Brum’s verses. This poem suggests that it was precisely the poor and the disenfranchised that fed her revolutionary energy. Writes Brum: “mis fuerzas nutriéndose/ de las pupilas blancas de los muertos/ de la sangre de los niños al nacer/ de las espaldas curvas de los humildes/ de todos los pobrecitos de Dios.”⁸²

Within the larger continental context, Brum began to understand in Peru that social solidarity necessarily called for Latin American solidarity. Brum left Peru sometime in the course of the summer of 1927, and she scrupulously carried what she had learned. In Chile, she continued to advocate Latin American solidarity together with the community of APRA exiles who resided in Santiago de Chile. Her poem “Nicaragua,” published in March 1928, celebrated the armed resistance that Nicaraguan nationalist guerrillas, placed under the command of general Augusto César Sandino,

⁸⁰ Brum de Parra del Riego, “Regreso del Trabajo,” *Amauta*, No. 7 (Marzo, 1927), p. 32.

⁸¹ Brum de Parra del Riego, “Poema,” *Amauta*, No. 9 (Mayo, 1927), p. 19.

⁸² Brum, “himno de las fuerzas,” *Amauta*, No. 18 (Octubre, 1928), p. 6.

were leading against the US military occupation of their country. “Proletarios de América,” she writes, in reference to the Nicaraguan resistance, “necesitamos hombres/ para ir a rechazar la patada mas grande/ que da el capitalismo,/ sin banderas ni gritos/ en los dientes tenemos que llevar el puñal.”⁸³ She asked on other tribunes as well that Latin Americans show solidarity with the anti-imperialist battle of “Sandino el Libertador.”⁸⁴ His, she argued, was the struggle of all Latin Americans. Brum insisted that every committed revolutionary, no matter where they were from in the Americas, should feel personally concerned with the political situation in Nicaragua.⁸⁵ She even tried, although unsuccessfully, to organize a small contingent of armed Apristas to travel to Nicaragua and actively partake in the fight that nationalist troops were leading against the US militaries.⁸⁶

While her stay in Peru enabled Brum to hone her positions on social and political issues, it is important to note that gender also played an important role in shaping her evolution toward social activism. Similarly to what Yvonne Wallace Fuentes has revealed in the case of APRA leader Magda Portal, Brum grew ever more politicized in Peru while in tandem experiencing a reorganization of her gendered responsibilities. It is more: Brum was able to accomplish the former precisely because the latter took place. My contention here builds from the superb doctoral work of Wallace Fuentes. As *Becoming Magda Portal* convincingly shows, and as we will see in greater details elsewhere in this chapter, it was necessary for Magda Portal to first assert a sense of inner self in order to fully engage her Aprista militancy. This was also true of Blanca Luz Brum.

⁸³ Brum, “Nicaragua,” *Amauta*, No. 13 (Marzo, 1928), p. 18.

⁸⁴ Brum, *Contra la Corriente...*, pp. 53-54.

⁸⁵ Brum, “Nicaragua...”

⁸⁶ Her plan ultimately failed, however, mostly because of a lack of commitment among her peers. In fact, several APRA members in exile in Argentina mocked her proposal. Blanca Luz tried to remain cheerful nevertheless, as the aforementioned excerpt suggests: “Miro Quesada y otros apristas bonaerenses se burlaron de mi porque los invité a formar un ejército libertario para ir a Nicaragua junto a las tropas de Sandino - ¡qué le vamos a hacer!” At the time, few male APRA members seriously considered the political participation and activism of their female counterparts. Letter from Blanca Luz Brum to José Carlos Mariátegui, February 1st, 1928, *José Carlos Mariátegui: Correspondencia...*, p. 347.

When Brum first settled in Lima she lived with the family of her deceased husband. She recounts in her diary how her relations with her in-laws turned sour shortly after her first encounter with José Carlos Mariategui. The Parra del Riego family, an upper class and conservative Peruvian family, looked unfavorably, if not adversely, on Brum's new acquaintances.⁸⁷ Was she not friend with artist Carmen Saco, a free spirit and a divorced woman? "¡Qué horror!" exclaimed her mother-in-law. Was Brum not mixing with socialist circles and suspicious bohemian groups? "¡Qué horror!" Brum heard again, and again.⁸⁸ Before long, the in-laws began to regulate the young widow's actions in Lima with increased supervision. They sought to maintain a firm grip on their *nuera* (daughter-in-law), summoning her, for example, to pray more intensely and more frequently in her daily routine. They also supervised her whereabouts in Lima more closely and surely more strictly as well.⁸⁹

But nothing seemed to work. Brum was determined to fight for her independence. She had fallen for her new friends and was enthralled with their ideals. Nothing or nobody could make her change her mind. "Nada impidió que volviera mi cabeza al mundo de mi juventud, a la atracción que ejercía sobre mi, los intelectuales apristas y socialistas," she stated. "Mi destino había cambiado."⁹⁰

Importantly, the final rupture with her deceased husband's family matched a moment of political enlightenment for Brum. Although the exact date is unknown, it is likely to have happened in the course of 1927.⁹¹ Brum summarizes this experience as follows in her memoirs: "Rompiendo con la admirable familia de Parra del Riego, quienes había sonado para mi la felicidad de los salones, una vida de muchacha elegante y algún matrimonio por el estilo. De golpe todos esos sueños cayeron derribados por una palabra odiada en el Perú de la oligarquía: ¡APRA!"⁹² The way in which

⁸⁷ Coronel Domingo J. Parra, father of Juan Parra del Riego, had fought alongside Nicolas de Piérola in the Pacific war. Jaymie Heilman, *Before the Shining Path: Politics in Rural Ayacucho, 1895-1980*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010, pp. 38-40.

⁸⁸ Brum, *Mi Vida: Cartas de amor...*, p. 52.

⁸⁹ *Idem*, p. 52.

⁹⁰ *Idem*, p. 52.

⁹¹ I will show why in the next paragraph.

⁹² Brum, *Mi Vida: Cartas de amor...*, p. 53.

Brum remembers officially associating with APRA evinces the weight that experiences of self-transformation have in yielding new, often collective, identities and, as a direct corollary in this case, the weight that they have for envisioning the possibility of social liberation in the Americas. Brum was no longer a Parra del Riego, a member of the Peruvian elite. She now belonged to APRA, and this new group identity had no national limitations. With this new identity thus came the possibility to fully associate with the Americas at large: Brum was no longer a Uruguayan poet in Peru; she was an *aprista*, regardless of previous affiliations or future geographical location.

This final rupture happened somewhere between May and December 1927. A change in Brum's artistic signature during that time period hints at the chronology of her coming of age as independent woman and politicized artist. By then Brum regularly published in the Peruvian vanguard journal *Amauta*. It is fascinating to note that, prior to the release of the tenth issue of *Amauta* in December 1927, Blanca Luz always signed her poems with her husband's surname – “Blanca Luz Brum de Parra del Riego.” The untitled poem that she published in the ninth issue of *Amauta*, released in May 1927, still bore her marital autograph.⁹³ Later in the year, however, a shift took place in her signature. By December 1927, Brum had begun to sign her poems with her maiden name alone – Blanca Luz Brum – thereby leaving behind “Blanca Luz Brum de Parra del Riego” together with her husband's legacy.⁹⁴

“Alabanza por los instantes puros” is the first of her poems that appeared in the journal *Amauta* and which bore this new signature.⁹⁵ The content of this piece squares with the desire of independence that motivated Brum to abandon part of her last name in the first place. As the title suggests, in this poem Blanca Luz praises moments of purity, which appear to work in this particular piece as short moments of utter, universal truth. The poem unfolds in similar fashion to Brum's

⁹³ Brum de Parra del Riego, “Poema...”

⁹⁴ Brum, “Alabanza por los instantes puros,” *Amauta*, No. 10 (Diciembre, 1927), p. 58.

⁹⁵ *Idem*, p. 58

emotional portrayal of Mariátegui. At first there were anxieties, restless wanderings, and the search for a specific quest: “en los trenes nocturnos/ van los viandantes de la angustia/ locomotoras sedientas/ han de desplazarse en el abismo/ al primer encuentro con las luces.” Then followed the lights, the enlightenment, and the possibility of redemption: “y el día se pondrá de pié para recibirte/ ¡oh grandioso instante de mi alma/ hacia la pureza!” Before repeating the title, this time with exclamation marks, Brum uses the last strophe to introduce a striking, somewhat unexpected and surprising image: the image of the mother. She writes, “con estos ojos/ ya podré mirar el rostro de mi madre/ leche gozoso que beberá mi hijo.”⁹⁶

Here, my contention is that Brum asserted her role as a mother while at the same time addressing a filial connection with her own roots. On the one hand, rejecting the name of the Parra del Riego family while highlighting the linear connection that existed between her mother and her son through her own role as a mother, enabled Brum to symbolically break away from her husband’s legacy and to reconnect with her own roots. On the other hand, it is also important to note that Brum was not rejecting her identity as a woman. On the contrary, she shied away from gender-neutral identities and confirmed that, as a woman and as a mother, she had both the right and the capacity to participate in active militancy and social struggles. Reconnecting with motherhood appears to have helped Blanca Luz to toss aside her identity as a widow, subjected still to her husband’s legacy.

In Peru, leaving her past and social status behind, Brum liberated herself. She began to envision herself as a politicized artist rather than a spouse with clearly delineated gendered responsibilities or else defined by the name, the family, and the social milieu of her deceased husband. Brum was becoming her own person. The space of exile was for her a space of emancipation as a woman and a space of politicization as an artist. These personal and political

⁹⁶ Brum, “Alabanza por los instantes...”

transformations walked hand in hand. And both happened and evolved in relation to what the Peruvian scene had to offer. Had she not been freed from her past and from her social obligations as a Uruguayan bourgeois woman, Brum would have never endorsed her revolutionary commitment as an artist, much less joined APRA and dedicated the next decade of her life to the liberation of the Americas.

Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre (Part 2)

Let's retrace our steps a little bit. In Mexico City in 1924 things were about to change for the lonely Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre. In effect, the correspondence that he and Anna Melissa Graves had exchanged between the winter and the summer that year reveals that a spiritual rupture had been under way between the future APRA leader and his Christian mentors. While the latter group labored to refine the symbolic politics that best supported the pacifist agenda they were forwarding in the Americas, Haya de la Torre, in exile in Mexico, slowly began to seek greater independence of thought and action. Just as Peru transformed Blanca Luz Brum in 1926-1927 and changed her approach to arts and politics, Haya de la Torre was also shaken by what he saw and whom he met abroad between 1923 and 1925.

Soon after his departure from Peru, a series of unforeseen experiences began to induce changes in his worldviews. "La conciencia del peligro imperialista norteamericano es en mi nueva," Haya stated shortly after his arrival to Mexico in November 1923.⁹⁷ His brief travels to Panama, Cuba, and Mexico initially honed his appreciation of US imperialism. They sparked awareness of the threat that the northern giant posed to the region.⁹⁸ Complementing these first-hand experiences were the books that Haya began to read outside Peru. The anti-imperialist theses of Argentinean

⁹⁷ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, "La unidad de América Latina es un imperativo revolucionario del más puro carácter económico," in *Por la emancipación de América Latina...*, p. 23.

⁹⁸ *Idem*, pp. 23-24.

intellectual Manuel Ugarte ranked among his favorite readings toward the end of 1923. Studying Ugarte gave him the language and the analytical tools he needed, he felt, to start making sense of the social realities that he had witnessed on his way to Mexico.⁹⁹

From then on, things accelerated at a staggering rate. Mexico bombarded Haya with discoveries and fresh influences that escaped the sole purview of his Christian mentors. In April 1924, after a short stay in the municipality of Cuautla, in the State of Morelos, where he attended on Vasconcelos' behalf a memorial ceremony in honor of Emiliano Zapata, the celebrated hero of the Mexican revolution, Haya de la Torre wrote a moving text in which he eulogizes the deceased revolutionary leader for his contribution to the advance of a revolutionary peasantry in Mexico.¹⁰⁰ “El agrarismo es la mas fuerte corriente revolucionaria de México, porque el campesino es lo mas noble del país,” he remarked. “Limpio de cuerpo y alma, el hombre de campo es el mas valiente soldado de la revolución.”¹⁰¹ As Haya de la Torre traveled in the Mexican countryside, he appears to have first grasped the importance as well as the social implications of paying heed to the indigenous masses in a process of national redefinition.¹⁰² To the best of my knowledge, it was upon returning from this expedition that the term “Indian,” as a social category of people, first appeared in his discourse. Only two weeks after the commemorative event in honor of Zapata, Haya de la Torre wrote to Graves to inform her that he felt a growing loyalty toward the workers but also the

⁹⁹ Haya de la Torre, “La unidad de América Latina es un imperativo revolucionario...,” pp. 23-29.

¹⁰⁰ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, “Emiliano Zapata, apóstol y mártir del agrarismo mexicano,” in *Por la emancipación de América Latina...*, pp. 55-59.

¹⁰¹ *Idem*, p. 58.

¹⁰² *Idem*, pp. 55-59. Haya de la Torre suggested later in his life that the Pre-Inca ruins of Chan-Chan, in Peru, first kindled in him the awareness that the indigenous past had to be at the core of any successful revolutionary project in Latin America. Haya de la Torre, *Espacio-Tiempo-Histórico: Cinco Ensayos y Tres Diálogos*, Lima: n.d., 1948, pp. xvii-xi.

indigenous of Peru: “Para terminar debo decirle que yo tengo un solo fanatismo; la suerte de los obreros del Perú y sobre todo de los indios.”¹⁰³

The classic body of scholarship on APRA unanimously locates in these initial months of exile in Mexico the foundational steppingstone for the future ideological development of APRA. There, it is claimed, the “jefe máximo” traveled amply and met with imminent Mexican personalities. This series of adventures ostensibly enabled Haya de la Torre to get fully acquainted with both the “mentalidad agrarista” and the Mexican agrarian reform process and, most importantly for the foundational myth of APRA and for the defense of its staunch nationalist positions in later years, to literally absorb the spirit of the Mexican revolution.¹⁰⁴ These narratives insist on the success that Haya de la Torre had with groups of students and workers in Mexico. They also take pains to portray him as a leader in control of his destiny, politically mature and already knowledgeable about the Indo-American ideology. Although scholars have more recently countered the argument that Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre had founded APRA in Mexico City on 7 May 1924, this foundational myth continues to run deep in popular imaginations. And while it is true that the first period of exile in Mexico between November 1923 and June 1924 would have lasting consequences for the political formation of Haya de la Torre, the ways in which it affected his trajectory and forged his political consciousness differ from what celebratory narratives suggest.

When in the spring of 1924 Graves commandingly reminded Haya, “esperamos de ti una realización de tu responsabilidad,” she knew only too well that his new Mexican acquaintances were

¹⁰³ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico, April 22, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁰⁴ Consult for example: Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre o el político. Crónica de una vida sin tregua*, Lima: Imprenta Editora Atlántida S. A., 1979, pp. 107-111; Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez, *La literatura Política. De González Prada, Mariategui y Haya de la Torre*, México: Ediciones de Andrea, 1957, pp. 227-228; Jorge Luis Cáceres Arce, “Haya de la Torre estudiante peregrino,” in Jorge Luis Cáceres *et al.*, *III Concurso Latinoamericano de Ensayo Vida y Obra de Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre*, Lima: Instituto Cambio y Desarrollo, 2006, pp. 15-150; Víctor Manuel Ibáñez Avados, “La influencia de la Revolución Mexicana en la formación ideológica y doctrinaria del aprismo,” in Carlos Espá *et al.*, *VI Concurso Latinoamericano de Ensayo Vida y Obra de Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre*, Lima: Instituto Cambio y Desarrollo, 2010, pp. 75-126.

impinging on the plans that she and Mackay had envisioned for their protégé.¹⁰⁵ In the course of his first months of exile in post-revolutionary Mexico, Haya de la Torre had befriended the Mexican bohemia. Stories of communist plots and poor morals moved quickly in Christian circles.¹⁰⁶ The artists and intellectuals who formed the “grupo de México” were indeed renowned not only for their involvement in the communist movement but also for romantic unions ruled by free love.¹⁰⁷

These new friendships also began to nudge Haya de la Torre away from the pacifist positions he once held. By February 1924, he was meeting on a regular basis with Ella and Bertram Wolfe, two US organizers for the communist party south of the Río Grande.¹⁰⁸ In the middle of that month, Haya de la Torre relocated from San Angel to Mexico City to get closer to the action. He began to rent a small place a couple of floors above the Wolfes’ apartment. His new friends took him under their wing; they introduced him to their social circles; they taught him English; they occasionally loaned him small amounts of money; they even forwarded him an invitation to travel to Russia.¹⁰⁹ Haya de la Torre was also close to José Vasconcelos at that point in time, although to be fair the influence he once had on this Peruvian intellectual was waning rapidly.

Here’s why. Haya de la Torre moved to Mexico City in a period marked by great political instability on the national scene and also by mounting problems within the *Secretaría de Educación*

¹⁰⁵ As cited by Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre in letter to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico, April 29, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.3, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁰⁶ Graves even attempted to have Haya de la Torre propose to Miss Margaret Robb, an evangelical Christian close to the Colegio Anglo-Peruano. He refused. For the anecdote, Margaret Robb was marrying in January 1925 Christian missionary William Stanley Rycroft. Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Moscow, August 9, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.3, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. William Stanley Rycroft, Oral history, p. 4, RG MSC, Box 272, Folders 912-914, Presbyterian Historical Society, PA.

¹⁰⁷ Kersffeld, “La recepción del marxismo en América Latina...,” pp. 51-64.

¹⁰⁸ Haya de la Torre began to be in touch with Bertram Wolfe by the end of 1923. Wolfe rapidly suggested that he learn English and travel to Russia. Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico, December 26, 1923, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.1, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁰⁹ Letter from Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico, February 16, 1924 and Letter from Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico, February 29, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

Publica (SEP). The battle over winning the next presidential election had sparked an insurrection against the government. From December 1923 through March 1924, Adolfo De la Huerta, a former interim president of Mexico, led an opposition movement against president-elect Alvaro Obregón. De la Huerta charged the president for bowing to US financial interests in the Bucareli Accords.¹¹⁰ As a result of the De la Huerta Rebellion, governmental money was channeled into the War ministry, thereby depleting the budget allocated to the SEP and to sponsoring the work of the Mexican muralists. The fresco movement was brought to a standstill from approximately the winter of 1923 through the summer of 1924, which precisely corresponds to Haya de la Torre's first visit to Mexico.¹¹¹ Furthermore, mounting critiques accumulated against Vasconcelos from within the circles that Haya de la Torre navigated in 1924. The labor and student movements attacked him. They criticized his position for having turned into the SEP's "caudillo," when not altogether requesting his resignation.¹¹² Thus, it proved increasingly hard for Vasconcelos to guarantee a secure position for Haya de la Torre in Mexico. And even though in the spring of 1924 the latter still admired his revolutionary mastermind, walking in his footsteps became less of an option every day.¹¹³

Haya de la Torre's new communist friends and networks of support were a thorn in the side of Christian mentors for two reasons. First, thanks to the networks of solidarity they offered, these new contacts contributed to weaning Haya de la Torre off the exclusivity of their financial backing. This could not be well received for protagonists who aspired to shape his destiny. Second, and more importantly, these friendships brought about more, and drastic, changes in Haya de la Torre's

¹¹⁰ John Mason Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1997 (1987 1st ed.), pp. 345-346; Manuel A. Machado Jr., "The United States and the De la Huerta Rebellion," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 75, No. 3 (Jan., 1972), pp. 303-324.

¹¹¹ Wolfe, *The Fabulous Life...*, pp. 196-202.

¹¹² José Joaquín Blanco, *Se llamaba Vasconcelos: una evocación crítica*, México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1977, pp. 124-128.

¹¹³ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico, April 29, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.3, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

worldviews. The conversations that Haya de la Torre routinely had with Ella and Bertram Wolfe, as well as the few encounters he had with Jay Lovestone, another US communist organizer in exile in Mexico, contributed to shaping in new ways his approach to the role and purpose of revolutions.¹¹⁴ In contrast to the religious faith that ostensibly shaped part of the activist agenda Haya de la Torre spearheaded in Peru, new acquaintances as well as new ambitions started tilting his interest toward Marxist theories. The militant language that he used to discuss politics became increasingly, and ever more precisely, coated with socialist jargon.¹¹⁵

For example, Haya began to plead primary allegiance to the workers of Peru, more often than not forgoing “students” as social category in his letters and publications. “Mi primera responsabilidad es trabajar por los obreros del Perú,” he stressed in April 1924. “Por ellos trabajo aquí en México hace cinco meses, ayudándoles con mis palabras y consejos, enviándoles folletos, cartas, todo lo que ellos quieren que yo haga para mantener en el Perú viva la fé en el pueblo.”¹¹⁶ Similarly, the Indo-American flag, which has to this day symbolized both the foundation of APRA and the originality of its project of continental integration, was in fact initially conceived in Mexico as a symbol for Latin American communism. On 9 May 1924, while recounting in a letter the series of student events he had recently helped organize, Haya de la Torre boasted to Jay Lovestone: “Yo he obsequiado la bandera de Nuestra [Generación]. Es toda roja con la figura del continente latino en oro. [Es] una bandera comunista.”¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Jay Lovestone, Mexico, May 9, 1924, Box 372, Folder 26, Correspondence, Haya de la Torre, 1924, 1958, Jay Lovestone Papers, Hoover Institution Archives.

¹¹⁵ For a glimpse at Haya de la Torre’s early political writings sent or published from exile consult: Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, *Por la emancipación de América Latina. Artículos, Mensajes, Discursos (1923-1927)*. Buenos Aires: Editor Triunvirato, 1927.

¹¹⁶ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico, April 29, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.3, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹¹⁷ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Jay Lovestone, Mexico, May 9, 1924, Box 372, Folder 26, Correspondence, Haya de la Torre, 1924, 1958, Jay Lovestone Papers, Hoover Institution Archives.

Grimly witnessing the radicalization of their disciple, Christian intermediaries emphatically reiterated their desire to see Haya flee to England and, from there, resume his university studies.¹¹⁸ They feared communist indoctrination and dreaded that Haya would fall prey to foreign influences that embraced violence as a valid motor of change.¹¹⁹ But the project that Bertram Wolfe and Jay Lovestone had recently helped set up for Haya, that of traveling to Russia and seeing with his own eyes the “workers paradise” that radicals in Mexico kept talking about, was too tempting.¹²⁰

Haya was determined to go to Russia, but he dithered about travel plans – when to go, where, and for how long were still undecided. Going to New York, after all, where Anna Melissa Graves and Samuel G. Inman, the secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, confirmed being able to welcome him and introduce him to more solidarity networks, could hardly be unappealing to someone who craved connections. And studying in England was certainly a privilege few of his Peruvian friends could afford. Haya ultimately chose to compromise. On 22 June 1924, after agreeing to pass some time in England afterward, he left the United States, where he had just arrived, and traveled to Russia.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico, April 29, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.3, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹¹⁹ Letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Romain Rolland, London, September 12, 1924, Fonds Romain Rolland, NAF 28400, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Manuscrits.

¹²⁰ Historian Daniela Spenser reminds us that the outcome of the Bolshevik revolution, just as the inspiration of its projected development in future years, was not the exclusive preserve of communism. In Mexico, the class of radical and anti-imperialist intellectuals that accompanied the rise to power of Álvaro Obregón looked toward the Russian experience as they made their entry into the governing elite. Far from deliberately absorbing foreign models of revolution, the main objective and challenge of these leftist political cadres were, on the contrary, to find ways to transform the country into a progressive and anti-capitalist society while altogether preserving the indigenous traditions of radicalism and liberalism particular to the Mexican nation. Given such a context of trial and error, the successes of the Russian revolution provided a specimen of bold achievements in areas as diverse as education, party organization, and military control. Daniela Spenser, *The Impossible Triangle: Mexico, Soviet Russia, and the United States in the 1920s*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999, pp. 55-58, 62-64. Barry Carr, *Marxism and Communism in Twentieth Century Mexico*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992, p. 4.

¹²¹ The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.3, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

Although the authority that Graves and Mackay exerted over the young Haya de la Torre began to crumble within weeks of his arrival to Mexico City, it is from Moscow that a complete spiritual rupture materialized. There, Haya squarely rebelled against the symbol of Christianity and pacifism that his early mentors were so fervently disseminating across their transnational networks. “No tengo ni la divinidad de un Jesús ni el Talento de un Tolstoy [sic],” he told Graves on 20 August 1924.¹²² Haya appeared eager to correct the gap that had grown steeper between Haya de la Torre as symbol and Haya de la Torre the young man and the mature political activist – what he was and what he aspired to become. Gaining in confidence, Haya bluntly signaled his concern to Graves: “Es necesario que U. sepa que yo no soy ni nunca he pretendido ser Tolstoy [sic] o Jesús,” he stated on 20 August 1924. “Yo creo que es un deber de mi conciencia decirle a U. que no soy sino un hombre común, sin valor ninguno, que ha jurado entregar su vida por la causa de los oprimidos, de los que en mi país son víctimas.”¹²³ The timing of this revolt was not fortuitous.

A few weeks earlier, a series of dizzying first impressions had struck Haya during his initial travels to Russia. They moved him in a profound, powerful way. Between July and August 1924, traveling in the humid weather particular to the Volga region, an illness that Haya attributed to his imprisonment in Lima the year before came back to bother his lungs. Never had he imagined possible such genuine kindness and true abnegation as he witnessed in Russia, Haya told Graves upon his return to Moscow. “Obreras y obreras [sic] que nunca me habían conocido me cuidaron como a un hermano o hijo y todos lloraron cuando yo abandoné la región,” he wrote, before

¹²² Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Moscow, August 20, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.3, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹²³ *Idem.*

concluding, “El pueblo ruso que no piensa tanto en el ‘time-money’, puede amar así tan grandemente al prójimo.”¹²⁴

The attention with which workers in the Volga had taken care of the fragile health of a complete stranger shook his deepest convictions. The feelings that accompanied this experience as well as other comparable discoveries in Russia were for Haya so intense that in the course of a couple of months his vision of peace was transformed. So was the nature of the mission that he felt incumbent upon himself to conduct.¹²⁵ He still loved peace, Haya asserted, but now he better understood its costs and therefore deemed defensive wars to be legitimate and justifiable means of action. By the end of July 1924, Haya argued: “La lucha contra la opresión es simplemente una defensa.”¹²⁶

Shortly after, in a letter I strongly suspect was destined to both Graves and Mackay, Haya voiced his need for self-assertion. He clearly marked the breach that now distanced his aspirations from theirs. “Usted me dice que ha perdido gran parte del respeto que antes tenía por mi y yo le contesto que a mi me pase igualmente,” Haya replied on 23 August 1924 to Graves’ accusations of betrayal.¹²⁷ His discourse shone with pride and independence: “Yo he roto para siempre mi subordinación a la familia y a la clase a que pertenecía, y estoy dispuesto a romper muchos otros vínculos, todos, por ser leal a mi mismo.”¹²⁸ He continued, “Así he escrito al Dr. Mackay: No acepto ayuda de amigos cuando ellos quieren que a cambio de su ayuda o de su amistad cambie de modo de

¹²⁴ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Moscow, August 9, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.3, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹²⁵ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Moscow, Julio 24, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.3, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹²⁶ *Idem.*

¹²⁷ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Moscow, August 23, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.3, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹²⁸ *Idem.*

pensar.”¹²⁹ Haya de la Torre argued that he would never be cowed again before the lure of financial support. He promised himself that, from now on, he would be the one imposing the conditions of his friendships.

Notwithstanding good will and strong resolutions, however, it proved difficult for Haya to completely cut the ties that kept his journey intertwined with the ambitions of Christian sponsors. For one, they were not willing to let go of him. When Haya voiced his desire in Mexico City to have more room for thinking on his own and for meeting new people, Graves countered with backroom manipulations. She used her connections in hopes of retaining some degree of influence over the kind of political formation that Haya de la Torre received in exile. According to her plans, this Peruvian actor was bound to becoming the kingpin of the spiritual crusade underway in the Americas. She thus felt entitled to manoeuvre so as to orient his destiny.¹³⁰ Swapping confrontation for roundabout means of persuasion, Graves wrote to José Vasconcelos and inquired, as she later did with Gabriela Mistral and as she already had with Romain Rolland, whether he could not try to curb his recent infatuation with communist Russia.¹³¹ As mentioned above, the plan worked in part: Haya traveled to Russia, though not without first consenting to travel to London afterward, where he was expected to enroll and study at the Ruskin college.

The other reason that explains why it was so hard for Haya de la Torre to let go of his Christian mentors lies in the experience of exile. Between 1925 and 1928 APRA was in a stage of

¹²⁹ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Moscow, August 23, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.3, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹³⁰ A series of correspondence from José Vasconcelos, Gabriela Mistral, John A. Mackay, Eduardo J. Goigochea as well as a certain Vargas and Hopkins testify to this reality. Graves was also in touch with the mother of Haya de la Torre, which infuriated him. The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 3, Box 3, Folder 3.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹³¹ Letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Romain Rolland, London, September 12, 1924, Fonds Romain Rolland, NAF 28400, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Manuscrits. Letter of Gabriela Mistral to Anna Melissa Graves, México, n.d.; Letter of José Vasconcelos to Anna Melissa Graves, México, November 23, 1923; Letter of José Vasconcelos to Anna Melissa Graves, México, January 14, 1924; Letter of José Vasconcelos to Anna Melissa Graves, México, April 11, 1924; Letter of José Vasconcelos to Anna Melissa Graves, México, April 21, 1924; Letter of José Vasconcelos to Anna Melissa Graves, México, May 21, 1924; The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 3, Box 3, Folder 3.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

intense formation. It grew, certainly, but as we shall see in Chapter 3, it did not grow fast enough in order to provide financial assistance to its members. In the end, the necessity of material support and emotional comfort repeatedly melted down Haya de la Torre's need for self-assertion.

In the fall of 1925, after a silence of seven months, Haya renewed contact with Graves. He was not doing well. "I have lived more than seven months in England and always without any tranquility," he wrote on 12 November 1925.¹³² Haya hated the weather in London. It was cold and it rained all the time. Also he didn't have the means to buy appropriate winter clothing. Money went missing. Work opportunities were rare and paid badly.¹³³

These material hardships only served to compound the psychological distress that beset him at the time. Mainly Haya felt lonely – terribly lonely. He missed home. Above all he missed his friends. He missed being part of something bigger than himself. "Morally and materially this year has been very bad. Never, after two years of exile have I wanted to go home so much. That is not to be a coward, I believe, but it is the anxiety to suffer with the others," he wrote on 29 December 1925.¹³⁴ The letters that Haya de la Torre sent to Graves between November 1925 and March 1926 similarly reveal a great deal of suffering.¹³⁵ Europe was for Haya "a bitter exile" filled only with "sorrows and troubles." In a later reflection, Haya admitted that 1925 had been one of the worst years of his life.¹³⁶

Luckily, though, 1925 was coming to an end and Haya rejoiced in the prospects of new beginnings. He tried to remain positive, in effect, for he trusted he would soon return to his

¹³² Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, November 12, 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹³³ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, January 24, 1926, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹³⁴ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, December 29, 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹³⁵ Consult letters from Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folders 1.5 and 1.6, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹³⁶ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, December 29, 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

America. “I wish to do my best next year in my America,” he told Graves. “I think I will go back at summer and I will be glad, strong and happy again ... I am sure than I am going to see the struggle and to do my duty in it.”¹³⁷ With new beginnings also came the possibility of reconciliation. Three days before the New Year, Haya communicated his wish to restore relations with Graves: “I hope in our particular way that 1926 shall be a year when you will be not in the material sens [sic], but in the spirtual [sic] sens [sic] a friend of mine”¹³⁸ Graves agreed. They would be friends again.

The truth is that Haya de la Torre was desperate for money. So much so, in fact, that he was the first to admit that the lack thereof had become an obsession in his life in London.¹³⁹ There was so little of it. All through the following spring his letters to Graves were littered with financial concerns and details of his precarious situation. Haya carefully explained to Graves, for example, how difficult it was for him as a foreign and a poor student in England to be successful in school. He worked by day in a press agency, wrote by night, and in between still tried to make it to lectures. Here and there he also sold articles to South American journals and sometimes received financial help from the “Comité Latino Americano” in Buenos Aires through the intermediary of José Ingenieros, with whom Haya had developed friendly relations.¹⁴⁰ But all that wasn’t enough to make ends meet. Haya had accumulated too many debts in London since his arrival in August. Besides he

¹³⁷ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, December 29, 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹³⁸ *Idem.*

¹³⁹ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, February 5, 1926, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.6, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁴⁰ Letter from Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, November 16, 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University; Letter from Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, November 12, 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University; Letter from Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, December 29, 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

wanted to become more serious in his studies.¹⁴¹ And so here he was, writing to Graves in February 1926, pleading to be friends again while at the same time communicating his hope to receive weekly allowances from her instead of sporadic sums of money. “If you are able to make any arrangements with a Bank or office and if I could to [sic] get some money every week I would be much better, indeed.”¹⁴² Could that be arranged, Haya wondered?

Yes, said Graves. In fact, she had already resumed her financial support along with her friendship a while back. On 16 November 1925 Haya acknowledged receipt of a check from her. “I have just recived [sic] your letter and cheque [sic] for 20 dollares [sic]. Thank you very much. Miss Hartack has sent me all,” he wrote.¹⁴³ One month later he was waiting for more: “I have just received your post card and I hope to have your cheque [sic] from Mr. Hopkins soon.”¹⁴⁴ Graves continued to send him money through the remainder of this stay in London.

As we have seen, material hardships and the experience of solitude helps explain why Haya de la Torre sought to reconnect with Graves. This time around though, he took pains to draw limits on the nature of their friendship: he would not have borne to pick it up where they had left it. “You know,” he warned Graves from the get-go, “friendship can not be forced and you forced it when you insist in to remember me that you give me materials [sic] help.”¹⁴⁵ Haya was, in a way,

¹⁴¹ Letter from Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, November 16, 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University; Letter from Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, November 12, 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁴² Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, December 17, 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁴³ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, November 16, 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁴⁴ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, December 17, 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁴⁵ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, November 12, 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

establishing rules to make sure that he would be able to benefit from Graves' financial support without the burden of moral obligations in return. How they addressed their letters to each other was one of these rules. A post-scriptum added to a letter dated 12 November 1925 manifested Haya's intention to use hereafter only formal salutations in his exchanges with Graves. The goal was to curb the passionate tone of their previous exchanges. It read, "Aunt Annie or Annie or Melansessia are so rare words to me. I have know you as Miss Graves and never my lips had one other word for to call you."¹⁴⁶ Never again did Haya refer to Graves as his spiritual mother. Haya now claimed to be a free and unbending man, exempt from obligations but the ones dictated by his own conscience, who furthermore made sure to keep external requests at bay.

At the very least that is how he cared to imagine himself. Starting early in 1926, in effect, Haya de la Torre began to feel that an important step in his life was coming to an end. He engaged in introspection and came to realize that the hardships of exile had transformed him into a man of action, a pragmatic political activist.¹⁴⁷ Unsurprisingly, he now longed for mentors who chose realism over idealism. For example, he admired Ingenieros for his humanism and kindness but above all for his realism: "He was a great friend of mine like Vasconcelos, but I did like Ingenieros much more than Vasconcelos because Ingenieros was not a pacifist and he had a revolutionary and realistic spirit."¹⁴⁸ By January 1926, Haya thought of himself as an "active revolutionary" rather than an "intellectual revolutionary."¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, November 12, 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁴⁷ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, January 24, 1926, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁴⁸ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, November 16, 1925, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁴⁹ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, January 24, 1926, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

From 1926 through 1927, the tone and contents of Haya's correspondence reflects the series of self-transformations that he had so far experienced in exile and thanks to which he was now coming of age politically. One letter dated 5 February 1926 is particularly telling. In it, Haya offers an informative and thoroughly fascinating interpretation of the moments of personal transformations that he had gone through in exile. This letter determines that his coming of age came as a result of a sustained process of self-transformations that began in Peru, in 1921, and that continued all through his early years in exile, until 1925. According to Haya, the end of 1925 marked an important rupture in his life. Then ended his "boyhood," he stated. Then he became a man, a complete adult and individual in control of his own destiny. The following excerpt casts a spotlight on this final transformation:

"I am changing now. I am a new people [sic]. At the end of last year the idea of suicide there [sic] was constantly with me, but I have a strang [sic] reaction myself now. I do not want to comit [sic] now because I can [sic] to live free and new ... Suicide may be my end but later on, when I will be old or invalid. I am not afraid of suicide, but I must live now and clean myself of my dorty [sic] past, and consider that I was born in 1921 when I did make my first effort in the social way. Till [1925] that was my boyhood; now I am a man ... That is as I see my transformation. My only judge is my concience [sic] and I am going towards my destin [sic] sure and glad. That transformation is the reaction of my own spirit. I have been thinking for nights and days, alone. Isolate! That is my best mentor. My suffers last year have been very good to me. I did nead [sic] it. Never more I will be weak [sic]."¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, February 5, 1926, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.6, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

Later that year, Haya de la Torre traveled to Paris where a group of Peruvian exiles were on their way to organizing APRA.¹⁵¹ He passed most of September 1926 in the French capital, assisting the work of his peers to form the APRA movement and concretely define its revolutionary line. It is after this short but intense stay in Paris that mentions of APRA first appeared in Haya de la Torre's correspondence with Graves. He looked thrilled, ecstatic even.¹⁵² He was at long last participating in a project larger than himself: "Our APRA is every day [growing] up. It is magnificent," he wrote to Graves toward the end of 1926.¹⁵³ The release in the *Labour Monthly* of one of APRA's foundational texts, "What is the A.P.R.A.?" authored by Haya de la Torre, came approximately at that same time.¹⁵⁴

Interestingly, there is no reference to Indo-America in this article. At the time, the anti-imperialist theses of APRA bore economic overtones only. In fact, Haya de la Torre's text altogether rejected any assessment that defined the battle between the Latin American republics and US imperialism in racial terms. The problem was fundamentally economic, he wrote: "Until 1923 [the North American danger in Latin America] was regarded as a possible struggle of races – the Saxon and the Latin races – as a 'conflict of cultures' or as a question of nationalism. From the 'Gonzalez Prada' Popular Universities of Peru a new conception of the problem has arisen: the economic conception."¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ Evidence shows that the APRA cell in Paris began to be operative toward the end of the summer 1926. The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.7, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁵² Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Oxford, [September or October] 29, 1926, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.8, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁵³ The use of the possessive pronoun "our" instead of "my" contrasts with customary scholarly interpretations that approach APRA as Haya de la Torre's political organization from its inception onward. Letter from Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, [1926], The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.9, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁵⁴ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, "What is the A.P.R.A.?" *The Labour Monthly*, December 1926, pp. 756-759.

¹⁵⁵ *Idem*, p. 759.

The Indio as a category of analysis had entered his political texts from time to time starting in the mid-1920s, but it wasn't until his travels around Central America, between July and December 1928, that Haya de la Torre positioned the indigenous question at the core of his project of hemispheric unity. The change in the slogan that Haya de la Torre used to sign his letters reflects this reality. At the beginning of 1927, Haya de la Torre ended his missive with: "Contra el imperialismo. Yanqui, por la unidad de los pueblos de América, para la realización de la Justicia Social."¹⁵⁶ By the end of 1928, he signed: "Contra el imperialismo yanqui, por la unidad de los pueblos de Indoamérica, para la realización de la justicia social."¹⁵⁷ Indo-América slowly revealed itself to him as travels through space continued apace.¹⁵⁸ For him, as for other APRA exiles, Indo-America corresponded to a lived reality that they learned to intellectualize. "Lo que escribo no es consecuencia de lo que he oído o leído. Lo he visto con mis propios ojos," wrote Haya de la Torre in 1928.¹⁵⁹

Similarly to Blanca Luz Brum, Haya de la Torre had needed to emotionally break away from his past and shatter the ties that kept him fettered to his family before he was able to fully embrace his role as a politician and begin devising original political thoughts about the future of the Americas. I have so far traced the rupture that affected his relations with his early spiritual mentors, John A. Mackay and Anna Melissa Graves. But Haya de la Torre acknowledged also feeling disconnected from his Peruvian family. "Father and mother and sisters and every relatives are gone

¹⁵⁶ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, "Que persigue el centro de estudios antiimperialistas del A.P.R.A. en París," (1927), in *Por la emancipación de América latina...*, p. 212.

¹⁵⁷ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, "Carta al presidente de Panamá," (1928) in *¿A dónde va Indoamérica?*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Ercilla, 1935, p. 69.

¹⁵⁸ It is in 1930, while living in Berlin, that Haya de la Torre fully embraced and seriously explained for the first time the use of Indo-America to refer to the project of hemispheric unity. Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, "La cuestión del nombre," (1930) in *¿A dónde va Indoamérica?*, pp. 21-35.

¹⁵⁹ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, "La suerte de Puerto Rico," Berlín, junio 1930, *¿A dónde va Indoamérica?*, p. 54.

for me,” he wrote on 5 February 1926.¹⁶⁰ When he penned this line, no one in his family had written or given any news in over a year. Haya de la Torre claimed that if his family had forgotten about him, then he was determined to forget about them as well. It seemed easier this way. Haya de la Torre was in this way free of the sorrow that their silence was causing him.¹⁶¹

The need to explicitly defend his autonomy of thought and action was tempered and eventually replaced by self-confidence and subtle political strategy. In effect, Haya was now looking for a pragmatic compromise, some sort of settlement that would enable political activists like him to benefit from both the financial resources and the emotional support that Christian intermediaries were willing to extend, while at the same time refraining from feeling beholden to the ideological agenda of Christian sponsors. It is important to note also that the period of Haya’s self-transformation in exile corresponded to the consolidation of APRA as a viable and functional political movement. Thus, as I will show in the next chapter, the growth of Latin American anti-imperialist networks of solidarity relieved part of the burden of financial support of Christian intermediaries and freed up new resources to help support Latin American exiles active in the development of APRA.

Magda Portal

“Nuestro arte es americano, legítimamente, su emoción esta enraizada en la tierra y su palabra tiene el sonido del viento, por eso es también internacional,” Peruvian APRA leader Serafín Delmar wrote in August 1928, referring to the work that he and a handful of poets in Peru had crafted in the past couple of years.¹⁶² Magda Portal, his life companion and close artistic and political collaborator, had

¹⁶⁰ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, London, February 5, 1926, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.6, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁶¹ *Idem.*

¹⁶² Serafín Delmar, “Interpretación del Arte en América,” *Indoamérica*, Vol. 1, No. 2, August, 1928, p. 8, Hoover Institution Library, Serial: México.

been part of this group. It is unclear when and where Serafín Delmar and Magda Portal fully endorsed their commitment to the cause of APRA, but by the time Delmar wrote the opening citation of this chapter, both he and Portal had been living in Mexico City for a little less than a year. After their deportation from Peru in June 1927 for alleged communist activities, and following a brief stay in Cuba, these Peruvian poets had traveled to Mexico City where they established and helped found the first Comité Aprista de México. There, both grew into Indo-American ideologues. As press secretary of the APRA cell and director of the journal *Indoamérica*, Serafín Delmar supervised the evolution and diffusion of the continental program of APRA while continuing to reflect upon American art.¹⁶³ Magda Portal, for her part, had allegedly left poetry on the side to better focus on her work as a political activist and help APRA thrive.¹⁶⁴

If Mexico finished turning Magda Portal in the late 1920s into a renowned Indo-American ideologue, it is a series of experiences and self-transformations associated with an earlier exile in Bolivia that seem to have first triggered in her a capacity for original creation regarding Indo-America. Before she left Peru for the first time, toward the end of 1925, evidence shows that Portal was already committed to thinking of the Americas in new ways. Her ability to do so, however, was limited at best. The work in which Portal collaborated in 1924 articulated visions of continental nationalism in continuity with a tradition that came from the period of independence. At the time, Peru, rather than Indo-America, remained the departure point of her reflections on continental unity. Significantly, the way Portal thought of the Americas had changed drastically by the fall of 1926. The Americas had become far more cosmopolitan and socially radical. To trace and understand these changes, I will compare the contents of *Flechas* with that of *Trampolín-Hangar-Rascacielos-Timonel*, the literary journals that Magda Portal helped found and edit in Peru in 1924 and

¹⁶³ Álvaro Yunque, "Datos Biográficos sobre Serafín Delmar," *Serafín Delmar: Su Vida y su Obra*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Claridad, 1936.

¹⁶⁴ Martín Bergel, "La desmura revolucionaria. Prácticas intelectuales y cultura del heroísmo en los orígenes del aprismo peruano (1923-1931)," *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, Coloquios, 2007.

1926 respectively. Doing so offers precious insight into the ways in which this poet-activist came to craft new and truly original political knowledge on Indo-America.

The release of *Flechas: Revista Quincenal de Letras*, in October 1924, marked the beginning of an aesthetic vanguard revival in the Peruvian capital. In an effort to take part in contemporary reflections about arts and continental identities, Magda Portal co-founded this magazine with her lover at the time, Federico Bolaño Díaz. Serafín Delmar, Federico's younger brother, was named secretary.¹⁶⁵ Literary scholars of the Peruvian vanguard do not agree on how much aesthetic radicalism can ultimately be found in *Flechas*, but most concur in their assessment of the violence of its editorial prose.¹⁶⁶ In harmony with the blueprint of reform students, Portal and Bolaño Díaz signified their sharp and unequivocal rejection of everything that related to values of the past. "Queremos derrumbar falsos valores," they stated in the presentation of the inaugural issue, "esos que sin la acción de la juventud revisora y audaz flotarían sobre los lomos de la muchedumbre, como cadáveres en el mar."¹⁶⁷ The journal further professed its commitment to assisting the instigation of the spiritual renovation in Peru and to publicizing in its pages "los nuevos valores que surgen en América."¹⁶⁸ The rationale was to use arts, whether produced in Peru or in the rest of the continent, as a mean to unlock avenues of creation and avant-garde imaginations. In aesthetics resided

¹⁶⁵ Literary scholar Vicky Unruh approaches vanguardism as "a form of activity rather than as an assemblage of individually outstanding texts." Likewise, I contend that we must think of the vanguard literary magazines as the products of collective endeavors. The form of these primary sources highlights the efforts of many deployed to experiment and to try and think beyond common understandings of Latin America. In contrast to intellectual biographies or political scripts, the content of artistic manifestoes, experimental aesthetics creation, and poetry writing, in effect, did not gift readers with comprehensive answers, much less polished definitions of what the Americas stood for. Vicky Unruh, *Latin American Vanguards: The Art of Contentious Encounters*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, p. 8.

¹⁶⁶ On the other hand, none has granted much attention to its hemispheric contents. Kathleen Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel: The World of Magda Portal, with a Selection of Her Poems*, University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009; Daniel R. Reedy, *Magda Portal: La Pasionaria Peruana. Biografía Intelectual*, Lima: Ediciones Flora Tristán, 2000.

¹⁶⁷ "Prólogo-Manifiesto," *Flechas: Revista Quincenal de Letras*, Lima, Octubre 1923, Año 1, No 1, p. 1.

¹⁶⁸ *Idem*, p. 2.

regenerative power. Within aesthetics also lay the potential for unity and closer cooperation between the youth of Peru and the rest of Hispano-America.¹⁶⁹

As historian Yvonne Wallace Fuentes has observed, non-student figures and vanguard poets played a significant part in transforming in the early 1920s “a militant student identity into a militant youth identity.”¹⁷⁰ Their work helped connect ideals first hatched under the auspices of *La Reforma* to broader issues of social justice and political emancipation. “A careful study of their intellectual context,” Wallace Fuentes perceptively writes, “demands we read their words not just as a Futurist influenced attack on all things old, but primarily through the lens of *La Reforma*.”¹⁷¹ In view of this caveat, the focus that *Flechas* placed on the continental scene suggests that Portal and the Bolaño brothers had assimilated the Americanist aspirations particular to the San Marcos university students, with whom they had indeed started to mingle between approximately 1921 and 1923.¹⁷²

However, no matter how avant-garde it aspired to be, *Flechas*'s call for something new was restricted by its incapacity to fully escape the revolutionary landscape of preexisting continental designs.¹⁷³ It proved impossible for this magazine to establish a clear breach between the original knowledge it purportedly aspired to create and the resort to symbols of the past to craft its praise of the Americas. The fourth and final issue of *Flechas* makes this impediment to full regeneration

¹⁶⁹ These positions regarding the socio-political value of art were not uncommon. Political and aesthetic activism more often than not overlapped and converged. It is sometimes hard to tag the nature of one individual or group since political and aesthetic activism usually converged. To bring their point home, scholars like to point the Peruvian José Carlos Mariátegui who, in addition to being a Marxist intellectual, “was also an active promoter of Peruvian vanguardist activity and a knowledgeable analyst of the international literary vanguards.” The strategies that *Flechas* used to spark off change dovetailed with the political culture that increasingly characterized the postwar Latin American vanguards. Vicky Unruh, *Latin American Vanguards: The Art of Contentious Encounters*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, p. 5.

¹⁷⁰ Yvonne Wallace Fuentes, “Becoming Magda Portal: Poetry, Gender, and Revolutionary Politics in Lima, Peru, 1920-1930,” Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 2006, p. 32.

¹⁷¹ *Idem*, p. 31

¹⁷² The circumstances of their first encounter remain unclear: the Bolaño brothers were originally from the southern province of Huancayo, whereas Magda Portal had lived in the Lima-Callao region all her life. Some conjecture that Portal met the Bolaño brothers through journalistic collaborations a couple years earlier, others that the classrooms of San Marcos University is what brought their destinies together. Reedy, *Magda Portal...*, p. 35. Wallace Fuentes, *Becoming Magda Portal...*, p. 142.

¹⁷³ Literary scholar Reedy (2000) drew similar conclusions regarding its aesthetic contents. My argument differs in the sense that it focuses on the continental contents of these pages.

particularly clear. To commemorate the centenary of the *batalla de Ayacucho*, *Flechas* dedicated in December 1924 a special edition to the respective literary movements of the five Bolivarian Republics – “fértilmente abonadas por el genio luminoso de Bolívar,” the editorial stated, referring to Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru.¹⁷⁴ In poems and chronicles, references made to *la Patria Grande*, just like the appeals for the pursuit of continental ideals, were tightly knit together with tributes paid to Simon Bolívar and reminiscences of military prowess achieved by other *Libertadores*.¹⁷⁵ In a section entitled “Oración a Bolívar,” Federico Bolaño even composed a prayer that asked for the blessing of Bolívar’s spirit. His text couched this invocation in impassioned orations, making all the more dramatic the demand for assistance in the continental task of renovation ahead. One section, for example, loosely copied the verses of “Our Father”: “Salve Bolívar, Hombre de América, paradigma y estandarte de América, danos la sal de heroicidad, danos la luz de tu mirada que atraviesa los siglos, danos la clave de armonía y de amor americano que se aposento en tu corazón.”¹⁷⁶

The recourse to the heroes of the Latin American independence movement was not the only strategy at odds with *Flechas*’ call for a complete rejection of the old order. In effect, while a true and genuine commitment to thinking about continental cooperation traverses the pages of *Flechas*, the editors hardly ever moved away from Peru to trigger their reflections. To be sure, poems and chronicles reported on the latest advances in the literary movement across the continent. The editors also took pain to sing the praises of authors whose verses, like the ones of Peruvian Ventura García

¹⁷⁴ “Rendir tributo de admiración al Libertador.” The five Bolivarian Republics are Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru. “*Nuestro Homenaje*,” *Flechas: Revista Quincenal de Letras*, Lima, Diciembre 10 de 1924, Año 1, No 4, 5, y 6, p. 1.

¹⁷⁵ The term *Libertadores* refers to the leaders of the wars of independence against Spain at the beginning of the nineteenth century. For examples of poems in this issue consult: Carlos Pellicer, “Oda a America,” pp. 2-4 and Alberto Hidalgo, “Retrato de Bolívar,” pp. 6-8. For examples of chronicles consult: Federico Bolaño, “Oración a Bolívar,” pp. 5-6; Modesta Villavicencio, “La grandeza moral de sucre,” pp. 9-14; A. Baquerizo Moreno, “Palabras del Embajador Ecuatoriano: Sucre,” p. 16.

¹⁷⁶ Federico Bolaño, “Oración a Bolívar,” *Flechas: Revista Quincenal de Letras*, Lima, Diciembre 10 de 1924, Año 1, No 4, 5, y 6, p. 6.

Calderón, overflowed with Latin American sentiments. “[García Calderón] es un artista abierto a las cosas de su tierra,” read an article in October 1924, “un pecho lleno de amor a las expresiones de América, un gentil optimista y un creyente sincero del porvenir luminoso del Continente.”¹⁷⁷ But, no matter how many references it made to topics continental in nature, *Flechas* still tethered the salvation of Peru to the nation-state as a legitimate space of regeneration. Cooperation between nation-states was entreated, rather than the downright abolition of this form of political organization. Come what may, in *Flechas*, Peru remained the departure point of intellectual and political endeavours.

The series of vanguard pamphlets that Magda Portal and Serafín Delmar co-directed and published back-to-back in Peru, between October 1926 and March 1927, shortly after they returned from Bolivia (they had left toward the end of 1925), exhibit important changes in the way in which Portal thought and conceived of the Americas. Similarly to *Flechas*, it is true, this new collection explicitly aspired to move away from the past. Its changing titles single-handedly stand as a metaphor for change: *Trampolín*, *Hangar*, *Rascacielos*, and *Timonel*. This editorial strategy reflects the discourse particular to contemporary avant-garde magazines that claimed to purge art of all holdovers of the past. The evanescence of the present, represented here by altering titles, gave evidence of perpetual rebirth and fast pace creation: the faster present times vanished, in a way, the more irrevocable the arrival of the subsequent, auspicious future.

However, in contrast to *Flechas*, the content of *Trampolín-Hangar-Rascacielos-Timonel* proved that its collaborators were this time determined to fully assume the rupture from the past announced in discourse. *Flechas* had ultimately neither managed to follow through with its mission of aesthetic renovation nor its attempt to think in new ways about the Americas. Contributors to *Trampolín-*

¹⁷⁷ Federico Bolaño, “Ventura García Calderón,” *Flechas: Revista Quincenal de Letras*, Lima, Octubre 23 de 1924, Año 1, No 1, p. 5.

Hangar-Rascacielos-Timonel, nevertheless, showed both the willpower and, more importantly, the experience necessary to jump-start a creative endeavor truly original in form and contents.

Regardless of its place of publication in Lima, and in spite of the fact that the contributors of the first issue were all Peruvians (they would later include poets from different Latin American countries), *Trampolín* claimed to bear a cosmopolitan nature. The cover page explicitly broadcasted this position. Its sub-title, *Revista Supra-Cosmopolitina* (Supra-Cosmopolitan Journal), altogether recalls modernist themes of universality as well as the growth of postwar internationalism worldwide. Furthermore, the alleged place of official publication, inscribed alongside the date of official publication, read “South America” rather than “Peru.” This editorial strategy conveyed the idea that the rejection of the past would hereafter come hand in hand with the elimination of nation-states as governing entities.¹⁷⁸

The editorial that Serafín Delmar, Magda Portal, Gamaliel Churata, Alejandro Peralta, and Julián Petróvick wrote for the November 1926 issue made this contention particularly explicit. As *Rascacielos* metaphorically directed a message of love and “fraternidad” to all spiritual shores of Latin America, it called for the implosion of world divisions. Men, free at long last, unfettered by the demise of borders, would congregate in spiritual unity and set about to think for themselves. “*Nosotros no debemos nada al pasado,*” the authors spelled out, “– primer credo de fé para los hombres libres: derribar las fronteras.”¹⁷⁹ This editorial suggested that shattering borders went along with dismissing past identities. Accordingly this premise was the first, requisite step toward “los nuevos

¹⁷⁸ *Trampolín: revista supra-cosmopolita*, Suramérica, Octubre 1926, Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 5, Folder 5. 3.

¹⁷⁹ “Bandera,” *Rascacielos: ex hangar – revista de arte internacional*, No. 3, Lima, Noviembre 1926, Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 5, Folder 5.3.

caminos abiertos a los hombres para la fraternidad universal.”¹⁸⁰ National spaces were unfit entities to determine associations.

Here, there is a crucial difference. I want to make a clear distinction between the promotion of dialogues between Peru and the rest of the continent on the one hand, and the call for the demise of all borders on the other. The call for internationalism and the rejection of nationalism was not only clearly expressed in the series of pamphlets that began with *Trampolín* in October 1926, but this form of internationalism was also no longer based exclusively on cooperation and exchange between countries of Latin America, like it was in *Flechas* two years earlier. In fact, this series of pamphlets called from the get-go for a rejection of all borders and embraced for the continent propositions close to dreams of universal brotherhood. The desire to construct an original project that would match the ideals of the artistic vanguard of the Americas was clearly expressed. It was not only about a rejection of the past or about allusions to existing projects of continental unity: Peru became irrelevant. From now on, the regeneration of that country would pass through its eradication as entity.

What had happened in the two years between *Flechas* and *Trampolín-Hangar-Rascacielos-Timonel* to enable new political knowledge to form? Undoubtedly, aesthetic influences worldwide contributed to ascribe new meaning and creativity to these artistic endeavors. Kathleen Weaver has remarked how Chilean poet Vicente Huidobro’s embrace of the avant-garde artistic movement in Paris, where he collaborated with French poets Guillaume Apollinaire and Pierre Reverdy as well as with the Dadaist movement, exerted a conspicuous influence on the vanguard movement in Latin American poetry.¹⁸¹ A form of international Dada-surrealist style circulated in Latin America along with the return of expatriate artists such as Huidobro and, as a result, Weaver argues, referring to the

¹⁸⁰ “Bandera,” *Rascacielos: ex hangar – revista de arte internacional*, No. 3, Lima, Noviembre 1926; Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 5, Folder 5.3.

¹⁸¹ Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel...*

poets responsible for *Trampolín-Hangar-Rascacielos-Timonel*, set free “the rebellious internationalist spirit of their small group.”¹⁸²

Nevertheless, the fact that notions of cosmopolitanism and internationalism appeared in publications in which Magda Portal actively collaborated right as she and Serafín Delmar returned to Peru after close to a year of social activism in Bolivia also helps explain how and why new forms of hemispheric consciousnesses came to life. In effect, the biographies that literary scholars Wallace Fuentes, Kathleen Weaver, and Daniel R. Reedy respectively wrote on Portal persuasively point to Bolivia as the crucible of her political radicalization. There, Portal actively participated in the revolutionary struggles that Bolivian reform students and workers fronted in La Paz, much like their Peruvian peers had in Lima a couple years earlier. She joined street demonstrations, ushered radical propaganda, and helped publish the provocative student newspaper *Bandera Roja*. And although she suffered governmental repression under the regime of Hernando Siles (1926-1930), Weaver argues that Portal and Delmar were for the most part “left to their own devices, free to study, write, and participate in the agitations of the revolutionary student movement in La Paz.”¹⁸³

The effervescent political scene that Portal found in Bolivia, then, started nudging her toward a new type of revolutionary consciousness. The social themes that traverse the collection of short stories that Magda Portal and Serafín Delmar co-authored and published in Bolivia, “El Derecho de Matar,” bear witness to that reality.¹⁸⁴ Wallace Fuentes argues that the release of this collection of poems, in which international revolutionary symbols such as Lenin and Karl Marx figured prominently, “testifies to how [Portal] understood at that time what being a revolutionary meant.”¹⁸⁵ In “El Derecho de Matar,” being a revolutionary was tantamount to being a socialist. Although it was not exactly clear what socialism entailed for Latin America at the time, a consensus

¹⁸² Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel...*, p. 31.

¹⁸³ *Idem*, p. 30. Yunque, “Datos Biográficos...”

¹⁸⁴ Wallace Fuentes, “Becoming Magda Portal...,” pp. 269-306. Reedy, *La pasionaria peruana...*, pp.100-105.

¹⁸⁵ Wallace Fuentes, “Becoming Magda Portal...,” p. 304.

about how and where social struggles had to take place was rising among Latin American socialists; socialism advocated international solidarity between the oppressed classes of the world, thereby suggesting that social struggles neither squared nor stopped with national boundaries. In Bolivia, Portal began to embrace a revolutionary consciousness in which the nation-state was deemed an arena of social struggles too restrictive to ever change anything.

Yet I contend that new forms of activism abroad and foreign intellectual influences cannot in and of themselves fully explain what exactly triggered, or more accurately what made possible, the social and political awakening of Magda Portal in Bolivia. Here, it is important to explore in greater depth what the lived experience of exile meant for Portal at a personal, intimate level. One caveat to keep in mind as I complete the demonstration of my argument: I do not have access to primary sources that can give a detailed account of the coming of age of Magda Portal as political activist and APRA militant, as this chapter does for Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre and Blanca Luz Brum, but thankfully a rich and very insightful secondary literature on the subject beneficially assists my reflection. Thanks to the work of Yvonne Wallace Fuentes and Daniel R. Reedy, who in addition to Katherine Weaver have produced serious and compelling studies on Magda Portal, I am able to advance that this future APRA leader underwent a series of experiences abroad that not only honed her American consciousness in new ways, but that also gave her instruments, at a personal level, to come of age as a female poet-activist.

Wallace Fuentes' dissertation argues that developing a sense of self as one of the only female APRA leaders in the 1930s was a crucial part of Magda Portal's political struggles.¹⁸⁶ The author takes us into a riveting analysis of Portal's emotional landscape as a Peruvian woman, wife, mother, and daughter. She subsequently extracts historical meaning from her by superposing the different senses of inner self she identified in Portal with episodes from her aesthetic and political activism.

¹⁸⁶ Wallace Fuentes, "Becoming Magda Portal..."

Wallace Fuentes originally alludes to Portal's subversive emotional struggles, closely conditioned, her thesis demonstrates, by gendered dynamics. For this APRA leader, Wallace Fuentes argues, politics started by confronting the "emotional landscape of intimate affective relationship in a society that taught a woman to submit her desires to her husband's."¹⁸⁷ As a result, Portal's political aesthetics differed from her male comrades: "In addition to identifying with the militant political rhetoric of her *aprista* comrades, or with the avant-garde aesthetics of other bohemian poets, for Portal, glorifying 'action' also meant asserting her sense of self, a precarious demand for the only woman in these bands of brothers," writes Wallace Fuentes.¹⁸⁸

Wallace Fuentes is at her best when complementing this argument by digging into the personal motives that prompted Portal to leave Peru in the first place. Portal explained her trip as a result of deportation due to her political activities in Lima. Wallace Fuentes rejects this argument. She suggests instead "personal, not political, reasons motivated the trip."¹⁸⁹ About a year after the release of the final issue of *Flechas* the marriage of Magda Portal and Federico Bolaño fell apart. According to Wallace Fuentes, that Portal wanted to separate, despite several years of an alleged abusive relationship, did not bode well for a female artist who evolved in the conservative milieu of Lima. More dramatically, Portal left her husband for his younger brother, *Flechas*' secretary, Serafín Delmar, causing much dismay among the social circles that they navigated in Lima. This scandal helps explain why Portal and Delmar chose to escape to Bolivia, conceivably hoping to hide from view and let the storm pass. Before a space propitious to political formation, Portal and Delmar encountered in Bolivia a space where their love was able to bloom without restraint, without the fear

¹⁸⁷ Wallace Fuentes, "Becoming Magda Portal..." p. 358.

¹⁸⁸ *Idem*, p. 360.

¹⁸⁹ *Idem*, p. 268.

of a violent husband and a controlling older brother, without social stigma.¹⁹⁰ For Portal, then, Bolivia meant something else than just a space of political radicalization.

Wallace Fuentes and Reedy have sensibly fleshed out how the Bolivian exile brought about a space of emancipation for this future APRA leader. Reedy argues that Portal came of age as a woman in Bolivia. Wallace Fuentes's conclusions concur with his view. These conclusions hint at the way in which the radicalization of political consciousness came at the confluence of experiences of social awakening on one side and ones of personal emancipation on the other. The observations that Wallace Fuentes makes on the place that violence occupied in Portal's political imaginary bring home this point with particular clairvoyance. She reports on Portal's confession of her willingness to use violence against Bolaño if he were to attempt to kidnap their daughter, Gloria: "[t]here was a moment when he robbed my daughter and I then had to go with a revolver to reclaim her. I was willing to kill if they did not give her to me."¹⁹¹ In her interpretation of this source, Wallace Fuentes argues that this citation "suggests that [Portal] had found a will to violence, one she felt she needed as her marriage fell apart."¹⁹² What she then infers suggests a continuum of experiences first lived in the homeland and hauled into exile. "By publicly claiming the right to kill to achieve revolutionary political ends," Wallace Fuentes thoughtfully argues, "Portal was staking a similar ground in politics that she had just claimed in her personal life."¹⁹³ This interpretation also suggests that a dialogue, whether conscious or not, unraveled between the memory of experiences back home and how they found ground to bloom in exile.

¹⁹⁰ Wallace Fuentes, "Becoming Magda Portal...", pp. 269-306.

¹⁹¹ Magda Portal as cited in Wallace Fuentes, "Becoming Magda Portal...", p. 288.

¹⁹² *Idem*, p. 288.

¹⁹³ *Idem*, p. 289.

Conclusion

Chapter two has demonstrated that personal experiences of self-transformation lived in exile were necessary for young and future Apristas to break away from their past and to enable them to envision the future of the Americas in new ways. To conceive differently of collective identities, APRA members had to realign, first, how they approached and conceived of their own individual identity. APRA members, or soon to be APRA members, had to come of age individually before they could socially and politically come of age as a group.

In the case of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, his coming of age in exile as an independent individual and pragmatic politician enabled him to fully engage the formation of APRA and of its anti-imperialist project starting in 1926. He felt that exile was transforming him into a man of action, one able to pull the strings of his destiny. Although it would not be until 1928, after his tour of Central America, that Haya de la Torre began to think seriously of Indo-America, it is clear that the experience of personal struggles in exile enabled him to create original political knowledge about the Americas.¹⁹⁴

For female poets Blanca Luz Brum and Magda Portal, I have shown that it was necessary for them to first assert a sense of inner self in order to come of age politically and contribute to producing new political knowledge on Latin American solidarity. In 1926-1927, Brum's new Peruvian acquaintances encouraged her to put her art to the service of social and political causes. Mixing with the grupo *Amauta* in Peru nudged her toward aprismo by means of personal and emotional connections as much as political conviction. Brum had to live the experience of Latin American solidarity, in other words that she had to feel that she was part of a group in Peru, notwithstanding her Uruguayan origins, to be able to envision and intellectualize the possibility of a

¹⁹⁴ Haya de la Torre, "Carta al presidente de Panamá," (1928) in *¿A dónde va Indoamérica?*, p. 69.

single continental identity and subsequently advocate in her work the necessity of Latin American unity.

Likewise, Portal's time in Bolivia in 1926 helped her to find personal emancipation and affirm a sense of inner-self as a female poet-activist through love and political militancy. I argued that this intimate experience empowered her to think of the Americas in new ways. By comparing the contents of cultural magazines *Flechas* and *Trampolín-Hangar-Rascacielos-Timonel*, in which Portal actively collaborated, together with the use of secondary literature that hints at the movement of Portal through space, I was able to trace intellectual change in relation to the time she spent outside Peru. I showed that while past intellectual traditions bred her initial reflections on the Americas in 1924, the lived experience of travels and exile brought in their wake a series of hardships and self-transformations in the course of 1925 that changed her perspectives on the value of nation-states as category of analysis and enabled her to imagine the Indo-American project shortly thereafter.

Though official histories of the APRA party have traditionally located the inauguration of APRA in Mexico City, in May 1924, recent studies have rightly cast doubts over the actual beginnings of this organization. In fact, when the APRA was officially founded remains unclear.¹⁹⁵ What is certain, however, is that APRA was neither fully formed as political organization nor keenly defined as anti-imperialist movement as of 1924. On the contrary, Haya de la Torre's correspondence and US diplomatic reports demonstrate that the foundation of APRA was a long, sustained process, unsteadily orchestrated from different geographies where Peruvian and other

¹⁹⁵ Scholar argue that the Comité Aprista de México was established somewhere between 1924 and 1928. In his reevaluation of the first Aprista exile in Mexico (1923-1924), Ricardo Melgar Bao perceptively argues that the foundation of the APRA in Mexico on May 7, 1924 came to life as part of a mythology, which had become necessary by 1927, to help dissociate the APRA from other anti-imperialist Latin American forces. Melgar Bao, "Redes del exilio aprista en México..." Also consult: Martín Bergel, "La desmura revolucionaria..." and Arturo Taracena Arriola, "La Asociación General de Estudiantes Latinoamericanos de París, 1925-1933," *Anuarios de Estudios Centroamericanos*, 15: 2 (1989): 61-80.

Latin American student exiles found refuge.¹⁹⁶ While this chapter demonstrated that the story of how the APRA and Indo-America came to life begins with stories of internal struggles lived at the personal level in exile, the next chapter turns to the difficult political organization of APRA when its ideological tenets had yet to be clearly defined.

¹⁹⁶ The following collections contain documents that hint at the decentralized formation of APRA (even though they continue to largely focus on Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre): Box 7301, RG59, Department of State Decimal File, 1910-1929, US National Archives; Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

Chapter 3: Conflict

Nothing had happened between Elsa and Alfredo. This Manolo knew. But her feelings were real, unsettling, and Manolo wanted to solve this affair once and for all.

“Hoy el asunto es más grave de lo que te imaginas,” Manolo told Alfredo, “porque mi mujer me ha declarado terminantemente que ya no me quiere y que está enamorada de ti. Te he llamado porque quiero saber lo que tu piensas al respecto y ante esta situación.”

Alfredo took his time to reply. “Me parece,” he said after a pause, “que es ella quién debe resolver esta situación ya que su felicidad y su tranquilidad futura están de por medio.”

Manolo acquiesced to this reasoning. He needed time, though, a bit of time. Perhaps keeping the lovers apart for a while would spontaneously solve the problem? Manolo had a plan: “Te pido que te vayas a Valparaíso,” he told Alfredo. “Y por eso también es que voy a mandar a mi mujer a Buenos Aires.”

“Mira Manolo,” Alfredo began. His pride had been hurt. “Tu actitud no solo ha herido mi sentido ético de la vida, sino que aun mi sentido estético. No comprendo como puedes haber pensado por un instante que yo trataba de conquistar a tu mujer y en la forma que lo has creído.”¹

¹ Letter of Alfredo Saco Miró Quesada to Luis Eduardo Enríquez, Valparaíso, Chile, Junio 12 de 1933, Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera, México, “APRA,” 1930-1939, Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia (hereafter referred to as ENAH). All citations in this re-constructed dialogue come from Alfredo Saco Miró Quesada’s letter where he narrates his version of the story. Alfredo reported on conversations he allegedly had with Manolo.

Yet when Elsa confessed having romantic feelings for Alfredo earlier that year, Alfredo admitted to loving her in return. “Muchas veces he sentido que el destino me atraía hacia usted, nos atraíamos al otro con toda la fatalidad de la vida,” he once told her.² The case was complex, mainly because of the context of their passion. Theirs was a patient, quotidian love. It had grown to the rhythm of everyday political activism in Chile.

Like many other friends and party members, Manolo, Elsa, and Alfredo had probably left Peru the year before, after a new wave of state persecution convulsed the country in the Peruvian winter of 1932. The APRA party, to which they belonged, was hit particularly hard during the second presidency of Luis Miguel Sánchez Cerro (1931-1933). During most of his term in office, APRA militants were either imprisoned in Peru or deported abroad. In the early 1930s, just like they had during the previous decade, Aprista exiles engaged in militant activities. They traveled to organize and expand their political movement in and outside Peru. They also learned how to live with each other within tight-knit communities, restricted in both size and access to resources.

Manolo was a jealous man, but he wanted his wife to be happy. He agreed to discuss openly and at length with Alfredo, evaluating the options available to all, though there were hardly any that made sense. Life in exile was constraining. It did not offer much flexibility to reinvent oneself. Work opportunities were limited, lodging options sparse and generally tied to the community of peer activists. Manolo and Elsa also had a daughter together. Where would she live? With whom would she stay? In this type of love triangle the stakes of rupture were particularly high: breaking away from an exile community entailed more than simply putting an end to political activism. It also

² Letter of Alfredo Saco Miró Quesada to Elsa, Valparaíso, Chile, Junio 6 de 1933, Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera, ENAH.

meant cutting the apron string with the primary community of assistance and support available outside Peru. Still, Manolo was ready to back off. If Elsa filed for divorce, he would give her one.³

But this was without taking into account the group dynamics particular to his community of interest. In effect, strict party discipline limited individual choice. Once enrolled in the APRA party, one was not free to act or do as one pleased. When Luis Eduardo Enríquez, the head of the community of APRA exiles in Chile, became aware of the situation and meddled in the threesome at the beginning of June 1933, he reminded the parties involved of this small yet crucial detail.⁴ What had begun as a banal love triangle was now morphing with impressive speed into heady party politics.

Luis Eduardo was furious. Fretting about the good reputation of the party, and about the section he oversaw in Chile in particular, he sternly rebuked Alfredo for his lack of forethought. In terms of political implications, he asked Alfredo, “te imaginas, te has puesto a meditar en sus consecuencias?”⁵ Because a love triangle comprising of two prominent APRA militants and a married woman risked devolving into a full-blown political scandal at any given moment, Alfredo received the order to leave Santiago de Chile at once for Valparaíso, a coastal city west of the Chilean capital. This intervention was less to mollify the hurt pride of a defeated husband than to protect the image of the APRA party. Time and distance, Luis Eduardo hoped, might assuage passions and naturally ease tensions.⁶

A double exile – from the homeland, and then from the community of APRA exiles in Santiago de Chile – was a hard blow to suffer. Unsurprisingly, the series of letters that Alfredo

³ Letter of Alfredo Saco Miró Quesada to Elsa, Valparaíso, Chile, Junio 6 de 1933; Letter of Alfredo Saco Miró Quesada to Luis Eduardo Enríquez, Valparaíso, Chile, Junio 12 de 1933, Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera, ENAH.

⁴ Letter of Luis Eduardo Enríquez to Alfredo Saco Miró Quesada, Santiago, Chile, Junio 11 de 1933; Letter of Alfredo Saco Miró Quesada to Luis Eduardo Enríquez, Valparaíso, Chile, Junio 12 de 1933, Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera, ENAH.

⁵ Letter of Luis Eduardo Enríquez to Alfredo Saco Miró Quesada, Santiago, Chile, Junio 11 de 1933, Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera, ENAH.

⁶ *Idem.*

forwarded to the Chilean capital between 6 June and 12 June 1933 displays a sense of despair and isolation. Alfredo felt estranged from his community of peer colleagues who lived in Chile. There was nothing to do in Valparaíso, no one to join in militancy, and, to make things worse, his broken heart continued to bleed the loss of his beloved Elsa. Alfredo attempted to defend himself, arguing that although he was madly in love with a married woman, he had never acted on his feelings, nor had he ever betrayed or lied to Manolo. “Yo no soy un hombre desleal,” he stated. “Si lo fuera me habría aprovechado de la ocasión y hubiera bastardeado el afecto de Elsa por mi. Mejor dicho me hubiera aprovechado de él.”⁷ He had done nothing wrong, really, except fall in love with the wrong woman.

The mythology particular to the APRA party, especially the one fastened to its years in exile, has successfully silenced stories that risked harming the party’s reputation in the public eye. Tales of betrayals or love affairs, and in truth any all-too-human-behaviors that necessarily come with the quotidian side of community life and political work, have been erased from the collective memory of APRA. If now and then wrangles between Aprista militants in contemporary Peru conjure up shadows of past dynamics, it is in passing only. For the most part, these tales continue to lie dormant in uncharted material or censored rumors about life in exile.

Yet the predicament that rattled the community of Aprista exiles in Chile in June 1933 was anything but exceptional. One of the reasons why official histories of APRA suggest otherwise stems from a belief that conflict never lasted, or even truly existed for that matter, in this political group. The story goes two ways. Either Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre exerted such an exemplary discipline among party members that only harmony prevailed between them. Or conspicuous ruptures punctually cleansed APRA of dissident elements, each time adding to the sway of the party

⁷ Letter of Alfredo Saco Miró Quesada to Luis Eduardo Enríquez, Valparaíso, Chile, Junio 9 de 1933, *Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera*.

leadership as well as the internal cohesion of its membership. In the first version, the possibility of conflict is dismissed by negation: the myth of a united APRA refuses any likelihood of disagreement or quarrel in the history of the party. The second version, in contrast, eschews the possibility of conflict by inflation: occasional political ruptures realigned APRA in clearly defined and easily recognizable factions that henceforth jostled with one another – the legitimate APRA on one side, the dissident “others” on the other. Lingering conflict, in other words, did not exist within the organization. Only its final expression did.⁸

Chapter three argues against this version of events. It apprehends in new ways the notion of conflict in APRA, mainly by demystifying and countering the rigidity with which most studies have so far approached group dynamics within the Aprista community. To do so, I develop my argument with one central interrogation in mind: Could it be that we have been wrong in our presumptions that Apristas and Communists openly clashed after the personal rift that pitted Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre against José Carlos Mariátegui in the late 1920s? The answer to this question is: yes.

The scholarship on APRA has granted special attention to the strife in 1928 that opposed Haya de la Torre to Mariátegui, the two major political figures of the Peruvian vanguard. Common interpretations of the ideological clash that surged between them suggest that their rivalry contributed to shaping leftist Peruvian politics from this period onward. The debates that they triggered regarding the accurate reading of social realities in Peru have certainly affected the respective development of Communism and anti-imperialist nationalism in Peru. They also had an impact on the appearance of competing notions of Indo-America well into the second half of the

⁸ APRA enemies and defectors alike published copious critiques, from both left and right ends of the political spectrum, to render public what they deemed deceitful maneuvers amid APRA. These often included open and abrupt rupture from APRA. See Mariano Valderrama, “La evolución ideológica del APRA, 1924-1962,” in *El APRA: Un camino de esperanzas y frustraciones*, ed. Mariano Valderrama *et al.*, Lima : Ediciones El Gallo Rojo, 1980; Hernando Aguirre Gamio, *Liquidación histórica del APRA y del Colonialismo Neoliberal*, Lima : Ediciones Debate, 1962; Alberto Hernández Urbina, *Los partidos y la crisis del Apra*, Lima : Ediciones Raíz, 1956 ; Magda Portal, *La Trampa*, Lima : Ediciones Raíz, 1956 ; Portal, *¿Quiénes traicionaron al pueblo?*, Lima, 1950 ; Alberto Hidalgo, *Por qué renuncié al Apra*, Buenos Aires : Imprenta Leomir, 1954; Luis Eduardo Enriquez Cabrera, *Haya de la Torre, la estafa política más grande de América*, Lima : Ediciones del Pacifico, 1951.

twentieth century. However, even as political wrangles ultimately festered to a point of irrevocable split between Apristas and Communists in Peru, as the scholarship suggests, it took a lot more than the span of one year to reach this final denouement.

In effect, reality gave way to a lot more grey zones and flexibility in assessing disputes and defining how ideological debates worked or what constituted proper political allegiances in the movement. This chapter begins to show that what happened to APRA between 1926 and 1933 ended up being a protracted conflict, not an instantaneous rupture, where factions jockeyed for jurisdiction over what APRA meant and entailed as political organization (chapters 4 and 5 will complement this argument). More specifically, by revising common understanding of the role and nature of ideological and personal conflicts in APRA in the late 1920s, I demonstrate in chapter three that, contrary to what the scholarship implies, what APRA was and stood for at the time was not set in stone yet. Shedding new light on the quarrel that opposed Haya de la Torre and Mariátegui in the late 1920s enables me to challenge common treatments of how conflict worked in APRA. Only by doing this, I contend, can we begin to understand the importance that Indo-America came to have for the Hayista faction in later years.

To some extent what I'm arguing against here is more important than what I'm arguing for. One major contribution of this chapter, in effect, is to invite experts to look into APRA's group dynamics with different analytical premises in mind. A methodological and intellectual adjustment in the face of a deep-rooted mythology is necessary to follow my argument in the next chapters and in turn understand better the process of formation and evolution of Indo-America during the 1930s. In similar fashion, I aim to guide neophyte readers toward a supple introduction to APRA, one that leaves room for doubt and hesitation regarding the exact nature of this political organization prior to the mid-1930s.

This chapter has three sections. The first surveys the political organization of APRA starting in 1926. It highlights the types of organizational problems that stemmed from being sprawled across different countries. The second section turns to the conflict that opposed in 1928 the “grupo de México,” led by Haya de la Torre, to the Peruvian vanguard back home, under the aegis of Mariátegui. In it, I develop the notion of “unity in conflict;” most Apristas, whether at home or abroad, continued to privilege collaboration over rupture, despite disagreements between the movement’s leaders. The third section looks at how external allies viewed and addressed the ideological conflict that rattled the Peruvian vanguard in the late 1920s. More important than corresponding ideological tenets was the ability to think of, and craft, the Americas in new ways. In other words, the pursuit of hemispheric unity in the Americas made alliances possible even in the midst of political and doctrinal disagreements.

Political Organization

The outbreak of the student reform movement in 1918 gave the original impetus for starting a reflection about the future of Latin American nations. Eight years and a hefty pile of dissenting discourses and declarations later, however, this movement of opposition seemed to have run out of steam. Graduating cohorts began to express concern for the future of what had once been the harbinger of revolutionary change across the Americas. In the face of discouragement and growing indifference, many feared that the *Reforma Universitaria* was about to recede as a revolutionary force without having achieved the challenge of spiritual emancipation it had initially taken up. “What had truly changed around them,” critics started asking?⁹ No doubt they reckoned inspiring and

⁹ Carlos Sánchez Viamonte, “La Cultura Frente a la Universidad,” *Amauta*, 1:1, Setiembre, 1926, p. 7; “La Universidad y la Vocación Política del Siglo,” *Amauta*, 1:3, Noviembre de 1926, p. 37; Enrique Barros in “El X Aniversario de la Reforma Universitaria,” *Indoamérica: Órgano de la Sección Mexicana del A.P.R.A.*, 1: 2, México, D.F., Agosto de 1928, p. 5, Hoover Institution: On War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford California, Hoover Library, Serial: Mexico.

indisputably unique the work that the new generation of student activists had heretofore accomplished for Latin American peoples. The reform student movement had, after all, successfully triggered a sense of unity between “los hombres de la América nueva.”¹⁰ Furthermore, protests against national “tyrants” and US imperialism had augmented and gained in strength.¹¹ But then came 1926 and, after years hemming and hawing their way one rejection of the past at a time, Reform-minded students still had little to offer in terms of programs of positive action.¹²

To be sure, the fragmentary nature of the *Reformista* project had beneficially assisted its initial creative drive, especially so the discursive demise of the old order. Slogans and manifestos, by nature incisive and freewheeling, slashed the past better than any political platform could ever do. Thumbing through discourses and declarations that Latin American student federations produced between 1918 and 1930 makes plain the significance that negation as methodology occupied in their revolutionary venture. Terms that recalled or alluded to rupture, destruction, and rejection peppered the discourse of *Reformistas*.¹³ Further, the lack of comprehensive programs, just as the collective performances particular to regional congresses and departmental meetings, provided both the flexibility and the excitement that reform students needed to explore and debate with one another, thereby bolstering the momentum of their creative endeavor.

¹⁰ Sánchez Viamonte, “La Cultura Frente...”, p. 7.

¹¹ *Idem*, p. 7.

¹² The defense that Argentine intellectual Gabriel del Mazo mounted in 1958 against mainstream indictments of the revolutionary movement he headed forty years earlier encapsulates the ambivalence of the *Reforma*'s achievements. “Los resultados de estos conflictos y el nuevo planteamiento de la Universidad son discutibles,” del Mazo conceded, but there was something nobody could deny: “lo que quedaba atrás era peor.” Reform-minded students across Latin America had made of spiritual emancipation as a people the primary condition for freedom. As such, the end of “mental colonialism” demanded to slash the past as a mean to first cleanse present times and prepare the ground for the arrival of better days ahead. What started as a protest against a system that kept universities disconnected from students' concerns and aspirations, then, turned into a fierce battle against anything that dealt with the old order. Del Mazo argues that the rupture from past systems of domination is an upshot that is worth reckoning. Gabriel del Mazo, “Hace Cuarenta Años,” in *La Reforma Universitaria, Tomo 1: El Movimiento Argentino*, Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, [1967?], p. xiii. Scholars have also questioned the capacity of the Latin American student reform movement to bring forth true revolutionary change. See Dardo Cúneo, *La Reforma Universitaria*, Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1988 (1st. ed. 1978). Enrique Bernales, *Movimientos sociales y movimientos universitarios en el Perú*, Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1974.

¹³ Cúneo, *La Reforma Universitaria...*, Gabriel del Mazo ed., *La Reforma Universitaria*, 3 Vol., Lima: Universidad Nacional de San Marcos, [3ed., 1967-1968].

But this strategy was not sustainable in the long run. As Argentine Carlos Sánchez Viamonte highlighted in the first issue of *Amauta* in the Peruvian spring of 1926, too much negation had ultimately foiled the regeneration task at hand.¹⁴ The core of the complaint that Sánchez Viamonte authored regarding the Latin American student reform movement's failure to determine programs of positive action reflects the stalemate that many Latin American students, artists, and leftist intellectuals felt confronted to in the second half of the 1920s.¹⁵ Slogans like “Joven: no importa que te llamen cisolvente [sic]: que el destruye crea,” which only yesterday galvanized crowds into dissenting action, did not fare so well anymore.¹⁶

“Los adolescentes de ayer son hombres hoy y sin embargo, los programas de entonces siguen siendo, todavía, vagas perspectivas filosóficas, políticas, sociales o literarias,” wrote Sánchez Viamonte. He suggested that the perfunctory nature of student protests blunted the value of proposals that had so far remained indeterminate and largely unheeded.¹⁷ The fight against oligarchies and the Catholic Church would certainly help attain the freedom of speech which Reform-minded students so fervently coveted, but to say what exactly, this article seemed to be asking? Going after dictatorship and imperialism was not sufficient in and of itself to articulate comprehensive and sustainable plans of action. Rather, Sánchez Viamonte stressed that it was mandatory from now on to orient “nuestro esfuerzo hacia algo, en favor de algo.”¹⁸

The publication in December 1926 of the article “What is the APRA?” in the *Labour Monthly*, less than three months after Sánchez Viamonte's appeal, proved that the APRA was ready to take up

¹⁴ Sánchez Viamonte started making propaganda for the Latin American Union (ULA) shortly thereafter. US agents report on his activities in Paraguay in 1927-1928 on behalf of the ULA. Consult documents in Folder 5, Box 7301, RG59, Department of State Decimal File, 1910-1929, US National Archives.

¹⁵ Carlos Sánchez Viamonte, “La Cultura Frente a la Universidad,” *Amauta*, 1:1, Setiembre de 1926, p. 7.

¹⁶ “Página del Plata,” *Claridad: Órgano de la Juventud libre del Perú*, Año 1, Num. 1, Mayo 1923, pp. 11-12.

¹⁷ Sánchez Viamonte, “La Cultura Frente...”, p. 7.

¹⁸ *Idem*, p. 7.

this challenge.¹⁹ This new anti-imperialist organization endeavored to prescribe a program of positive action for all Latin Americans. To this end, a handful of Peruvian exiles gathered in Paris in the early fall of 1926 and designed a five-point platform of international action, which placed resistance against US imperialism at the forefront of its priorities.²⁰ From this principal position a series of four other points ensued, including (2) the political unity of Latin America and (3) the nationalization of land and industry in the region. The APRA also requested (4) the internationalization of the Panama Canal, which at the time was controlled by US authorities, and (5) proclaimed its solidarity with the oppressed people of the world.²¹

This article further advanced that APRA operated on two fronts. One front was external; it aimed to resist and combat the progress of US imperialism in Latin America. The other front was directed inward; it censured any Latin American government that bowed to imperialist interests. Haya de la Torre summarized the dual landscape of the APRA in the following terms: “The A.P.R.A. represents, therefore, a political organization struggling against Imperialism and against the national governing classes which are its auxiliaries and its allies in Latin America.”²²

The APRA was not the only political movement in Latin America to put the issue of imperialist oppression at the center stage of its agenda. A number of anti-imperialist leagues had seen the light in the region prior to the release of “What is the A.P.R.A.?” These included, among the most influential, the Anti-Imperialist League of the Americas (LADLA), established in Mexico City by Latin American communists in 1924, and the Latin American Union (ULA), headed since

¹⁹ This article is remembered as one of APRA’s foundational publications. Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, “What is the A.P.R.A.?”, *The Labour Monthly*, December 1926, pp. 756-757.

²⁰ The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folders 1.7 and 1.8, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

²¹ The five general points that formed the program of international action of APRA are: “1) Action of the countries of Latin America against Yankee Imperialism. 2) The political unity of Latin America. 3) The nationalization of land and industry. 4) The internationalization of the Panama Canal. 5) The solidarity of all the oppressed people and classes of the world.” Haya de la Torre, “What is the A.P.R.A.?” pp. 756, 759.

²² *Idem*, p. 756.

1925 by Argentine intellectuals José Ingenieros and Alfredo Palacio.²³ Haya de la Torre and other Peruvian exiles had closely collaborated with these organizations in the past, but since, according to the founders of APRA, neither of them offered a serious program of revolutionary and political action, they felt justified to form yet another anti-imperialist organization. APRA would not only seek to resist US imperialism, claimed its founders, it would also give to Latin Americans the means to actively combat it.²⁴

Aprista cells began to appear in a number of Latin American and European cities shortly thereafter. The first Aprista committees were concurrently established in Paris, Buenos Aires, and Mexico City between 1926 and 1928.²⁵ On paper, these APRA cells gave the impression that they were professional and sizable political organizations. The articles that they authored in Aprista journals founded in exile, such as *Indoamérica* in Mexico and *Atuei* in Cuba, or in foreign publications amiable to APRA, such as the cultural magazine *Repertorio Americano* in Costa Rica, contributed to this impression. In reality, though, these committees comprised a handful of actors only.²⁶ Historian García Iñigo-Bryce has recorded this fact in a vivid and very telling image: “Anecdotally,” he writes,

²³ Martín Bergel, “Con el ojo izquierdo, mirando a Bolivia, de Manuel Seoane. Viaje y deriva latinoamericana en la génesis del antiimperialismo aprista,” manuscript, 2009, p. 1. Alexandra Pita González, *La Unión Latino Americana y el Boletín Renovación: Redes intelectuales y revistas culturales en la década de 1920*, México, DF: Colegio de México; Colima: Universidad de Colima, 2009. Kersffeld, *La recepción del marxismo en América Latina...* Melgar Bao, “The Anti-Imperialist League of the Americas between the East and Latin America,” *Latin American Perspectives* 159 (2008): 9-24.

²⁴ Haya de la Torre, “What is the A.P.R.A.?” p. 757.

²⁵ Martín Bergel, “La desmura revolucionaria. Practicas intelectuales y cultura del heroísmo en los orígenes del aprismo peruano (1923-1931)”. *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, Coloquios, 2007. Arturo Taracena Arriola, “La Asociación General de Estudiantes Latinoamericanos de París, 1925-1933,” *Anuarios de Estudios Centroamericanos* 15: 2 (1989): 61-80. When the APRA was officially founded remains unclear. Scholars attempt to pinpoint which committee first saw the light. I contend that to answer this question with precision is neither possible nor intellectually crucial to begin with.

²⁶ Julio Antonio Mella, an infamous critic of APRA, censured its leaders in 1928 for deliberately exaggerating the importance of their organization: “Los maestros en el arte del ‘camouflage’ son los ‘arpistas’. Pero no solamente engañan al enemigo, sino a ellos mismos. No llegan (cálculo exacto y desapasionado) a tres docenas de personas, en su casi totalidad estudiantes y poetas. Pero son capaces de afirmar en las entrevistas con los ministros de Gobierno que ‘tienen 20,000 afiliados’. En la prensa se autosugestionan y hablan, con una seriedad que causa espanto por lo cínica, de células, centrales y Comités en este o aquel país.” Julio Antonio Mella, *¿Qué es el ARPA?* Miraflores: Editorial Educación, 1975 (1st ed. 1928), p. 17.

“Luis Alberto Sánchez recalled that the members of the Paris cell could all fit on one sofa.”²⁷ This was true of all Aprista committees at the time.

Involved in the organization of the APRA cell in Paris starting in 1926 were: Eudocio Ravines, Felipe Cossío del Polmar, César Vallejo, José Félix Cárdenas Castro, and Luis Heysen (Heysen arrived to Paris in 1928 after spending time in exile in Argentina first). Those who participated in the creation and advancement of APRA in Buenos Aires in the late 1920s were: Manuel Seoane, Luis Heysen, Fernán Cisneros, Oscar Herrera, Blanca Luz Brum, César Alfredo Miró Quesada, Enrique Köster Cornejo, and Juan de Dios Merel.²⁸ Active in the Aprista committee of Mexico City in 1927-1928 were: Carlos Manuel Cox, Manuel Vásquez Díaz, Esteban Pavletich, Serafín Delmar, Nicolás Terreros, Jacobo Hurwitz, and Magda Portal.²⁹ By the end of the decade, Aprista committees had appeared in a number of other cities as well, including Santiago de Chile (Chile), La Paz (Bolivia), San José (Costa Rica), Santa Ana (El Salvador), and New York City (United States).³⁰

During its first years of existence, the APRA was a fairly decentralized political movement. It comprised a transnational network of far-flung and relatively indeterminate sections, making it difficult to establish who exactly was in charge of the movement. Historians of APRA have so far

²⁷ Iñigo-Bryce further argues, rightly so, that the publication networks that these APRA exiles used to disseminate their political propaganda magnified in print the significance that they had on the ground. García Iñigo-Bryce, “Transnational Activist: Magda Portal and the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), 1926-1950,” *The Americas*, Vol. 70, No. 4, April 2014), p. 686.

²⁸ Leandro Sessa, “Aprismo y apristas en Argentina: Derivas de una experiencia antiimperialista en la ‘encrucijada’ ideológica y política de los años treinta,” Tesis doctoral, Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 2013. Consult also the correspondence Manuel E. Seoane exchanged with José Carlos Mariátegui between 1927 and 1928 from Buenos Aires, Argentina. Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*

²⁹ Reedy, *Magda Portal...*, p. 138.

³⁰ The presence of APRA in these countries remains understudied, especially during the 1920s. Police forces confiscated and destroyed a lot of early material of APRA. An APRA cell existed in Santa Ana, El Salvador as of February 1929. It comprised about thirty members. A Costa Rican section of APRA was formed in December 1928. It claimed to work primarily for the fulfillment of the political and economic unity of Latin America. Report of R. M. de Lambert to Secretary of State, Legation of the United States of America, San Salvador, February 2, 1929, Folder 1, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives. APRA, “Declaration of Principles of Costa Rican Section of ‘APRA’,” *La Tribuna*, San José, December 23, 1928, pp. 6-7; Folder 1, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

argued that Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre was the leader of this political organization from its inception onward. And indeed the sub-title of the *Labour Monthly* article, which bills its author, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, the “leader of the ‘United Front’ Latin America Anti-Imperialist Party,” is misleading in this sense. It corroborates official histories of APRA and suggests that Haya de la Torre was the leader of APRA as early as December 1926. Yet this allegation does not match up to reality. In fact, the need to boost the legitimacy of Haya de la Torre before a British readership, which had probably never heard of him before, more likely explains this allegation of exclusive leadership.

In effect, Haya de la Torre was at the time far from being in control of what looked more like a promising political movement than an established anti-imperialist stronghold. He himself readily acknowledged in February 1927 the subordinate status that befell him within the APRA. Anticipating news from other Aprista exiles, Haya de la Torre lingered in Oxford as the weeks passed by. He was not able to make any plans, much less travel anywhere, until he received instructions from his peers. On 23 February 1927, Haya de la Torre explained his situation to Anna Melissa Graves in the following terms: “Sorry I can not say anything about next summer. I am waiting [sic] for the orders of my comrades. They want to [sic] me at Buenos for a month and to pay my travelling over there. I am waiting [sic] for the decision of the diferentes [sic] celules [sic] of the APRA. [...] They are who can advise or order my movements.”³¹

One year later Blanca Luz Brum, by then greatly involved in the organization of the APRA cell in Chile, reported to José Carlos Mariátegui how much she admired Humberto Mendoza, “el único macho y verdadero Revolucionario,” she wrote, “fundador del Apra, y de grandes actividades

³¹ Letter from Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, Oxford, February 23, [1927], The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.9, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

obreras.”³² My goal here is not to establish who was or was not the *real* founder of APRA (it should be clear by now that I’m arguing that there was none in particular; besides Brum probably meant that Mendoza was the founder of the APRA community in Chile), but rather to suggest that depending on their respective geographical locations and local experiences with a specific APRA community, APRA members had different understandings of who led the organization and how it worked out. Despite the fact that Blanca Luz Brum had joined APRA in Peru, as chapter two demonstrated, by February 1928 she conceived of the leadership of this movement in light of the initiatives that a certain Humberto Mendoza was spearheading in Chile.

By the late 1920s, different geographies of residence or political involvement had rendered communication and correspondence of thought and action increasingly difficult within the APRA community. The years passed in exile finished crippling the possibility of harmony in groups that were not well organized, let alone defined, to begin with. If initially these actors had worked hard to remain politically attuned to one another, the years brought along with them new aspirations and daily realities that progressively stymied the necessity to remain closely in touch with the homeland. “Hace mucho tiempo que no leo periódicos del Perú,” Haya de la Torre admitted to a friend in April 1927 (he still lived in Oxford at the time). “Casi estoy ignorante de todo lo que pasa allá. Me dicen que las gentes siguen creyendo que viven en el mejor de los mundos.”³³ Throughout the 1920s (and during most of the 1930s as well), the heirs of the historical alliance between reform-minded students at San Marcos University and the Peruvian working class operated on two fronts: abroad and at home. This situation ended up creating a wedge between factions of the Peruvian vanguard. Aprista members were about to realize that, although they claimed to belong to the same group, the ideological analyses that they proposed differed from one another.

³² Letter from Blanca Luz Brum to José Carlos Mariátegui, 1º de febrero 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, pp. 346-347.

³³ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Luis Varela y Orbegoso, Oxford, April 15, 1927, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Fondo Raúl Porras Barrenechea.

Internal Gaze on Conflict

By 1928, Aprista circles agreed that the struggle for liberation had to move onto the Peruvian scene. The urge to repatriate militant efforts had been percolating within APRA for already several months when summer came that year. APRA exiles scattered across Peru, Argentina, Bolivia, Mexico, France, and the United States opined that the untenable political situation back home demanded a transfer of the core of the battle from the international scene to the Peruvian one.³⁴ “Todo el trabajo debe concretarse al Perú,” stressed in September 1928 the APRA cell of Buenos Aires. One of its members, Juan de Dios Merel, underscored the high level of accord between APRA exiles regarding this point: “Así lo dicen los peruanos de La Paz, de París, algunos de los más destacados elementos del Sur Perú, y así por último lo ha creído la célula de Méjico al lanzar la candidatura de Haya de la Torre apoyada por el P.N.L.”³⁵

The PNL referred to the Partido Nacionalista Libertador, or Partido Nacionalista Peruano, a Peruvian political party founded by the Comité Aprista de México in January 1928. In addition to seeking to translate APRA’s revolutionary ideals to the Peruvian scene, the PNL worked to organize and concretely prepare the onset of the revolution in Peru. Historian Alberto Flores Galindo has rightfully pointed to the radical underpinning of the party’s platform.³⁶ With Haya de la Torre as its de facto presidential candidate, the PNL proposed to bring about economic independence upon taking power in Peru. It proclaimed a stout rejection of the prevailing oligarchic order and called for the end of all residual expressions of *gamonalismo* in the countryside. In line with the slogan “tierra y libertad,” the PNL announced two imminent revolutionary measures: enact major land

³⁴ The ideological clash, therefore, had less to do with whether or not to focus on Peru, something that everybody seemed to approve, than with the political means through which the Peruvian revolution would materialize.

³⁵ Juan de Dios Merel a José Carlos Mariátegui, Buenos Aires, 7 de setiembre de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 429.

³⁶ Alberto Flores Galindo y Manuel Burga, *Apogeo y crisis de la republica aristocrática*, Lima: Ediciones “Rikchay Perú,” 1979, p. 186. For more information on the PNL’s attempts to bid for presidency against Augusto Leguía in 1929 as well as on the result of this battles consult: Steve Stein, *Populism in Peru: The Emergence of the Masses and the Politics of Social Control*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1980, pp. 152-153, 259.

redistribution and overturn whatever national law which favored imperialist interests at the expense of the workers of Peru.³⁷

The creation of the PNL in Mexico at the beginning of 1928 was not incidental. It followed a string of breakthroughs for APRA outside Peru, including the release of the *Labour Monthly* article in December 1926 as well as a series of conferences and initiatives put forth in Paris in the course of 1927. One of them happened at the beginning of the year. The Aprista committee of Paris organized a solidarity protest in support of the Nicaraguan people on 13 January 1927. The event took place at the Horticultural Society of France and brought together a number of influential Latin American figures in the anti-imperialist movement. A program announced that Eudósio Rabines, the Secretary of APRA in Paris, would open the assembly. Also scheduled to take the floor that night were: Peruvian Alberto Ulloa, Professor of International Law at the San Marcos University in Lima ; Nicaraguan Adolfo Zamora, member of the Nicaraguan youth and delegate of the Mexican Student Federation ; Cuban Julio Antonio Mella, representative of the LADLA in Cuba and Mexico (he broke all ties with the APRA the following year) ; Haitian Antoine Bervin, from the anti-imperialist youth in Haiti ; Chilean Vicente Huidobro, on behalf of the new generation of intellectuals in Chile ; and finally Peruvian Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, spokesman for the Executive Committee of APRA.³⁸ According to a French police report, around two hundred and fifty Latin American students attended the event.³⁹ A few days later, on 22 January 1927, the APRA also founded a center

³⁷ "Esquema del plan de México," in Ricardo Martínez de la Torre, *Apuntes para la interpretación marxista de la historia social del Perú*, Lima: Impresa Editora Peruana, 1947-1949, pp. 290-293. Galindo y Burga, *Apogeo y crisis de la república...*, p. 186.

³⁸ "Programme," N.D. The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1.8, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. Report, 14 January 1927, Archives Nationales de Paris, Ministère de l'Intérieur, F713435 Pays Étrangers, Surveillance de leurs ressortissants résidents en France, Amérique Latine (1914-1933), Nicaragua 1927.

³⁹ "The secretary of the APRA in Paris." Report, 14 January 1927, Archives Nationales de Paris, Ministère de l'Intérieur, F713435 Pays Étrangers, Surveillance de leurs ressortissants résidents en France, Amérique Latine (1914-1933), Nicaragua 1927.

for anti-imperialist studies (the Centro de Estudios Antiimperialistas del A.P.R.A.) in the French capital. The goal was to facilitate the study of imperialism for Latin American expatriates in Paris.⁴⁰

These activities began to position APRA at the forefront of the Latin American anti-imperialist struggles, on a par with the communist LADLA and the Argentine-based ULA.⁴¹ Heartened by this series of successes, Haya de la Torre and many of his peers in exile gained self-confidence and became ever more active politically. In her unpublished memoirs, Peruvian poet and APRA leader Magda Portal recalls the eagerness with which Haya de la Torre, at the beginning of 1928, had become more intensely involved with the community of Peruvian exiles in Mexico, in an effort, she says, to form political activists devoted to the study of anti-imperialist themes and to revolutionary work. According to them, Peru was ripe for national liberation. Time had come to move along and launch the revolution.⁴²

Although ideological discrepancies between elements of the Peruvian vanguard had surged beforehand, notably with the anti-Comintern positions that Haya de la Torre adopted during the Anti-Imperialist Congress in Brussels in February 1927,⁴³ it is in actuality with the foundation of the PNL that minor hiccups in the growing APRA community turned into real problems. A crisis burst into the open between the group of México and elements of the Peruvian vanguard back home. The areas of disagreement were twofold.

First, the foundation of the PNL rested on an ideological premise that squarely contravened the political work that José Carlos Mariátegui was at the time spearheading in Peru. Its formation implied the projection of the united front strategy between all anti-imperialist forces of the continent

⁴⁰ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, "Que persigue el centro de estudios antiimperialista del A.P.R.A. en Paris," (1927), *Por la emancipación de América latina. Artículos, Mensajes, Discursos (1923-1927)*, Buenos Aires: Triunvirato, 1927, pp. 205-212.

⁴¹ Haya de la Torre, "What is the A.P.R.A.?"

⁴² Magda Portal, *Trazos Cortados* [autobiography], Draft, p. 32, n.d., Folder 2.7, Box 2, Magda Portal Papers (1922-1986), Benson Latin American Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.

⁴³ José A. Barba Caballero, *Haya de la Torre y Mariátegui frente a la historia*, Lima: Amauta, 1978, pp. 143-144; Galindo y Burga, *Apogeo y crisis de la república...*, p. 186; Mella, *¿Qué es el ARPA?*, pp. 49-53.

into a national context, taking the form of a united front between the workers and the middle-class of Peru. Influenced by the Mexican Revolution and the experience of the Kuomintang in China, Haya de la Torre posited that it was possible for Peruvians to achieve national liberation within a worldwide capitalist order. In contrast, Mariátegui argued that it was impossible to realize any type of liberation as long as capitalism reigned supreme. The notion, so central for Haya de la Torre and the “grupo de México,” that the creation of an anti-imperialist state in Peru would establish a bulwark against imperialist intrusions, facilitate national liberation, and therefore allow socialism to eventually come about afterward, was met with stern rejection by Mariátegui and the so-called “grupo de Lima”.⁴⁴ In all fairness, Mariátegui did not altogether deny the revolutionary potential that nationalism had for a semi-colonial nation like Peru, but he claimed that because fighting imperialism necessarily involved waging a total war against capitalism, it followed that the proletarian class, even if still a minority in Peru, remained the vanguard of the revolution.⁴⁵ There was no room in his reasoning for a revolutionary alliance with the middle class. Only a socialist revolution, he argued, independent of the course of so-called universal Western history, had the power to liberate the oppressed masses of Peru. Mariátegui resented that some APRA ideologues contemplated the small bourgeoisie and the middle classes of Peru as viable conduits for the revolution. According to him, the Peruvian vanguard might as well abandon all hope of social transformations, for the promise of a socialist revolution tomorrow rather than today was tantamount to embracing the expansion of imperialist interests in Latin America.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Galindo y Burga, *Apogeo y crisis de la república...*, p. 190.

⁴⁵ José Carlos Mariátegui, “Replica a Luis Alberto Sánchez,” in *Boletín de Defensa Indígena*, 1:3, in *Amauta*, 2: 3, Marzo de 1927, p. 38-39. This text was originally published in the journal *Mundial* on March 11, 1927.

⁴⁶ Carlos Franco, “Acerca del surgimiento del marxismo latinoamericano y de las perspectivas de Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre y José Carlos Mariátegui sobre el desarrollo, la nación y el socialismo en América Latina,” en *Del marxismo eurocéntrico al marxismo latinoamericano*, Lima: Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la participación, 1981, pp. 67-112; Galindo y Burga, “La polémica Haya – Mariátegui,” en *Apogeo y crisis de la república...*, pp. 185-196; Alberto Flores Galindo, “Haya, Mariátegui y el Europeísmo,” *Obras Completas V*, Lima: Casa de estudio del socialismo, 1993, pp. 127-129.

Second, elements of the Peruvian vanguard both at home and abroad disagreed on the place that APRA would occupy in the particular labor of political organization in Peru. APRA exiles in Mexico supported the transformation of APRA into a national party (hence the creation of the PNL in January 1928), whereas those in charge of the movement in Peru rebuffed this position. They advanced instead that APRA had to remain an alliance at all cost, not a party, so that it could continue to marshal anti-imperialist forces across the continent while bequeathing to a national-level socialist party the responsibility of revolutionary work in Peru. On 29 September 1928, Mariátegui summarized the crux of the problem in the following terms: “Yo he tenido con Haya primero y con el grupo de México después un largo debate, en el cual he sostenido con abundantes y claras razones que el Apra, como su mismo título lo dice, no debía ser un partido sino una alianza y he desaprobado posteriormente la propaganda con la cual se pretendía presentar la candidatura de Haya.”⁴⁷ In many ways, tactical deviations stemmed from different readings of the situation in Peru and the international scene, but they also had to do with how these actors perceived their place in the Peruvian vanguard and how they understood their role as agents of social transformation.

Interestingly, the Comintern was at the time beginning to pay heed to Latin American countries and to reflect more broadly upon the revolutionary potential of anti-colonial struggles. Because Mariátegui embraced socialism, some may feel inclined to associate his line of reasoning with that of the South American Bureau of the Comintern, established in Buenos Aires in 1926. But nothing is less certain. Flores Galindo has shown that Mariátegui had had no serious contact with the Third International prior to 1928.⁴⁸ More recently, historian Marc Becker expanded this line of

⁴⁷ José Carlos Mariátegui a Carlos Arbulú Miranda, Lima, 20 de setiembre de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 444.

⁴⁸ Alberto Flores Galindo, *La agonía de Mariátegui. La polémica con la Komintern*, Lima: Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo, 1980.

inquiry.⁴⁹ He shows that Mariátegui never cowed before the instructions that came from the Comintern. For example, he opposed the creation of an Indian Republic in South America, as proposed by the Comintern, arguing that race oppression should always be primarily read as class oppression. In the 1920s, socialists in Latin America were able to maintain autonomy of thought and action in the face of the Comintern in Moscow. In fact, the proposals and reflections of Latin American socialist intellectuals like José Carlos Mariátegui contributed to influencing the Comintern's agenda in the 1920s.⁵⁰

To be sure, the quarrel that arose between Mariátegui and Haya de la Torre in 1928 was not only about ideological discrepancies or tactical incompatibilities. The former resented that Peruvian exiles had taken the initiative to form a national party from afar. Most vexing was the fact that the Aprista cell in Mexico had moved along with the creation of the Partido Nacionalista Peruano without receiving prior consent from any of the vanguard elements present and active in Peru at the time. Apristas in Mexico had not even consulted them.⁵¹ In a letter dated 16 April 1928, Mariátegui reminded his intractable peers of the organizing work that homebred activists were already doing in Peruvian provinces. Intellectuals, students, schoolteachers, union leaders, and professionals of all sorts appeared, in light of Mariátegui's assessment, to have joined forces on the national scene to mobilize the masses of Peru and stir up their revolutionary potential.⁵² What could a group of Peruvian exiles possibly bring to the political organizing underway in Peru that vanguard elements, who lived and worked there, did not know already? *Les absents ont toujours tort*, says the French

⁴⁹ Marc Becker, "Mariátegui, the Comintern, and the Indigenous Question in Latin America," *Science and Society*, 70: 4 (October 2006): 450-479.

⁵⁰ *Idem*.

⁵¹ José Carlos Mariátegui a La Célula Aprista de México, Lima, 16 de abril de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, pp. 371-373.

⁵² José Carlos Mariátegui a La Célula Aprista de México, Lima, 16 de abril de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 372. Examples of provincial actors engaged in proselytizing work in Peru between 1927 and 1930 can be found galore in the published correspondence of José Carlos Mariátegui. These actors were in communication with one another and debated about which political project constituted the lodestar that should be guiding the Peruvian vanguard.

adage.⁵³ So thought Mariátegui: “Si de lo que se trata, como sostiene Haya en una magnífica conferencia,” he glibed, referring to ongoing Marxist debates about how to best interpret Latin American societies, “es de descubrir la realidad y no de inventarla, me parece que Uds. están siguiendo un método totalmente distinto y contrario.”⁵⁴

Beneath this quote lies the assumption that the state of being in Peru (rather than abroad) gave a comparative advantage to the Peruvian vanguard that revolved around the leadership of Mariátegui. Aprista exiles were too far away. According to Mariátegui, they were too removed and disconnected from Peruvian realities to fully grasp what types of radical politics their country needed. He mused later that year, still in reference to Aprista exiles in Mexico, “Yo no los apruebo. Y creo que estoy más cerca de la realidad y más cerca del Perú que ellos, a pesar de mi presunto europeísmo y de mi supuesto excesivo doctrinarismo.”⁵⁵ For Marxist theorists, immediate surroundings are crucial to analyzing the historical development of a given society. Only with an accurate reading of a social context can they choose the appropriate theoretical lodestar for the war to be waged. Geographical distance, therefore, had the power to flaw an otherwise Marxist interpretation of a particular reality.

What ensued came in the form of personal squabbles. Haya de la Torre’s response reached Lima the following month. His words dripped bitterness: “Está Ud. Haciendo mucho daño por su falta de calma, por su afán de aparecer siempre europeo dentro de la terminología europea.” The rebuke went on, “Con eso rompe el Apra. Yo sé que está Ud. contra nosotros. No me sorprende. Pero la revolución la haremos nosotros sin mencionar el socialismo pero repartiendo las tierras y

⁵³ “Those who are absent are always wrong.”

⁵⁴ José Carlos Mariátegui a La Célula Aprista de México, Lima, 16 de abril de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 372.

⁵⁵ José Carlos Mariátegui a Eudocio Ravines, Lima, 31 de diciembre de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 492.

luchando contra el imperialismo.”⁵⁶ To this pledge of rupture Mariátegui replied with silence. “¿Para que escribimos?” he mused later that year, reflecting upon his estranged relationship with Haya de la Torre.⁵⁷ Mariátegui was aware that heeding each other’s complaints would only compound their falling-out at this point. He also knew that petty squabbles could easily blow out of proportion. To avoid an “unpleasant rupture” with the grupo de México, Mariátegui resolved to stave off any situation that risked adding fuel to the flames and altogether stopped replying to Haya de la Torre. By the end of 1928, the two major Peruvian figures associated with APRA had ceased all communication with one another.⁵⁸

Meanwhile, a restricted number of Apristas appeared eager to bring this fight into the open. The letter that Peruvian Aprista Alejandro Rojas Zevallos, who lived and worked in New York City, forwarded to Peru in September 1928 showcases a staunch and open endorsement of Haya de la Torre’s leadership. His text implied that peers back home could not understand the urgency to defend the national sovereignty of Peru: if they toyed with socialist ideas, even as their country was still only a “colonia,” it was because they remained oblivious to the realities of persecution and imperialism in the Americas.⁵⁹ According to him, those who lived abroad were confronted with different points of view and benefited from experiences conducive to original creation.⁶⁰ Rojas Zevallos was terse and unforgiving. The solution he envisioned to save APRA and protect Peruvians from misguided revolutionaries took the form of overt rupture: “En nombre de los amigos de Haya,” he told Mariátegui, “le invito a declararse contra Haya, a proclamar su rebeldía en nombre de

⁵⁶ Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre to José Carlos Mariátegui, México, 20 de mayo de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 379.

⁵⁷ José Carlos Mariátegui a Eudocio Ravines, Lima, 31 de diciembre de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 490.

⁵⁸ *Idem*, pp. 489-490.

⁵⁹ Alejandro Rojas Zevallos a José Carlos Mariátegui, Hamburgo, [New York], [septiembre] 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, pp. 446-447. Zevallos, “De nuestros lectores,” *La Prensa*, New York, April 30, 1929, p. 6.

⁶⁰ Alejandro Rojas Zevallos, “El problema indígena de Hispano America,” *La Prensa*, 16 Agosto 1927, sec. Tribuna Libre, p. 5.

su ‘acendradas convicciones’ y anunciar que usted es ajeno a la campaña nacional contra el leguñismo.”⁶¹

The pugnacious tone of Rojas Zevallos is consistent with common interpretations of the strife that opposed in 1928 the two major historical figures of APRA. This scholarship tends to bracket what happened between these two leaders with the outbreak of explicit and immediate divisions among Aprista circles. A consensual narrative proposes that, from then until the 1940s, when the Peruvian APRA party fully swerved to the right of the political spectrum, the intellectual history of Peru wavered between two leftist poles.⁶² A sharp divide between the Peruvian vanguard back home, which revolved around the figure of José Carlos Mariátegui, and Aprista exiles abroad, more loyal to Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, forcefully separated these circles starting in 1928. The former group was associated with communism, whereas those who formed the latter came to be viewed as the only legitimate representatives of APRA.⁶³

Unfortunately, too much emphasis on the rift that opposed these individual figures has prevented us from seeing the extent to which this political strife ran well beyond these years. More problematic still, this individual-focused perspective has led scholars to concentrate primarily on notions of rupture and division in their apprehension of the many conflicts that rocked the Aprista community from the late 1920s onward. They have found surprisingly little room in their reading of primary sources for notions of conciliation and cooperation.

⁶¹ Zevallos a José Carlos Mariátegui, Hamburgo, [New York], [septiembre] 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 447.

⁶² José Carlos Mariátegui, Ricardo Martínez de la Torre, and Julio Portocarrero organized the Socialist Party of Peru in October 1928. It became the Communist party of Peru shortly after the death of Mariátegui in April 1930. Alberto Flores Galindo, *El pensamiento comunista, 1917-1945*, Lima: Mosca Azul Editores, 1982, pp. 28, 84-85.

⁶³ Alberto Galindo y Burga, “La polémica Haya-Mariátegui,” in *Apogeo y crisis de la república...*, pp. 185-196. José Barba Caballero y César Lévano, *La polémica: Haya de la Torre – Mariátegui*, s.l., n.d., 1979. Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Haya de la Torre y el APRA*, Santiago de Chile: Pacífico, 1955. Ricardo Martínez de la Torre, *Apuntes para una interpretación marxista de la historia social del Perú (I-II)*, Peruana, Lima: Empresa editora peruana, 1947-1949.

However, those who like Rojas Zevallos took clear and unwavering sides in the split between Haya de la Torre and Mariátegui represented more an exception than the norm. The correspondence that Mariátegui continued to maintain with a panoply of Aprista exiles, even as his relationship with Haya de la Torre took a turn for the worse, brings home the resilience of cooperation and attraction within these political circles. In effect, many Apristas maintained amiable relationships with one another in spite of their divergence of opinions. Most continued to collaborate in the pages of *Amauta* until the death of José Carlos Mariátegui. Others, like Fernán Cisneros, took pains to openly defend collaboration and solidarity of action in the face of mounting discord.

At twenty-one years of age, Cisneros was probably one of the youngest APRA exiles. Certainly he was the youngest of those who in the late 1920s manned the organizing committee of the Aprista cell in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Cisneros pressed home the principle of discipline as a prerequisite to ideological organization. Interestingly, his philosophy challenges common views regarding the vertical imposition of discipline within Aprista ranks. For Cisneros, collaboration and compromise, rather than a vertical execution of orders, was the hallmark of a disciplined APRA. To this effect, Cisneros sent a letter to Peru in October 1928, in which he reproached Mariátegui precisely for his lack of discipline. His letter argued that the adherence to a unique leadership was irrelevant for the task at hand: “Crea que no me interesa que se llame Ud. José Carlos Mariátegui,” he wrote, “como no me interesa, tampoco, que tengamos otro muchacho fuerte que se llama Haya Delatorre. Me interesa, únicamente, como piensan los dos. Y me agrandaría la fe si supiera que todos estamos de acuerdo en los propósitos y en los métodos.”⁶⁴

To be sure, Cisneros’ take regarding solidarity of action did not prevent him from reprimanding the parties involved in the crisis that opposed the group of Mexico to the leadership of Mariátegui and acolytes back in Peru. He agreed with many of his peers: Apristas in Mexico had

⁶⁴ Fernán Cisneros (H.) a José Carlos Mariátegui, Buenos Aires, 4 de octubre de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 449.

been wrong to engage in backroom machinations. Yet his prose condemned with equal vigor the way in which Mariátegui had dealt with the whole situation. Scornful critiques and internal attacks, Cisneros regretted, would not help advance the revolutionary cause they all shared.⁶⁵

Aprista poet Alberto Hidalgo concurred. The prose that he used in his correspondence with Mariátegui that year conforms to Cisneros' argument regarding the need to focus on cooperation and communication among Aprista circles. Like Cisneros, Hidalgo was an active member of the Aprista cell of Buenos Aires, Argentina. He also trusted that unity of action could and should persist in spite of ideological disagreements. Acknowledging intellectual, political, or tactical differences, in other words, did not necessarily entail breaking off all ties with the other clan.

Consider for example how Hidalgo reproached Mariátegui for his excessive focus on the Peruvian scene, which, Hidalgo argued, came to the detriment of the American continental scene, while at the same time sending plaudits for the militant labor which the latter conducted in Peru. "Yo no estoy de acuerdo con muchos de sus postulados. Es más. Estoy en contra de ellos," Hidalgo told Mariátegui in a letter dated 21 December 1928. He added examples to support his claim: "Así por ejemplo usted es nacionalista, así en política como en arte. Ha caído usted en la trampa del comunismo ruso, hecho con fronteras y divisiones raciales."⁶⁶ Hidalgo feared that socialist theories would hold Peru captive to narrow nationalist aspirations, pressing instead for a political agenda that apprehended the country in relation to its place within, as well as its connections to, the entire hemisphere. Notwithstanding this profession of ideological dissent, however, Hidalgo reiterated his staunch loyalty to the type of political and social activism carried out through the pages of the journal *Amauta*: "Yo estoy con ustedes en AMAUTA y en sus ramificaciones sociales, con toda el alma," he wrote, referring to the elements of the Peruvian vanguard who then revolved around

⁶⁵ Fernán Cisneros (H.) a José Carlos Mariátegui, Buenos Aires, 4 de octubre de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, pp. 448-449.

⁶⁶ Alberto Hidalgo a José Carlos Mariátegui, Buenos Aires, 21 de diciembre de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 486.

socialist circles in Peru. “Y aun puedo asegurarle que si viviera o volviera al Perú, lo estaría en alma y cuerpo. Es decir ofreciendo también mi brazo.”⁶⁷

Discord was not born yesterday in these groups. Nor would it die tomorrow. The respective statements of Cisneros and Hidalgo recall what we have seen elsewhere: in these circles, correspondence of action did not have to map onto exact political ambitions. It was possible to experience feelings of solidarity for a common cause of regeneration despite differing ideological or tactical alignments. Likewise, personal rivalries did not automatically require that allies join one particular faction. The practice of unity in conflict characteristic of *Reformista* thinking had led vanguard elements to place intellectual disputes at the core of their collective endeavors. This was still true in the late 1920s. Ten years after the Grito de Córdoba, the Latin American vanguard continued to chisel social designs to the backbeat of debates and arguments.

What matters most to my examination of the group dynamics particular to APRA, as I have already mentioned, is to let go of our faith in linear, well polished Aprista or socialist programs that ostensibly came to life this way: linearly and well polished. It was nothing of the sort. The positions that Mariátegui proselytized in the summer of 1929 make clear that he continued to view the possibility of complementary goals between APRA and the newly founded Socialist Party of Peru. On 20 June 1929, for example, Mariátegui forwarded a series of instructions to Nicanor A. de la Fuente, a close collaborator in Chiclayo, Peru. His letter clearly states the necessity to carry on the fight against divisionism between elements of the Peruvian vanguard, therefore suggesting that as long as both groups clarified their respective functions and realms of actions, then cooperation could still prevail over internal warfare:

“Como organización continental, el Apra depende de lo que resulta al congreso antiimperialista de Paris, a cuyas decisiones, inspiradas seguramente en la necesidad de

⁶⁷ Alberto Hidalgo a José Carlos Mariátegui, Buenos Aires, 21 de diciembre de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 487.

unificar el movimiento anti-imperialista, ningún revolucionario puede oponer resistencia. Como organización nacional – esto es, como frente único – queda diferida para después de la organización de las masas según su tendencia o doctrina. Nosotros trabajamos con el proletariado y por el socialismo. Si hay grupos dispuestos a trabajar con la pequeña burguesía por un nacionalismo revolucionario, que ocupen su puesto. No nos negaremos a colaborar con ellos, si representan efectivamente una corriente, un movimiento de masas. Me parece que, planteada así, la cuestión es completamente clara y queda excluida toda posibilidad de divisionismo.”⁶⁸

Of course Mariátegui’s text implies that it was incumbent upon the Lima group to allocate resources and objectives, and to dictate who, in the end, worked and functioned as an anti-imperialist alliance abroad and who stayed in Peru to prepare the socialist revolution. Nevertheless, this call to cooperation is crucial, for it helps demystify the rigidity with which most studies have approached group dynamics within the Aprista community. That Mariátegui was able to envision, still in 1929, an alliance between a continental APRA and a national-level socialist party, that he considered the possibility of a fruitful collaboration based on complementary objectives between them, runs counter to what most scholarship on APRA has inferred to this day about the divide that ostensibly kept aprismo and socialism hermetically apart from one another, starting somewhat in 1927, and then completely from 1928 onward.⁶⁹

The letter that Mariátegui wrote to Mario Nerval the following week concluded with similar call for cooperation between antagonist lines of action: “Los términos del debate quedan así bien esclarecidos,” he stated, “y todo reproche por divisionismo completamente excluido. – No hay por nuestra parte divisionismo sino clarificación.”⁷⁰ In the late 1920s, allegiances to both groups not only

⁶⁸ José Carlos Mariátegui a Nicanor A. de la Fuente, Lima, 20 de junio de 1929, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 584.

⁶⁹ An exception to this trend, however, is Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker who also recognize this fact. *José Carlos Mariátegui: An Anthology*, Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker ed., New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011.

⁷⁰ José Carlos Mariátegui a Mario Nerval, Lima, 28 de junio de 1929, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 597.

appeared plausible, but several members of APRA in fact trusted that this double-affiliation had the power to facilitate revolutionary work and assist different realms of action between the national and the continental scene.

External Gaze on Conflict

Aprista actors were not the only ones who promoted unity in the face of conflict. Granting attention to the possibility of unity and conciliation rather than focusing only on notions of rupture or ideological wrangles, as I have suggested in the previous section, provides a new perspective on the rift that opposed the two main leaders of APRA in 1928 as well as on the implications that it had for the APRA community as a whole. Another strategy consists of shifting gaze away from an exclusive focus on Aprista circles and towards a series of external actors who sought active collaboration with them. This strategy takes us back to the question of allies seen in chapter one.

The fact that APRA was enmeshed in a process of definition and ongoing formation during the 1920s was conducive to forging relations and friendships with a variety of allies abroad. For those in exile, scant resources encouraged comprehensive alliances and flexibility in political partnerships. One major benefit of increased mobility came in the form of a series of serendipitous encounters with actors who shared with them a passion for thinking the Americas in new ways. In similar fashion, state persecution encouraged those who stayed in Peru to seek connections with the outside world. In June 1929, José Carlos Mariátegui wrote to José Malanca, an Argentine painter who then resided in Mexico, to inquire about a series of US actors with whom he had been communicating in the past year. “Tengo siempre noticias de Waldo Frank,” he wrote, “quien me habla de su encuentro con Ud., que le ha sido muy grato. No tengo, en cambio, noticia de Anita Brenner. ¿Se entrevistó Ud. con Earle K. James, del New York Times?”⁷¹

⁷¹ José Carlos Mariátegui a José Malanca, Lima, 11 de junio de 1929, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 578.

Waldo Frank was a US novelist. He regularly published articles in the *New York Times* and leftist newspapers.⁷² Anita Brenner was a journalist and art critic. She worked for *The Nation* and authored a number of books on Mexican art and history.⁷³ Earle K. James was a correspondent for the *New York Times*. He covered the Latin American literary world.⁷⁴ These journalists and art critics were part of a contingent of US artists and intellectuals who, starting in the early twentieth century though more doggedly after the end of the First World War, had taken up the challenge to counter US supremacy in the Western Hemisphere by way of education.⁷⁵ Given such a context of renewed interest for Latin America in the 1920s, elements of the Peruvian vanguard often received correspondence from North Americans who claimed to be interested in their cause and who wanted to know more about South America. Shared leftist values and a thirst for more cultural cooperation in the Western Hemisphere usually tilled the scene for collaboration.⁷⁶

The Peruvian vanguard welcomed calls for intellectual and cultural collaboration with enthusiasm. Its members assisted to the best of their capacity those who traveled to Peru, either to give conferences or simply to learn more about the sister Republics south of the Río Grande, a

⁷² Ricardo Fernández Borchart, *Waldo Frank: Un puente entre las dos Américas*, Coruña: Universidad de Coruña, Servicio de Publicación, 1997.

⁷³ Susannah Joel Glusker, *Anita Brenner: A Mind of Her Own*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998.

⁷⁴ Concha Romero de James a José Carlos Mariátegui, Santiago de Chile, 16 de setiembre de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 436.

⁷⁵ The professionalization of Latin American studies in the United States coincided with the rise of Pan-Americanism in the early twentieth century. Encouraged by the call in 1909 of John Barrett, director of the Pan-American Union, to engage wholly with South American opportunities, scores of businessmen, journalists, writers, and Spanish teachers, as well as numerous scholars from the social sciences and the humanities, began to learn more seriously about the region and recorded impressions of their travels abroad. The publication of their reports and stories made immense contributions to the literature on Latin America available in English to a US readership. Ricardo Donato Salvatore, "Imperial Mechanics: South America's Hemispheric Integration in the Machine Age," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (September 2006), pp. 665-666; David Barton Castle "Leo Stanton Rowe and the Meaning of Pan Americanism," in David Sheinin ed., *Beyond the Ideal: Pan Americanism in Inter-American Affairs*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000, pp. 33-43; Mark T. Berger, *Under Northern Eyes: Latin American Studies and US Hegemony in the Americas, 1898-1990*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.

⁷⁶ Historians interested in Pan-Americanism have probed the way in which North American actors began to produce studies on Latin American countries. But their assessment is still one of paternalist actors who sought to impose US values into through Pan-American relation. Consult for example, David Barton Castle "Leo Stanton Rowe and the Meaning of Pan Americanism," in David Sheinin ed., *Beyond the Ideal: Pan Americanism in Inter-American Affairs*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000, pp. 33-43; Mark T. Berger, *Under Northern Eyes: Latin American Studies and US Hegemony in the Americas, 1898-1990*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.

situation which often entailed, in addition to offering shelter and arranging for lectures or travels, bringing a halt to internal quarrels so as to properly host foreign allies. When Waldo Frank traveled to Peru in December 1929, José Carlos Mariátegui and Luis Alberto Sánchez, a famous literary critic in Peru and one of the future historical leaders of APRA, put disagreements aside in order to conjointly prepare better his arrival.⁷⁷ These two Peruvian intellectuals, who had been fighting for the past two years over the accurate meaning and relevance of the Indigenist movement, who likewise argued about the place of nationalism in revolutionary work, praised with the same alacrity the work that Waldo Frank was doing for the continent.⁷⁸ The speech that Sánchez gave at San Marcos University in 1930 commended the work that Waldo Frank was conducting for the future of the Americas. He viewed in the author of *Redescubrimiento de América*⁷⁹ an ally in thinking about the concept of Americanity (*Americanidad*), for it was clear, according to Sánchez, that Frank possessed the required sensibility to reflect upon continental matters and hemispheric identities beyond strict Marxist interpretations.⁸⁰ Mariátegui, on the other hand, had been the first to favorably review Frank's work in Peruvian publications. He similarly trusted that, thanks to his recent American travels, Frank was called upon playing an important role of mediator "entre algunos núcleos de Nuestra América."⁸¹

Although many US scholars and policy makers occupied in the promotion of cultural and intellectual exchanges between Latin America and the United States had a tendency to project North

⁷⁷ José Carlos Mariátegui a Samuel Glusberg, Lima, 29 de noviembre de 1929, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 685; José Carlos Mariátegui a Luis Alberto Sánchez, Lima, 29 de noviembre de 1929, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 684; José Carlos Mariátegui a Samuel Glusberg, Lima, 21 de noviembre de 1929, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 673.

⁷⁸ José Carlos Mariátegui, "Indigenismo y Socialismo: Intermezzo Polémico," in *Boletín de Defensa Indígena*, 1:3, in *Amauta*, 2: 3, Marzo de 1927, pp. 37-38.

⁷⁹ The Spanish translation of *The Re-Discovery of America; An Introduction to a Philosophy of American Life* appeared in 1930. The book was originally published in 1929. Waldo Frank, *The Re-Discovery of America; An Introduction to a Philosophy of American Life*, New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929.

⁸⁰ Luis Alberto Sánchez, "Introduction to Waldo Frank (On his Reception by the National University of San Marcos, Lima, Peru, as Doctor Honoris Causa)," in *Waldo Frank in America Hispana*, Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos, New York: M. J. Benardete, p. 117.

⁸¹ José Carlos Mariátegui a Juan Marinello, Lima, 16 de marzo de 1930, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 745.

American ideals of progress and democracy on their southern neighbors, entrenched prejudices regarding the “backwardness” of Latin America did not shroud every opinion. Some, like Reverend John A. Mackay, epitomized ideals of cooperation based on friendly relations and mutual exchange in the Americas. Mackay left his native Scotland and traveled to Peru in 1916, where the Free Church of Scotland, a Presbyterian and reformed denomination, had assigned him the task of setting the foundations of its missionary enterprise in South America.⁸² In Lima, Mackay spiritually and intellectually bonded with many of the Peruvian reform-minded students who founded APRA shortly thereafter, and, as shown in chapter one and two, grew particularly close to student leader Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre.⁸³ All through the interwar period, Mackay continued to offer guidance and protection to the historical leader of APRA. He helped Haya de la Torre find shelter when hiding in Lima following the Sacred Heart protest and negotiated in 1933, ten years later, with Peruvian authorities to obtain his release from prison. Mackay also published monographs and articles that cast a favorable light on Haya de la Torre as leader of the APRA movement.⁸⁴

Significantly, Reverend John A. Mackay’s mentorship of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre never interfered with his capacity to feel a sincere connection to the cause that José Carlos Mariátegui championed in Peru as of the late 1920s. “Cuando pienso en Ud. y en la lucha que libra contra dificultades que hundirían a cualquier otro, sólo por estar consagrado a una causa en que cree con la cabeza y las entrañas, yo me siento más fuerte para mi propia obra,” Mackay told Mariátegui in a letter dated 6 March 1929.⁸⁵ Nor did Mackay’s deep-seated aversion to communism deter him from

⁸² The Mission in Peru of the Free Church of Scotland, *Light in the Dark Continent*, Edinburgh, 1924, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 7, Box 12, Folder “Spanish Articles 1920s,” Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁸³ Mackay met and developed lasting friendships with Reform-minded Peruvian students. Many were recruited to give classes at the missionary college he directed. MacPherson, *At the Roots of a Nation...*, pp. 1-12.

⁸⁴ See chapter five for more details on this relationship.

⁸⁵ J. A. Mackay a José Carlos Mariátegui, Montevideo, 6 de marzo de 1929, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 524. By the mid-1920s, Mackay used to attend the house reunions that elements of the Peruvian vanguard hosted on Tuesdays, including José Carlos Mariátegui. There, Mackay regularly met and engaged with artists, writers, intellectuals, philosophers, and bankers who thought and debated about the situation in Peru. For more details on the

seeking collaboration with José Carlos Mariátegui. On the contrary, both Mackay and Mariátegui took pain to keep each other posted on the evolution of their respective endeavors. They forwarded copies of their latest publications to one another with promises of comments in return. In the aforementioned letter, Mackay expressed looking forward to reading “El problema religioso,” Mariátegui’s essay on religion included in his most recent publication, *7 ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana*. Surely it would assist his own reflections, Mackay surmised, as he was himself currently pursuing the completion of a monograph. The monograph’s tentative title, “Fuerzas y tendencias espirituales de la América del Sur contemporánea,” bears out a correlation of interests in spiritual matters that made participation possible.⁸⁶

This exchange evidences two important points. First, even as socialist positions gained firmer ground among the Peruvian vanguard active in Peru, there was still plenty of room for collaboration between elements of the Peruvian vanguard and external allies on subjects other than the proper doctrinal precepts of revolution. Second, Reverend Mackay essentially grafted pledges of cooperation onto personal attributes and moral character rather than onto the alignment of analogous political lines. For him, the value of individual subjects and the purity of purpose outstripped the exact contents of the projects that the Peruvian vanguard scrambled to craft collectively.

In similar fashion to Mackay, Anita Brenner saw no contradiction between her praise of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre as symbol of the anti-imperialist fight in Latin America and the collaboration that she developed with José Carlos Mariátegui to advance his cause in New York City. Through her work as a journalist and art critic, Brenner is known for having fostered the development of artistic and intellectual networks between Mexico and the United States during the

relationship that existed between José Carlos Mariátegui and John A. Mackay during the 1920s in Peru, consult Chanamé, *La amistad de dos Amautas...*

⁸⁶ J. A. Mackay a José Carlos Mariátegui, Montevideo, 6 de marzo de 1929, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 524.

interwar period.⁸⁷ Clearly her appeal extended beyond these immediate neighbors. In a letter dated 19 November 1928, Brenner expressed interest in developing future collaborations between the Latin American section she presided at *The Nation* magazine and, she wrote, “cultos y conocidos intelectuales” from Peru. The letter inquired whether Mariátegui would agree to recommend names of Peruvian intellectuals he knew and trusted.⁸⁸ Although we do not have access to Mariátegui’s response, this initial contact appears to have successfully opened the door to future collaborations: as of March 1929, Brenner was charged with representing and distributing the journal *Amauta* in New York City.⁸⁹

Meanwhile, the piece that Brenner published on continental nationalism on 12 December 1928 positively assessed the work that APRA was at the time carrying out in Mexico. It paid a glowing tribute to its alleged leader, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, whom Brenner placed on equal footing with Augusto Sandino as symbols of the new “militant Latin Americanism.” “They are heroes,” she claimed, “but more than that they are symbols and models. This is in the end their real significance, and it is one that at this moment is easily underestimated.”⁹⁰ The article remained conspicuously silent about the organizing labor that Mariátegui was at the time conducting in Peru.

The fact that Brenner assisted the respective endeavors of Mariátegui and Haya de la Torre, either by way of mediation or journalistic pieces, hints at the elasticity of political allegiances as of the late 1920s. Choosing between two APRA leaders, as much as taking a clear position on socialism or revolutionary tactics, was of little relevance to Brenner: in 1928-1929, she rooted for both sides indiscriminately. At that time, the growth of solidarity networks between the Peruvian vanguard and

⁸⁷ Glusker, *Anita Brenner...*

⁸⁸ Anita Brenner, “Students Rebels in Latin America,” *The Nation*, December 12, 1928, pp. 668-669, [p. 2 of diplomatic report], Folder 1, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives. Anita Brenner a José Carlos Mariátegui, New York, 19 de noviembre de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 477.

⁸⁹ José Malanca a José Carlos Mariátegui, Nueva York, 23 de marzo 1929, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 536.

⁹⁰ Brenner, “Students Rebels...,” pp. 668-669.

foreign actors rested on a shared project, one that revolved around the making of a new America, and where mutual interdependence and the need to gain access to scant resources trumped doctrinal tenets and the inevitability of political factions. In other words, the nature of Indo-America mattered less than the fact that at its core lay the claim to think of the Americas in new ways.

Perhaps nowhere was the benefit associated with fostering complementary alliances between the Peruvian vanguard and external allies better expressed than in the letter that Concha Romero James sent to Mariátegui on 16 September 1928. Originally from Chile, writer Concha Romero lived and worked in the United States, though she often traveled back to South America to engage and maintain relations with the many literary circles that dotted the region. Concha Romero had incidentally passed through Peru lately, as part of a tour around South America, and wanted to thank Mariátegui, she wrote, for the beautiful time she had spent in Lima with his friends and family.⁹¹ A request for material tagged along with her warm wishes. After a heartfelt greeting, Concha Romero immediately drew attention to the project that her husband, Earle K. James, was about to undertake in the United States. The *New York Times* had freshly contracted him to churn out a series of articles on Latin American authors; Concha Romero asked for help on his behalf. “Le agradecerá aun,” she told Mariátegui, “si Ud. y sus amigos escritores pudieran enviarle a mi esposo todos aquellos libros de que se puedan deshacer con facilidad y sin sacrificio alguno para que él les dé publicidad en los Estados Unidos.”⁹² Concha Romero took pain to flesh out, in quite explicit terms, the type of benefits that collaboration with her husband might yield for parties willing to pool resources:

“Le diré que esta publicidad no es poca cosa. En el caso de LA VORAGINE, por ejemplo, a las cuantas semanas de haber publicado mi esposo su juicio crítico en el Times se agotaba la edición en Bogotá. La casa de Brentano en Nueva York pidió por cable a Bogotá todos

⁹¹ Concha Romero de James a José Carlos Mariátegui, Santiago de Chile, 16 de setiembre de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 436.

⁹² *Idem*, p. 436.

los ejemplares que quedaban. Como resultado de este artículo Rivera recibió tantas propuestas de casas que querían publicar una edición inglesa, que al fin se tradujo la novela al inglés y ahora está por salir. Ya ve pues, que esto le puede convenir a todos. Le agradeceré que tome en cuenta esta proposición y que si no le es molesto colabore con nosotros en esta empresa. Y si en algo le podemos servir ya sea yo o mi esposo sabe que estamos enteramente a sus ordenes.”⁹³

It is unclear when or why Concha Romero left Chile for New York City. Did she meet Earle K. James in Chile and subsequently follow him to the United States, or was Concha Romero already established there when she met her future husband? Notwithstanding the reasons that prompted her to leave South America in the first place, the truth is that she never let go of her roots, even less of the passion that she felt toward Latin America. Evidence in archives indicates that Concha Romero became deeply involved, from the 1920s onward, with the sprawling Hispano-American community of New York City. There, she regularly wrote pieces of opinion in the Hispanic newspaper *La Prensa*.⁹⁴ She also organized conferences on themes relating to continental nationalism, such as the one that she presided at the Casa Internacional on “El Nuevo Nacionalismo de Nuestra América,” in November 1927, which significantly happened to feature the young Peruvian intellectual Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre.⁹⁵

The happening in question was a resounding success. One journalist wrote with admiration about the lot of participants who attended the event: “Distinguidos elementos de la colectividad hispano-americana de Nueva York, periodistas, hombres de negocios, estudiantes universitarios y obreros,” the article reported, huddled together to listen Haya de la Torre lecture on “los problemas

⁹³ Concha Romero de James a José Carlos Mariátegui, Santiago de Chile, 16 de setiembre de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, pp. 436-437.

⁹⁴ Concha Romero’s main themes of predilection were 1) women’s rights and 2) intercultural exchanges between Hispano-American people. APRA leaders also amply published in *La Prensa* in later years.

⁹⁵ “Notas Escolares: Haya de la Torre en la Casa Internacional,” *La Prensa*, November 5, 1927, New York, p. 4.

de América y el programa constructivo y renovador de la nueva generación.”⁹⁶ The speech that Concha Romero gave to introduce Haya de la Torre to his audience was short but on point. It conveyed the same sense of optimism that undergirded Haya de la Torre’s presentation on APRA and, more specifically, the movement’s proposal to bring about renewal to the workers and intellectuals of the Americas.⁹⁷

In all fairness, it is important to underscore that this conference took place in the fall of 1927, almost a full year before Haya de la Torre and Mariátegui stopped communicating with each other. Yet nowhere have I found in archives any clue that Concha Romero navigated her relations with the Peruvian vanguard, even in later years, other than independently of personal rivalries and political affiliations. Moreover, that the Hispanic press and the Ibero-American community of New York City equally raved about the lectures that Haya de la Torre gave on the East Coast gives evidence of his capacity to rally beyond rigid political affiliations. Whether or not Haya de la Torre was Aprista mattered much less, in the end, than did the fervor with which he spoke of the problems of the continent. The same goes for Mariátegui. As long as he remained a wellspring of information on South American culture, and as long as he kept craving intercultural exchanges with intellectuals and artists from abroad, the latter group had no reason to want to cut ties with him. Thus, even as conflicts began creating tensions in Aprista circles, Concha Romero probably chose to ignore family squabbles and focus on what she shared with elements of the Peruvian vanguard rather than fretting about what kept them apart.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ “El nuevo nacionalismo de nuestra America,” newspaper clipping, [n.d.], The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 5, Box 10, Folder 10.6, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁹⁷ *Idem*.

⁹⁸ Concha Romero’s devotion to advancing relations based on mutual respect and understanding between the people of the Americas remained steadfast throughout the interwar period and even into the post-Second World War era. In the 1920s this goal primarily entailed creating platforms to make information on Latin America available to a US readership. In later years, the professionalization of her collaborative enterprise between North and South America grew in tandem with the proliferation of institutions where governments were encouraged to include cultural dimensions in their plans for a united Western Hemisphere. This path ultimately led her to work as the Chief of Division of Intellectual Cooperation at the Pan American Union. Consult the correspondence of Concha Romero

At any rate her husband did precisely that. The first clue that we have of journalist Earle K. James' passion for Latin America is a piece he wrote for the *New York Times* in 1922, titled "Why Learn Spanish?" This article chastises US cultural arrogance, sarcastically rebuking, by way of example, common travelers who abandon all pretension to learn the native tongue as soon as they land in South America. "Because Americans," James wrote, "sailing for South America with six-page-signed-on-the-dotted-line contracts in their breast pockets, allot themselves two opportunities for acquiring fluency and perfection in the use of Spanish; the first, on the boat sailing South; the second, on the boat sailing North."⁹⁹ Throughout the interwar period, James continued to write columns for a variety of US publications, including *The New York Times*, *Current History*, *The Arts*, and *Art and Archeology*. His chronicles encompassed a large variety of subjects, from discussing Hispano-American literature, for example, to singing the praise of the Mexican revolution or informing on the latest work of Peruvian anthropologist Luis E. Valcárcel.¹⁰⁰

Earle K. James came to lionize APRA in later years. The flattering piece that he wrote on APRA in 1934 had what it took to please the liberal readership of *Current History*. In it, James insists on the democratic nature of the APRA party in Peru, and, although he admits having at times difficulty in grasping the essential core of its two-fold program – the minimum program, "made up of immediate objectives," James wrote, versus the maximum program, which foreshadowed "ultimate collectivism" –, the tone and contents of his article definitively conveys the image of an APRA that US citizens had no reason to fear.¹⁰¹ But several years went by before James converted to political journalism and began taking sides for APRA. In 1928-1929, he still only coveted informal

James between 1940 and 1947 in Box 11, Folder 64, Correspondence, Pan American Union, Bertram David Wolfe Papers, 1903-1999, Hoover Institution Archives.

⁹⁹ Earle K. James, "Why Learn Spanish?" *New York Times*, June 25, 1922, p. xx6.

¹⁰⁰ Earle K. James, "Why Learn Spanish..."; James, "'La Voragine' Makes a South American Sensation," *New York Times*, January 23, 1927, BR2; James, "Latin American Letter," *New York Times*, October 28, 1928, p. 68. Earle K. James a José Carlos Mariátegui, New York, 6 de noviembre de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 467.

¹⁰¹ Earle K. James, "APRA's Appeal to Latin America," *Current History*, 41:1 (October, 1934) p. 42.

relations with members of the artistic vanguards in Latin America. The main goal was to learn more about the region and, closer to his heart still, exchange on literary themes and debate about political or ideological subjects he was passionate about.

James was thrilled when he received Mariátegui's package. At Concha Romero's behest, Mariátegui had carefully wrapped copies of the journal *Amauta* and a copy of Luis E. Valcárcel's latest publication as well, before sending everything at once to New York, in the likely hope that the Peruvian radical scene might find some level of publicity in the United States. Mariátegui chose well, as evidenced by the letter that James sent him on 6 November 1928 and that warmly acknowledged receipt of the material from Peru. The spirit of this missive discloses the enthusiasm with which James anticipated future collaboration; he thanked Mariátegui for the parcel and assured wanting to maintain communication. "Por mi parte, he wrote, "me será grato cooperar con Uds. en todo lo que sea posible."¹⁰² The Peruvian vanguard could count on his loyal support, he said.

The promise of future cooperation did not entail, however, that associates always see eye to eye. On the contrary, disagreements had their way of feeding original creation. Besides James was not one to look away and eschew conflict. Regarding his reluctance to take up Marxism he told Mariátegui: "Aunque en cuanto a ideas económicas veo que no estamos de acuerdo, pues yo, aunque radical, no creo el marxismo [sic] sea la solución a los problemas de una sociedad tan diferente a la que conoció Marx (por lo menos en países como éste), veo, por otra parte, que con respecto al problema indígena estamos si de acuerdo."¹⁰³ Even as James reckoned with the sources of potential conflict between him and Mariátegui, he also tried hard, as the previous citation makes clear, to focus on what he shared with the Peruvian vanguard, where he felt that bridges could be built, rather than nagging on what divided them. That James' candid disclosure of ideological differences did not

¹⁰² Earle K. James a José Carlos Mariátegui, New York, 6 de noviembre de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 467.

¹⁰³ Earle K. James a José Carlos Mariátegui, New York, 6 de noviembre de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 467.

derail his commitment to uphold cooperation with the Peruvian vanguard hints at the plasticity of shared allegiances in the late 1920s. It also points to the resilience of an ideal of collaboration that chiefly rested on cultural and intellectual exchanges about the Americas rather than on clearly defined political formations and ideologies.

It is unclear whether US allies were oblivious to the leadership struggles that had begun eroding the cohesion of Aprista circles after 1928, or simply unwilling to heed with seriousness a conflict they deemed unworthy of their time and energy. In February 1929, for example, US writer Waldo Frank tasked Mariátegui with transmitting on his behalf a profession of solidarity with his archrival. He courteously asked, “If you write to [V́ctor Raúl Haya de la Torre], please convey to him my deepest admiration and respect: tell him that I am with him, heart and soul, in his great movement.” Frank had kind words to share with Mariátegui as well. He added at once, by way of conclusion: “I don’t have to tell you, brother, that I am, heart and soul with you.”¹⁰⁴ This request is jarring, for it poked at what had by then grown into an openly contentious topic within the APRA community. Is it possible to imagine that Frank, an actor whose enthusiasm for the work that APRA conducted in the Americas was well known, who furthermore dutifully stayed informed about its growth and development, was truly blind to the discord that had been rocking Aprista circles in the past year?¹⁰⁵

True, distance and censorship in Peru customarily hindered proper communication among scattered communities of interest. It delayed the receipt of fresh news. It also bred false impressions

¹⁰⁴ Waldo Frank a José Carlos Mariátegui, Croton on Hudson, 27 de febrero de 1929, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 521.

¹⁰⁵ In June 1927 Frank had protested, alongside a variety of public figures from the Americas, the closure of the journal *Amauta* under allegations of a communist plot in Peru. José Carlos Mariátegui a *La Prensa*, Lima, 10 de junio 1927, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 289. Also see the series of letters exchanged between Samuel Glusberg and José Carlos Mariátegui between 1927 and 1930 in José Carlos Mariátegui, *Correspondencia (1915-1930)*, Biblioteca Amauta: Lima, 1984. Frank had furthermore been exchanging all through 1928 correspondence with Mariátegui, who never missed an opportunity to proselytize his views regarding the urgency to develop a socialist vanguard in Peru. José Malanca a José Carlos Mariátegui, México, 23 de abril de 1929, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 549; Waldo Frank a José Carlos Mariátegui, New York, 28 de mayo de 1929, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 569.

and misinterpretations about where actors stood in relation to one another. On the other hand, Mariátegui and Haya de la Torre had only just ceased all communication between them when Frank forwarded his candid salutation request. It is therefore not completely incongruous to imagine that Frank was in fact clueless about the group's latest family squabble.¹⁰⁶ Yet this conclusion risks tossing aside the PR component that also undergirded these collaborative relations.

In effect, a small but convincing body of evidence leads me to believe that Frank purposefully played naïve to ease the many associations that he had recently been developing with elements of the Peruvian left. Like Concha Romero or Earle K. James, Frank was no stranger to the benefits that one could yield from establishing friendly relations with the Peruvian vanguard. In February 1929, he wrote to Mariátegui with a favor in mind. “There is a specific question I wish to ask your help in. I am from now on, going to do what I can to introduce American literature and art into North America,” he said.¹⁰⁷ After expounding what he meant regarding a project to publicize “the magnificent works of the Peruvian Art,” Frank continued: “Do you think you could help me in this task – the making of a beautiful Peruvian book, as a means of introducing the real Peru to the north American public?”¹⁰⁸ There was also a series of conferences about common American themes that Frank aspired to give in Argentina, Chile, and Peru beginning the following fall. Could Mariátegui not arrange for a few lectures in Lima, Frank asked? He added that if the conference were to take place in December of 1929, it could then help him defray the costs associated with his forthcoming exploration of Peru.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Mariátegui and Haya de la Torre stopped all communication by the end of 1928. José Carlos Mariátegui a Eudocio Ravines, Lima, 31 de diciembre de 1928, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 491.

¹⁰⁷ Waldo Frank a José Carlos Mariátegui, Croton on Hudson, 27 de febrero de 1929, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 521.

¹⁰⁸ Waldo Frank a José Carlos Mariátegui, Croton on Hudson, 27 de febrero de 1929, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 521.

¹⁰⁹ Waldo Frank a José Carlos Mariátegui, New York, 21 de abril [1929], Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 547.

Importantly, the need to create and maintain dependable solidarity networks did not preclude sincere friendships and connections from forming between actors who imagined working for the advancement of the same cause. This cause was not communist, socialist, or aprista in nature, but was instead characterized by a shared desire to advance the cause of the Americas. Ideological disagreements were, in many ways, the fodder for intellectual discussions and for the creation of a larger community of American interest.

Waldo Frank carefully read the work of Apristas in Mexico, including Haya de la Torre's "Emancipación de América Latina," and followed closely the development of APRA in the Americas.¹¹⁰ In later years, Frank grew into a fierce and loyal supporter of the APRA movement in Peru and publicized on US tribunes the project that Haya de la Torre was proposing to bring about in the Americas. Yet even as he moved closer to APRA, and despite the reservations he openly held toward communism, Frank did not relinquish the admiration he had for Mariátegui as one of the most original thinkers of his time. In the spring of 1929, Frank confessed to Mariátegui wanting nothing more than to discuss Marxist and communist subjects with him and his companions upon traveling to Peru shortly. He praised the journal *Amauta*, "de todas las revistas americanas que conozco," he said, "la que me interesa lo más."¹¹¹

Frank continued to praise and defend the intellectual legacy of Mariátegui even after his untimely death in April 1930. The eulogy that he published in *Books Abroad* reflects the high regard in which Frank held the work that Mariátegui had achieved for the Americas. He stated: "In this young Peruvian mestizo, still in his early thirties, there were organically fused those values in thought, aesthetics and public action, which America must incarnate and put into effect, if a true America – a real New World – is ever to be created."¹¹² Frank also recognized the spiritual depth of

¹¹⁰ José Malanca a José Carlos Mariátegui, México, 23 de abril de 1929, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 549.

¹¹¹ Waldo Frank a José Carlos Mariátegui, New York, 28 de mayo de 1929, Mariátegui, *Correspondencia...*, p. 569.

¹¹² Waldo Frank, "José Carlos Mariátegui," *Books Abroad*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October, 1930), p. 299.

Mariátegui's Marxist interpretations.¹¹³ He saw in him an original mind, a philosopher devoted to thinking of the Americas in new ways, even if this thirst for innovation entailed parting ways with orthodox Marxism. Wrote Frank:

“Mariátegui was dedicated to the severe necessity of a new economic body, and of the social revolution. But he was no doctrinaire communist despite his adherence to the principles of Marx. In him were also active the artistic and spiritual values of our time, whose assimilation and integration in revolutionary thought can alone bring vitality to economic action. He realized that a revolution can well repeat, in new terms, the old failures of the world; that it can bring forth a new death essentially not different from the old one, unless human values – the culture of the mysterious depths of the individual soul – are incorporated in the revolutionary movement. This is what made him so brilliantly superior to most of what passes for sociological thought in our arid day.”¹¹⁴

Conclusion

Conflict may happen slowly or swiftly, yet it always takes place and evolves and lingers *over* time. One definition of conflict refers to “a serious disagreement or argument” that is “typically a protracted one.”¹¹⁵ However short the period, conflict, by necessity, requires the passage of time to exist. Conflict suggests without drawing to a close, for it lacks the stiffness of endpoints to bear definite features. In contrast, the word rupture summons up much shorter, more immediate circumstances. There is a break, then suddenly nothing more to share, except warfare. In definitions of the word rupture, the adverb “suddenly” recurrently appears. It is “an instance of breaking or bursting suddenly and completely,” says the New Oxford American dictionary. Parties involved in a

¹¹³ He did so long before scholars even began to address the possibility of unorthodox reading of materialist Marxism.

¹¹⁴ Frank, “José Carlos Mariátegui,” p. 299.

¹¹⁵ New Oxford American dictionary, OS X exploitation system, Apple computer.

rupture walk away from one another. They may find solace in the memory of their time together, or can decide to engage in peace parleys. But without reconciliation, they are never one again.

Conflict is a process, rupture an outcome, and in between lies an interval dotted with infinite possibilities for what could have happened to either avoid a split or compound the harm of its final iteration. Confusing conflict and rupture for one another has long percolated into how political actors and scholars have apprehended the strife leading to the clash between Apristas and Communists in Peru. By granting attention to the prevalence of unity in conflict among the circles that formed the APRA movement in the late 1920s, chapter 3 offered a different perspective on how this organization came to life and how it evolved thereafter. It shed new light on the internecine ideological struggles that underpinned the growth of APRA in the late 1920s.

Most Aprista members and practically every external ally paid no or little heed to the conflict that opposed Haya de la Torre and Mariátegui in the late 1920s. For them, more important than clearly defined ideological allegiances was the fight to rejuvenate the Americas. This reality prompted conflict to linger rather than thrust at once the APRA into political rupture. Along with it came the possibility of compromise and conciliation. Unlike what the pro Haya de la Torre group (herein referred to as the Hayista faction) has depicted later on in the official history of the party, conflict continued to rattle APRA throughout the interwar period.

Reckoning with the prevalence of unity in conflict within APRA is crucial to my overall argument because internecine strife will continue thereafter to shape the meaning of Indo-America in different ways. Part II will show that looking at these instances in view of conflict rather than rupture in the 1930s casts a spotlight on a crucial reality: to exert control over APRA demanded constant negotiations and (often cunning) strategizing. The implications that conflict had for the production of political knowledge, and for the evolution of the Indo-American project in particular, will take on particular importance in what follows.

Allow me one final example before I turn to the next chapter. It concerns the Aprista committee in Paris, whose activities lend further evidence to the lack of consensus, still in the early 1930s, regarding the political associations that determined APRA. This example works more as a well surveyed reflection or, say, a sort of appendix to chapter three, than a full-fledged historical argument. The doubts that it seeks to convey, as you will see, complement my take on the notion of unity in conflict. More importantly, because I take the liberty to leapfrog a few years in what follows, this section signals the types of predicaments that traversed APRA in the early 1930s and which I will address in part II.

On 28 August 1930 the director of the Renseignement Généraux in France wrote to the police prefect of Paris to inform him of the existence of a political association in the French capital named “A.P.R.A.”¹¹⁶ The report mentions twenty or so members, all Peruvians, who were expected to engage in acts of violence against the Peruvian legation shortly. The reasons for the likelihood of such disturbances remained unspecified, though we can easily surmise that the overthrow of the Leguía government three days earlier spurred Aprista exiles in France on to planning some sort of militant activities. The report intuited right. About ten Peruvian students sneaked into the offices of the Peruvian legation the evening of the following day to summon at once the resignation of their diplomatic minister. As evidenced by the exchanges that ensued between unruffled French authorities and a calm Peruvian diplomatic staff, this ruckus ultimately caused little commotion. The students were rapidly subdued and expelled from the diplomatic premise without fanfare. They apparently left no cause to worry in the future for the object of their protest.¹¹⁷ A police report

¹¹⁶ The Service des Renseignements Généraux is a French intelligence agency that was created in 1911.

¹¹⁷ [Télégramme], « A 17h15 Rue Chateaubriand 14 à la Légation du Pérou, » Paris, 29 Août, 1930; Letter from Le Directeur des Renseignements Généraux et des Jeux à Monsieur le Préfet de Police, Paris, le 30 août 1930; Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Paris, France, BA 2145 – Pérou, Amérique du Sud.

concluded as much on 30 August 1930, noting, “Le Chancelier de la Légation a semblé n’attacher que peu d’importance à l’incident d’hier et il tient surtout à ce qu’il ne soit pas ébruité.”¹¹⁸

Most striking in the series of exchanges between the French intelligence service and the municipal police regarding this particular incident is the way in which the former termed APRA. In the initial report, the acronym of APRA stood for the Association Prolétarienne Révolutionnaire Américaine (American Proletarian Revolutionary Association).¹¹⁹ It is unclear whether the communist label in use – a *proletarian* association, instead of the commonly known *popular* alliance – was here accurate to refer to the way APRA members in Paris dubbed their political movement, or whether it resulted from poor translation skills. The author of the missive was then reporting on information originally collected by the secretary of the Peruvian legation in Paris, M. Emilio Ortiz de Zevallos, and could very well have misinterpreted the meaning of the APRA acronym. Still, on several other occasions later that fall police reports labelled APRA in similar terms. More reports continued to dub APRA a proletarian revolutionary association in 1933 as well.¹²⁰

The truth and the matter is that French intelligence services scrambled to gather information on the so-called “Association Prolétarienne Révolutionnaire Américaine.” The municipal police confessed being completely unacquainted with this group as of 20 August 1930.¹²¹ Reports exchanged the previous year between the French Ministry of the Interior and its peers from the

¹¹⁸ “The legal official at the embassy paid little heed to yesterday’s incident and hopes that it remains muted.” Letter from Le Directeur des Renseignements Généraux et des Jeux à Monsieur le Préfet de Police, Paris, le 30 août 1930, Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Paris, France, BA 2145 – Pérou, Amérique du Sud.

¹¹⁹ Letter from Le Directeur des Renseignements Généraux et des Jeux à Monsieur le Préfet de Police, « A.S. d’une surveillance à la Légation du Pérou, » Paris, le 28 août 1930, Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Paris, France, BA 2145 – Pérou, Amérique du Sud.

¹²⁰ Consult for example Le Préfet de Police à Monsieur le Président du Conseil, Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction de la Sûreté Générale – Contrôle des Services de Police Administrative), Paris, le 29 septembre 1930; Report AC-3, « Association Prolétarienne Révolutionnaire Américaine, » Septembre 1930; Report AC-3, « Association Prolétarienne Révolutionnaire Américaine, » Septembre 1930; Archives Nationales de Paris, Ministère de l’Intérieur, F713435 Pays Étrangers, Surveillance de leurs ressortissants résidents en France, Amérique Latine (1914-1933), Pérou.

¹²¹ Police report A/ 9.791, « Association Prolétarienne Révolutionnaire Américaine », Paris le 30 août 1930; Police report A/ 9.791 - 2, « Association Prolétarienne Révolutionnaire Américaine », Paris le 16 octobre 1930; Archives Nationales de Paris, Ministère de l’Intérieur, F713435 Pays Étrangers, Surveillance de leurs ressortissants résidents en France, Amérique Latine (1914-1933), Pérou.

services of Foreign Affairs corroborated that the presence of an APRA group in Paris had never been observed prior to the incident at the Peruvian legation.¹²² It seems that one prime reason for this lack of surveillance data had to do with the channels through which APRA exiles participated in political activities in the French capital. Many of the Peruvian students who lived in Paris and who individually identified with APRA, in effect, tended to engage in forms of public political militancy under the guise of their formal affiliation to the Association Générale des Étudiants Latino-Américains (AGELA).¹²³

It is also true that the number of APRA members in the French capital, never high-ranking to begin with, had dramatically plummeted after the revolt of Arequipa triggered the homecoming of Aprista exiles in the summer of 1930 (more on this event and on its repercussions in chapter 4). The French surveillance services confirmed this trend. On 1st April 1931, a report noted that “la plupart des ressortissants péruviens connus pour leurs opinions révolutionnaires, ont quitté la capitale, soit volontairement, soit à la suite de mesures administratives prises à leur égard.”¹²⁴ A handful of Peruvian students nevertheless stayed in Paris and, from there, remained active and engaged with their association to APRA.

¹²² Police report A. C. -4, Paris le 28 mars 1929; Le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction de la Sûreté Générale) à Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères (Direction des Affaires Politiques et Commerciales), « A/s d’organisations latino-américaines, » 3 avril 1929; Archives Nationales de Paris, Ministère de l’Intérieur, F713435 Pays Étrangers, Surveillance de leurs ressortissants résidents en France, Amérique Latine (1914-1933), Pérou. However, this was inaccurate. Material on APRA dating from 1927 can be found in the archives of the Ministry of Interior. Consult Archives Nationales de Paris, Ministère de l’Intérieur, F713435 Pays Étrangers, Surveillance de leurs ressortissants résidents en France, Amérique Latine (1914-1933), Nicaragua 1927.

¹²³ The AGELA was a Latin American student organization first established around 1925. It served as a hotbed of anti-imperialism in the French capital. Arturo Taracena Arriola, “La Asociación General de Estudiantes Latinoamericanos de Paris (1925-1933),” *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos*, Universidad de Costa Rica, Vol. 15, No. 2 (1989): 61-80. Le Préfet de Police à Monsieur le Président du Conseil, Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction de la Sûreté Générale – Contrôle des Services de Police Administrative), Paris, le 29 septembre 1930; Report AC-3, « Association Proletarienne Révolutionnaire Américaine, » Septembre 1930; Archives Nationales de Paris, Ministère de l’Intérieur, F713435 Pays Étrangers, Surveillance de leurs ressortissants résidents en France, Amérique Latine (1914-1933), Pérou.

¹²⁴ « A.S. de l’arrivée à Paris de l’ex-président de la République du Pérou, » 1^{er} avril 1931, Archives Nationales de Paris, Ministère de l’Intérieur, F713435 Pays Étrangers, Surveillance de leurs ressortissants résidents en France, Amérique Latine (1914-1933), Pérou.

In April 1933, the municipal police reported on the activities that the “American Proletarian Revolutionary Association” was then spearheading in the French capital. This report mentions two things of interest to consider. First, it indicates that Eudosio Rabines was the general secretary of APRA and, since 1932, of the Communist Party in Peru as well. Second, it underscores the collaboration that existed in Paris between APRA and the Latin American Student Union, a student organization close to the French Communist Party.¹²⁵ Both took active part in protests organized in Paris by The Cuban Revolutionary Committee Against Dictatorships.¹²⁶ Moreover, in summer 1933 the Latin American Student Union fronted a liberation campaign in favor of Eudosio Ravines, who was then imprisoned in Peru.¹²⁷ In all fairness, there is in the end very little conclusion one can extract with certainty from these pieces of evidence. In Paris in 1932-1933, in effect, Latin American students worked together against imperialism, in line with a united front logic. Alliances between communist and nationalist anti-imperialist organizations were therefore not just conceivable but to be sure highly probable as well.

Nevertheless, these facts are important because they lead to interrogations that have yet to be raised. Why did French police reports emphasize the socialist inclinations of APRA, let alone omit to comment on the significance of its anti-imperialist claims, precisely at a time when this group is known to have leapt into organizing the middle sectors of Peru into the vanguard of the

¹²⁵ Cuban, Venezuelan, and Bolivian exiles had founded this association in Paris in the course of 1932. Le Directeur des Renseignements Généraux et des Jeux à Monsieur le Préfet de Police, « A.S. de l'Union Latino-Américaine des Étudiants, » 13 avril 1933, Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Paris, France, BA 2143 – AGELA: Association Générale d'Étudiants Latino-Américains, l'Association des Nouveaux Émigrés Révolutionnaires de Cuba, Amérique Centrale et Caraïbes (A.G.E.L.A.).

¹²⁶ The Cuban Revolutionary Committee Against Dictatorships (“le Comité révolutionnaire cubain contre les dictatures») was first established around the beginning of 1933 by Cuban exiles. This committee spearheaded in both France and Spain a series of protests that censured the government of Gerardo Machado. Bulletin du Comité Révolutionnaire Cubain contre les dictatures, « Face à la dictature », Première année, Paris, Février 1933, No. 1, Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Paris, France, BA 2143 – AGELA : Association Générale d'Étudiants Latino-Américains, l'Association des Nouveaux Émigrés Révolutionnaires de Cuba, Amérique Centrale et Caraïbes (A.G.E.L.A.). ”

¹²⁷ Le 10 juin 1933, Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Paris, France, BA 2143 – AGELA : Association Générale d'Étudiants Latino-Américains, l'Association des Nouveaux Émigrés Révolutionnaires de Cuba, Amérique Centrale et Caraïbes (A.G.E.L.A.).

nationalist revolution underway? Were these reports right in their assessments? In the early 1930s, was the division between Apristas and Communists really as clearly delineated as the literature leads us to believe? After all, several other police reports, moreover penned by different agents, held similar allegations regarding the A.P.R.A. acronym in 1930 and 1933. What have we failed to understand within Aprista dynamics in exile that has prevented us to even consider the possibility of overlapping political affiliations in APRA?

According to what scholars have told us regarding the internal divisions that rocked APRA from the end of the 1920s onward, the possibility of accuracy in these reports is nonexistent. This is for instance the conclusion reached by historian Arturo Taracena Arriola in 1989, in the pioneering article that he wrote on the anti-imperialist militancy of the Asociación General de Estudiantes Latinoamericanos (AGELA) in Paris. Citing from the same primary sources that I use in this section (from the Archives of the municipal police in Paris), Taracena Arriola readily dismissed the possibility of anything other than a typo when he stumbled upon the alien acronym in question. In the following statement about the Aprista cell in Paris, notice the inclusion of a “(sic)” right after the cited segment labels APRA a “proletarian association.” Writes Taracena Arriola:

“El 29 de setiembre de ese año, el ministro del Interior informó al Presidente del Consejo de la República que la denominada ‘Asociación Proletaria (sic) Revolucionaria Latinoamericana’ – APRA, además de no haber sido nunca registrada en la Prefectura, era minúscula y que la mayoría de sus miembros estaban afiliados a la AGELA [...]”¹²⁸

Yet the confusion regarding the exact meaning of APRA in French archives should not be so easily overlooked, for it unseals the possibility of historical meaning other than what the official history of APRA tells us. These contradictions, I contend, point to a crucial reality to this day completely dismissed from the history of APRA, one that I will continue to explore in the next

¹²⁸ Taracena Arriola, “La Asociación General de Estudiantes...”, p. 74.

chapters: who controlled this political movement was neither clear nor set in stone up until about 1933. Peruvian actors still jockeyed to impose on APRA their understanding of what this association stood for. It is only after a protracted leadership struggle that the Hayista faction successfully imposed in August 1933 the leadership of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, manned the high rungs of this political organization, and imposed on the whole movement their own understanding of the fight waiting ahead. In so doing, they also imposed their understanding of the history that had destined Haya to lead APRA and save Peru.

Part II
(1930-1945)

0.2

(Change of plans)

So now that you've grown stronger and wiser and to be fair a little more disillusioned as well: now *what?* I've asked the question before, true, and I know you have, too. So what will it be, tell me?

You're in Berlin. You pass most days of the week reading and writing. Mainly you reflect upon the world that you've seen. You need time to digest it all – yes, we all do – and you like it very much this way. Some say you're in love. Others think you're simply tired of this life of distance and travels. Are you?

At least you're more apt than before to recognize who your true friends are, you probably muse. Though perhaps you've come to realize how few friends you ever had to begin with. It's just that, and you know this very well by now, you're so smooth with your words; you're so slick at dinner parties; you're so skilled with your flatteries and your courting and your convincing others that you're right.

Haven't you seen how Magda P. looks at you? Haven't you heard how Luis H. speaks to you? Haven't you read how Anna G. boasts about you?

Oh sure you have, gordito (I've seen pictures).

People see things in you, yes. But don't flatter yourself too much: that's only one side of the story. The bigger truth is, they all want things *from* you.

Leguía is long gone now: *Go back*. There's that smell of change in the air, also (particularly) one of grandeur and ambition: *Go back*. No more republica aristocrática this time around. No more, no: if only you'd *go back*.

Please-please-please come back, you must come back, they all parrot in the movement. They need you (you know they do). They need your name, *hombre*, they need the tales that tag along your reputation to make it all work. Democracy awaits your face to show up in Peru.

So pack up. Suitcase, the Remington too (bring it, you'll need it sooner than you might think), a bit of glamour and perfume also and things back home will run smoothly for you, no doubt about it, yes, this time around is your time (and also a little bit Peru's as well).

The *compañeros* have prepared everything for you: the field, the campaign, the paperwork, the program, the smiles on people's face when they hear your name, usually up north, on the coast, too, where the sugar cane grows thick and strong.

Just show up.

Everybody's waiting for you, they keep telling you. Not only the movement, they promise, but also the baker from Cajamarca and the carpenter from Lambayeque and the mother from La Libertad who can't even vote anyway but who raves about you all of the time and who simply won't stop talking about how you'll make her life so much easier once you're back and take up the fight, this she repeats to us, over and over I swear, each time she comes to the little *tiendita* to get a couple of cold Crystals for her man and her papa.

Chapter 4: Travels

When Portal toured Central America in 1929 in her capacity as an APRA leader, one journalist said of her: “Dotada de esa curiosa inquietud que es el síntoma más legítimo de un temperamento recio, ha penetrado en el alma de todos estos países en vías de formación, con la misma sutileza, con el mismo ojo clínico de un cirujano. Y es claro, su visión profunda le ha revelado el mal; y su intuición luminosa le ha sugerido el remedio.”¹ From the late 1920s onward, journalists and literary critics celebrated time and again the peculiar continental sensitivity of Magda Portal. All pointed to the emotional connection that she had recently developed with Indo-America. Many also depicted Portal as a woman of action, a poet and political analyst who was honing her revolutionary credentials by way of travels in Hispano-American countries. “Magda Portal, además de figurar como escritora, es mujer de acción,” wrote a Puerto Rican reporter in 1929 upon announcing her awaited arrival to the island. After Cuba, it was now Puerto Ricans’ turn to have the opportunity to meet and honor “a una de las mujeres más representativas de América” and to benefit from the series of conferences she was scheduled to deliver on a variety of topics, including Mexican arts, South American politics, Vanguard literature, as well as “otros asuntos de interés para

¹ Newspaper clipping, José Abad Ramos, “Magda Portal,” *La correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, [1929], Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 10, Folder 10.11

el elemento femenino.”² José Abad Ramos similarly spun the merits of Portal in light of her ability to harmonize intellectual and artistic creation with the necessity of revolutionary action. Retreating into the comfort of mere abstractions was not one of Portal’s aspirations. “Portal,” Ramos wrote in 1929, “más que una poetisa del arte revolucionario, más que una ensayista vertebrada, más que un temperamento en tensión emotiva, es una fuerza en acción, un hontanar trémulo de dinamismo, un metal liquido en fusión continua.”³ Still another article depicted Portal as a key ideologue for the Americas, whose promotion of economic unity of “América India” came hand in hand with the necessity to foster a spiritual national consciousness, also American in nature, concluded the reporter.⁴

Whether reporters preferred Portal’s ideological credentials or favored her poetic prowess, one fact invariably returns in these stories. This APRA leader was a woman of action, and she owed this title to her travels across the continent. Portal’s open and sensitive mind had allegedly enabled her to sense and perceive subtleties about the American reality that rational analyses alone would have missed. Portal was able to develop a complex structural understanding of the commonalities among the individual countries of the continent thanks to the integration of political theory into her artistic approach. Travels had transformed her into a polyvalent and complete revolutionary.

These metaphors were not the sole prerogative of foreign reporters. Historian Martín Bergel has perceptively coined the term “nomad culture” to understand better how Aprista exiles came to appreciate and define their peculiar form of political proselytism during the late 1920s.⁵ Bergel contends that “El nomadismo dinámico perceptible en la praxis de quienes lo profesaban reforzaba

² [n.d.], “Llega Hoy a Puerto Rico la poetisa y escritora hispanoamericana Magda Portal,” [newspaper clipping], Puerto Rico, 1929; Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 10, Folder 10.10.

³ Newspaper clipping, José Abad Ramos, “Magda Portal...”

⁴ [n.d.], “Magda Portal, Vendrá,” [newspaper clipping], Puerto Rico, 1929, Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 10, Folder 10.10.

⁵ Martín Bergel, “Nomadismo proselitista y revolución. Notas para una caracterización del primer exilio aprista (1923-1931),” Universidad de Buenos Aires / Programa de Historia Intelectual de la Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2008, pp. 2-3.

la idea de que los jóvenes peruanos encarnaban un tipo nuevo de intelectual: aquel que se legitimaba a través de la incesante acción.”⁶ The primacy of action was not, however, tantamount to populist anti-intellectual discourses. Rather, the development of a nomad culture by the late 1920s, associated with world travels and militant action, helped define who were true and genuine revolutionaries in the movement. This regime of travel authority carried on the Peruvian scene in the early 1930s as APRA exiles began their homecoming in the months preceding and immediately following the downfall of the Leguía regime.

Chapter four focuses on the period that corresponds to the integration of the international APRA into the national Peruvian APRA party (PAP). It starts in August 1930, when APRA exiles began to return to Peru, and ends in October 1931, after the electoral defeat of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre at the hands of president elect Luis Miguel Sánchez Cerro. It shows that a discourse that emphasized travels as a mean to prop up the legitimacy of Aprista ideologues as men and women of action, as well as to bolster the accuracy of their political analyses, enabled the nascent Peruvian APRA party to reconcile with the obligation of militant action the mosaic of laborious intellectual reflections it sought to share with Peruvian people. More specifically, referring to stories of past travels and of connections with the rest of Indo-America helped APRA leaders validate their political authority before a Peruvian audience, which to be fair had remained fairly ignorant of their existence until the Peruvian winter of 1930. Doing so similarly bolstered the symbolic power of the Hayista faction vis-à-vis Aprista peers in Peru who had not experienced exile.

Five sections underpin my argument in chapter four. To begin, I give a succinct historical overview of the political changes that rocked Peru in the Peruvian winter of 1930. These changes led to a period of political opening propitious to the homecoming of Peruvian exiles. The second part

⁶ Martín Bergel, “Nomadismo proselitista y revolución. Notas para una caracterización del primer exilio aprista (1923-1931),” Universidad de Buenos Aires / Programa de Historia Intelectual de la Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2008, p. 23.

tackles the question of the return of APRA exiles to Peru in 1930. APRA needed time to organize and recuperate. The third sheds light on what was ideologically at stake for a movement that had evolved in different geographies and thanks to the initiative of various actors. In the fourth section, I introduce and explicate the notion of the travel trope. My treatment of the travel trope focuses on the year 1930. The final section turns to 1931 and the need to organize the party more effectively in the face of forthcoming elections. It shows that the use of the travel trope continued to assist the leadership of those who manned the Hayista faction in PAP.

Sociologist Daniel Iglesias argues that the word Indo-America appeared as a core constituent of the Aprista ideology toward 1930 only. According to him, Haya de la Torre pushed forward the Indigenist agenda of his project of hemispheric unity as a way to resist the charges that Julio Antonio Mella and José Carlos Mariategui increasingly mounted against him after 1928. Both posited that ethnic and racial inequalities would disappear in Peru the moment Indians, *Mestizos*, and Blacks would be transformed into workers.⁷ Haya de la Torre refused this reasoning and instead made the Indio the symbol of APRA, says Iglesias. “Ce fut véritablement la réaction de Haya de la Torre à ces accusations,” he writes, “qui donna la tonalité identitaire à son organisation. Il accentua le caractère indigéniste de cette dernière, tout en prenant soin de prendre ses distances avec une trop grande mythification du passé indien latino-américain.”⁸ This is a very fair assessment of one important component that factored into the crafting of the Indo-American project. Though it is in my view important to mention, as seen in the previous chapter, that it is also precisely at that point in time that Haya de la Torre travelled to Central America.⁹

⁷ Daniel Iglesias, « Redécouverte et idéologisation de l’Amérique latine par l’Alliance populaire révolutionnaire américaine, » in Annie Blondel-Loisel et Éliane Talbot ed. (*Re) découvertes des Amériques. Entre conflits, rencontres et recherche d’identité*, Paris : l’Harmattan, 2012, p. 164.

⁸ “It is in response to these accusations that Haya de la Torre began to anchor his organization to questions of identity. He accentuated the indigenous character of the latter, while altogether taking pains to avoid over-mythifying the Indian past of Latin America.” *Idem*, pp. 163-164.

⁹ Jussi Pakkasvirta, “Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre en Centroamérica: ¿La primera y última fase del aprismo internacional?” *Revista de Historia*, No. 44 (2001): 9-31.

Iglesias further highlights that the word Indo-America became thereafter a central node of the aprista discourse. This word, he writes, “devint à partir de 1930 l’un des principaux points de ralliement lexical aux principes apristas, malgré la disparition de l’APRA en tant que réseau organisationnel continental au profit de la fondation du Parti apriste péruvien en 1930.”¹⁰ I agree with the first part of his statement, though I contend, in contrast to Iglesias here, that the reason why Indo-America became so ideologically central to APRA starting in 1930 has everything to do with the creation of a national party in Peru.¹¹ In other words, the central place that Indo-America came to occupy in the Aprista program did not happen *despite* the creation of PAP, but precisely because of it. Where Iglesias sees a paradox, I point to a causal relationship. This chapter begins to explain why.

Changing Scene

Revolutionary moments rise hurriedly and blaze just as swiftly. In the prologue to the 2007 publication of historians of Bolivia Forrest Hylton and Sinclair Thomson, Adolfo Gilly offers a superb reflection on the temporality of arcane revolutionary processes. Some readers may be left with a riddle to fathom, for in Gilly’s text the ephemeral nature of a revolution is matched only by the stamina of its lasting tremors. The break in time revolutions create is short, says Gilly. But their glow radiates reflections of impending orders. It trails behind fleeting moments of ignition. It haunts with prospects of betterment political imaginaries that have yet to see the light. And although experience tells us that the dreams and yearnings that these moments set free frequently morph into

¹⁰ “Became in 1930 the main rallying point in the Aprista discourse, despite the disappearance of APRA as an international organization and its replacement by the Peruvian Aprista party in 1930.” Iglesias, « Redécouverte et idéologisation de l’Amérique latine... », p. 164.

¹¹ Pakkasvirta drew similar conclusions in 2001. He contends that the return of Haya de la Torre to Peru in 1931 hurt the radical continental project born in the 1920s. Again, I argue in contrast that it is because APRA exiles returned to Peru that Indo-America remained a core component of the Aprista program. APRA leaders in Peru needed to appeal to foreign allies by way its revolutionary lexicon. Pakkasvirta, “Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre en Centroamérica...,” p. 16.

little more than forlorn hopes, still a revolution “has repercussions in places and in times yet to come.”¹² These moments of revolt, Gilly writes, “those breaks in time whose duration should be multiplied by their intensity, can later be suspended and converted into memory and the past. But they also become lived experience and, as a result, ongoing reverberations into all the possible futures of those who lived through those moments as a people.”¹³

In Peru, the rise to power of Major Luis Miguel Sánchez Cerro in August 1930 marked the onset of one such moment. A combination of frantic hopes and political shadows took hold of the country as a successful military revolt, first launched in the Southern province of Arequipa on 22 August 1930, wound up three days later toppling the government of Augusto B. Leguía.

Historian Steve Stein observes that “Sánchez Cerro arrived in Lima on August 29 to be greeted by the largest public demonstration in Peruvian history up to that time.”¹⁴ Other scholars locate in this coup the beginning of mass politics in Peru.¹⁵ Because sixty years of spurious party politics had eroded the faith that Peruvians placed in civilian politicians, Sánchez Cerro, a mestizo of humble origins with a military background, epitomized the promise of a new Peru. Many believed he was the leader that the country needed to save the nation and rid once and for all the government of political corruption. For the very first time in the history of the country, the masses of Peru stepped in, asking for their share of the pie. They were determined to be heard and equally poised to redress the rift between the discourse of political inclusion and practice of exclusion that had characterized the past hundred years of Republican order.

For all its worth, however, the revolt of Arequipa served more as the catalyst that set free the revolutionary potential of the masses of Peru than the cause that inspired protagonists to throng the

¹² Adolfo Gilly, “Prologue: The Spirit of Revolt”, in Forrest Hylton and Sinclair Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons: Past and Present in Bolivian Politics*, London and New York: Verso, 2007, p. xvii.

¹³ *Idem*, p. xix.

¹⁴ Steve Stein, *Populism in Peru: The Emergence of the Masses and the Politics of Social Control*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1980, p. 84.

¹⁵ Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, *La crisis presente, 1914-1939*, Lima : Ediciones “Mercurio Peruano,” [1940].

streets of Lima. To explain the rapid politicization of the masses of Peru henceforth, and the curiosity that drove many youths of Peru to Aprismo in particular, Armando Villanueva insists on the underlying political tensions that gripped Peru in the decade preceding the coup. He states:

“Creo que es muy importante ubicarnos en el último trimestre de 1930, desde la caída de Leguía. Esta produjo conmoción nacional a la cual no fuimos ajenos los muchachos, los adolescentes de ese tiempo porque de una forma u otra todas las familias y el pueblo estaban comprometidos de alguna manera. [...] de modo que en ese momento muy pocos quedaron al margen. Por eso cabe observar que mucha gente de mi generación se politizó, porque desde jóvenes vivimos una situación dramática e insurgente y netamente política en el país.”¹⁶

The deepening chasm between the expectations of change initially brought forth by the Leguía government (1919-1923) and the reality of his last term in office (1923-1930) had become untenable by the time Sánchez Cerro victoriously marched on the Peruvian capital on 29 August 1930. Whereas the ascension of Leguía to the presidency of Peru in 1919 had tolled the knell of the Aristocratic Republic, ultimately his attempts to liquidate the old political order and modernize Peru did not meet expectations. By the end of his *Oncenio* (eleven-year presidential period), Leguía had fallen in disgrace before the popular sectors of Peru, who now wondered whether this “Patria Nueva,” so cheerfully announced at the beginning of his presidential mandate, had anything to do with them after all: Peru looked more like a playground for foreign investors and US administrative cadres than the modern Peruvian nation Leguía had promised to bring about.

Many areas of contention caused resentment. A foreign-sponsored model of economic development had led Peru to rely primarily on the influx of capital from abroad, leaving its finances at the mercy of volatile world markets. The lavish guarantees that the government had conceded on the country’s natural resources in exchange for loans from US creditors contributed to further erode

¹⁶ Armando Villanueva y Pablo Macera, *Arrogante Montonero*, Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2011, p. 48.

the economic sovereignty of Peru. In the same way, to better “modernize” the state apparatus and help administer its swelling bureaucracy (between 1920 and 1931, the number of public employees in Peru increased by 544.6 percent, passing in just a little over a decade from 975 to 6 285), Leguía aggressively recruited North American citizens for governmental offices.¹⁷ And even as the traditional elite saw its political authority plummet, the socio-economic privileges of the upper classes remained unaffected. The only few Peruvians who in fact managed to make considerable gains during the *Oncenio* constituted a small, select group of rising financial plutocrats, including bankers, merchants, and landowners, who owed their newfound power to cronyism and clientelistic networks.¹⁸

The shaky combination of external funding and internal repression on which Leguía had founded the cornerstone of his “modern” presidency eventually faltered.¹⁹ Toward the end of the decade, mounting resentment against his rule became apparent from all sides. Politically despoiled Civilistas swore to take revenge on the man who had defeated them; students and intellectuals, frustrated by stillborn university reforms and political prevarication, blamed Leguía for renegeing on the progressive measures of his initial years in power; workers, gripped by the burden of inflation and the threat of state repression, resented his cooptation of labor militancy to the detriment of revolutionary syndicalism and aspired to more autonomy for the organized labor movement.²⁰ The Wall Street crash of 1929 finished crippling the ascendancy of the Leguía regime. Peruvian exports plunged overnight. Short term capital fled the country. By 1930, with spiralling social unrest on one

¹⁷ Stein, *Populism in Peru...*, pp. 39, 53.

¹⁸ Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la Republica del Perú, 5. Ed. Aumentada y corr.*, Lima: Ediciones Historia, 1961-1964, pp. 3614-3617, 4219-4222; Lucie Bullick, *Pouvoir militaire et société au Pérou aux XIXe et XXe siècles*, Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999, pp. 76-82; Stein, *Populism in Peru...*, pp. 18-48, 53-55.

¹⁹ Bullick, *Pouvoir militaire et société au Pérou...*, p. 81.

²⁰ Orazio A. Ciccarelli, *The Sánchez Cerro Regimes in Peru, 1930-1933*, Ph. D. diss., University of Florida, 1969, pp. 15-16; Paulo Drinot, *The Allure of Labor: Workers, Race, and the Making of the Peruvian State*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011, pp. 105-109.

side, and Peruvian authorities at a loss for answers to an economic depression they did not understand on the other, the country was on the verge of political chaos.²¹

Homecoming

The Hayista faction swiftly capitalized on the events that rocked Peru in August 1930. To be sure, even from afar Peruvian exiles easily recognized the smell of change that was hovering over their country. On 25 August 1930, only three days after the onset of the revolt of Arequipa, the *New York Times* received a card bearing the picture of the Peruvian APRA leader, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre. On the reverse side, a public declaration announced: “The Nationalist party of Peru has named the illustrious exile Haya de la Torre, the symbol of a new Peru, as popular and national candidate for the Presidency of the republic.” The card portrayed Haya de la Torre as “the tireless fighter for the spiritual and material emancipation of the people,” the soldier for social justice that Peru needed to free the nation from “the claws of the traitorous and decrepit tyrant.”²²

No election was scheduled to be taking place in Peru any time soon, but for the APRA exiles who sponsored the candidacy of Haya de la Torre as president of Peru, this detail mattered less than did their determination to draw attention to their group. The Comité Ejecutivo Internacional del APRA had been watching political events in Peru closely in the previous months.²³ In addition to readying Apristas to return home shortly, members of this umbrella committee, comprising a number of sections and groups of APRA militants sprawled between Paris, Berlin, Buenos Aires, Bolivia, and Chile, had begun to set in motion plans to organize a Peruvian section of APRA.²⁴

²¹ Enrique Chirinos Soto, *Historia de la Republica, 1930-1985, Tomo II*, Lima: Editores Importadores S.A., 1985, pp. 63-72.

²² “Peruvians Put Exile in Presidential Race,” *The New York Times*, August 26, 1930, p. 9.

²³ Comité Ejecutivo Internacional del Apra a la Célula del APRA del Cuzco, “(Documento secreto) Berlín (sede temporal 25 de febrero 1930),” 25 de febrero de 1930, Archivo General del la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.2 (1931-1945).

²⁴ In February 1930, the board of directors of the International Executive Committee added up to no more than ten associates. They included: Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, General Secretary, Luis E. Heysen and Luis Enríquez for

Part of the challenge in preparing the homecoming consisted of mustering support both inside and outside Peru. On 25 February 1930, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, in his capacity as the general secretary of the Comité Ejecutivo Internacional del APRA, wrote a hefty letter to the Célula del APRA del Cuzco. It left little doubt that the primary goal of this missive was to outflank the Lima leadership, still under control of José Carlos Mariátegui at the time, and rally regional militants of APRA to his band. An excellent strategist, Haya de la Torre chose his words carefully: “Nosotros nos hemos informado que esa célula mirando más de cerca la realidad circundante y, con toda razón, se ha opuesto a aceptar estas recetas arbitrarias emanadas desde Lima.”²⁵ Striving to further exacerbate the smoldering tensions that opposed Apristas in Cuzco to their peers in the Peruvian capital, Haya de la Torre congratulated the former for demurring to a socialist program put forth in Lima. Because of their shared aversion for socialist tendencies, he continued, Apristas outside Peru and Apristas in Cuzco were bound to join position and team up in the organization of the pending revolution.²⁶

By September 1930 a dozen or so APRA exiles had returned to Peru and established themselves in the capital, from whence they would hereafter orchestrate the integration of APRA

the APRA section in Paris and the Center of Anti-Imperialist Studies, Juan Wessel for the APRA in Buenos Aires, J. Apaza Fuentes, for the Aprista Group of Berlin, Rómulo Meneses for the Peruvian Apristas of La Paz, Rómulo Meneses for the Apristas of Chile by authorization (por autorización), T. Galiano, for the APRA Cell (Célula del Apra) of [Sicuani], L. T. Cárdenas, Secretary of Propaganda, and F. Enríquez, Secretary of Discipline.

²⁵ Comité Ejecutivo Internacional del Apra a la Célula del APRA del Cuzco, “(Documento secreto)...”

²⁶ “En esta oposición estamos completamente de acuerdo, y es sin duda alguna esta comunidad de opinión la que constituye entre nosotros el más vigoroso lazo de solidaridad.” There were also doctrinal reasons that explained this rapprochement according to Haya de la Torre: “Creemos camaradas que no existen diferencias fundamentales entre nosotros. Uds. y nosotros estamos sobre la línea aprista de conquistar el poder político y económico para las clases oprimidas. Entre Uds. y nosotros de un lado y los socialistas limeños si existen diferencias fundamentales, que a pesar del disfraz ‘rojo’ con que se visten los de Lima, están claramente ante nuestros ojos como elementos de la mas peligrosa demagogia reaccionaria. Un punto doctrinario capital que nos separa de los socialistas limeños es un anti-marxista concepción del problema del Imperialismo. Para ellos imperialismo no parece significar capitalismo; para nosotros con Marx y con Lenin el imperialismo es el capitalismo en su forma mas moderna, y el capitalismo es la explotación en su forma mas refinada y si nosotros no combatimos al imperialismo, entonces no combatimos al capitalismo, y si no combatimos al capitalismo entonces no luchamos contra la explotación y si no luchamos contra la explotación no tenemos el derecho de llamarnos ni socialistas, ni comunistas, ni revolucionarios. El Apra es anti-imperialista porque es anti-capitalista.” Comité Ejecutivo Internacional del Apra a la Célula del APRA del Cuzco, “(Documento secreto)...”

into a national political party and work at the same time to diminish the clout of socialist peers in Peru.²⁷ The first party executive was founded soon after and placed under direction of Luis Eduardo Enríquez, a stalwart militant and leader of APRA who had campaigned for the movement in Paris starting in the mid-1920s (he would soon be exiled again, this time in Chile). Three departments oversaw the good functioning of the executive committee of the Peruvian section of APRA: the Department of Propaganda (Departamento de Propaganda y Redacción), divided between the office of exterior propaganda and the office of national propaganda, the Department of Economics (Departamento de Economía), and the Department of Discipline (Departamento de Disciplina). Each department was made up of one or two sub-secretaries, in addition to incorporating a couple of “miembros integrantes” as well.²⁸ Official party documents reported in mid-October 1930 that about twenty-six collaborators worked in or for the party executive, thereby confirming, or more accurately giving the impression, that the Peruvian APRA Party (PAP) was already a well-run institution with viable and organized party structures at the national level. This was not the case, as we shall see, but setting out the design of party infrastructure, and doing so conspicuously, did point to a group of undaunted militants who were girding themselves for a solid comeback into Peruvian politics.²⁹

²⁷ On APRA’s anti-communism, and more specifically on the strategies that the PAP deployed to garner support among organized labor in early 1930s Peru, consult: Paulo Drinot, “Creole Anti-Communism: Labor, The Peruvian Communist Party, and APRA, 1930-1934,” *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 92:4 (2012): 703-736. Steven Hirsch also studied the partnership established in the early 1930s between the non-communist labor movement and the Peruvian APRA party. Hirsch argues that anarcho-syndicalist unions allied with the PAP because they saw in this party a prudent left alternative to a more belligerent, and above all more controlling, Communist Party. Steven J. Hirsch, “The Anarcho-Syndicalist Roots of a Multi-Class Alliance: Organized Labor and the Peruvian Aprista Party, 1900-1930,” Ph. D. Dissertation, Faculty of Columbian School of Arts and Sciences, George Washington University, 1997.

²⁸ “Comité Directivo del A.P.R.A.,” *APRA: Órgano del frente único de trabajadores manuales e intelectuales, Partido Aprista Peruano*, Lima, No. 2, 20 de octubre de 1930, p. 3.

²⁹ The slim structure of the party executive in the fall 1930 pales in comparison to the expanded party structures of PAP three years later. As of August 31, 1933, the executive committee comprised no less than twenty ministries (secretarias) that replaced the departments: each was supervised by a team of one secretary and one sub-secretary. Comité Ejecutivo Nacional, Lima, 31 de agosto de 1933, Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 10, Folder 10.3.

APRA leaders initially shared with the masses of Peru the wave of enthusiasm that accompanied the demise of Augusto B. Leguía and the rise to power of Luis Miguel Sánchez Cerro. In October and November 1930, editorial lines in the *APRA* journal, the official mouthpiece of the Peruvian section of APRA, drew up positive assessments of what the military government had set about to do. Some articles praised the nationalist nature of the economic postulates contained in its revolutionary manifesto.³⁰ Others welcomed the establishment of civil marriage and divorce as tangible examples of the junta's willingness to address latent national problems.³¹ According to APRA, however, the most celebrated merit of the military junta remained by and large limited to the ousting of the previous regime. The Comité de Simpatizantes del Aprismo Peruano interpreted the military victory, and the end of the Leguía regime in particular, as the victory of the people of Peru: "Cabe señalar el hecho trascendente de la caída del Tirano," it stated, "como una victoria del pueblo interpretada por los oficiales y soldados que liberaron al Perú del usurpador del poder público."³²

This ad hoc committee thought along the lines of key APRA leaders and ideologues. Upon returning to the homeland, for example, Serafín Delmar similarly stressed the historical role that Sánchez Cerro had come to play for Peru. The fact that chaos reigned over contemporary Peruvian politics, he argued on October 26, did not strip away the value of the military junta's prime accomplishment, for without the intervention of the military forces in August the odds were that Peru would still be suffering the tyranny of its last despot. "Bastaría haber derrocado al senil tirano que había hecho del Perú todo el patrimonio de su clan," Delmar wrote in the *APRA* journal, "sin

³⁰ Rómulo Meneses, "La Revolución de Arequipa y los Deberes de Nuestra Revolución," *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales*, Sección Peruana, Lima, No. 2, 20 de Octubre de 1930, p. 15. The nationalist stances contained in the Arequipa Manifiesto dovetailed with the main ideological tenets of APRA. Orazio A. Ciccarelli, "The Sánchez Cerro Regimes in Peru, 1930-1933," Ph. D. diss., University of Florida, 1969, pp. 27-31.

³¹ "LA LEY DEL DIVORCIO," *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales*, Sección Peruana, Lima, No. 2, 20 de Octubre de 1930, p. 13.

³² El Comité de Simpatizantes del Aprismo Peruano, "¡Peruanos!," *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales, Partido Aprista Peruano*, Lima, No. 3, 26 de octubre de 1930, p. 3.

tener en cuenta jamás que gobernar es ciencia, para que merezca el respeto nacional.”³³ Sánchez Cerro’s pledge to split from old party politics enlivened APRA leaders who like Delmar came to view in his government a true and genuine opportunity for change in Peru.

Yet the unsteady course of political events in the months following the revolt of Arequipa turned out to be disorienting for Peruvians and external audiences alike. On 2 December 1930, the Chilean newspaper *El Mercurio* published a revealing article by Luis Alberto Sánchez entitled “La Realidad Política Peruana.” This piece appeared in an effort to clarify intricate Peruvian politics: several of the author’s friends in Chile had confessed to being unable to fully grasp the meaning and implications of “[el] movimiento revolucionario del 22 de agosto ultimo” in Peru, and although Sánchez admitted how, after weeks of political uncertainties, “no sabemos mucho más los peruanos,” he nevertheless endeavored to survey for a foreign audience the series of rocky political events that had been rattling his country in the past three months.³⁴

Like earlier editorials in the APRA journal, Sánchez’s text highlights the prevailing sense of political chaos in Peru in the spring of 1930. The end of Leguía’s *Oncenio*, Sánchez argued, while much celebrated by the masses of Peru, inadvertently brought to the fore the extent to which Peruvian public opinion had been kept at bay from political participation in the past sixty years of Republican party politics. Lacking in democratic experience, therefore, unruly masses, according to Sánchez, needed order and guidance to better channel toward constructive and lasting political transformations the feelings of resentment that they carried within them. Here, Sánchez wrote, resided the chief value of the military government in power: it guaranteed a period of order and stability during which new democratic forces would be allowed to bloom and consort with one

³³ Serafin Delmar, “Llamado a los intelectuales de Izquierda,” *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales*, Sección Peruana, Lima, No. 1, 12 de Octubre de 1930, p. 5.

³⁴ Luis Alberto Sánchez, “La realidad política peruana,” *El Mercurio*, Santiago de Chile, 12 de diciembre 1930, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores del Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1930.

another. Once politically organized, mused Sánchez, these agents of change would then be able to supervise the overhaul of the Peruvian constitutional system.³⁵

Important to Sánchez and his peers was the notion of transition – a respite, so to speak, some sort of political interlude that would help get Peru on democratic tracks. Comparing the revolutionary process in Peru to its contemporary counterparts in Argentina and Bolivia, Magda Portal stressed the merits of the Peruvian example in a way that reflected the same faith in transitional rule. While living in Santiago de Chile, she wrote in September 1930: “Y sin ningún lugar a duda, el del Perú es el que más se acerca a una política nueva, acorde con el tiempo, ya que la labor del militarismo triunfante en ese país, es como lo han declarado sus jefes, transitoria, solo durable el tiempo necesario para depurar el ambiente y preparar al país a un régimen de moralidad y verdadera reconstrucción orgánica.”³⁶

Portal’s conclusion stemmed from a larger thought process. Three years of incessant travels across Peru, Bolivia, Mexico, Central America, the French Caribbean, and now Chile, had taught her how Peruvian realities fit into a larger pattern of socio-political events particular to the Western Hemisphere. While preparing her return from Chile to Peru in the spring of 1930, Portal unsurprisingly began a reflection on the meaning that other revolutionary processes in South America conveyed for the future of the region. According to Portal, studying the revolutionary process underway in Peru would yield futile analyses if not compared to what was happening in neighboring Bolivia and Argentina. The timing of these military takeovers were uncanny. In all three countries, a military figure had taken power, but only in Peru, she stressed, did the government

³⁵ Sánchez, “La realidad política peruana...”

³⁶ Magda Portal, “El momento peruano,” *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales*, Sección Peruana, Lima, No. 1, 12 de Octubre de 1930, p. 4.

promise to expand popular participation and finish jettisoning the privileges of traditional oligarchies.³⁷

The rise to power the following month of Lieutenant Getúlio Vargas, in Brasil, lent further credence to the Aprista argument regarding the crucial and also expendable role that militaries were called to play for the coming of a new age in the Americas.³⁸ An editorial note in the journal *APRA* welcomed this upheaval as yet another proof of the implicit pact existing between the military and the masses of Latin America. “Después de muchos años,” noted the article, “se asiste a una acción militar y popular encaminada a defender los derechos y los intereses de la mayoría contra las acechanzas y malas artes de un grupo de privilegiados.”³⁹ In this interpretation, there was no apparent contradiction between the aspirations of military leaders and “los hombres libres de América Latina,”⁴⁰ for they shared a common goal: to rid Latin America of moribund political orders.

The past decade had witnessed the *Reformista* generation grow into devoted activists and sharp political theorists, but their capacity to depose the decried oligarchies had ultimately remained still and conspicuously missing. As such, militaries succeeded precisely where Apristas failed to even begin: in toppling old oligarchies, the recent spree of takeovers in the region came across as being able to sign at long last the death warrant of electoral opportunism. Everything also led to the belief that young officers were prying open the world of possibilities for which Latin American reform students had fought since 1919. Ex-reform students turned Apristas were poised to act decisively and take advantage of the opportunity.

³⁷ Luis Alberto Sánchez wrote about that period: “La era de los generales se precipita como una luctuosa tromba sobre la vida americana.” Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Haya de la Torre y el APRA*, Lima: Editorial Universo, 1980 (1954 ed.), p. 219. Portal, “El momento peruano...,” p. 4.

³⁸ The Revolution of 1930 in Brazil tolled the knell of the old oligarchy. Alain Rouquié, *L'État militaire en Amérique latine*, Paris : Éditions du Seuil, 1982, pp. 145-146.

³⁹ “El Caso ejemplar del Brasil,” *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales, Partido Aprista Peruano*, Lima, No. 4, 4 de noviembre de 1930, p. 3.

⁴⁰ *Idem*, p. 3.

Of course military regimes had their flaws, too. One major flipside of the transitional regime of Sánchez Cerro was its shortsightedness; according to PAP, there were important limitations to what a military government could do. It had successfully tumbled a mighty dictator. It also had the capacity to restore and maintain order in Peru. Still, no matter how much the soldiers loved Peru, or genuinely cared about the future of the nation, PAP contended that military regimes ultimately lacked the capacity to think globally about national problems. As a certain A.G. argued in the pages of the *APRA* journal on 20 October 1930, the nature of military formation did not permit the current administration to offer anything but short-sighted solutions to the complex predicaments that afflicted Peru as a result of the 1929 world economic crisis. “Desgraciadamente,” A.G. wrote, “la falta de visión política financiera y la falta de capacidad para problemas de este índole, muy delicados, no son del alcance de un régimen militar, por más bien intencionado que esté.”⁴¹

In contrast, thinking globally about Peru was precisely where APRA leaders claimed to excel. They warned Peruvians against wishful thinking: the military government marked the beginning of the adventure rather than its end point. The revolution of Arequipa, they maintained, while propitious and valuable, only represented a first step in the longer span of things.⁴² As APRA leader Rómulo Meneses wrote in October 1930, this revolution did not represent the success of “nuestra revolución,” referring to the revolution that vanguard elements in Peru expected to bring about, “sino en el triunfo, indirecto y enérgico de uno de nuestros principales objetivos, el abatimiento de la autocracia legista [sic] y de sus cómplices.”⁴³

If according to APRA military triumph initially hinged on its expendable nature, this became even truer starting in November 1930 after the regime of Sánchez Cerro, in a reversal of earlier

⁴¹ A.G., “Comentario Sobre la Crisis Económica,” *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales*, Sección Peruana, Lima, No. 2, 20 de Octubre de 1930, p. 13.

⁴² Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, “El Gobierno militar solo puede ser un régimen transitorio,” *Critica*, Buenos Aires, año XVII, No 6153, 27 de agosto de 1930, cited in Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Haya de la Torre y el APRA*, Lima: Editorial Universo, 1980 (1954 ed.), p. 219.

⁴³ Meneses, “La Revolución de Arequipa...,” p. 15.

positions, began to crack down on political dissidents and labor organizers as a mean to maintain order in Peru. From then on APRA members assailed the government, censuring its authoritarian rule. Still we should not downplay the sanguine hope that Apristas initially placed in the political context of Peru in the fall of 1930. A tangible sense of excitement pervaded the entire country, giving way to shared enthusiasm that heartened spirits and thrust many into believing that this time around things would be different, *truly* different. A new order was – seemed – around the corner.

In addition, let us not ignore the significance of what was politically at stake for the handful of exiles freshly returned to Peru. The period between August 1930 (when APRA exiles began to return home) and October 1931 (after general elections were held in Peru, resulting in the victory of Sánchez Cerro and the defeat of Haya de la Torre to president-elect Sánchez Cerro) corresponds to the integration of APRA into a national party. As a result, within a month or two of returning to Peru, APRA leaders had important strategic incentives to tout the regime of Sánchez Cerro as transitional revolutionary process. They needed time to regroup. They also needed time to breathe and think of what they had to offer to Peruvian people that others were missing.

Translating

For APRA leaders close to the Hayista faction the answer to all problems in 1930 lay in Indo-America. Because the notion of anti-imperialist consciousness was, according to them, a precondition for the development of genuine forms of nationalism in Latin America, it was of paramount importance to interpret for the masses of Peru what imperialism entailed on their home soil. The Peruvian section of APRA announced in the release of its newfound mouthpiece: “La Sección Peruana del APRA, interesada en contribuir a la formación de una efectiva conciencia anti-

imperialista indoamericana, ha juzgado necesario la creación de este órgano de publicidad.”⁴⁴ A complex work of ideological translation ran through the five issues of the *APRA* journal that appeared in the short three-week period, between 12 October 1930 and 9 November 1930, before the military junta interrupted its publication. APRA leaders had to convince the Peruvian people that APRA was not an international clique dissociated from Peruvian politics, as many of its national foes alleged. On the contrary, it claimed to offer a comprehensive framework of analysis for Peruvians to understand the place of Peru in the world as well as in History.

However, to instill in Peruvian people a consciousness that squared with their daily realities, let alone one that party affiliates all agreed upon, involved facing more than a few hurdles. One pressing concern for APRA leaders freshly returned to Peru included finding a way to coalesce the heteroclitic collection of influences and experiences that underlay their movement into one coherent philosophy of action. These actors had experienced APRA first-hand in a variety of dissimilar contexts, ranging from Aprista activities in Mexico City to anti-imperialist propaganda tours in Central America and from short stays in European countries to conference travels across the United States. Direct encounters with Latin America, as well as the experience of Latin American solidarity in the face of persecution, had profoundly yet differently altered their perceptions of nationhood and social justice. Both also affected the way in which they respectively conceived of revolution and, more importantly to Peruvian people, how they determined which revolutionary model was best suited to Peru.

There was no single answer. Approximately two weeks after returning to Peru in October 1930, Serafín Delmar devoted a two-page article in the *APRA* journal to heaping praise on the Mexican Revolution. Read one passage: “Realmente México es el crisol porvenirista de nuestros pueblos desunidos. Allí se funde la alegría y la tragedia, pugnando por conquistar la libertad

⁴⁴ APRA Sección Peruana, *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales*, No. 1, Lima, 12 de Octubre de 1930, p. 1.

colectiva. Su Revolución nos habla, abriendo cauces insospechados a la inteligencia humana.”⁴⁵ Delmar was an enthusiastic advocate of the lessons that Peruvians could draw from the Mexican case. As a result of his time there, Delmar had come to establish important parallels between Mexico and the future of the Americas.⁴⁶ Since Peru’s destiny was wedded to the fate of the continent, he stressed, then in the Mexican Revolution also lay the salvation of Peru.⁴⁷ Wrote Delmar: “Al hablar de México, estamos hablando de América misma, y al hablar del proceso de su revolución estamos haciendo nuestro futuro.”⁴⁸ It was simply impossible, according to him, to envision the national liberation of Peru – or of any single Latin American country – without first granting close attention to the lessons of turn-of-the-century Mexico.

Magda Portal, who also resided in Mexico City between 1927 and 1929, underscored years later in her unpublished memoirs the profound and lasting impact that Mexico had on her understanding of revolution. Like Delmar, her reminiscences reveal a growing attachment to Indo-America as a foil for the limitations of Europe as radical and heuristic geography:

“México marca en mi vida cambios fundamentales. Mi deseo de conocer este país, sus revoluciones, sus reformas, y la fuerza creadora de sus hijos, fueron incentivos suficientes para no optar por Europa y su civilización en decadencia, sino aprender de un país que

⁴⁵ Serafín Delmar, “El ejemplo de México,” *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales*, Partido Aprista Peruano, Lima, No. 3, 26 de Octubre de 1930, p. 12.

⁴⁶ A few studies have looked at the importance that the Mexican Revolution had for Peruvian intellectuals close to or part of APRA. The most recent ones include Daniel Iglesias, « Redécouverte et idéologisation de l’Amérique Latine par l’Alliance Populaire Révolutionnaire Américaine », in Annie Blondel-Loisel and Eliane Talbot ed., *(Re)découvertes des Amériques, Entre conflits, rencontres et recherche d’identité*, Paris, L’Harmattan, 2013, pp.155-166; Roberto Padilla Moreno, “México y su revolución en la Revista Amauta, 1926-1930,” *Magíster en Historia*, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2008; Ricardo Melgar Bao, “La tierra sin mal: ‘La patria Mexicana es más grande que México’,” en *Redes e imaginario del exilio en México y América Latina: 1934-1940*, Argentina: Libros en Red, 2003, pp. 47-55.

⁴⁷ After his deportation from Peru in June 1927 for alleged communist activities, and following a brief stay in Cuba, Delmar had traveled to Mexico City where he had established and helped found the first Comité Aprista de México. There, Delmar grew into a prominent Indoamerican ideologue. As press secretary of the APRA cell in Mexico and director of the journal *Indoamérica*, he supervised the evolution and diffusion of the continental program of APRA while reflecting upon American art. “Datos Biográficos sobre Serafín Delmar,” *Serafín Delmar. Su vida y su obra*, Buenos Aires : Editorial Claridad, 1936.

⁴⁸ Delmar, “El ejemplo de México...,” p. 12.

amanecía a nuevas expectativas vitales, pese a la vecindad de uno de sus mas empecinados depredadores, tanto de sus riquezas como de su territorio.”⁴⁹

Reproductions of pictures emblematic of the Mexican Revolution, like the one published in the second issue of the *APRA* journal, where below a sickle, a cartridge belt, and an ear of corn an inscription read: “Símbolo del nuevo Perú,”⁵⁰ reflect the parallels that APRA as a group attempted to draw, still in 1930, between their movement and the legacy of the most celebrated national revolution of Latin America. Articles, poems, and slogans that sang the praises of Mexico also appeared in the pages of the *APRA* journal all through 1931.⁵¹

Significantly, the fact that the radical course of the Mexican revolution had receded in the late 1920s did not shake the faith APRA leaders placed in this revolutionary paragon. Quite the opposite, in fact, this turnabout only reinforced their case for the political union of Latin American countries. Magda Portal amply wrote on the subject. Her reasoning alleged that the need to phase out the most radical components of the Mexican Revolution was the result of diplomatic pressure from the US government. This latest string of disillusiones, therefore, was yet another argument to bemoan US intervention in the region. It likewise confirmed that social change in the Americas would only become possible once the people of the Americas joined forces.⁵²

Yet the US consul of Lima-Callao was not wrong to report to the Secretary of State, on 27 October 1930, that APRA interpreted the reality of Peru through the gaze of Central American

⁴⁹ Magda Portal, Box 2, Folder 2.7, *Trazos Cortados* [autobiography], Draft, n.d., Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin.

⁵⁰ Meneses, “La Revolución de Arequipa...,” p. 1. Photographer Tina Modotti shot the original picture of this reproduction.

⁵¹ “Corrido de la Revolución Mexicana,” *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales*, Partido Aprista Peruano, Lima, No. 2, 20 de Octubre de 1930, p. 5. “Emiliano Zapata, apóstol y mártir de la Revolución agraria de México y precursor de la lucha antifeudal de América Latina,” *APRA: Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales. Órgano del Partido Aprista Peruano*, No. 4, Lima, 21 de marzo de 1931, p. 1. Carlos Manuel Cox, “El Mensaje Revolucionario de México. El agrarismo y Emiliano Zapata,” *APRA: Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales. Órgano del Partido Aprista Peruano*, No. 2, Lima, Julio 8 de 1931, p. 4.

⁵² Magda Portal, “Desmembración de territorios latino-americanos: México,” in *América Latina frente al imperialismo y Defensa de la Revolución Mexicana*, Lima: Editorial Cahuilde, 1931, pp. 22-24.

expressions of imperialism. On that day, US consul William C. Burdett briefed the Secretary of State on key aspects of the anti-imperialist and Pan-American policies of APRA, a new political player increasingly active in Peru, inferred the seven-page report, which bore watching closely. According to Burdett, APRA drew important parallels between Peru and Central American and Caribbean countries that chafed against US occupation on their home soil. “The argument of Apra,” he wrote, “places Peru in the same class with Nicaragua, Haiti, Santo Domingo and Cuba under American tutelage.”⁵³

The region had indeed played a pivotal role for the awakening of influential APRA leaders and ideologues to the imperialist dangers that lay in wait for Peru. Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre and Magda Portal, for example, having come face to face with Central American realities in the late 1920s, conceded to being deeply shaken by what they had there witnessed. Remembering recent travels in Central America, Haya de la Torre stated in [192?]: “mi reciente viaje por Centroamérica, tan fecundo en trascendentes experiencias, me ha permitido ver de cerca la lucha de uno de los más importantes sectores de la América Latina contra el imperialismo invasor de los Estados Unidos del Norte.”⁵⁴ Magda Portal made similar remarks. Following her return to the homeland in October 1930, the memory of recent travels in Central America and the French Caribbean informed how she approached Peruvian problems. “En estos pueblos,” she told Peruvian reporters in October 1930, “el Imperialismo no tiene ningún disfraz.” Portal cautioned Peruvians against deceitful appearances. Unlike what she had recently witnessed in those regions, where the brutal actuality of US invasion transpired within eyesight and earshot on a daily basis, the reality of imperialist intrusion in South

⁵³ William C. Burdett, “Haya de la Torre, Peruvian Radical Leader,” American Consulate general, Callao-Lima, Peru, October 27, 1930, p. 5, Folder 2, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

⁵⁴ “My recent trip to Central America, which fueled transcendental experiences, enabled me to closely observe the struggle that one of the most important areas of Latin America was leading against the invading imperialism of the United States.” Haya de la Torre, “La lucha de Centroamérica contra el imperialismo,” (Costa Rica, 1928) in *¿A dónde va Indoamérica?*, Santiago de Chile: Editoriales Ercilla, 1935, p. 41.

America was much more illusive, its forms of encroachment much more insidious. As a result, warned Portal, imperialism in Peru was prone to go unnoticed.⁵⁵ She further argued that all over South America, in fact, “la conciencia anti-imperialista tarda aun en manifestarse de acuerdo con la fuerza de su penetración.”⁵⁶

These examples hint at the variety of perspectives that coexisted in APRA in 1930. At that point in time, the Aprista doctrine looked more like a work of collage than a mature ideological proposal. More time, and above all more stability, were necessary to digest and assemble the bits and pieces of influences that underlay both the coming of age of reform-minded students and labor organizers in exile and their subsequent transformation into APRA militants and leaders. The *pensamiento Haya de la Torre*, for example, which in the Aprista lore has passed to designate the APRA doctrine, made its first appearance, but in fragmentary form only. A genesis of this concept was first published in the pages of the APRA journal, on 20 October 1930. It tellingly bore the title “Pensamientos de Haya de la Torre,” in plural rather than singular form, and consisted of a collection of excerpts and slogans. Overall, these excerpts and slogans addressed problems linked to systems of domination and exploitation in Indo-America, but the lack of methodological cohesion hampered the depth of their intellectual proposal. These fragments had yet to be harmonized and subsumed into a single and polished political canon.⁵⁷

The heterogeneous ideological content that characterizes the *APRA* journal in 1930 reveals the same methodological predicament. APRA’s ability to propose to the Peruvian people a single, coherent project to salvage Indo-América was also hindered by the multiplicity of sources and inputs

⁵⁵ Magda Portal, “Con Magda Portal,” 26 octubre, 1930, [newspaper clipping], Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 10, Folder 10.10.

⁵⁶ Portal, “Con Magda Portal...” The series of articles that Haya de la Torre and Portal churned out following their respective stays in Central America gives further evidence of just how much influence the direct experience of US occupation shaped their political convictions. Consult: Haya de la Torre, *¿A dónde va Indoamérica...?* and Portal, *América Latina frente al imperialismo...*

⁵⁷ Partido Aprista Peruano, “Pensamientos de Haya de la Torre,” *APRA: Órgano del frente único de trabajadores manuales e intelectuales*, Lima, No. 2, 20 de Octubre de 1930, pp. 8-9.

that underlay its philosophy. As of 1930, many voices took part in defining what APRA stood for, as well as what it had to offer. Peruvians could read about the essence of modern imperialism on one page, with references to philosophers such as Karl Marx and John A. Hobson to better explicate what industrial and financial industrialism entailed for Latin America, and drastically shift, on the following page, to the spiritual benefits that were expected to come out of a synthesis between East and West in the Americas.⁵⁸ True, collaborators in the *APRA* journal all adhered to the necessity of apprehending Peru in light of continental realities. The development of a continental consciousness was, according to them, the fulcrum around which Peruvians would be able to 1) envision their place in the world, and 2) design accurate political solutions to the problems that plagued the Peruvian nation. More problematic, however, was the fact that it was not always clear at that point in time how exactly imperialist domination materialized in the lives of Peruvian people.

Peruvians had to wait until 23 August 1931 to have access to the first cohered proposal resembling something close to a political program. On that day, Haya de la Torre, the presidential candidate for the PAP in the upcoming October elections, unveiled the minimum program (*programa mínimo*) of the Peruvian APRA party before a crowd of thousands in the Plaza de Acho, a colonial bullring in the city of Lima. This document testifies to the work of translation – from global theories to everyday concerns of Peruvian citizens – undertaken by APRA leaders in the course of 1930-1931, for its contents directly and more thoroughly than ever focused on the national scene.⁵⁹ Two other documents, “Llamamiento a la Nación por el Partido Aprista” and “Manifiesto a la Nación,” had appeared earlier that year, in January and February 1931 respectively, similarly aspiring to

⁵⁸ Carlos Manuel Cox, “El Imperialismo en América Latina,” *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales*, Sección Peruana, Lima, No. 1, 12 de Octubre de 1930, pp. 8-9, 14. Antenor Orrego, “El Gran Destino de América,” *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales*, Sección Peruana, Lima, No. 1, 12 de Octubre de 1930, pp. 6-7.

⁵⁹ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, 1931, “Discurso Programa,” in *Política Aprista*, Lima: Editorial Cooperativa Aprista Atahualpa, 1933. *La Tribuna* reproduced parts of the discourse in its pages the following day. “Ante una concurrencia desbordante, Haya de la Torre trazo el plan aprista en una magistral conferencia que duro dos horas y media,” *La Tribuna*, Lunes 24 de agosto de 1931, pp. 1-2, 5, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Box 12, Folder “La Tribuna in Spanish, August, 1931,” Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

conjoin into a unified proposal analyses informed with questions of national and regional interests.⁶⁰ Because of the context of repression that was then reigning in Peru, however, their political repercussions had not gone much beyond the ambit of the party itself.

During the period corresponding to the integration of APRA into a national political party, between August 1930 and October 1931, Apristas faced two main challenges in terms of ideological adaptation. Internally, APRA leaders in Peru had to accomplish the feat to envision an ideology that, on the one hand, would remain flexible enough to encompass the variegated experiences of its founding members, while it tried to integrate, on the other, political positions particular to different APRA exiles into a single philosophy of action. Externally, the same APRA leaders needed to propose a unified proposal that Peruvian people could understand, recognize, and identify with. The travel trope assisted the Peruvian APRA party in the management of these two tasks.

Travel Trope

In *Craft and the Kingly Ideal*, a superb inquiry into the political and ideological worlds of non-industrial societies, anthropologist Mary W. Helms traces how concepts and interpretations conferred on geographical distance and distant areas affect the meaning of “tangible things acquired from such ‘outside’ places.”⁶¹ The conclusions she draws on the “symbolism attributed to geographically distant peoples, places, and things in non-Western native cosmologies” help shed light on the role that travel narratives came to play for the leaders of the Peruvian APRA party.⁶² Helm tells us geographical distance is not neutral. For members of traditional societies, she writes, “geographical distance is frequently thought to correspond with supernatural distance, such that as

⁶⁰ “Documentos Políticos del Partido Aprista Peruano,” *APRA: Órgano del Partido Aprista Peruano*, Lima, 10 de Marzo de 1931, pp. 3-6.

⁶¹ Mary W. Helms, *Craft and the Kingly Ideal: Art, Trade, and Power*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993, p. xi.

⁶² *Idem*, p. 3.

one moves away from the social center geographically one moves toward places and people that are increasingly ‘different’ and, therefore, regarded as increasingly supernatural, mythical, and powerful.”⁶³

Upon returning to Peru, APRA exiles took on the habit of telling stories of their recent travels abroad. These traveling stories displayed a symbolic apparatus that implied, not unlike kings and shamans in Helms’ work, that roaming foreign lands and exploring distant regions empowered them with rare and arcane knowledge about the world located outside Peru. In Aprista discourses, where one acquired political knowledge – everywhere, it seems, but in the Peruvian capital – mattered.⁶⁴ More important, the lived experience of exile was the linchpin of nuanced translations able to morph European theories into original Latin American Marxism. The experience of exile and travels was the seal of authority that shored up original minds in Peru. It also guaranteed the primacy of revolutionary action over abstract reasoning. At the conjuncture of these tales came what I call the travel trope.

This strategy was nothing new. In effect, travel literature became in nineteenth century Latin America one of the fundamental narratives that shaped reflections on emerging nations.⁶⁵ Dating back to the early nineteenth century, a tradition customarily drove members of the Latin American liberal elite outside the continent. Intellectuals traveled abroad, particularly to France and England, and began to use foreign scenes as a foil to think and reflect upon their own identity.⁶⁶ In this way

⁶³ Helms, *Craft and the Kingly Ideal...*, p. 7. Helms explores these dynamics in greater details in Mary W. Helms, *Ulysses’ Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988.

⁶⁴ Martín Bergel, “La desmura revolucionaria. Prácticas intelectuales y cultura del heroísmo en los orígenes del aprismo peruano (1923-1931)”, *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, 7 (2007), p. 6. Electronic version put on line on 18 May 2007: <http://nuevomundo.revues.org/documents5448.html>

⁶⁵ For a good introduction to Latin American travels in Europe, and to the ways in which early nineteenth century travelers and exiles contributed to shaping Latin American nationalism, consult Part 1, “Constructing Nations after Independence and Beyond,” in ed. Ingrid E. Fey and Karen Racine, *Strange Pilgrimages: Exile, Travel, and National Identity in Latin America, 1800-1990s*, Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 2000, pp. 1-74.

⁶⁶ Julio Ramos, *Divergent Modernities: Culture and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001, p. 151.

Apristas belonged to a tradition of travel tropes larger than their own. It is possible to garner a few insights from this observation. Literary scholar Julio Ramos aptly links the United States and Europe to symbolic topographies where heuristic visions befell Latin American travelers. “The voyage from low to high,” he writes, in reference to nineteenth century globe-trotters, “from chaos to order, displaces the traveler-intellectual and affords him or her a privileged perspective: the ability to write from the future about the chaos left behind.”⁶⁷ Central to Ramos’ argument is the notion of translation. He stresses that those who traveled abroad were imbued with a capacity to translate back to the homeland experiences accumulated from afar: “The traveler-intellectual,” he writes, “translates a foreign plenitude with the objective of correcting the wrong track of his own tradition.”⁶⁸

Implicit in this argument is the assumption that go-betweens are best equipped to posit unique reflections on a given society. Literary scholar Edward Said has amply written about the role of intellectuals in exile in ways that reflect Ramos’ contentions. As seen in chapter two, his work posits that to think as outsiders from the margins of a given system enables intellectuals to move closer to universality. From spaces of exile, whether geographical or metaphorical, intellectuals and artists are more likely to enter into communion with mankind and pursue their mission – that is, according to Said, to contest the *status quo* with relentless ardor.⁶⁹ This is exactly what APRA leaders had set out to achieve.

While these contributions aptly point to the importance of travels abroad to enhance intellectual capacities as translator, they do not fully assist my interrogation regarding the ways in which the travel trope entangles with the construction of regimes of authority in politics. Here,

⁶⁷ Ramos, *Divergent Modernities...*, p. 153.

⁶⁸ *Idem*, p. 153.

⁶⁹ For more on these reflections consult: Edward W. Said, “Intellectual Exile: Expatriates and Marginals,” in *Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 Reith Lectures*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1994, 49-53 ; Said, “Representations of the Intellectual,” in *Representations of the Intellectual...*, pp. 3-23.

Helms offers complementary insights to ponder the dual position of APRA leaders as both intellectuals (or, say, producers of knowledge) and political activists. She alternately uses the terms “outside specialists” and “foreign experts” to refer to skilled crafters or long distance traders who gain social prestige from itinerant lifestyles.⁷⁰ I find these terms particularly appropriate to think of APRA leaders who founded the first Peruvian section of APRA, and the PAP soon after, for they conjoin a past experience as world travelers and the more pressing search starting in 1930-1931 for legitimacy and authenticity as Peruvian political leaders. Helms writes in this sense: “To be discharged successfully, the elite’s responsibility to understand and control the forces of the universe must be openly evidenced and activated, and in this process political-religious specialists themselves will be separated or ‘distanced’ from society proper. As a corollary, association with distant phenomena may be expected of or attributed to elites as validation of their status.”⁷¹ Validation of status, in this case, rests on a fundamental premise: narratives of past travels must be made conspicuous to acquire meaning in the gaze of others.

Much like political-religious specialists of non-industrial societies, APRA leaders sought to validate their authority before Peruvian audiences through associations with foreign contacts. In the spring of 1930, in effect, APRA leaders portrayed themselves as intermediaries between Peru and the world, some sort of “foreign experts” bestowed with the intellectual capacity to translate to a Peruvian audience what they had learned on, and witnessed in, Indo-América during their travels abroad. More important than the actual ideological translation, here, was the validation of their authority as enlightened translators. That was the one compromise they all agreed upon. It was an identity they felt they shared with one another, which made them believe that, yes, they had lived a common experience of exile despite its different iterations at the personal level.

⁷⁰ Helms, *Craft and the Kingly Ideal*..., pp. 38-39.

⁷¹ Helms, *Ulysses’ Sail*..., p. 132.

Attempts to bolster internal influence with external contacts included seeking ways to flack for the status of APRA leaders as world travelers. Plentiful articles in pro-Aprista publications in Peru suggested that the experience of travels across the continent guaranteed both sincerity of action and originality of thought. One such article cheerfully announced in October 1930 Magda Portal's imminent homecoming in the following terms: "El jueves retornará a su país después de 4 años que fuera deportada, la célebre escritora aprista Magda Portal. Su ausencia ha sido fecunda y provechosa, pues ha ganado cultura y saber del conocimiento de la propia América."⁷² Not only had exile permitted Portal to gain a deeper knowledge of the Americas. This article further argued that, in exile, Portal studied and assimilated European political theories, those very ones, the author stressed, which sheepishly applied to Latin American realities would give negative results. But Portal "ha comprendido a América," the article insisted time and again, "De allí que sea una de nuestras más fervorosas figuras del movimiento antiimperialista y de unionismo continental que el Apra propugna."⁷³

The compliments she received, Portal passed on to peer colleagues. On 20 October 1930, the comparison she drew in the *APRA* journal between Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre and José Carlos Mariátegui equally points to the importance of travels and concrete encounters to determine the value assigned to political knowledge. To defend her point, which professed the superiority of Haya de la Torre's intellectual production over Mariátegui's, Portal juxtaposed the respective traveling experiences of these two prominent Peruvian intellectuals. She understood Mariátegui's excessive Europeanism in light of his early travels to Europe, "en una época," Portal argued, "en que las influencias hacen carne."⁷⁴ But, more important yet than his coming of age in Europe, Portal

⁷² [n.d.], "Magda Portal" [newspaper clipping], [1930], Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 10, Folder 10.10.

⁷³ *Idem*.

⁷⁴ Magda Portal, "Haya de la Torre y José Carlos Mariátegui," *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales*, Partido Aprista Peruano, Lima, No. 2, 20 de Octubre de 1930, p. 4.

deplored the fact that Mariátegui never had a chance to explore his own country following his homecoming in the mid-1920s, for important health problems confined him to a wheelchair soon after his return to Peru. According to Portal, Mariátegui's handicap hindered his creative potential. She states: "Obligado por su invalidez a mirar la vida desde un sillón y a través de [sus] lecturas europeas, no podía despojarse del lente europeo para mirar América."⁷⁵ This observation intimates that, because physical disability foreclosed the possibility of travels in the region, it consequently cramped the development of political philosophies indigenous to the Americas.

Portal may have hit below the waist with this comment, but the core of her argument was nonetheless convincing. It conveyed an arresting image that expressly defied the rebuke – issued a couple years earlier, you will recall, by none other than Mariátegui – of APRA exiles in Mexico City for not being present in Peru. Now, Portal turned the attack against Mariátegui and faulted him precisely for what he most valued: his sedentary lifestyle. According to Portal, this particular lifestyle forestalled any chance of ever grasping the true revolutionary potential of the Americas. Mariátegui was doomed to err on the side of excessive Europeanism.

Meanwhile, appraisals of Haya de la Torre as a solid political leader for Peru rested on the image of a world traveler able to feel and connect with the rest of the Americas.⁷⁶ Portal maintained that, while Mariátegui toured Europe, Haya de la Torre had been busy getting acquainted with the land and the people of the Americas. References to the tour of South America that he completed as a student leader, back in 1922, gave weight to her argument. Portal further suggested that the young Haya de la Torre had come to understand Peru shortly thereafter thanks to a series of travels in the countryside, during which he had mixed in with rural populations and their local customs. The

⁷⁵ Portal, "Haya de la Torre y José Carlos Mariátegui..." p. 4.

⁷⁶ This would continue throughout the 1930s. In a report dated 1932, Manuel Seoane states, "Recuerdo especialmente las cartas de Haya sobre Rusia, donde jamás perdió el sentido de la americanidad." Manuel Seoane, as cited in Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Haya de la Torre y el APRA*, Lima: Editorial Universo, 1980 (1954 ed.), p. 206. This excerpt originally appeared in Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Haya de la Torre o el político: Crónica de una vida sin tregua*, Santiago de Chile: Edición Ercilla, 1934, p. 165.

following passage evocatively sums up the ways in which the trope of Haya de la Torre as traveler-activist aimed to belittle the experience of Mariátegui as a sedentary-intellectual:

“Después de su viaje por América, Haya conoció todo el Perú, conviviendo con el indio, única manera de conocerlo, aprendiendo su idioma, sabiendo y sintiendo su miseria moral y física, ya que la civilización importada le ha colocado hasta hoy al margen, hablándole en el tono fraterno con que debe hacerlo el verdadero trabajador social, sin literatura. Y así, mientras el escrito seguía ensayando temas sobre asuntos europeos, Haya ‘el oscuro estudiante de Trujillo’, se metía a los poros de su tierra para extraer esa verdad que hoy es bandera de su lucha. José Carlos, del Perú, solo conocía Lima. Y esta es la gran diferencia: Mientras J.C.M., por su tragedia física y por su especial inclinación, sonaba y escribía, Haya actuaba. La historia dirá cual de los dos construyó sobre terreno más firme.”⁷⁷

In essence, Portal’s commentary heralds the trope, so prevalent still in the extant Aprista literature, of Mariátegui-the-Europeanist-Dreamer versus Haya de la Torre-the-Americanist-Activist. Several authors later underscored, as Portal did in this case, the centrality of bellicose comparisons between activists and intellectuals in the rift that opposed Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Carlos José Mariátegui from 1928 onward.⁷⁸ These appellations were tainted with pejorative or complimentary tropes depending on the side one favoured. Those who like Magda Portal sided with Haya de la Torre came to position in the urgency of action the condition for vanguard association.⁷⁹ This group faulted those in APRA who indulged in abstract thinking without daring to mingle with the surrounding world.⁸⁰ In similar fashion, common Aprista attacks launched against Peruvian communists in the 1930s included reproaching Mariátegui for being overly theoretical and

⁷⁷ Portal, “Haya de la Torre y José Carlos Mariátegui...,” p. 4.

⁷⁸ Consider for example the comment that Eudocio Ravines wrote in the *Yenan Way*: “Mariátegui was an intellectual, a theoretician” he stressed, “while Haya demanded action, and was impatient of the other’s thoughtful approach to the questions of the day.” Eudocio Ravines, *The Yenan Way*, New York: Scribner, 1951, p. 15.

⁷⁹ Bergel, “Nomadismo proselitista y revolución...,” p. 3.

⁸⁰ Luis Alberto Sánchez pointed to the lifestyle of José Enrique Rodó to signal the limits of his work: “Rodó was a professor; he lacked scope and pace; and these mean life.” Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Waldo Frank in America Hispana*, New York: Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos, 1930, p. 122.

“Europeanist” in his approach to Latin American problems.⁸¹ To assess the accuracy of a given political philosophy, the context of creation underlying the production of this political philosophy was for the Hayista faction as important, if not more, than its ideological content.

Throughout the fall 1930, APRA leaders continued to insist on the value of travels as the premise for ideological accuracy regarding the fate of the Americas. Various articles in the *APRA* journal took pains to underscore the anti-imperialist knowledge that exiles had acquired while touring the Americas in recent years. Consider for example the cheerful welcome reserved in the first issue of the *APRA* journal, on 12 October 1930, for APRA leaders Serafín Delmar and Julián Petrovick upon returning home from Mexico:

“Desde hace algunos días se encuentran en Lima Serafín Delmar y Julián Petrovick, escritores y poetas notables que, en los años de alejamiento de la patria a que les obligo la tiranía leguista, han ido regando las tierras del continente con el agua clara y generosa de sus cantos, y, también principalmente, con la sangre cálida de su propaganda anti-imperialista. Poetas, escritores, periodistas, su labor en este sector de las actividades debe ser expuesta por los órganos literarios del país. ‘APRA’ cumple con saludarlos, al mismo tiempo que los presenta como a buenos y esforzados soldados de la gran causa americana.”⁸²

The *APRA* journal was not the only means through which the party publicized the cosmopolitan features of its founding members. Informal political flyers in circulation in Peru also

⁸¹ Alberto Flores Galindo y Manuel Burga, *Apogeo y crisis de la república aristocrática*, Lima: Ediciones “Rikchay Perú,” 1979, p. 192. These attacks were unwarranted. For one, Mariátegui conducted an intense labour of organization in Peru during the second half of the 1920s. And although the fame of Mariátegui as a prominent intellectual remained somewhat limited up until the 1960s, scholars of revolutionary thought usually concur nowadays in recognizing him as one of the most original Marxist thinkers Latin America has known. Harry E. Vanden, “Mariátegui: Marxismo, Comunismo, and Other Bibliographical Notes,” *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (1979), p. 74. Vanden, “The Peasants as a Revolutionary Class: An Early Latin American View,” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Mai, 1978), pp. 198-199. Thomas Angotti, “The Contributions of José Carlos Mariátegui to Revolutionary Theory,” *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 13, No. 2, Perspectives on Left Politics (Spring, 1986), pp. 42-43. Alberto Flores Galindo y Manuel Burga, “La Polémica Haya-Mariátegui,” *Apogeo y crisis de la república aristocrática*, Lima: Ediciones “Rikchay Perú,” 1979, pp. 185-196. Ricardo Melgar Bao, *Mariátegui, Indoamérica y las crisis civilizatorias de Occidente*, Lima: Editora Amauta S. A., 1995.

⁸² “Serafín Delmar and Julián Petrovick,” *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales*, Sección Peruana, Lima, No. 1, 12 de Octubre de 1930, p. 13.

flaunted the formative value of travels and exile. They generally argued that travels did much more than simply enhance knowledge. In these makeshift publications, Apristas assured that the experience of travels and exile built character. In addition to augmenting and strengthening intellectual capacities, they stressed, it affected the inner qualities of those who traveled. It formed authentic and loyal APRA revolutionaries by testing them with hardships. In the early Peruvian spring of 1930, a certain Committee of Sympathizers with Peruvian *Aprismo* printed and signed in Paris one such flyer, before sending copies by mail to Peru.⁸³ The flyer in question sustained that national reconstruction would only happen properly if vested in the Peruvian APRA Party. A tentative definition of Aprista constituencies followed this allegation. In the excerpt below, note how the authors progressively pass from references to state repression in Peru to ascribing to experiences of persecution and resistance in foreign countries the pre-condition for designating authentic members of APRA:

“This party makes sacrifice its slogan. It is formed by those brilliant youths who Leguia [sic] exiled, calumnized [sic], persecuted, and jailed. It is formed by that virile youth which the tyrant and his press, aided by other conservatives, stigmatized as Bolsheviks and anarchists in order to discredit them. It is formed by this humble but numerous group of young men who went to exile or prison. None sold or surrendered their souls. In foreign lands they learned and suffered.”⁸⁴

Others boasted about the moral and scientific attributes that exile infused in APRA militants. During a conference that he gave shortly after returning to Peru, Manuel Seoane acknowledged the series of hardships that he and his peers had suffered in exile. “Venimos de pelear intensamente con

⁸³ Report of William C. Burdett to Secretary of State, “Haya de la Torre, Peruvian Radical Leader,” American Consulate general, Callao-Lima, Peru, October 27, 1930, pp. 4-5, Folder 2, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

⁸⁴ As cited and translated in report of William C. Burdett to Secretary of State, “Haya de la Torre, Peruvian Radical Leader,” American Consulate general, Callao-Lima, Peru, October 27, 1930, pp. 4-5, Folder 2, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

las dificultades económicas en países desconocidos (...),” he told his audience, “venimos de trabajar y de sufrir.” Seoane credited heuristic qualities to exile as well. In his view, exile gave access to science and reason, thereby enabling Apristas to turn the dreams of reform students into serious and organized political projects: “Pero venimos con la misma fe de nuestros mejores días, con más fe que antes, si cabe, porque en el exterior, viviendo en el estudio de las universidades o de las bibliotecas, y atendiendo a los experimentos sociales de otros pueblos, hemos aprendido el método científico que nos permitirá llegar a la realización de lo que antes era un sueño de románticos”.⁸⁵

These contentions aimed to convince the Peruvian population that APRA leaders possessed intrinsic values linked to travels and the experience of persecution abroad. If we are to establish more parallels between APRA protagonists and the subjects of Helms’ study, then it stands to reason that, just as Helms argues that particular qualities and characteristics are associated with the practitioners of skilled crafting or long distance trade, so were a specific set of values conferred to APRA leaders who had experienced exile and suffered persecution abroad. These intrinsic values gave authority to APRA leaders as translators of Latin American realities and, in turn, enhanced their value in the eyes of their fellow citizens.

Another way to bolster the legitimacy of APRA leaders with external contacts included flaunting their associations with “high-status representatives” from intellectual circles abroad.⁸⁶ In the Aprista lore, in addition to fostering the acquisition of foreign experience and particular values and qualities, exile provided a propitious soil for encounters with foreign – and preferably also renowned – intellectuals. The web of acquaintances and friendships that APRA exiles developed and

⁸⁵ Cited in Bergel, “La desmura revolucionaria...”, p. 6.

⁸⁶ Here again, Helms helps me grasp what was primarily at stake for APRA leaders in search of legitimacy. In her consideration of the various circumstances in which “political-religious specialists or hopeful specialists” in non-industrial societies “(attempt to) validate their position through associations with foreign contacts,” Helms concludes that these associations “can not help but further emphasize the separation or contrast between elites and commoners in the home society, and thus enhance the power and authority of high office.” She coined this term in Helms, *Ulysses’ Sail...*, pp. 142-143.

collected in the course of their travels abroad, if aptly displayed in the home society, had the potential to bolster the authority of their position as intermediaries between Peru and the rest of the continent.⁸⁷ In other words, the travel trope in this case is less about the inner qualities of APRA leaders and militants than it is about whom one knows outside Peru. It is about the capacity to foster support in favor of APRA in the rest of Indo-América.

In the spring of 1930, the condition of success for the Peruvian section of APRA appeared tightly intertwined with the prestige that Peruvian actors had allegedly been collecting over the course of their years of travels abroad. Said Magda Portal at the time: “Creo que no hay un solo partido creado ni por crearse, que abarque la realidad peruana y tienda a solucionar su crisis presente y reconstruir el país, como el partido aprista. El triunfo definitivo del partido Aprista es cuestión de tiempo, su prestigio en América es enorme.”⁸⁸ Another story was reported in November 1930 on the recent visit paid by “nuestra celebrada poetisa Magda Porta” to the headquarters of *Critica* in Lima. According to this Peruvian newspaper, her tour of the Americas had generated success and prestige for the younger generations of Peru. It praiseworthily billed the interviewee as “uno de los más altos exponentes del MOVIMIENTO APRISTA continental.”⁸⁹

The newfound Peruvian APRA party often broadcasted the homecoming of its leaders in light of the continental sensation that these leaders had allegedly caused abroad. In November 1930,

⁸⁷ Regarding the rationale that motivates outside associations, Helms remarks: “Those who create and/or acquire goods and benefits from some dimension of the cosmological outside are not only providing goods and benefits per se but also are presenting tangible evidence that they themselves possess or command the unique qualities and ideals generally expected of persons who have ties with distant places of supernatural origins and, therefore, are themselves ‘second creators’. Evidence of inalienable connections with places of cosmological origins thus conveys a certain sacrality which readily translates into political-ideological legitimacy and facilitates successful exercise of power.” Helms, *Craft and the Kingly Ideal...*, p. 49.

⁸⁸ Magda Portal, as cited in “Con Mui Explicable i Placentero Orgullo Saludamos el Retorno de nuestra Gran Poetisa Magda Portal; Uno De Los Mas Altos Exponentes Del MOVIMIENTO APRISTA continental,” *Critica*, Noviembre 1930, Lima, Newspaper clipping, Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 10, Folder 10.10.

⁸⁹ “Con Mui Explicable i Placentero Orgullo Saludamos el Retorno de nuestra Gran Poetisa Magda Portal; Uno De Los Mas Altos Exponentes Del MOVIMIENTO APRISTA continental,” *Critica*, Noviembre 1930, Lima, Newspaper clipping, Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 10, Folder 10.10.

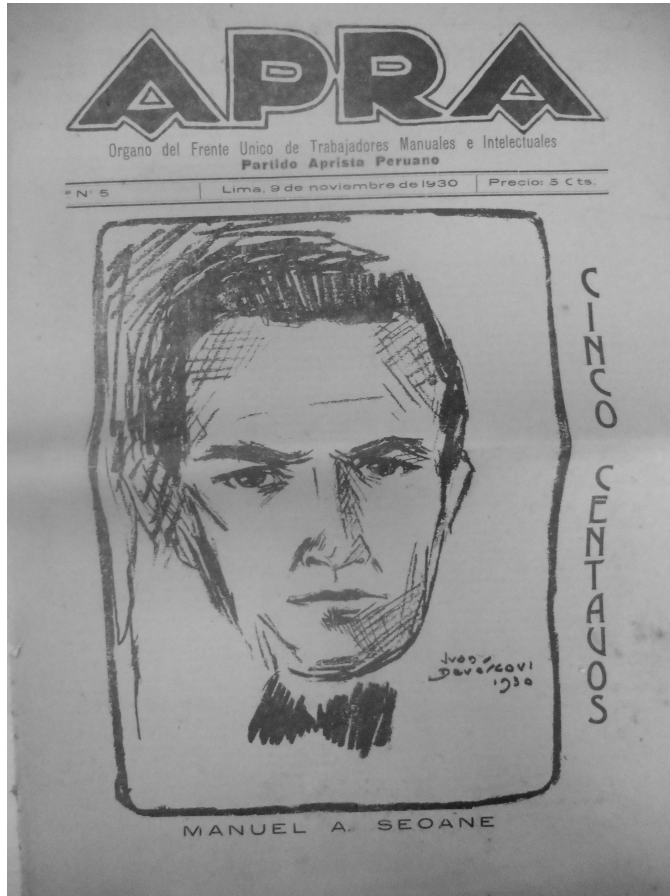
the *APRA* journal flaunted the return of APRA leader Manuel Seoane with great fanfare. On the front page (see figure 2 on the following page) appeared a sketched portrait of this young, handsome Peruvian, who was also serious, if not austere, it seemed, with his creased brow and his intent gaze into nowhere, as if deeply lost in thought. An imperceptible quality runs through this image. A quality hardly defined at first, but which gains in precision if we let our eyes linger long enough on the front page. Then, the feeling of intellectual power, of mystery even, catches us, and we can start to imagine the goose bumps that Seoane's portrait must have provoked in those who most hankered for change in Peru. What his piercing eyes conjured up, the editors confirmed in raving articles.⁹⁰

These articles referred to Seoane's exile, but, interestingly, they did so without the fuss of hardship and persecution as indicators of moral authority. Instead, the validation of continental peers evidenced both the extent and the sincerity of his commitment to the Americas. One passage, for example, insists on the emotional connection that by then wedded Seoane to Argentina: "La Argentina que le viera luchar silenciado durante seis años, le ha despedido en la forma cordial y honda con que se despide a un hijo predilecto."⁹¹ While it had taken just about six years for Seoane to conquer the hearts and minds of Argentina, everything now led to the conviction, according to the *APRA* journal, that this was only the beginning of a long and lasting friendship.

⁹⁰ Cover page, *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales*, No. 5, 9 de noviembre de 1930, p. 1.

⁹¹ "El regreso de Manuel A. Seoane," *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales, Partido Aprista Peruano*, Lima, No. 5, 9 de noviembre de 1930, pp. 2, 11.

Figure 2



Seoane was further portrayed as a Peruvian emissary in charge of connecting Peru to the rest of the world. “Todo lo que de representativo tiene la gran nación del Plata en intelectualidad, en lucha, en acción,” stated one article, “le ha dado su abrazo de despedida, enviando con él sus mensajes fraternales al pueblo peruano.”⁹² University students in Uruguay forwarded a message of solidarity to Peruvians via Manuel Seoane as well. One passage of this message, reproduced in the pages of the *APRA* journal, read as follows: “Llegue hasta ustedes con la calida palabra del gran compañero Seoane, la mas profunda admiración al pueblo y al estudiantado del Perú que sabrá

⁹² “El regreso de Manuel A. Seoane...,” pp. 2, 11.

gestar en fecha próxima, la gran cruzada de las ideas nuevas para una América Nueva.”⁹³ Kind words publicly extended to leaders offered further validation of their authority as messengers. In this case, Uruguayan student leaders added polite formulas: “Entregamos en las manos, calidamente amigas de Manuel A. Seoane, este saludo fraterno que os envía, por nuestra voz, la juventud universitaria del Uruguay.”⁹⁴

In many ways, these messages of continental solidarity worked as letters of introduction. For a movement born and raised outside Peru, it made sense that Latin American actors introduced Peruvian Apristas to Peru. This strategy was part of an earlier repertoire where famous intellectuals flacked for student reform leaders (in the pages of *Amauta* for instance). The fact that Latin American intellectuals now delegated to APRA leaders the transmission of messages of solidarity to the Peruvian people positioned the latter group in a privileged intermediary position. That foreign intellectuals entrusted them with messages of solidarity for the Peruvian people suggested that the former had faith in the latter’s labor and persona. If high-status intellectuals trusted APRA, why would Peruvian people not do the same? Importantly, in these messages, APRA leaders were the ones transmitting the message. They acted as the intermediaries that linked Peru to the outside world, and particularly to the struggles in favor of democracy that rocked the American continent.

Other articles focused on PAP as a group rather than on selected individuals. For example, the *APRA* journal advertised on 12 October 1930 the revolutionary pact that bonded “los estudiantes revolucionarios y los maestros libres de Bolivia” with both Peru and the APRA movement. The pact, originated in Bolivia and signed by more than fifteen student leaders scattered across Bolivia, as well as by a couple of Apristas who resided in Bolivia, comprised four points which together signaled the final conclusion: the political and economic unity of Indo-América was

⁹³ Arturo Dubra y José Pedro Cordozo, “Los Universitarios del Perú y el Uruguay,” *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales, Partido Aprista Peruano*, Lima, No. 5, 9 de noviembre de 1930, p. 12.

⁹⁴ *Idem*, p. 12.

mandatory. The first two points stressed the common goals that connected Bolivia to current political struggles in Peru. For example, the pact criticized the past government of Augusto B. Leguía not only on the miseries that afflicted Peru but also more broadly for the “oprobio de nuestra América.”⁹⁵ In the Americas, the pact argued, the affliction of one people was the concern of all. Another passage underscored that Peru and Bolivia shared the exact same ethnic and geographical features, thereby emphasizing the importance to jointly contend with the social, economic, and political problems that roiled these Andean countries.⁹⁶ Points three and four conjure up the image that, in revolutionary imaginaries from afar, all of Peru was Aprista. In effect, the pact implied that because Peru and Bolivia were one and Bolivian radicals backed APRA’s main revolutionary proposal, which posited the economic and political unity of Indo-America, then the association of foreign actors with the revolutionary cause of Peru necessarily passed through an alliance with APRA. The final provision sealed the alliance between Bolivian revolutionaries and the APRA movement. It read as follows: “Sostener los principios proclamados por la Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana, que son los que mejor se adaptan a la realidad social Perú-boliviana.”⁹⁷

More excerpts further insisted on the extent of Aprista connections abroad. One section published in the first issue of the *APRA* journal read: “APRA envía su saludo a todas las Secciones y Células Apristas del Continente. Confía, al hacerlo, en que la conciencia anti-imperialista, - única

⁹⁵ “Pacto revolucionario,” *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales, Sección Peruana*, Lima, No. 1, 12 de octubre de 1930, p. 3.

⁹⁶ *Idem*, p. 3.

⁹⁷ *Idem*, p. 3. More excerpts insisted on the extent of Aprista connections abroad. One section published in the first issue of the *APRA* journal read: “APRA envía su saludo a todas las Secciones y Células Apristas del Continente. Confía, al hacerlo, en que la conciencia anti-imperialista, - única defensa, - vaya enraizando cada vez mas profundamente en la carne y en el espíritu de todos y cada uno de nuestros pueblos.” “Saludo,” *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales, Sección Peruana*, Lima, No. 1, 12 de octubre de 1930, p. 3.

defensa, - vaya enraizando cada vez mas profundamente en la carne y en el espíritu de todos y cada uno de nuestros pueblos.”⁹⁸

For a Peruvian audience, while the political essays that they read in Aprista publications cumbersomely, and on occasion downright obscurely complemented each other, the discourse adopted in 1930 to portray the qualities of a good and true Aprista was in contrast consistent. It was a discourse readily accessible and easily recognizable. Furthermore, while their ideological proposals demonstrated that Apristas were willing to think of the place of Peru in the world, these columns proved that they also had the expertise to do so. APRA leaders sought to demonstrate that, although most of its leaders had not been living in Peru, the legitimacy of their political credentials rested on the experiences gained while traveling around the Americas. The goal of these positive presentations was twofold. On the one hand, APRA aimed to introduce itself to the Peruvian population by way of its main constituents. Since it now aimed to take an active part in Peruvian politics, it had to present itself in an auspicious light. On the other hand, it sought to demonstrate that a Peru with APRA would be a Peru backed by continental peers. In other words, if the Americas supported APRA, went the reasoning, then the Americas would support a Peru placed under the guidance of the Peruvian APRA party.

Referring to stories of past travels served purposes other than simply boosting the legitimacy of political exiles before the Peruvian people. It also helped validate the authority of certain APRA leaders vis-à-vis their peer colleagues and party followers. The remainder of the chapter addresses this point.

⁹⁸ “Saludo,” *APRA: Órgano del Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales, Sección Peruana*, Lima, No. 1, 12 de octubre de 1930, p. 3.

Organizing

“Few scholars would become actively involved in propaganda analysis if they did not believe that what people read, hear, see, and think is an important determinant of their political actions,” writes social psychologist Brett Silverstein.⁹⁹ The same is true of those involved in propaganda production and dissemination. The difference that Jacques Ellul establishes between two types of propaganda, “propaganda of agitation” versus “propaganda of integration,” helps appreciate the stakes involved in the production and the dissemination of aprista propaganda following the foundation of PAP.¹⁰⁰ Agitation propaganda points to subversive literature that seeks to undermine or depose the regime in place, whereas integration propaganda aims at promoting acceptance and support of a given system (in this case the party system of Apristas in Peru). The PAP engaged in both, though in 1930 and 1931 it focused more on the latter, having yet to erect the critical mass of supporters it would soon gather in Peru.

The recruitment of APRA members and followers took on special importance in March 1931, after an internal military coup overthrew Sánchez Cerro and installed in his stead a new junta, headed by the Pierolista David Samanez Ocampo and backed by the pro Aprista Colonel Gustavo Jiménez.¹⁰¹ Soon after assuming power, the Samanez Ocampo Junta announced its intention to hold elections nationwide in October 1931 and to allow the participation of all political parties, with the exception of the Communist party. This meant that the PAP was allowed to openly take part in Peruvian politics and for the first time pursue state power via democratic means. The Junta also passed a new electoral law, whose long awaited provisions, including the introduction of the secret

⁹⁹ Brett Silverstein, “Toward a Science of Propaganda,” *Political Psychology*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (March, 1987), p. 51.

¹⁰⁰ Jacques Ellul as cited in Silverstein, “Toward a Science of Propaganda...,” p. 49.

¹⁰¹ Peter Flindell Klarén, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 269.

ballot and the removal of property qualifications for the right to vote, swelled the number of eligible voters in Peru.¹⁰²

The PAP organized rapidly. Party leaders named Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre as presidential candidate and ordered his return to Peru. He disembarked in Trujillo at the end of July 1931. Propaganda activities went into overdrive. William C. Burdett, the American Consul General in the region of Callao-Lima, notified the great hustle and bustle of the PAP three weeks only after retrieving legal status. “Aprista propaganda is being spread all over Peru,” he reported to the State Secretary on 23 March 1931, “and there are several A.P.R.A. offices in Lima and in other cities. There is even a *célula* for women in Lima.” Burdett also mentioned that according to the Lima headquarters “everyone who has joined the A.P.R.A. has become an enthusiastic propagandist.”¹⁰³ Crucial to APRA leaders was indeed the conquest of imaginations. They battled for the hearts and minds of the Peruvian people by way of seduction and dramatized portrayals of their movement – ones in which the influence of PAP looked ubiquitous throughout the country.

The reminiscences of how two historical APRA leaders were first acquainted with aprismo in 1930, and why they decided to join the APRA party soon after, shows the pull of written propaganda to woo recruits in Peru. More specifically, the following examples help grasp the formidable appeal that a handful of newfangled articles had on young and original minds in search of meaning. Aprista literature is renowned for its capacity to induce life-shattering experiences that in many aspects resemble religious awakening.¹⁰⁴ In this way, these examples point to the enduring influence that such experience of self-transformation via party propaganda, and via the pages of the

¹⁰² Klarén, *Peru: Society and Nationhood...*, p. 269. Peter F. Klarén, *Modernization, Dislocation, and Aprismo: Origins of the Peruvian Aprista Party, 1870-1932*, Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1973, p. 122.

¹⁰³ Report of William C. Burdett to the Secretary of State, March 23, 1931, p. 4, Folder 4, Box 5693, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

¹⁰⁴ Imelda Vega-Centeno, *Aprismo popular: Cultura, Religión y Política*, Lima: Tarea, 1991.

APRA journal in particular, brought to bear on future years of militancy in the party. It determined in many ways the type of *aprisimo* one hereafter vouched for.

Andrés Townsend Ezcurra first communed with APRA at age fifteen, one day of October 1930, while thumbing through the pages of the *APRA* journal. Six months later he joined the APRA party. Much later in life, Townsend recalled how the format of this publication differed from any of the Peruvian magazines he was at the time accustomed to reading. The in depth analyses it contained immediately appealed to him. Less superficial, less gossipy, he said, the articles that appeared in the *APRA* journal bore the promise of something new, something worth thinking about.¹⁰⁵ Reading the *APRA* journal on 12 October 1930 ended up being a life-altering event for Townsend, as evinced in the following passage: “Recuerdo que adquirí un ejemplar en un puesto de periódicos de la Avenida Bolivia y que el título de su artículo de fondo, escrito por Haya, era: ‘El aprismo es una doctrina completa y un método de acción realista.’ Exactamente eso resultó para mí. Desde ese día de octubre de 1930 comencé a profesar una doctrina completa y traté de incorporarme a sus medios de acción realista.”¹⁰⁶ By the time he wrote these lines, Townsend had grown into a historical figure and experienced leader of the APRA party. According to his personal recollection, no matter how prominent or influential his leadership in later years, the way in which he first construed *aprisimo* as a far-reaching and open-ended philosophy never failed to accompany and orient his years of militancy in PAP.¹⁰⁷

Many youths similarly fell in thrall to the power of APRA’s uncanny proposal, and of its Indo-American project in particular, through the pages of its official mouthpiece.¹⁰⁸ On his way back from college, one October afternoon of 1930, Armando Villanueva unexpectedly ran into his father

¹⁰⁵ Andrés Townsend Ezcurra, *50 Años de aprismo: Memorias, Ensayos y Discursos de un Militante*, Lima: Editorial DESA, 1989, pp. 34-35.

¹⁰⁶ *Idem*, p. 35.

¹⁰⁷ *Idem*, p. 35.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Armando Villanueva. Surco, Lima, 6 March 2012.

on the streets of Miraflores, holding an unfamiliar newspaper in one hand. Villanueva recounts the exchange that ensued with his father:

“Le pregunté por el periódico (en esos días salían muchos) y me dijo: “Es una revista que dicen es comunista y se llama APRA” ¿Qué es APRA?, pregunté. Me entregó la revista y me dijo que la leyera. En la portada había un pequeño grabado de Haya de la Torre. “Fue deportado por Leguía hace años – me dijo y agregó –: Era un gran agitador... Parece que se ha distinguido mucho en Europa, pero hay sospechas que es comunista”.”¹⁰⁹

Armando Villanueva officially joined the Peruvian APRA party ten months later, in August 1931.¹¹⁰ Although the narrative of his first encounter with the *APRA* journal is somewhat less ecstatic than Townsend’s, Villanueva nevertheless subsumes in similar fashion the memory of his first political experience with APRA, at age fifteen, with the release of its official organ in October 1930. He also recalls that classmates began talking about APRA shortly after this episode. “Es el partido de los jóvenes,” Hugo Otero, a future historical leader of APRA, told him one day.¹¹¹ In the following months, and with the advent of the 1931 electoral campaign in particular, college students introduced one another to aprista publications and took a habit of debating Peruvian politics on their way to school.¹¹²

The way in which Andrés Townsend Ezcurra and Armando Villanueva respectively summon up their first encounter with the PAP and aprismo gestures to the success of the party’s proselytizing discourses. Propaganda work was crucial to canvassing party memberships. It was also essential to attract fresh blood to positions of leadership. That official adhesion quickly ensued in both cases lends further credence to this argument. But not just anyone could lead. The Hayista faction very

¹⁰⁹ Armando Villanueva y Pablo Macera, *Arrogante Montonero*, Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2011, p. 46.

¹¹⁰ Armando Villanueva y Guillermo Thorndike Losada, *La gran persecución (1932-1956)*, Lima: CORREO/EPENSA, 2004, p. 18.

¹¹¹ Like Andrés Townsend Ezcurra and Armando Villanueva, Hugo Otero enrolled in the APRA party and rapidly became one of its most prominent leaders. Villanueva y Macera, *Arrogante Montonero...*, p. 47.

¹¹² *Idem*, pp. 46-55.

carefully selected whom they let into the direction of the party, mainly by way of the travel trope, as this chapter will continue to demonstrate.

Peter F. Klarén, in reference to the influences of European fascism and communism perceptible in the fledgling APRA party as of August 1931, suggests the following: “These ideological influences were particularly manifested in the rigidly hierarchical structure of the party, which had constructed a chain of command that resembled a civilian army, with rigid discipline imposed on the rank and file from above.”¹¹³ This citation points to the widespread but misguided belief that the Peruvian APRA party was an organized and disciplined entity from its inception onward. Two main sources are to blame for the prevalence of this assumption in the extant literature on APRA as well as among contemporary APRA circles in Peru.

First, starting in the early 1930s, a propaganda apparatus put in place by the Hayista faction in the PAP successfully peddled the image of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre as a leader in control of an institutionalized and clearly defined APRA movement. A number of documents dated between 1931 and 1937 showcase the vertical organization of the party. Others extolled the moral authority of Haya de la Torre, who as the “jefe máximo,” stressed these documents, single-handedly presided over the good administrative and political behavior of party members.¹¹⁴ As we shall see, however, the Hayista faction deployed extensive efforts to retain control over the headship of the Peruvian APRA party, thereby testifying to the necessity to continually vie for authority over party affiliates in the early 1930s.

Second, scholars have often incorrectly reproduced official histories regarding the control that Haya de la Torre allegedly exerted over the rank-and-file of the party. The way historian Steve Stein portrays the hierarchical framework of the Peruvian APRA party in the early 1930s, and the

¹¹³ Klarén, *Peru: Society and Nationhood...*, p. 273.

¹¹⁴ Stein, *Populism in Peru...*, pp. 154-155, 260. See for example Comité Aprista Peruano, *Brigada de Organización, Organización Vertical del Partido Aprista Peruano*, Santiago, 1937.

sources he uses to support his argument, brings home this point. Similarly to Peter F. Klarén, Stein assumes that with the 1931 presidential campaign the leadership of Haya de la Torre was definitively established and never again contested. He writes:

“Accorded the title of “Jefe máximo” (highest chief”), [Haya de la Torre’s] right to the position of supreme interpreter and director for the ‘vague and imprecise desires of the multitude’ was disputed by no one who still called himself an Aprista. No other individual could aspire to the ultimate direction of the party. That position belonged to Haya by right, as he was considered ‘the creator of the doctrine and its principal instrument and [deserved to lead] for having done what he has done.’”¹¹⁵

This argument is misguided. It suffers from methodological inaccuracies all too common in the extant literature on APRA. Let’s pause for a moment and dig a little deeper into the flaws that undermine his contention. Before I go any further, it should be noted that my intention here is not to attack the pioneering work that Steve Stein conducted in the 1970s on populism in Peru. On the contrary, using Stein as a case in point rather than a scapegoat, I chiefly want to draw attention to frequent disciplinary defects that unfortunately have hampered to this day our capacity to imagine the political life of APRA other than through the self-made myths that pervade its ideological and political texts.

Stein built his argument using two sorts of documents. The first is a book, *El Proceso Haya de la Torre*, published in 1933 by a handful of APRA exiles in Ecuador, who in said book lambast the Sánchez Cerro government for their situation. State persecution had resumed in Peru shortly after the presidential elections of October 1931, which explains why the authors were in exile. It also throws light on the motives that inspired them to write the book to begin with. In effect, it is evident that they attempted to write and act as if the PAP was strong and up and running despite fierce repression. Validating the authority of their persecuted leader was a strategy used to convey

¹¹⁵ Stein, *Populism in Peru...*, p. 155.

the image of a united party. Yet Stein utilizes this primary source at face value, without further interrogating the motives behind the book's celebratory prose.¹¹⁶

The other realm of primary source documents comprises testimonies of important APRA leaders who reflect upon their respective experience of political leadership next to Haya de la Torre. Problematically, the testimonies of Luis Alberto Sánchez (1969) and Alberto Hidalgo (1954) express after-the-fact reflections only.¹¹⁷ As such, they present protagonists who want to validate in hindsight the version of history they see as true. They present protagonists who spoke either gleefully or scathingly of Haya de la Torre, yet who both are clearly obsessed with him. Luis Alberto Sánchez, a historical leader of the party, seeks to glorify the figure of Haya de la Torre by insisting on his phenomenal political sway, whereas Alberto Hidalgo, disillusioned by years of militancy in APRA, wants to damage Haya de la Torre's reputation by underscoring his *caudillo* style of governing. Stein absorbed the passion that imbues these testimonies and passed it on, unquestioned, in his own argument.¹¹⁸

The contrary, however, could not be truer. The process of transition from APRA to PAP in 1930-1931 was fraught with internal struggles where competing factions jockeyed for leadership of the movement and wrestled to impose specific political orientations on the PAP. These internal struggles are best incarnated in the conflicts that opposed factions in exile, as the previous chapter has stressed. Other pieces of evidence found in Peruvian archives hint at the weight that internal struggles also exerted on the party's organization in Peru. In this context, the travel trope was not just a discursive device to enlist Peruvian members in the party but an internal instrument of political control as well. The travel trope came to the rescue of APRA leaders who had joined the movement in exile and who, once back in Peru, manned the Central Committee of Lima.

¹¹⁶ Stein, *Populism in Peru...*, pp. 155, 260.

¹¹⁷ Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Testimonio personal: memorias de un peruano del siglo XX*, Lima: Ediciones Villasan, 1969. Alberto Hidalgo, *Por qué renuncié al Apra*, Buenos Aires, 1954.

¹¹⁸ Stein, *Populism in Peru...*, pp. 155, 260.

The Central Committee of Lima (Comité Central de Lima) was a special committee that APRA leaders close to the “grupo de México” had set up, at some point in either late 1930 or early 1931, to continue to spearhead the transition from APRA to PAP in Peru and prepare for the 1931 elections. Because the Central Committee of Lima was the nerve center that oversaw the institutionalization of APRA at the national level, provincial committees were expected to follow its instructions (though clearly it was not always the case).¹¹⁹ From what I can glean in my sources, it is difficult to establish a distinction in those years between the National Executive Committee of the party (CEN of PAP) and the Central Committee of Lima. In fact, I suspect that the CEN of PAP was the puppet institution of the Central Committee of Lima. And although it is unclear who exactly manned these institutions at different point in time, those who did evidently belonged to the Hayista faction.¹²⁰ In 1930-1931, this meant four things. First, their headquarters were located in the Peruvian capital. Second, all had spent years in exile and traveled around Indo-America. Third, they embraced democracy and aspired to rise to power through pacifist means only (more for strategic reasons than political conviction at that point in time). Fourth, they rooted for Haya de la Torre as president of Peru.

All in all, I suspect that the Central Committee of Lima was a term in use amid leadership circles of APRA, whereas the National Executive Committee of the party, conveying more legitimacy, referred more formally to the direction of the party before any type of Peruvian audience. What is important to keep in mind at this point is that both institutions represented more or less the

¹¹⁹ Letter of Alfredo Perla Lapoint to Señor Doctor Don Javier Valera, Tumbes, Setiembre 18 de 1931, Archivo General del la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932). “Anoche en el salón Agurto, tuvo lugar un recital poético-literario por los apristas Dr. Francisco Mendoza Calle y por el líder Alfredo Perla Lapoint,” *El corresponsal*, Chucalanas, [1931], Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932). The relationship between the Central Committee of Lima and regional committees of PAP is understudied. More research is necessary to fully understand how the relations that it established with provincial committees worked.

¹²⁰ In the midst of repression, it was strategic to name groups or committees without necessarily associating them with specific individuals. Committee thus survived the imprisonment or the deportation of Apristas. It reinforced the image of stability within a party structure that was all but stable at the time.

same group. Whether I refer in my text to the Central Committee of Lima, the CEN of PAP, or the Hayista faction matters less than the fact that they were the ones in control of the PAP in the early 1930s. My goal in naming them as such rather than always use the term APRA or PAP is primarily to remind readers that the leadership of Haya de la Torre was not a given. He had to fight for it.

By May 1931, the PAP had resumed publication of the *APRA* journal. It had also founded a new daily paper in the capital, *La Tribuna*, in charge of disseminating the proposals of its National Executive Committee in addition to advertising the growth of the APRA party nationwide. Several other Aprista newspapers began to appear throughout the country as well. These local initiatives, including titles such as “Brújula,” in the city of Huanuco, Central Peru, or “El Corresponsal,” in the city of Chulanacas, Department of Piura, testify to the decentralized nature of the growth of PAP.¹²¹ They likewise hint at the difficulty of reconciling the necessity of rapid growth with the desire to retain control over a scattered movement.

In many ways, the preparation in view of the 1931 electoral campaign was more than simply about assuming state power. Roaming the countryside to canvass voters assisted the efforts of a handful of APRA leaders who strived to create party structures and expand their movement across Peru. The fierce labor of political organization and ideological adaptation that engaged PAP while partaking in the electoral process also helped APRA leaders reconnect with Peruvian realities after several years of political militancy abroad.¹²² As a result, they began to chisel proposals more obviously tailor-made for Peru and, accordingly, more readily accessible to Peruvian people. It is possible to see this reality in the *APRA* journal. With its reappearance in March 1931, the tone of its

¹²¹ “Al margen de los programas políticos,” *La Tribuna*, Lima, viernes 31 de julio de 1931, p. 6. “Anoche en el salón Agurto, tuvo lugar un recital poético-literario por los apristas Dr. Francisco Mendoza Calle y por el líder Alfredo Perla Lapoint,” *El corresponsal*, Chucalanas, [1931], Archivo General del la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

¹²² Kathleen Weaver has shown how Magda Portal reconnected with, and learned about, her country thanks to her numerous tours of Peruvian provinces in 1931. She traveled all over Peru in an effort to promote the Aprista program in preparation for the forthcoming elections. Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel...*, pp. 107-110.

contents was from the onset much more Peruvian centric than its previous issues. Quantitatively, there were more detailed articles appearing on the regional scenes. Qualitatively, the journal showcased more in-depth knowledge of regional dynamics particular to the south and especially the northern coast of Peru, a traditional stronghold of Aprista forces even before the foundation of the PAP in 1930.¹²³

The political proposal that PAP developed in the course of 1931 called forth a complete alteration of the meaning of politics. The PAP voiced time and again the urgency to reject models that came from Europe – Spain and France in particular – and replace them with a democratic system in tune with Peruvian realities. Editorials in *APRA* and *La Tribuna* conjured up the betrayal that Peruvians had suffered twice: first with the conquest, then with the onset of the republican era. These texts argued that Peru had inherited systems of law and governance and state institutions completely foreign to its reality. The importation of liberal democracy had failed the Peruvian people. It had served the interests of a restricted minority for too long. Now was the time to devise an original democracy: a democracy crafted by the Peruvian people, for the Peruvian people.¹²⁴ One editorial of the journal *APRA* read on 8 August 1931:

“El Perú, realidad feudal y colonial, finge un sistema de gobierno democrático representativo que en la práctica no es sino oligarquías y nepotismos vergonzosos, sin excepción. No es que creamos en la Democracia tal como la declaran los Principios del Hombre. La Democracia ha fracasado. Creemos en la otra democracia, la funcional, la lógica, la que ha venido elaborándose a través de los tiempos, como una consecuencia del desarrollo económico de los pueblos, y que parece ser la única que solucionara el

¹²³ Klarén, *Modernization, Dislocation, and Aprismo...* This superb social history attempts to demonstrate why most of APRA’s followers in Peru were from the more economically developed north. It traces the transformations that rocked the sugar industry of the Peruvian northern coast between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries and observes how these profound socio-economic transformations fostered APRA as popular movement. For a substantial collection of the *APRA journal* in 1931 consult the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Centro de documentación de ciencias sociales (CEDOC), Archivo imperialismo, APRA, 1930-31-32.

¹²⁴ “El Programa Analítico del Aprismo,” *APRA: Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales. Órgano del Partido Aprista Peruano*, Lima, No. 4, Agosto 8, 1931, p. 1.

problema de la organización estatal, en cualquier país del mundo, aplicada conforme a sus propias necesidades.”¹²⁵

There was no limit to what APRA leaders thought possible to do at this point. “Nosotros significamos una nueva conducta, una nueva actitud. Queremos adecentar la política.”¹²⁶ Particularly interesting was how hard they worked to draw politics outside the exclusive realms of politics. APRA leaders presented their political intentions in light of inclusive philosophies that went beyond the constrained precincts of traditional definitions of Peruvian politics. They billed their party a “social party” and advanced that it primarily aimed to avail Aprista members of the benefits of a way of being, a sort of all-encompassing worldview, which literally transcended politics: “Nuestro partido no limita su esfera a la coincidencia ideológica. Toma al hombre en su integridad. Es decir que no le basta la homogeneidad de opiniones políticos-sociales, sino que procura la unidad en el espíritu, en la conducta, en la vida.”¹²⁷ Poetic renditions of APRA’s foundational principles appeared in *La Tribuna*, thereby contributing to instilling emotional understandings of PAP among the rank and file.¹²⁸

Particularly heartening for the rank and files was the fact that they were asked to partake in the design of a revamped political program. In effect, decades of spurious party politics had taught PAP to keep traditional political programs at bay, for these only rhymed with deception, promising inclusion of the people when all they did was provide a façade to facilitate corruption and exclusionary political practice. APRA leaders therefore asked Peruvians to help them wrest politics

¹²⁵ “El Programa Analítico del Aprismo...,” p. 1.

¹²⁶ “Nuestro Partido,” *La Tribuna*, Año 1, Lima, No. 83, 5 de agosto de 1931.

¹²⁷ “El aprismo como Espíritu,” *La Tribuna*, Año 1, Lima, No. 83, 5 de agosto de 1931.

¹²⁸ C.A.B. “Fortaleza,” *La Tribuna*, Lima, No. 104, Martes, 25 de agosto de 1931, p. 5. To grasp the importance of APRA as a popular movement, many scholars have focused on the appeal that emotions and irrational bonds convey to secure popular support. Important works on the Aprista mystique include: Jeffrey L. Klaiber, *Religion and Revolution in Peru, 1824-1976*, Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977; Frederick Pike, *Haya de la Torre and the Spiritualist Tradition: The Politics of the Miraculous in Peru*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1986; Pike, “Religion, Collectivism, and Intrahistory: The Peruvian Ideal of Dependence,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 10 (Nov., 1978): 239-262; Stein, *Populism in Peru...*; Vega-Centeno, *Aprismo popular...*

from common political imaginaries. Together, PAP promised, but they would envision exactly what Peru needed. Not only would they overhaul the current political order, they would literally ascribe new meanings to the possibilities of what Peruvian politics meant and entailed.

Hence, calls for inclusion set the stage for the development of democratic and decentralized party structures.¹²⁹ By all appearances, party structures began to develop and expand in ways that reflected the discourse of democratic inclusion found in Aprista publications. Columns in *La Tribuna* detailed the growth and activities of Aprista factions all over Peru.¹³⁰ Organizing Aprista forces nationwide in between committees, unions, cells, and professional associations left much leeway for Peruvians to carve out their own understanding of aprismo.¹³¹ Calls for public participation, on the other hand, summoned up the image of an executive committee willing to hear out its members.

The example of the First Aprista National Congress is a case in point. Back in October 1930, the handful of APRA leaders who had just returned to Peru endeavored to convene a National Congress in an effort to bring together all the “vanguard elements” of Peru. The chief goal of this encounter, as proposed by Aprista protagonists, would be to elaborate in a collaborative effort “un programa nacionalista revolucionario de acción política” fit to solve problems particular to the Peruvian reality.¹³² It took them a little less than a year to comply with their word. In the spring of 1930, in effect, no matter how genuine the readiness of these APRA leaders to collaborate with non-Aprista forces, there were also limits to their goodwill. The provisional executive committee of PAP

¹²⁹ This discourse regarding party structures squared with another where PAP emphasized the need to decentralize the Peruvian administration and devolve more executive power to municipalities. Manuel Seoane, “Nuestro Anticentralismo,” *APRA: Órgano del Partido Aprista Peruano*, Segunda Época, No. 1, Lima, 10 de Marzo de 1931, p. 14; Luis Eduardo Enríquez, “Los Apristas somos regionalistas y anticentralistas,” *APRA: Órgano del Partido Aprista Peruano*, Segunda Época, No. 1, Lima, 10 de Marzo de 1931, p. 13; “Democracia funcional,” *La Tribuna: Diario Aprista informativo de la mañana*, No. 81, Lima, 3 de agosto, 1931, p. 1.

¹³⁰ Small Aprista cells and Aprista sections blossomed all over the map of Peru. During the summer of 1931, a column in *La Tribuna* entitled “Actividades Apristas” reported on the rapid growth and the expanding activities of regional Aprista cells. By doing so, it gave the impression of a decentralized party administration. See for example “Actividades Apristas,” *La Tribuna*, Lima, Viernes 31 de julio de 1931, p. 7.

¹³¹ “Citación,” *La Tribuna: Diario Aprista informativo de la mañana*, No. 81, Lima, 3 de agosto, 1931, p. 2.

¹³² [Boxed text], *APRA: Órgano del frente único de trabajadores manuales e intelectuales*, No. 1, Lima, 12 de octubre 1930, p. 13.

promised by mid-October 1930 to organize and hold the congress, but only as soon as all APRA exiles had returned to the country.¹³³ If they were to gather together the “vanguard” forces of Peru, surely those who manned the Peruvian section of APRA wanted to wait for their friends to return.

This homecoming ultimately took more time than expected. It proved expensive to sponsor the return of APRA exiles. The PAP lacked the funds to proceed rapidly. A US diplomatic report observed in March 1931: “Local headquarters state that there is a pressing need for funds to send to a number of A.P.R.A. leaders who are now abroad and lack means to return to Peru.”¹³⁴ To be sure, the new cycle of state repression that relapsed after November 1930 was no help either.

Still the project to hold a National Congress stayed on the minds of APRA leaders and finally resumed the following year. When the National Congress finally opened in Lima on 10 August 1931, its main goal was still to devise a pragmatic political program that best served Peruvian people, but by then it had let go of collaborative pretenses and took place as an exclusive Aprista event. “Estamos en plena elaboración del programa aprista,” stressed the opening editorial of the *APRA* journal two days prior to the congress’ inauguration.¹³⁵ APRA leaders who composed the CEN of PAP had played the card of humility and asked that local Aprista congresses participate in the elaboration of the Aprista political program. They wanted popular input, for they recognized their lack of knowledge on many of the local scenes. “Tenemos demasiado respeto por el pueblo,” they wrote on 8 August 1930, “para adjudicarnos, un grupito de lideres, el derecho de legislar sobre las necesidades de todas y cada una de las provincias, de las cuales desconocemos hasta la real ubicación geográfica.”¹³⁶

¹³³ [Boxed text], *APRA: Órgano del frente único de trabajadores manuales e intelectuales*, No. 1, Lima, 12 de octubre 1930, p. 13.

¹³⁴ Report of William C. Burdett to the Secretary of State, March 23, 1931, p. 4, Folder 4, Box 5693, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

¹³⁵ “El Programa Analítico del Aprismo,” *APRA: Frente Único de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales. Órgano del Partido Aprista Peruano*, Lima, No. 4, Agosto 8, 1931, p. 1.

¹³⁶ *Idem*, p. 2.

These APRA leaders also felt, more pragmatically, that they needed the backing of the regional factions of the PAP if they were to ever claim with certainty that their party indeed represented all of Peru. “Todos los departamentos del Perú,” the CEN explained in the *APRA* journal, “previamente reunidos en Congresos locales, han enviado sus conclusiones específicas a este gran certamen nacional donde se debaten las necesidades auténticas, no inventadas, de cada región, y se descubre una formula de solución.”¹³⁷ According to the APRA leaders who formed the CEN, this call to collaboration proved that they were not intent on devising impossible utopias while conversing in coffee shops. Rather, theirs would be a realistic and scientific political program that unequivocally stemmed from the consideration of Peruvian people.¹³⁸ The plan was simple enough. Regional congresses brainstormed, and the National Congress heeded their proposals, sorted them out, and finally distilled and harmonized them into a single and realist program of political action.

Issues of *La Tribuna* in late July and early August 1931 capture the sense of excitement and political effervescence that ran through Aprista circles outside Lima. The strategy that underpinned the goals of the congress was received with enthusiasm. That Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre returned to Peru at the end of July and proceeded to tour every corner of the country, precisely when preparations for the National Congress were in full swing, only reinforced the sense that the CEN of PAP truly sought to include regional actors in the elaboration of its political platform.¹³⁹

However, practical matters hampered the participation of regional Apristas beyond the reach of local congresses. Distance posed the first problem. Provincial delegates were asked to either travel to the capital or entrust representatives who already lived in Lima with directives to follow to take part in the National Congress. Even APRA leaders based in Lima readily recognized the limitations of their initiative: “Salvando enormes dificultades hemos pedido que vengan a Lima las delegaciones

¹³⁷ “El Programa Analítico del Aprismo...,” p. 1.

¹³⁸ *Idem*, pp. 1-2.

¹³⁹ Issues of *La Tribuna* printed between July 31 and August 11, 1931 bring home this point.

de las provincias o que envíen sus ponencias y deleguen sus funciones en personeros garantizados residentes en Lima, quienes deberán fundamentarlas y defenderlas, a fin de que la estructura de nuestro programa responda, sin lugar a duda, si no a todas, a las más específicas necesidades de cada uno de los pueblos del Perú.”¹⁴⁰ The second major hurdle to regional participation in the national congress was who was entitled to speak during the panels. According to reports in *La Tribuna*, only members of the CEN, including Magda Portal, Carlos Manuel Cox, Julián Petrovick, Manuel Seoane, Arturo Sabroso, to name a few, seemed to have had the right to take the floor during the event.¹⁴¹

Heeding the voice and demands of regional Apristas while at the same time retaining control over the party demanded careful planning. The rising popularity of the PAP nationwide, and more especially in the northern coast of Peru, had been creating unexpected headaches for those stationed in Lima, most of whom had either joined APRA or participated in its foundation while in exile. They strove to impress on Peruvian Apristas their understanding of APRA as well as the particular vision and ambitions they had for this political movement in Peru. To do this, however, their leadership had to be recognized nationwide. On 14 March 1931, a boxed text in the *APRA* journal reminded party members that the only section of the APRA leadership that was entitled to authorize any initiative they might have was the one whose headquarters were located in Lima. It even repeated the address of their main office in order to be reached easily. Read the boxed text: “Como una forma de ejercer un efectivo control sobre las fuerzas con que cuenta el aprismo, y para evitar que elementos revoltosos, aprovechen de la popularidad de nuestro partido y del nombre de nuestro Jefe, Haya Delatorre [sic], para cometer escándalos, rogamos a todos los compañeros apristas y a los simpatizantes que para efectuar manifestaciones públicas se pongan de acuerdo primero con la

¹⁴⁰ “El Programa Analítico del Aprismo...,” p. 2.

¹⁴¹ “Más de 1500 personas asistieron a la sesión de inauguración del primer Congreso Nacional Aprista,” *La Tribuna*, Lima, martes 11 de agosto de 1931, p. 1.

Directiva del Partido, que funciona en Belén 1065.”¹⁴² That the direction of the party, or more specifically that those who manned the Lima Committee, felt compelled to reiterate who was in control of coordinating the different sections of its organization points to its lack of hegemony within the party. The northern section of PAP, headed by the Comité del Primer Sector del Norte del Partido Aprista Peruano, was evidently wielding increasing influence in the Departments of Cajamarca, Lambayeque and La Libertad.¹⁴³

To retain control over the organization of party infrastructure was challenging. The travel trope assisted members of the National Executive Committee of PAP in this task. In effect, except for the calls for collaboration uttered in view of the First Aprista National Congress, true and authentic leaders of APRA continued to be associated in these journals with the experience of travels and exile not only in 1930 but also all through 1931 as well.

One article in *La Tribuna* celebrated on 27 August 1931 the return of Manuel Vázquez Díaz to Peru after having spent four years in exile in a way that recalls the way that APRA leaders were introduced to Peru in 1930. Its content raves about the continental success that aprista Vázquez Díaz achieved during his four-year exile. To begin, it informed *La Tribuna's* readership on his achievements in Mexico, mainly through his work with the Aprista cell of Mexico, but also thanks to his participation to radical Mexican politics. This, argued the article, had turned him into a staunch and renowned advocate of inter-cultural dialogues in Indo-America. “A Vázquez Díaz le ha tocado desempeñar una de las mas interesantes labores de acercamiento cultural indoamericano,” stressed the article. Not only had he studied the Mexican revolutionary process firsthand but he was also famed abroad for doing so: “Los mexicanos no olvidan que fue el Jefe del Aprismo uno de los primeros latino-americanos que

¹⁴² “A todos los afiliados y simpatizantes del Partido Aprista peruano,” *APRA: Órgano del Partido Aprista Peruano*, Lima, Segunda Época, No. 2, 14 de marzo de 1931, p. 5.

¹⁴³ This committee was based in Trujillo and comprised the following APRA members: Carlos C. Godoy, Federico Chávez R. J. A. Haya de la Torre, Francisco Dañino Ribatto, Manuel J. Arévalo, Manuel V. Barreto, Alfredo Rebaza Acosta, Américo Pérez Treviño, Pedro G. Lizazaburu, Fernando Cárdenas. *APRA: Órgano del Partido Aprista Peruano*, Lima, Segunda época, No. 3, 18 de marzo de 1931, p. 13.

ingresara a México y dedicara la mayor parte de su tiempo a la investigación del triunfante movimiento revolucionario de ese país, convencido de que el problema de México es en muchos aspectos, semejante al problema de nuestro país.” The article depicted Vázquez as a valuable intermediary between Peru and the rest of Indo-America. He had connections abroad, said the article, and was therefore able to disseminate aprismo outside Peru as well.¹⁴⁴

La Tribuna reported in similar fashion on the return of Oscar Herrera after the latter spent six years in exile. One article reproduced on 26 August 1931 the declarations that this APRA leader ostensibly made upon setting foot back home. Consider in the following passage the formative quality associated with exile: “Oscar Herrera agradeció en breves y sentidas frases el saludo de que era objeto, poniendo de manifiesto que los años de destierro que le había impuesto el gobierno de Leguía, le habían fortificado más en su credo de justicia social.”¹⁴⁵ The same is true of how *La Tribuna* portrayed Haya de la Torre. Shortly after his return to Peru, this Aprista publication continued to insist on his political pragmatism. Exile, advertised *La Tribuna*, is what had transformed him into a practical and mature political leader. In the translation of an article that originally appeared on 2 August 1931 in the New York Herald Tribune, one passage read: “Ocho años de estudios de gobierno internacional le han enseñado que la política es una ciencia más que una aventura y lo han convertido en un pragmático mas que un romántico.”¹⁴⁶

Furthermore, when foreign revolutionaries approved of the presidential candidacy of Haya de la Torre, they did so while referring to their allegiance to Indo-America. Julio Cuadro Caldas, a Zapatista and strong advocate of the Mexican revolution, approved on behalf of all revolutionaries of the continent the selection of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre as presidential candidate for the PAP. The

¹⁴⁴ “Nos hace interesantes declaraciones el c. Manuel Vázquez Díaz sobre el Aprismo en México; su actuación en el Congreso Iberoamericano de Estudiantes y la repercusión de la dictadura sanchizta en la República Mexicana,” Lima, *La Tribuna*, Num. 106, Jueves 27 de agosto de 1931, p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ “Llego ayer Oscar Herrera después de seis años de destierro,” Lima, *La Tribuna*, Núm. 105, Miércoles 26 de agosto de 1931, p. 4.

¹⁴⁶ “Como se considera en el extranjero la personalidad e Haya de La Torre y su programa político, (De “The New York Herald Tribune”, agosto 2 de 1931),” Lima, *La Tribuna*, Num. 106, Jueves 27 de agosto de 1931, p. 6.

APRA journal reproduced on 18 March 1931 the note that Cuadro Caldas wrote from Mexico City in December 1930.¹⁴⁷ The introduction insisted on the support that Haya de la Torre mustered across the continent: “Los revolucionarios de Indoamérica debemos saludar con un viva unísono y continental la candidatura de Haya Delatorre para enfrentársele con toda pujanza y toda fé a la de los viejos civilistas del Perú.”¹⁴⁸ The article further argued that Haya de la Torre’s fight against feudal colonialism belonged “a toda nuestra América India.”¹⁴⁹ Only he would know how to lead the people of the Americas toward their definite liberation.¹⁵⁰

The APRA leaders who manned or revolved around the CEN of PAP were the only ones entitled to define what, in the end, the Peruvian APRA party was truly about. If all were sometimes asked to give opinions, the travel trope designed who was entitled to make decisions in the end. Besides the Hayista faction had one major advantage over those who disagreed with its precepts. It benefited from access to resources that others in the party lacked. Because it controlled the board of direction of *La Tribuna* and the *APRA* journal, the CEN of PAP was the only one capacitated to call official convocations of provincial offspring of the party and coordinate the activities of Aprista members nationwide. It also controlled the distribution of propaganda around Peru. Likewise, sending APRA organizers from Lima into the countryside equipped party leaders based in Lima with an informal surveillance system to rein in local initiatives and ensure that the development of Aprismo in Peru remained consistent with the vision they had for the PAP. Second-tier leaders and propagandist agents were the eyes and ears of the central command stationed in Lima.

Perla Lapoint played that role. The quarrel that erupted in Tumbes, a city in northwestern Peru, between him and a local APRA leader one month prior to the October 1931 elections offers a case in point of yet another function of the travel trope. More fundamentally, this quarrel touches

¹⁴⁷ Julio Cuadros Caldas, “Por la candidatura de Haya de la Torre a la presidencia del Perú,” *APRA: Órgano del Partido Aprista Peruano*, Lima, Segunda época, No. 3, 18 de marzo de 1931, p. 5.

¹⁴⁸ *Idem*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁹ *Idem*, p. 5.

¹⁵⁰ *Idem*, p. 5.

on the intricate task of harmonizing the views and interests of a vast array of Apristas whose life and political baggage seldom squared with one another. By casting a spotlight on the feud that opposed these second-tier leaders of PAP, this example showcases how the travel trope helped reaffirm one's authority vis-à-vis party mavericks or pugnacious peers.

The respective life experiences of Apristas Alfredo Perla Lapoint and Javier Valera could not have been more different. So were their reasons for joining PAP. Lapoint was young and had suffered persecution. His loyalty to PAP stemmed from his involvement with APRA in the course of the 1920s. After six years of exile, Lapoint returned to Peru in 1930 and, like many of his peers, established himself in the Peruvian capital. There, he worked as a journalist. He wrote articles in Peruvian newspapers to make ends meet. Lapoint was close to (though not part of) the Comité Central de Lima. In contrast, Valera had never suffered persecution. A middle-aged professional from the northern Department of Tumbes, his adhesion to APRA occurred in Peru. Although less is known about Valera, there is reason to believe that he joined the party in 1931 only, shortly after the foundation of the PAP.

It is unclear what exactly sparked things between them, but the fuming letter that Lapoint wrote in outrage to Valera on 18 September 1931 suggests that a case of backstabbing was the cause. This letter also shows that personal rivalries between APRA leaders sometimes hindered the proper conduct of operations on the ground. Lapoint scolded Valera. "Pretendió Ud.," he wrote, "tal vez por haber visto mi juventud notoria, de tergiversarme la realidad política local, pretendió Ud., engañarme como a un escolar."¹⁵¹ A few months earlier, the Comité Central de Lima had commissioned Lapoint to travel to the Department of Junín, in the central highlands of Peru, to begin propaganda work among the local population in view of the 1931 elections. Lapoint was then

¹⁵¹ Letter of Alfredo Perla Lapoint to Señor Doctor Don Javier Valera, Tumbes, Setiembre 18 de 1931, Archivo General del la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

transferred to the neighboring city of Huánuco, and then to the northern Departments of Ancash, Lambayeque, and Piura shortly thereafter, each time with the mandate to begin organizing local sections of the party or help neophyte affiliates mount support for APRA's cause.¹⁵² Tumbes came last. There, Lapoint was so startled by the level of disorganization and by how steep intrigues ran in the local PAP that he felt compelled to report the case to the Comité Central back in the Peruvian capital.¹⁵³

Lapoint blamed Javier Valera for the mess that he witnessed in the region, “el que debía dar ejemplo de integridad, de abierto desinterés,” he wrote in reference to local leader Valera, but who had instead led the APRA party in Tumbes astray. What remained of the APRA party in Tumbes was, according to Lapoint, bogged down in divisions and “consumido por las ambiciones, por las bajas pasiones.”¹⁵⁴ Valera quickly retaliated. He accused Lapoint of an offense whose nature remains unknown. But, as evidenced by the defense that Lapoint mounted for himself before the Comité Central de Lima and Javier Valera, the attack coming from Tumbes inflicted a heavy blow on his reputation.

Evidently, Lapoint felt compelled to justify his credentials before provincial Apristas. The way he did it is instructive for my foray into the travel trope. Lapoint started by inferring that part of his authority derived from the fact that the Comité Central de Lima had specifically commissioned him to go do militant work in Tumbes. More important, he insisted very much on the time that he had spent in exile under the Leguía government as a token of his selfless devotion to the party. “Nosotros los soldados fundadores del aprismo,” he told Valera, in reference to those who, according to his letter, suffered persecution at the hands of tyrannical governments and served

¹⁵² Letter of Alfredo Perla Lapoint to Señor Doctor Don Javier Valera, Tumbes, Setiembre 18 de 1931, Archivo General del la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

¹⁵³ *Idem.*

¹⁵⁴ *Idem.*

prison sentences in foreign jails, “jamás nos humillamos ante fuertes y tiranos, jamás hicimos de nuestra noble y elevada causa puente de acomodo. Nuestras luchas eran y son abnegadas, desinteresados, en el corazón del auténtico aprista [no] cabe la ambición personalista.”¹⁵⁵

That Lapoint took pains to highlight his status as a founding member of APRA was intended to dwarf the legitimacy of his rival in Tumbes, a newcomer to aprismo in Peru, his letter insinuated. His repeated reference to past travels and injustices suffered abroad sought to enhance the prestige that he allegedly drew from his position as a long-time militant. Lapoint had seen worse, he claimed, much worse. Yet never had his faith in APRA wavered: “Es muy difícil Dr.,” he warned Valera, “destruir un prestigio creado a la sombra del sacrificio, lealtad, integridad y desprendimiento puesto a toda prueba.”¹⁵⁶

In addition to casting Lapoint, a Lima-based leader who meddled in local politics, as an outsider within his own political movement in Tumbes, the content of his defense speech casts a spotlight on the inevitability in APRA of jostling for peer validation. Party leaders routinely had to negotiate the right to belong to the PAP, depending on where they stayed or with whom they did political work. Likewise, they had to validate their authority to define what exactly APRA was about. In this particular case, alluding to a regime of past travels and suffering helped Lapoint distinguish “true” Apristas (like himself) from opportunists (like Valera) who ostensibly saw in the PAP little more than a chance to boost their political career. In Lapoint’s defense speech, it was precisely the experience of exile and persecution that gave meaning to his relationship to aprismo. It also defined the most intrinsic values of a good Aprista: ones of abnegation and self-devotion.

¹⁵⁵ Letter of Alfredo Perla Lapoint to Señor Doctor Don Javier Valera, Tumbes, Setiembre 18 de 1931, Archivo General del la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

¹⁵⁶ *Idem.*

Conclusion

Chapter Four argued that referring to stories of past travels helped APRA leaders validate their political authority before a Peruvian audience, who had remained ignorant of their existence until 1930, and similarly bolstered the symbolic power of those associated with the *Hayista* faction vis-à-vis national peers with less foreign experience. More specifically, portraying themselves as translators of Indo-American realities and sensibilities armed these leaders with a consistent source of symbolic power in three main instances. First, it helped introduce themselves and their project to a Peruvian audience unacquainted with *aprimo*. Second, it contributed to validating their political authority over the rank and file of the party. Third, these stories enabled specific APRA leaders to either demark from or align their positions with other peers and as such vie for the control of the party's leadership. The travel trope not only shaped in crucial ways how APRA, from international movement, successfully transitioned into an organized and consolidated national party in Peru, but it also came to literally define the touchstone of the Indo-American ideology in the 1930s. The following chapters will survey how referring to allegiances with the rest of Indo-América became the swivel around which the Peruvian APRA party came to organize its defense in the face of state persecution, and how it in turn shaped the way in which it thought of democracy and defined the political knowledge it produced.

Chapter 5: Leader

A patrolman apprehended Manuel Villalobos Hihuayin as he meandered down “Veinte de Septiembre” street in Lima early on the night of 22 August 1932. Villalobos reeked of liquor. Thirty-two years old, Villalobos was single and eked a living from construction jobs he contracted here and there. It was quite plausible that his habits included enjoying a few drinks at a local tavern after a long day of work. This time, though, Villalobos was completely drunk. That he drank too much did not represent an offense to public order per se, but it did get him into trouble that night.¹ According to a police report filed three days later, Villalobos’ crime consisted of having given “vivas al Apra,” to which accusation he retorted having no recollection of what he did or said that night. Villalobos also argued that whatever he uttered while roaming the streets of the capital city that particular evening was obviously the result of excessive intoxication. But even as the suspect denied any allegiance to the APRA party, or to any other political group, and confessed being so inebriated the night of his arrest that he neared unconsciousness, Peruvian authorities turned a deaf ear to his plea of innocence. Villalobos was charged with subversive activities and condemned to thirty days in prison.²

Earlier that year, police officers detained Jorge Alzamora for similar reasons. He spent two weeks in prison after the prefecture of Lima found him guilty of having publicly professed

¹ Prefectura de Lima, Lima, 2 de septiembre, 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

² *Idem.*

comments favorable to the cause of APRA.³ On 12 July 1932 Antero Muñoz was caught distributing clandestine political fliers to passers-by in Lima.⁴ Read a police report: “Antero Muñoz acusado de repartir volantes de índole subversiva con el deliberado propósito de soliviantar los ánimos y producir alarma en el público en general.”⁵ The following month Muñoz, who had confessed to his membership in the APRA party, was condemned to 180 days in jail. The same happened to Aprista Carlos Alberto Izaguirre Alzamora and his brother Julio, both arrested in August 1932 at their home on charges for possession of subversive propaganda, as well as to the employees of the Hermanos Faura printing house, Eugenio Asencio Moscol, Orlando Vásquez Solano, Alberto Zuzunaga Effio, Victoriano Gonzáles Trochou, Emilio Espinoza Landaberi and Alfonso Abad Navas, indicted in the fall of that year for clandestinely running off Aprista material.⁶

Every now and then informers took over from police forces. For example, on 14 July 1932 a certain Don José Loaiza turned up unannounced at the superintendent’s office of Chorrillos, a district located on the outskirts of Lima, to denounce the seditious activities that Aprista Moises Morales was then allegedly conducting in the neighborhood. Although Loaiza’s deposition brimmed with cracks and approximations, the simple fact that it existed called for preventive action. As the superintendent of Chorrillos told the director of investigation in Lima, “por existir la denuncia y

³ Prefectura de Lima, “CF. No. 484 – Remite al detenido Aprista J. Alzamora,” Lima, 15 de Marzo de 1932 (hasta 9 de Abril, 1932), Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.7 (1932-1942).

⁴ Cuerpo de investigación y vigilancia, Lima, 13 de julio, 1942, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

⁵ Prefectura del Departamento de Lima, Lima, 9 de agosto, 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

⁶ Cuerpo de investigación y vigilancia, Lima, 29 de agosto 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932); Prefectura de Lima, Lima, 19 de octubre de 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

haber sido identificado Morales, cumplo con ponerlo a disposición de esa superioridad.”⁷ Morales was taken into custody shortly thereafter.

These actors were all abruptly detained and brought to stand before biased trials, where the whims of a few clerks were tantamount to the rule of law. The archives of the Peruvian Ministry of the Interior from 1932 on to the early 1940s are full of similar cases. The Emergency Law, instigated earlier that year by the government of Luis Miguel Sánchez Cerro, contained strict and dire provisions regarding the fate of political dissidents. It thwarted freedom of expression. It allowed police forces to apprehend and incarcerate those who “disobeyed,” namely Peruvian citizens suspected of Communist or Aprista affiliations. The aforementioned episodes of arbitrary arrests, therefore, reflect a much larger reality. While they point to an oppressive surveillance apparatus that rendered political organization for the Peruvian APRA party particularly difficult in the aftermath of the contested electoral results of October 1931, they likewise signify the climate of fear and suspicion that the Sánchez Cerro government more broadly sought to instill among the Peruvian population. The preserve of national order had its price according to military officers. In 1932, any excuse, any inkling of dissent, became a reason to cart off potential agitators.

This precarious situation had its origins in the election of Luis Miguel Sánchez Cerro to the presidency in October 1931. The official count pointed to a comfortable majority to Sánchez Cerro: he obtained 152 062 votes (50.7%) over Haya de la Torre’s 106 700 votes (34.5%).⁸ Nevertheless, the Peruvian APRA party had immediately decried the legitimacy of Sánchez Cerro as president of Peru, arguing that fraud had tarnished the electoral process. These allegations of fraud were not eccentric. A tradition of electoral frauds had indeed shaped Peruvian republican politics since 1850, when the first suffrage process took place in Peru. Yet to this day historians disagree on whether or

⁷ Cuerpo de investigación, Sección Chorrillos al Jefe General de Investigación, Chorrillos 15 de julio de 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

⁸ Stein, *Populism in Peru...*, p. 189.

not the elections of October 1931 were truly the first free democratic elections to have taken place in Peru. Steve Stein, a pioneering historian on Peruvian populism, suggests that Apristas were wrong to indict the government for supporting Sanchez Cerro's candidacy. He shows that their accusation of electoral frauds does not survive scrutiny.⁹ Apristas would have strongly censured Stein's reasoning. On 8 December 1931, on the day of Sánchez Cerro's inauguration, Haya de la Torre rebuffed the latter as president and declared himself the only true and moral leader of Peru.¹⁰

As a result of the Peruvian APRA Party's refusal to comply with the electoral results, confrontations between governmental forces and APRA followers escalated rapidly. Party affiliates called for general strikes and organized large demonstrations in the streets of Lima to dispute the legitimacy of the newly elected president.¹¹ Meanwhile, in the northern part of the country, where the Peruvian APRA Party (PAP) had collected the majority of its votes, feelings of resentment translated into political action as a series of face-offs broke out between small farmers and local authorities.¹² Rumors soon spread that APRA was organizing a revolutionary uprising and that party affiliates would not hesitate to resort to force and bloodshed, if need be, to take power and establish Haya de la Torre as president.¹³ As a result, the Peruvian government retaliated with a series of counter-revolutionary actions that aimed to quell aprista opposition. Sánchez Cerro passed a decree in November that prohibited public meetings and all demonstrations by political parties. By the end of December, he went a step further by declaring the Emergency Law, which henceforth suspended personal liberties and came close to instigating martial law to re-establish order in the country.¹⁴

⁹ Stein, *Populism in Peru...*, pp. 189-196.

¹⁰ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, 1931, "Discurso contra la fraude y la tiranía", in *Antología del pensamiento político de Haya de la Torre*, ed. Andrés Townsend Ezcurra, Lima : Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 1995, pp. 30-32.

¹¹ Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives, Folder 2.

¹² Peter F. Karén, *Modernization, Dislocation, and Aprismo: Origins of the Peruvian Aprista Party, 1870-1932*, Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1973, p. 137.

¹³ See diplomatic reports in Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives, Folder 2 and Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

¹⁴ Dearing, "Political disorder in Peru," November 7, 1931, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

One question undergirds Chapter Five: What impact did the return of state persecution have on the Peruvian APRA Party? Facing the impossibility of open political participation in Peru, the PAP scouted for strategies that could enable its political survival. APRA leaders looked for ways to strive at the national level and on the international scene as well, after a second wave of exiles was deported abroad. In both cases, making use of a symbol, that of a democratic and internationally famed Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, served the cause of APRA best, and that of the Hayista faction in particular.

This chapter argues that the return of state repression in Peru toward the end of 1931 favored the dominion of the Hayista faction within the Peruvian APRA party. In effect, having access to transnational networks of solidarity located outside Peru enabled APRA leader Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to definitively impose his political leadership in August 1933 and take control of the Peruvian APRA party thereafter. In this chapter, I show how being connected to the outside world gave two decisive political advantages. First, it gave him access to political support abroad with direct consequences in Peru. Haya de la Torre regained his liberty in the Peruvian fall of 1933 thanks to a transnational advocacy campaign that requested his release from prison. Second, being connected to the outside world gave him access to symbolic power within Peru. From the beginning of 1932 through the winter of the following year, when the Amnesty Law came into effect, the travel trope associated with the outside world and with Indo-America in particular became ever more associated with the exclusive leadership of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre.

Sydney Tarrow's concept of "rooted cosmopolitanism" helps conceptualize the type of assistance that foreign allies were able to lend to a defeated APRA party in the early 1930s. Tarrow signals how resilient connections between individuals, their places of origins, and the places that they travel to, shape the political activism of transnational actors. "What is 'rooted' in this conception," he claims, "is that, as cosmopolitans move physically and cognitively outside their origins, they

continue to be linked to place, to the social networks that inhabit that space, and to the resources, experiences, and opportunities that place provides them with.”¹⁵ Chapter Four demonstrated that APRA leaders who had suffered exile capitalized on the travel trope to acquire political legitimacy in Peru. They drew their authority, I argued, from a well-crafted discourse. But the advantage of having lived in exile far exceeded the construction of a sharp, winsome discourse. This was particularly true for a movement that strived to survive in the midst of recurrent persecution. A variety of international allies helped PAP withstand persecution. Their loyalty crystallized in the 1930s around memories of past encounters. For those who had never met with Peruvian exiles, and with Haya de la Torre in particular, the glorifying stories that circulated among their different networks convinced them to lend a helping hand when they could.

This chapter has four sections. To begin, I show that the return of state repression in Peru led to a lack of party cohesion and to multiple internal fractures. Second, I demonstrate, the Hayista faction clung to its internationalist prose as a way to legitimize its positions vis-à-vis Peruvian authorities. Third, I detail the 1932-1933 transnational liberation campaign that pressured the Peruvian government into releasing Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, who was in prison at the time. Finally, I demonstrate how Aprista allies of Haya used this situation to their advantage by publicizing in Peru the international support he as an APRA leader was able to trigger abroad.

Disarray

The upshot of state persecution came in many forms for Peruvian APRA members. Some scholars highlight the renewed enthusiasm for militancy and resistance that wanton state violence triggered among the Aprista rank-and-file. Others remark, on the contrary, the sense of despair that afflicted APRA followers in the face of arbitrary arrests or the deportation, in February 1932, of the

¹⁵ Sydney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 42.

twenty-three delegates they had voted into Congress the previous fall.¹⁶ What is certain is that state persecution had dire and important consequences for the political capacities of the PAP. To be sure, its ability to operate as a viable and effective political organization was by no means limited to the emotional moods of its rank-and-file.

With repression came at once the difficulty to properly educate inexperienced APRA militants. During an interview with US ambassador Fred Morris Dearing, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre acknowledged in January 1932 the hurdles that he faced when teaching ideological tenets of APRA to the party's rank-and-files in Peru. Haya de la Torre maintained that party members "felt the rightness of the Party's aim," but, according to Dearing, he also recognized that "he would have a long and tedious road to follow to bring the rank and file up to an understanding of the Party's aims."¹⁷ This passage confirms, on the one hand, the difficulty of adapting an ideology first conceived from afar to the everyday concerns and aspirations of the Peruvian people and suggests, on the other, that attempting to do so in a context where APRA followers were busier staying out of jail than engaging in serious reflection was close to impossible.

With repression also surged problems of party direction. US diplomatic reports hint at the lack of clear leadership in the Peruvian APRA party in 1932. According to one such report penned by Fred Morris Dearing in February of that year, in which the US ambassador is clearly sympathetic to a PAP placed under the headship of Haya de la Torre, simmering tensions between factions of APRA appeared likely to explode shortly. The report primarily aimed to inform on and denounce the authoritarian tendencies of Sánchez Cerro. Alluding to the development of PAP as a viable and functional political organization, ambassador Dearing also stressed the lack of control that Haya de

¹⁶ Juan Aguilar Derpich, *Catacumbas del APRA: Vivencia y testimonios de su clandestinidad*, Lima : Ediciones del recuerdo, 1984, pp. 58-59. Thomas M. Davies, *Indian Integration in Peru: A Half Century of Experience, 1900-1948*, Lincoln: NE, 1974, p. 113.

¹⁷ Fred Morris Dearing to Secretary of State, Embassy of the United States of America, Lima, January 6, 1932, Folder 3, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

la Torre had over some sections of the APRA party. He wrote, “These developments will take time [...] above all Haya de la Torre's central problem that of controlling and reforming his lieutenants and party members can only be accomplished slowly.”¹⁸

The arrest and trial of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre on 6 May 1932, followed shortly after by the failed revolutionary uprising in Trujillo, only served to compound the situation.¹⁹ In addition to Haya de la Torre being incarcerated, by 13 May 1932 eight party leaders had been executed, twenty-six sentenced to prison, and thirty-seven more deported to Chile.²⁰ On 7 July 1932, a group of APRA militants captured the northern city of Trujillo in an attempt to launch an insurrectionary war against the Sánchez Cerro dictatorship.²¹ Those who participated in the uprising argued that violence had become necessary to oppose the persecution of APRA in Peru, and that it would henceforth prove more efficient than democratic means of action in the pursuit of state power. Instead of marking the beginning of a national revolution, as APRA rebels had envisioned, this episode ended dramatically three days later with a score of dead and injured. Governmental military forces rapidly and easily quelled the staged revolution.²²

By the winter of 1932, state persecution had successfully crushed the cohesion of the party, leaving even its most fervent affiliates at a loss for clear direction. The circumstances in which

¹⁸ Fred Morris Dearing to Secretary of State, Lima, February 21, 1932, Folder 3, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

¹⁹ “Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre fue apresado esta mañana en Miraflores,” *Ultima Hora*, Lima, Perú, 6 de mayo de 1932, III-1313-10 (II), Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, México. Klarén, *Modernization, Dislocation, and Aprismo...*, p. 141.

²⁰ [Unknown author], Letter to Anna Melissa Graves, Lima, May 13th, 1932, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.15, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

²¹ Iñigo García-Bryce recently wrote one of the best accounts on the Trujillo Insurrection. Iñigo García-Bryce, “A Revolution Remembered, a Revolution Forgotten: The 1932 Aprista Insurrection in Trujillo, Peru,” *A Contra Corriente*, Vol. 7, No. 3, Spring 2010: 277-322. Other important studies on the subject include: Hidalgo Gamarra y José Daniel, *1932: los excluidos combaten por la libertad: la Revolución de Trujillo*, Perú: [s.n.], 2011; Margarita Giesecke, *La insurrección de Trujillo: Jueves 7 de Julio de 1932*, Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2010; Giesecke, *The Trujillo Insurrection, the APRA party and the making of modern Peruvian politics*, Thesis (Ph.D.), University of London, 1993; Mariano Alcántara, *Arte y revolución, Trujillo 1932: de pie ante la historia*, Trujillo: Secongensa, 1994; Percy Murillo Garaycochea, *Revolución de Trujillo, 1932*, Lima: Editorial Nosotros, 1982.

²² García-Bryce, “A Revolution Remembered...,” pp. 277-322.

APRA leader Perla Lapoint tried, to no avail, to resign from the party earlier that year casts a spotlight on the level of disorganization that was by then endemic to PAP. On 13 August 1932 Lapoint was arrested and taken into custody. The police officer who handled his case reported that he first apprehended Lapoint around four in the afternoon, “por haber estado dando vivas al Apra en estado de ebriedad,” he wrote, and that after a summary search in his residence he found a number of incriminating documents. The documents effectively testified to Perla Lapoint’s involvement with APRA, yet they were all dated 1931 and, as Lapoint remarked, he now felt completely dissociated from the APRA party and wanted nothing more than to formally leave its ranks. Giving notice of departure to a fragmented PAP, however, was easier said than done. When his interrogators asked what he meant by a failed resignation, Lapoint retorted it was on account of “no existir la directiva del partido aprista.”²³ The state of chaos in the party was such, Lapoint regretted, that he no longer knew where to present his resignation to make it official.²⁴

APRA leaders readily acknowledged the state of chaos of their organization. Starting in March 1932, the National Executive Committee (CEN), still under the direction of Haya de la Torre at the time, resolved to try to cope with the level of disorganization that beset not only the activities but also the resistance of the party in the face of state persecution.²⁵ It called an extraordinary plenary session in Lima to discuss the seriousness of the situation. The party apparatus was dismantled. Its propaganda system was almost entirely shut down. Worse still, because of the impossibility of transmitting clear instructions to its followers scattered across the country, the CEN had to reckon with social disorder caused by APRA members. When left to their own devices,

²³ Jefe General de Investigación, [Interrogatorio Alfredo Perla Lapoint,] Lima, 16 de agosto 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

²⁴ *Idem.*

²⁵ Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, *Boletín del Partido Aprista Peruano. Órgano del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional*, Lima, 14 de marzo 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

members arbitrarily took their frustration to the streets and committed individual acts of violence in opposition to state repression. The CEN condemned these behaviors. They were impulsive, it deemed, and thus unworthy of the shrewd methods that ostensibly defined aprismo. But the CEN also recognized that to pacify their revolt, APRA followers needed instructions, and so it searched for ways to supply them.²⁶

Between 1932 and the return to democracy in August 1933, the CEN sought to impose itself as a major force to be reckoned with, both in the APRA party in Peru and within the larger APRA community abroad. Its rule did not go uncontested, but ultimately it was able to assert its authority within party infrastructures. The CEN still embodied the pro Hayista faction in Peru. It usually sided with democratic factions of APRA, though after the electoral defeat of October 1931 it did not hesitate to endorse the use of violence when the moment seemed opportune. What distinguished this faction from the northern groups of APRA was its recourse to internationalist discourses as a means to validate the positions it adopted in Peru. Based in Lima, it sent out instructions to communities of APRA exiles abroad and coordinated the dissemination of pro-APRA propaganda throughout the country.²⁷

Between 14 March and 14 June 1932, the CEN set to press a total of fourteen issues of a clandestine paper, the *Newsletter of the Peruvian APRA Party (Boletín del Partido Aprista Peruano)*, a rudimentary two-page leaflet that reported on the most recent undertakings of the CEN in Lima. It sought to encourage and orient the Aprista ranks with the use of educational and up-beat articles. Most took stock of the situation to better decry the systematic crushing of APRA followers. Few

²⁶ Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, *Boletín del Partido Aprista Peruano. Órgano del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional*, Lima, 14 de marzo 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

²⁷ Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera, ENAH, México, "APRA," 1930-1939; Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

engaged in serious reflection. From the uncertainty of clandestine retreats, there was indeed little time or energy left to engage in substantial analyses.²⁸

The first issue of *Boletín del PAP*, released on 14 March 1932, readily recognized how poorly things had gone for APRA in Peru. From the outset, it highlighted from the start the urgency to clarify before a confused public opinion what aprismo stood for. Stated the CEN: “La opinión publica se halla en realidad algo desorientada respecto a los verdaderos propósitos que persigue el P.A.P. en la vida político-social del País, respecto a los métodos que emplea en su acción política y a su exacta posición doctrinaria entre las tendencias izquierdistas y renovadoras.”²⁹ Yet confusion went far beyond public opinion. As much in the capital as in the rest of the country, stressed the *Boletín*, a sense of disorientation and puzzlement had crept into the PAP as well. “Hostilizados implacablemente por la política de exterminio aprista iniciada por el Gobierno,” reasoned the CEN, “era natural que se debilitaran los resortes de nuestra organización y se obstruyeran los conductos por donde disciplinariamente se ejercita la propaganda y el control.”³⁰

The CEN explained erratic behaviors of APRA members in light of two intermingled elements: 1) arbitrary state violence and, as a corollary, 2) the lack of central command in the party. “Los grandes núcleos apristas,” the CEN argued, “se han visto así prácticamente abandonados a su propia iniciativa y los afiliados violentados en sus sentimientos más justos y en sus libertades y derechos más elementales hayan tenido que salir a las calles a regar con su sangre su protesta y llenar las cárceles y prisiones de hombres que no cometieron otro delito que pedir virilmente el imperio de

²⁸ Police agents confiscated this material from APRA members placed under arrest. Several issues of the *Boletín del PAP* can be found in Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

²⁹ Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, *Boletín del Partido Aprista Peruano. Órgano del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional*, No 1, Lima, 14 de marzo 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de Gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

³⁰ *Idem*.

la ley.”³¹ Implicit in this contention is the role that the CEN intended to recapture as the executive organ of the Peruvian APRA party. By portraying a wayward party in need of guidance, the CEN argued for its own cause. In effect, it assured it had both the capacity and the determination to “dignify” the political struggles that were rocking Peru, mainly by way of instilling order and method among the PAP. The CEN recalled the democratic tradition it came from, thereby suggesting a direction for the future of the party: “Surgió, el aprismo, como una orientación social, que, reaccionando contra viejos métodos y vicios inveterados, pretendía renovarlos educando la conciencia popular para dignificar la política, hacer efectiva la democracia y alcanzar la justicia social.”³²

The makeshift pamphlets inserts that told readers to circulate the *Boletines* as much as possible among the Peruvian population to help explain why the CEN passed so much time defending the good name and reputation of APRA in its mouthpiece.³³ Courting public opinion was indeed one of the only remaining options available to APRA leaders who wanted to defend their cause through democratic and peaceful means of action. “El Partido necesita que cada uno de sus afiliados sea un propagandista,” the CEN told its members on 20 March 1932. “No pierda Ud. ocasión y válgase de todos los medios para que estos Boletines sean conocidos por todos los ciudadanos apristas y no apristas.”³⁴ The clandestine version of *La Tribuna*, under direction of Hugo

³¹ Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, *Boletín del Partido Aprista Peruano. Órgano del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional*, No 1, Lima, 14 de marzo 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de Gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

³² Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, *Boletín del Partido Aprista Peruano. Órgano del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional*, No 4, Lima, 20 de marzo 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

³³ Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, *Boletín del Partido Aprista Peruano. Órgano del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional*, No 3, Lima, 18 de marzo 1932 and Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, *Boletín del Partido Aprista Peruano. Órgano del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional*, No 4, Lima, 20 de marzo 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

³⁴ Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, *Boletín del Partido Aprista Peruano. Órgano del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional*, No 4, Lima, 20 de marzo 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

Otero, reproduced on 23 March 1932 the resolutions that the CEN had passed in its plenary session in Lima and printed in the first issue of its mouthpiece three days earlier.³⁵ This strategy aimed to disseminate in Peru the belief that an APRA placed under the leadership of the moderate CEN would restore social peace in the country. Doing so also evinces the control that APRA leaders based in Lima maintained over two important Aprista clandestine publications, *Boletín del PAP* and *La Tribuna*.

This is important to stress because in the midst of state repression, the mechanisms of political persuasion available to party leaders withered to two options: making use of public spaces, like city walls or street posts, to channel Aprista propaganda into Peruvian imaginations; or covertly distributing political flyers to disseminate the APRA doctrine and inform party members of its activities. In the face of increased police surveillance, the former tactic became harder to sustain by 1932, rendering access to the written press all the more imperative. Noted the surveillance service in Lima on 7 April 1932: “La campaña de propaganda mediante inscripciones alusivas del ‘Apra’, en las calles centrales i paredes de los alrededores de la población, ha disminuido en parte, pero en cambio se ha intensificado la propaganda subversiva mediante pasquines, volantes, anónimos, etc., que diariamente se distribuye en diversos sectores de la Capital.”³⁶

All through 1932 until the proclamation of the Amnesty Law in August 1933, Apristas launched a paper war against the regime in place. A panoply of new, often short-lived pro APRA publications saw the light in the course of 1932. Some, like *Pueblo Peruano*, were signed by Aprista groups that the official history of APRA has not recorded (in this case, by El Comité de Ciudadanos Libres para la Defensa del Pueblo Peruano), whereas others, like *Adelante*, came to pass in the

³⁵ “El partido aprista peruano frente al atentado del domingo 6 de marzo,” *La Tribuna*, 23 de marzo de 1932, Año 1, No. [286 o 236], Lima, p. 1, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.7 (1932).

³⁶ Comandancia General al Prefecto del Departamento, “No. 42 – Sobre propaganda activa,” Lima, 7 de abril 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.7 (1932-1942).

repertoire of the influential groups of APRA (in this other case, the Federación Aprista Juvenil, more commonly known as the FAJ). More titles of pro-APRA clandestine publications in 1932 include: *APRA*, *La Tribuna*, *Boletín Aprista*, *Al Pueblo*, *Cadena Peruana*, and *La Antorcha*. Most of them, if not all, appeared in the form of unadorned posters or rudimentary leaflets with a paltry number of pages.

The plethora of pro-APRA documents collected by police agents in the archives of the Peruvian Ministry of the Interior testify to an expanded and decentralized network of propaganda production. Anybody who could access a printing press was encouraged to issue and circulate diatribes against the regime in power. And when APRA militants had no access to such technology, then postscripts in propaganda material advised them to make handwritten copies of the documents they read and find ways to circulate them among the Peruvian population afterward. “Copie cinco o mas veces y envíe por correo a todos los peruanos y peruanas capaces de contribuir a la obra de Liberación del [país],” read the instructions added at the bottom of an undated APRA flyer, *Cadena Peruana*.³⁷

To be sure, the CEN also tried to maintain a more organized and better systematized propaganda apparatus. A plethora of cases of detention in the archives of the Ministry of the Interior in Peru helps piece together the strategies used by official party propagandists. Detained by police forces on 5 July 1932, Peruvian journalist Edgardo Castro Agustí provides a useful example. The surveillance agent who caught Castro Agustí reported the case to the “Jefe de la Brigada de Asuntos Sociales” in the following terms: “Doy cuenta a Ud, que ayer en la tarde fue decomisada en las oficinas del Correo Central una gran cantidad de sobres aparentemente comerciales rotulados con diferentes nombres de señoritas con dirección a distintas ciudades del Norte de la república.

³⁷ Comandancia General al Prefecto del Departamento, “No. 42 – Sobre propaganda activa,” Lima, 7 de abril 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.7 (1932-1942).

Habiéndose abierto por sospechas los sobres en referencia, resultaron ser conductores de volantes, pasquines y otros escritos de propaganda aprista que desde Lima se estaban remitiendo desde hacia tiempo a distintos lugares del país.”³⁸ Castro Agustí was detained the following day and interrogated.

Police records indicate that Edgardo Castro Agustí, originally from Trujillo, had been an active propagandist for APRA beginning in 1928, when he first joined the movement in Peru. By 1931, he was in charge of both interior and exterior propaganda in the northern Department of Cajamarca, although his activities were not restricted to this region only. Between 1931 and the fall of 1932, Castro Agustí stumped the whole country, conducting proselytizing work in more northern departments of Peru, including Cajamarca, Libertad, and Ancash, as well as in a number of southern regions such as Arequipa, Cuzco, Puno, Tacna, and Moquegua.³⁹ He moved to Lima at the beginning of winter 1932, where he began to oversee a wide-ranging program of pro-APRA propaganda.

The scheme was simple enough. On the fifteenth of each month, Castro Agustí went to University Park, in the historic center of Lima, to collect a package filled with clandestine newsletters from the Peruvian APRA party. He always found the package hidden in leaves underneath one of the park benches. Castro Agustí did not know or ever see who left the package for him. Party instructions simply told him to collect the package on said date sometime between 7 and 8 pm. Castro Agustí would then return home and methodically place the newsletters in envelopes addressed to single women (*señoritas*) in a number of different cities in northern Peru. His packages resembled those made for commercial shipping. They were furthermore addressed to female actors unknown to the authorities. This strategy enabled Castro Agustí to utilize the regular post service to

³⁸ El Vigilante de investigación al Señor Jefe de la Brigada de Asuntos Sociales, Prefectura del Departamento de Lima, Lima, 5 de junio [sic], 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

³⁹ Prefectura del Departamento de Lima, Lima, 8 de julio, 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

ship pro-APRA material throughout the country without raising suspicion. Eventually he was caught, this is true, but Castro Agustí did manage to sustain this scheme for an impressive number of weeks, especially given the extent of state surveillance in Peru at the time.⁴⁰

As a rule, the CEN put unofficial sympathizers of APRA and unknown party affiliates in charge of disseminating propaganda in Peru. Since they were subjected to state surveillance, it was indeed of paramount importance for party leaders to avoid engaging in such activities. They never sent telegrams either for the same reason.⁴¹ Rather, party subalterns like Isais L. Izaguirre helped members of the CEN stay in touch with one another as well as forward directives to party members. Izaguirre was affiliated to PAP but he never occupied a leadership position within the party. Like many other party affiliates or sympathizers, his role was limited to facilitating communication and the transmission of information in the midst of state persecution. According to his testimony before police officers, Izaguirre regularly assisted in the dissemination of pro-APRA propaganda from the Peruvian capital to his hometown, the city of Huaraz. On a few occasions, he also delivered personal letters to APRA leaders Julián Petrovitch and Serafín Delmar who were hiding in the Ancash region at the time. Izaguirre further explained to his interrogators that when he lived in Lima he used to ship copies of *La Tribuna* to the Secretary of the Departmental Committee of Huaraz.⁴²

To be sure, there was more at stake in the distribution of Aprista propaganda than only the need to reinforce party cohesion: in instances of persecution, the role of clandestine propaganda was particularly crucial to determine who monitored and ultimately who maintained control over the political orientation of APRA. In other words, in a context in which different Aprista factions

⁴⁰ Testimony of Edgardo Castro Agustí, Lima, 5 de Julio de 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

⁴¹ Letter of Isais L Izaguirre to Nicolás González Alzamora, Lima, julio 12 de 1932; Testimony of Guillermo Sánchez Moreno y Moscoso, 31 agosto de 1932; Testimony of Isaias L. Izaguirre, Lima, 1 septiembre 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

⁴² Testimony of Isais L. Izaguirre, Lima, 1 septiembre 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

jostled for ascendancy in the party, who controlled the written press determined, in many ways, who wielded influence within the party. That the editorial board of *La Tribuna* in exile, which was also controlled by the Hayista faction, claimed to be the only remaining spokesman of the Peruvian APRA party as of August 1932 brings home this point. “‘La Tribuna’, único vocero impreso del Partido Aprista Peruano en estos momentos, considera, ante la serie de calumnias que propalan los agentes de la tiranía, que debe dar una versión exacta, digamos oficial, de los sucesos de Trujillo que se conocen más o menos desfiguradamente.”⁴³

Other voices, however, also attempted to co-opt the meaning of the Trujillo revolution as well. On 4 August 1932, Antero Muñoz was detained after being caught distributing Aprista propaganda in the capital. Muñoz was originally from Trujillo, and while he confirmed having been an active member of the APRA party since February of the previous year, it is clear that the instructions he was then following stemmed from a source other than the CEN.⁴⁴ The political flyers he was caught distributing to passers-by in Lima voiced the positions of “El Movimiento del Norte,” a group of Apristas who, despite the serious defeat suffered at the hands of Peruvian authorities the previous month, continued to try to thrust Peruvian people into violent rebellion. One flyer entitled *Pueblo Peruano* explained the origins of the movement, initiated by “Los patriotas de Trujillo,” stressed the authors, and called all Peruvians to rise-up and defend their right to national freedom: “Ha llegado la hora de la justicia. Pueblo del Perú, levántate a defender la libertad ultrajada, la soberanía nacional escarnecida, la dignidad nacional humillada. Soldados, marineros, policías,

⁴³ “Los sucesos de Trujillo,” *La Tribuna. En el destierro*, Agosto de 1932, p. 2, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932-1942).

⁴⁴ Prefectura del Departamento de Lima, Lima, Agosto 9 de 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932-1942).

ciudadanos todos, de pié a la lucha contra el tirano asesino y sus secuaces.”⁴⁵ Another flyer, dated 8 July 1932, was a reproduction of propaganda material that northern Apristas disseminated during the Trujillo insurrection. In addition to flaunting the strength and cohesion of the insurrectionary movement in Trujillo, this document reported on the battle cries that shook northern Peru a few weeks earlier. “Trujillo no se rinde,” voiced one. “La muerte antes que la tiranía,” summoned another.⁴⁶ Importantly, all the propaganda material that Apristas churned out in the North focused exclusively on the Peruvian scene to justify its insurrectionary discourses. This was not the case for the CEN.

Internationalist Discourse and Travel Trope

In the face of mounting state violence and the fading capacity of the PAP to stand its ground against repression, and also thanks to the leadership of Apristas in La Libertad, insurrectionary strategies had been making significant headway among party leaders as well as among the rank-and-file starting early in 1932.⁴⁷ The *Boletín del PAP* published in early June of that year reflects this reality. On 8 July 1932 Carlos García was caught distributing Aprista propaganda in the Plaza de Armas, the main square of the historic center of Lima. Police officers found on him various documents deemed subversive, among which figured the fourteenth issue of the *Boletín del PAP*, penned and signed by the CEN and dated 6 June 1932.⁴⁸ The content of this *Boletín* diverged from what the CEN had published in previous issues. Whereas a few weeks earlier the CEN fervently

⁴⁵ “Pueblo Peruano,” Prefectura del Departamento de Lima, Lima, Agosto 9 de 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932-1942).

⁴⁶ “Noticias de Trujillo que no publica el decano de la Mentira,” Julio 8, Prefectura del Departamento de Lima, Lima, Agosto 9 de 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932-1942).

⁴⁷ Nelson Manrique, “¡Usted Fue Aprista!” *Bases para una historia crítica del APRA*, Lima: Fondo Editorial, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2009, pp. 97-98.

⁴⁸ Prefectura del Departamento de Lima, “Remite el parte y documentos subversivos que indica encontrados al detenido Aprista Carlos García,” Lima, 9 de julio, 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

called for order and method among Aprista ranks, approving only of democratic means of political struggle, in a significant turnabout of discourse it now praised the use of force to oust president Sánchez Cerro. The CEN argued that only an alliance between the armed forces and the people (“el pueblo”) could successfully bring social justice to Peru.⁴⁹ One month later the revolution in Trujillo exploded.⁵⁰

Víctor Villanueva has enumerated five revolutionary plots between May 7 and July 14 that were either directed or inspired by APRA.⁵¹ Whether or not Haya de la Torre tallied with these positions is unclear. In hindsight, various protagonists maintained that he had had nothing to do with the violent episodes of 1932. Anna Melissa Graves wrote articles to defend his case, arguing that Haya de la Torre was in prison and virtually cut off from all communication with the outside world when the Trujillo revolution occurred.⁵² Her reasoning seems accurate. Villanueva in turn assures that in 1932, Haya de la Torre wanted to take power only through peaceful means.⁵³ Historian Nelson Manrique is also inflexible regarding Haya de la Torre’s intervention in, let alone his support of, the Trujillo insurrection of July 1932: “Se trató de un movimiento que ni Haya ni la dirección del Apra esperaban,” he writes.⁵⁴ However, the pugnacious tone of the fourteenth issue of the *Boletín del PAP*, which, you will recall, the CEN edited, suggests otherwise.

While it isn’t clear which APRA leadership Manrique is alluding to in this citation, it is quite possible to conceive that, like most scholars, Manrique presumes that the Hayista faction was already

⁴⁹ Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, *Boletín del Partido Aprista Peruano. Órgano del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional*, No 14, Lima, 6 de junio 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

⁵⁰ García-Bryce, “A Revolution Remembered...,” pp. 277-322.

⁵¹ Manrique, “¡Usted Fue Aprista!” *Bases para una historia crítica del APRA...*, p. 99. Víctor Villanueva, *Ejército Peruano: del caudillaje anárquico al militarismo reformista*, Lima: Librería Editorial Juan Mejía Baca, 1973, p. 412.

⁵² Enclosure #1, Dispatch No. 3980, Copy of manuscript by Anna Melissa Graves on Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, September-October 1932, 38 pages, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

⁵³ Cited in Manrique, “¡Usted Fue Aprista!” *Bases para una historia crítica del APRA...*, p. 98.

⁵⁴ Manrique does not specify who actually ran the Peruvian APRA party at the time. His omission suggests that he meant APRA leaders based in Lima, thus party affiliates who formed the C.E.N. Manrique, “¡Usted Fue Aprista!” *Bases para una historia crítica del APRA...*, p. 98.

leading the party in the early 1930s. More important than determining who was in control of the PAP at the time – for no group exercised total dominance before the summer of 1933 – is reckoning with the fact that with Haya de la Torre behind bars and Aprista factions up north moving forward in the adoption of an insurrectionary line on the other, the CEN was poised to adopt pugnacious postures in regard to its revolutionary proposal. This insurrectionary branding would not last very long – one or two months at the most –⁵⁵ but the justification that the CEN offered at the time to defend its reversal of policy is both fascinating and revealing for better understanding the preeminence of internationalist discourses within the formation of the Hayista faction.

The justification the CEN provided was based on events happening abroad. The CEN remained steadfast in its use of internationalist discourse even as it tilted toward the use of violence in June 1932. The June 6 issue of its newsletter returned to the tradition of international analyses and global discourses, so prevalent in APRA prior to the 1931 electoral campaign, while the survey of Indo-American conjunctures simultaneously offered incisive appreciations of the political scene in Peru. Furthermore, the entire issue took pains to flesh out the ways in which capitalism continued to bedevil Latin America. Despite the region's budding industrialization, stressed the CEN, a form of economic colonialism held national governments captive to imperialist greed. "Es esta la causa honda," it explained, "el motivo económico determinante de las agitaciones político-sociales de los países de indo-América, en los últimos tiempos." The CEN further validated social and political unrest in Peru, and in Latin America more broadly, on the condition that it be oriented toward organized revolutionary proposals: "Ya no basta el cuartelazo traidor y oportunista que [derrumba] una tiranía para sustituirla con otra. Ya no es suficiente el cambio de hombres mediante una farsa

⁵⁵ Letter of M. Vásquez D., Por el Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, to Fred M. Dearing, Embajador de los Estados Unidos, Lima, Perú, 23 de julio de 1932, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

democrática electoral, donde triunfa el fraude y el oro corruptor. Los problemas no se resuelven sino con cambios en los sistemas, con formulas científicas, con plan socialista y socializante.”⁵⁶

Two out of four articles commented more specifically on the heuristic value of the Chilean example. “El ejemplo Chileno: Las fuerzas armadas al servicio de la justicia social,” in particular, heaped praises on the revolutionary movement underway in Chile, where a leftist military junta had proclaimed, two days earlier on June 4, the Socialist Republic of Chile.⁵⁷ The CEN portrayed this movement, where, it stressed, the armed forces humbly worked alongside the Chilean people to achieve national liberation, as a case in point of valid revolutionary options in Peru. “En ambos casos,” stated the CEN, referring to the Mexican Revolution and its alleged contemporary counterpart in Chile, “es interesante anotar como las fuerzas armadas han cooperado de la justicia social.”⁵⁸ A third article, tellingly entitled “El sueño de Bolívar meta ideal del P.A.P.,” made explicit references to the connections that the Peruvian APRA party had with the outside world. It reproduced the expressions of “solidaridad indoamericana” that a small contingent of Peruvian APRA exiles in Guayaquil, Ecuador had recently forwarded to Alfredo Baquerizo Moreno, the president of their host country. According to the *Boletín*, the Ecuadorian president favorably replied to their good wishes by way of cablegram. A reproduction of the cited cablegram read: “Aprecio debidamente saludo ustedes al pueblo ecuatoriano en tan gloriosa fecha y correspondo a él, deseando igualmente, que el verdadero sueño de Bolívar sea en la mañana una brillante realidad de América.”⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, *Boletín del Partido Aprista Peruano. Órgano del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional*, No 14, Lima, 6 de junio 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

⁵⁷ The short-lived Socialist Republic of Chile ended on 13 September 1932 with the resignation of Carlos Dávila from power. Jack Ray Thomas, “The Socialist Republic of Chile,” *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, (April, 1964): 203-220.

⁵⁸ Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, *Boletín del Partido Aprista Peruano. Órgano del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional*, No 14, Lima, 6 de junio 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

⁵⁹ *Idem.*

To regular readers of the *Boletín*, allusions of this sort to the outside world were not entirely new. In fact, a version of the travel trope had reappeared in the mouthpiece of the CEN shortly after the arrest of its director, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, on 6 May of that year. The tenth issue of the *Boletín*, which came out approximately two weeks later, is replete with stories that told of just how much the people of the Americas cared about Peruvians and Apristas. According to the CEN, solidarity protests had recently emerged across the continent to decry the regime of Sánchez Cerro and demand an end to his use of indiscriminate violence against Peruvian citizens. The CEN reported on one such event in the following terms: “En Santiago de Chile, el día 16, se realizó una gran manifestación popular de protesta que recorrió las calles centrales de la población. En ella se gritaba: ‘ABAJO LA PENA COBARDE Y SANGRIENTA’ ‘MUERAN LOS ASESINOS SANCHEZ CERRO, BENAVIDES Y FLORES’.”⁶⁰ The CEN assured that committed Latin American intellectuals also wrote and published articles in foreign newspapers that censured the Peruvian government for its actions. Excerpts of articles adverse to the rule of Sánchez Cerro, which had appeared in the journals *Universo* and *El Ferrocarril*, respectively from Guayaquil, Ecuador and Arica, Chile, were reproduced in the *Boletín* to support this claim.⁶¹

In a way that recalls the messages of continental solidarity that the *APRA* journal advertised in October and November 1930, references to the outside world in this case aimed to empower the new wave of APRA exiles and position them as crucial intermediaries between Peru and the rest of the continent. Paying close attention to the outward gains of deportation, the CEN promised that APRA leaders were putting their exile to good use for the cause of the movement across Indo-América: “Los representantes apristas distribuidos en casi todas las repúblicas indo-americanas, trabajan activamente para hacer conocer a los pueblos hermanos el auténtico sentido de nuestro

⁶⁰ Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, *Boletín del Partido Aprista Peruano. Órgano del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional*, No 10, Lima, 23 de Mayo de 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

⁶¹ *Idem*.

movimiento de Justicia Social.”⁶² Here, exile was deemed a propitious opportunity for the Peruvian APRA party to try and coax Latin American peers into joining APRA or into contemplating its foundational principles. “El P.A.P. no pierde su tiempo en lamentar una posición perdida,” stated the CEN. “Simplemente aprovecha de la oportunidad para dejar demostrada su tesis.”⁶³ Publicizing the favorable reactions to the series of lectures that APRA leaders Manuel Seoane, Luis Alberto Sánchez, Pedro E. Muñiz, Carlos Cox, and Arturo Sabroso were reportedly hosting across the continent lent further credence to this optimistic argument. The CEN assured that the work of these APRA exiles was acclaimed outside Peru, no matter where they went (it wasn’t specified). It also underscored the release of publications that aimed to expound on and disseminate the APRA doctrine abroad. One such book was about to appear in Colombia, assured the CEN.⁶⁴

More striking still was the weight given to APRA leader Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre. The twenty-third day of May 1932 marked the ninth anniversary of the anti-governmental protests during which students and workers in Peru had joined forces for the first time. Celebrating this event as one of the foundational events of the Peruvian APRA party, the CEN stressed the central role that Haya de la Torre had played during the successful Sacred Heart protests. “Haya de la Torre,” it wrote, “estudiante de Derecho, fue el líder de aquella memorable acción. Su concepción realista de nuestras posibilidades económicas y clasistas, gestaba ya la formación el partido que habría de consolidar la unión de los trabajadores manuales e intelectuales.”⁶⁵ We can trace in this type of publication the genesis of the symbolic apparatus so often described in the scholarship on APRA. A

⁶² Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, *Boletín del Partido Aprista Peruano. Órgano del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional*, No 10, Lima, 23 de Mayo de 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

⁶³ *Idem.*

⁶⁴ *Idem.* “En Colombia se está editando un interesante libro de 200 paginas, en el que se recogen el pensamiento y la acción apristas.”

⁶⁵ *Idem.*

statement summarized: “Haya de la Torre es para el pueblo peruano más que el jefe de su partido, un maestro y un conductor.”⁶⁶

Curiously, the justification for this statement lay more in the level of sympathy that Haya de la Torre was able to rouse abroad than in his capacity to rally the Peruvian rank-and-file around a singular definition of APRA. In effect, the CEN capitalized on a series of transnational liberation campaigns that friends and allies outside Peru organized in support of the PAP. It positioned Haya de la Torre as a sort of Peruvian emissary on international matters. The CEN argued that the widespread outrage Haya’s arrest provoked abroad was helping put Peru on the map. “La detención de Haya de la Torre, ha servido para hacer conocer al país y hacer sentir a la tiranía, el prestigio americano del Jefe del Partido Aprista,” stated the CEN. “Detenido el jefe aprista,” it continued, “por los sayones de la tiranía, una corriente de opinión internacional ha dejado oír su voz para condenar el atropello y exigir garantías.”⁶⁷

The CEN also took pains to highlight the international fame that Haya de la Torre had secured for himself before his detention. The unfair imprisonment of Haya de la Torre had generated international outrage precisely because his intellectual merits had been recognized around the continent beforehand. Stated the CEN: “Aun antes de su detención, Haya de la Torre era invitado por muchas instituciones científicas y culturales de los países sudamericanos, para que diera conferencias, cuyo anuncio despertaba vivo interés en los círculos intelectuales.”⁶⁸ Alluding to an international public opinion favorable to Haya de la Torre, whether by way of denouncing his recent imprisonment or applauding his intellectual contributions, aimed to bolster his legitimacy as an

⁶⁶ Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, *Boletín del Partido Aprista Peruano. Órgano del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional*, No 10, Lima, 23 de Mayo de 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

⁶⁷ *Idem.*

⁶⁸ *Idem.*

APRA leader. It also highlighted the political benefits that a PAP placed under his leadership would be able to secure for the sake of democracy in Peru.

Liberation Campaign

Solidarity protests in favor of the Peruvian APRA party, and of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre in particular, did indeed proliferate following his arrest in May 1932. In the aftermath of the Trujillo uprising and the ensuing wave of persecution that targeted APRA members in Peru, many echoed the words of encouragement that Costa Rican intellectual Joaquín García Monge extended to Anna Melissa Graves, by then an important figure of the internationalist pacifist movement, at the beginning of 1933: “las gestiones que Ud. está haciendo en los Estados Unidos son muy buenas, muy útiles, y en el momento oportuno serán aprovechadas por los amigos de Haya en el mundo.”⁶⁹ In this citation, García Monge was referring to the movement in support of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre that Graves had helped put together a few months earlier. As was his custom, García Monge, a strong advocate of international action and mobilization against arbitrary rule of law, applauded initiatives that pilloried Latin American dictatorships, meted out public blame and called for reprisal to overt abuses of power.

On 26 July 1932, the article that García Monge published in the *Diario de Costa Rica* took special offense to what he called “the Peruvian tyranny of Sánchez Cerro,” whose oppressive actions against Apristas, he scolded, ran counter to the democratic and continental Hispano-American citizenship that intellectuals across the Americas aspired to build.⁷⁰ “Esta es una forma de barbarie que urge combatir,” he wrote, referring to rumors that Sánchez Cerro had ordered the imminent

⁶⁹ Letter of Joaquín García Monge to Anna Melissa Graves, January 21, 1933, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.17, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁷⁰ Joaquín García Monge, “Haya de la Torre en Peligro de Ser Fusilado,” *Diario de Costa Rica*, Tuesday, July 26, 1932, newspaper clipping found in Folder 4, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

execution of Haya de la Torre. “Hay que organizar un movimiento de opinión para que el militarismo estúpido del Perú vea que la América tiene los ojos puestos sobre su sable levantado.”⁷¹ According to García Monge, at stake was not just the life of one individual but more importantly the defense of basic political rights in Latin American countries.⁷² Hence the kind words he had for Graves.

Between May 1932 and August 1933, European, North American, and Latin American intellectuals joined efforts following Graves’ instructions and embarked on a transnational advocacy campaign that condemned the recent conviction in Peru of APRA leader Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre. The petitions they forwarded to Peruvian ambassadors in Washington, D.C., London, and Paris, as well as the letters they published in daily papers, together denounced the poor prison conditions under which Haya de la Torre was being held captive.⁷³ International APRA supporters requested a fair trial or immediate deportation for Haya. Although these letters and petitions ultimately only gathered a few dozen supporters on paper, the fame many of these enjoyed worldwide gifted their transnational initiative with legitimacy. Internationally renowned intellectuals demanded that Peruvian authorities be held responsible in the face of liberal and pacifist public opinion.

On the Latin American side, Argentine intellectual Manuel Ugarte, Chilean poet Gabriela Mistral, and Mexican philosopher and politician José Vasconcelos all readily and positively responded to Graves’ plea to express outrage over current Peruvian politics in favor of someone they once considered a friend.⁷⁴ For pacifist Romain Rolland, letting Graves down, with whom he

⁷¹ García Monge, “Haya de la Torre en Peligro...”

⁷² *Idem.*

⁷³ For drafts of petitions consult The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folders 2.1 to 2.17, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. For efforts to publicize petitions in US press consult The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 3, Box 3, Folder 3.6, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁷⁴ The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.13 and 2.15, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

had been exchanging letters and sharing opinions for more than eight years, was out of the question. Thus, upon hearing about the plan she was beginning to put together in May 1932, and in spite of personal reservations he held regarding Haya de la Torre's past inconsistency, Rolland sent a cablegram directly to President Sánchez Cerro, forthrightly asking him to show respect for the individual Haya de la Torre, whose association with the "pensée ibérique," Rolland tactically underscores, does it honor.⁷⁵ Charles A. Thomson was first contacted by Graves toward the end of 1932.⁷⁶ As the appointed traveling secretary in Central America and the Caribbean for the Fellowship of Reconciliation (F.O.R.) – a religious pacifist organization formed in 1915 that later expanded its focus on international activism for peace and social justice toward the Americas – Thomson was not unfamiliar with Aprista political contributions.⁷⁷ In fact, Haya de la Torre's definition of imperialism had convinced him less than two years earlier that if fighting political expressions of imperialist phenomena was legitimate, then the flawed nature of economic expansion also deserved attention, as Thomson argued in his correspondence with other F.O.R. delegates.⁷⁸ Unsurprisingly, in addition to agreeing to sign Graves' draft petition, Thomson also endeavored to muster supplementary signatures within his own inner circles.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Letter of Romain Rolland to Anna Melissa Graves, Villeneuve, May 27, 1932, Fonds Romain Rolland, NAF 28400, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Manuscrits.

⁷⁶ Letter of Charles A. Thomson to Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, New York, April 23, 1935, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 3, Box 3, Folder 3.9, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁷⁷ Consult the Manuscript Collections of the Swarthmore College Peace Collection: Fellowship of Reconciliation Records (Great Britain), 1915-current; Fellowship of Reconciliation Records (US), 1915-current, Collection: DG 013; American Friends Service Committee Collected Records, 1917-current, Collection: CDGA. See also the website of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, <http://forusa.org/>.

⁷⁸ Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Fellowship of Reconciliation US, Series 2, Box 2, [Thomson Scrapbook], 1929-1932, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, cited in Charles Thomson, First Annual Report, Latin American Work, Fellowship of Reconciliation, from July 1, 1929 to June 30, 1930, p. 8.

⁷⁹ In addition to signing the petition on behalf of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Charles Thomson secured the signature of historian, and at the time secretary of the Congregational Education Society, Hubert Herring and attempted to convince Stephen P. Duggan, director of the Institute of International Education in New York, to do the same. Letter of Charles A. Thomson to Anna Melissa Graves, New York, January 26, 1933, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.6, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. Petition draft and signatures gathered by Roger Baldwin, n.d., The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

These examples showcase the assorted nature of APRA allies in the early 1930s. These included ex-confidants of Haya de la Torre, disgruntled by the estrangement that the passing of time had imposed on waning but nonetheless loyal friendships, and others like Charles A. Thomson, disposed to politically support a thinker whose intellectual work had once been a source of inspiration and formation. All of them had either personally known Haya de la Torre or were closely acquainted with his work. In these instances, Graves' appeals triggered solidarity of action among allies whose assistance coalesced around the cognizance of APRA and shared memories of the individual Haya de la Torre.

Other petitioners, however, had never met or, for a few, even heard of the imprisoned political leader who, as a man of great distinction, “must arouse the concern of many who in general are without interest in the politics of South America,” a series of English intellectuals assured their readers in the pages of the *Manchester Guardian*.⁸⁰ To attract attention to Haya de la Torre's situation, Graves never failed to include a newspaper clipping of this open letter along with a copy of the draft petition when initially reaching out to potential APRA backers.⁸¹ The value of this letter as promotional device rested on the fact that it gave basic and accessible information on recent events in Peru, and rendered the arrests and exiles of Aprista congressmen intelligible for an uninformed audience. Moreover, it depicted Haya de la Torre's leadership as a model of proper and desirable resistance to imperialism and of hope for Latin American unity. In spite of initial communist inclinations, “towards the end of 1927,” the letter comforted its trans-Atlantic audience, “those members of the Apra who stood for revolutionary action repudiated [Haya de la Torre's]

⁸⁰ Clipping of *Manchester Guardian*, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 5, Box 10, Folder 10.4, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁸¹ Though the *Manchester Guardian* was a British daily paper, Graves collected abundant clippings of this article and personally ensured their trans-Atlantic circulation amongst those she hoped to attract toward supporting Haya de la Torre. See the panoply of newspaper clippings of the *Manchester Guardian* article in The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 5, Box 10, Folder 10.4, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University; The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 2, Box 2, Folders 2.1 to 2.17, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

leadership.”⁸² Similar to the petition draft, the signers of the *Manchester Guardian* letter evidently labored to dissociate Haya de la Torre from the Trujillo uprising as well as from any radical wing of the APRA movement altogether.⁸³ In other words, the contents of these documents suggested that between authoritarian regimes on one side and a Comintern class-based line on the other, an APRA placed under the sole leadership of Haya de la Torre posed an attractive “lesser evil” not only for Peru but also for Latin America as a whole.

Among those who learned about APRA and its imprisoned leader through the material that Graves sent, those who agreed to add their names to the petition usually did so to honor a system where interdependence and mutual exchange of favors secured cohesion and solidarity of action in the face of adversity.⁸⁴ Collected signatures, in these cases, gave evidence of the respect many paid to Graves as an internationalist activist – or in some instances to other influential intermediaries who collaborated with her – much more so than of a sudden urge to defend a political party with which they were not very familiar. To be sure, it certainly did not hurt that the information Graves was spreading through liberal leftist and Christian circles framed Aprista Haya de la Torre as a moderate, anti-communist agent deprived of basic political rights and civil liberties.

The correlation between a culture of reciprocity and shared political agendas is what appears to have secured the assistance of Christian actors such as Father MacGowan who, as assistant director of the anti-communist National Catholic Welfare Conference, Department of Social Action, agreed to utilize his aura of authority to present the final version of the petition to the Peruvian

⁸² Clipping of *Manchester Guardian*, December 15, [1932], The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 5, Box 10, Folder 10.4, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁸³ *Idem*.

⁸⁴ I acknowledge here the work of Florencia E. Mallon. Her words helped me phrase this argument. Florencia E. Mallon, *Courage Tastes of Blood: the Mapuche Community of Nicolás Ailio and the Chilean State, 1906-2001*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

ambassador in the United States.⁸⁵ Similarly, when Graves first tested the waters with Minister John Haynes Holmes from the Community Church of New York, Holmes confirmed remembering her “all right” and not without consenting to assisting her project however he could. “I am certainly grateful to you,” Holmes cheerfully thanked Graves, “for giving me this opportunity to help in a good cause.”⁸⁶ Although Nobel Peace Prize recipients Jane Addams and Emily Greene Balch showed no indication of knowing about APRA, both signed the petition upon Graves’ request.⁸⁷ They no doubt owed loyalty not only to Graves, their longtime activist friend and colleague from the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, but to the ideals of peace, democracy, and civic rights that Graves’ initiative purportedly defended. What is more, evidence in archives suggests that in addition to signing the petition, Addams and Greene actively promoted this case of justice that Graves so whole heartedly stood up for within their immediate social circles.⁸⁸

The strategies that Graves and her closest associates favored for pursuing the liberation of “her boy,” however, did not go uncontested among the individuals she personally courted for the liberation campaign underway. It proved difficult to reconcile pacifist and leftist actors of various stripes – with close yet varying interests – who rallied around key symbolic episodes such as, in this case, the alleged maltreatment of Haya de la Torre, and temporarily engaged in partnerships for the benefit of transnational activism. Thus the differing cultures of advocacy that they brought with them sometimes uneasily came together in the defense of APRA leader Haya de la Torre.

⁸⁵ Letter of John Haynes Holmes to Anna Melissa Graves (care of Father MacGowan), New York, January 30, 1933, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.6, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁸⁶ *Idem.*

⁸⁷ The Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Jane Addams in 1931. Emily Greene Balch would not receive this honor until 1946.

⁸⁸ Jane Addams was the Honorary President of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom and founder of the Hull House in Chicago. Emily G. Balch was the National President of the US section of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom. The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.3, 2.4, and 2.8, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. For archival material that traces the long journey that bonded Graves with Addams and Green as feminist and pacifist internationalist activists consult: Swarthmore College Peace Collection, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1919-1953, Box 1 (Reel 74.1), Correspondence with “Jane Addams,” Correspondence with “Emily Greene Balch, 1920-1942,” “Emily Green Balch, 1943-1949,” and “Emily Green Balch, 1950-1959.”

For example, disagreement surged when Roger Baldwin, chairman of the International Committee for Political Prisoners, submitted an original appeal of his own at the end of 1932 in response to Graves' letter and draft petition.⁸⁹ This independent initiative visibly hurt Graves' controlling ego. The new draft, she made clear, did not in the least correspond to the version that Carlton Beals had previously prepared and that Professor of Economics at Columbia University George S. Mitchell and she herself had accepted.⁹⁰ By Graves' account, many agreed with her.⁹¹

"Nothing is gained by polite appeals to humanitarian instincts which do not exist," Baldwin stated, giving voice to the pragmatic principles that underlay the committee he chaired.⁹² Yet the peremptory and abusive tone that so particularly characterized US radical discourses, Graves and friends believed, infringed upon a Latin American culture where gentleness and disguised requests bore better fruit than blunt commands.⁹³ To this argument, Baldwin opposed the conviction that abusive authoritarian governments had to be exposed on the public scene as they were, without embellishment. "The one thing these governments fear," Baldwin dryly replied, "is publicity."⁹⁴ For the International Committee for Political Prisoners, it was furthermore unthinkable to endorse a

⁸⁹ Graves was first in touch with the American Civil Liberties Union in November of 1932. On 1st December 1932, she was informed that her case on Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre was being transferred to its International Committee. See series of letters that Roger Baldwin and Anna Melissa Graves exchanged between December 2, 1932 and December 22, 1932, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folders 2.1 and 2.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁹⁰ Letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Roger Baldwin, Baltimore, Maryland, December 17, 1932, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. "Says 'Junking' Aids Cotton Industry: Prof. Mitchell Tells Bryn Mawr Conference in Spindle Checks Overproduction," *New York Times*, July 21, 1930, p. 13.

⁹¹ Anna Melissa Graves enunciated the names and comments of those who supported her. She sought to build legitimacy and discourage Roger Baldwin to pursue his own initiative. Letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Roger Baldwin, Baltimore, Maryland, December 17, 1932, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁹² Letter of Roger Baldwin to Anna Melissa Graves, December 28, 1932, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁹³ Letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Roger Baldwin, Baltimore, Maryland, December 17, 1932, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. Also, evidence suggests that some APRA exiles also supported Graves in refraining from using aggressive tone when entering in dialogue with those who held Haya de la Torre's fate between their hands. Letter from Edmundo to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico, D.F., February 6, 1933, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.17, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁹⁴ Letter of Roger Baldwin to Anna Melissa Graves, December 28, 1932, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

petition that exclusively pledged to help one individual. In contrast to Beals' petition draft, Baldwin's proposal denounced the maltreatment of all political prisoners arrested in the aftermath of the Trujillo uprising.⁹⁵ "We would rather deal with the whole situation," Baldwin explained to Graves in the course of another heated exchange, "than with a single individual."⁹⁶

As mentioned earlier, the rationale behind the transnational liberation campaign that Graves and allies orchestrated was to exert enough international pressure to compel the Peruvian authorities to be accountable to their commitment of free government and, as the petitioners ominously put it, the preservation of the "good name of Peru before the world."⁹⁷ In the Peruvian fall of 1933, rumors started circulating that Haya de la Torre's conditions of incarceration had improved thanks to international support.⁹⁸ "The letter and the news of the petition together will doubtless have been responsible for the better conditions which Victor is now enjoying," John A. Mackay told Graves in March 1933. Mackay was referring to a letter he had written earlier to Antonio Miró Quesada in hopes that, though Miró Quesada was a personal enemy of Haya de la Torre, he would honor the respect that he held for Mackay and use his political sway in favor of the APRA leader.⁹⁹ The fact that the League of Nations had recently declared Peru's conduct unfit in its border conflict with Colombia may very well have helped persuade the Sánchez Cerro government that, to better protect

⁹⁵ Petition draft in view of presentation to Peruvian ambassador Don Manuel de Freyre y Santander, December 23, 1932, and signed by Harry Elmer Barnes, Hubert C. Herring, Stuart Chase, Theodore C. Hume, Waldo Frank, George Mitchell, Lewis S. Gannett, Charles Edward Russell, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁹⁶ Letter of Roger Baldwin to Anna Melissa Graves, December 22, 1932, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.2, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. A note in the Anna Melissa Graves Collection argues that Graves was ultimately successful in blocking the petition drafted by the International Committee for Political Prisoners. The note stresses that, in contrast to what its publication in *El Proceso*, *Haya de la Torre* suggests, Baldwin's petition was never sent or presented to any Peruvian authorities. The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.1, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁹⁷ Petition presented on January 31st, 1933 to Don Manuel de Freyre y Santandes, Peruvian Embassy, Washington, D.C., The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.7, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁹⁸ Luis E. Heysen to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico, D.F., 6 March 1933, Swarthmore College, Peace Collection, Anna Melissa Graves Papers (1919-1953), Reel 74.8.

⁹⁹ Letter of John A. Mackay to Anna Melissa Graves, March 27, 1933, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.17, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

its international reputation, alleviating the weight of repression where public opinion was prone to mobilizing represented a suitable compromise.¹⁰⁰ In the end, however, as the content of Mackay's letter to Graves suggests, individual networking seems to have played more crucial a role than political accountability in the felicitous results of Haya's transnational liberation campaign.

In effect, thanks to the array of transnational networks most petitioners navigated, several were either directly or indirectly connected to influential individuals able to exert pressure on the Peruvian government. Among APRA supporters, many trusted that the channel of intimacy was the right way to go.¹⁰¹ The warm familiarity that characterized the correspondence between Peruvian Ambassador in the United States Manuel Freyre and Samuel Guy Inman, the secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America Foreign Mission and editor of the US Hispanic journal of Christian interest *La Nueva Democracia*, suggests that in personal connections lay power and, if not guarantees of success, at least commitments to transmitting pledges to the relevant actors. On 14 February 1933, calling himself "su atento [...] amigo," Freyre confirmed to Inman that he had just forwarded the expressions of sympathy from friends and admirers of Haya de la Torre (from his Washington office) to the Peruvian government.¹⁰² To enact the appropriate routes of transmission within advocacy campaigns, who knew whom mattered. Similarly, the campaigners' attempts to court and befriend the Peruvian Ambassador in France, Francisco García Calderón, attest to the weight that diplomatic agents often carried as mediators between the Peruvian government and

¹⁰⁰ The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.8, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. For more details on this conflict consult Villanueva y Macera, *Arrogante Montonero...*, pp. 168-169.

¹⁰¹ History professor at Duke University Fred Rippy, for example, offered to Graves to directly seek an interview with the Peruvian ambassador in Washington, D.C. He was confident he could obtain a private interview with the Peruvian ambassador in Washington, D.C. through his connections within diplomatic realms. Letter of James Fred Rippy to Anna Melissa Graves, July 22, 1933, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.17, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. Also consult José Vasconcelos as cited in letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Georges Duhamel, Genève, August 18, 1932, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.13, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University; Letter of Georges Duhamel to Anna Melissa Graves, August 24, 1932, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.13, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁰² Letter of Manuel Freyre to Samuel Guy Inman, February 14, 1933, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.17, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

international public opinion. As such, the powerful influence that García Calderón was known to wield over Sánchez Cerro – combined with the personal affection he openly acknowledged feeling for Haya de la Torre – transformed him into a valuable, coveted ally.¹⁰³

If personal connections held political sway during Sanchez Cerro's presidency, it proved even truer after he was assassinated by a presumed Aprista on 30 April 1933. A profound political crisis ensued in Peru, with increased persecution against APRA and with Oscar R. Benavides taking power. It is said that Haya de la Torre was then served a death sentence. Fortunately for him, Reverend John A. Mackay miraculously happened to be in Lima when the political crisis rocked Peru and threatened to further harm Aprista ranks. By then a staff member at the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA with plentiful experience south of the Río Grande, Mackay had recently been assigned the task of collecting data and impressions around the continent about the latest developments in the evangelical missionary movement.¹⁰⁴ The story of how he saved Haya de la Torre, if instructive for the weight that personal connection had to fight persecution against APRA leaders, is important because along with the liberation campaign, it helps to bring into relief the great interest that APRA still sparked in North American missionary circles in the early 1930s.

¹⁰³ José Vasconcelos was the first to point out to Graves the benefits of counting on the support of Francisco García-Calderón: "I think the influence of Francisco Garcia Calderon of Paris would be very powerful before Sanchez Cerro. I think Romain Rolland and many other French or English intellectuals could easily move him (Francisco Garcia Calderon)—for instance Duhamel, whom I know to be his friend." José Vasconcelos as quoted in letter of Anna Melissa Graves to Georges Duhamel, Genève, August 18, 1932, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.13, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. Also consult: Letter of Georges Duhamel to Anna Melissa Graves, August 24, 1932, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.13, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University; Letter of Andrée Viollis to Anna Melissa Graves, July 25, 1933, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.11, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁰⁴ For more details about Mackay's activities in Latin America, consult the correspondence between John A. Mackay and members of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions between April, 27 1933 and July 11, 1933, Folder 8.31, South America John Mackay, 1933, Record Group No. 81, Box No. 8, The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, C.O.E.M.A.R. Secretaries Files-Subject Material 1892-1965, Deputations: Corres., reports, travel letters 1916-1936, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

Reverend John A. Mackay's tour of various Latin American countries scheduled between April and August 1933 led to the port of Callao, Peru on 21st April 1933, where Mackay disembarked, a full agenda ahead of him. The original plan consisted of winding his way through the Peruvian capital between speeches at YMCAs and surveys of Methodist and Presbyterian colleges.¹⁰⁵ During Mackay's second week in Lima, however, the series of tragic events that befell Peru after the assassination of its president interrupted his program and "gave rise to an unexpected sequel," Mackay reported to his friends and colleagues from the Board of Foreign Missions.¹⁰⁶

This "sequel," Mackay had neither the time nor energy to appropriately narrate to his correspondents upon writing his first report on board the Grace Liner Santa Maria, on 8 May 1933, en route to Valparaiso, Chile. He promised a detailed chronicle as soon as he could find enough time and tranquility to gather his thoughts, for the matter at stake was according to him so important that he wished to review in great detail the recent political history of Peru. After all, he acted as special envoy to Latin America, and Mackay never squandered a chance to wholly fulfill his didactic obligations toward members of religious congregations in North America.¹⁰⁷ But this second letter never came, leading to worries back home.

Mackay's notorious association with Haya de la Torre could only heighten the distress of those who worried for his safety following Sánchez Cerro's assassination. A small but significant section of his most recent publication in 1932, *The Other Spanish Christ*, argued that an APRA placed under the rule of Haya de la Torre was the only viable revolutionary option for Latin America.¹⁰⁸ One passage insisted on Haya de la Torre's spirituality. "Haya de la Torre is interested in conserving

¹⁰⁵ Letter of John A. Mackay to Robert E. Speer, Irene Sheppard, and Webster E. Browning, On board of the Grace liner "Santa Clara," Arica, Chile, May 8, 1933, Folder 8.31, South America John Mackay, 1933, Record Group No. 81, Box No. 8, The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, C.O.E.M.A.R. Secretaries Files-Subject Material 1892-1965, Deputations: Corres., reports, travel letters 1916-1936, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

¹⁰⁶ *Idem.*

¹⁰⁷ *Idem.*

¹⁰⁸ Mackay tellingly named this section "The Pathfinder." John A. Mackay, *The Other Spanish Christ: A Study in the Spiritual History of Spain and South America*, New York: The Macmillian Company, 1932, pp. 193-198.

and cultivating true religious values,” wrote Mackay. “Quite as revolutionary and socially-minded in his outlook as Mariátegui, he recognizes what the latter failed to recognize: that the human problem is spiritual before it is economic.”¹⁰⁹

“Knowing your connection with our friend who was opposed to the party now in power,” Presbyterian missionary Webster E. Browning wrote on May 2nd, 1933 “I have feared that in some way you might be linked up with the trouble.”¹¹⁰ Three weeks later, the fortunate arrival of a letter signed by Jane L. Mackay finally soothed Browning’s angst. Honoring his conjugal duties with regular phone calls, Mackay had in effect recounted to his wife the tale of his personal intervention with the British diplomatic authorities in Peru, the upshot of which, he figured, was that the life of imprisoned Haya de la Torre had successfully been spared.¹¹¹ “You were probably the instrument in God’s hands of saving the life of young Haya,” Browning rejoiced shortly thereafter, not without reminding John A. Mackay that members of the Board all anxiously awaited more details on the situation of their missions in Latin America as well as current politics in Peru.¹¹²

Browning’s admiration for the rescue of Haya de la Torre, as well as the way in which he had referred to him the month before as “our” friend, hint at the way many felt at the time about APRA within the missionary community of Presbyterian Christians. What is more, the acute interest that Mackay’s incomplete story sparked across the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, which

¹⁰⁹ Mackay, *The Other Spanish Christ...*, p. 197.

¹¹⁰ Letter of Webster E. Browning to John A. Mackay, New York, May 2, 1933, Folder 8.31, South America John Mackay, 1933, Record Group No. 81, Box No. 8, The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, C.O.E.M.A.R. Secretaries Files-Subject Material 1892-1965, Deputations: Corres., reports, travel letters 1916-1936, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

¹¹¹ Upon hearing rumors that Sancherristas plotted to mob the penitentiary where Apristas were held captives and kill Haya de la Torre, Peruvians José Galvez and Raúl Porras had phoned John A. Mackay at the British legation and implored his intervention, which Mackay readily agreed to do. Letter of Jane L. Mackay to Webster E. Browning May 22, 1933, Folder 8.31, South America John Mackay, 1933, Record Group No. 81, Box No. 8, The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, C.O.E.M.A.R. Secretaries Files-Subject Material 1892-1965, Deputations: Corres., reports, travel letters 1916-1936, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

¹¹² Letter of Webster E. Browning to John A. Mackay, June 5, 1933 (Dict. June 2nd), Folder 8.31, South America John Mackay, 1933, Record Group No. 81, Box No. 8, The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, C.O.E.M.A.R. Secretaries Files-Subject Material 1892-1965, Deputations: Corres., reports, travel letters 1916-1936, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

continued unabated all through the summer, even after members learned that Mackay was safe and back on track with his Latin American tour, underlines the concern that this community of North American Christians felt for Haya de la Torre. “You leave us holding our breath until your next letter reaches us! We are impatiently awaiting its arrival,” a member of the Board wrote to Mackay on 8 June 1933.¹¹³ As this passage points out, difficult communications between the Presbyterian missionary headquarters and its traveling agent hindered the transmission of unabridged updates. Bits and pieces of information reached the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in spurts. As spring turned into summer, the New York office continued to echo with snippets of news and rumors about Peru, which members of the Board eagerly exchanged with one another.¹¹⁴ In fact, nearly all the letters that Mackay received from US colleagues between May 2 and July 11, 1933 disclosed great concern and curiosity for the political situation in Peru. Mackay’s coreligionists had been left unsatisfied: they were asking for more.

Yet the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions was not the only one in thrall to Mackay’s unfinished narrative. Tales of Mackay’s Peruvian feat in defense of Haya de la Torre circulated by word of mouth well beyond the confines of the Board’s discussion. In early June, a friend of Mackay, either a member of the Board of Foreign Missions or at the very least close to this institution, took it upon himself to read in full at a meeting of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America the letter in which Mackay reported on his first week in Lima and promised further details on the crisis.¹¹⁵ “All of us were intensely interested in your letter,” this correspondent

¹¹³ Letter of unknown member of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to John A. Mackay, June 8, 1933, Folder 8.31, South America John Mackay, 1933, Record Group No. 81, Box No. 8, The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, C.O.E.M.A.R. Secretaries Files-Subject Material 1892-1965, Deputations: Corres., reports, travel letters 1916-1936, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

¹¹⁴ Letter of unknown member of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to John A. Mackay, July 6, 1933, Folder 8.31, South America John Mackay, 1933, Record Group No. 81, Box No. 8, The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, C.O.E.M.A.R. Secretaries Files-Subject Material 1892-1965, Deputations: Corres., reports, travel letters 1916-1936, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

¹¹⁵ Letter of unknown member of the Board of Foreign Missions to John A. Mackay, June 10, 1933, Folder 8.31, South America John Mackay, 1933, Record Group No. 81, Box No. 8, The United Presbyterian Church in the

informed Mackay on June 10, 1933, “and we shall look forward eagerly to the promised letter which was to follow it giving an account of your second week in Lima.”¹¹⁶ Browning, too, highlighted the vivid reactions that Mackay’s letter produced in his entourage – so much so that people started asking whether copies of the letter could be made.¹¹⁷ On 11 July 1933, in the face of growing demands, Browning confirmed having finally forwarded copies of Mackay’s letter to “a number of leaders” within their close networks, including active and influential Christian evangelical actors such as Samuel G. Inman and Robert E. Speer.¹¹⁸ Copies of Mackay’s incomplete report from Peru thus moved around North American evangelical missionary circles, kindling new curiosity in those without prior knowledge of APRA while revamping the awareness of those who viewed in an APRA placed under the leadership of Haya de la Torre a template for Latin America’s spiritual regeneration.

Christian allies like Anna Melissa Graves and John A. Mackay, although very involved, were not the only ones in control of these initiatives. Several other petitions, independent of Graves’s initiative, bear witness to the fact that liberation campaign initiatives emerged out of democratic Latin American circles as well.¹¹⁹ Consider for example the petition that a series of distinguished Mexican intellectuals presented to the Peruvian Congress in the summer of 1932.¹²⁰ According to an

United States of America, C.O.E.M.A.R. Secretaries Files-Subject Material 1892-1965, Deputations: Corres., reports, travel letters 1916-1936, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

¹¹⁶ *Idem*.

¹¹⁷ Letter of Webster E. Browning to John A. Mackay, June 5, 1933 (Dict. 2nd), Folder 8.31, South America John Mackay, 1933, Record Group No. 81, Box No. 8, The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, C.O.E.M.A.R. Secretaries Files-Subject Material 1892-1965, Deputations: Corres., reports, travel letters 1916-1936, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

¹¹⁸ Letter of Webster E. Browning to John A. Mackay, June 21, 1933 and Letter of Webster E. Browning to John A. Mackay, July 11, 1933, Folder 8.31, South America John Mackay, 1933, Record Group No. 81, Box No. 8, The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, C.O.E.M.A.R. Secretaries Files-Subject Material 1892-1965, Deputations: Corres., reports, travel letters 1916-1936, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

¹¹⁹ These American and European circles were in communication with one another. The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.15, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. Also consult Folder 4, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

¹²⁰ The petition included the following signatures: Alfonso Caso, E. González Martínez, Marino Silva y Aceres, L. Chico [Coarne], I. García Téllez, Pedro de Alba, D. Cusió Villegas, J. Silva Herzog, H. Villaseñor, A. Espinosa de los Monteros, F. Bach, Antonio Caso, Rafael López, J. De J. Núñez y Domínguez, Samuel Ramos, F. González

article that appeared on 3 July 1932 in *El Nacional*, an important Mexican newspaper, “the purpose of these Mexican intellectuals in making this petition [was] not to create a conflict nor [sic] to criticize the action of the Peruvian Government, but, based on the merits of Haya de la Torre, to secure the liberation of the South American thinker.”¹²¹ Particularly important here is the reference to Haya de la Torre as a South American thinker rather than a Peruvian politician. Although the Mexican petitioners said they wanted to respect the sovereignty of Peru, they simultaneously claimed to be speaking on behalf of a higher continental ideal. In their petition, interestingly, the latter principle superseded the former: by protesting the unjustified repression of the leader of PAP, Mexican intellectuals claimed to be defending the culture and progress of American republics at large. The petition offered, among other provisions, three main justifications to explain why they requested the “immediate and unconditional liberty of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre and his companions imprisoned with him.”¹²² In the following excerpt, they remarked how each provision made direct reference to a principle of continental solidarity either in the form of a shared Indo-Latin identity or in the name of a democratic ideal that guaranteed freedom of thought and basic political rights:

“1. The personality of Haya de la Torre, as one of the greatest Indo-Latins and representative of the restlessness and aspirations of the present young generation for the advancement of social ideas [...], merits, in our opinion, protection and respect.

2. Whatever may be the details of the internal political struggle in Peru, upon which we do not feel ourselves qualified to express an opinion, there exists a well defined continental interest, in the name of which we are acting, for the defense of the exponents of culture

Guerrero, Héctor Pérez Martínez, R. E. Valle, G. López y Fuentes, Julio Torri, Xavier Sorondo, F. Monterde, O. Icazbalosta, José Corostiza, E. Fernández Ledesma, Moisés Sáenz, Salvador Novo Carlos Pellicer, Humberto Rejera, Mariano Asuela, Alfonso Taracena, Salvador Azuela, Diego Córdova, Enrique Sarro, Roberto Montenegro y Fernando Leal.

¹²¹ “Liberty of R. Haya de la Torre Requested,” *El Nacional*, Mexico, 3 July 1932, as cited in Report from US embassy in Mexico City to the Secretary of State, Washington D.C., Mexico, 8 July 1932, Folder 4, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

¹²² *Idem*.

and progress without whose constant and efficient action our republics would be unable to fulfill their historic destinies.

3. With the installation in Peru of a new government, the Indo-Latin mind trusts it will abolish the methods of coercion and terror which characterized dismal epochs, and, with ample generosity and feeling of the moment [...], will grant to Haya de la Torre and companions the liberty and guarantees to which they are entitled.”¹²³

Governmental and diplomatic circles alluded to a similar principle of continental solidarity to justify their intervention in Peruvian affairs. Later that year in Mexico, the states of Puebla, Michoacán, Nuevo León, and Coahuila urged the Congress of the Union, the legislative branch of the Mexican federal government, to use its influence before Peruvian authorities and demand at once the liberation of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre.¹²⁴ The legislative branch of the state of Nuevo León framed its petition, dated 21 November 1932, in a way that suggests that appealing to the Peruvian government was not enough. Rather, deputies from the state of Nuevo León advised federal representatives to take action and persuade legislative chambers all over the continent to side with Haya de la Torre. They demanded that Peruvian authorities protect the life and integrity of a Peruvian citizen who, they said, was also a strong and valuable advocate of Latin American sovereignty:

“La H. XLIV Legislatura Constitucional del Estado Libre y Soberano de Nuevo León, apoya y secunda la iniciativa de la de Puebla en el sentido de que el Congreso de la Unión, en la forma que mejor lo estime pertinente, se dirija a todos los Cuerpos Parlamentarios amigos, de Hispano-América, pidiéndoles interpongan su influencia ante el Gobierno del Perú a favor de Raúl Haya de la Torre, alto exponente de los ideales del movimiento

¹²³ “Liberty of R. Haya de la Torre Requested,” *El Nacional*, Mexico, 3 July 1932, as cited in Report from US embassy in Mexico City to the Secretary of State, Washington D.C., Mexico, 8 July 1932, Folder 4, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

¹²⁴ Departamento de gobernación, “NOMBRE: Raúl Haya de la Torre. ASUNTO: La H. Legislatura del Estado de Puebla, gestiona la libertad del expresado ciudadano peruano,” 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, México, Secretaría de Gobernación, Dirección General de Gobierno, 2/000(29) 246, Caja 36, esp. 4.

renovador social y enérgico defensor de la soberanía de las Naciones Latino-Americanas.”¹²⁵

Portrayals of this sort, in which Haya de la Torre appeared as a model to emulate in the fight against foreign interests in Latin America, helped justify interference with Peruvian authorities. At the time, it is true, Mexico and Peru were embroiled in a diplomatic crisis, which helps explain why Mexican deputies demanded that the Congress of the Union appeal to Latin American legislative chambers: they knew very well that, as of November 1932, the Mexican government could exert very little clout, if any, on the Sánchez Cerro government.

Six months earlier, in effect, Peruvian authorities had ousted the Mexican ambassador to Peru after breaking off diplomatic relations with Mexico. The reason they gave to explain this contentious decision was Mexico’s intervention in the internal affairs of Peru. The Peruvian ambassador to Mexico, as cited in the Mexican journal *El Universal* on 15 May 1932, declared that the government of Peru had demanded three days earlier “el retiro del personal de la Legación Mexicana en Lima, por haber dejado de ser personas gratas a causa de su intervención [en] cuestiones de política interna, sirviendo planes de elementos comunistas,” here making in fact reference to APRA, “para trastornar el orden público.”¹²⁶ Peruvian authorities chastised Mexico for having let one of its ambassadors assist the cause of APRA in Peru.¹²⁷ More specifically, Mexican Ambassador to Peru Juan B. Cabral was accused of two crimes, both of which he denied. It was not true, Cabral said, that he helped smuggle APRA propaganda into Peru by way of diplomatic suitcases. It wasn’t true either, he pleaded, that he met with Haya de la Torre on a regular basis

¹²⁵ Filomeno González y Leopolido García, Diputados Secretarios del Congreso del Estado de Nuevo León, Acuerdo presentado al Ministro de Gobernación, México, D.F., 21 de noviembre 1932, Monterrey, Nuevo León, Archivo General de la Nación, México, Secretaría de Gobernación, Dirección General de Gobierno, 2/000(29) 246, Caja 36, esp. 4, p. 7.

¹²⁶ “Declaraciones del Sr. Ministro Téllez sobre las causas que determinaron aquel paso del Ejecutivo,” *El Universal*, domingo 15 de mayo de 1932, III-1-1-(1), Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, México.

¹²⁷ “El entredicho peruano-mejicano,” *La Gaceta*, Tucumán, Mayo 18 de 1932, III-1-1-(1), Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, México.

following the Trujillo uprising. Cabral admitted to having paid him a visit or two, despite the fact that the Peruvian police was looking for him, but, according to Cabral, there was no significant conclusion to be drawn from these visits.¹²⁸ The crisis between Mexico and Peru endured through the Peruvian winter of 1933, at which point a new Peruvian president, Oscar R. Benavides, eased tensions and contributed to resuming diplomatic relations.¹²⁹

State representatives from other Latin American countries also alluded, in one way or another, to some sort of continental solidarity that coalesced around the figure of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre. In the course of the Peruvian winter of 1932, the Congresses of Colombia and Costa Rica unanimously approved bills requesting amnesty for Peruvian Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre. In Colombia, the Senate spearheaded the protest. According to *La Tribuna*, the proposition formulated by Colombian Senators Serrano Blanco, Tirado Macias Holguín Julio, Cote Bautista and Umana Bernal rose from a democratic sentiment, deep-rooted in Colombia, which justified the need to defend an individual who had contributed so to advancing the spiritual and administrative sovereignty of Latin America.¹³⁰

Costa Rican representatives made similar reference to a principle of Latin solidarity in order to validate their initiative. On 27 July 1932, the US embassy in San José, Costa Rica included in its customary report to the Secretary of State a translation of the telegram that Costa Rican congressmen had recently forwarded to the president of Peru. It read: “The Congress of Costa Rica, by unanimous decision, has agreed to address the Legislative Body of this sister Republic in order to request, in the name of Latin solidarity, the intercession of its high good offices to prevent the

¹²⁸ “Expone el Perú el caso de México,” *Excelsior*, Domingo 15 de mayo de 1932, III-1-1-(1), Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, México.

¹²⁹ Oscar R. Benavides took power in Peru on 17 July 1933. Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES, “Peru Sends Minister: Renews Diplomatic Relations with Mexico After a Year,” *The New York Times*, 17 July 1933, p. 17.

¹³⁰ “Gestiones de los congresos,” *La Tribuna. En el destierro*, Agosto de 1932, p. 3, Archivo General del la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932-1942).

execution of the reported death sentence against Haya de la Torre.”¹³¹ Pleading in favor of the “principle of the inviolability of life,” the San José Bar Association (Colegio de Abogados) and the Costa Rican University student organization also pleaded in favor of Haya de la Torre. Both demanded that Peruvian authorities respect the judicial principle according to which a person charged with a political crime should be immune from receiving a death sentence.¹³²

Publicity

The National Executive Committee (CEN) of the Peruvian APRA Party rapidly learned to capitalize on the international public opinion and a feeling of continental solidarity that had emerged in favor of APRA leader Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre. To be sure, few other options were available. They could not lift a finger without having the state pounce back at them. APRA leader Manuel Vásquez did send a petition, dated 23 July 1932, on behalf of the CEN of the Peruvian APRA party to US Ambassador to Peru Fred M. Dearing. The document pleaded the innocence of APRA leader Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, highlighting both his lack of any involvement in the Trujillo uprising and the absolute dissociation between the PAP and communist allegiances. Furthermore, the petition demanded that the US ambassador take action as an intermediary between Peruvian authorities and the persecuted PAP. The CEN hoped that Dearing could intercede for Haya de la Torre and convince President Sánchez Cerro to rescind the alleged death penalty ordered against him.¹³³

¹³¹ Charles C. Eberhardt to Secretary of State, Washington, D.C., “Protests from Costa Rica. Re: Haya de la Torre,” San José, Costa Rica, July 27, 1932, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

¹³² *Idem*.

¹³³ Letter of M. Vásquez D., Por el Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, to Fred M. Dearing, Embajador de los Estados Unidos, Lima, Perú, 23 de julio de 1932, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

But Ambassador Dearing refused to get involved. Being a pragmatic and experienced diplomat, he knew better than to meddle in what he viewed to be an inflammatory issue. Neutrality was the best he could do given the circumstances. Dearing explained his demurral to the Secretary of State in the following terms: “In as much as the Aprista appeal to the Embassy is based upon alarm and suspicion, I feel that no official representations can be made to the Government, even on humanitarian grounds. The Apristas are themselves taking no conciliatory steps and are, in fact, inciting the Government by their actions.”¹³⁴

Apart from this isolated episode, as Joaquín García Monge told Graves in January 1933, APRA members generally chose to keep a low profile. “Por el momento los apristas desterrados guardan silencio,” he stated, “y no han vuelto a hacer gestiones a favor de Haya.”¹³⁵ Recently deported Apristas were disorganized: fearing repression, they usually preferred discretion to overt political action.

One option that remained available to persecuted Apristas, which required few resources and hardly any additional risk taking, was to publicize in Peru the amount of support that one leader of APRA was able to secure at the international level. With the widespread coverage that the arrest of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre received abroad, APRA leaders came to realize the extent to which his political figure carried meaning and symbolic capital for a large variety of foreign actors who at first sight had nothing to do with Peruvian politics. Some saw in Haya de la Torre the bearer of a socio-democratic model that would accomplish the feat, in Peru and possibly in all of Latin America, of at once challenging the prolongation of right-wing military dictatorships and resisting the rise of communism in the region. Others placed in him their hopes of witnessing another Augusto César Sandino come about, a hero who doggedly opposed foreign interests in Latin American countries,

¹³⁴ Report of Fred M. Dearing to the Secretary of State, “Subject: Alleged Proposal to Execute Haya de la Torre,” Lima, July 27, 1932, p. 2, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

¹³⁵ Letter of Joaquín García Monge to Anna Melissa Graves, January 21, 1933, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 2.17, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

who furthermore abhorred national oligarchies, heirs of crooked republican orders, yet who did all that while respecting democratic principles and eschewing violence as the means to an end. What APRA leaders needed to do, then, was to use these different positions to build a story line to convince a Peruvian audience of one crucial point: Haya de la Torre was able to garner international support for his persona, the corollary of which was that he also was able to garner international support for his party and for his country.

If in May 1932 the CEN began to establish implicit links between the good reputation of APRA abroad and the leadership of Haya de la Torre, nowhere was this association more explicit than in the clandestine version of *La Tribuna* in August 1932. Before that date, daily issues of *La Tribuna* had continued to appear in Peru. The Apristas charged with its distribution usually found ways to circumvent police surveillance, but its succinct contents as well as its reduced and minimalist format testify to the difficult conditions of underground production. Further, its publication was irregular.¹³⁶ By August 1932, the production of *La Tribuna* had been transferred outside Peru. The title of the journal gives limited information regarding its place of publication – it simply read: “*La Tribuna. En el destierro.*” Since Peruvian authorities recently had begun to monitor the activities of the APRA abroad as well, we can easily understand why APRA exiles would want to remain discreet about their geographical location.¹³⁷ Moving the site of production of *La Tribuna* abroad proved

¹³⁶ Comandancia General al Prefecto del Departamento, “No. 42 – Sobre propaganda activa,” Lima, 7 de abril 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.7 (1932-1942). Also consult the couple issues of *La Tribuna* included in the parcel: *La Tribuna: Diario informativo de la Mañana*, 23 de marzo de 1932, Año 1, No. 296, Lima and *La Tribuna: Diario informativo de la Mañana*, 26 de marzo de 1932, Año 1, No. 297, Lima.

¹³⁷ It is unclear where exactly the August 1932 issue of *La Tribuna* was conceived. What is certain, however, is that by the summer of 1933 the CAP of Santiago (Chile) was in charge of its publication. The CAP of Santiago was then following the instructions received from the CEN located in Peru. It clandestinely forwarded copies of *La Tribuna* to Peru via the intermediary of APRA exiles stationed in Arica, a city in the northern province of Chile, which also served as an important platform of pro-APRA propaganda abroad. Evidence found in archives suggests that Chile had been gaining grounds as important center of APRA propaganda as early as spring 1932, thereby pointing to Santiago as the most probable publishing platform for *La Tribuna* at the time. On 18 April 1932, the Peruvian ambassador in Chile wrote to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Peru to confirm receipt of three packages of anti-APRA propaganda. Each package contained fifty copies of a flyer entitled “Los documentos comprobatorios de la dirección comunista del Apra.” In addition to this material, the ambassador had received earlier that month 350 more

beneficial. In stark contrast to a few rough pages stapled together, which accounted for issues of *La Tribuna* published in Peru prior to August 1932, the arrangement of the revamped edition of *La Tribuna* in exile did not convey the image of a party operating in hiding or under the pressure of repression and internal disorganization. Quite the opposite, its presentation was slick and its four-page format resembled that of any respectable, serious daily paper. Indeed, the professional look of the mouthpiece seemed to only increase the authority of its contents.

Significantly, the first page of *La Tribuna* in exile proclaimed from the start the supremacy of Haya de la Torre's leadership in the party: "Haya de la Torre, personero político del pueblo peruano, Jefe del partido más poderoso y orgánico del país, la mentalidad más elevada que ha dado el pensamiento político del continente y también el corazón mejor puesto de América, no puede ni debe caer víctima de la maldad caníbal de sus carceleros."¹³⁸ In the previous citation, one can not but take note of the allusions to the superior quality of his continental political philosophy. Consider also the references to his noble American heart. Flaunting the international fame of Haya de la Torre heightened this point of view. Here, the legitimacy of APRA leader Haya de la Torre in Peru appears contingent on his good reputation abroad: non-Peruvian actors admired his incisive ideology as well as his genuine American nature. Certainly, inferred members of the CEN, this fact should matter to a population whose connection with the outside world was hampered by dictatorial rule.

That pro APRA propaganda in Peru took pains to reproduce these passages in *La Tribuna* was not fortuitous. Already in May 1932, the CEN lamented that state censorship concealed the

copies of the same flyer for anti-APRA propaganda purposes in Chile. This primary source suggests that the Peruvian government was concerned with the activities of Peruvian APRA exiles in Chile. Certainly their activism was significant enough to worry the Peruvian government and justify a smear campaign against Peruvian citizens outside Peru. Embajador de Perú en Chile al Señor Ministro de Estado en el Despacho de Relaciones Exteriores, Embajada del Perú. Santiago, abril 18 de 1932, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1932; Letter of José Chávez R. to Luis Eduardo Enríquez, Arica, Chile, 30 de mayo de 1933, *Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera*, Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México, "APRA," 1930-1939; Letter of Noé Ordoñez to Luis Eduardo Enríquez, Arica, Chile, 3 de Junio de 1933, *Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera*, ENAH, "APRA," 1930-1939.

¹³⁸ "Haya de la Torre," *La Tribuna : En el destierro*, agosto de 1932, p. 1.

growing expressions outside Peru of support and solidarity with the persecuted PAP.¹³⁹ The Hayista faction exerted itself to broadcast for a Peruvian audience, by whatever meager means possible, the level of international backing that APRA via the fame and reputation of Haya de la Torre was able to attract. The *Boletín del PAP* publicized, for example, the position articulated by the Ibero-American student federation: “La Federación de Estudiantes Ibero-americana – en cable que la prensa civilista no da a la publicidad – exige del gobierno peruano respeto para la vida de Haya de la Torre a quien califica como un ‘gloria de la raza’.”¹⁴⁰

La Tribuna published in exile followed suit. Having access to more resources and, more importantly, benefiting from freedom of speech, editors of *La Tribuna* in exile took it upon themselves to publicize the content of the international press and the advocacy initiatives that supported APRA leader Haya de la Torre. Its August 1932 issue aggressively publicized the series of liberation campaigns in favor of Haya de la Torre that was rattling the continent. The CEN hoped that Peruvians who read *La Tribuna* would grasp a sense of the American solidarity that was coalescing around the figure of APRA leader Haya de la Torre. One article showcased the list of every single manifestation in support of APRA or Haya de la Torre that APRA exiles were able to track down abroad.¹⁴¹ Others copied excerpts from foreign newspapers that evinced the alleged continental outrage mounting against the regime of Sánchez Cerro.¹⁴² Yet another reproduced in full the cablegram requesting the release and deportation of Haya de la Torre that eighty-five congressional deputies and four senators in Argentina forwarded to Sánchez Cerro. Prominent

¹³⁹ Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido Aprista Peruano, *Boletín del Partido Aprista Peruano. Órgano del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional*, No 10, Lima, 23 de Mayo de 1932, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932).

¹⁴⁰ *Idem*.

¹⁴¹ “Por la libertad de Haya de la Torre,” *La Tribuna. En el destierro*, Agosto de 1932, p. 2, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932-1942).

¹⁴² See “La protesta Argentina” and “Gestiones de los Congresos,” in *La Tribuna. En el destierro*, Agosto de 1932, p. 3, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932-1942).

political figures signed the cablegram, including Argentine writer Ricardo Rojas and former Argentine president Marcelo T. de Alvear. It read:

“Buenos Aires, agosto 18 de 1932 – Señor presidente del Perú, coronel Sánchez Cerro. – Lima (Perú). – Movidos por un sentimiento de solidaridad americana que siempre caracterizó los anhelos de cultura y de civilización de los pueblos de este continente, y sin entrar a apreciar la situación política interna de esa república hermana, nos permitimos pedirle que el ex candidato a la Presidencia del Perú, señor Haya de la Torre, pueda salir del territorio de su país. Saludamos al señor presidente muy atentamente.”¹⁴³

When they could, editors of *La Tribuna* in exile attempted to blur the distinction between the PAP and the Peruvian people. All suffered under the same repressive government. All were denied democratic rights at the national level. One article commented on rising concerns abroad over the political situation in Peru in the following terms: “Hoy más que nunca podemos afirmar que en la República Argentina hay una gran inquietud, una verdadera preocupación por el destino político de nuestra patria. La Argentina contempla el dolor en que nos debatimos compartiéndolo y sintiéndolo como un dolor propio.”¹⁴⁴ The use of the first-person plural pronoun gave the impression that all Peruvian citizens, and not only APRA members, were linked by a shared experience of sorrow and suffering. This stratagem enabled APRA leaders to speak in exile on behalf of all Peruvians. The aforementioned article continued: “Los peruanos no podemos por eso menos que expresar aquí nuestro sentimiento de gratitud hacia el país hermano que tanto se interesa por nuestra suerte y vibra

¹⁴³ “El cablegrama radical,” *La Tribuna. En el destierro*, Agosto de 1932, p. 3, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932-1942).

¹⁴⁴ “La protesta Argentina,” *La Tribuna. En el destierro*, Agosto de 1932, p. 3, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932-1942).

uniformemente con nosotros cuando tenemos que soportar, como soportamos, esta vergüenza que es el gobierno del infamante general coronel comandante Sánchez Cerro.”¹⁴⁵

The reasoning behind this campaign utilized three simple premises. First, Haya de la Torre commanded respect and galvanized public opinion outside Peru. Second, the PAP and the Peruvian people suffered at the hands of Peruvian authorities from the same ordeal, being deprived of basic political rights, at best, and enduring unfair persecution, at worst. Third, and *quod errata demonstratum*, a PAP placed under the leadership of Haya de la Torre not only helped defend APRA militants, but it also guaranteed that foreign allies would mobilize to defend the political rights of Peruvian people.

With the rise to power of General Óscar R. Benavides in May 1933 (after the assassination of Sánchez Cerro), the situation in Peru finally looked poised to improve for Apristas. Margaret Rycroft, the wife of Reverend W. Stanley Rycroft from the colegio Anglo-Peruano in Lima, wrote to her friend Anna Melissa Graves on one spring day in 1933 to share her impressions of the political landscape in Peru. Her account was enthusiastic. “There is a general optimism that the reign of terror is over, and that a brighter day is dawning for Peru,” she stressed.¹⁴⁶ Rycroft also expressed the conviction that all imprisoned APRA leaders would soon be released: “Political prisoners are daily being freed, and it is very evident that Benavides’ policy is one of tolerance. I believe, and everybody I have spoken to, does, that he is gradually working up to the release of the imprisoned leaders.”¹⁴⁷ The handful of APRA leaders who controlled the CEN in Peru held similar hopes. The

¹⁴⁵ “La protesta Argentina,” *La Tribuna. En el destierro*, Agosto de 1932, p. 3, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.3 (1932-1942).

¹⁴⁶ Letter of Margaret Rycroft to Anna Melissa Graves, Lima, n.d., p. 2, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 3, Box 3, Folder 3.5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹⁴⁷ *Idem*.

new government had already mitigated state repression in Peru. Rumors of a forthcoming political opening were rattling the country.¹⁴⁸

As a result, the CEN began to plan the return of APRA exile to Peru. At first, it only ordered the homecoming of specific leaders. On 25 June 1933, the CEN forwarded a letter to that effect to Arturo Sabroso, then living in Valparaiso, Chile. Members of the CEN wanted to repatriate Sabroso in order for him to realize, they stressed, “una serie de trabajos importantes para el Pap.”¹⁴⁹ The nature of these tasks remained unspecified, though given his experience as a labor activist, the CEN probably assigned him the task of starting to mobilize and organize unions on behalf of the party.¹⁵⁰ The CEN thought that ordering the return of all exiles would be too hasty at that point in time. The intensity of state repression had certainly decreased, but respect for civil liberties had yet to be reinstated and solemnly guaranteed by official authorities. The CEN instead preferred to handpick the leaders in exile it needed the most to start organizing the party anew.¹⁵¹

Disagreement surged between the CEN in Peru and a number of APRA exiles regarding the proper tactic to adopt to plan their homecoming. The main point of contention concerned questions of timing. APRA exiles were eager to travel back home. The passage of an Amnesty Law would free political prisoners and guarantee the restitution of civil liberties for all citizens of Peru, but for many APRA members, this was not necessary to begin coordinating the return of APRA exiles to Peru. On 27 June 1933, one Peruvian aprista in exile in Valparaiso, Chile expressed his point of view to

¹⁴⁸ See correspondence of APRA exiles regarding the action of the CEN in Peru in Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera, ENAH, México, “APRA,” 1930-1939.

¹⁴⁹ Letter of Luis Eduardo Enríquez to Arturo Sabroso, Santiago de Chile, Junio 25 de 1933, Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera, ENAH, México, “APRA,” 1930-1939.

¹⁵⁰ Sabroso actively participated in the organization of Peruvian textile unions and in international labor organizations as well. He was a major labor activist for the Peruvian APRA Party. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Centro de documentación de ciencias sociales (CEDOC), Colección especial Arturo Sabroso Montoya, Biografía, A1, 1-3; Documentos personales, AI, 4 al 6. Two months later Sabroso was named at the head of the Secretary of Cooperatives of the Peruvian APRA party. “Comité Ejecutivo Nacional,” Lima, 31 de agosto de 1933, Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 10, Folder 10.3.

¹⁵¹ [Anonymous letter], Santiago, junio 11 de 1933, Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera, ENAH, México, “APRA,” 1930-1939.

Luis Eduardo Enríquez, the leader of the CAP of Santiago, in the following terms: “Como siempre lo he pensado y como tu dices es necesario que los deportados reingresen al Perú, porque es la única manera de reorganizar nuestras huestes en todos los departamentos. Si a los enemigos les conviene que estemos lejos nosotros debemos darles la contra ingresando.”¹⁵² It was neither fair nor enough, berated these Apristas, that the CEN select only a few chosen ones to return.

That the CEN genuinely worried for the security of its members explains to a certain extent its reluctance to order the return of every APRA exiles in June 1933. Another part of the explanation, however, and certainly a crucial one, is to be found in the work of organization in the making. To better retain control over APRA, the CEN felt compelled to prepare the field to its own advantage before any other influential leader of the movement returned from exile. Handpicking the return of APRA leaders prior to a mass movement back home was an astute move for those who wanted to direct the organization. When the Benavides government finally passed the Amnesty Law on 11 August 1933, thereby enabling at long last every APRA exile to return to Peru and engage in national politics, the CEN was operational once again. The Peruvian APRA party had indeed overhauled its program and organizational structure in the course of summer 1933. As evidenced by the chart finalized on 31 August 1933, which details the composition of the new National Executive Committee of the Peruvian APRA Party, the organization of the party was firmly grounded with Haya de la Torre at the head. Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre oversaw the entire committee in his character as general secretary of the party. A team of one secretary and one sub-secretary supervised the respective twenty ministries (*secretarías*) that formed the CEN, leading up to a total of forty-four members who were in charge of the direction of the Peruvian APRA party (this number includes the general secretary, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, the sub-general secretary, Felipe Destefano, the

¹⁵² Letter of unknown author to Luis Eduardo Enríquez, Valparaíso, Chile, junio 27 de 1933, Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera, ENAH, México, “APRA,” 1930-1939.

national secretary, Manuel Arévalo, and finally the treasurer of the party, Manuel Pérez León).¹⁵³ This reorganization became possible as a result of the symbolic power that the PAP had acquired abroad through the intermediary of one leader, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre.

Conclusion

Chapter five has shown that the 1932-1933 transnational liberation campaign in favor of Haya de la Torre helped secure the dominion of the Hayista faction over the PAP come August 1933 and the apparent return of democracy to Peru. APRA leaders who manned the CEN wagered on the publicity that international public opinion could have for their organization. They looked toward the international scene to justify the importance of APRA in Peru. More importantly, the CEN displayed an apparatus of political symbols linked to the figure of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to validate its leadership of the party. Haya de la Torre as an intellectual and a political figure became central to any strategy that aimed at courting international public opinion. His capacity to transcend a singular Peruvian identity made Haya de la Torre a particularly powerful symbol throughout Latin America and within progressive circles in Europe and North America. Both his image and his life story were easily and extensively appropriated by different groups of actors and versions of the narrative began to proliferate across borders. Haya de la Torre became a symbol of Indo-American democracy. Importantly, his regime of authority in Peru remained linked to the idea of connection with the external world. The return of state repression in Peru thus favored the necessity to cling to the Indo-American project as a means to defend one particular faction of the APRA party.

Thereafter pro-Haya APRA leaders became very aware of the benefits that transnational networks of solidarity could yield both for their movement and for their own legitimacy as leaders. Being connected to the outside world gave them access to material support as well as symbolic

¹⁵³ “Comité Ejecutivo Nacional,” Lima, 31 de agosto de 1933, Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 10, Folder 10.3.

power within Peru. Throughout the 1930s, as we will see in the next chapter, APRA leaders became increasingly effective in reaching out to international allies who supported democracy.

Chapter 6: Courtship

On 29 June 1935, during an interview with agents of the United Press in Buenos Aires, the Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Carlos Concha, voiced his offense at the continental campaign of shame that the APRA movement was fronting against the Peruvian government. “No es cierto,” Concha told the group of Argentine journalists and foreign correspondents who stood before him, “que el Gobierno peruano haya organizado sin motivo ni justificación una campaña de persecución política contra el Apra.”¹ Concha explained how, in contrast to recent allegations from Aprista followers, the use of repressive methods in Peru had become a necessary evil in the face of radical elements unwilling to cooperate. Their lack of respect for the law, in spite of the passage of the Amnesty Law and the return of civil liberties in August 1933, substantiated his absolving narrative: APRA followers had refused from day one, argued Concha, to rally behind Benavides’ call for national conciliation.² “Se hace, pues, necesario decir de una vez toda la verdad,” he stated, thanking his international audience for giving him the opportunity to tell the truth and set things right once and for all.³ Two short seasons had passed since the return of the Peruvian APRA Party (PAP) into full outlawry, and already jostling for public opinion outside Peru was a common feature of the war opposing Apristas to Peruvian authorities.

¹ “Hizo declaraciones en Buenos Aires el Canciller peruano Dr. Carlos Concha,” *El Comercio*, 29 de junio 1935, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

² *Idem.*

³ *Idem.*

The period of political opening that ensued from the passage of the Amnesty Law in August 1933 began to wane by winter of the following year. In the face of growing social unrest across the country, the Benavides government resumed persecution against labor organizations and political opponents, cracking down on APRA leaders with particular resolve.⁴ PAP was not banned yet, but its activities were either restricted or closely monitored again. When in the spring of 1934 president Benavides cancelled yet again the holding of parliamentary elections, it was too much to bear for Aprista followers. Putting democratic aspirations aside, different factions of the PAP came together in an attempt to oust him from power. It spearheaded a series of uprisings on 25 November 1934, in the departments of Lima, Ayacucho, Huancayo, and Huancavelica.⁵ But the party did not have sufficient means to sustain its insurrectionary line. A combination of poor planning and inexperience led to a complete fiasco.⁶

November 1934 marked a tipping-point for aprismo in Peru. The PAP relapsed into full outlawry as a result of the failed rebellions. Countless APRA militants were either imprisoned or sent into exile shortly thereafter; as for those who remained on the loose in Peru, they looked for hiding places and retreated as quietly as possible into the shadows of underground activity. On 13 December 1935, the editorial of a covert issue of *La Tribuna* harkened back to that fatal threshold with alarm, and with much more accuracy about the future than it could probably foresee at the time: “El 26 de Noviembre de 1934, se inició, desembozada y brutal, la nueva persecución del

⁴ Fred Morris Dearing, “Political Review for January,” Report to The Honorable Secretary of State, Washington, Lima, January 29, 1934, Folder 4, Box 4696, RG 59, Decimal Files 1930-1939, US National Archives.

⁵ Nelson Manrique, “¡Usted Fue Aprista!” *Bases para una historia crítica del APRA*, Lima: Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica, 2009, pp. 99-100.

⁶ Armando Villanueva was captured and carted off to El Frontón as a result of his participation to the failed uprising in Lima. He unassumingly narrates how and why it failed in the following books: Armando Villanueva y Pablo Macera, *Arrogante Montonero*, Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2011, pp. 113-114; Armando Villanueva y Guillermo Thornlike, *La Gran Persecución, 1932-1956*, Lima, [s.n.], 2004, pp. 44-52.

Civilismo contra el Partido del Pueblo.”⁷ It took eleven more years before the PAP retrieved legal status and was authorized to openly participate again in Peruvian politics.

With hindsight, Aprista lore came to contemplate the 1933-1934 interval of political opening, or rather of “persecución a media,”⁸ as the exception to the rule, the calm before the storm, for the failed attempt to topple Benavides by force in November 1934 precipitated the descent of PAP into what party members infamously call, the era of the catacombs. The term “era de las catacumbas” conjures up two sets of complementary references in Aprista jargon. First, it is a label of foremost importance for the collective memory of APRA, both for what it entailed as lived experience and for what it meant – and continues to mean for Peruvian Apristas today – as symbolic capital. One common use of this term refers to the historical period that spanned the years from 1934 through 1945, and during which Aprista followers in Peru suffered unremitting state persecution, first under the military regime of Benavides (1933-1939), and under the presidency of civilian Manuel Prado Ugarteche after that (1939-1945).⁹ During that time period, the experience of prisons and exiles underpinned the evolution of APRA as popular movement in Peru.

The second widespread use of “the era of the catacombs” conjures the mythical dimensions that accompanied the lived experience of eleven years of persecution, either in the form of prisons and hiding in Peru or deportation abroad. Replete with religious allusions to the bible, this second set of references displaces the emphasis from precise historical facts and events to the sense of

⁷ “Editorial,” *La Tribuna: Diario Popular Para todo el Perú. Edición extraordinaria clandestina de protesta*, Año 5, Época VII, Lima, Viernes 13 de diciembre de 1935, p. 1, Herénoteca, Biblioteca Nacional de Perú.

⁸ The term “persecución a media” can be found in Víctor Villanueva, *El APRA en busca del poder, 1930-1940*, Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1975, p. 162. The promulgation of the Amnesty Law in August 1933 had not completely expunged state violence from the government repertoire of political combat.

⁹ The election of José Luis Bustamante y Rivero in 1945 hallmarked in Peru an era of democratic hopes. For the first time since 1931, the head of the Peruvian state was freely elected. In May 1945 the APRA party achieved legal status in Peru and prepared for forthcoming elections. Several Apristas were elected to Congress shortly thereafter. The Peruvian “democratic spring,” however, was rapidly undermined by a spiral of governmental crises that rocked the country and ultimately led to the return of a military and authoritarian rule in October 1948. Harry Kantor, *The Ideology and Program of the Peruvian Aprista Movement*, New York: Octagon Books Inc., 1966 ; Peter Flindell Klarén, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

historical purpose that a life of devotion, hardships, and suffering bequeathed to Aprista followers. The mystical power of the catacomb metaphor points to a time period without clear timeline or chronology. Rather, it elevates the years of illegality in Peru to some sort of long-running moment, a timeless era enshrined in heroic tales of resistance and legends about god-like leaders, a universe where mythical dimensions defined the essence of aprismo more accurately than political programs and ideological precepts ever could.¹⁰ In these accounts, the more suffering, the more courage and adherence to PAP it inspired. The following portrayal of the 1930s by a party member exemplifies the role that persecution came to play for the Aprista folklore:

“Un torbellino de tensión, injusticia, atropello, torturas, encierro y muerte recorría el país. La represión a través de su brazo principal, la policía secreta (vulgares soplones) asolaban hogares y ponían tras de rejas a ciudadanos por el solo hecho, o sospecha de simpatizar o ser militante del Apra. Pero las bajas parecían no debilitar al aprismo, ya que por cada ciado se alisaba otro o varios ciudadanos decididos a luchar.”¹¹

Overall, authors usually waver between two opposite poles to debrief the experience of Aprista persecution between the early 1930s and 1945. They either uncritically extol the exploits of Aprista militants or skeptically focus on the appeal that emotions and irrational bonds conveyed to secure popular support. Both lines of approach primarily focus on the Peruvian scene.¹² What is less

¹⁰ For discursive analyses that probe the mythical dimensions of APRA, or for works that focus more broadly on the religious elements that shaped the practice of its popular politics, consult: Imelda Vega-Centeno B., *Aprismo Popular: Cultura, Religión y Política*, Lima: TAREA, 1991; Vega-Centeno, *Aprismo Popular: mito, cultura e historia*, Lima: Tarea, 1985; Pike, Frederick B. “Visions of Rebirth: The Spiritualist Facet of Peru’s Haya de la Torre,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 63 (Aug., 1983): 479-516; Pike, “Religion, Collectivism, and Intrahistory: The Peruvian Ideal of Dependence,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 10 (Nov., 1978): 239-262; Jeffrey L. Klaiber, *Religion and Revolution in Peru, 1824-1976*, Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977.

¹¹ Juan Aguilar Derpich, *Catacumbas del APRA: Vivencia y testimonios de su clandestinidad*, Lima : Ediciones del recuerdo, 1984, pp. 58-59.

¹² The experience of exile abroad is included but rarely explored as lived experience. In the Aprista folklore, exile turns into a discursive device that feeds stories of resistance. Until a decade ago, scholarly work tented to replicate this discursive use of exile when they studied this theme. For examples of personal testimonies of Aprista militants who reminisce about their political activism in Peru during that time period, consult: Villanueva y Macera, *Arrogante Montonero...*, Villanueva y Thornlike, *La Gran Persecución...*, Alfredo Saco Miro Quesada, *Tiempos de Violencia y Rebeldía*, Lima: OKURA Editores, 1985. The testimonial genre gives access to a large array of stories

questioned about this time period, however, is how PAP was able to develop and consolidate an effective political apparatus and produce meaningful political knowledge in the midst of repression in Peru and in the face of cyclical deportations abroad. What kinds of strategies did APRA leaders develop in the face of constant persecution in Peru? Did international allies continue to play a role in the PAP's survival? If so, what changes did the second wave of political exiles exert on the development of transnational solidarity networks? Chapter six turns to the transnational dimensions of the era of the catacombs to find answers to these questions.

The consolidation of the PAP during the 1930s took place amidst recurrent waves of political repression in Peru and against the backdrop of a fast-paced international order, auspiciously replete with political opportunities for leaders ready to creatively expand the political repertoire of PAP. In this chapter, I survey the transnational advocacy campaign for civil liberties in Peru that APRA spearheaded between 1934 and 1938. Before the impossibility of exercising democratic political rights at the national level, Apristas turned outward and stretched their gaze toward potential APRA allies abroad. Engaging in informational politics outside Peru allowed PAP to destabilize the narrative monopoly that Peruvian authorities and *civilista* groups tried to enforce across Peru and the continent.¹³ It also aimed to court democratic allies outside Peru, in the hopes that, through mediation, the latter would persuade governmental forces to reinstate civil liberties in Peru. One

and facts about this time period, albeit sometimes distorted by the passage of time and weary memories. One of the most valuable features of this genre lies in the access it gives to contradictory memories of past events. Narrators often waver between emotions difficult to reconcile. On one side, the pride attached to the heroic resistance they opposed to state persecution sometimes taint their narratives with self-indulgent celebrations. On the other side, the emotional memory of gruesome hardships conveys a sense of profound vulnerability and moving humanity vis-à-vis experiences of loss and alienation.

¹³ According to sociologists Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, informational politics are the process through which non-state actors try to gain power by providing alternate sources of information. These actors “provide information that would not otherwise be available, from sources that might not otherwise be heard, and they must make this information comprehensible and useful to activists and publics who may be geographically and/or socially distant.” Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998, pp. 18-19.

consequence of this strategy was to put Indo-America at the forefront of APRA's intellectual production.

Here, the “boomerang effect” pattern can help conceptualize what was at stake in the campaign of moral shaming that APRA leaders spearheaded against the Benavides government. First developed in the late 1990s by social scientists Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, this theory challenges traditional notions of state sovereignty. It introduced new debates in the field of transnational contention thanks to the way in which it puts levels of domestic and international contention in dialogue with one another. A basic premise supports this path-breaking model: Keck and Sikkink remark that “When a government violates or refuses to recognize rights, individuals and domestic groups often have no recourse within domestic political or judicial arenas. They may seek international connections finally to express their concerns and even to protect their lives.”¹⁴ At a theoretical level, this assessment helps explain why APRA leaders, faced with both the impossibility of political participation in Peru and the repeated violations of individual political rights and integrity as Peruvian citizens, reverted to the international scene to try and offset state repression. According to the “boomerang effect,” transnational intervention occurred because their claims and aspirations were blocked at the domestic level.

Chapter Six begins with a review of the importance of public opinion. Experiences of persecution and political maneuvering in the recent past had been the best school of resilience for APRA leaders. Since the crux of the battle for public opinion consisted in being heard and being seen, APRA leaders soon realized that they had more chance to succeed were they to capitalize on the international scene. The second and third sections turn to the role that APRA exiles played in the movement's transnational campaign of moral shaming. They either produced or facilitated the production of an ample literature that served two goals of informational politics. It chastised the

¹⁴ Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders...*, p. 12.

poor conditions of political prisoners in Peru on one side, and denounced on the other the Benavides government.¹⁵ APRA exiles also engaged in direct action abroad in order to make noise and attract attention to the condition of their peers in Peru. The final section shows that shifting venues from the national to the international scene in order to win over new allies had consequences for the intellectual production of Indo-America. In effect, if the boomerang effect enables, in the words of Sydney Tarrow, “the externalization of domestic contentions,” it shapes one’s words in order to seduce geographically distant audiences.¹⁶ Tarrow highlights that groups that seek to externalize specific claims and agenda usually do so by transforming them into “universalistic terms that would appeal to international allies.”¹⁷ APRA leaders framed the problems of Peru in a way that appealed to the rest of the continent. Hence the need to continue to ponder and adapt the Indo-American project.

I inserted a denouement at the end of Chapter 6. This denouement focuses on a crisis of legitimacy that rocked the Peruvian APRA party in Peru between 1939 and 1941. On 20 August 1939 an internal coup attempted to oust Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre from the leadership of APRA. Those who fomented the coup argued that the PAP should henceforth focus exclusively on the national scene and on democratic participations in politics and let go of Indo-America. Haya de la Torre fought back and ultimately retrieved the leadership of the party. Studying the ways in which Haya de la Torre successfully did so confirms the crucial role that Indo-America had come to play in the course of the 1930s as a pragmatic political instrument rather than a utopian dream. I included this story into the denouement to the final chapter because it embodies Part II’s argument: it is thanks to its transformation from utopia to political instrument that “Indo-America” survived as a

¹⁵ Leandro Sessa, “Aprismo y apristas en Argentina: Derivas de una experiencia antiimperialista en la ‘encrucijada’ ideológica y política de los años treinta,” Tesis doctoral, Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 2013, p. 91.

¹⁶ Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 145. Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders...*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁷ Tarrow, *The New Transnational...*, p. 144.

political project and why it continued to evolve in the 1930s despite the creation of a national APRA party.

Public Opinion

What was the PAP supposed to do in the face of state repression? The debacle of the movement of 25 November 1934 had momentarily cooled the revolutionary ardor of party members. Those who promoted the use of violence to prepare the conquest of state power put plans of future upheavals on hold: clearly, the PAP did not have the means to follow through on its insurrectionary line at that point in time. One remaining option – conceivably the only option remaining – was therefore to revert to subversive strategies that dovetailed with the democratic tradition of APRA. The party leadership channeled its stakes back into the electoral road to power.¹⁸ Yet before the rise to power could even begin to loom as a possibility, the PAP had first to tackle the question of civil liberties and constitutional guarantees in Peru.

The liberation campaign in 1932-1933 in favor of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre persuaded a large swath of APRA constituencies that appeals to international public opinion constituted an efficient makeshift strategy to fight state persecution in the homeland. The first beneficiary from the campaign was also the most fervent convert. In the interview that he granted to *La Crónica* upon his release from prison in August 1933, Haya de la Torre reportedly declared trusting that public opinion enacted sufficient pressure for government to enact the Amnesty Law.¹⁹ The letters that members of the Comité Ejecutivo Nacional (CEN) forwarded to foreign allies shortly thereafter, thanking them for their participation in the successful liberation campaign, provides additional

¹⁸ For a critical assessment of APRA's reformism as a means of social and political combat consult: Mariano Valderrama, "El surgimiento del partido Aprista peruano: Ascenso vertiginoso y derrota del reformismo antioligárquico (1931-1939)," in Mariano Valderrama *et al.*, *El APRA: Un camino de esperanzas y frustraciones*, Lima: Ediciones El Gallo Rojo, 1980, pp. 27-39.

¹⁹ Dr. Giesecke, "Memorandum: The Apra Party from Day to Day," August 28, 1933, p. 1, Folder 4, Box 4696, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

evidence that APRA leaders recognized the crucial role that transnational solidarity efforts had played in the reinstatement of civil liberties in Peru. In his capacity as Secretario Nacional del Exterior del PAP, Hector A. Morey directed one such letter to Jane Addams on 21 September 1933. Speaking on behalf of Haya de la Torre and party members, he wrote: “Nos es singularmente grato dirigirnos a usted, distinguida señora, para agradecerle muy efusivamente la petición que, juntamente con otras altas personalidades del mundo intelectual, social-benéfico, jurídico y periodístico de los Estados Unidos, hiciera por la libertad de Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, al Gobierno del Perú y por el conducto de su Embajada en Washington.”²⁰

In fact, even before the successful outcome of August 1933, Apristas’ requests for international action hinted at the growing awareness in APRA circles that inciting foreign public opinion to exert pressure on the Peruvian government and intervene on behalf of persecuted Apristas in Peru yielded results. Eleven months into the liberation campaign, APRA leader Luis E. Heysen, writing from exile in Mexico City, beseeched Anna Melissa Graves to carry on her generous support in favor of Haya de la Torre. “Es necesario que su generosa gestión siga sin descanso a favor de Víctor,” he advised her on 27 April 1933. “El mundo civilizado debe intervenir para contener la ola de crímenes desarrollada en Perú.”²¹ The previous year, Peruvian artists Julia Codesido and Carmen Saco had similarly urged Graves to pursue her activities among the many friends she was known to have abroad. Though their affiliation to APRA remains unclear, evidence shows that Codesido and Saco both revolved around Aprista circles and were friends with many of the party leaders.²²

²⁰ Letter of Hector A. Morey to Jane Addams, Lima, September 21, 1933, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 3, Box 3, Folder 3.8, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

²¹ Letter of Luis E. Heysen to Anna Melissa Graves, Mexico, D.F., April 27, 1933, Swarthmore College, Peace Collection, Anna Melissa Graves Papers (1919-1953), Reel 74.8.

²² Letter of Julia Codesido to Anna Melissa Graves, August 17, 1932, The Anna Melissa Graves Papers, 1921-1948, Series 4, Box 4, Folder 4.8, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

I have underscored elsewhere how it is not exactly clear what ultimately tilted the balance in favor of PAP at the time. Did General Benavides cave in to public pressure, attempting to save face before the international community of nations? Or did individual networking play more crucial a role than political accountability? Perhaps other types of domestic contingencies were ultimately responsible for this turnaround in governmental policies? In all fairness, the answer to these interrogations probably lies in a variegated combination of factors, difficult if not impossible to parse out. What matters most to my reflection in this case, however, is the question of *perceived* power rather than the question of *actual* power. My goal is to gauge what APRA leaders thought were good strategies rather than assess the degree of efficiency of the strategies they settled on. When the passage of the Amnesty Law finally came on 11 August 1933, the intuition of a few turned into the conviction of many. Public opinion, concluded the party leadership, when used strategically, had the power to beget change. Thus, as the noose tightened on Apristas in Peru at the beginning of 1934, and as state repression threatened to stifle the party for good this time, wooing public opinion developed into the central axis of the PAP's repertoire of political actions.

In Peru, the struggle to conquer hearts and minds translated into what Haya de la Torre dubbed "the conquest of the street" (*la conquista de la calle*). This political offensive insisted on the party's capacity to politically organize the masses as openly and as directly as possible, without necessarily having to pass by the popular sway of trade unions and professional associations.²³ This offensive meant action. It meant action right here and right now. At first not everybody agreed with this strategy. Some of the CEN officers wanted to focus on party resistance instead of party

²³ To be sure, the PAP got involved in the labor movement as a means to proselytize the masses of Peru. It also took pain to organize sectors of the population, such as the youth for example, in cultural institutions as a mean to expand its political influence among different sectors of the population. But Haya de la Torre had faith in the power that a well-oriented propaganda could yield in the political imagination of Peruvian citizens. According to him, being held up in the catacombs was not only about political resistance: political mobilization had to happen as well. Miro Quesada, *Tiempos de Violencia...*, pp. 90-91.

mobilization. Their proposal entailed, among other things, containing the political activities of the PAP, if only temporarily, so as to attract less attention on party members and keep repression at bay.

Haya de la Torre rebuked this reasoning. He was among those who in the leadership steadfastly defended the “conquest of the street” strategy (which in the end prevailed for most of the 1930s). In stark contrast to proponents of discretion, the latter group was convinced that Apristas had to go out there and invade public spaces, in the streets, with the people, and proselytize the party’s political program in the public eye. They advanced that focusing exclusively on party resistance while docilely waiting for the return of civil liberties in Peru would lead the PAP straight to its political deathbed. This inward retreat, they argued, risked harming the political momentum of recent years. APRA leader Alfredo Saco Miro Quesada has summed up in a few simple words the logic that lay behind the “conquest of the street” strategy: “Esta se logra mediante la propaganda mural, los rumores, las silbatinas, acciones, ‘por sorpresa’.”²⁴ According to this offensive, the crux of the battle consisted in being heard and seen and in proving that, repression or no repression, the PAP continued to exist. More than that, party leaders wanted to show that the PAP not only survived but also grew and thrived as a major political movement, as a force to be reckoned with in Peru and abroad.

For this strategy to work efficiently, APRA leaders had to learn, and rapidly so, how to capitalize on aggravating events in Peru as a mean to gain political leverage in the eye of public opinion. Unexpected incidents occasionally compounded the pulse of state persecution against Apristas in Peru. Thus, in addition to triggering reprisals against political opponents of the regime, these moments of domestic crises came to also represent, albeit paradoxically, moments of political opportunity for the PAP.

²⁴ Miro Quesada, *Tiempos de Violencia...*, p. 91.

The assassination on 15 May 1935 of José Antonio Miró Quesada, director of *El Comercio*, and his wife, María Laos de Miró Quesada, “while proceeding on foot to the National Club for luncheon,” was one such event.²⁵ The circumstances surrounding the crime contained every bit of scandal a crime needed in Peru to thrust the country into a brewing political crisis. The Aprista affiliation of the murderer, the young *fajista* Carlos Steer, combined with the premeditated and conspicuous nature of his crime – Steer shot the Miró Quesada dead in bright daylight – led to an explosive reaction amongst Civilista forces.²⁶ Civilistas despised Apristas because their political demands of social justice and democracy directly threatened their elitist positions. Upon hearing about the murder of one of their most prominent representatives, unsurprisingly, they pledged to take revenge for this public affront, using every means at their disposal to transform a personal blow into a full-fledged national crisis.

Given Steer’s association with the PAP, civilistas swiftly came to the conclusion that the party as a whole was to blame for the action of one. None of the allegations that Steer filed in his testimony after his arrest, namely that he had worked alone and of his own volition, were able to convince them otherwise.²⁷ The national newspaper *El Comercio*, especially, resumed with renewed vigor the smearing campaign it customarily led against APRA. Pugnacious articles proliferated in its pages. They attacked those whom *El Comercio* deemed responsible for “la más repulsiva tragedia que recuerda la historia del Perú,” in reference to the recent assassination of its director. They revealed the sentiment of general loathing that had ostensibly set upon the people of Peru in the face of such a horrendous, wanton crime.²⁸ “Todas las clases sociales,” read the front page of the 17 May 1935

²⁵ Report of Chargé d’Affaires ad interim Louis G. Dreyfus to Secretary of State, Lima, May 17, 1935, p. 2, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

²⁶ *Idem*. The Federación Aprista Juvenil (FAJ) was the Youth Federation of the Peruvian APRA Party. It was founded in 1934.

²⁷ *Idem*.

²⁸ “El sepelio del Dr. Antonio Miro Quesada y de la Sn. María Laos de Miro Quesada, constituyo imponente y sentida manifestación de duelo,” *El Comercio*, Lima, 17 de mayo de 1935, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

issue, “todas las esferas de la colectividad demostraron su hondo dolor por un hecho sin precedentes que afecta a la nación en sus fibras más sensibles.”²⁹ In these articles, it seemed as if the country as a whole now viewed APRA with spite and horror.

The exceptional turnout to the Miró Quesadas memorial services, held on 16 May 1935, one day after the crime took place, evidences that their deaths indeed caused considerable commotion in Peru.³⁰ *El Comercio* reported on thousands of mourners who had ostensibly followed the funeral procession in the streets of Lima.³¹ To be sure, the editorial line of the newspaper almost certainly encouraged journalists to inflate numbers. The story nevertheless testifies to an organized pro-civilista mobilization ready for retaliation. Furthermore, conjectures about the wobbly fate of Peru abounded, going from predicting insurrectionary uprisings and total anarchy to anticipating the rise to power of yet another military junta.³² Conservative factions capitalized on the Miró Quesada funeral. By way of public declarations and newspaper editorials, they branded the event as the symbol of a new beginning for the country, an era characterized by national unity and cooperation in the face of internal enemies. According to these interpretations, a Peru united before a common Aprista foe would be a strong and flourishing Peru.³³

Civilistas led the fight on other fronts as well. While initial articles were busy turning the recent murder into a day of national mourning and influencing public opinion in Peru, subsequent editorials impelled the Benavides government to adopt additional measures against “the enemies of

²⁹ “El sepelio del Dr. Antonio Miro Quesada y de la Sn. María Laos de Miro Quesada...”

³⁰ Report of Chargé d’Affaires ad interim Louis G. Dreyfus to Secretary of State, Lima, May 17, 1935, p. 1, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

³¹ “El sepelio del Dr. Antonio Miro Quesada y de la Sn. María Laos de Miro Quesada...”

³² Report of Chargé d’Affaires ad interim Louis G. Dreyfus to Secretary of State, Lima, May 17, 1935, p. 2, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

³³ “El sepelio del Dr. Antonio Miro Quesada y de la Sn. María Laos de Miro Quesada...” In a speech that he delivered during the memorial services, the President of the Board of Directors of *La Prensa*, Pedro Beltrán, similarly underscored the emblematic character that the Miró Quesada’s funeral bore in the face of internal enemies of the Peruvian nation. Report of Chargé d’Affaires ad interim Louis G. Dreyfus to Secretary of State, Lima, May 17, 1935, pp. 2-3, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

the Nation” and crack down once and for all on the PAP organization as a whole.³⁴ In addition, reports from the US embassy in Lima signal that influential civilista actors used ploys other than mere propaganda to try to bend the government to their will. The justice they requested had to come in form of retributions against apristas, argued many, and it had to come chiefly if not only in this form. Evidence suggests that civilista strategies went from backroom negotiations with Benavides to conspiring against him, intent on ousting from power an ally whom many after further consideration deemed too moderate. Although they never materialized, ploys to replace Benavides with a military junta more inclined to serve civilista interests were reportedly on the rise.³⁵

These efforts paid off. Only two days after the victims gave their last breath away, a ministerial crisis caused the resignation of the Arena Laoyaza Cabinet. As a result, general Benavides accumulated extended executive power to enact repressive measures and restore social order. Four days later a new cabinet took its oath of office. Its members came in majority from the military and looked determined to forestall any additional dissidence.³⁶ Repressive measures against APRA were soon brought to new heights.³⁷

The central command of the party, which had passed in February 1934 under the aegis of the National Committee of Action (Comité Nacional de Acción del Partido Aprista Peruano), readily responded to this latest spree of attacks.³⁸ It released on 19 May 1935 a special communiqué that

³⁴ Editorial of *El Comercio*, May 24, 1935, cited in report of US ambassador Fred Morris Dearing to Secretary of State, “Current Political Review,” Lima, June 3, 1935, p. 2, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives. Also consult Report of Chargé d’Affaires ad interim Louis G. Dreyfus to Secretary of State, Lima, May 18, 1935, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

³⁵ Consult series of reports sent by the staff of the US embassy in Lima to the Secretary of State between May 17, 1935 and June 3, 1935, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

³⁶ Report of Chargé d’Affaires ad interim Louis G. Dreyfus to Secretary of State, Lima, May 18, 1935, Report of Chargé d’Affaires ad interim Louis G. Dreyfus to Secretary of State, Lima, May 21, 1935, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

³⁷ Report of US ambassador Fred Morris Dearing of to Secretary of State, “Current Political Review,” Lima, June 3, 1935, p. 8, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

³⁸ The National Committee of Action had become the central command of the party in February 1934. “1. - Centralizar su comando bajo la dirección de un Comité Ejecutivo Nacional de Acción; en él queda representado y

exonerated the PAP from all criminal responsibilities. The tone of this communiqué was pugnacious. It argued that Civilistas were wrong to presume that the assassination of the Miró Quesadas was the result of a deliberate political ploy. The National Committee of Action countered that, quite the opposite in fact, the PAP was actually the first to rebuke any members who diverted from official party directives and went off course into initiatives of their own (such as Carlos Steer). Violence did not figure among the party's guidelines, stressed the document: "El Comité Nacional de Acción del Partido del Pueblo ratifica su declaración tantas veces formulada, condenando en la lucha política todo acto de violencia individual, y recuerda que sus normas disciplinarias son tan severas en este sentido que aun la practica del duelo es estrictamente prohibida para sus afiliados."³⁹ It was important for the National Committee of Action to insist on the idea that violence of any kind, whether directed against external enemies or used in quarrel settlements between members, contravened doctrinal tenets essential to APRA. The gist of the committee's argument resided in exposing a simple sophism: since the organization's backbone rested exclusively on pacifist and democratic ideals, accusing the PAP of inspiring and encouraging acts of violence was simply inconceivable.⁴⁰

However, where the PAP leadership showed the willingness to disapprove and reprimand Aprista followers when deemed necessary, its limited capacity to actually compel members to respect party regulations revealed a weak spot. As the National Committee of Action itself readily acknowledged, exerting control over the rank-and-file was easier said than done. Still, in an astute rhetorical twist, the National Committee of Action took pain to underscore alongside its unbending

fusionado el Comité Departamental de Lima con las atribuciones que se expresan a continuación, 2. - El Comité Ejecutivo Nacional de Acción es la autoridad máxima del Partido y al mismo tiempo el Tribunal Supremo de Disciplina."³⁸ Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Hemeroteca Nacional, "El P.A.P. ha Centralizado su Comando," *La Tribuna*: Diario popular para todo el Perú, Año IV, No 401, Lima, Febrero 19 de 1934, p. 2.

³⁹ El Comité Nacional de Acción del Partido Aprista Peruano, "El Comité Nacional de Acción," Lima, Mayo de 19, 1935, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

⁴⁰ Personal testimonies of Aprista militants also recall this event as an act of madness. "Naturalmente, yo no podía menos que lamentar y condenar enérgicamente la insanía de Steer, quien después de cometido el acto trato de suicidarse." Miro Quesada, *Tiempos de Violencia...*, p. 85.

condemnation of violence how given the current context of “forzosa ilegalidad,” with most party leaders and followers either imprisoned or exiled (or under threats of being so), the direction of the PAP was regrettably in no position to control the individual actions of every single APRA militant. “Exasperados por la situación en que se hallan,” the communiqué underscored in reference to irate members, “reaccionan violando las normas del ‘Aprismo.’”⁴¹

This justification helped solve the catch-22 the PAP had fallen prey to. In effect, the National Committee of Action accomplished a rhetorical feat, one that turned a fundamental contradiction into a seamless line of defense: its communiqué all at once condemned and vindicated the disoriented action of one APRA member. Steer had wrongly made use of violence, yet Steer was also victim of a system that incited subjects to desperate, irrational actions. The party direction was here arguing that the fault did not lie with Steer, much less with aprismo, but rather with *Civilismo*, whose gruesome rule of law had unfairly robbed Peruvian citizens of basic liberties and constitutional guarantees. This conclusion cleverly passed the buck from accused to accuser, leading the document to its final exhortation: “El Partido Aprista Peruano mantiene hoy como siempre su exigencia de libertades y constitucionalidad, seguro de que solo por ese camino se restablecerá la normalidad social, política y moral del país.”⁴² Significantly, winning back political rights in this document took clear precedence over the PAP’s traditional defense of social justice.

The line of defense of PAP was discursively solid. Still there was one major problem with it: governmental censorship forbade at once the publication of its special communiqué in Peru, thwarting any chance it had to circulate and be widely read. Not a single newspaper in the country

⁴¹ El Comité Nacional de Acción del Partido Aprista Peruano, “El Comité Nacional de Acción,” Lima, Mayo de 19, 1935, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

⁴² *Idem*.

dared make mention of it.⁴³ Moreover, since finding incriminating evidence against the PAP became a state priority again following the incident of 15 May 1935, the usual routes of aprista propaganda were dismantled. Police authorities carted off to jail anyone suspected of distributing subversive documents. The soaring number of domicile searches responded to similar incentives.⁴⁴

APRA leaders continued to address communiqués and messages to the Peruvian population, hoping to influence public opinion into shaming the Benavides government and demanding the return of civil liberties in Peru.⁴⁵ Given the circumstances, though, it looked like a good idea to also expand their repertoire of political actions. The international scene here rose as a valuable asset to exploit. According to past experiences, it seemed in effect apt to bestow the forum that the PAP needed to try and attract willing listeners to its cause. And so Peruvian APRA leaders began to orchestrate a transnational campaign of moral shaming against the Benavides government.

In this particular instance, the National Committee of Action charged the National Secretary of Press (Secretario Nacional de Prensa) with broadcasting its special communiqué not only in Peru but also abroad, to foreign press agencies more particularly. One copy of the document stated in headline, “El Secretario Nacional de Prensa del Partido Aprista Peruano emite el siguiente Comunicado Oficial que entrega simultáneamente a los diarios del país y del extranjero.”⁴⁶ Evidence found in archives reveals that this special communiqué successfully circulated abroad. It reached France less than two months after its original release in Peru. On 18 July 1935, the Secretary General of the Aprista Committee of Paris (Secretario General del Comité Aprista de Paris), a certain V.

⁴³ Report of US ambassador Fred Morris Dearing of to Secretary of State, “The Apra Party and Persecution,” Lima, June 3, 1935, p. 2, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

⁴⁴ *Idem.*

⁴⁵ Comité Ejecutivo de Presos Políticos y Sociales del Frontón, “Obreros: A las organizaciones y hombres libres del Perú,” El Frontón, 13 de junio de 1935, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Centro de documentación de ciencias sociales (CEDOC), Colección especial Arturo Sabroso Montoya, Correspondencia de LAS y VRHT y ASM: Importantes, B1, 933 al 951.

⁴⁶ El Comité Nacional de Acción del Partido Aprista Peruano, “El Comité Nacional de Acción,” Lima, Mayo de 19, 1935, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

Delande, signed in the French capital a reproduction of this communiqué and sent it to Anna Melissa Graves.⁴⁷ Since at the time Graves lived in Geneva (Switzerland), where she worked actively with the WILPF, it is easy to imagine that the latter brought her peer activists up to date on the recent events in Peru. In effect, Graves had continued to be in close touch with allies of the movement in Peru. She strived to learn more about the conditions of persecuted Apristas and still wanted to assist them to the best of her capacity.⁴⁸ Furthermore, since the Secretary of National Press had specifically mentioned on the communiqué that it sought to dispatch the document to foreign newspapers, it is easy to imagine that Delande, in addition to briefing past allies on the situation in Peru, attempted to spread the news in French newspapers and possibly in other European publications as well. Passing on information was crucial to courting international public opinion.

The communiqué that APRA leader Víctor Peralta addressed to the foreign press on 12 June 1935 further evidences the PAP's resolution to publicly shame the Benavides government in an effort to sway the international public opinion in its favor.⁴⁹ Peralta was the Secretary General of the Executive Committee for the Political and Social Prisoners (Secretario General del Comité Ejecutivo de Presos Políticos y Sociales) who were detained in el Frontón, the Peruvian prison probably most infamous for its dire conditions of detention. This document is a handwritten letter draft, slightly

⁴⁷ V. Delande, Secretario General, Comité de Paris, Partido Aprista Peruano, Paris, July 18, 1935, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Box 3, Folder 3.9, Archives of Labor and urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁴⁸ See correspondence exchange between Margaret Rycroft, Señora Ribeyro, and Anna Melissa Graves in 1934 and 1935. The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Box 3, Folder 3.9, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. Graves also exchanged correspondence with a number of aprista actors during the 1930s, including Magda Portal, Luis Alberto Sánchez, Manuel Seoane, Enrique Rojas, Felipe Cossío del Polmar, Eduardo Goicochea, to name but a few. Swarthmore College, Peace Collection, Anna Melissa Graves Papers (1919-1953), Reel 74.8. Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box1, Folder 2, Correspondence, 1936.

⁴⁹ Víctor Peralta, Secretario General, El Comité de Presos Políticos – Sociales reclusos en El Frontón, “A todas las organizaciones revolucionarias y conciencias libres de Indo América y del Mundo,” El Frontón, Junio 12 de 1935, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Centro de documentación de ciencias sociales (CEDOC), Colección especial Arturo Sabroso Montoya, Correspondencia de LAS y VRHT y ASM: Importantes, B1, 933 al 951.

damaged by the humidity of prison walls.⁵⁰ Two main goals underpin its content. The first was denunciation of state terror. Peralta condemned the gruesome incarceration conditions that political prisoners endured in Peruvian jails. Many of his fellow prisoners and aprista companions were sick, reported the letter. Peralta feared for their lives.⁵¹ He likewise chided Peruvian authorities more broadly for the spate of renewed injustices perpetrated against the PAP. Significantly, Peralta addressed his letter to the free press of Indo-America and the world. Speaking on behalf of APRA prisoners, whether incarcerated in El Frontón or locked up in one of the many other prisons in Peru, he wrote: “Desde “EL FRONTÓN” – la isla presidio peruana – lanzamos nuestro grito de condenación y protesta por el atropello de que somos victimas y denunciarnos ante la prensa libre de Indo América y el mundo la tiranía que ejerce en el Perú el Gobierno civilista del señor General Oscar R. Benavides.”⁵²

The second goal of Peralta’s document was mobilization. With this letter, Peralta was sending a cry for help to those he called his Indo-American brothers. He explained how freedom of press and speech did not exist in Peru. This was the reason why, he wrote, Apristas had to resort to the outside world and bring their appeal before “todas las organizaciones revolucionarias y conciencias libres de Indo América y del Mundo.”⁵³ The justification that Peralta gave to request solidarity of action in the face of injustice in Peru was based on the notion that APRA members fought for Latin America as a whole. They fought to bring about continental unity, and thus tried to convince foreign allies to publicly protest against the political situation in Peru. Peralta’s letter

⁵⁰ The nightmare of El Frontón rankles more than any other jail in the Aprista *martirologio*. For examples of testimonies and memories that dealt with this prison consult: Guillermo Vegas León, “Las Torturas y los Crímenes de la Isla ‘El Frontón’,” *Claridad*, Buenos Aires, Año XVII, num. 324, abril de 1938; Armando Bázan, *Prisiones junto al mar, novela*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Claridad, 1943.

⁵¹ Peralta, “A todas las organizaciones revolucionarias y conciencias libres de Indo América...”

⁵² *Idem.*

⁵³ *Idem.*

implied that the fate of Apristas in Peru should be the concern of all Indo-Americans. One passage makes this point particularly explicit:

“Nosotros sabemos que nuestros hermanos de Indo América, por cuya unión política y económica luchamos, sabrán en estos momentos de tragedia peruana recoger el S.O.S. de nuestros hogares en abandono, no para enviarnos sus barcos mercantes con cargamento de víveres como suele hacerse para auxiliar a las víctimas de los terremotos, sino para mandarnos sus cruceros de guerra cargados de su protesta enérgica. [...] Lo que queremos es oír el rugido de nuestros hermanos explotados de América India.”⁵⁴

A note at the end of the document instructed APRA followers to make copies of this letter and to pass it on to the foreign press as well as to every revolutionary organization they knew abroad. Help your brothers in prison, it pleaded. *Make copies. Pass them on.* The Benavides regime had to see that the continent came as a whole in the defense of APRA. Perhaps that it would then let go of the war it led against this political organization?

Apristas successfully propagated information in the foreign press, either directly through APRA exiles or via the intermediary of their allies abroad, on the series of arbitrary arrests that washed over Peru. These attacks usually took pains to detail the poor conditions of detention that prevailed in Peruvian jails.⁵⁵ In the October edition of the French publication *La défense*, in 1937, Renaud de Jouvenel, a French writer interested in Latin America, published a diatribe against the Peruvian General Benavides. His text targeted the misery of political prisoners in Peru. One passage was specifically about APRA: “Algunos prisioneros, héroes del movimiento revolucionarios

⁵⁴ Peralta, “A todas las organizaciones revolucionarias y conciencias libres de Indo América...”

⁵⁵ Ricardo Melgar Bao and more recently Leandro Sessa began to survey the anti-Benavides campaign in Mexico and Argentina respectively. Melgar Bao, *Redes e imaginario del exilio en México...* Sessa, “Aprismo y apristas en Argentina...,” pp. 97-106.

peruanos (APRA), permanecen hasta quince días en “La Parada”, donde solo se puede estar de pie, quince días durante los cuales la parálisis los gana lentamente.”⁵⁶

On the Latin American side, the journal *Claridad*, edited in Buenos Aires, published a series of articles that unveiled before an Argentinean readership the crimes exacted against APRA followers in Peru. One such article appeared in the December 1935 issue. To begin, the article gave a graphic description of the fate that awaited political prisoners in that country: “En los presidios de la isla de El Frontón, la prisión submarina de Casasmatas, el cuartel sexto y otras cárceles del Perú, hay millares de presos sin proceso. A la Selva de la Madre de Dios, llamada la Siberia de Fuego, se han enviado cuatrocientos apristas semidesnudos y sin otra perspectiva que morir de inanición. El Perú es una vasta cárcel.”⁵⁷ It then proceeded to ask for the “ayuda moral de la opinión argentina” in order, stated the article, to obtain the liberation of aprista prisoners.⁵⁸

In a previous edition that same year, *Claridad* had dedicated a fifty-page issue to the work and life of APRA leader Magda Portal, detained in Peru since the previous year.⁵⁹ This special issue was part of a larger continental effort that petitioned the Peruvian government to obtain her liberation. It contained excerpts from her work on Indo-America as well as several of her poems and a number of tributes that lionized her political achievements in APRA. The stated goal of this collection of essays was to intensify the continental liberation campaign in her favor. This strategy yielded positive responses, as evidenced by the series of thank you letters that Portal penned after her 500-day sentence was unexpectedly shortened in late February 1936. She expressed gratitude to those who had helped pressure the Peruvian government, including Anna Melissa Graves, with whom you are

⁵⁶ Renaud de Jouvenel, cited in “La voz del mundo,” *Trinchera Aprista*, No 2, México D.F., Noviembre de 1937, p. 1.

⁵⁷ “Información Aprista,” *Claridad*, No 296, Diciembre de 1935, cited in Sessa, “Aprismo y apristas en Argentina...,” p. 109.

⁵⁸ *Idem*.

⁵⁹ *Magda Portal. Su vida y su obra*, Editorial Claridad, Buenos Aires, No 294, 1935, p. 2, Benson Special Latin American Collection.

by now familiar, Antonio Zamora, the founder and director of *Claridad*, Alfredo Palacios, renowned Argentine intellectual, and José Galvez, a Peruvian poet and diplomat to Colombia.⁶⁰ Portal did not forget her peers in exile whom, she reckoned, had done everything they could to obtain her liberation. She warmly thanked Luis Alberto Sánchez for the praising testimony that he had written for the special issue of *Claridad* on her.⁶¹ She likewise encouraged members of the Aprista Committee of Santiago to continue with their militant activities, praising the important work that they were doing for the movement. She expressed her solidarity in the face of unfair persecution: “Si he de serles enteramente sincera,” she kindly wrote, “les diré que mi libertad no me hace del todo feliz. Aunque ella esté limitadísima, por tantas razones, me duele ser yo sola libre, aquí donde todos los nuestros -- lideres i militantes -- están o escondidos o presos.”⁶²

These primary sources suggest that APRA leaders learned to adapt their political discourse depending on their audience. In effect, appeals to the outside world demanded to adapt the choice of rhetoric.⁶³ In this case, appealing to the notion of Indo-American solidarity enabled Apristas located in Peru to formulate a line of defense that extended beyond the purview of the nation-state. This illustrates the type of flexibility of language one needed when working from the midst of repression.

⁶⁰ Letters of Magda Portal to Anna Melissa Graves, Lima, March 14 and May 29, 1936; Letter of Magda Portal to Antonio Zamora, Lima, May 1936; Letter of Magda Portal to José Ingenieros, Lima, May 1936; Letter of Magda Portal to José Galvez, Lima, June 20, 1936; Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box1, Folder 2.

⁶¹ Letter of Magda Portal to Luis Alberto Sánchez, Lima, April 21, 1936, Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box1, Folder 2.

⁶² Letter of Magda Portal to the Comité Aprista de Santiago, Lima, May 1st, 1936, Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box1, Folder 2.

⁶³ Comité Ejecutivo de Presos Políticos y Sociales del Frontón, “Obreros: A las organizaciones y hombres libres del Perú,” *El Frontón*, 13 de junio de 1935, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Centro de documentación de ciencias sociales (CEDOC), Colección especial Arturo Sabroso Montoya, Correspondencia de LAS y VRHT y ASM: Importantes, B1, 933 al 951.

Defending the PAP from Exile

What role did APRA exiles play for Apristas who remained in hiding in Peru? Scholarship on APRA suggests a strong correlation of actions between the PAP in Peru and the communities of exiles abroad.⁶⁴ Generally speaking, the APRA committees abroad did not only act on their own volition. Evidence in archives suggests that a complex web maintained them tightly intertwined and contributed to shaping the way in which transnational mobilization unfurled abroad. Ironically, the yearlong cycle of deportations that came with the return to *La Clandestinidad* auspiciously positioned the APRA movement with players outside Peru who benefited from freedom of speech and movement.

To be sure, the situation was not rosy for everyone. For one, those who left Peru never fully escaped the specter of state persecution. Arrests and deportations occasionally befell them in foreign countries as well.⁶⁵ Other times authorities of the host country intervened and pressured APRA exiles into ceasing their activities against the Peruvian government. After an agent of the Chilean ministry of foreign relations contacted Carlo Alberto Eyzaguirre, Gerardo Alania, Jorge Valverde and Leoncio Muños, four representatives and leaders of APRA who lived in Santiago de Chile, they reportedly agreed to stop their work. A document from the Peruvian embassy in Chile confirmed on 20 July 1935: “Los señores mencionados se comprometieron formalmente ante el Director de Investigaciones a suspender sus actividades y a no reiniciarlas en el futuro.”⁶⁶

Also, exile was fraught with all kinds of emotional and material hardships, eventually driving many to balk and withdraw from political activism. Starting in the mid-1930s, a considerable number

⁶⁴ Melgar Bao, *Redes e imaginario del exilio en México...* Published correspondence between APRA leaders also reveals the high level of connection between Peru and communities of exiles abroad.

⁶⁵ A pact of mutual assistance to better fight communism in their respective countries was for example designed between Peru, Chile, and Argentina in the course of 1933. [Peruvian ambassador to Chile,] “Adhesión de Chile al Convenio peruano argentino sobre el comunismo,” Santiago de Chile, junio 13 de 1933, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1933.

⁶⁶ [Peruvian ambassador to Chile], “Notificación a los líderes apristas,” Santiago de Chile, agosto 5 de 1935, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1935.

of Peruvian apristas who lived in the Chilean capital initiated contact with the Peruvian ambassador to Chile. Most demanded political amnesty and the right to return home in exchange for the promise to cease all political activities.⁶⁷ This was the case of Gerardo Berrios, a Peruvian exile to Chile, who in January 1935 decided that he had had enough of aprismo. He went to see the diplomatic staff of the Peruvian embassy to express his desire to return to Peru. Berrios told the Peruvian ambassador that he had grown disenchanted with his party. At first he had enrolled in APRA because he wanted to change things, to try to make a difference in his country. But he never felt included, he said. The party leadership never gave him any substantial role or responsibility. In Chile, Berrios was left without any means of subsistence and apparently nothing to do either in terms of political activities. He seemed bored. His financial situation was precarious. What was the use of remaining in Chile, he started to wonder? Hence he resigned from APRA and pleaded with the Peruvian ambassador to receive help to return to Peru.⁶⁸

For some it was family obligations that convinced them to let go of APRA. Pedro R. Iraola solicited Peruvian authorities in January 1936 for the right to travel back to Peru. His mother was very ill back in Lima, and since no one else was available to take care of her Iraola promised to never again engage in political activities in exchange for the right to leave Chile and return home and fulfill his familial duties.⁶⁹ In most cases, however, dire financial situations were ultimately what persuaded Peruvian exiles that their political idealism was perhaps not worth the price of exile. This was the case of José Aguilar Bracamonte and Simon Becar, who in January 1935 begged Peruvian authorities to be allowed to return home. One diplomatic report confirmed that they were without money, “sin

⁶⁷ [Peruvian ambassador to Chile], “Deportados políticos,” Santiago de Chile, 2 de enero de 1935, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Archivo Central, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1935, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1936.

⁶⁸ [Peruvian ambassador in Chile], “Solicitud de Gerardo Berrios,” Santiago de Chile, enero 11 de 1935, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1935.

⁶⁹ [Peruvian ambassador to Chile], “Deportado Pedro R. Iraola,” Santiago de Chile, 17 de enero de 1936, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1936.

tener ni siquiera como alimentarse, ni donde alojarse.”⁷⁰ Fausto Narvarte and José Herazo were in a similar situation. “Los deportados Fausto Narvarte y José Herazo han venido a verme para hacerme presente la situación penosísima en que se encuentran,” wrote the Peruvian ambassador in Chile to the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Relations on 15 January 1935.⁷¹ They asked the ambassador for a subsidy to pay the hotel where they had been lodging in addition to the permission to return home.⁷²

Peruvian exile Luis Berninsone was so desperate for money in Chile that he proposed to produce anti-aprista propaganda in his host country. On 7 December 1934, the Peruvian ambassador to Chile reported on the meeting that he recently had with him to the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Relations. He wrote, referring to Berninsone, “Por una pequeña remuneración mensual, se compromete él - que está en muy mal estado económico - a iniciar una propaganda en favor del Gobierno, tendiendo, al mismo tiempo, a contrarrestar la labor de los apristas, cuya ideología se propone también combatir.”⁷³ Peruvian authorities agreed to the deal. Berninsone began to receive a monthly stipend for his work as a pro-Benavides propagandist in Chile. Although it is unclear exactly when Berninsone officially left his affiliation to aprismo, we know that he had once been aprista.⁷⁴ Was he aprista when he concluded this agreement with the Peruvian authorities? Had he already resigned? What is certain is that ex-comrades of his made him pay for his betrayal: a group of APRA exiles beat him up in July 1935 in retaliation for the anti-aprista articles that he had been publishing in Chilean newspapers.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ [Peruvian ambassador to Chile], “Solicitud de dos deportados,” Santiago de Chile, enero 11 de 1935, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1935.

⁷¹ [Peruvian ambassador to Chile], “Deportado,” Santiago de Chile, Enero 15 de 1935, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1935.

⁷² *Idem*.

⁷³ Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1934.

⁷⁴ Laurietz Seda y Rubén Quiroz ed., *Travesías trífrentes: El teatro de vanguardia en el Perú*, Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2008.

⁷⁵ The Peruvian ambassador to Chile reported that the blows that Berninsone received were so strong that he lost a couple of teeth and had to be hospitalized as a result of the attack. [Peruvian ambassador to Chile], “Sobre Luis Berninsone,” julio 19 de 1935, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1935.

Still APRA as transnational political movement was alive and active again. APRA leaders stationed abroad promptly re-organized exile committees and began to engage the national politics of their host country as a means to defend their comrades stuck in Peru and push for the right of PAP to exist as legitimate political organization. One thing that APRA exiles did, and did well, was to produce anti-Benavides propaganda and circulate it outside Peru. Starting in the mid-1930s, the clandestine press of APRA intermittently appeared in Santiago de Chile, Buenos Aires, La Paz, México, Panama, and New York.⁷⁶ APRA exiles stationed abroad became active propagandists for the movement.

In Chile, APRA leaders disseminated anti-Benavides propaganda in the Chilean press all through the 1930s. Their contributions were published in the following newspapers: *La Opinión*, *Hoy*, *El Diario Ilustrado*, *Tierra*, *El Mercurio*, *La Nación*, *La Hora*, and *Trabajo*.⁷⁷ Collaboration in foreign newspapers served to counter the censorship that the PAP endured back home.⁷⁸ In addition to condemning the arbitrary rule of the Peruvian government, as we will see, these platforms enabled APRA leaders to voice opinions, discuss international politics, or suggest roadmaps for future political developments. Strategies that targeted existing foreign publications helped APRA survive as a vibrant political force, one in motion, one whose ideology continued to change and evolve to the rhythm of current affairs, both in Peru and on the international scene.

The Aprista community of exiles in Chile, commonly known as the CAP of Santiago (Comité Aprista de Santiago), played a central role in the upkeep of APRA as transnational

⁷⁶ Melgar Bao, *Redes e imaginario del exilio en México...*, p. 108.

⁷⁷ Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1934, 5-4-A, 1936, 5-4-A, 1937, 5-4-A, 1938, 5-4-A, 1939.

⁷⁸ The Peruvian embassy in Chile monitored Chilean publications. It reported to Lima the work of defamation that APRA exiles as well as their allies spearheaded against the Peruvian government. Unfortunately, the Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores has removed almost all newspaper clippings that Peruvian ambassadors attached to their diplomatic reports. Though these primary sources were allegedly shipped to the archive's "Heremoteca," archivists claim that they have in fact been lost in the course of past archival reorganization. Researchers must resort to specific newspaper collections in Chilean archives.

organization throughout the 1930s.⁷⁹ It coordinated action between Aprista committees abroad and maintained close collaboration with APRA leaders in hiding in Peru. It also produced ample propaganda and labored to disseminate the Aprista doctrine across the continent.⁸⁰ This is where the Hayista faction published its work thanks, notably, to the editorial Ercilla. *La Tribuna* in exile was also published in Chile.

The size of this community of exiles and the welcoming reception that Peruvian Apristas received when they first returned to Chile helps explain the significance that the CAP of Santiago swiftly assumed for APRA in the fall of 1934. Between 6 December 1934 and 20 August 1935, the Peruvian government carted off sixty Aprista militants to Chile. This was nearly four times greater than the number of Apristas deported to Panama over the same time period, and more than seven times higher than similar statistics for Ecuador.⁸¹ Additionally, the concurrent growth of the socialist movement in Chile ushered in a favorable era for the advancement of alliances between the Chilean left and APRA.⁸² The warm greeting that Chilean newspaper *La Opinión* extended to Aprista exiles on 26 December 1934 exemplifies the type of support and political solidarity the CAP of Santiago could hereafter expect to rely on. It stated: “Los apristas y demás exiliados peruanos deben saber que llegan a un hogar que es el suyo. Aquí les recibimos con los brazos abiertos, admirados de su valor, entusiastas de su doctrina, deseosos como ellos de cooperar al gran ideal de Bolívar, a la

⁷⁹ One of the best portrayal of this community of APRA exiles to this day appears in Juan Manuel Reveco del Villar, “Influencia del APRA en el partido socialista de Chile,” in Juan Manuel Reveco *et al.*, *Vida y Obra de Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre*, Segundo Concurso Latinoamericano, Lima: Instituto Cambio y Desarrollo, 2006, pp. 19-134.

⁸⁰ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre y Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Correspondencia, Tomo 1, 1924-1951*, Lima : Mosca Azul Editores, 1982.

⁸¹ Of the eighty-four Apristas deported from Peru between December 6, 1934 and August 20, 1935, eight of them were sent to Ecuador, sixteen to Panama, and sixty to Chile. “Relación de deportados políticos,” Lima, 11 de noviembre de 1935, Archivo General del la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.7 (1932-1942).

⁸² Paul W. Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile, 1932-1952*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978.

redención de nuestra América, a la extirpación de los regimenes tiránicos que la explotan y manchan.”⁸³

These were not empty promises. The General Secretary of the CAP of Santiago, Alberto Grieve Madge, had recently used the pages of *La Opinión* to fire off a virulent attack against the Peruvian government. In a press release published on 5 December 1934, Madge, speaking on behalf of the CAP of Santiago, which in turn acted in representation of the Peruvian APRA Party, pilloried the so-called “democratic” regime of general Benavides, which lived and governed, assured the article, with respect for neither the Constitution nor the Peruvian laws. “Ni elecciones, ni garantías, ni prensa: solo persecuciones, prisiones y arbitrariedades,” read a subtitle. “Se ha atropellado a los candidatos, se les ha perseguido, y por ultimo, se conciben planes para eliminarlos,” claimed another section, in reference to the twenty-three aprista congressmen ousted by Sanchez Cerro in 1932 and who had yet to be reinstated under Benavides.⁸⁴

Madge’s condemnation of the persecution that APRA members suffered in Peru resembled previous strategies. Similarly to the transnational campaign of liberation orchestrated in favor of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre between 1932 and 1933, the CAP of Santiago crafted its diatribe around two fundamental premises. First, it laid bare the inconsistencies of the Benavides regime before an international audience. This implied lifting the veil on the dysfunctional state of democracy in Peru, while in turn taking pains to compare this precarious national condition with the deceitful democratic label that the Benavides regime received from peer governments. A spade had

⁸³ Cited in Reveco del Villar, “Influencia del APRA en el partido socialista de Chile...”, p. 68.

⁸⁴ During the period of political opening between 1933-1934, Oscar Benavides had promised time and again to reinstate these congressmen without ever complying with his words. By the end of 1934, the storyline expanded a little so as to gain meaning for this particular moment in time: APRA leaders who had run for Congress were now wronged for having requested the holding of legislative elections and commanded the observance of individual and social constitutional guarantees. Alberto Grieve Madge, “Comunicado de Prensa del Comité Aprista Peruano,” *La Opinión*, 5 de diciembre 1934, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1934.

to be called spade. The Benavides regime was all but democratic, pleaded the article, and the CAP of Santiago was poised to set the record straight.⁸⁵

CAP of Santiago's second axis of reasoning rested on emotional appeal. It was primarily concerned with the nature and actions of the PAP. To better attract international attention onto the precarious situation of the PAP, stirring compassion by insisting on the democratic nature of this organization, as well as on the popular support it garnered in Peru, was of paramount importance. To be sure, no matter how well and fiercely devised, indictments of the political situation in Peru would do little to attract sympathy abroad without first convincing the international public opinion that the PAP did not deserve the all-out repression it suffered back home. According to Madge's account, faced with the Peruvian government's incapacity to detain "el triunfo aplastante del aprismo" in Peru, *civilista* forces had found no better remedy than to eliminate "a los candidatos del pueblo." The use of attributes like "candidates of the people," just as statements that implied an intimate bond between APRA and the "mayorías ciudadanas" in Peru, were deliberate and carefully lay out.⁸⁶ As prisons overflowed with political prisoners and as attempts against the lives of APRA leaders continued to soar, crafting associations between the notion of popular support and the PAP adorned the latter with a mantle of legitimacy.

In the same way, the CAP of Buenos Aires customarily released press communiqués in the Argentinean press or disseminated rudimentary leaflets to denounce the injustices that the PAP suffered in Peru. Toward the late 1930s, the *Boletín Aprista* served as mouthpiece for the CAP of Buenos Aires, where a handful of leaders broadcasted political views and made information on Peru available to APRA followers in Argentina.⁸⁷ In its third issue, dated 4 March 1937, *Boletín Aprista*

⁸⁵ Grieve Madge, "Comunicado de Prensa del Comité Aprista Peruano..."

⁸⁶ *Idem.*

⁸⁷ Report from Alexander W. Weddell to Secretary of State in Washington D.C., "Activities in Buenos Aires of the Peruvian Aprista Party," Buenos Aires, September 18, 1936, Folder 3, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives. "Arevalo asesinado," in *Boletín Aprista*, Buenos Aires, 4 de marzo

indicted Peruvian authorities for the loss of APRA leader Manuel Arévalo, the Secretario General del Comité de Acción del Norte in Peru, whose execution three weeks earlier had allegedly followed a weeklong cycle of torture and abuses. The troubling circumstances surrounding Arévalo's death had left Aprista factions across the board blazing with anger and indignation.⁸⁸ Significantly, the CAP of Buenos Aires touted this political assassination as an event that bore meaning not only for Peru but also for the democratic forces of the continent. It stated: "Toda la Prensa libre de América, ha unido su voz de protesta a la nuestra, ante el desborde de la sañuda persecución que el tirano Benavides, desata implacablemente contra el partido del pueblo."⁸⁹ APRA astutely transformed a personal blow into a form of continental outrage and looked to continental press to do so.

The concept of a continental free press was nothing new for members of APRA. For most of the 1930s, appealing to international democratic forces and to the representatives of free speech in Indo-America continued to be crucial in the fight that PAP spearheaded to retrieve civil liberties in Peru. The notion of civilized public opinion was central to this type of propaganda, and it took on new importance during the Lima conference. Peruvian authorities were barbarians. In contrast, a civilized public opinion, usually located outside Peru, and generally associated with the Americas, was with Peruvians in that it condemned the dictatorship.

Mexico was also an important center of Aprista activity throughout the 1930s. There, the CAP of Mexico similarly engaged in the production of propaganda that chastised the Benavides government. It did so by way of publication in local newspapers, as well as through the pages of its Mexican mouthpiece *Trinchera Aprista*.⁹⁰

de 1937, No. 3, p. 2, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Box 3, Folder 3.8, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁸⁸ "Arevalo asesinado," in *Boletín Aprista*, Buenos Aires, 4 de marzo de 1937, No. 3, p. 2, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Box 3, Folder 3.8, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

⁸⁹ *Idem*.

⁹⁰ Melgar Bao, *Redes e imaginario del exilio en México... Comité Aprista de México (México, D.F.), Trinchera aprista [microform]: órgano del Comité Aprista de México, 1937-1938*, Film 24227, Reel 91, Benson Latin American Collection Microforms.

Though little is still known about the types of Aprista activism in the United States, pieces of evidence found in archives reflect a considerable level of activity. In 1938, the diplomatic staff of the US embassy in Peru noted the swelling amount of anti-Benavides propaganda coming from Mexico and the United States, and California in particular.⁹¹ We also know that Aprista exiles published in US newspaper *La Prensa* and *La Nueva Democracia*, both based in New York. It also seems that *La Prensa* from Los Angeles offered a tribune for Aprista exiles to voice opinion and engage in Peruvian politics from afar.⁹² Finally, from scattered evidence in archives, Aprista militants in France seem to have played a role in channeling Aprista communiqués to the rest of European newspapers and allies stationed in Europe.⁹³

These articles illustrate the types of interventions that APRA exiles hereafter plotted in the 1930s as a means to voice their indignation vis-à-vis the political situation in Peru. From Chile and Argentina to Mexico and the United States through France, anti-Benavides propaganda mushroomed in local newspapers and political flyers, carrying across borders APRA's resentment against national politics as well as the drive to survive as a thriving political movement no matter what.

⁹¹ Report of diplomatic staff Steinhardt, "Aprista letter from Mexico as a sample of anti-Benavides propaganda abroad," Peru, April 4, 1938, Folder 1, Box 4697, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives. Report of Louis G. Dreyfus to Secretary of State, "Recrudescence of APRA activities," Lima, September 7, 1938, Folder 1, Box 4697, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

⁹² For examples of articles favorable to the cause of APRA, consult: Carlos Deambrosis Martins, "Los Maestros se Van... Haya de la Torre, conductor de la nueva generación," *La Prensa*, Los Angeles, California, February 26, 1932, p. 3; "El Anti-imperialismo y el APRA", por V. R. Haya de la Torre," *La Prensa*, Los Angeles, California, June 3, 1936, p. 3; Alberto Rembao, "El Mundo en marcha," *La Prensa*, Los Angeles, California, June 17, 1936, p. 3. Articles in *Trinchera Aprista* also hint at the activities of APRA exiles in New York City in the late 1930s.

⁹³ A methodological caveat is in order. What remains in archives are clues that hint to the proliferation of a transnational campaign. I do not have access to all this material. On the one hand, diplomatic archives located in Peru, Mexico, and France often showcase reports and summaries of Aprista activities abroad without further commenting on their nature. And while, on the other, the diplomatic archives in the United States are plentiful with reports, newspaper clippings, and political flyers attached to official reports, thereby yielding the promise of rich access to Aprista primary source material, diplomatic reports in the 1930s are sprawled across a tangle web of archival codes and organization. Various copies of reports were reproduced in different boxes, making it difficult to find out where the original with the attached documents ultimately ended. These limitations hamper a comprehensive discursive analysis of plentiful anti-Benavides propaganda produced outside Peru. However, they are not prominent enough so as to prevent our understanding of the workings and mechanisms of this transnational advocacy campaign.

Discursive denunciations of arbitrary rule outside Peru, although crucial, were not the only trump card in the hands of APRA exiles to attract attention to their cause. In addition to fiery attacks hurled in print form, which constituted the lion's share of the political repertoire that APRA developed in the early 1930s, militants in exile probed other types of strategies as well. It should be clear by now that attracting attention was of paramount importance. Only by appealing to the public gaze would they be able interest Latin American actors in the grim stories that they told about Peru and thus, they thought, to defend their political cause. One way to do so, in addition to penning diatribes or engaging in timely political reflections, was to perturb the peace of targeted public events. When in October 1935 the Chilean Departamento de Extensión Cultural del Ministerio del Trabajo organized a soiree dedicated to Peruvian art, the community of APRA exiles in Chile jumped at the chance to try and reach the headlines. This event, held in the Salón de Honor of the University of Chile, was part of a state sponsored initiative that aimed for an increased circulation in Chile "del conocimiento de los países hispanoamericanos."⁹⁴ Of course, it stood to reason to invite, in addition to Chilean panelists, the ambassador of Peru in Chile, Pedro Irigoyen, to partake in this inter-cultural initiative. It also made sense to publicize in Chilean newspapers the confirmed participation of such an imminent actor.⁹⁵

This piece of information did not fall on deaf ears. A group of "estudiantes apristas, deportados, que residen en esta ciudad," Irigoyen reported to the Department of Foreign Relations in Peru two days after the event took place, "me hicieron objeto de una manifestación hostil."⁹⁶ According to the Chilean press, as Irigoyen entered the Salón de Honor, a handful of APRA exiles

⁹⁴ "La velada de hoy en honor del Perú," *El Mercurio*, 23 de octubre 1935, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1935.

⁹⁵ "La velada de hoy en honor del Perú," *El Mercurio*, 23 de octubre 1935, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1935.

⁹⁶ Report of Pedro Irigoyen to Señor Ministro de Estado en el Despacho de Relaciones Exteriores, "Manifestaciones hostiles," Santiago de Chile, October 25, 1935, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1935.

stormed the conference room, protesting the presence of the diplomat by way of shouts and hisses.⁹⁷ However hard Irigoyen tried to placate his tormenters, entreating them to curb their “pasiones partidaristas,” while altogether insisting on the national nature of the ceremony, one open to all Peruvians, pleaded Irigoyen, “sin distinción de credos, ni de doctrinas políticas,” his efforts were to no avail. The racket continued unabated. If anything, in fact, it increased in passion and intensified before the diplomat’s defense. Ultimately, Irigoyen had no choice but to cave in to the general commotion. He retreated, disempowered, with an undelivered speech under the arm, a scathed pride, and, to make things worse, anti-Benavides insults still reverberating in the background, slowly stalking their way into diplomatic reports and Chilean newspapers.⁹⁸

This episode was not the only one involving the University of Chile as battleground. Nor was it the last where barging into conference rooms and creating disturbances seemed a strategy worth trying. When “La Liga de los Derechos del Hombre” and “la Federación de Estudiantes” of the University of Chile put a conference together in the spring of 1937, the confirmed participation of APRA leader Carlos A. Izaguirre and APRA ally José A. Encinas boded nothing good for Peruvian authorities.⁹⁹ The primary goal of the conference was to pay tribute to American political exiles who resided in Santiago de Chile. Hence the participation of Peruvian exiles to the event. Sure enough, during the conference, both of them publicly expressed their resentment against the Peruvian government and, according to then Peruvian ambassador Carlos Concha, transformed “la

⁹⁷ Newspaper clipping, “Grupo de estudiantes peruanos malogro velada ayer en la Universidad. Hizo objeto de manifestaciones hostiles al Embajador Yrigoyen,” 24 de octubre 1935, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1935.

⁹⁸ Report of Pedro Irigoyen to Señor Ministro de Estado en el Despacho de Relaciones Exteriores, “Manifestaciones hostiles,” Santiago de Chile, October 25, 1935, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1935.

⁹⁹ “Actuación aprista en la Universidad de Chile,” Santiago, 2 de junio de 1937, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1937.

tribuna de la Universidad en órgano de difamación y de calumnia contra el régimen del General Benavides.”¹⁰⁰

Two months earlier, the CAP of Santiago had struck again, though this time, interestingly, it had directed its public outrage against a Spanish intellectual renowned for his liberal and leftist positions, and perhaps most notably for his political involvement in the establishment of the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1936). Gregorio Maraño, the subject in question, had landed in Chile on March 21 in order to give a series of conferences in the capital.¹⁰¹ Maraño’s recent decision to end his association with the Popular Front in Spain appears to have sparked things off with Apristas. The ongoing Spanish Civil War reverberated worldwide. The fight led by republican troops against the right-wing Nationalists generated as much hope and enthusiasm in leftist groups around the world as it did mistakes and abuses on the Spanish battlefields. Disillusioned with communist involvement, and repelled by the unruly behavior of Popular Front leaders, Maraño veered course and professed hopes of victory for General Franco.¹⁰²

The first verbal offense came from a certain Chávez, an Aprista exile reportedly sentenced to death for his past participation to the Trujillo revolution. Chávez “insultó en forma grosera al referido Maraño,” ambassador Concha stated in his customary report on 24 March 1937, “en momentos en que éste salía de un departamento del Hotel Crillón.”¹⁰³ More insults, no less visible, and certainly no less virulent in tone, ensued shortly thereafter. Halfway through a conference the following Monday, a group of protesters in the assistance hurled disparaging remarks at Maraño,

¹⁰⁰ “Actuación aprista en la Universidad de Chile,” Santiago, 2 de junio de 1937, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1937.

¹⁰¹ Carlos Concha, “Manifestación aprista contra el Dr. Maraño,” Santiago, 24 de marzo de 1937, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1937.

¹⁰² “Dr. Maranon’s Painful Confession,” *Catholic Herald*, March 5, 1937, p. 12. Consulted on February 27, 2013. URL: <http://archive.catholicherald.co.uk/article/5th-march-1937/12/dr-maranon-s-painful-confession>

¹⁰³ Carlos Concha, “Manifestación aprista contra el Dr. Maraño,” Santiago, 24 de marzo de 1937, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1937.

chanting slogans such as “Abajo los traidores!” or “Viva la Republica socialista de España!”¹⁰⁴ From archival sources, it is impossible to identify the nature of those who professed these cries. But APRA exiles were present to cause disorder, thereby suggesting, if not indisputable liability, at the very least solidarity of action.

This repertoire of strategies involving direct actions matched a common pattern. Aprista exiles used international platforms, such as foreign press media and public events abroad, to denounce the political situation in Peru before an international audience. This usually meant the combination of two narrative structures. One underlying narrative shamed the Peruvian government for exacting state persecution on Apristas as well as for depriving all Peruvian citizens of their most basic constitutional rights. The second promoted PAP as the paragon of democracy in Peru. This Peruvian political party enjoyed popular support across the country, assured this plotline, and only used peaceful democratic channels to lead its fight. In their description of symbolic politics, Keck and Sikkink argue “activists frame issues by identifying and providing convincing explanations for powerful symbolic events, which in turn become catalysts for the growth of networks.”¹⁰⁵ Using both narrative structures (shameful government persecution and APRA’s democratic values), Apristas portrayed their movement as a symbol of democracy in Latin America. If such dire persecution was directed against them, state persecution could then happen against any social-democrat in the continent as well. Progressive groups had to lend assistance to this group to forestall the advance of dictatorships in the region.

Peruvian authorities did not remain indifferent to these attacks. Indeed, representatives of the Peruvian state felt the need to counter and respond to these charges before international audiences. Obviously it wasn’t enough to restore constitutional guarantees, since the PAP remained

¹⁰⁴ Carlos Concha, “Manifestación aprista contra el Dr. Marañón,” Santiago, 24 de marzo de 1937, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1937.

¹⁰⁵ Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders...*, p. 22.

outlawed until 1945. Nonetheless, in the face of a transnational campaign of moral shaming, Peruvian authorities felt enough pressure to address the situation. They did so via two strategies. First, through the work of Peruvian diplomats abroad, they monitored the APRA propaganda not only in Peru but abroad as well.¹⁰⁶ They tried to thwart the production of this propaganda. They also shipped anti-aprista propaganda outside Peru in order to question the legitimacy of the movement. Other times they even tried to summon the closure of foreign journals that served the cause of APRA, like was the case of the Argentinean journal *Claridad*.¹⁰⁷ Second, they put official emissaries in charge of redressing the image of Peru abroad. By all means it wanted to downplay stories of repeated human rights violations.

One example of this strategy was the Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Carlos Concha's, address to the foreign press on 29 June 1935. In the speech that Concha gave to representatives of the foreign press on 29 June 1935, persecution in Peru looked more like a measure of last resort than a deliberate instrument of terror; a measure certainly regrettable, but nevertheless necessary to counter a group poised to "subvertir el orden publico" and "perturbar la paz social" in Peru.¹⁰⁸ To be sure, this interpretation belies both the ideological template that underpinned the calculated use

¹⁰⁶ Diplomatic agents monitored the Chilean press in search of subversive press. They routinely forwarded back home those that gave bad press to the Benavides government. Perhaps most telling is the control that the Peruvian government was ready to exert on the circulation of these publications on its soil. The Chilean magazine *Hoy* was for instance banned from Peru as of July 1936. This was not surprising since *Hoy* had rapidly grown infamous among Peruvian diplomats in Chile for its recurrent stances in favor of APRA. The left leaning content of this journal as well as its pro democracy positions dovetailed with the evolution of the APRA program. According to Peruvian diplomatic reports, the editorial staff of this magazine was literally packed with "destacados miembros del partido aprista." Peruvian ambassador in Chile, "Publicación sobre el Perú en la Revista 'Hoy'," Santiago, 4 de marzo de 1936; Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Archivo Central, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1936. Consult for example the reports that the Peruvian ambassador in Chile sent to the Ministry of Foreign Relations in the course of 1936: "Publicación en la Revista 'Hoy'," Santiago de Chile, 7 de enero de 1936; "Publicación sobre el Perú en la Revista 'Hoy'," Santiago, 4 de marzo de 1936; "Editorial de 'Hoy'," Santiago, Julio 31 de 1936; "Recorte de la revista 'Hoy' – Luis Alberto Sánchez," Santiago, Octubre 3 de 1936. Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1936.

¹⁰⁷ [Peruvian ambassador to Chile,] "No. 45, Folletos sobre el 'Apra'," Santiago de Chile, abril 18 de 1932, Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Perú, Oficios de Chile, 5-4-A, 1932. Sessa, "Aprismo y apristas en Argentina...", p. 98, 112-113.

¹⁰⁸ "Hizo declaraciones en Buenos Aires el Canciller peruano Dr. Carlos Concha," *El Comercio*, 29 de junio 1935, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

of state violence and the notion that deliberate political choices led to the adoption of repressive measures in Peru. A false premise framed Concha's reasoning: either constitutional guarantee with national mayhem or exceptions to the rule of law with the promise of social peace. As Haya de la Torre put it a few years later, however, the long-running debate in which order and law jostled for preeminence had no place in functioning democracies: a democratic government simply knew how to maintain social order within the confines of the law.¹⁰⁹

US ambassador Fred Morris Dearing, though, concurred with Carlos Concha. Though he did not accuse PAP of fomenting revolutionary uprisings in Peru, nor did he explicitly vindicate the government's repressive measures, he did censure APRA for shaming the Benavides government on international tribunals. In the Peruvian spring of 1935, similarly to the Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dearing anticipated nothing good for a political party whose strategies of survival involved doing, he wrote, "everything possible from refuges abroad to discredit Peru and the present administration."¹¹⁰ His critique carried the insinuation that going national was the right way to go. In effect, Dearing maintained that, unless its enemies decided to cobble together a coalition of conservative factions, the PAP would most certainly win the presidential election scheduled to take place the following year.¹¹¹ Of course, the accuracy of such a hunch was contingent on the PAP achieving legal status. It also depended on the implicit faith that the ability to exercise political rights and to participate in free and open elections would necessarily accompany the return of civil liberties in Peru, a faith which, clearly, APRA leaders were nowhere near sharing.

¹⁰⁹ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, "El Jefe del partido responde al General Benavides," Lima, enero de 1939, p. 7, Folder 1, Box 4697, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

¹¹⁰ Report of Fred Morris Dearing to Secretary of State, Lima, September 29, 1935, p. 4, Folder 2, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

¹¹¹ *Idem.*

The VIII Inter-American Conference

In 1936, talks of the upcoming presidential election yielded the promise of an auspicious game change in Peru. In anticipation APRA's strategies of action diversified and levels of aprista activism intensified yet, in the end, its international strategy backfired. The PAP was not allowed to participate in the Peruvian elections due to charges of being an international organization. Article 53 of the Constitution stated to that effect, "the State does not recognize the legal existence of political parties of international organization, and those who belong thereto cannot exercise any political function."¹¹² APRA's communities of exile stationed abroad reacted strongly to this. The CAP of Buenos Aires, for example, released a communiqué the day following this interdiction. This rejection, stated the CAP of Buenos Aires, "signifies the frank uncovering declaration of the tyrannical régime existing in Peru at present."¹¹³ It also argued that this was without precedent "in the history of Peru, since three candidatures more or less connected with officialism have been accepted, while the only party of the opposition, which is also representative of the majority in that country has been excluded."¹¹⁴ For the past three years, APRA had amply surveyed the gruesome rule of Benavides on international tribunes, but to no avail: in 1936, the PAP still lingered in illegality at home and scores of APRA exiles continued to live abroad. The battle for truth regarding the political situation in Peru needed new players to gather force.

APRA leaders engaged in self-reflection, pondering what exactly had gone wrong on the eve of the 1936 elections. They tried to understand why Benavides continued to violate constitutional laws with total impunity, desperate to avoid tactics that had bore barren fruit so far. This did not

¹¹² Art. 53, Peruvian Constitution, cited in Report from Alexander W. Weddell to Secretary of State in Washington D.C., Buenos Aires, September 18, 1936, Folder 3, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

¹¹³ *Idem.*

¹¹⁴ As cited in report from Alexander W. Weddell to Secretary of State in Washington D.C., Buenos Aires, September 18, 1936, Folder 3, Box 5698, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

entail spurning the international dimensions of its fights for civil liberties. Nor did it mean stopping the dissemination of anti-Benavides propaganda altogether. But evidently the PAP had to streamline its political repertoire of actions abroad and seriously revise the way in which it brought its appeal before international audiences. International public opinion alone, after all, did perhaps lack the proper incentives to action.

Conveniently, international politics at the time encouraged the PAP to foray deeper into the forms of transnational political activism it had recently developed.¹¹⁵ The renewed denial of democracy in Peru in the fall of 1936 took place against a backdrop of Inter-American developments anchored ever more firmly in hemispheric principles of peace and democracy. In March 1933, the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt to US presidency heralded drastic changes in US-Latin American relations. The inauguration of his Good Neighbor Policy on 12 April 1933 signaled the coming of a new era for Pan Americanism. The Good Neighbor policy confirmed that a “common ideal of mutual helpfulness, sympathetic understanding and spiritual solidarity” traversed the Americas and enshrined ideals of mutual respect and “neighborly cooperation” into the cornerstones of a democratic Western Hemisphere.¹¹⁶ All the while, the rise and consolidation of European fascisms and, in later years, the mounting threat of a conflict with the Axis powers further bolstered the legitimacy of the Good Neighbor Policy and called for its expansion to the whole continent.¹¹⁷ The Spanish Civil War of 1936-1937 sounded the final warning for the preserve of democratic principles in the Western Hemisphere. The havoc it brought about in Europe was a foil for precisely what designers of Inter-Americanism wished to avoid.

¹¹⁵ Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism...*, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Address on the Occasion of the Celebration of Pan-American Day,” Washington, April 12, 1933, Collection “Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt,” *The American Presidency Project*. URL: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=14615>. Consulted on February 28, 2013.

¹¹⁷ Donald Marquand Dozer, *Are We Good Neighbor? Three Decades of Inter-American Relations 1930-1960*, Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961, pp. 38, 42-44.

These changes on the international scene affected the way in which APRA ideologues thought of Indo-America. The new world order contributed to moving problems of democracy to the forefront of the Indo-American project, leaving many to wonder what to do with their belligerent positions against the United States. APRA ideologues demanded a revision of the maximum program in a way that would adapt its anti-imperialist claims before the rising fascist threats worldwide. “Si el control yanqui es inconveniente y lesivo para la independencia de una republica latino-americana,” reasoned for example one APRA ideologue in December 1938, “la implantación de intereses imperialistas japoneses o alemanes en el canal tendrán que ser peor.”¹¹⁸ The article that Haya de la Torre wrote in August 1938, “El Buen Vecino. ¿Garantía definitiva?,” which appeared in Chilean, Mexican, and US publications, tackles the same conundrum regarding the future of Indo-America.¹¹⁹ In it, Haya ponders the position that Indo-Americans should adopt vis-à-vis the United States now that the Americas faced a threat more scary yet, European fascism. His conclusions were prudent. He favored a rapprochement with the United States but remained very aware of the possible caveats of cooperation between Indo-America and North America.¹²⁰

What caused particular concern was the temporary nature of the US foreign policy. Haya believed in the good faith of Roosevelt’s Good Neighbor Policy, but he was also aware that it represented the policy of only one, temporary US administration. “Por lo que la experiencia histórica nos demuestra,” he wrote, “creo que la política de 'Buena Vecindad' del Presidente Roosevelt hacia los pueblos indoamericanos es una garantía de seguridad, pero no una garantía estable. Que se trata solo de una política que puede variar con el cambio de persona o de partido en el Ejecutivo de los

¹¹⁸ [Peruvian Aprista], Santiago de Chile, December 8, 1938, Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera, ENAH, México, “APRA,” 1930-1939.

¹¹⁹ To my knowledge, it appeared in August 1938 in Chile, Mexico, and the United States in the following publications: *Aurora de Chile*, Santiago, Chile, *Trinchera Aprista*, México D.F., Mexico, and *La Nueva Democracia*, New York City, United States.

¹²⁰ Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, “El “Buen Vecino” ¿Garantía Definitiva?,” *Aurora de Chile*, Santiago, Chile, August 17, 1938, National Archives Microfilm Publication, Microfilm Publication M1276, Records of the Department of State Relating to Political Relations of the United States with Other American States (The Monroe Doctrine), 1910-1949, Decimal File 710.11, Roll 16, 710.11/2221-2400.

Estados Unidos.”¹²¹ According to Haya, it was evident that European fascists were planning to conquer the Indo-American people shortly. This situation commanded Latin Americans to remain on their guards and seek out political alliances with the rest of the Americas. But, warned Haya, an alliance against the “Internacional Negra” should never devolve into “nuestra sumisa e irrestringida unión con el ‘buen vecino’ poderoso.”¹²² Haya de la Torre proposed instead to build a coalition of democratic forces between the people of the Americas. He called this front the Democratic Front North-Indo-American (*Frente Democrático Norte-Indoamericano*), hoping to kill two birds with one stone: compete with the Pan American Union, on one side, and resist the rise of international fascism, on the other. He insisted all the while on the popular nature of this front:

“Un Frente Norte-Indoamericano contra la Internacional Negra debe ser un Frente de Pueblos. Que sea la Democracia su bandera, pero una Democracia no complaciente con los tiranos en ninguno de los países que el frente anti fascista comprenda. [...] De allí que el Frente Norte-Indoamericano contra los planes de conquista del Fascismo Internacional Nipón-Europeo debe ser popular. Debe arraigar[se] en las grandes masas nacionales de ambas Américas, debe estar basado en la confianza y en la unidad de acción internacional.”¹²³

Scholars usually claim that Haya de la Torre’s pragmatism, and his thirst for power in particular, justified his rapprochement with the United States starting early in the 1930s. However, this text suggests that Haya was in fact very wary of the USA and of its center of power in Washington. Rather, he believed in the people of the Americas and in the democratic forces that resided in grassroots unity. The political practice of his past fifteen years of militancy determined, in many ways, his intellectual production. This, in effect, explains his developing understanding of democracy through continental cooperation, since he never experienced democracy at a national level. Democracy, for Haya de la Torre, came to be attached to the notion of transnational unity.

¹²¹ Haya de la Torre, “El ‘Buen Vecino...’”, p. 6.

¹²² *Idem*, p. 6.

¹²³ *Idem*, p. 6.

Magda Portal's years of militancy from the margins of persecution similarly affected her outlook on Indo-America in the late 1930s. She was also inclined to make concessions, and think of alliances, with the United States, as evidenced in her essay "La union imposible," which she wrote while in exile in Buenos Aires (Argentina) in August 1939. This essay sheds light on what Portal deemed to be profoundly Indo-American as of the late 1930s. Nazism, fascism, and communism, she argues, opposed the democratic principles that underpinned the independence of the Americas and the project of Bolivar. Interestingly, Portal here comes back to the experience of the nineteenth century independence and the figure of Bolivar to support and justify the democratic ideals that now underpinned the Indo-American project. She defined anti-imperialism in light of the fundamental, Indo-American principles of democratic liberties and political sovereignty.¹²⁴ To keep war against European powers at bay and protect Indo-America, Portal was willing to envisage an alliance with the United States. She remained wary of the northern power, but conceded to seeing useful complementarities between South and North America.¹²⁵

The lack of basic political rights in Peru also shaped these ideological revisions of Indo-America. From Buenos Aires, Portal reflected in August 1939 upon the importance of individual freedom, stressing the importance of freedom of press for the formation of citizen consciousness. She argues that, despite democratic appellations, freedom of expression did not exist in the Americas: "No existe en nuestra América una absoluta libertad de expresión. Pese al sentimiento

¹²⁴ Magda Portal, "La unión imposible," Buenos Aires, Agosto 2, 1939, p. 1, Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 3, Folder 36.

¹²⁵ Magda Portal, "Identidad y Diferenciación," Santiago de Chile, January 1940, Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 3, Folder 37. Although Portal first insists on continental differences, her final argument promotes the complementary of both Americas. On the one hand, Portal takes great pain in describing how two Americas constitute the continent. She points to spiritual and emotional incompatibility between North America and South America. Too focused on material accumulation, Portal argues, North Americans have been unable to create an emotional expression that express their identity. For example, she criticizes US and Afro-American music for its lack of authenticity. On the other hand, however, Portal concludes her essay with a warning. Only by establishing harmony and balance between Indo-America, bearer of spiritual progress, and North America, bearer of material progress, will humanity secure a peaceful future.

democrático que alienta en todos nuestros pueblos, significando su nódulo vital, la libertad democrática esta mediatizada y en muchos de nuestros países, casi desconocida. I por consiguiente la liberta [sic] de prensa no existe.”¹²⁶ The failures of the past three years explained part of her reasoning.

In the aftermaths of the electoral defeat of October 1936, the PAP began to feel that backroom negotiations with political authorities and individual networking were perhaps no longer the right way to go. The thank-you letter that Haya de la Torre sent to Romain Rolland on 23 April 1937 expressed more dissatisfaction than it did gratitude regarding Rolland’s latest intervention before Peruvian authorities.¹²⁷ Rolland’s gesture was certainly appreciated, the letter politely suggested, but the PAP now appeared to have reservations regarding how much sway individual initiatives could ultimately hold over Peruvian authorities. Letters from renowned intellectuals were simply not enough anymore. Rather, what the party Leadership wanted this time around was for Rolland’s mediation to attract the attention of the League of Nations (LN) onto the PAP.

The letter that Haya de la Torre sent to Rolland reveals a newfound faith in the benefits that international organizations could yield for the cause of the APRA party. In it, Haya de la Torre stressed how much Peruvian Apristas were hoping that, compelled by international pressure, Benavides would agree to let a “comisión imparcial auspiciada por la SDN” come and visit Peru.¹²⁸ This letter further reveals that the PAP had already designed a detailed mandate to give to the LN emissaries, were they to come to Peru. This mandate informed Rolland that international observers

¹²⁶ Magda Portal, “Libertad en Expresión. Para “LA VOZ DEL INTERIOR,” Buenos Aires, julio 23, 1939, p. 1, Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box 3, Folder 36.

¹²⁷ Haya de la Torre mentioned a telegram that Romain Rolland had sent to Benavides in his defense. “He leído al telegrama que ha enviado Ud. al General Benavides, pidiéndole que respete mi vida,” Haya de la Torre told Rolland. It is unclear whether this telegram refers to the one Rolland had forwarded to Peruvian authorities back in 1932, or whether this telegram bore witness to a more recent initiative. Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Romain Rolland, Incahuasi, Peru, April 23, 1937, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Box 3, Folder 3.10, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹²⁸ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Romain Rolland, Incahuasi, Peru, April 23, 1937, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Box 3, Folder 3.10, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

should direct their attention to the conditions in which political prisoners were being held in Peruvian jails as well as investigate the domestic situation in Peru more broadly. Separating truth from lies in what the Benavides administration habitually showcased on international tribunals was the mantle that the PAP now passed along to third party organizations like the LN. “Quisiéramos que alguna vez se deje oír la voz de la SDN a favor de los pueblos oprimidos de América Latina. [...]” Haya de la Torre pleaded on behalf of the Peruvian people. “Quisiéramos que siempre la voz de los hombres libres del viejo Mundo, dejen oír una palabra mas enérgica y más conminatoria [sic] contra los horrores que aquí cometen los grotescos imitadores del fascismo europeo.”¹²⁹ Touting domestic affairs in Peru, and state repression against the PAP in particular, as a case of continental responsibility had by then fully entered the organization’s repertoire of political action. Moreover, the mounting hazards of fascist imperialism in Europe now capacitated the PAP with the prospects of worldwide moral concern: “¿Podremos esperar de Ud.,” Haya de la Torre asked Rolland by way of conclusion, “y de todos los hombres libres de Francia y Europa, la ayuda moral que necesitamos para defender al pueblo peruano?”¹³⁰

Nowhere were these developments more felt than in the two Pan-American conferences that took place in Buenos Aires and Lima in 1936 and 1938 respectively. There, discussions signaled hemispheric security efforts and confirmed unity of action in the face of European fascism.¹³¹ The holding of the VIII Inter-American Conference in Lima by the end of 1938 constituted a golden opportunity for an APRA leadership in search of fresh ways to attract international attention to its

¹²⁹ Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Romain Rolland, Incahuasi, Peru, April 23, 1937, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Box 3, Folder 3.10, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹³⁰ The tone of Haya de la Torre was peremptory: “Ya en 1927 su adhesión a la causa del pueblo oprimido de Nicaragua conmovió a Norte y Sud-América. Hoy que el pueblo peruano sufre el terror mas desenfrenado, le ruego que exija de los representantes de la cultura europea una defensa mas activa y mas eficaz. Estoy seguro que la demanda de Ud. detendrá, por lo menos en algo, los excesos de ferocidad que aquí soportamos.” Letter of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre to Romain Rolland, Incahuasi, Peru, April 23, 1937, The Anna Melissa Graves Collection, Box 3, Folder 3.10, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

¹³¹ Dozer, *Are We Good Neighbor?* Martin Sicker, *The Geopolitics of Security in the Americas: Hemispheric Denial from Monroe to Clinton*, Westport and London: Praeger, 2002.

cause. APRA leaders were poised to make the most of it, hoping that, with better luck this time around, they would be heard with results actually following through. APRA leaders devoted time and energy months in advance to muster forces and prepare a sound plan of attack, coordinating lines of combat between the National Executive Committee of the party and other Committees in exile abroad, those of Chile and Mexico in particular. Haya de la Torre's insistence on the international order had convinced many APRA leaders, both at home and abroad, that the Lima Conference represented the best assets in a bid to revive the transnational campaign they had been spearheading for the past four years.

By the spring of 1938, the CEN in Peru confirmed being ready to stage its offensive come December.¹³² Haya de la Torre felt confident with the plan of attack prepared in view of the forthcoming Lima Conference. He hoped that a combination of strident propaganda circulating through Peru and external pressure from Latin American delegates would induce Peruvian authorities to “free a large number of political prisoners at the time of the Pan American Conference.”¹³³ This strategy included two intermingling phases: before and during the conference. The first set of propaganda happened from exile and before the conference took place in Lima.¹³⁴ Starting in the summer of that year, APRA exiles in Chile and Mexico worked to convince Inter-American foreign emissaries to take up the case of the PAP as a symbol of what had gone wrong with democratic governments in the Americas. Their strategy aimed to influence public opinion

¹³² Correspondence from CAP de Santiago to Secretario General del CAP de México, Santiago, 12 de octubre de 1938, Fondo Luis Eduardo Enriquez Cabrera, ENAH, México.

¹³³ W.P.C. “Memorandum for Mr. Dreyfus,” Lima, September 7, 1938, in Report of Louis G. Dreyfus to Secretary of State, “Haya de la Torre, Aprista leader,” Lima, September 8, 1938, Folder 1, Box 4697, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

¹³⁴ All these requests show that APRA knew how to play with the desire of Roosevelt to inscribe himself as the champion of democracy in the Western hemisphere and as a friend to Latin America. Furthermore, it is important that this mobilization happened on the eve of the Pan-American Conference in Lima. It wagers, once again, on international public opinion, though this time through different means.

abroad through the sway of social movements and prepare those in Peru by way of propaganda.¹³⁵ Their activism aimed to prepare the ground in favor of APRA, including mobilizing public opinion and working to sway foreign delegates to Lima or exert direct pressure on Roosevelt to retrieve civil liberty in Peru.¹³⁶ The recrudescence of aprista activities on the eve of the Lima Conference attracted comments from diplomatic agents. One US report summarized: “Minister for Foreign Affairs informs of an increasing amount of Aprista propaganda reaching Peru by mail from Mexico and United States. Aprista representatives gathering at Labor Conference in Mexico City and will do anything to annoy Peruvian Government during Inter-American Conference in Lima.”¹³⁷

The other set of propaganda happened during the conference. The PAP deployed every effort to court the flock of journalists who had just converged in the Peruvian Capital. Haya de la Torre met with foreign correspondents and official delegates from Chile, Mexico, Cuba and the United States, within the precincts of Incahuasi, the name given to the hiding place of Haya de la Torre in Peru.¹³⁸ Yet the conference did not simply inspire action from political elites, but also those in prison. However much risk and logistic must have entailed shuttling foreign actors between the

¹³⁵ Regarding Aprista propaganda in circulation around Peru on the eve of the Lima Conference. These political flyers argued that the Indo-American nations had expressed to president Roosevelt their indignation at the tyrannical rule of Benavides and begged Roosevelt to exert pressure on Benavides so as to restore democracy in Peru. Reporting on the growing continental solidarity that ostensibly organized in favor of APRA, one such flyer argued that, “intimidated by continental condemnation,” and also very “conscious of the pressure being brought to bear,” Peruvian authorities were now searching ways to dodge the demands “of the civilized world.” Also, consult the article that the PAP published in the September issued of its clandestine pamphlet *Cuaderno Aprista*. It shows how Apristas were appropriating to their own cause the symbol of democracy that president Roosevelt represented for the continent. Primary sources: Report of Louis G. Dreyfus to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 635, Lima, September 7, 1938, Folder 1, Box 4697, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives; [Aprista political flyer, 1938,] as cited in report of Louis G. Dreyfus to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 635, Lima, September 7, 1938, Folder 1, Box 4697, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

¹³⁶ Correspondence from CAP de Santiago to Secretario General del CAP de México, Santiago, 21 de octubre de 1938, Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera, ENAH, México; Correspondence from CAP de Santiago to Secretario General del CAP de México, Santiago, 9 de noviembre de 1938, Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera, ENAH, México; Correspondence from CAP de Santiago to c. Alfredo Saco Miro Quesada, Secretario General del CAP de México, Santiago, 30 de noviembre de 1938, Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera, ENAH, México.

¹³⁷ Louis G. Dreyfus to Secretary of State, “A.P.R.A. activities,” Lima, September 7, 1938, Folder 1, Box 4697, RG 59, Department of State Decimal File, 1930-1939, US National Archives.

¹³⁸ Prefectura del Departamento de Lima, Sección Orden Político, [Testimonio de Dn. Jorge Eliseo Idiaquez Rios], Lima, 22 Setiembre 1939, p. 2, Archivo General de la Nación, Perú, Ministerio de Interior, Dirección de gobierno, Prefectura de Lima, Presos Políticos y Sociales, Legajo 3.9.5.1.15.1.14.7 (1932-1942).

bustle of the Conference and the party's secret retreat, APRA leaders in hiding in Peru had the "luxury," for lack of a better word, to lure the former into approaching them, whereas those confined to prison cells had to move heaven and earth to try and establish contact with this contingent of serendipitous visitors, which they did.

Their tactics included conducting a hunger strike for the duration of the Inter-American meeting. They also clandestinely forwarded to their loved ones detailed descriptions of the detention conditions they were subjected to, hoping to have international observers corroborate the horror stories listed in their accounts.¹³⁹ "Hay quienes ponen en duda nuestras afirmaciones!" the wife of an Aprista prisoner told Mexican delegate Esperanza Balmaceda de Josefe on 10 December 1938.¹⁴⁰ "Vaya los Delegados a las prisiones y demanden la presencia de los presos," she wrote to Balmaceda de Josefe [tell who she was]. "Sus revelaciones fieles les demostrarán pasajes dantescos del 'Infierno Verde'."¹⁴¹ Because APRA leaders had denounced time and time again, with so little outcome in the end, the types of abuse that party followers were enduring back home, appealing to the neutral outlook of third parties evolved into the fulcrum of APRA's set of revamped strategies.

Foreign delegates to the Lima Conference bore two qualities that enhanced the particular appeal APRA viewed in them. They embodied political capital. As mentioned earlier, the holding of the Buenos Aires Conference in 1936 sanctioned the growth of an Inter-American system oriented toward ideals of democracy deeply rooted in concepts of continental security. As such, members of the delegations who traveled to Lima in 1938 to further the development of this regional order embodied, in theory, the "noblest of democratic ideals" for those truly committed to advancing the

¹³⁹ [Unknown author], Letter to Sra. Esperanza Balmaceda de Josefe, Lima, December 10, 1938, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Centro de documentación de ciencias sociales (CEDOC), Colección especial Arturo Sabroso Montoya, Cartas personales, AI, 7 al 11.

¹⁴⁰ *Idem.*

¹⁴¹ *Idem.*

development of a democratic Western Hemisphere.¹⁴² The delegates to the Lima Conference's symbolic power for the Americas as a whole, according to the most optimistic within APRA, added leverage to the type of work and interventions that these delegates would engage in upon returning home. Here, power rose from the continental to the national. A symbol rooted in abstract continental ideals created space on the national scene for actions and policies to materialize.

Conversely, third parties whose recent appointment authenticated their legitimacy before the whole Western Hemisphere (in this particular case as foreign delegates to the VIII Inter-American Conference) presented prospects indeed more likely to gain political leverage before the world. Here, power rose from the national to the continental. The legitimacy of these delegates, in effect, while established at a continental level, originally stemmed from the one instance with still the monopoly of genuine executive power in the region, that is, the nation-state.

Indo-America

Given the aforementioned circumstances of state repression, it was crucial for Apristas to maintain a serious dialogue between Peru and the rest of the continental scene. If Apristas were going to appeal to the continental public opinion in an attempt to retrieve basic political rights, then Indo-America had to remain alive as a project able to sustain anti-imperialist aspirations for the continent at large. Aprista publications took pains to highlight the ideology that their organization offered to the rest of the Americas as well. Indo-America was the reality of all, and APRA proposed to not only unveil this reality, but also to theorize it for them. They portrayed their organization as working for the rest of the continent.¹⁴³

¹⁴² [Unknown author], Letter to Sra. Esperanza Balmaceda de Josefe, Lima, December 10, 1938, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Centro de documentación de ciencias sociales (CEDOC), Colección especial Arturo Sabroso Montoya, Cartas personales, AI, 7 al 11.

¹⁴³ This strategy worked partly because the elasticity of the earlier 1920s regarding proper references to American identities had not completely receded by the mid-1930s. To be sure, the notion of a shared hemispheric

This was made explicit in fundamental texts of APRA published in Chile. The Editorial Ercilla released in 1935 *¿A dónde va Indoamérica?*, a collection of essays on the meaning and the future of the Americas that Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre authored between the late 1928 and 1931. This publication claims to be the first official book of APRA destined for an Indo-American audience. A number of articles were published before 1935 in foreign journals, such as *Repertorio Americano* in Costa Rica or *Claridad* in Argentina, in which APRA ideologues addressed the question of the Americas, but, according to the editors, none had ever sought to provide such a thorough account of the Indo-American reality, let alone bring it before a non-Peruvian audience. An abstract introduced the publication as follows: “**¿A dónde va Indoamérica?** reúne principales meditaciones y observaciones sobre el problema total de nuestro continente. Páginas escritas desde el destierro, o en la brega misma, se resienten de sus propias cualidades. [...] Haya de la Torre ha publicado varios libros, pero casi todos fueron dedicados solo al Perú. En las páginas siguientes, aparece el problema de Indoamérica, antes que el problema del Perú, que es una parte del primero.”¹⁴⁴ Another note from the editors further highlighted: “Y este libro, [...] constituye una introducción para mirar la realidad indoamericana con ojos propios, limpios de nieblas europeizantes y desprovistos de lentes intelectualoides.”¹⁴⁵

Trinchera Aprista displayed a similar discourse. This Aprista press in Mexico took pains to present itself before a Mexican audience, defining their reality as Indo-Americans. From the start,

consciousness had acquired clearer political features. By the mid-1930s, APRA used the word “Indo-America” to refer to its project of hemispheric unity much more consistently than in the 1920s and early 1930s. In effect, gone were the days when APRA leaders, depending on the audience they engaged with, indiscriminately used terms such as Latin America, Hispano America, the Americas, or Indo-America to allude to the ideal of a larger America. This does not mean, however, that the community of Latin American actors who continued to reflect upon continental identities believed that these terms ruled out the possibility of shared allegiance. In the mid-1930s, these actors continued to recognize the higher principal of a shared American identity. Political groups rhetorically crystallized their respective projects around particular expressions, but these groups recognized numerous expressions as the reflection of a shared, single cause: to unite as Americans in order to resist better against external threats, and advance demands more forcefully at the national levels.

¹⁴⁴ Editorial Ercilla, in Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, *¿A dónde va Indoamérica?*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Ercilla, 1935, p. 1.

¹⁴⁵ Carlos Manuel Cox, Carlos Mosto, Luis López Aliaga, Luis Alberto Sánchez, Samuel Vásquez, Santiago, 23 de mayo de 1935, in Haya de la Torre, *¿A dónde va Indoamérica?*, p. 10.

the CAP of Mexico portrayed their organization as the savior of all Indo-America. The group stressed the relevance of its journal not only as a mouthpiece of the Peruvian APRA party, but especially as a publication that aimed to provide to a Mexican and Indo-American audience the key to a better understanding of their place within the international reality. Indo-America, of course, was what they needed. The editorial of the first edition of *Trinchera Aprista*, in October 1937, stated in this sense: “Desde México, TRINCHERA APRISTA, saluda fraternalmente a los compañeros del Perú y de Indoamérica, e invoca el espíritu de solidaridad revolucionaria de todos los luchadores para hacer de sus columnas, las barricadas de donde se combata a las tiranías que esclavizan a nuestros pueblos, aliadas incondicionales del imperialismo y del fascismo.”¹⁴⁶ The eleven issues that *Trinchera Aprista* published in the course of the next two years celebrated the merits of APRA leader Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre as Indo-American ideologue. Like the journals *APRA* and *La Tribuna* in Peru, this publication turned him into a symbol of Indo-America.¹⁴⁷ This time, though, it was addressed to an international audience. *Trinchera Aprista* circulated both inside and outside Mexico: APRA exiles attempted to spread the magazines that came from outside in Peru. They also exchanged them in places where communities of exiles lived.¹⁴⁸

The recent advances of fascism in Europe strengthened this argument. *Trinchera Aprista* portrayed Indo-America as a bulwark against the rise of fascism in Europe. Indo-America was still couched in anti-imperialist jargon. The international conjuncture, however, had transformed the nature of the imperialist threat. Imperialism was now associated with fascism and totalitarian regimes in Europe. The editorial of its first issue called for “En los momentos que la Europa Fachista [sic] provoca a una guerra, que será devastadora [sic], Indoamérica quedara como preciosa reserva de cultura y civilización, si las izquierdas de todos los países de Indoamérica se unifican con programas

¹⁴⁶ “Editorial,” *Trinchera Aprista, Órgano del Comité Aprista de México*, México, D.F. Octubre de 1937, p. 1.

¹⁴⁷ The Benson Library at the University of Texas – Austin has the full collection of *Trinchera Aprista* in microforms.

¹⁴⁸ Melgar Bao, *Redes e imaginario del exilio en México...*, p. 92.

que miren y defiendan a las grandes mayorías explotadas, en frente únicos, contra el imperialismo, el fachismo y las tiranía nacionales.”¹⁴⁹ A panoply of additional articles sustained the same between 1937 and 1938.

The CAP of Mexico was particularly active in the production of political knowledge on Indo-America. Its mouthpiece *Trinchera Aprista* worked on and for Indo-America. Their prose suggested that they did not only work for the benefit of Peruvian exiles, but rather for all Indo-Americans as well. The editorial of the first issue read: “Desde México, TRINCHERA APRISTA, saluda fraternalmente a los compañeros del Perú y de Indoamérica, e invoca el espíritu de solidaridad revolucionaria de todos los luchadores para hacer de sus columnas, las barricadas de donde se combata a las tiranías que esclavizan a nuestros pueblos, aliadas incondicionales del imperialismo y del fascismo.”¹⁵⁰

The dialogue between the Peruvian scene and the international one was sometimes difficult to establish without encroaching on the territory of the other. *Trinchera Aprista*, for example, led its battle on many fronts. It claimed to be a spokesman for Indo-America in the region. It actively engaged in the transnational shaming campaign against the crimes of general Benavides in Peru. It also took a position against communism and its popular front tactic, which it deemed too timid, as well as against democratic and fascist forms of imperialism.¹⁵¹ Haya de la Torre wrote to the CAP of México (unclear when) with instructions regarding the heterogeneity of its contents: “Hemos dicho anteriormente que es necesario que Trinchera defina un poco mas su fisonomía: o es un periódico de combate para el Perú o lo es de carácter indoamericano. Ambos tipos nos interesan, pero interesa también que ambos tipos no se confundan.”¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ “Editorial,” *Trinchera Aprista, Órgano del Comité Aprista de México*, México, D.F. Octubre de 1937, p. 1.

¹⁵⁰ *Idem*, p. 1.

¹⁵¹ Melgar Bao, *Redes e imaginario del exilio en México...*, p. 91.

¹⁵² *Idem*, pp. 91-92.

Reflections on Indo-America were especially prolific from those in exile. A rich intellectual production saw the light in the course of the 1930s regarding the meaning and ambitions of APRA's vision of hemispheric unity. The space of exile was particularly propitious, if not mandatory, thought many, to originally reflect upon the changing realities of Indo-America. Gabriel del Mazo believed for example in 1940 that, because of his confinement to Peru, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre was losing touch with the contemporary continental scene. Del Mazo wanted to convince his old friend to leave Peru and resume his militant activities from exile, which the latter categorically refused to do. In a letter addressed to Magda Portal on 26 May 1940, del Mazo writes in this sense: "Víctor Raúl debe salir de ese atolladero. Esta recorta e inactual por aislamiento. Su concepción continentalista parece como relegada, luego de lo que hubiera sido impulsión de juventud. La falta de contacto le impide estimularse y estimar experiencias de otros pueblos."¹⁵³

Some ideologues focused almost exclusively on the cause of Indo-America.¹⁵⁴ Most, however, published essays outside Peru that dealt primarily with Peruvian matters. Significantly, even in these cases there was always a section included to prove the relevance of these studies to the rest of the Americas. The work on Indo-America that APRA leaders and ideologues were conducting outside Peru gave evidence of the commitment of APRA to working for the redemption not only of Peruvian people but also of all citizens of the Americas. Given the extent of the public opinion campaigns, it was important to maintain a serious dialogue between Peru and the rest of the continental scene. Even when publications aimed directly at Peru, therefore, because they were published outside Peru, it became a habit for APRA ideologues to justify their publication and ideas before a foreign, Indo-American audience.

¹⁵³ Letter of Gabriel del Mazo to Magda Portal, May 26, 1940, Magda Portal Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin, Box1, Folder 4.

¹⁵⁴ Magda Portal is clearly one of them.

In the preface that APRA leader Carlos Manuel Cox wrote for Pedro E. Muñiz's extensive analysis of the mining industry in Peru, Cox fleshed out what stood out as a learning experience for the countries of Indo-America. Cox alternated between the concept "nuestra América" and Indo-America, the political interpretation that APRA made of this cultural reality. "Las masas populares encauzan hoy sus reivindicaciones dentro de los marcos doctrinarios y tácticos del Aprismo, y no esta lejano el día en que, de todos los veinte pueblos de Indoamérica, surja potente y avasallador, imponiendo la unidad y la justicia social que inscribe en sus estandartes."¹⁵⁵ Cox explained to readers what *Aprismo* stood for. He introduced this political doctrine as a constructive and serious political movement of continental dimensions, fully capacitated to "conducir a los pueblos y naciones oprimidos de América, a la ansiada meta de progreso, bienestar, soberanía e independencia económica."¹⁵⁶ Though Muñiz's thesis focused primarily on the Peruvian national context, the idea was to convince readers from whichever nation of the Americas that APRA worked to their benefit, too. This explains why Cox boasted about the continental commitment of the author, introducing him to the readers as a paragon of continental commitment. Muñiz had devoted his life with absolute abnegation, assured Cox, "a la causa de la redención de las mayorías productoras de nuestra América."¹⁵⁷ Foreign imperialist penetration was a predicament common to every country of the Americas. A case study on Peru could thus yield precious lessons to all, Cox suggested. José B. Goyburu introduced the analysis of León de Vivero on fascism in similar fashion. "La penetración fascista en Indoamérica es un hecho que nadie puede negar," he states in the prologue to Vivero's

¹⁵⁵ Carlos Manuel Cox, "Prologo," in Pedro E. Muñiz, *Penetración Imperialista (Minería y Aprismo)*, Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ercilla, 1935, p. 5.

¹⁵⁶ *Idem*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁷ Cox, "Prologo...", p. 9.

book. “El estudio que el compañero doctor Fernando León de Vivero hace de la penetración italiana, alemana y japonesa en el Perú, así nos lo demuestra.”¹⁵⁸

Conclusion

This chapter showed that during the 1930s APRA leaders became increasingly effective in reaching out to international allies who supported democracy. They used Aprista exiles located abroad to advocate in favor of the return of civil liberties and democracy in Peru. This external support encouraged APRA to increasingly move away from the nation-state and its limited spheres of political participation and to explore new political realms and strategies to find effective power. The persecution against the PAP in Peru, combined with APRA’s innovative political strategies, contributed to forging a sense of continental solidarity based on the defense of individual political rights and democracy. APRA learned how to capitalize on this changing continental order. It adapted and, when necessary, reshuffled both tactics and discourse in hopes of being heard outside Peru and winning its case. As such, it was important for Apristas to hold on to the concept of Indo-America even as they tried to primarily engage Peruvian politics. Indo-America helped the PAP externalize its domestic demands for democracy by universalizing its cause before an international public opinion.

In Chapter Six, I also suggested that developing transnational communication had implications for the ideological production of APRA. Appealing to the notion of American solidarity prompted Apristas located in Peru to formulate a line of defense that extended beyond the purview of the nation-state. APRA leaders both inside and outside Peru needed Indo-America to translate

¹⁵⁸ José de Coyburu, in León de Vivero, *Avance del imperialismo fascista en el Perú*, México: Editorial Trinchera Aprista, 1938, p. 5. Goyburu’s presentation demonstrates the conundrum that Apristas had to resolve to match their ideological doctrines to current political events in both Europe and Indo-America. Goyburu, who clearly writes for the sake of Indo-American countries, suggests that to choose between fascism or democratic imperialism was not an option. This text points to disagreement in Aprista circles in the best way to address the question of fascism.

their political suffering into larger context. They developed visions of Indo-America as a tool to bring pledges for freedom outside Peru. By doing so, they engaged internationally and promoted participation of APRA in issues transnational, Indo-American in nature.

Denouement

By the fall of 1937, APRA, under the influence of the Peruvian APRA Party (PAP), and according to Haya de la Torre's insistence to focus on the international scene, reverted to institutional platforms to lead its battle for civil liberties. The struggle for the right to exist as a political party in Peru depended on Indo-America. But ambivalent results spiraled into divergences of opinion amid Aprista ranks impossible to reconcile. A new electoral cycle in Peru resuscitated the hopes of democratic participation at the national level. As a result of Haya de la Torre's failure to retrieve civil liberties by appealing to the continental scene, a crisis of leadership in APRA burst into the open in 1939-1940. Part of the party leadership in Peru reproached him this defeat. In the course of 1939, plans emerged to tumble him and declare Aprista Vásquez Lapeyre in control of the PAP in his stead. Vásquez Lapeyre's plot to overthrow Haya de la Torre came to fruition in August of that year.

The internal coup began with the takeover of the *Tribuna*, the official mouthpiece of APRA in Peru, on 24 August 1939. Vásquez Lapeyre addressed an editorial to his "compañeros de toda la republica," in which he declared himself the Secretary General of the PAP and announced that he was from now on the one in charge of the party. "Ha querido el destino que recaiga en mí," he wrote, "modesto militante, la responsabilidad de conducir a buen puerto la gloriosa nave aprista. Izo, pues, el pabellón de la armonía, de la abnegación y de la sinceridad, seguro de que nadie osara arriarla jamás."¹⁵⁹ Vásquez Lapeyre asked for the cooperation of the Aprista masses. He also included references to persecution and exile in recognition of the suffering of APRA militants. One can feel in his discourse the need to assert his authority as the new leader of APRA.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Alfonso Vásquez Lapeyre, "El Secretario General del P.A.P. se dirige a su compañeros de toda la república," *La Tribuna*, Lima, EDICION EXTRAORDINARIA, 24 August 1939, *La Tribuna: Diario Popular de todo el Perú*, EDICION EXTRAORDINARIA, Lima, jueves 24 de agosto de 1939, p. 3, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Hemeroteca Nacional.

¹⁶⁰ *Idem*, p. 3.

Since the *Tribuna* served to inform and transmit party instructions to Aprista followers in Peru, controlling this publication was tantamount to controlling the APRA membership in Peru. The crisis of legitimacy that rocked the PAP in the late summer and fall of 1939 reaffirms the fact that *La Tribuna* constituted an instrument of power, one able to grant legitimacy, one that had the authority to control and speak in the name of the PAP. Somewhere between seven and eleven issues of *La Tribuna* were published between 24 August 1939 and 9 December 1939 under the direction of the rebelling faction. At the beginning, both the title and the looks of the journal were exactly the same, making it difficult for Aprista readers to understand the change in party direction. It is only on 20 October 1939, that *La Tribuna* mentioned its new director, Genaro Rodríguez Montoya.

This crisis of leadership casts a spotlight on a series of conundrums the party had to face: Who was in the best position to fight to restore full individual liberties to Peruvian Apristas: Apristas in Peru or their peers in exile? What was the best way to do so: participate from within the national scene, with perhaps the price of compromise with national enemies, or use Indo-American solidarities as a way to exert pressure on the Peruvian dictatorship? What would be gained and what would be lost from these contrasting positions?

For the Apristas who supported Vásquez Lapeyre, the answer to these questions lay in the national scene. Calls to focus the organizing efforts of the party on Peru rather than Indo-America began to emerge the previous year. Consider, for example, the letter that one Aprista exile in Santiago de Chile wrote to the Aprista Committee of Mexico on 8 December 1938. This document voices a discontent regarding the overwhelming attention granted to the international scene. In what follows, the author argues that the APRA movement had to refocus its attention onto Peru:

“En cuanto al actual programa máximo del Partido una simple relectura de mi proposición demostrara que yo no quiero eliminarlo ni siquiera restarle su importancia

intrínseca, sino simplemente trasladar el acento de la actividad doctrinaria y la literatura aprista de lo internacional a lo nacional. Es decir intensificar más, mucho más, su nacionalismo y poner en segundo término su acción internacional.”¹⁶¹

Alfonso Vasquez Lapeyre dovetailed with this position. He promised to focus on the national scene and to act so as to restore civil liberties in Peru as soon as possible. The group that ousted the Haya de la Torre clique was tired of the party’s illegal status, a status from which, it argued, nothing could be done for the masses of Peru. Moreover, the forthcoming national elections seemed to offer a perfect opportunity to retrieve civil liberties and act within the national political scene.¹⁶² They promoted peace and cooperation rather than confrontation with the enemy and insisted on the national and democratic nature of the PAP.¹⁶³ The PAP is for Peru, he stressed, blaming the previous leadership for having forgotten this fact: “Cuando después de diez años de oposición dolorosa y terrible, ya se dejaban sentir en nuestras masas el agotamiento, el cansancio y la ansiedad; un minúsculo grupo de exaltados sin función en el Partido, sin visión y sin entraña, pretendía colocar al sector mayoritario de los pueblos del Perú, en posición de violenta intransigencia, de guerra sin cuartel, de negatividad absoluta, infecunda y obstructora.”¹⁶⁴

On 10 October 1939, three days before the release of the tenth issue of *La Tribuna* under control of the Vásquez Lapeyre faction, a small pamphlet of *La Tribuna*, subtitled “edición clandestina de protesta” appeared. The Hayista faction would not relinquish the party leadership without a fight. The format of this clandestine publication differed from the official version of *La Tribuna*. It was smaller and showed that the Haya de la Torre faction had access to less resources to publish the journal it used to control. APRA leaders in exile, including Arturo Sabroso Montoya and

¹⁶¹ Letter of unidentified APRA exile in Chile to the Aprista Committee in Mexico, Santiago, 8 de diciembre de 1938, Fondo Luis Eduardo Enríquez Cabrera, ENAH, México.

¹⁶² “La Tribuna,” *La Tribuna: Diario Popular de todo el Perú*, Lima, 31 de agosto de 1939, p. 4.

¹⁶³ Partido Aprista Peruano, “Manifiesto del Partido Aprista Peruano a la Nación,” *La Tribuna: Diario Popular de todo el Perú*, Lima, jueves 24 de agosto de 1939, p. 2.

¹⁶⁴ Alfonso Vasquez Lapeyre, “El secretario general del comité ejecutivo nacional a todos los miembros del partido,” *La Tribuna: Diario Popular de todo el Perú*, Lima, 31 de agosto de 1939, p. 3.

Luis Heysen, were in communication with Haya de la Torre in Peru to face the situation.¹⁶⁵ The Hayista faction rapidly organized in order to regain its authority inside Peru.

First, communities of APRA exiles mobilized in favor of Haya de la Torre. They wrote petitions and sent out messages of solidarity in Peru in which they confirmed their allegiance to the leadership of Haya de la Torre. They likewise censured the alleged new National Executive Committee in Peru. The editorial staff of the *Editorial Ercilla*, in Chile, sent a note to Peru in August 1939, condemning the recent take over of *La Tribuna* in Peru. Another document signed by over ninety Aprista exiles argued that this was a fraud. It read:

“Ante la audaz tentativa de sorprender a la opinión pública con la formación de un pretendido Comité Ejecutivo Nacional, y con el uso ilegítimo del órgano oficial del Partido, “LA TRIBUNA”, los desterrados apristas residentes en Chile, protestamos pública y enérgicamente, condenando todo intento divisionista, reiterando nuestra absoluta adhesión al Jefe del Partido, Haya de la Torre, y al Comité Nacional de Acción, y declarando nuestro inquebrantable propósito de mantener y defender la férrea unidad del aprismo.”¹⁶⁶

Second, the Hayista fraction tried to publicize in Peru its most recent doctrinal work abroad. It announced, for example, that new books were to reach Lima shortly, and invited every party follower who wanted to read them to contact the National Secretary of Culture (Secretario Nacional de cultura). The authors of these books are APRA ideologues we are by now familiar with, as you can see in the following statement: “Todos los cc. que quieran recibir obras de Haya de la Torre, Antenor Orrego, Luis Alberto Sánchez, Juan y Manuel Seoane, Ciro Alegría, Cossio del Pomar, Pedro E. Muñiz, etc., que tanta resonancia han hallado en Indoamérica podran recibirlas pidiéndolas

¹⁶⁵ Letter of Luis Heysen to Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, 29 Augusto 1939; Letter of Arturo Sabroso Montoya to Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, 7 Diciembre 1939; Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Centro de documentación de ciencias sociales (CEDOC), Caso Vásquez-Lapeyre, Cartas de VRHT Y ASM: Importantes, B1, 952 al 975.

¹⁶⁶ Santiago, Agosto 1939, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Centro de documentación de ciencias sociales (CEDOC), Caso Vásquez-Lapeyre, Cartas de VRHT Y ASM: Importantes, B1, 952 al 975.

al Secretario Nal. de Cultura.”¹⁶⁷ It was important to highlight, as they had in the past, the relation between these ideologues and the rest of Indo-America. Efforts to reassert legitimacy of leader Haya de la Torre amongst Aprista rank and file convey the sense that Aprista exiles, the foreign press, as well as regional Aprista forces from all over the country supported him.

By February 1940, the Hayista faction had recovered control of *La Tribuna* and, by the same token, of the party leadership. References to the outside world returned in its pages (any reference to Indo-America had disappeared since the takeover in August 1939). The celebrations of Haya de la Torre’s birthday bring home this point. “El cumpleaños del jefe del partido: En Todo el Perú se Celebro Grandiosamente,” which appeared on 29 February 1940, took pains to demonstrate that the APRA exiles and the international community rejoiced at these festivities. Internationally, it publicized solidarity of APRA exiles with the leadership of Haya de la Torre. “Los desterrados apristas en Chile, Nueva York, México, Buenos Aires y La Paz se reunieron en grandes asambleas la noche del 21 para esperar el 22 de febrero. Se pronunciaron discursos de saludo a Haya de la Torre.”¹⁶⁸ The Hayista faction reported coverage of this birthday in the foreign press as well. “Numerosos diarios de Indoamérica saludaron el 22 de febrero. Grandes rotativos de Buenos Aires, México, Bogota, Rosario, Panamá, Guayaquil, Santiago, Centroamérica y Cuba hicieron especial mención de la fecha.”¹⁶⁹

Additionally, sections such as “Noticiero Aprista” and “Noticiero en el extranjero” returned and resumed its publicity of the success met by Apristas outside Peru and also the support that many give, whether Apristas or not, to Haya de la Torre as the chief of APRA. This demonstrates how crucial the international scene had become to legitimize Haya de la Torre’s leadership. APRA leaders returned to international allies as a means to gain legality in Peru. Thanks to connection to foreign

¹⁶⁷ “Libros apristas,” *La Tribuna: Órgano Clandestino del PAP*, 6 de marzo de 1940, p. 1.

¹⁶⁸ “NOTICIARIO APRISTA,” *La Tribuna: Órgano Clandestino del PAP*, 29 de febrero de 1940, p. 4.

¹⁶⁹ *Idem*, p. 4.

allies, the current CEN was now in position of power to ask that foreign governments request that civic liberties be restored in Peru.¹⁷⁰ The Hayista faction served as the only legitimate intermediary to the outside world and to allegedly powerful allies.

This episode of betrayal gives us access to the political intrigues and divisionism that ran through the PAP in 1939-1940. They also show how difficult betrayals were at a personal level, and shed light on the ways in which friends and colleagues tried to exert power over one another, and give access to details that help understand how internal political debates were lived from within intimate spheres.¹⁷¹ Archival documents help identify the role that communities of exile played when the legitimacy of one leader was being questioned. This crisis of leadership points to the crucial question of legitimacy within the APRA movement. Securing legitimacy, these moments reveal, was part of the everyday struggles as well. Outlawed, the PAP received no institutional legitimacy from anyone – no state, no governmental apparatus, no democratic system and open party politics. Its only legitimacy derived from network peers, activists, comrades, and colleagues.

¹⁷⁰ Luis Alberto Sánchez, “Una carta de Luis Alberto Sánchez Al Presidente de la Cámara de Diputados de Chile,” *La Tribuna: Órgano Clandestino del PAP*, 6 de marzo de 1940, p. 4.

¹⁷¹ These letters, dated from August 1939 through early 1941, bring home this point. See Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Centro de documentación de ciencias sociales (CEDOC), Caso Vásquez-Lapeyre, Cartas de VRHT Y ASM: Importantes, B1, 952 al 975.

Conclusion

By tracing the journey that underpinned the creation and development of Indo-America, first as a cultural hemispheric consciousness in the 1920s, then as a political hemispheric project beginning in the 1930s, my dissertation reveals the worlds of radical activism that carried this project through the wheel of time. My work shows that the yearnings for inclusion that propelled the “populist moment” to the forefront of Latin American politics in the 1930s and 1940s is best understood as a result of collective and radical labors of transnational organization rather than the leadership of unique, purportedly larger-than-life political figures. My focus on the journey to Indo-America between 1918 and 1945 contributes to the restoration of the radical legacy of the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), one of the most influential and controversial populist movements of twentieth century Latin America.

In my dissertation, I sought to study and understand better the evolution of the Indo-American project through an innovative approach that helped me tell an untold story about APRA. To do so, I shifted my analytical gaze away from either undying tales of betrayal or celebrations of a legendary and uncontested leader, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, and focused my attention instead on the radical worlds that underpinned the emergence and evolution of APRA during the interwar period. Probing, on the one hand, into the experience of life in exile, as a culturally and politically innovative diaspora of continentalist thinkers, while granting attention, on the other, to life rooted in Peru, illuminates in a new way APRA’s project of social inclusion and the radical militancy of its

founders. A yearning for an anti-oligarchic state in Peru, and in the Indo-American republics more broadly, took root in the exchanged desires and sensibilities that defined communities of exiles, bohemians, and activists in key cities in the Americas and Europe.

While the scope of my dissertation is limited to the early experience of APRA, and thus cannot explain in full the ideological transition of this movement over the full course of the past century, it sheds new light on the initial transformation of APRA, the period in which many critical accounts locate the beginning of APRA's tergiversations. My historical analysis displaces the necessity to either censure or celebrate the shift in discourse that characterized APRA's anti-imperialist prose to one of evaluation; for what was true of APRA was also true of a large majority of leftist Latin American parties. Over the course of the interwar period, a large majority of radical and anti-imperialist groups came to moderate their attacks against the United States and reframe their claims for inclusion and social justice in ways that more easily dovetailed with liberal democracy. Tracing the journey to Indo-America between 1918 and 1945 helps explain what happened.

One central endeavor of this dissertation is to historicize the workings of transnational solidarity networks that assisted the development of APRA as a persecuted political group. To do so, I highlight the outward role that North American and European allies played for the Aprista solidarity networks during the interwar period. Foreign intermediaries like Anna Melissa Graves and John A. Mackay contributed to assuring the political vitality and collective integrity of APRA in the face of recurrent state persecution.¹ The impact that these actors had on public opinion outside Peru as well as the pressure that they exerted on Peruvian state actors helped the APRA fight political

¹ I am indebted to the work of Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert on the Portuguese Atlantic diaspora between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries for thinking of the concepts of "political vitality" and "collective integrity." See Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert *A Nation Upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492-1640*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

repression. It likewise contributed to gathering international supporters to APRA's cause. Starting in the early 1920s, Christian pacifist actors tapped into home-based networks to bolster international awareness of student leader Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre and attract attention to his project of moral regeneration for Peru. As APRA developed, and as its political project crystallized, the support of these foreign actors changed in nature but remained strong nevertheless. The emotional weight of their early friendships in exile gradually developed to form stable political alliances where parties engaged on an equal footing with one another. In the early 1930s, Mackay and Graves used their respective international contacts to advocate in favor of APRA. They published favorable reviews of the movement and readily celebrated the work of APRA leader Haya de la Torre.

The formation of friendships between the *Reformista* generation of Latin American university students and Christian missionaries and internationalist pacifists reveals an important dimension of the worlds of radical activism that underpinned the initial formation of Indo-America. In a world shaken by the recent experience of World War I, where once solid points of reference went adrift in a sea of despair, a shared combination of disillusion and hopes proved more important than common ideological ground to engage in alliances. For both North American Christian pacifists and Latin American leftist activists, as we have seen, the Americas stood as a utopian geography where civilization might rise again, and be saved.

In addition to the social connections made necessary by the political despair, these alliances were sustained by common ideologies. These groups shared the same aversion to positivist and materialist philosophies. They were also distrustful of the nation-state as an inclusive and emancipatory form of human organization. These North American, European, and Latin American radicals recognized each other as dreamers who were willing to give their lives to the service of a higher cause. And although this "higher cause" was still ill defined at the beginning of the 1920s,

these historical protagonists were equally convinced of one thing: the necessity to rethink the future of the Americas was tantamount to solving the problems that currently plagued the Western World.

Though initiated through the earlier work of Simon Bolívar and José Martí, the forefathers of continental nationalism, the rise of hemispheric consciousness progressed most definitely as young APRA members traveled back and forth between Peru and places of exile. This generation had inherited from their forefathers a commitment toward hemispheric solidarity as well as the resolve to think the Americas in new ways.² But their ability to do so was all but certain in the late 1910s. The experience of exile, beginning in the 1920s, triggered in them a capacity for original creation regarding the future of the Americas.

Sometimes ecstatic, sometimes dreadful, exile was always intimately personal. Studying what exile entailed for young APRA members at this personal and intimate level helped illuminate how new knowledge on the Americas emerged in the 1920s. Before they were able to conceive differently of collective identities, student activists and radical poets like Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, Blanca Luz Brum, and Magda Portal realigned how they approached and conceived of their own individual identity. APRA members, or soon-to-be APRA members, I argued, had to come of age individually before they could come of age as a group. The “space of exile” both prompted and assisted these respective experiences of personal emancipation. Whether it was feelings of alienation from the homeland or feelings of bliss in the face of new possibilities, these emotions intensified the connection that many of them developed with radical communities abroad. In both cases, intellectual engagement was intimately intertwined with the emotional weight that came with group

² Cuban José Martí is one of the first intellectuals to have foreseen and clearly expressed the US danger for Latin American republics. To this day, Martí is praised for having interpreted the struggle for national liberation in nineteenth century Cuba as a way to gain political independence from Spain *and* contain the advance of US imperialism in the region. His anti-colonial thoughts are reflected in what he called “Nuestra América,” an anti-colonial America, a continentalist vision free from oppression that boasted its Indian and African origins. Fernández Retamar, Roberto, ed., *Cuba, Nuestra América, Los Estados Unidos, por José Martí*, México: Siglo veintiuno editores, 1973.

dynamics (or the lack thereof) particular to life in exile. The lived experience of exile enabled this generation of continentalist thinkers to produce original political knowledge on Latin American unity. Importantly, because in exile alliances were crucial to secure access to rare resources, the need to sometimes compromise on certain ideals in order to insure political survival also positioned the ideal of collaboration at the forefront of their work.

This ideal of collaboration proved resilient throughout the 1920s. At the time, it rested on a series of cultural and intellectual exchanges regarding the future of the Americas rather than on clearly defined ideologies. Before the new cultural consciousnesses of the 1920s crystallized into firm political positions in the following decade, in effect, the pursuit of hemispheric unity in the Americas continued to be paramount. It surpassed the need to closely identify with communism, socialism, or nationalist anti-imperialism, not only because these movements were still in formation at the time but also because they all advocated the same end-point: the nation-state had to disappear if humanity was to survive. It made alliances possible between protagonists, who like Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre and José Carlos Mariategui, disagreed over the exact meaning of Indo-America: the latter mattered less than did the intention to imagine the Americas in new ways. In the 1920s, acknowledging intellectual, political, and tactical differences in the APRA movement did not entail ceasing relations with opposing factions. To the contrary, it was still possible at the time to suspend political and doctrinal disagreements if this meant serving the larger cause of “Nuestra América.”

But José Martí’s utopia was not the only one in play in these alliances. The Latin American anti-imperialist left also collaborated, in the 1920s and through the 1930s and 1940s as well, with North American non-state actors who similarly pondered projects of continental integration. Some simply wanted more cooperation and more mutual understanding between the people of the Americas. Others, more radical, objected to Pan-American definitions that exclusively focused on commercial exchange and financial interest; these factions actively sought to envision alternative,

more democratic visions of Pan Americanism. Regardless of their differences, all readily put ideological dissent aside whenever it served their cause best; the growth of solidarity networks between the Peruvian vanguard and foreign allies rested on the shared project of building a new continental utopia. In this scenario, mutual interdependence and the need to gain access to rare resources also helped surpass the inevitability of political factions.

The concept of unity in conflict, which serves the forefront of Chapter 3's argument, highlights the permanence of conflict in APRA. Rather than focusing on the ruptures that have rocked this movement in the course of its history, I draw attention to the possibilities embedded within conflict. This enables us to probe into the question of APRA's leadership with different premises in mind: Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, I show, was not the uncontested obvious leader of APRA as early or as consistently as imagined. The internecine strifes to determine which faction was in control of the movement had major consequences for the development of the Indo-American project in the 1930s and 1940s. That these battles took place in the midst of unremitting political repression contributed to converting Indo-America, an ill defined and flexible utopian project in the 1920s, into a precise instrument of political survival by 1945. The second part of my dissertation traces how this transformation took place.

The creation of the Peruvian APRA party (PAP) in October of 1930 marked the onset of a new era for both Apristas and Indo-America. Before the promise of a democratic Peru with the fall of Augusto B. Leguía in the Peruvian winter of that year, APRA exiles returned home and began to organize their movement at the national level. The newly founded PAP faced two main challenges. First, APRA leaders in Peru had to homogenize the movement's ideology: they worked to integrate political positions particular to different APRA exiles into a single philosophy of action. Second, APRA leaders needed to translate their Indo-American project in a way that would be appealing to the Peruvian population. They had to adapt their internationalist prose and put forward a unified

proposal that Peruvian people could understand, recognize, and identify with. The development of a nomad culture in the 1920s proved useful to accomplish these tasks. In it lay the genesis of what soon became the universal appeal of Indo-America: if the Americas supported APRA, went the storyline, then the Americas would support a Peru placed under the guidance of the Peruvian APRA party.

In Chapter 4, I developed the concept of the “travel trope.” Associated with world travels and militant action, the “travel trope” helped define in the APRA movement who were true and genuine revolutionaries. It also assisted the work of ideological translation at play. APRA leaders came to validate their authority before Peruvian audiences through past travels and associations with foreign contacts. In the early 1930s, in effect, APRA leaders portrayed themselves as intermediaries between Peru and the world. According to official publications of the party, APRA leaders were world travelers able to feel and connect with the rest of the Americas. This travel trope further portrayed them as continentalist experts, bestowed with the intellectual capacity to translate for a Peruvian audience what they had seen and learned in Indo-America. Doing so similarly bolstered the symbolic power of the Hayista faction vis-à-vis Aprista peers in Peru who had not experienced exile.

The remaining two chapters of my dissertation prove that this regime of travel authority not only shaped in crucial ways how APRA, from international movement, successfully transitioned into the Peruvian APRA party (PAP) in 1930-1931, but that it also came to define the touchstone of the Indo-American ideology. In effect, this dissertation argues that Indo-America as a political project was not consolidated in the heyday of transnational exile in the 1920s. Rather, Indo-America is best understood as a form of universal appeal to which the Hayista faction arrived more definitely in the 1930s, precisely to advance a political struggle inside Peru.

The return of state persecution in Peru toward the end of 1931 impelled PAP to expand its repertoire of political actions. Facing the impossibility of democratic participation in Peruvian

politics, it developed transnational strategies that could assist its political survival in Peru. Paradoxically, this precarious situation helped Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre and his acolytes take control of the APRA party by August of 1933. Making use of the symbol of a democratic and internationally famous Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre served the cause of APRA, and especially that of the Hayista faction, for it had the power to attract international attention onto the exactions suffered by Apristas in Peru. Thus, APRA's travel trope associated with the outside world and with Indo-America in particular became ever more associated with the exclusive leadership of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre.

The APRA leaders close to the Hayista faction grew to be very aware of the benefits that transnational networks of solidarity yielded for their political movement as well as their own position within the party. In addition to reinforcing the political legitimacy of APRA leaders in Peru in the early 1930s, exile had also assisted the establishment of alliances with foreign actors and the insertion of APRA into transnational networks of solidarity. Since being connected to the outside world gave them access to crucial resources, including material and symbolic capital, it became of paramount importance for these actors to both maintain alliances with foreign actors and publicize in Peru their international relationships as a sign of authority. This explains why referring to APRA's connection with the rest of Indo-America became central to the Peruvian APRA party's defense strategy in the face of state persecution. The need to foster and maintain alliances with foreign actors, I argued, shaped the way in which APRA thought of democracy and defined the political knowledge it produced.

Throughout the 1930s, during what the Aprista lore refers to as "the era of the catacombs," Peruvian APRA leaders close to Haya de la Torre continued to court potential allies abroad. Engaging information politics outside Peru proved a means for the PAP to jeopardize the monopoly that Peruvian authorities maintained over media outlets in Peru. For example, the party spearheaded

a transnational campaign of moral shaming against the Benavides government in an attempt to attract supporters to its cause. Communities of APRA exiles played an important role in these campaigns. They produced anti-Benavides propaganda and circulated it outside Peru. They courted foreign allies and advocated on international tribunes for the right of PAP to exist as a legitimate political organization. In the articles they wrote, APRA exiles opposed to barbarian Peruvian authorities a civilized public opinion, largely associated with the Americas, which sided with Peruvian Apristas in their censure of dictatorial regimes. PAP was invariably portrayed as a model of democracy for Peru and for Indo-America more broadly.

Calling attention to the notion of Indo-American solidarity empowered Peruvian Apristas to formulate a line of defense that extended beyond the purview of the nation-state. Central in PAP's political struggle, in effect, was to appeal to international democratic forces and to the representatives of free speech in Indo-America. Yet in order to engage this repertoire of transnational actions, and plead abroad for the return of civil liberties at home, demanded flexibility of language and ideals. One consequence of this strategy, I argue, was to put Indo-America more decisively than ever at the forefront of APRA's intellectual production. Social scientists have stressed how advocacy groups that want to externalize a specific agenda – usually when their demands are blocked at the national level – do so by turning this agenda into universal claims that can best appeal to international allies. Because Apristas appealed to the continental public opinion as a means to retrieve basic political rights in Peru, Indo-America had to remain alive as a project that carried anti-imperialist aspirations for the continent at large. This prompted in APRA an intense labor of ideological production on Indo-America from the mid-1930s onward.

To be sure, changes on the international scene affected the way in which APRA ideologues thought of Indo-America. According to historian Greg Grandin, the first phase of US imperialism in Latin America, which had started in the nineteenth century with the Mexican-American war (1846-

1848) and more brutally still with the Hispano-American war (1898), came to a close in the early 1930s. The declaration of the Good Neighbor policy in 1933, he argues, as well as the experience of the Popular Front shortly after, “dampened the anti-imperialist rhetoric of the Left” in Latin America.³ As such, we should understand APRA’s shift toward the right of the political spectrum in the 1930s as part of a larger trend that affected the Latin American Left at large. By 1936, Washington had completely renounced its right to intervene in the region. The promise of friendly relations, after close to a century of US aggression and conceit, had every appearance of sincerity. On the other hand, the Popular Front curbed opposition between communist and socialist parties and enabled a rapprochement between the Latin American Left and the United States in the face of mounting European fascism.⁴ In many ways, the Popular Front strategy consolidated at a political level what was already conceivable at a cultural level. The communist and socialist parties in Latin America not only came together but they also agreed to align their respective programs of actions with those of the United States.

This new world order, we have seen, contributed to moving problems of democracy to the forefront of the Indo-American project. It also encouraged many in the APRA party to pacify their positions vis-à-vis the United States. APRA ideologues began to revise the party’s maximum program so as to divert its anti-imperialist attacks onto fascism and Nazism instead of US imperialism. Cooperation between Indo-America and North America appeared in the mid-1930s as a lesser evil to salvage democracy in the Western Hemisphere. Significantly, Indo-America was still couched in anti-imperialist jargon. The international conjuncture, however, had transformed the nature of the imperialist threat. Imperialism was now associated with fascism and totalitarian regimes in Europe rather Yankee expansionism.

³ Greg Grandin, “The Narcissism of Violent Differences,” in *Anti-Americanism*, edited by Andrew Ross and Kristin Ross, New York: New York University Press, 2004, p. 20.

⁴ Greg Grandin, *Empire’s Workshop, Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2006, pp. 33-39.

My dissertation expands this argument through the dialogue I established between local and transnational levels of historical analyses. By evincing the role that local politics in Peru played in shaping definitions of Indo-America in different time and places, my work reveals an important feature of Pan American visions. It suggests the design of hemispheric unity projects not only as a response in the face of international relations, which to be sure mattered greatly, but also as a result of local demands. Though my contribution is unique, it is not exclusive. For example, historian Maurice Demers has framed this problematic better than I ever could in his most recent book on the struggles shared by Mexican Catholic militants and nationalist co-religionists in Québec between 1917 and 1945. As Demers poignantly asks, “Was crafting an imagined community that reached across national borders an effective strategy to prop up local demands?”⁵

His answer resembles mine, which put simply is: absolutely. My dissertation argues that Indo-America came to be portrayed as a bulwark against the rise of fascism in Europe not only as a result of world events but also out of the necessity of political survival at the national level. The persecution against the PAP in Peru, combined with APRA’s innovative political strategies, greatly contributed to forging a sense of continental solidarity based on the defense of individual political rights and democratic regimes. Starting in the 1930s, Indo-America helped the PAP externalize its domestic demands for democracy by universalizing its cause before an international public opinion. Furthermore, local party dynamics explain why Indo-America has come to be associated exclusively with the leadership of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre. The practice of political survival in the face of recurrent state persecution in Peru favored the rise of a leader whose fame helped project the APRA onto the world stage; a democratic Indo-America seemed indeed to support Haya de la Torre. When

⁵ Demers studies cultural points of convergence between French-speaking and Spanish-speaking groups in North America. Part of his endeavor is to understand better the relationship between the development of common internationalist stances in these groups and the relations that each group maintained with its respective state. Maurice Demers, *Connected Struggles: Catholics, Nationalists, and Transnational Relations between Mexico and Quebec, 1917-1945*, Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014, p. 7.

in 1945 Peru's Democratic Spring announced a return to democracy in the country, Haya was ready to engage in national politics and help build a better Peru. Indo-America hovered by his side, pointing to democratic ideals honed by the weight of past persecution and the prospects of political inclusion and fairer societies.

The cultural, spiritual, and aesthetic yearnings that characterized Indo-America in the first half of the twentieth century were progressively subsumed by the demands imposed by the Cold War. As communities of radical Peruvian artists and intellectuals crystallized into political parties, they learned to restrain their utopian ideals and define more precisely the demands that they advanced in Peruvian politics. Starting in the mid-1930s, and ever more forcefully in the aftermath of World War II, the need to survive politically contributed to Indo-American philosophers shift away from an ideal of democracy based on socio-economic justice, and closer to the ideal of democracy advanced at the time by the United States to counter Communism: a liberal democracy based on individual rights and civic liberties.⁶

Not everybody in APRA embraced this conversion. Although internal critiques surged all through the 1940s and the 1950s, it was ultimately the *Convivencia* (1956-1962) that marked for many Apristas the end of the Peruvian APRA as an anti-imperialist party. The "convivencia" government refers to the political alliance that Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre passed in 1956 with Manuel Prado Ugarteche, a Peruvian politician connected to elements of the national oligarchy in the agro-export sector, in exchange for the PAP's return to legality and the promise to participate in the Peruvian government. Detractors and disillusioned members of APRA argued that their party no longer served the interest of the Peruvian people. According to the party's leftist faction, not only had the

⁶ Greg Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin American in the Cold War*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004.

PAP, presumably the anti-oligarchic party par excellence in Peru, come to terms with the national oligarchy, but it now defended the interest of these groups by tempering the demands of its labor unions and by supporting bills in congress that served the status quo. The verdict was harsh: “El PAP, sirviendo de instrumento al servicio de los intereses de la oligarquía está defraudando las más caras esperanzas del pueblo del Perú,” wrote the founders of APRA Rebelde on 10 October 1959.⁷ This group of Cuban inspired militants publicly broke from APRA and founded APRA Rebelde, in their view more attuned to APRA’s original revolutionary doctrine. This group vindicated the democratic, anti-oligarchic, and anti-imperialist legacy of the Peruvian APRA party and demanded that the party returned to these foundational principles.⁸

The radical legacy of Indo-America, as a project of hemispheric integration, did not survive through time. It is all the more surprising that the way to imagine the Americas is nowadays primarily linked to either free trade agreements or plans for regional market integration, given the push back against the turn toward neoliberal democracy. In the 1980s-1990s, the NAFTA and its economic analogues in the region rose victorious. Neoliberalism seems to have diluted any project of hemispheric unity in the Western Hemisphere into mere prompts for either increased or better commercial relations and financial exchanges. Even projects like the MERCOSUR or the ALBA, which claimed to propose alternatives to US neoliberal proposals, primarily sought to consolidate regional economic integration. Gone were clear references to the necessity of cultural, spiritual, or aesthetic collaboration between the people of the Americas.

These dynamics have progressed unabated in the past decade. The twenty-first century is disclosing drastic increases in income inequalities. Democracy keeps receding, bowing before the whims of a cosmopolitan oligarchy (more commonly referred to as the 1% since September 2011,

⁷ “La realidad nacional y la línea política de la convivencia,” in *Documentos para la historia de la revolución peruana. Del APRA al APRA Rebelde*, Lima: Perugraph Editores, 1980, pp. 93-94.

⁸ *Idem*, pp. 90-91.

when Occupy Wall Street set up camp in Zuccotti Park, New York). The new generation of political activists, according to analysts of the so-called “New New Left,” are wary of electoral politics and are exploring ways to do politics and think of democracy differently.⁹ Activists in the United States, Canada, and elsewhere in Latin America are taking the streets to forward demands of participatory democracy and voice their discontent against a system tailored for a restricted plutocracy. They are spearheading populist movements, presaging the beginning of a new era of mass politics.

Given this context, returning to past hemispheric utopias may help plant in transnational communities the seeds of new collective orders. The dreams of social inclusion and human emancipation displayed in the Indo-American project can assist current political struggles, especially those where nationalism is seen as a bulwark against neoliberal excesses. In Indo-America lies the promise of participatory democracy. In it also lies a language that can point to radical changes where liberation from economic oppression comes hand in hand with spiritual, moral, and cultural renewal. Indo-America belongs to Peruvians, but also to all American protagonists, whether from North, South, or Central America, who feel a hunger for collective projects that both transcend the nation-state and take root within it.

⁹ Peter Beinart, “The Rise of the New New Left,” *The Daily Beast*, September 12, 2013. <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/09/12/the-rise-of-the-new-new-left.html>

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