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# The Role of the Gonzalez Prada Popular Universities in the Development and Formation of the Peruvian Aprista Movement

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THE ROLE OF THE GONZALEZ PRADA POPULAR UNIVERSITIES  
IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND FORMATION OF THE  
PERUVIAN APRISTA MOVEMENT

By

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of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of  
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## LIFE

Jeffrey Lockwood Klaiber, S.J., was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, January 11, 1943. He graduated from Cathedral High School, Indianapolis, in June, 1960, and attended Marquette University, Milwaukee, for one year, from September, 1960 to June, 1961.

He entered the Society of Jesus, Chicago province, at Milford Novitiate in September, 1961, and enrolled in Xavier University, Cincinnati. From July, 1963 to July, 1965 he studied at the Jesuit house of studies in Lima, Peru, Instituto de Humanidades Clásicas. In September, 1965, he enrolled in the Bellarmine division of Loyola University, Chicago, to complete the philosophical studies required by the Society of Jesus. After completing these studies in June, 1967, he was accepted in the Graduate School of History of Loyola University, Chicago, in June of the same year, and he received the Degree of Master of Arts in History from the same university in June, 1968.

## PREFACE

The Peruvian Aprista movement, Acción Democrática of Venezuela, the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario of Bolivia and Liberación Nacional of Costa Rica are a few of the political parties of Latin America which comprise what has been broadly termed the liberal left. A multitude of events and currents of thought have influenced in varying degrees the rise of this liberal left: the Mexican and Russian revolutions, the student reform movement at Córdoba, the rise of foreign economic expansionism in Latin America, and the ideologies of Marxism, socialism and nationalism. The Peruvian Aprista party, precursor and prototype of the liberal left throughout Latin America, traces its own origins directly to the university reform movement of 1918.

Several general works have been done on both the Aprista movement and the university reform movement. Hary Kantor's The Ideology and Program of the Peruvian Aprista Movement (1953) is the only current general survey of the party's history and ideology. Works done by the Apristas themselves include Felipe Cossío del Pomar's El Indoamericano (1946), a biography of Haya de la Torre, and Haya de la Torre y el Apra (1954) by Luís Alberto Sánchez. The most comprehensive work on the university reform movement in Latin America is Gabriel del Mazo's La Reforma Universitaria (1941).

However, most of the studies concerning the Peruvian Ap-

rista movement emphasize the intellectual indebtedness of the party to the university reform movement with little attention paid to the immediate and proximate way in which the Peruvian university students reacted to the reform movement. On the other hand, stress is placed on the fully formed Aprista movement when it campaigned for power in 1931, with little attention paid to the actual structural development of the party as opposed to its intellectual development. Yet, between the beginning of the university reform movement at Córdoba in 1918 and the appearance of the Aprista movement in Peru in 1918 several important but relatively unstudied events occurred in Peru which were influential in shifting the university reform movement into politics. Of great significance in this regard was the founding of a series of "Popular Universities", or centers of education for workers by the student leader Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre and several companion students from the University of San Marcos in 1921. The purpose of these centers was to further the aims of the university reform movement by bringing the benefits of culture and learning to the poor and uneducated. When the government suppressed these centers Haya and his companions turned their cultural movement into a political movement, the Movimiento Aprista Peruano.

The purpose of this thesis is to study the relationship of these popular universities to the Aprista movement, and seek to determine to what extent the ideology, structure and orientation of the Aprista movement stems from its origins in the popular universities.

As almost all the material relating to the Popular Universities founded by Haya de la Torre is found only in Lima, the summer of 1967 was spent collecting material in the different libraries of Lima and obtaining interviews with eyewitnesses of the events relating to the history of the Popular University. The National Library contained many general books on the university reform movement and all the back editions of the leading newspapers in circulation in Lima in the early twenties. The Library of the University of San Marcos contained many works on the university reform movement and a few uncatalogued editions of Aprista publications from the decade of the thirties. The Library of Deputies was utilized to obtain statistical information on the history of Peru and the city of Lima. The editors of La Tribuna, the official organ of the Aprista party, granted free access to their archives, where much information was found on the Popular Universities during the periods of anti-Aprista persecution.

The only works which touch on the Popular University are a chronicle of the Peruvian university reform movement by Enrique Köster, included in Gabriel del Mazo's La Reforma Universitaria, a short work on the Popular University of Vitarte by Josefa Yarlequé de Marquina. As no general work on the Popular Universities has ever been written, much of the material necessarily had to come from the newspapers of the period. The major dailies of Lima of that period were all consulted: El Comercio, La Prensa, El Tiempo, and La Crónica. Also, several of the polemical newspapers and periodicals of the time were consulted. Of particular importance

was the periodical, Claridad, founded by Haya de la Torre to serve as the organ of the Worker's Federation of Lima and his Popular Universities. El Obrero Textil, the official organ of the textile union, contained innumerable references to the Popular University.

In addition to the work of collecting data from these written sources, many interviews were sought with persons who were either eyewitnesses of the events or who could lend valuable assistance in learning about the Popular University or the Aprista party. Haya de la Torre, the founder of both, granted several interviews which were of great value for determining what was the original finality and manner in which the Popular Universities were conducted. An interview with Luís Alberto Sánchez, President of San Marcos University and leading ideologue of the Aprista party, proved valuable for discovering different source materials relating to the Popular University. An interview with Arturo Sabroso, former student at the Popular University and leading figure in Peruvian syndicalism, shed light on the impact of the Popular University on the Peruvian labor movement. Interviews were also held with Josefa Yarlequé, a student at the Popular University of Vitarte in its first days, and Dr. Roberto Delgado, who was among the San Marcos University students who founded the Popular Universities.

From the non-Aprista point of view, interviews were held with Ricardo Martínez de la Torre, personal secretary to José Carlos Mariátegui, whose Socialist party became the Communist party of Peru in 1930, and Eudocio Ravines, also a professor in the

Popular University in the early twenties, a leading figure in the communist movement in Peru in the thirties and editor of La Prensa years later.

Special acknowledgement is due the current National Secretary of the González Prada Popular Universities, Orestes Rodríguez, who explained the present work done by the Popular University and the role which the Popular University plays within the Aprista party. Also, the personnel at the Aprista party headquarters in Lima gave valuable assistance in locating material and persons who could be helpful in writing this work.

Acknowledgement is also due the director of this thesis, Dr. Joseph A. Gagliano, for the time spent and the valuable suggestions offered in preparing this study.

Hopefully, this study of the González Prada Popular University of Peru, founded by Haya de la Torre in 1921, will shed more light not only on the nature and orientation of the Aprista movement of Peru, but on the whole liberal left of Latin America, which was profoundly influenced by the Aprista movement.



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## INTRODUCTION

The student protest movement that erupted within the venerable walls of the University of Córdoba on June 15th, 1918, was far more than another monotonous flare-up of youthful tempers over some minor policy change -- a not untypical occurrence in the Latin American University; on the contrary, it dramatically signalled an abrupt break with the past and the beginning of a new stage in the life of the Latin American University.

The movement at Córdoba radically weakened the bonds that linked the university with colonial traditions and inaugurated a new era of university autonomy, accompanied by such progressive innovations as student participation in university policy making, student control of faculty appointments, and academic freedom for professors. But the protest at Córdoba signified far more than the mere implementation of a series of internal university reforms, important as they were. It crystallized in a concrete movement a whole ideology and spirit of reform that was soon to challenge the very structure of traditional Latin American society. The movement was of such far-ranging importance for the subsequent history of Latin America that the President of San Marcos University, Luís Alberto Sánchez, has even singled out 1918 as the year that Latin America entered the twentieth

century.<sup>1</sup>

It is indicative of the key role the university plays in Latin American society that the movement which symbolized that continent's entrance into the modern era was university inspired and directed. The university had always held a privileged position of influence in Latin American society, but never before had it been such a challenging and stimulating center of social fermentation and change. How this came about can be understood only by placing the university within the context of Latin American history and society in general.

Three institutions which survived the wars of independence played central roles in the growth and development of the Latin American Nations: the army, the Church and the university. Nineteenth century Latin society, unlike Britain or the United States, did not engender a prolific number of community organizations which could disseminate or promote cultural and social change. In the United States many other institutions to promote change within the community -- leagues, foundations, unions, urban pressure groups, etc., -- arose alongside the older established institutions of society, the Church, the school and civil government. These allied institutions bore much of the brunt of fostering and pressuring for change within society, at times in league with the traditional institutions, at times in opposition to them, and at

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<sup>1</sup>Luis Alberto Sánchez, La Universidad no es una Isla (Lima: Ediciones Peruanas, 1963), p. 39.

times simply apart from them.

But in Latin America, beset by internal anarchy and sharp clashes of diametrically opposed interests, the social void created by the wars of independence came to be filled by the traditional institutions, the army, the Church, the university, and the new republican state. Thus, partly through default and partly through positive intent, the university loomed larger in Latin society in relative importance and impact than in the United States or Europe. Furthermore, for most of the nineteenth century, the Latin university was open to only a small elite who could afford a university education. This elite nature of the university gave it an aura of prestige out of proportion to its true importance in national life; nevertheless, a university education was considered a sine qua non for any youth who aspired to become anyone of importance in Latin society.

This is one factor that accounts for the willingness of Latin American students to participate in politics. They were conscious of the central role of the university in Latin society and their own importance as heir apparents to the power structure of society. Other factors, of course, moved them to intervene in the political arena: the subjective individualism of the Latin character which distrusts and withholds approval of movements in which one is not personally engaged; also, the lack of academic orientation in the universities to national and social problems of the day has tended to force students to seek an outlet in

direct politics as a substitute for their desire to serve society in some way. Whatever other reasons there may be for student involvement in politics, and whether or not this involvement has been primarily positive or negative are debatable issues; but the fact that university students have been, and still are today, a power block within Latin American society cannot be denied.

Historically, the Latin American university has passed through three more or less well-defined stages in its development. The first stage, corresponding roughly to the end of independence until the outbreak at Cordoba in 1918, dealt primarily with the problem of administrative reorganization and revisions in the curriculum. Characteristic of this period were debates carried on by educators on the merits or demerits of adapting North American or European educational systems to Latin America.

The second stage was the proclamation of university autonomy and the inauguration of student co-government at Cordoba in 1918. Furthermore, one of the essential demands of the students in this movement was the reorientation of the universities toward contemporary national and social problems. This social thrust in turn implied and initiated the third stage in the university reform movement, namely, that of cultural diffusion. By this was meant the effort to establish a cultural bridge between the university and the popular masses in order to extend or "diffuse" the benefits of education and culture to the great mass of illiterate rural campesinos and urban laborers.

The first and most successful attempt at implementing this third stage were the Popular Universities of Peru. They were centers of culture and learning set up and run by San Marcos University students for the benefit of Peru's uneducated Indians and factory workers. Other such popular universities were set up throughout Latin America in imitation of the Peruvian model.

The subsequent history of the university reform movement is as interesting as it is paradoxical. In those nations where it was allowed to run its course more or less unimpeded, as in Argentina and Uruguay, the movement tended to restrict itself to university affairs and exerted relatively little influence on national affairs. But in those countries where the student movements were violently suppressed by dictatorial regimes, as in Peru, Venezuela and Cuba, they blossomed into large scale political movements. But beyond these three countries, a whole series of so-called populist movements arose throughout Latin America modelled upon or inspired by the first political movement in Latin America to emerge from the university reform movement, the Peruvian Aprista movement.

Such diverse parties as Romulo Betancourt's Acción Democrática in Venezuela, Víctor Paz Estenssoro's Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario in Bolivia, and José Figueres' Liberación Nacional in Costa Rica all share the same ideological and socio-parentage with the Aprista movement in Peru. They all trace their inspiration to the Russian and Mexican revolutions and the

student reform movement at Cordoba; they are all parties of masses, usually Indians, workers, students and lower middle class shopkeepers; they all champion the cause of social reform and vindication of the rights of the lower classes; they call for elimination of the economic and military oligarchies in each Latin American nation and by the same token they oppose the intrusion of international imperialism in Latin America; and finally, they all claim to be native American movements and consequently they reject Communism and Fascism, although, of course, many of these movements have eclectically borrowed elements of Marxism and certain external paraphernalia of Fascism.

The Peruvian Aprista Movement was, then, a direct outgrowth of the student reform movement and indirectly it was inspired by the Mexican and Russian revolutions. But this transition from student movement to political party did not come immediately. It came only after the third stage of the university reform, cultural diffusion to the masses -- concretely, the Popular Universities - had been suppressed by the State. The period of the Popular Universities takes on, therefore, great importance for understanding the developments and tensions which led the Peruvian student leaders to turn what began primarily as a cultural crusade to enlighten the masses into a political movement to stir the masses to outright combat for social justice.

The course this movement was to take, the role it was to play in Peruvian national life for the next several decades, the

nuances that were to distinguish it from other movements, and the mentality and attitudes that permeated and inspired it, were determined in large part by its origin in the Popular University. The point of departure, therefore, for any study in depth of the origins of the Peruvian Aprista Movement must be the Popular Universities.



## CHAPTER I

### THE STUDENT-WORKER

#### ALLIANCE OF 1919

Before the winds of change coming from Cordoba swept its university halls and stirred its youth to nurture bold dreams of social change, Peru, like the rest of Latin America, viewed the great political and social upheavals disrupting the order and stability of Europe, the World War, the collapse of the great royal dynasties in central Europe, the Bolshevik revolution, as so many far away spectacles which seemed to bear no immediate significance for Peru. The high-minded spokesman of the pre-war university generation, José de la Riva Agüero, distrusted solutions to Peru's problems that involved violence or mass revolutions; instead, he and his followers placed their hopes for Peru's progress in an intellectual elite that would address itself to the social problems of the nation, especially those posed by the Indian population, through a paternalistic system resembling that of the Incas.<sup>1</sup> The mass of illiterate Indians toiling the soil in the valley of Cuzco or eeking out a living in the highlands near Lake Titicaca remained indifferent or oblivious to these great

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<sup>1</sup>Fredrick B. Pike, The Modern History of Peru (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1967), pp. 204-205.

movements in other lands and even to the political currents in Lima itself. But even the laconic pace of backward Peru was not to escape the impact of these global cataclysms. /

Peru's population was edging toward the four million mark after the war, although this is only an approximate estimate, as no official census of the entire nation had been taken since 1876. Roughly 52% of the population was white or mestizo, while 45% was Indian.<sup>2</sup> The country lagged far behind the great nations of Europe or the United States, for the great majority of its Indians were illiterate while only a fraction of the population received a university education. The noted educator and one time Rector of the National University of San Marcos in Lima, Manuel Vicente Villarán, reported that even by 1900 there was not a single secondary school in Peru that specialized in agriculture, commerce or industrial skills.<sup>3</sup> And this was the situation in a country where 68% of the population derived its livelihood from agriculture and mining.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Given the dearth of documented studies, governmental or otherwise, it is difficult to make accurate statistical descriptions of Peru's demographical or economic growth during the period studied in this paper. The first official census of Peru in the twentieth century was not taken until 1940. This census revealed a total population of 6,201,555. Of this total, 3,233,360 (52%) was white and mestizo, and 2,847,196 (45%) was Indian. Presumably the same racial proportion prevailed in the post-World I years. Ministerio de Fomento, Primer Informe Oficial del Censo de 1940.

<sup>3</sup>Manuel V. Villarán, Estudios Sobre Educación Nacional (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gililma, 1922), p.6

<sup>4</sup>Ricardo Martínez de la Torre, Apuntes para una Interpretación Marxista de Historia Social del Perú (Lima: Empresa Editora Peruana, 1947), p.53.

Nor could one look optimistically to Peru's four universities for a solution to its underdevelopment. The lawyer and the man of letters was still the academic ideal held forth to the young Peruvian who aspired to enter the university. Modelled on the University of Salamanca, the Peruvian university emphasized the formation of a social elite, disciplined by the rigors of Scholastic philosophy and logic and humanized by acquaintance with the liberal and fine arts. The desired product of this liberal education was a well-rounded gentleman who could think precisely and logically, as befits a lawyer or a professional man, and who could at the same time converse gracefully and artfully on a wide number of subjects -- literature, politics, astronomy -- as befits a man of leisure and cultured society. The practical man of science, a hero in the new technological societies of the northern hemisphere, was still viewed as a rude academic barbarian who threatened to undermine the humanistic and spiritual values enshrined in the Latin university.<sup>5</sup>

In Lima alone in 1900 there was one lawyer for each four hundred inhabitants, while in Paris in the same year there was one lawyer for each eight hundred inhabitants.<sup>6</sup> The vast majority

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<sup>5</sup>This was an attitude that had been expressed earlier by the Uruguayan essayist, José Enrique Rodó in his famous Ariel, and by the Mexican author, José Vasconcelos in his Raza Cosmica. It is interesting to note in this regard that the Catholic University of Lima was founded in 1917 with the express purpose of banishing material and utilitarian values among Peruvian youth and to combat Marxian inspired class violence. Pike, p.208.

<sup>6</sup>Villarán, p.18.

of the professors at the university, which numbered 1500 students in 1920, worked part time and held their positions as honorary posts corresponding to their privileged status in the professional world. The university was open principally to the sons of the wealthy, although the son of a lower class official or a poor provinciano could enter the university of San Marcos if he knew someone of importance in the capital and if he could bear the social stigma attached to his inferior status. Naturally, there were few mestizos, and no Indians to be seen in the halls of the university. Only a handful of women attended the university prior to World War II. Given this social composition of the university and the heavy emphasis upon Law and Letters, it is understandable why some of the more progressive minded thinkers of the day felt that the university was divorced from the reality of national life. A young member of that generation, Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, in a speech delivered in 1917, lamented this separation of the university from national problems:

Al recorrer rápidamente la historia de la Universidad desde su origen hasta la fecha se destaca este rasgo desagradable y funesto: su falta de vinculación con la realidad nacional, con la vida de nuestro medio, con las necesidades y aspiraciones del país.<sup>7</sup>

Yet, paradoxically, though the university was cut off from the reality of the nation, it did reflect the economic and

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<sup>7</sup>Carlos Ferdinand Cuadros, Universidad y Emancipación Nacional (Cuzco: Editorial H. G. Rozas, 1958), p.22.

social condition of the country. If during the colonial period, as Luis Alberto Sánchez has explained, the university was the patrimony of an elite, during the Republican period it was the special domain for sons of the economic oligarchy.<sup>8</sup> If San Marcos was the academic and social mecca of Peru's upper class, then the city which housed it, Lima, was the hub and nerve of the entire nation. In spite of the efforts of certain indigenistas and social critics around the turn of the century to foster a new appreciation of Peru's Incan past and the glories of Cuzco, Lima reigned supreme and unchallenged over the economic, political and social life of the country.

The census taken of Lima in 1920 revealed a population of 223,807 for the entire province, and 173,007 for the city proper. The racial composition of Lima was quite disproportionate to that of the rest of the country: there were 70,353 whites, 71,688 mestizos, but only 18,298 Indians, 6,608 Negroes and 5,673 Asiatics.<sup>9</sup> Clearly, Lima belonged to the whites and mestizos. Many of the Indians who lived there were transient laborers who returned to the mountains for part of the year. Those who remained during the year worked as domestic servants, street vendors, artisans and cargo-bearers.

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<sup>8</sup>Sánchez, p. 152.

<sup>9</sup>Ministerio de Fomento, Resúmenes del Censo de las Provincias de Lima y Callao 17 de Diciembre de 1920. (Lima: Imprenta Aguirre, 1920), pp. 83-84.

The sprawling metropolis of the post World War II period with its sea of ugly squalid barriadas did not yet exist. Lima in 1918, in spite of its imported automobiles from Europe and new factories, resembled more the placid and picturesque colonial town of Ricardo Palma's Tradiciones Peruanas. Depending upon one's point of reference, Lima in this period could best be described as a little big city. By the standards of the United States or Europe, it was a small city. It was still necessary to ride the train over vacant countryside to reach the port town of Callao some 13 kilometers away, or to reach the plush bathing resorts for Lima's wealthy in the outlying towns of Barranco and Miraflores. There was no paved road between Lima and Callao until 1923.

Yet in relation to the other cities of Peru, Lima was a veritable metropolis, and the Limeños took pride in the central importance of their city. Lima possessed four major dailies that went out to all parts of the Republic, linking the small provincial cities with the great events in Europe and North America. The oldest and most influential was El Comercio (founded in 1839), run by the affluent and prominent Miró Quesada family. Next in prestige and circulation was La Prensa (founded in 1903), which took a more polemical stance in political issues until 1921 when it supported President Augusto B. Leguía. El Tiempo was the youngest of all -- founded in 1916 -- and undoubtedly the most controversial in social issues. It was temporarily suppressed in

1919 by President José Pardo who resented its stinging criticism during the strike for the eight-hour day. La Crónica, (founded in 1912), outdid the others in its photographic coverage of the news.<sup>10</sup>

Signs of changing times could be seen in Lima's entertainment. Half of Lima's sixteen theaters had been converted into cinemas by 1920, and the Touring Club Peruano enjoyed a growing prestige among young auto fans. But the older and more traditional diversions had lost no ground: horse-racing at the hippodrome from April to January of each year, boating at the Club de Regatas in Chorrillos or Callao, or bathing at the resorts in Barranco, Miraflores or Ancon. Although the new sport of boxing was winning more attention, it could hardly compete with the all time favorite, soccer, to judge by the more than seventy-nine soccer clubs in Lima alone in 1928.<sup>11</sup> Lima was a pleasant city to live in, full of graceful parks, elegant monuments and well-dressed people. The self-esteem of the Limeño, ironic, jestful and condescending, is nowhere better summed up than in the old refrain, "Lima es el Perú, y Lima es el Jirón de la Unión."

But dissenting voices were beginning to puncture the placid calm of the capital city. A young provinciano from Trujillo in northern Peru found Lima stuffy, antiquated and cruel.

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<sup>10</sup>Cipriano A. Laos, Lima "La Ciudad de Los Reyes" (Lima: Editorial Perú, 1929), pp. 141-152.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 362-379

Echoing the words of an earlier social critic, Manuel González Prada, whom he ardently admired, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre castigated the Peruvian capital in 1923 in these words:

Lima aristocrática es el vértice de una pesada pirámide cuya base está formada por las espaldas del pueblo peruano. Sobre ellas se ha levantado una arquitectura política-social sin equilibrio ni proporción, en la que todo concurre a la elevación del vértice. "Lima es la inmensa ventosa que chupa la sangre de toda la nación," dijo nuestro apóstol civil González Prada. Tuvo razón y autoridad para decirlo quien fue su primer ciudadano. Pero Lima es el Perú auténtico, histórico y nacional; en sentido etimológico del vocablo, una ciudad conquistadora y extranjera que no ha perdido hasta hoy su primitivo carácter. Desde ella y para ella se legisla y gobierna. El Perú provinciano, y sobre todo el Perú serrano - el Perú verdadero -, es prácticamente otro país y permanece alejado y desconocido por los hombres metropolitanos que lo usufructúan...<sup>12</sup>

As the author of these words suggests by mentioning the name of González Prada, social criticism directed against the callous indifference of Lima's high society toward the illiterate and poverty-stricken Indians of Peru was not new. On the contrary, it enjoyed a rather respectable tradition, beginning with the ironic barbs of the satirist, Ricardo Palma, later on in the social criticisms of the educator, Javier Prado, and culminating in the virulent broadsides of the radical essayist, Manuel González Prada. But there was a difference now in the tone of the criticism as the World War came to a halt in Europe. Never before had the criti-

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<sup>12</sup>Enrique Ruíz García, Anatomía de una Revolución (Madrid: Ediciones Guadarrama, 1966), p.320.



cism seemed so justified by the weight of international events. The progress reports of the new worker's revolution in Russia filled the newspapers daily; the rise of syndicalism and socialism in Europe augured a new era of progress for the laboring man; and finally, the agrarian revolt of Emiliano Zapata and the liberalism of Mexico inspired Latin American intellectuals with the hope of widescale reforms throughout the rest of Latin America.

That Peru could not escape the consequences of its involvement in the fate of the rest of the western world was dramatically symbolized in February, 1921, by the visit to the port of Callao of the fleet of another power that was increasingly beginning to dominate the economic life of the country - the United States. With bouyant naïveté, Lima wined and dined the four visiting American admirals with their 14,000 marines as though they were conquering heroes. And in a sense, they were. The United States was rapidly replacing Britain as the number one investor in Peru. International Petroleum of New Jersey increased its total production in Peru five-fold between 1919 and 1929. By 1926 the company controlled 70% of the country's oil production and exported about 90% of the nation's petroleum. By 1929 the United States monopolized all of the major sources of natural wealth in Peru, such as copper, oil, petroleum, and cotton.<sup>13</sup>

The ever-growing presence of North American capital in

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<sup>13</sup>James C. Carey, Peru and the United States, 1900-1962 (Notre Dame, Indiana: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1964), pp. 57-60.

Peru was matched by the precocious growth of an incipient native industry in Peru. In 1915 some 9,651 Peruvians were engaged in the mining industry; this number had nearly tripled by 1927, with 28,431 Peruvians laboring in the mines.<sup>14</sup> In terms of production, this same amazing growth rate could be noted. Sugar production in 1902 was estimated at 187,641 tons; but by 1928 it had sped upwards to 361,736 tons per year.<sup>15</sup>

Equally as significant as this numerical growth was the rise of a Peruvian labor movement and the emergence of a social consciousness among Peruvian workers. As far back as 1887 the bakers of Lima organized themselves into the first syndicate in Peru, "Estrellas del Perú". The first textile unions were formed in 1911. But until 1919 there was no general syndicate in Peru binding together any significant number of Peruvian workers. The first strike in Lima was organized by anarchists in 1904. The stevedores of Callao went on strike in 1906. The textile worker's strike in Vitarte, a small town inland from Lima, was promptly suppressed by President Leguía in 1911. Other strikes, among the tailors of Lima in 1911 and the cargo-bearers in 1912, were similarly suppressed by the police. The first fight for an eight hour day was waged and won by the dock workers of Callao in 1913. On January 10th, 1913, the reformist minded President, Guillermo

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<sup>14</sup>Martínez de la Torre, Vol. I., p. 193.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 191.

Billinghurst, promulgated the first eight-hour day labor law in Peruvian history. But new and bloody strikes in Lima in 1914 provoked public censure of Billinghurst, who was ousted that same year. Labor instability increased as major strikes occurred in the Standard Oil fields in Talara in northern Peru in 1915, in Huacho in 1916, in Talara again in 1917, and in Vitarte in 1918.<sup>16</sup>

These strikes were characterized by their violence, disorder and spontaneity. Behind most of them were impetuous anarchists who had little patience for refined methods of collective bargaining or picketing. Most of the strikes were called ad hoc to demand an immediate and tangible reform and then disbanded just as abruptly after the success or failure of the strike. There were few organized worker's groups in Peru, and those that existed lacked cohesion or permanency. The first textile syndicate was formed in 1911, but each new textile factory that went up in Lima tended to generate its own separate syndicate.

The year 1919 was significant in the history of Peruvian syndicalism, for the first concerted effort to pull the dispersed worker's associations into a general federation was made and enjoyed limited success. That same year the fight for an eight-hour day for all Peruvian workers was successfully waged. Except for the dock workers in Callao, who had achieved the eight-hour day in

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<sup>16</sup>Roberto MacLean y Estenós, Sociología del Perú (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, U.N.A.M., 1959), pp. 105-137.

1913, the normal working load for most of Peru's workers was fourteen hours daily. The strike began in late 1918 and ended in early 1919. Usually the achievement of the eight-hour day in any country is recorded as a major victory for labor, but in Peru there was an added factor that gave a unique twist to the development of Peruvian history from that time. The eight-hour day was also a victory for Peru's university students who collaborated with the workers in their fight.

The strike broke out in the textile plant, El Inca, run under the auspices of the William R. Grace Company, on December 23rd, 1918, in Lima. On the 26th another textile plant, la Victoria, joined the strike. Within a few days three other plants in Lima, Progreso, San Jacinto and Unión joined the movement. On the 30th, the Federation of Bakers declared a sympathy strike, and by January 1st, some 3,000 workers in Lima were on strike. The strikers in the textil town of Vitarte called together twenty delegates from the different plants on strike in Lima. At this meeting a strike committee, El Comité Obrero, was formed to direct the strike. Also, an agreement was reached to the effect that no party was to reach a separate agreement with the government. This solidarity of interest, however, was soon to encounter equally solid resistance from the government. A general meeting of the newly formed strike committee, El Comité Obrero, on January 1st, 1919, was dispersed by an assault of government troops. This momentary repression served to stimulate the workers to send the

following historic appeal for help to the Federation of Peruvian students, dated the first of January, 1919:

Señor Presidente de la Federación de Estudiantes:

La importancia y trascendencia que las modernas doctrinas socialistas tienen no sólo para los obreros sino que también para las esferas sociales (del país); el interés y entusiasmo que los estudiantes han manifestado siempre para ocuparse de los intereses de las clases populares del país, y la justicia e impostergable urgencia de satisfacer nuestras justas demandas, nos permiten abrigar la esperanza que la Federación de Estudiantes no ha desestimar nuestra invitación.

Con la mayor consideración me suscribo de usted seguro servidor,

Presidente del Comité:

Manuel Casabona<sup>17</sup>

That the workers felt that they could appeal to the university students was a tribute to the momentous changes that had taken place in the mentality and attitudes of the Peruvian university students under the impact of the reform movement begun at Córdoba in the Spring of 1918. A few years earlier student collaboration in a worker's strike would have been unheard of or shocking. But the new ideas coming from Russia and Mexico were creating a climate of messianic expectation and revolutionary fervor among the educated youth of Latin America and Peru. Rebellion was in the air and social upheavals abroad came as apocalyptic signs that confirmed the belief of the young rebels that

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<sup>17</sup>Martínez, Vol. I, pp. 422-423.

the whole world was destined to undergo a profound transformation.

In the words of Luís Alberto Sánchez:

Por tal fecha, las juventudes obrera y universitaria se hallaban sumamente agitadas. Las nuevas conquistas sociales traídas por la guerra; la revolución rusa; las huelgas del norte de Italia; la sublevación del ejército y el proletariado alemán; mas la repercusión que todo ello encontraba en Argentina, Uruguay y Chile; la campaña política Chilena, que significaba una auténtica renovación social; todo resonaba en el Perú y contribuía a robustecer un hondo sentimiento de rebelión y de reforma.<sup>18</sup>

The newly created Federation of Peruvian Students<sup>19</sup> acted swiftly in response to the worker's appeal. The President of the Federation appointed a committee of three to serve as student delegates to the strike committee; Bruno Bueno, Valentín Quesada and Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre. Of the three, Haya de la Torre became the dominant figure in the committee and the one who did the most to seal the unity between the workers and the students in the strike.

Born in Trujillo in the Department of La Libertad along the northern coast of Peru on February 22nd, 1895, of a middle class family, young Haya attended the seminary of San Carlos. An activist and an organizer, he established the first sports club of

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<sup>18</sup>Luís Alberto Sánchez, Haya de La Torre y el Apra (Santiago de Chile: editorial del Pacífico, 1954), p. 54.

<sup>19</sup>The Federation of Peruvian Students (F.E.P.) was organized in 1916 and composed of delegates of the four universities of Peru. Haya de la Torre served as student president from October, 1920 until he resigned in mid 1921 to prepare for the Popular Universities.

Trujillo, Jorge Chavez, and served as Secretary General of the University Center of the University of La Libertad where he took up the study of law. At the university he formed acquaintances with the poets Abraham Valdelomar and César Vallejo and other thinkers who were later to help form the Aprista movement: Alcides Spelucín, Antenor Orrego and Carlos Manuel Cox.<sup>20</sup>

Haya studied for a short period at the University of Cuzco at the invitation of a friend of the family. There in the old Inca capital he developed a fascination for Peru's Indian heritage as well as a heightened sense of indignation at the social injustices to which the Indians were subjected. Haya went to Lima in 1917 with the same high ambitions that characterized many young provincianos as they approached the big capital. But the necessity of working for a living and a painful experience with hunger indelibly impressed upon him the needs of large numbers of his fellow Peruvians.<sup>21</sup>

His reading included Renan, Sarmiento, Marx and González Prada. He ardently admired the pungent social criticisms of González Prada, and he frequently sought out the elder critic to converse with him. Years later Haya would honor the memory of González Prada by naming his Popular Universities after him. Haya

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<sup>20</sup> Felipe Cossío del Pomar, El Indoamericano (Lima: Editorial Nuevo Día, 1946), pp. 33-36.

<sup>21</sup> John A. MacKay, The Other Spanish Christ (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1932), p. 194.

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shared González Prada's deep convictions on the need for social reform and vindication of workers' and Indians' rights. For a time, he shared his contempt for religion. But his earlier disdain for religion was modified by the benevolent influence of a newly found friend, John MacKay, a Scottish minister and Director of the Anglo-Peruano Institute in Lima, where Haya taught part time to earn his way through San Marcos.<sup>22</sup>

Haya found San Marcos little different from the provincial University of La Libertad with its colonial mentality and dusty academic atmosphere, far removed from the social reality of the country. As far as Latin American universities went, San Marcos was, in his opinion, "The oldest and most decrepit of America".<sup>23</sup> Upon learning of the events in Córdoba in June, 1918, he immediately sent letters of congratulations to the instigators.<sup>24</sup>

Haya worked indefatigably as the worker's delegate to the government during the duration of the strike. On January 13th, the strikers organized a general strike industry and transportation throughout the city. On January 15th, President Pardo promulgated a decree granting the eight hour day to all Peruvian workers. The Minister of Development invited the student and workers' representatives to his office to inform them of the

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 194.

<sup>23</sup>Cossío, p. 71.

<sup>24</sup>Luis Alberto Sánchez, Haya de la Torre y El Apra, p. 54.



success of their strike and to express his congratulations to the students.

Out of this newly formed alliance with the workers, Haya formed many lasting friendships. One of them was with Arturo Montoya Sabroso, a young anarchist and co-editor of a worker's publication, El Obrero Textil. Years later Sabroso was to be a founder and first president of the powerful Confederation of Peruvian Workers (1944-1963). The immediate result of the strike was the establishment, at the urging and suggestion of Haya, of the Textil Federation, which was to include all textile workers in Lima, numbering then about 1,200.

The Peruvian syndicalist movement was now seriously under way. But another dramatic strike was to occur that year, this time inspired by the students and supported by the workers. This second strike would permanently seal the alliance between them.

President Pardo had conceded the eight hour day as a palliative to stop the general strike, but he underwent no profound change of heart toward the labor movement. On the contrary, he eyed it with suspicion and hostility. On April 13th, 1919, government police surrounded the Ricardo Palma library in downtown Lima where a meeting of the Comité Obrero pro-abaratamiento de las Subsistencias, an outgrowth of the Comité Obrero, was in session. While the young student liaison, Haya de la Torre, discussed matters with the Colonel in charge, the workers escaped from the

library.<sup>25</sup> A protest action was set in motion by the workers and plans for a general city-wide strike were set for the first of May.

By this time, however, the students had initiated their own university reform movement in imitation of the one in Córdoba. Disatisfaction with the cautious moves of the Student Federation led to the creation of a Comité de Reforma Universitaria to force more energetic action in favor of university reform. The committee, headed by Jorge Guillermo Leguía, and composed of Haya de la Torre, Luís Alberto Sánchez, Jorge Basadre, Manuel Seoane, and other prominent student leaders, demanded the removal of eighteen professors, the suppression of certain courses in ecclesiastical discipline, complete renovation of the university government, student participation in policy decisions, and academic freedom for professors.<sup>26</sup>

The tense situation among students and workers was heightened in May by the visit to Lima of the famous Argentine socialist, Alfredo Palacios. Palacios thrilled the students with his talk of the radical university reforms taking place in Argentina, and he received a standing ovation from the assembled students of San Marcos on the occasion of his departure when he declared -- much to the discomfiture of the faculty members present -- that the

<sup>25</sup>Luís Alberto Sánchez, Haya de la Torre y el Apra, p.56

<sup>26</sup>Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, ¿A Dónde Va Indoamérica? (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ercilla, 1935), p. 192.

university reform ought to be carried out, "Con los decanos o sin los decanos."<sup>27</sup> Haya seized the opportunity of Palacios's stay to interview him, and years later he established contact with the leading university reform leaders in Argentina through Palacios.

Palacios left Lima on May 26th, and on the 27th a general strike gripped the city. Police and students clashed on the streets and workers intervened on the side of the students. President Pardo called a state of seige and closed down El Tiempo to quiet its criticism of his policies. The political situation worsened and on July 4th, former President Augusto B. Leguía, accompanied by General Andrés Cáceres, ousted Pardo and began a reign of eleven years as Peru's president. Leguía seized the opportunity to strengthen his position by acceding to the demands of both the students and the workers. In September he issued a decree which effected the first major university reform in Peru since 1855.<sup>28</sup>

In October Haya was elected President of the Federation of Students and one of his first acts was to call for a general congress of Peruvian University students to implement the university reform aims in Peru. President Leguía strengthened his liberal image by offering to subsidize the congress. The site chosen was Cuzco and the date was set for March of the coming year.

<sup>27</sup> Luis Alberto Sánchez, Haya de la Torre y el Apra, p. 58

<sup>28</sup> Julio C. Tello, Reforma Universitaria (Lima: Sanmartí y Cía, 1928), pp. 137-38.

The year 1919 had seen the outbreak of agitation for reform on two distinct fronts: the factory and the university. But the aims of both were achieved through mutual collaboration, a fact which was to deeply influence the ideology hammered out at the student congress of 1920 as well as the whole subsequent history of Peruvian syndicalism and politics. The year had been tense and exciting, and spectacular results had been achieved. Reform was succeeding everywhere and unlimited progress seemed to be the promise of the future. High optimism was the keynote of the day as the students busily prepared for the congress which was to take place the following Spring.

CHAPTER II  
THE UNIVERSITY REFORM  
AND  
THE POPULAR UNIVERSITY

The first National Congress of Peruvian students convened on March 11th, 1920 in the ancient Inca capital of Cuzco. The preparatory committee and the direction of the congress was in the hands of Haya de la Torre as President of the Student Federation. Delegates from the four Peruvian universities, San Marcos in Lima, San Agustín in Arequipa, la Libertad in Trujillo and the University of Cuzco itself came flocking to the congress. The congress was subdivided into 17 sessions, the last one closing on the evening of March 20th.<sup>1</sup>

The Congress developed through two phases. The first one was dominated by enthusiasts who championed the romantic but abstract causes of patriotism and nationalism. In the second phase, the more serious and precise thinkers, under the leadership of Haya de la Torre, took command of the congress and fought for the

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<sup>1</sup>Gabriel del Mazo, La Reforma Universitaria 6 vols. (Buenos Aires: Edicion del Centro Estudiantes de Ingenieria, 1941), Vol. II, p. 36. This is the most comprehensive study of the reform movement in Latin America written by one of its principal leaders in Argentina. Vol. II contains all the proceedings of the Congress of Cuzco including a chronicle by Enrique Köster on the Popular University, pp. 15-46 and following pages.

creation of what was to prove to be the most concrete and original implementation of the student reform movement to date, the Popular University.<sup>2</sup>

The idea of a popular university was intrinsically bound up with the whole ideology of the reform movement of Córdoba. In fact, it may be considered the logical and inevitable outcome of the general direction of that movement. The founder of the Popular University in Peru, Haya de la Torre, was very conscious of the formative role of the university reform movement in creating the popular universities:

De aquella verdadera revolución estudiantil, velozmente propagada a todo el ámbito continental, surgió la doctrina de que es misión de las universidades reformadas arrastrar el peligro social del analfabetismo de nuestras masas y consagrar los derechos del pueblo a la cultura como el primer paso hacia la verdadera justicia democrática. La reforma creó las universidades populares e inauguró una época de creciente acercamiento estudiantil hacia las clases obreras y de generalizado interés por sus problemas económicos.<sup>3</sup>

Prior to 1918 there had been many reforms in the history of the Peruvian university. From the time of the colony on through the nineteenth century there were innumerable decrees emanating

<sup>2</sup>Luis Alberto Sánchez, Haya de la Torre y el Apra, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup>Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, Ideología Aprista (Lima: Ediciones Pueblo, 1961), pp. 94-95. Haya's own reflections on the university reform movement can be found in his works, Construyendo el Aprismo (Buenos Aires: Colección "Ciencias Políticas", pp. 155-166; Ideología Aprista, "El Antimperialismo Aprista", pp. 72-108; and in his article, "Latin America's Student Revolution", in Living Age, Vol. 331 (October 15, 1938), 103-106.

from the President's palace affecting the life of the university. But these were almost always mere shifts in administrative policy or minor academic changes.<sup>4</sup> The feeling had grown strong among university students that far more radical changes were called for to modernize the Latin American university. This, then, was the first and foremost aim of the youth who rebelled at Córdoba and in Peru: update the university and break the ties that still bound it to colonial traditions. Haya de la Torre saw the reform as an emancipation from the colonial mentality:

La Reforma universitaria que en su esencia fue el primer grito de emancipación de nuestro "coloniaje mental" - heraldo de una nueva conciencia de Indoamérica - calificó expresivamente a las viejas universidades y sus métodos pedagógicos estancos, como los virreinos del espíritu.<sup>5</sup>

Underlying causes behind the movement are not hard to locate. The impact of foreign expansion -British and American- around the turn of the century had the startling effect of waking up the youth of Latin America to the realization that the old world scholasticism currently taught in their universities left them ill-prepared to deal on an equal basis with the agents of superior technological cultures. Víctor Andrés Belaúnde decried this defect in the university education afforded the men of his generation:

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<sup>4</sup>Tello, p. 140.

<sup>5</sup>Haya de la Torre, Ideología Aprista, pp. 93-94.

La Universidad no estudia, no nos enseña la situación en que se encuentra el capital nacional respecto del capital extranjero, no nos indica hasta qué punto somos señores, económicamente del suelo en que pisamos...<sup>6</sup>

But the advance of foreign capital did have a stimulating, though indirect, effect on the Latin American university. Until the turn of the century, the prevailing mentality in university circles was that of members of the Peruvian upper class, who alone could afford to send their sons to the university. This upper class derived its wealth primarily from mining, agriculture (cotton and sugar cane), and the guano industry. Politically it was conservative and economically it thrived on a laissez-faire liberalism. But as has been indicated earlier, foreign economic expansion and the industrialization it brought was beginning to undermine the social and economic world of the nineteenth century Peruvian capitalist.

Before the British built textile plants in Peru, the cotton grower on the coast sent his produce directly to England. Now he sent his cotton bales to be processed in Lima or Vitarte. The immediate result of this shift in the economic system was to stimulate a greater flow of capital in the national economy and to give rise to a class of middle-man entrepreneurs -- exporters, bankers, shopkeepers, clerical workers, etc. At the same time, an ever increasing number of Indians and mestizos left the haciendas

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<sup>6</sup>Cuadros, p. 22.



in the mountain valleys to become salaried workers in the new factories on the coast.<sup>7</sup> An increase in the circulation of capital at home and an increase in the number of salaried workers in centralized areas insured the continuous growth and prosperity of the middle man capitalist.

But there were unexpected consequences, too, of these economic shifts for the traditional upper class which loomed as ill omens on the horizon. For the first time the Peruvian upper class was faced with the threat of an organized labor front and the emergence of a middle class desirous of a greater participation in the control of national industry and finance. A clash of class interests was the inevitable outcome. The sons of this new middle class began arriving at the doors of San Marcos and the other universities of Peru at the turn of the century.

The universities became the natural center where the clash of the two mentalities took place. For one reason there were few institutions in Latin American or Peruvian society at that time in which the new middle class could find a platform to express its demands. The government and the army represented the interests of the upper class, and the Church was too conservative to serve as an effective instrument of social change. The new labor unions were as yet too disorganized and unstable to be of use, and they continued to be objects of government and police surveillance.

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<sup>7</sup>Martínez, Vol. I, p. 193.

It therefore fell to the university to become the platform for the new middle class. As Haya de la Torre has observed, the university is that intellectual center where society as a corporate whole expresses itself: "A través de ella piensa la colectividad."<sup>8</sup>

The standard bearers of the student reform in Argentina and Peru were, almost without exception, products of the new middle class. Inevitably they would rebel against the demands of a university geared to educate only gentlemen of the upper social elite. Furthermore, they challenged the dominance of the capital city elite in the University of San Marcos, for many of them were provincianos from the interior Andean regions or the outlying coastal cities. It is symbolic that the leader of the student reform movement in Peru was both a member of the middle class and a provinciano.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Another characteristic of this new class was its growing concern for the welfare and the rights of the Indians and the new urban workers. Many of the young provincianos arriving at the university were themselves mestizos who felt the sting of the social stigma attached to their inferior status. Many of them had to work part time to put themselves through the university.<sup>9</sup> Haya

<sup>8</sup>Haya de la Torre, Ideología Aprista, p. 160.

<sup>9</sup>Although there are no exact statistics on the number of students working part time during this period, it is interesting to note that in 1957, 29% of San Marcos students worked part time. Luis Alberto Sánchez, La Universidad no es una Isla, pp. 152-153.

himself arrived at San Marcos with one suit to his name, and supported himself by teaching part time at the Anglo-Peruano Institute in Lima.<sup>10</sup> This factor, along with the traditional rivalry that existed between the capital city and the smaller provincial cities, sharpened the middle-class university student's disdain for the social privileges enshrined in the university, whetting his appetite for more reform both within the university and in society in general.

The prime objective of the students at Córdoba and San Marcos was not the mere breakdown of social privileges within the university, however, but rather a wholesale modernization of it. Demands such as the removal of required courses of Theology and the right to vote for the acceptance or rejection of certain professors were not irresponsible demands to lower academic standards. They represented rather demands for greater academic excellence and responsibility in the university. This was foremost in the minds of the students at Córdoba when they issued their proclamation to "Los hombres libres de Sud América:"

Las universidades han sido hasta aquí el refugio secular de los mediocres, la renta de los ignorantes, la hospitalización segura de los inválidos y - lo que es peor aún - el lugar donde todas las formas de tiranizar y de insensibilizar hallaron la cátedra que las dictara.<sup>11</sup>

The First National Congress of Argentine university stu-

<sup>10</sup>Cossío del Pomar, p. 57.

<sup>11</sup>Mazo, Vol. IV, p. 10.

dents held at Córdoba in July, 1918, proclaimed the essential points of the university reform.<sup>12</sup> The first called for student co-participation in university policy-making. This was to insure the democratization of the university and to guarantee that the reform movement would be an on-going process and not halt with one or two immediate reforms. Another point stressed was voluntary attendance at lectures. This measure was seen as a type of popular check on professors who failed to do a professional job in the classroom. Furthermore, this right would permit students to hold part time jobs while attending the university.

Another major issue raised was academic freedom for the professor, which meant freedom to prescind from a required syllabus or to question a traditional belief or ideology. The right of the students to accept or reject a proposed candidate for a professorship was one of the principal demands inherent in the right of student co-government. Moreover, the students demanded the establishments of university extensions in other parts of the country to enable those who by reason of economic circumstance or distance could not attend a centrally located university.

Most important of all, the students demanded the integration of the university into the national life of the country. By this was meant the necessity to cease dealing with historical

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<sup>12</sup>Gabriel del Mazo, El Movimiento de la Reforma Universitaria en América Latina (Lima: Talleres de Industrial Gráfica, 1967), p. 13ff.

or philosophical problems that had little relevancy to the real needs and problems of the country. Behind this demand to reorientate the university toward service to the nation was a rejection of European and North American influences on education in Latin America and a corresponding exaltation of Latin American autonomy and traditions.

Integration of the university into the life of the nation implied the fostering of a new patriotism inspired by a new pride in the nation's history, but most important, by pride in the nation's people, including and most especially the lower class mestizos and Indians. The university, if it were to serve the needs of the nation, must become above all else a vehicle of social reform and social transformation. If the university was the patrimony of the upper classes before, now it was to become a center of education open to all classes. This new accent on the democratization and socialization of the university accounts for, among other reasons, the confidence with which the workers turned to the Peruvian university students in 1919 for aid in their strike.

Another outstanding characteristic of the movement at Córdoba was its strong internationalist tone. The slogan of the students boldly proclaimed the grandiose vision which motivated them: "Por la unidad de los pueblos de América, contra el imperialismo yanquí, para la realización de la justicia social."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Mazo, La Reforma Universitaria, Vol. IV, p. 13.

This antagonism toward foreign imperialism in Latin America was but the logical implication of a movement designed to fight for the democratization and transformation of the university into a servant of the nation. The discovery that much of the economic- and to an extent- political future of the country lay in the hands of foreign investors who exploited the resources and manpower of the nation came as a crude shock and affront to these young idealists. They felt that the old university was to blame for not having prepared their countries to face this situation. Moreover, those who most felt the impact of foreign economic expansion in Latin America and who had the most to lose were the members of the new middle class. The middle class students who rebelled against the antiquated structure of the university also used the university as a platform to decry the inroads of United States and British capital in Latin America.

The anti-imperialist note was sounded again in October, 1920, when the Argentine University Federation published the first denunciation of world imperialism by a group of any significance in Latin America.<sup>14</sup> The fight to liberate the university from Mediaeval molds of thought precipitated the fight to liberate the nation from external powers that threatened to subjugate it at the very moment of its intellectual emancipation. But it was useless to modernize the universities and raise a banner decrying the dan-

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<sup>14</sup>Mazo, La Reforma Universitaria, Vol. II, p. 21.

gers of international imperialism while the great mass of workers and Indians remained illiterate and indifferent to these hard realities. The first order of business, then, in the minds of the young reformers, after the internal reform of the university - was to diffuse the benefits of culture and education to the popular masses. Without educated workers and peasants all talk of social reform at home or resistance to imperialism from abroad was bound to remain sterile and abstract. The small middle class could not wage their battle by themselves; it needed the support of the masses. Therefore, it must seek out an alliance with them and prepare them for the coming struggle. Synthesizing this aspect of the reform movement, Haya de la Torre declared:

La clase media oprimida por el imperialismo, siente su comunidad con los oprimidos de la clase proletaria. Se inclina hacia ella.... En el Perú la Reforma se completa con una alianza de estudiantes revolucionarios con el naciente proletariado y con las reivindicaciones de los siervos indígenas.<sup>15</sup>

Diffusion of culture to the masses was consequently one of the principal aims of the university reform movement. An early prototype of the Popular University, the university extension, had been proposed at the student congress of Montevideo in 1908, but in practice it had not worked. The plan consisted of sending out a few professors and students to dictate lectures on diverse and sundry subjects to workers, but the project was poorly organized

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<sup>15</sup>Haya de la Torre, Construyendo el Apra, p. 162.

and consequently ineffective.<sup>16</sup>

The idea of a popular university had occurred earlier to Haya de la Torre himself, too. In Trujillo at the age of eighteen he gathered together in his home a small group of students and workers to form a cultural center.<sup>17</sup> This project did not last long, but the germ of a far more ambitious idea had been planted. In 1917 he presented the idea of a popular university to the Federation of Peruvian Students, but it was rejected. Again, in 1918, he debated with members of the Federation the merits of bringing the culture to the poor, but his idea met with scepticism and disapproval.<sup>18</sup>

But now, with the prestige of his office as President of the Federation behind him, and bouyed up by the success of the alliance between the students and workers a few months earlier, Haya pressed for action on the creation of a popular university at the congress in Cuzco. This time his plan met with the overwhelming support of the students. The actual proposal for the creation of a popular university was made half way through the congress by Abraham Gómez, a student of San Marcos. Haya and Luís F. Bustamante, the student-president of the draft committee,

<sup>16</sup>Luís Alberto Sánchez, La Universidad no es una Isla, p. 138.

<sup>17</sup>Cossío del Pomar, p. 26.

<sup>18</sup>Haya de la Torre, "La U. P. Se Gestó en Trujillo," Boletín de las Universidades Populares González Prada, Year One, number 1 (Lima: Secretaria Nacional de Propaganda de las U.P.G.P., April, 1946), p. 15.



argued in favor of the idea before the assembled delegates.<sup>19</sup> With the approval of the students, Bustamante and Manuel Rospigliosi drew up the fourteen resolutions which created the popular university and presented them to the congress on March 17th. The fourteen points which comprised Theme VII, "La Universidad Popular", were as follows:

1. El Primer Congreso Nacional de Estudiantes, acuerda: la creación inmediata de la Universidad Popular bajo la dirección de la Federación de los Estudiantes del Perú, para lo que solicitará el apoyo de los Poderes Públicos, de las instituciones y de los particulares que se interesen por sus nobles finalidades.
2. El Primer Congreso Nacional de Estudiantes, declara: que todo estudiante peruano tiene el deber ineludible de prestarle su más decidido apoyo.
3. Todo centro federado organizará una activa campaña de propaganda entre estudiantes y obreros en favor de la Universidad Popular.
4. La Universidad Popular tendrá intervención oficial en todos los conflictos obreros, inspirando su acción en los postulados de justicia social.
5. La enseñanza en la Universidad Popular comprenderá dos ciclos: uno de cultura general de orientación nacionalista y eminentemente educativa, y otro de especialización técnica, dirigida hacia las necesidades de cada región.
6. a). La enseñanza en el primer ciclo estará encomendada a la comisión que con tal fin designe la Federación de los Estudiantes del Perú.  
b). La enseñanza en el segundo ciclo correrá a cargo de las comisiones respectivas de los centros federados.

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<sup>19</sup>Mazo, La Reforma Universitaria, Vol. II, p. 45.

7. La enseñanza será metódica, ordenada, sencilla y eminentemente objetiva (cinematografo, vista fijas, cuadros morales, etc., etc.), haciéndose ella por lecciones y conversaciones y sirviendo la conferencia sólo como síntesis y complemento de éstas.
8. La enseñanza deberá estar extenta de todo espíritu dogmático y partidarista.
9. Se implantarán cursos de vacaciones de extensión cultural organizados por el comité federal y los centros representativos de las Universidades Menores, en las distintas provincias de la República, que serán encomendadas a los estudiantes que permanezcan en ellas durante aquel tiempo, recomendándolos que procuren asimismo el fomento de sociedades e instituciones obreras de mejoramiento social.
10. La Universidad Popular deberá preocuparse a la vez del perfeccionamiento intelectual, moral y físico del Obrero, de sus necesidades materiales, fomentando al afecto la creación de cooperativas, cajas de ahorro, y demás instituciones que tiendan a ese fin.
11. Para la mejor realización de sus fines la Universidad Popular organizará:
  - a). Una biblioteca, con préstamo de libros a domicilio.
  - b). Un museo nacional de producciones naturales e industriales.
  - c). Salas de recreo y campos deportivos.
  - d). Un consultorio técnico compuesto por alumnos de las distintas facultades que resolverá por escrito o verbalmente las cuestiones que se le propongan.
12. La Universidad Popular procurará el acceso de sus asociados a los gabinetes y laboratorios de los centros de instrucción superior y demás instituciones de carácter cultural.
13. La Federación de los Estudiantes del Perú, inscribirá anualmente en un cuadro de honor, los nombres de las personas ajenas a la Federación que presten su concurso a la obra de la Universidad Popular.

14. La Federación de los Estudiantes, encomendará a una comisión la reglamentación de la Universidad Popular, teniendo como bases las anteriores.<sup>20</sup>

As the first point indicated, the Popular University was to be under the supervision of the Student Federation, and not attached directly to San Marcos as in the case of the old university extension. Points two, three and four were all additions made personally by Haya de la Torre. No doubt he felt that the call to lend support to his project in the second and third points was necessary in view of the initial apathy and resistance he had encountered when he first proposed his idea years earlier. The fourth point has quite obvious reference to the student's intervention in the worker's strike in January, 1919, as well as the worker's intervention in the student's strike later that same year. This self-proclaimed right of the Popular University to intervene in the fight for social justice contained the seed of its own destruction three years later.

The fifth resolution placed emphasis on fostering interest in national culture as well as specialized training to deal with the problems of each region. Here, no doubt, was a specific reaction against the abstract courses taught at San Marcos and the traditional neglect of regional needs and problems. However, in another section of the decrees of the congress on higher education, the warnings made that the Popular University should avoid

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 45-46.

teaching the people what is merely empirical, but rather it should point out to them the advantages afforded by a professional career:

La labor de la Universidad Popular debe tender a mostrar al pueblo los peligros y daños que ocasionan los empíricos, explicando las ventajas del profesionalismo.

Sección Cuarta, Título II, Núm. 9.<sup>21</sup>

The seventh point enshrines the methodology to be employed in the Popular University. It was to be popular pedagogy adjusted to the popular level. Placards, didactic refrains, and movies were all to be used to interest the worker in self-improvement and personal advancement.

The tenth point is the only one outside of the fourth point which suggests that the scope of the Popular University was to go beyond mere formal lectures in the classroom. The Popular University was to encourage the formation of co-ops, community savings plans, etc. Furthermore, it was to foster instruction in personal hygiene and physical fitness. Clearly, the Popular University was far more ambitious and embracing in its projected scope of activities than the university extension. Years later, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Popular University, Haya summarized in three points his object in creating the Popular University:

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 50

Pretendimos realizar tres objetivas en esta obra de las U. P.: 1º- Hacer obra educacional para el pueblo; 2º- Redimir al Perú de la injusticia; y 3º- erigir un monumento vivo a González Prada que lo elevara a la inmortalidad;...<sup>22</sup>

To educate the people was to redeem Peru from injustice.

This equation summed up the ideology behind the Popular University. As far as the third point, the Popular University would not be baptized with the name "González Prada" until after the first two years of its existence.

Though his name was not specifically brought up at the congress, the shadow of Manuel González Prada hung over the proceedings of the congress as it brought into creation the Popular Universities. For he, just as much as the intellectual currents coming from Córdoba, had been the moving inspiration behind the Popular University. In a speech delivered in 1905 to the members of the Baker's union in Lima, he made an unprecedented plea for an alliance between the workers and intellectuals, and it was this idea of González Prada which served as the ideological foundation of the young student's equation between popular education and the fight for social justice.<sup>23</sup>

González Prada looked with contempt upon the time-honored notion of the superiority of the intellectual over the manual

<sup>22</sup> Haya de la Torre, Boletín de las Universidades Populares González Prada, pp. 12-13.

<sup>23</sup> Manuel González Prada, Horas de Lucha (Lima: Ediciones "Futuro," 1964), pp. 47-55.

laborer. He compared the interdependence of the brain and the muscles in the human body with the work of the intellectual and that of the manual laborer in society. Both functioned together, but in different ways. No one could say that the work of one is more valuable than the other. The intellectual depends on the worker to put his ideas into execution and the worker depends on the intellectual to illumine the way to justice in society. He warned the intellectuals not to assume that they alone knew the road to justice and that all must follow the way designated by them. On the contrary, the intellectual must become a revolutionary who, after he stimulates the masses to action, has the courage to follow the masses in whatever course they should take. Furthermore, the working classes, once awakened from their slumber by the revolutionary-intellectual, will naturally tend to fight for what is their proper due in society. González Prada had visions of an aroused humanity throwing off the shackles of private property and social privilege and marching headlong into a new era of socialism free of competitive exploitation of one class by another. And to those timid souls who would cringe before what they see as a rising deluge of barbarians, González Prada apocalyptically cries out in the name of the masses: "No somos la inundación de la barbarie, somos el diluvio de la justicia."<sup>24</sup>

Here, indeed, was a refrain from the populist's credo.

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 55

Like many liberals of the nineteenth century, González Prada believed in the basic goodness of the common man and his natural propensity to choose the better, when given a chance. He had faith in the wisdom of the common people, who alone could be trusted. The rich and pompous financial and ecclesiastical oligarchs who lorded it over and despised the poor and ignorant Indians and workers used every means at their disposal to hold them in check. But if the masses were properly instructed in their rights as free men, then they would arise in anger against the oligarchies which held them in subjugation. An era of peace, justice and abundance for all would be the outcome of the people's revolt.<sup>25</sup>

González Prada never defined the exact nature of the coming era of justice nor did he map out a clear program of how this universal justice was to be achieved. But he was convinced that these concerns were of less importance than the major task of spreading the good news of human rights to the poor, the ignorant and the downtrodden.

González Prada died in 1918 without ever seeing his ideas fructify into any large scale or organized movement, although he had greatly influenced an entire generation of workers and young thinkers. The thrust of the university reform movement, however, harmonized perfectly with his call to the intellectuals to en-

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 52-53

lighten the lower classes in the way of social justice. The Popular University seemed to be just that sort of concrete project which fulfilled both the aim of the reform movement to diffuse the benefits of culture to the masses and the challenge of González Prada to sow the seed of social justice among them. It was most appropriate, furthermore, that the leader of the university reform movement in Peru and the one who sponsored the Popular University, was himself a former disciple of González Prada.

Haya de la Torre set about fulfilling González Prada's dream by resigning his position as President of the Student Federation. His successor, Juan Francisco Valega, promptly commissioned him to put into effect the decrees of the Congress on the Popular University.<sup>26</sup> Haya performed one other major duty as President before he resigned, however, and that was to sign a covenant affirming the unity of interests of the Peruvian and Argentine university students in their common struggle to implement the university reform. The covenant, El Convenio Internacional de Estudiantes Peruano-Argentino, was signed by Haya in Lima on June 23, 1920 and by the Argentine student leader, Gabriel del Mazo, in Buenos Aires on August 9th.<sup>27</sup> The covenant called for an exchange of books and studies of interest for each party, collaboration in diffusing education to the people through popular universities,

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<sup>26</sup>Luís Alberto Sánchez, Haya de la Torre y el Apra, p. 80.

<sup>27</sup>Mazo, La Reforma Universitaria, Vol. IV, pp. 25-26.



the spread of propaganda fostering a sense of Americanism, and the holding of periodic international student congresses.

This agreement symbolized the solidarity of the students of Latin America in the reform movement. Haya was to become a lifetime friend of Gabriel del Mazo and other Argentine student leaders. It was due in part to this solidarity and sense of internationalism that bound the students together that explains why so much interest was generated by Haya de la Torre's new Popular University in the next few years. For the Popular University was the first really concrete attempt to carry out the reform movement's call to diffuse culture and education to the lower classes. As Haya was later to affirm, it was the glory of the Peruvian youth to have made the first attempt to realistically and efficiently set about fulfilling the expectations of the movement which began in Argentina in 1918:

Libre de todo prejuicio provincialista y atenta a la verdad, debo decir que corresponde a la juventud del Perú el derecho de la vanguardia en este gran movimiento glorioso de los hombres nuevos de América Latina. Creo que muchas otras juventudes han sufrido tanto o más que la peruana los efectos de las tiranías reaccionarias que oprimen a nuestros pueblos con la complicidad, ayuda y protección del imperialismo yanquí, pero creo que la juventud del Perú ha sido la primera que ha convertido su dolor en rebeldía concreta, en enérgico impulso de acción eficaz, en esfuerzo preciso por señalar realísticamente el momento histórico de América Latina....<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup>Haya de la Torre, From a letter sent to Julio A. Cuello, Santo Domingo, in 1926, in Jose Ingenieros and Haya de la Torre, Teoría y Táctica de la Acción Renovadora y Antimperialista de la Juventud en América Latina (Buenos Aires: 1928), p. 23.

The Popular University was, in the words of the journalist and polemicist, José Carlos Mariátegui, "El voto de major trascendencia" of the congress.<sup>29</sup> The first sites chosen for the new Popular University were the Palacio de la Exposicion in Lima and the textile town of Vitarte. Haya went to Vitarte in October, 1920, to meet with the workers and campaign for their support of his new cultural project. In December propaganda posters appeared in Lima announcing the inauguration of the Popular University in January, 1921. The professors were chosen, the programs were drawn up, and the public was informed of the coming event through the newspapers.

The next step was to put into practice the ambitious and lofty principles announced in the student's manifestos and speeches, and it was this crucial pragmatic test that was to determine the success or failure of the university reform movement.

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<sup>29</sup>José Carlos Mariátegui, Siete Ensayos de Interpretación de la Realidad Peruana (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 1955), p. 102.

### CHAPTER III

#### CENTER OF CULTURAL DIFFUSION

1921 - 1923

The propitious inauguration of the Popular University was a tribute to the thoroughness of the propaganda campaign that preceded it. All four leading dailies carried full news accounts of the opening of the Popular University, and a round of applause in the Senate was accorded the new cultural project.<sup>1</sup>

The inaugural ceremonies were held in the Palacio de la Exposicion on the evening of January 22nd, 1921. Haya and his companion students from San Marcos, who were to be the professors of the new Popular University, awaited on the great platform erected for the occasion while the great hall filled with several hundred Indians and workers from around Lima. After a musical rendition, Francisco Sanchez Ríos, President of the Association of Engineering Students, outlined to the workers the series of lectures on mathematics and science which he planned to offer in the Popular University. One by one the other young students from San Marcos stepped up to explain their program to the assembled workers.

Directors of the different Syndicates of Lima, the textile workers, the shoe makers, the bakers, also showered encomiums on

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<sup>1</sup>Mundial, January 28th, 1922, p. 20. El Comercio carried a news report of the opening ceremonies on Page 1, January 24, 1921; and the same article appeared in la Prensa, January 24, p. 4.

the cultural center. Haya de la Torre spoke last. He announced that the Popular University was to be open to all and that all divergencies in politics or doctrine would be respected in the Popular University. During the ceremony the great anti-alcoholic campaign of the Popular University was initiated with the distribution of propaganda leaflets and posters. After the ceremonies, a procession composed of the students and workers was organized in the streets. Sleepy Lima was awoken that night by an unheard of exclamation as the students and workers chanted, "Viva la Cultura!"<sup>2</sup>

An editorial in la Prensa the next day praised the good will of the students in their new effort to unite the brain with the muscle, a phrase borrowed from the works of González Prada, and to teach the workers their rights and duties as citizens. The corollary of this educational process, continued the editorial, would be the beginning of great reforms, which in turn would contribute to the inevitable march of progress. Furthermore, it was expected that the Popular University would effect a veritable educational transformation among the working class of Peru:

La Obra de la Universidad Popular y de sus maestros será grande y prolífica en proseguir tan nobles finalidades, pues formar aptitudes en las masas que se basten a sí mismas es obra humana y de justicia.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Víctor Alba, Historia del Movimiento Obrero en América Latina (Mexico: Editorial Limusa Wiley, 1964), p. 395

<sup>3</sup>La Prensa, "La Universidad Popular," January 23, 1921, p. 6.

The first professors of the Popular University were nearly all professors or students of San Marcos University. They were all volunteers who agreed to give their time and efforts gratuitously. Haya de la Torre, who had been designated as Rector, also assumed the role of professor of Geography and Social History. Oscar Herrera, a science student at San Marcos and who later was to serve as second rector of the Popular University and decades later as Rector of Villareal in Lima, gave classes in geography and astronomy. Eloy Vega y Luque from the school of Engineering, taught arithmetic. Chavez Herrera, a medical student, taught first aid and personal hygiene. Francisco Sanchez Ríos, besides his courses in science, gave classes in grammar. Jacobo Hurwitz, a liberal arts student, likewise taught grammar. Luís Bustamante, a medical student, gave instructions in hygiene and social medicine. Manuel Abastos, a law student, taught social economics. Raúl Iparra-guirre, a dental student, gave instructions in vocal hygiene. Humberto del Aguila, a law student, gave a course in the History of the Incan Civilization. Raúl Porras Barrenechea, later to win fame as an historian, conducted courses on American Literature. Roberto Delgado, medical student, taught first aid and hygiene.<sup>4</sup>

Others among the early professors were Enrique Köster, Jorge Basadre, the historian, and shortly thereafter, Luís Heysen, Nicolás Terreros, Eudocio Ravines, and in 1923, José Carlos Mariátegui. Years later, Nicolás Terreros, Jacobo Hurwitz, Luís

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<sup>4</sup>La Prensa, January 24, 1921, p. 4.

Bustamante and Eudocio Ravines would become Communists, while Mariátegui would form his own Socialist party.<sup>5</sup> Luciano Castillo, who also taught in the Popular University, formed a distinct Socialist party.

The first two locales of the Popular University were the Palacio de la Exposición in Lima and the cinema building in Vitarte. The Palacio de la Exposición, which today is the Art Museum of Lima, had a long and interesting history. Built in a classical renaissance style in 1872 under the auspices of the Ministry of Development, it served at different times as a hospital, the city Municipality, the Ministry of Agriculture and in 1916 as the headquarters of the Student Federation.<sup>6</sup> The Federation in turn offered the spacious halls of the building to the Popular University. At the height of its influence as many as a thousand workers would gather nightly to hear Haya de la Torre expound on social justice or José Carlos Mariátegui lecture on the new Russia.

Vitarte in 1920 was a sleepy textile town in the valley of Ate on the River Rímac, approximately 10 miles inland from Lima. Haya and his companions had to commute by train twice weekly to reach the town for as yet there was no paved road connecting it

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<sup>5</sup>Luis Alberto Sánchez, Haya de la Torre y el Apra, pp. 80-81.

<sup>6</sup>Informe del Patronato de las Artes, Carlos Neuhaus Ugarteche, (Lima: Office of the Art Museum).

with Lima. The textile plant, Vitarte Cotton Mill Company, was the central source of livelihood for the 800 inhabitants of the town. The plant had been founded by a Peruvian, Carlos López Aldaña, who sold it shortly afterwards to an Englishman, William Thomas Smithies in 1895. Smithies, until he returned to England in the mid-twenties, by virtue of his post as manager of the plant was de facto mayor of the town. He sold the cotton produced at the mill through the William R. Grace Company.<sup>7</sup>

But for a small town, Vitarte had an unusually violent history of labor conflict. Vitarte's workers went on strike in 1896, 1911, 1915 and again in 1918. During the fight for the eight hour day Vitarte played a central role in the direction of the strike. It was during those days that Vitarte first became acquainted with the young student leader, Haya de la Torre. In October, 1920, Haya traveled out to Vitarte on the weekends to organize soccer matches among the workers and to engage them in discussions on social issues.<sup>8</sup>

The lectures in the center in Lima were given every evening from nine o'clock to approximately eleven o'clock. In Vitarte they were given every Tuesday and Thursday at eight o'clock. The first class given in the Palacio de la Exposición on January 27th,

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<sup>7</sup>Josefa Yarlequé de Marquina, El Maestro O Democracia en Miniatura (Lima: Librería J. Álvarez, 1963). This is a short history of the Popular University in Vitarte.

<sup>8</sup>Cossío del Pomar, pp. 73-74.

1922, was a lecture by Eloy Vega y Luque on basic mathematics. The next night Chavez Herrera lectured on first aid in the home.<sup>9</sup> On February 2nd, the first class was given in the Popular University in Vitarte. The same alternating cycle presented in Lima was subsequently given in Vitarte.

At first few workers attended the lectures offered bi-weekly in the local cinema house in Vitarte. Within a few weeks, however, the classes at the Popular University became the main attraction and diversion in the town and environs, and anywhere from 70 to 400 Indians and Mestizos, men, women and children would crowd into the small theater.<sup>10</sup> At times, the manager, Mr. Smithies, would attend the lectures. The "students" came in from the neighboring haciendas, many on horseback, to hear the young white men from Lima expound on the new advances in medicine and science as well as the meaning of the new political and social movements that had become the center of attention in Europe and the United States.

In Lima the students were mainly factory workers - many of them women - who came from all sections of the city. Some of these workers were Indians - Serranos - who still wore the poncho and the chullo (a multi-colored woolen hat worn by the Peruvian

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<sup>9</sup>"La Primera Clase de la Universidad Popular," La Prensa, January 26th, 1921, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup>Yarlequé de Marquina, p. 39. Also, private interview held July 27, 1967,



Indian who inhabits the highlands). Now that Peru had an eight-hour day the workers were free to attend the nightly sessions in the Palacio. The fashionable Palacio and the green gardens that surrounded it were favorite sites for leisurely afternoon promenades for the well-dressed of Lima; at night workers and Indians, some of them barefoot, would trespass timidly over the marble floors of the Palacio to hear Haya de la Torre and his young companions lecture.

Financially, the Popular University operated at practically no cost. It received, according to the stipulations of the Congress at Cuzco, a monthly budget of 60 soles from the University of San Marcos.<sup>11</sup> But the locales had been offered to the Popular University gratuitously, and no textbooks were used. The students paid no tuition and were under no obligation to attend the lectures. Class attendance depended strictly on the ability of the professor to attract and hold the interest of his students in his subject.

Propaganda to attract attention to the activities of the Popular Universities was not lacking. La Prensa published summaries of the lectures given in the Popular University twice weekly for the first year of its existence. El Tiempo carried frequent news items on the courses offered at the Popular University and El Comercio carried occasional articles on the activities of

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<sup>11</sup>Chang-Rodríguez, p. 222.

the Popular University. A typical example of the reporting done on the Popular University is this excerpt in La Prensa, entitled, "La Actuación de hoy en la Universidad Popular:"

Ayer, según acuerdo, se dirigieron a Vitarte los Profesores de la nueva entidad de cultura para nuestro pueblo, teniendo lugar, en esa población, una conferencia del señor Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, ocupándose de varios tópicos importantes, dictándose, además, las terceras lecciones de Biología especial por el señor Oscar Herrera, de Facultad de Ciencias, y Geometría y dibujo industrial del señor Francisco Sanchez Rios, de la Escuela de Ingenieros.

En la amplia sala de cinema, que estuvo totalmente ocupada por obreros y obreras, se dió comienzo, una vez terminadas las lecciones, a la acostumbrada audición musical.

El señor Haya de la Torre, que en el trascurso de su interesante disertación fue muy aplaudido, mereció las felicitaciones de todos los asistentes.<sup>12</sup>

Of a less restrained and more militant nature was El Obrero Textil, the organ of the textile syndicate founded by José Sandóval and Arturo Sabroso, a young anarchist who had collaborated with Haya in the eight-hour day strike in 1919 and who now attended classes at the Popular University. Typical propaganda for the Popular University ran as follows:

Trabajadores:

Intensifiquemos la obra de este centro cultural y estimulemos con nuestra asistencia, los esfuerzos de esos incansables buenos muchachos de San Marcos, que, despreciando los epítetos del "tartufismo"<sup>13</sup> se han impuesto

<sup>12</sup>La Prensa, March 5, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup>From the word, "Tartufo," meaning a hypocrite. Some critics of the young student-professors thought them to be zealous sophisticates in their desire to educate the workers.

la simpática labor de culturizar sin ropajes al pueblo menesteroso.<sup>14</sup>

The young professors did not disdain to teach their classes with the same seriousness and diligence to their illiterate and uncultivated students that they would to a well-educated audience. In his lectures on geography, Haya attempted to synthesize his own prodigious readings in Hegel, Marx, Spencer in his own words and to represent them to his students with painstaking simplicity and clarity. But more than mere explanation, the young student turned professor strove to inspire his eager listeners with the strange and all-embracing influence of geography on man and society. This excerpt from one of his lectures reveals his own thinking on the subject:

El Hombre, es hijo de la tierra; su vida, individual y colectiva, se desarrolla en ella dependiendo de sus condiciones físicas la Historia, la Economía, la Filología, la Literatura y el Arte, en una palabra, todos los aspectos de la vida social, surgen de la Naturaleza, brotan de la tierra, madre común.<sup>15</sup>

The other professors followed suit in attempting to recreate and resynthesize the wealth of readings and studies they had mastered for the benefit of their students. Luis Bustamante carefully explained to them the relation between public sanitation and personal hygiene, while Humberto del Aguila patiently elaborated the new theory of evolution to his eager audience.

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<sup>14</sup>El Obrero Textil, October, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup>Haya de la Torre, Síntesis Fotostáticas de las Clases y Conferencias dadas en la U.P. From the private collection of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre.

Haya emphasized the need of a totally new approach to communicate with the workers and Indians. The dull academic lectures given at San Marcos would never do here. The problem was not the mere fact of lower scholastic attainments on the part of the Indian or the worker but rather the great psychological gap that divided them from the middle class students who attended the university in Lima. Haya recognized the special status of the student-worker who attended the Popular University at the opening ceremonies in 1921;

The worker-student is neither a little schoolboy nor a high school adolescent, nor even a young man of the university: though he has something of the three, he still remains very much himself.<sup>16</sup>

Great emphasis was placed in the Popular University on a didactic style which corresponded to the psychology and background of the workers and Indians. Posters, slogans and music were all employed to instruct the worker. Haya himself would halt his own lectures midway through not merely to entertain the workers, but also to provide a refreshing pause to help maintain his student's attention.<sup>17</sup> Didactic posters lined the walls of the Popular University. Many of them contained slogans or refrains which capsulized the lesson of the day, such as: "Suprimamos el alcohol que es el veneno de los pueblos!"; "La Higiene es la base fundamental de la vida!"; "El estudio de la Geografía es básico en toda

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<sup>16</sup>Humberto Tejera, Maestros Indoiberos (Mexico: Ediciones Minerva, n.d.), p. 257.

<sup>17</sup>Haya de la Torre, Private Interview held August 11, 1967

cultura."<sup>18</sup> In Vitarte morality plays were presented on the stage of the cinema which housed the Popular University there. Once a month on a Sunday afternoon the workers put on a short morality play to demonstrate the evils of alcoholism or to extol the virtues of hard work.<sup>19</sup>

Another important part of the cultural program of the Popular University were the musical auditions, health campaigns and picnic outings organized for the workers. The Popular University would frequently offer to the public social nights at the Palacio de la Exposicion with both music and dancing. Great emphasis was placed on popularizing Indian folklore, dances and songs, which were quite typical and familiar in Cuzco but virtually unknown in Lima. However, even at these social events, the didactic element was always present. On one of these occasions, after a selection of typical Indian music had been played, Haya de la Torre addressed the assembled crowd on the theme of "La Cultura y la Reivindicación Social."<sup>20</sup>

From the very beginning the Popular University waged a war against alcoholism among the workers. The young professors who taught at the Popular University were well aware of the wide spread use and consequent damage wrought by local brands of alcohol

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<sup>18</sup>Haya de la Torre, Síntesis Fotostáticas.

<sup>19</sup>Yarlequé de Marquina, p. 47.

<sup>20</sup>"La Tercera Velada Literario-Musical," La Prensa, March 8, 1921, p. 6.

and the coca leaf. The task of leading the Indian or worker along the road to self-improvement would be totally fruitless as long as they spent their energies, physical and mental, in chewing the leaves of the coca plant or consuming home-brewed aguardiente. No doubt Haya's membership in the Y.M.C.A. of Lima and his newly acquired admiration of the Protestant ethic through his friendship with John MacKay influenced in part his own strong personal disdain for the use of alcoholic beverages. The professors gave lectures and admonitions to the workers on the bad effects of drinking at regular intervals at the Popular University and disseminated literature against its use at every opportunity. They organized picnics on the weekends among the workers which were characterized by the conspicuous absence of alcohol. The purpose of these weekend outings was to impress upon the workers the possibility of social enjoyment without resorting to drink.

At other times these outings were organized to foster a greater appreciation of nature, and in particular the natural beauty of Peru's countryside. Implicit in the purpose of the outings was the desire to inculcate a heightened sense of unity and esprit de corps between the workers and their professors. This effort to stimulate the workers to appreciate the values of the resources of his own country led to the institutionalization of one of these outings, which came to be known as "La Fiesta de la Planta." In December, 1921, amidst great festi-

vities, the workers and professors of the Popular University planted some 500 young saplings in an open field in Vitarte, followed by games and sports contests. Each year the Fiesta de la Planta was celebrated in Vitarte with a mixture of festivity and solemnity by thousands of workers from Lima and the surrounding towns.<sup>21</sup> Years later, during the years of persecution, the Apristas would continue to celebrate the Fiesta de la Planta as a symbol of resistance.

Another such feast day was "La Fiesta del Niño", founded also in 1922 in Vitarte. The purpose of this feast day was to enkindle in the workers a greater appreciation of the need to raise a strong and well-balanced youth for the national good.<sup>22</sup>

Along with the temperance drive the Popular University conducted a sanitation campaign. In January, 1922, the Popular University initiated a campaign to prevent the spread of typhoid by urging all restaurants and public places to keep their facilities clean and to exhibit large posters describing the dangers of uncleanness for the benefit of the patrons.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the students of medicine who taught in the Popular University gave special instructions to the workers on the dangers of venereal diseases and the practice of personal hygiene.

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<sup>21</sup>Gabriel del Mazo, La Reforma Universitaria, Vol, II, p. 23.

<sup>22</sup>Yarlequé de Marquina, pp. 80-83.

<sup>23</sup>"La Campaña Contra las Moscas, " La Prensa, March 18, 1922, p. 2.

The social aims of the Popular University had been loudly proclaimed, but never clearly defined. Indeed, avoidance of any dogmatic position in politics had been clearly announced as a basic precept of the Popular University. The motto of the Popular University succinctly summed up this non-committal stance of the Popular University: "La Universidad Popular no tiene más dogma que la Justicia social".<sup>24</sup> Haya invited all factions to enter the classroom of his Popular University, although, of course, this liberality extended only to those who showed an interest in improving the lot of the Indians and the laboring class. In the minds of some of the young student-professors this meant freedom to teach the workers the benefits of the new social system of Soviet Russia. Manuel Abastos lectured on the great achievements of Marx and other in preparing the way for the coming social redemption of the working classes:

El progreso social, el ensanche de las instituciones sociales, la difusión de ideas generosas de cooperación, la prédica constante a oídos de los capitalistas y los gobiernos, la semilla fecunda, en fin, que tanto bienes ha producido, se debe a la acción de los apóstoles, de los grandes teóricos y hombres de combate, a los propagandistas bien intencionados que desde Carlos Marx trabajan por imponer los ideales de redención social.<sup>25</sup>

However, on the whole, the subject of politics and social reform was so thoroughly mixed in with the other lectures and cultural projects that the purely cultural aspect of the Popular

<sup>24</sup>Mazo, La Reforma Universitaria, Vol, IV, p. 110.

<sup>25</sup>"Curso de Economía Social," La Prensa, March 5, 1921, p. 4.



University dominated the general tone of the work of the Popular University. Furthermore, those few professors who did preach social revolution and praised the progress made in the new Russia were anarchists with no definite plans or programs of action worked out, and whatever unity of thought or action they might have had was further dissipated by quarrels among themselves.<sup>26</sup>

On a few occasions the Popular University sponsored projects that served to channel the social impulses of the workers into concrete action. On May 27th, 1921, the 5,000 workers in the North American operated copper company in La Oroya went on strike. A high official of the company was killed, and the police responded by imprisoning 51 workers. The students and professors of the Popular University took up a collection to send food and supplies to the prisoners and their families.<sup>27</sup>

Such protest moves were sporadic and spontaneous. They represented the lingering anarchical strain left over from the protest strikes of 1918 and 1919 before the syndicalist movement had gotten under way. Such anarchism also carried with it, in a modified way, overtones of the anti-clericalism of González Prada, whose words were framed on the walls of the Popular University: "In Peru there are four million illiterates, thanks to the clergy

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<sup>26</sup> Eudocio Ravines, Private Interview held July 24, 1967.

<sup>27</sup> "En Favor de los Presos de la Oroya," La Prensa, June 14, 1921, p. 2.

and the politicians".<sup>28</sup>

The Popular University looked upon the task of teaching the Indians to read and write as one of the principal objectives implied in the new spirit of "Indigenismo". In each Popular University a section for "Indian Affairs" was set up and another for adults who as yet had not learned to read or write.<sup>29</sup> The Popular University also assumed the role of vindicator of the rights of the Peruvian woman. In stark contrast to San Marcos, a large percentage of the students at the Popular Universities were women. The Popular University carried on a campaign to "vindicate" the rights of the woman, emphasizing the need to prepare her to take her proper role in society:

Ahora bien: el primer objeto de la campaña feminista, es procurar la cultura integral y perfecta para la mujer, que la capacite para bastarse a si misma, y para el cumplimiento de las funciones multiples que le asigna la sociedad moderna.<sup>30</sup>

Tangible results of the impact of the Popular University on the workers were evident even a year after its inauguration. In Vitarte alcoholism had virtually disappeared and a spirit of moral and social renovation was in the air. El Tiempo reported that it was observable that many of the workers had ceased to flock to the

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<sup>28</sup>Claridad, July, 1923, p. 20.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., July, 1923, p. 9.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., July, 1923, p. 11.

bar after they had received their salary on pay day.<sup>31</sup> One former student of the Popular University in Vitarte reported that alcoholism in that town had virtually ceased as a result of the work of the Popular University.<sup>32</sup> But most of all, a deep fraternal bond had grown up between the young students from San Marcos and the lower class students who attended their classes.

Haya himself worked enthusiastically to make a success of the Popular University. At times he rose at three in the morning to give classes to hotel workers who could not attend the regular sessions of the Popular University.<sup>33</sup> And all the while he continued to pursue his law studies at San Marcos and to maintain a leading role in student politics. The Popular University was unquestionably dominated by Haya de la Torre. He appointed the professors, organized most of the cultural and social activities of the Popular University, and drew the largest crowds. The editors of El Obrero Textil even felt it necessary to refute in an editorial a statement made by one of their readers who claimed that without an Haya de la Torre there would be no Popular University.<sup>34</sup> Haya himself admired the ability of the dental student, Chávez

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<sup>31</sup>"Universidad Popular," El Tiempo, January 25, 1922, p. 7

<sup>32</sup>Josefa Yarlequé de Marquina, Private Interview held July 27, 1967.

<sup>33</sup>Luis Alberto Sánchez, Haya de la Torre y el Apra, p. 80.

<sup>34</sup>"La Universidad Popular González Prada", El Obrero Textil, March, 1923, p. 2.

Herrera, to attract and inspire the workers in his lectures on biology and personal hygiene.<sup>35</sup>

The first anniversary of the Popular University was marked by the announcement of plans to establish new popular universities in other parts of Peru. Within a short period of time six new locales for the Popular University were established in Lima alone. The first popular university to be established outside of Lima was that of Arequipa in January, 1922. The students of the University of San Agustín in Arequipa, as the Student Federation had done a few years earlier, at first rejected the idea of a popular university in their midst. But they were impressed by the diligence and efficiency with which the group of student-professors who arrived from Lima set about establishing the Popular University in Arequipa. Soon there was general support for the project. The program set up in Arequipa corresponded more or less with that in Lima. Lectures were given each night of the week from eight thirty to nine thirty.<sup>36</sup> Within the next few months popular universities, extensions of the Popular University of Lima, were established in Callao, Trujillo, Cuzco, Jauja, Chiclayo, and Piura.

After the first year of the Popular University, Haya accepted the invitation of the Y.M.C.A., of which he was an active member, to attend a youth congress in Uruguay. He made use of the opportunity to tour many cities in southern Latin America, includ-

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<sup>35</sup>Haya de la Torre, Private Interview held August 11, 1967.

<sup>36</sup>El Tiempo, January 29, 1922, p. 9.

ing Buenos Aires, where he had an interview with President Yrigoyen, who commended the young student leader for the work of his Popular University.<sup>37</sup>

Indeed, the fame of the Popular University in Peru had traveled far and wide. When Haya visited Havana after his exile from Peru, he found the Cuban university students eager to set up their own Popular University in imitation of that of Peru. At Haya's behest, they founded the Jose Martí Popular University on November 9th, 1923. In Chile the José Lastarria was founded, the Justo Arosemena in Panama, the Emiliano Zapata in Mexico, which lasted until 1937, and several others throughout Latin America.<sup>38</sup> The Commissar of Education of Soviet Union, Alexander Lunacharskii wrote to the students and workers of the Popular University congratulating them for their labor and inviting them to affiliate themselves with the Communist party.<sup>39</sup>

On July 22nd, 1922, two full years after its founding, the Popular University was officially baptized with the name of its intellectual precursor, Manuel González Prada. As Haya explained years later, he wished to wait until the Popular University had become a going success before he dignified it with the

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<sup>37</sup>Cossío del Pomar, pp. 82-83.

<sup>38</sup>Luis Alberto Sánchez, La Universidad Latinoamericana (Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria d Guatemala, 1949), pp. 205-206

<sup>39</sup>Haya de la Torre, Impresiones de la Inglaterra Imperialista y de la Rusia Soviética (Buenos Aires: Coleccion Claridad y Critica, 1932), pp. 119-121.

name of the man whom he admired so greatly, González Prada. On the occasion of the naming, Haya defiantly proclaimed, "La reacción quiso silenciar el nombre de González Prada, pero en estas aulas proletarias tiene hoy su mejor monumento".<sup>40</sup>

The high enthusiasm of the students at Cuzco two years earlier had now become the matured confidence of men who had made a success out of their youthful ideals. The Popular University had become a success, and the idea was catching on throughout Latin America. In fact, the Popular University was now beginning to overshadow all the other aspects of the university reform. Carrying the culture directly to the people had now assumed an importance far outweighing that of remolding old structures within the older universities. Revitalization of the nation through the establishment of centers of popular education and culture throughout the nation, sustained by the spontaneous good will of young university students, now seemed a far more efficient, rapid and daring plan of action than waiting for the older universities to train and educate the needed number of scholars and technicians who could perform the job of raising the educational standards of the people. This would take generations to do what the Popular University could do in a decade.

Furthermore, the Popular University was performing a feat that the old University of San Marcos could never do. The daily

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<sup>40</sup>Cossío del Pomar, p. 55.

fraternization of young middle-class university students with the workers and Indians of the country had broken down the deep social barriers that separated the two classes that each group represented: on the one hand, sons of middle-class professionals in Lima, and on the other, campesinos, textile workers, and domestic servants. The intellectuals had joined forces with the workers; the brain now functioned as an integral unit with the muscle. González Prada's dream seemed on the point of fulfillment. The masses were now being awakened by the intellectual, and the hour of vindication was now approaching.

As Haya surveyed his work, he could not help but to compare with pride his young creation, the Popular University, with the older institution, San Marcos. His bold designs and expectations for the future of the Popular University are traced out in these words:

Luego Fuimos más allá, y al costado de la Universidad rejuvenecida (San Marcos), pero nada más que rejuvenecida por la revolución, creamos otra joven, fuerte, e hija suya quizá, pero como hija "zarutustriana", hija vencedora de la madre: nuestra Universidad Popular "González Prada", donde fundimos nuestro credo revolucionario y nuestros esfuerzos con la rebelión dolorosa de los trabajadores. Ella será un día la vasta Universidad social del Perú que cantará el responso de la otra.<sup>41</sup>

But, as historical irony would have it, the Popular University would, indeed, overshadow the older University, not in fame but in notoriety, not as an educational center but as a

<sup>41</sup>Cossío del Pomar, p. 71.

political movement. The dramatic events of 1923 were soon to effect this radical change in the destiny of the Popular University.



CHAPTER IV  
CENTER OF SOCIAL PROTEST  
MAY 23, 1923

President Augusto Bernardino Leguía had seized power on a tide of popular reaction against the civilista regime of José Pardo. He was accorded the honorary title of "Maestro de la Juventud" by the Student Federation, and to all appearances he lost no time in living up to his new title. Not only did he defray all the costs of the Congress in Cuzco, but he also made good his promises to pass legislation initiating the university reform in Peru. He promulgated laws in 1919 and new ones in 1920 which seemed to comply with the demands of the university reformers.

However, there were certain critics, representing a minority initially, who distrusted the new President from the beginning, perhaps recalling his somewhat sordid and dictatorial first term as President from 1908 to 1912. Among these critics were three former journalists of El Tiempo who quit in protest over the interference of pro-leguía factions in formulating newspaper policy. The three, César Falcón, Humberto del Aguila and José Carlos Mariátegui founded an anti-Leguía magazine, La Razón, in 1919.<sup>1</sup> Leguía made one of the first revelations of his real anti-

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<sup>1</sup>Luis Alberto Sánchez, Haya de la Torre y el Apra, p. 56.

liberal intentions by applying pressure on the most brilliant of the three, José Carlos Mariátegui, to depart for Europe on a four year journalistic scholarship, which he did in 1919. The other two writers later aligned themselves with the Popular Universities as did Mariátegui on his return from Europe in 1923.

Others, too, began to suspect the purported liberality of Leguía. Haya de la Torre headed a list of thirty-two students who denounced the Student Federation for according Leguía the title of "Maestro de la Juventud".<sup>2</sup> A speech directed against the university policies of the government delivered by Víctor Andrés Belaúnde in the university in 1921 was rudely interrupted by a government-inspired mob. In protest over this violation of university autonomy, the Dean of Law and Social Sciences, Manuel Vicente Villarán, headed a list of forty-six professors who went on strike. Through his Minister of Education, Leguía denounced the professors and closed down the university on May 31, 1921.<sup>3</sup>

In March of that year, Haya wrote an editorial in La Prensa criticizing the substitution of the Student Federation by a University Center, which was one of the stipulations of the reform laws of 1920. He felt that this substitution was really a move on the part of the government to undermine the university reform

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>3</sup>Carlos Enrique Paz Soldán, De la Revolución a la Anarquía Universitaria (Lima: Imprenta "Unión", 1922), pp. 35-36.

by imposing a "Yankee" system of education on Peru.<sup>4</sup>

Nor was there any lasting peace on the labor front or in the countryside. Between 1921 and 1922 there were over thirty uprisings of land-hungry Indians in the highlands. The worker's strike at La Oroya in June, 1921, had resulted in violent killings and the detention of fifty-one workers.<sup>5</sup>

The Popular University, too, had increasingly fallen into government disfavor, an inevitable consequence of its campaign to stimulate the workers and Indians to raise their educational and cultural level and to become conscious of their social rights. More and more the Popular Universities were viewed by the conservative elements as hotbeds of radicalism. El Comercio had long dropped the Popular Universities from its columns and La Prensa, which had come out in support of Leguía in 1921 after he closed it down and reopened it again, took on a more critical stance toward the activities of the Popular University. In March, 1923, El Obrero Textil, faithful friend of the Popular University, pointed to this mounting attack leveled against it:

Uno de los pretextos que tienen los enemigos de la U.P. para justificar su pobre y ridícula empresa, es el considerar a nuestro centro de libre enseñanza como escabel de mezquinas ambiciones, donde se disputa la admiración

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<sup>4</sup>La Prensa, "La Desaparición de la Federación de los Estudiantes por la Nueva Ley de Instrucción", March 3, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup>Alba, p. 396.

desmedida el pasionismo inconsciente de los adeptos, para darle mas tarde orientaciones bastardas.<sup>6</sup>

To dispel any lingering doubts, Leguía himself invited Haya to the presidential palace shortly after Haya's return from his trip to Uruguay in the early part of 1922. After a cordial but restrained exchange of greetings, the dictator urged the young student leader to accept a government-paid scholarship to Europe. He further informed Haya that all the formalities of travel had already been arranged through the Ministry of Foreign Relations. Haya politely but firmly declined the "invitation".<sup>7</sup> The mutual distrust between the two now solidified into open antagonism.

As the opposition mounted, many of the first enthusiastic supporters of the Popular University began to part ways with it. A core of hardier supporters remained on: Haya, Luís Bustamante, Oscar Herrera, Luís Heysen, Enrique Köster, Julio Lecaros, Jacobo Hurwitz and Nicolás Terreros.<sup>8</sup> In May, 1923, a new illustrious name was added to the list of professors: José Carlos Mariátegui. When Mariátegui returned from Europe Haya invited him to lecture at the Popular University and to help collaborate in directing the new organ of the Worker's Federation of Lima and the Popular Universities, Claridad, which Haya had founded in March of that year. In May Mariátegui initiated a series of lectures at the Palacio de

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<sup>6</sup>El Obrero Textil, "La Universidad Popular González Prada", March, 1923, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup>Cossío del Pomar, pp. 85-87.

<sup>8</sup>Sánchez, Haya de la Torre y el Apra, p. 122.

la Exposición on the "World Crisis" in which he emphasized the role of revolutionary Russia in liberating the working classes of Russia and Europe.<sup>9</sup> By a curious -- but symbolic -- coincidence, the announcement of Mariátegui's first lecture appeared on May 23, 1923, the date on which the Popular University launched its most serious venture into politics to date: the protest movement against the consecration of Peru to the Sacred Heart.

The Archbishop of Lima, Emilio Lissón, who had been appointed to his See in 1918 during the administration of José Pardo, announced his intention of publically consecrating Peru to the Sacred Heart on May 23, 1923. President Leguía was chosen as the fitting secular representative of the nation to preside over the ceremonies with the Archbishop. A few devout Catholics found it somewhat incongruous that a leading Mason should assume such an honorific role. Others, more politically-minded, questioned the integrity of staging a public pageant symbolizing the unity of Church and State, not merely because such rituals had become anachronistic by 1923, but primarily because it was to be conducted by a dictator and a strongly conservative spokesman of the upper clergy who pretended to represent the popular will of the Peruvian people. Furthermore, it was suggested that Leguía was cynically using the ceremony to court the Catholic vote.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>La Crónica, "La Universidad Popular", May 23, 1923, p. 10

<sup>10</sup>Haya de la Torre, Private Interview held August 11, 1957

Weeks before the announced date for the ceremony, Haya de la Torre galvanized a number of dissident elements into a unified movement to protest the projected consecration. He agitated through the Student Federation to stir up support for the protest move among the university students. He attracted many friends from the Y.M.C.A., the Masons, Protestants, Catholics, anarchists and a large mass of workers from his Popular University. Prompted by diverse motives, this anomalous amalgamation was held together by the desire to accomplish one single objective: to protest and prevent the holding of the consecration ceremonies on May 23rd.

On May 19th, the Popular University, which spearheaded the movement, issued the first of several polemical manifestos which filled the editorial sections of the major dailies. The manifestos invoked all "Free men of Peru" to form a united front to block the projected consecration:

Estudiantes, Obreros, intelectuales, empleados, periodistas, hombres libres todos del Perú: Formemos el FRENTE UNICO ante la proyectada consagración de la nación Peruana a la efiegie del Corazón de Jesus.

La docencia estudiantil de las Universidades Populares González Prada de Lima y Vitarte, ampliando la protesta anteriormente formulada ante la pretendida consagración de la Republica al Corazón de Jesus, invoca la adhesión de todos los hombres libres del país, y acuerda:

Constituir el "Frente Unico", sin distinción de credos religiosos, políticos o sociales, a fin de impedir que la imposición del clericalismo ofenda con la proyectada ceremonia, el privilegio de libertad de conciencia que la Nación debe garantizar en su maxima amplitud....<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup>La Crónica, May 24, 1923, p. 10. Virtually the same appeal appeared in El Tiempo on May 21, 1923, p. 2.

Two days later, on May 21st, a circular signed by Augusto Rodríguez Larraín, Manuel Seoane, Haya de la Torre, César Vallejo, Jacobo Hurwitz, Jorge Basadre and others, was passed among the university students calling them to meet the following day at San Marcos University to formulate a plan of action.<sup>12</sup> On the afternoon of the 22nd, the students from the Departments of Philosophy, History and Letters and the worker-students from the Popular Universities of Lima and Vitarte assembled in the University courtyard. Jacobo Hurwitz spoke first exhorting the students and workers to affiliate themselves with a new organism, the "League of the Free Youth of Peru" (La Liga de la Juventud Libre del Perú), which had been especially created for the occasion to unite the disparate protesting elements into one single movement. It was sponsored and made up of in large part by the students of the Popular University. Haya spoke next and called for the formation of a United Front Committee (Comité de Frente Unico), composed of representatives of the dissident factions to organize the direct the protest march. Haya ended the meeting with the foreboding peroration: "Mañana vamos al laboratorio de la acción para una gran experiencia".<sup>13</sup>

The following afternoon, Wednesday, May 23, 1923, the day of the "Great Experiment", the protest march was set in motion.

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<sup>12</sup>El Comercio, "Gran Asamblea Universitaria", May 22, 1923 p. 4.

<sup>13</sup>Sánchez, Haya de la Torre y el Apra, p. 122.

Haya led an orderly procession of several thousand workers and students through the streets of downtown Lima toward the Cathedral plaza. In the plaza, within hearing distance of the Presidential palace, he delivered a fiery harangue in defense of freedom of thought. The meeting was abruptly scattered by the sudden appearance of mounted cavalry who galloped through the plaza. Defiantly the protesters continued to parade through the streets. Two blocks from the university shots were fired and a student, Manuel Alarcón, and a worker, Salomón Ponce, were killed while many others were wounded.<sup>14</sup>

The shock of this brutal government retaliation provoked a wave of heated counter-protests from the students and workers. The next day, Thursday the 24th, the Popular University issued a manifesto summoning all the workers and students of Peru to join in a nation-wide strike.<sup>15</sup> The various syndicates and worker's groups in Lima promptly joined the new protest move. Typical of the denunciatory declarations that crowded the editorial sections of the newspapers was this statement from the Printer's syndicate:

La Federación Gráfica del Perú ante los inauditos crímenes de la civilización, perpetrados por la gendarmería en los días miércoles y jueves, en las personas de indefensos estudiantes y obreros, deja constancia por resolución de Asamblea de la Fecha, de su más enérgica protesta; y en señal de derecho acordó la paralización de sus labores y adherirse en todas sus partes a los acuerdos tomados por

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<sup>14</sup>Cossío del Pomar, p. 90.

<sup>15</sup>La Crónica, "La Protesta de la Universidad Popular González Prada", May 24, 1923, p. 3.



los estudiantes de las universidades de San Marcos y González Prada.<sup>16</sup>

The reference to the González Prada Popular University in the declaration clearly reveals the key role that the Popular University played in instigating the protest movement. Tense and chaotic street warfare broke out between students and workers of the Popular Universities and government forces. A meeting of the railway workers of Callao organized by the professors of the Popular University was dispersed by an assault of the police on May 24th.<sup>17</sup> On the 26th El Comercio printed an editorial which concluded that the real popular will of Lima had been expressed by the students and workers in denouncing the imposition of the projected consecration of the country:

Los diarios, los estudiantes de San Marcos, las escuelas especiales, las instituciones obreras ya habían expresado la voluntad de Lima definitivamente adversa a la consagración en masa del país, a un símbolo de la religión católica.<sup>18</sup>

The same editorial prefaced the decree of Archbishop Lisón suspending the ceremonies. In the first article of the decree the Archbishop accused the protesters of converting the consecration into a weapon against the government and "other social institutions: "Qué la proyectada consagración de la nación al Sagrado Corazón de Jesús se ha convertido en arma contra el Go-

<sup>16</sup>La Crónica, "Protesta de la Federación Gráfica", May 25, 1923, p. 11.

<sup>17</sup>La Crónica, May 25, 1923, p. 11.

<sup>18</sup>El Comercio, May 26, 1923, p. 3.

bierno legitimamente establecido y contra las instituciones sociales",<sup>19</sup>

The matter would not rest with a mere hierarchical fiat. On May 28th, another grand assembly of students and workers was held at San Marcos. Manuel Villarán, the Rector, uneasy at the sight of the mass of workers who converged on the university and perhaps fearful of how this spectacle might appear to the government forces, asked the workers to remain outside while the students held their deliberations.<sup>20</sup> Part of Villarán's fears stemmed from the repeated accusations in La Prensa and other government sources to the effect that the Popular Universities had become little soviets of students and workers modelled on those of revolutionary Russia. Accordingly, one of the principal items on the agenda was how to deal with these accusations. Haya de la Torre urged the adoption of a resolution to boycott La Prensa, which the students seconded.<sup>21</sup> However, when a proposal was made to form a permanent Student-Worker Committee, Haya opposed it on grounds that the creation of such a committee at that delicate moment would only serve to justify the accusations leveled against the Popular Universities by the government press.

Haya's warning was cut short by a case of laryngitis and

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>20</sup>El Tiempo, May 29, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup>La Crónica, May 29, 1923, p. 2.

he was unable to continue. He was ordered to bed and it was in this helpless state that he discovered that the Student Federation had overruled his objections and organized a Student-Worker Committee. When he learned of the attack directed against the new organism by the government, however, he promptly defended it.<sup>22</sup> The committee was short-lived, but it lived long enough to contribute more damaging evidence against the Popular Universities.

Popular sentiment was so manifestly against the government that Leguía's initial reactions to the situation were cautious and relatively moderate. The Popular Universities continued to function and to place announcements in the newspapers assuring their students that the lectures in the Student Federation were still being given with complete regularity.<sup>23</sup> Such reassurances were premature, however, for on July 16th the police disrupted with gunfire the inaugural ceremonies for the new Popular University of Callao held in the Palacio de la Exposición.<sup>24</sup> A premonition of what the government's next step would be came when Haya was approached by the son of a high government official who informed him that the government would compensate him with 30,000 soles and a monthly pension of 1,000 soles if he would absent himself from Peru. Haya sent the emissary back with a negative response.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Sánchez, Haya de la Torre y el Apra, p. 129.

<sup>23</sup>El Tiempo, June 2, 1923, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup>Claridad, July, 1923, p. 20.

<sup>25</sup>Cossío del Pomar, p. 93.

Sporadic arrests and intimidations by the police kept the students and workers alert to the precarious situation in which they conducted the Popular University. In October Haya was presented for another term (for the period from October, 1923, to October, 1924) as President of the Student Federation. His principal opponent was Manuel Seoane, who personally favored Haya, but felt that the domination of the Student Federation by certain student-professors of the Popular University with anarchical leanings, among them Nicolás Terreros, Jacobo Hurwitz and Eudocio Ravines, ought to be challenged. The students were in the process of debating the qualifications of the two popular candidates when the electrifying news arrived of Haya's arrest and imprisonment on the island of San Lorenzo off the coast of Callao.<sup>26</sup>

Once again the fuse of a dangerous situation had been ignited. A delegation of workers and students delivered a protest message to El Comercio announcing that they would stage another general strike if Haya were not immediately released.<sup>27</sup> La Prensa virtually ignored the event and continued to insinuate in its editorials that Haya was secretly an agent of Soviet Russia.<sup>28</sup> The workers and students together called a general strike that paralyzed the city for forty-eight hours. On October 5, La Prensa

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<sup>26</sup>Sánchez, Haya de la Torre y el Apra, pp. 131-132.

<sup>27</sup>El Comercio, October 4, 1923, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup>La Prensa, October 5, 1923, p. 3.

reported that all trains, streetcars, cabs, electrical works, and textile mills had grinded to a halt and that the city was left in total darkness throughout the night.<sup>29</sup> Squadrons of gendarmes roamed the streets on the lookout for groups of students and workers. A trainload of armed troops descended on the small town of Vitarte and killed two workers in the angry crowd that gathered at the train station.<sup>30</sup>

In the meantime, Haya went on a hunger strike in his cell in the old colonial prison-fortress, Real Felipe, on the island of San Lorenzo. On the sixth day of his imprisonment, Leguia issued the order for his deportation, and on October 9, Haya was placed on board the ship Nevada en route to Panama.<sup>31</sup>

Deprived of their leader, the students and workers called off the general strike in despair. Besides imprisoning Haya, the government also closed down the Popular Universities and their organ, Claridad. However, in the belief that the main source of trouble had been removed, the government permitted the Popular Universities to reopen in January of the following year. The students and workers set about reorganizing themselves in the absence of their leader. Oscar Herrera assumed the title of Rector of the Popular University and José Carlos Mariátegui took over the direction of Claridad.

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<sup>29</sup> La Prensa, October 5, 1923, p. 6

<sup>30</sup> El Obrero Textil, November, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>31</sup> Cossío del Pomar, pp. 96-100.

With Haya removed from the scene, Mariátegui emerged as the undisputed center of attention and natural leader of the Popular University. He was the only professor in the Popular University who had won fame in his own right before coming to teach there. As a matter of fact, years later he rejected the notion that he owed his fame or his political ideas to the Popular University; on the contrary, he attributed his development to his career as a journalist which preceded his involvement in the Popular University.<sup>32</sup> The workers respected him because they knew that he had begun as a worker himself. The intellectuals were enthralled by him because he was brilliant and knew how to present his ideas with force and convictions. Though Oscar Herrera was the Rector, it was Mariátegui who drew the biggest crowds and set the ideological tone of the Popular University.<sup>33</sup>

Mariátegui's first reaction to the Popular University when he returned to Peru was one of skepticism. His studies in Marxism and his contact with the Maximalists of Italy convinced him of the need to ground the class struggle in rigorous scientific principles and to conduct the struggle with efficiency and discipline. He was disconcerted by the lack of a well-defined class consciousness in the Popular University and by the somewhat formless orientation that guided it. Years later, after he had definitively

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<sup>32</sup>Ricardo Martínez de la Torre, Vol. II, p. 336.

<sup>33</sup>Eudocio Ravines, Private Interview held July 24, 1967.

broken with Haya, he referred to the Popular University as an "Instrumento de dominio intelectual de la pequeña-burguesía."<sup>34</sup> In making this charge, Mariátegui seemed to agree with earlier critics who accused the young student-professors of pretentious naivete in their attempts to raise the cultural level of the workers. But unlike the earlier critics, he believed that the students were going in the right direction; what they lacked was greater discipline and clarity in their ultimate objectives. He felt that the attempts of the students of San Marcos to diffuse the benefits of "middle class" to the poorer classes tended to distract them from their true mission, which was to destroy definitively the upper class that exploited them. As long as the emphasis of the Popular University lay on raising the workers to the level of middle class culture, Mariátegui believed that the Popular University could not seriously address itself to the real problems of the workers.

Nevertheless, Mariátegui had returned from Europe with the intention of working for the establishment of a class party, and he found the Popular University a useful platform where he could develop his ideas and attract a following.<sup>35</sup>

When he learned that the Popular Universities were going

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<sup>34</sup>Ricardo Martínez de la Torre, Private Interview held July 7, 1967. Ricardo Martínez de la Torre was Mariátegui's secretary and co-founder of Mariátegui's Socialist Party.

<sup>35</sup>Martínez de la Torre, Vol. II, p. 258.

to spearhead a move to block the consecration of Peru to the Sacred Heart, he at first objected on grounds that this kind of activity smacked of old-fashioned anarchism which was ineffective because it was sporadic, unorganized and worst of all, it emphasized short term goals over long term objectives.<sup>36</sup> He later reconciled himself to the protest movement and recognized the really dramatic significance that the events of May 23 held for the Popular University, because that day marked the end of the Popular University as a purely cultural project and its blood baptism as a center of social protest:

El 23 de Mayo reveló el alcance social e ideológico del acercamiento de las vanguardias estudiantiles a las clases trabajadoras. En esa fecha tuvo su bautizo histórico la nueva generación que, con la colaboración de circunstancias excepcionalmente favorables, entró a jugar un rol en el desarrollo mismo de nuestra historia, elevando su acción del plano de las inquietudes estudiantiles al de las reivindicaciones colectivas o sociales. Este hecho reanimó e impulsó en las aulas las corrientes de revolución universitaria, acarreado el predominio de la tendencia izquierdista en la Federación de Estudiantes, reorganizada poco tiempo después, y sobre todo, en las asambleas estudiantiles que alcanzó entonces un tono máximo de animación y vivacidad.<sup>37</sup>

For Mariátegui, the 23rd of May was the crucial moment when the students left behind their naïve notions of reforming Peru by merely exerting themselves to raise the cultural and educational level of the workers and Indians. He proceeded to expound to the

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 467

<sup>37</sup> José Carlos Mariátegui, Siete Ensayos de Interpretación de la Realidad Peruana (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria 1955), p. 104



workers in a series of lectures the role of the Russian revolution as the vanguard of the coming liberation of the working classes of the world.<sup>38</sup> In emphasizing the need for unity, solidarity, and above all else, discipline, he clashed with many of the anarchists who taught or studied in the Popular University.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, he rapidly gained a wide audience sympathetic to his ideas. The increased government persecution after May 23rd only served to swell Mariátegui's audiences.

The organ of the Worker's Federation of Lima and of the Popular Universities, Claridad, had been closed down after Haya's deportation in October. However, as a result of agitation by the Peruvian workers and the embarrassment caused the Peruvian government when Cuban university students, who had organized the José Martí Popular University, demonstrated before the Peruvian legation in Habana, the government reluctantly permitted Claridad to function once again.<sup>40</sup> The new Claridad that appeared in January, 1924, symbolized the radical departure from the more or less undefined political orientation of the pre-May 23rd days to a more doctrinaire socialist stance.

Mariátegui's forceful and concise style as editor of Claridad attested to his journalistic background, and his ideological convictions accounted for the polemical and at times abra-

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<sup>38</sup>See page 4.

<sup>39</sup>Martínez de la Torre, Vol. II, p. 258.

<sup>40</sup>Sánchez, Haya de la Torre y el Apra, p. 148.

sive tone of the articles and editorials he authored. He announced the new class character of the Popular University, which would now expressly function as an organ of protest against the government. In the January issue he stated:

Las Universidades Populares no son institutos de agnóstica e incólora extensión universitaria. Son escuelas de cultura revolucionaria. Son escuelas de clase. Son escuelas de renovación. No viven adosadas a las académicas oficiales ni alimentadas de limosnas del Estado. Viven del calor y de la savia populares. No existen para la simple digestión rudimentaria de la cultura burguesa. Existen para la elaboración y la creación de la cultura proletaria.<sup>41</sup>

Mariátegui then compared the Popular University to the Marxist schools of Paris where the workers studied and discussed the historical significance of Marx, Lasalle and Jaures, and the schools organized by the independent Labor party in England where Bertrand Russell and other intellectual leaders debated the economic problems of England and the world. The Popular University was really, claimed Mariátegui, a universal project which sprang from the common social conditions of the times.<sup>42</sup>

A few years later at the sixth anniversary of the founding of the Popular University, Mariátegui addressed the workers on the significance of the Popular University. The University had gone through two stages in its development, Mariátegui observed. In the first, which ended on May 23rd, 1923, the Popular University

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<sup>41</sup>Claridad, "El Rumbo de la Universidad Popular", January, 1924, p. 5.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

consolidated the workers and broke the class bounds that tied them to the Civilista regime. But in the second stage, dominated by Mariátegui, the Popular University took a more critical view of the struggle and defined its objectives much more sharply. Whereupon Mariátegui proposed the formation of a sociological seminar, which would be the nucleus of the Popular University, to study and apply the Marxist historical analysis to the problems of Peru.<sup>43</sup>

The fact that Haya's cultural center for workers had taken a definite turn toward the left since his exile was not always readily admitted, however, by supporters of the Popular University. El Obrero Textil answered charges that the Popular University was a center of Bolshevism by pointing out that the role of that center of education was to prepare each individual to forge for himself a free conscience and therefore, it was argued, the Popular University could not adhere to any one particular ideology.<sup>44</sup> However, this claim, for all its logical validity, was belied by certain obvious manifestations that the students of the Popular University had, in fact, adopted a well-defined ideological position. The dedication of an entire issue of El Obrero Textil to Nicolai Lenin on the occasion of his death in January, 1924, should have left no room for doubt as to what that ideology was.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Martínez de la Torre, Vol. II, p. 271.

<sup>44</sup>El Obrero Textil, April, 1924, p. 1.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., February, 1924,

The early part of 1924 was marked by premature hopes of overcoming the difficult times as tensions eased up. The annual Fiesta de la Planta was celebrated in Vitarte on January 30th with festivities and games. In May, Oscar Herrera described in optimistic terms the growth and progress of the Popular Universities throughout Peru. Besides the Popular Universities in Lima, Vitarte, Callao, Trujillo, Arequipa, Jauja, Chiclayo, Piura, and the many branch divisions in the suburbs near Lima, there were new ones in Huacho, Puno, Huaráz, Cuzco, Ica, and even in the far away jungle province of Madre de Dios.<sup>46</sup> In Vitarte the number of workers attending the lectures at the Popular University had reached an all time high.<sup>47</sup>

The Popular University of Ica in southern Peru reported that as a result of the pressure applied by the five thousand organized workers of the Popular University, the local Gamonales had been forced to do away with their instruments of punishment, raise wages, and grant an eight-hour day. However, this same report also adverted to the increased resistance of the local authorities to these activities of the Popular University.<sup>48</sup> Under Mariátegui the Popular University also took on a greater interest in the international front. In January, 1924, the Popu-

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., May, 1924, p. 3

<sup>47</sup> El Obrero Textil, May, 1924, p. 3.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., July, 1924, p. 3.

lar University issued an appeal for aid for the beleaguered German workers during the French occupation of the Ruhr.<sup>49</sup>

Toward the middle of the year the Leguía regime set about with greater earnestness and severity to complete the business which was left unfinished after deporting Haya de la Torre. In June, 1924, Nicolás Terreros was arrested for instigating a protest on behalf of the Popular Universities against the miserable working conditions of the miners in La Oroya.<sup>50</sup> In September the government unleashed a full scale retaliation against the Popular University by closing down the Popular Universities in Trujillo, Salaverry, Arequipa, Cuzco, Lima, Vitarte and Barranco.<sup>51</sup> The Popular University of Lima managed to weather the storm and survive until 1927, but one by one all the other Popular Universities throughout Peru closed down under police repression by the end of 1924.

However, the government delivered an even more crippling blow to the Popular Universities which eventually proved to be fatal. Between September, 1924, and the early part of 1925 the leading professors of the Popular University of Lima were all imprisoned and nearly all deported: Oscar Herrera, Luís Bustamante, Eudocio Ravines, Jacobo Hurwitz, Nicolás Terreros, Julio

<sup>49</sup>Claridad, January, 1924.

<sup>50</sup>El Obrero Textil, June, 1924.

<sup>51</sup>Claridad, September, 1924, p. 6.

Lecaros, Luís Heysen, Estéban Pavletich, Manuel Seoane, Enrique Köster, and Roberto Delgado.<sup>52</sup> Along with the professors, many of the leading syndicalists and workers in the Popular University were also expelled from the country. The deported workers and students congregated in Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, La Paz, Havana, Paris, and Mexico.<sup>53</sup>

With this latest blow, a state of panic set in. After the deportation of Oscar Herrera and Eudocio Ravines, El Obrero Textil published this denunciation of the enemies of the Popular University, followed by a terse but vivid description of the desperate situation of the Popular University:

Con el nuevo atropello a la libertad, significado en la violenta deportación de los profesores de la U.P.G.P. Eudocio Ravines y Oscar Herrera, se exhibe de cuerpo éntero la intención burguesa, largo tiempo madurada, de desaparecer la Universidad Popular.

Hoy, que factores varios adormecen la actividad de la organización y sus hombres, parece que alienta los propósitos opresores cada vez más creados por la indolencia. La U.P.G.P. atravieza en estas instantes el periodo más crítico de su existencia: el dilema es VIDA o MUERTE....<sup>54</sup>

Appeals for help were in vain. With the elite of the professors and students deported, and Mariátegui becoming increasingly bed-ridden as a result of his tuberculosis, the Popular University was left acephalous and disorientated. After it was barred from

<sup>52</sup>Gabriel del Mazo, La Reforma Universitaria, Vol. IV. p. 109.

<sup>53</sup>Martínez de la Torre, Vol. II, p. 272.

<sup>54</sup>El Obrero Textil, January, 1925, p. 1.

Palacio de la Exposicion in 1923, the Popular University of Lima began operating from different meeting places of the Worker's Federation of Lima. After 1924, these meetings of the Popular Universities tended to be secretive gatherings which were called to put on a show of resistance to the government. The tone of the discussions was overtly political and little pretense was made of fulfilling the original purely cultural finality of the Popular University.

The great experiment in popular education in Peru had shuddered to a dismal halt. The dreams of the youthful reformers of three years earlier had turned into disappointing illusions. All expectations of a great cultural flowering among the Peruvian workers or a radical moral transformation among the Indians had now been abruptly curtailed and frustrated. Furthermore, by exiling the reformers, the government had effectively forstalled any immediate revival of a popular educational movement for workers or Indians. Yet, as the events of the next few years were to demonstrate, the government had underestimated the creative capacity and zeal of the deported students. For in exile they would bring into existence a political movement which not only fulfilled the original objectives of the Popular University on a much vaster scale, but which also became the most powerful mass movement in modern Peruvian history, the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana, popularly known as the Apra or the Aprista movement.

## CHAPTER V

### THE POPULAR UNIVERSITY AND THE APRISTA MOVEMENT

Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre was nearing the eighth year of his exile from his native land when he heard the news of the fall of Leguía. The years of exile had been productive. Haya and his companions in exile had utilized that period to build up an efficient and disciplined party apparatus which was geared to go into action the moment the way was cleared in Peru.

Haya made use of those years to school himself through wide travel and reading. After he proclaimed the principal points of his Aprista program in Mexico in 1924, he visited Russia where he was impressed by the achievements of the new worker's state, although he was far less enthusiastic about the possibility of applying Russian Communism to Latin America.<sup>1</sup> After a trip through Switzerland and Italy, he reached England in 1925. In London he studied at the University of London and wrote his first article in English, "What is Apra" in the Labour Monthly.<sup>2</sup>

From London Haya went to Paris where he established the first Aprista cell, composed of Peruvian students and writers

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<sup>1</sup>Haya de la Torre, Impresiones de la Inglaterra Imperialista y la Rusia Soviética (Buenos Aires: Colección Claridad "Acción y Crítica", 1932)

<sup>2</sup>Haya de la Torre, "What is Apra?" Labour Monthly (London) Vol. 8, (December, 1926), 756-759



living in Paris.<sup>3</sup> In January, 1926, the Aprista cell of Paris staged the first anti-imperialist congress of the movement. The Aprista ideology was developed during long hours of debate and discussions at meetings held by the Aprista cell in Paris. In 1927 Haya attended the World Anti-imperialist Congress in Brussels in which he engaged in debates with communists on the correct tactics for dealing with imperialism. It was here that Haya definitively rejected the communist solution to the problem of imperialism.<sup>4</sup> He systematically developed his own thinking on the subject of imperialism in his first book, Por la Emancipación de la América Latina, which he published in 1927 shortly after a visit to the United States.<sup>5</sup> After a trip to Mexico and Central America, Haya was apprehended in the Canal Zone by the police and deported to Germany where he remained until 1931.

The years of exile afforded Haya time to think and reflect on the main ideas of his Aprista program. His extensive travels, while they did not effect any major change in the essentials of his ideology, did give him a greater world perspective and awareness of the real complexity of the problems of underdeveloped countries. He made many friends in the very nations which posed the greatest imperialistic "threat" to Latin America, England and

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<sup>3</sup>Cossío del Pomar, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup>Haya de la Torre, El Antimperialismo y el Apra (Santiago de Chile: editorial Editorial Ercilla, 1936), p. 48.

<sup>5</sup>Cossío del Pomar, p. 169.

the United States. Partly as a result of these friendships and partly as a result of his own extensive studies in the economics of imperialism, he found it necessary to reject any conspiratorial notion of imperialism and to describe imperialism as a purely economic phenomenon which results from the imbalance in the technological and economic development of the nations of the world. Haya consistently refused to turn his own brand of antiimperialism into xenophobic diatribes, but preferred to restrain his attacks to systems and institutions.<sup>6</sup>

His decision to convert the Popular Revolutionary Alliance of America into a political party designed to win power in Peru was the pretext that José Carlos Mariátegui used to break with Haya and form his own Socialist Party in 1929, along with Eudocio Ravines and Ricardo Martínez de la Torre.<sup>7</sup> Mariátegui strongly objected to the middle class element in the Aprista movement and to Haya's more moderate stance toward imperialism. Other former professors of the Popular Universities began to part company with the Apra for the same ideological reasons. Nicolás Terreros and Jacobo Hurwitz broke with Haya in Mexico and joined the Communist International.<sup>8</sup>

After the fall of Leguía the Apristas set about feverishly

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<sup>6</sup>Haya de la Torre, Ideología Aprista, p. 106.

<sup>7</sup>Pike, pp. 236-237.

<sup>8</sup>Martínez de la Torre, Vol. II, p. 281.

creating an effective party apparatus within Peru that could carry them to victory in the promised up-coming presidential elections. On September 21st, 1930, the Partido Aprista Peruano was officially established and legalized. Luis Heysen and Manuel Seoane returned from exile immediately to help organize the great campaign to win power. Seoane, who was to assume a role only second to that of Haya until his death in 1963, founded the new organ of the Aprista party, La Tribuna. In March, 1931, Sánchez Cerro left for Europe in self-imposed exile after a dispute with the other military leaders in his interim government, but he returned six months later to oppose Haya in the contest for the presidency. Haya himself did not return to Peru until August, 1931, a scant two months before the elections to be held in October.

The appearance of the Aprista movement in Peru in 1930 aroused widespread interest and enthusiasm both in Peru and throughout the rest of Latin America. In the estimation of many the movement represented the most novel and promising hope of social redemption for the laboring peasants and workers of Latin America since the Mexican revolution. Indeed, the Aprista movement set an unusual number of precedents in modern Latin American history. It was the first self-declared antiimperialist movement in Latin America.<sup>9</sup> It was the first movement in Latin America to expressly dedicate itself to the task of unifying all of the

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<sup>9</sup>Haya de la Torre, El Antimperialismo y el Apra, p. 81.

twenty republics of that continent into one great nation-state.<sup>10</sup> It was the first movement to attempt to apply the ideals and radical social and agrarian programs of the Mexican revolution outside of Mexico. Finally, in the opinion of many, the Peruvian Aprista movement was the first real modern political party in Latin America.<sup>11</sup>

The "Maximum", or general program for all of Latin America, was first proposed on the founding day of the movement, May 7, 1924. It contained five principal demands:

- (1) Action against Yankee Imperialism.
- (2) Unity of Latin America.
- (3) Progressive Nationalization of Lands and Industries.
- (4) Internationalization of the Panama Canal.
- (5) Solidarity of the Oppressed Peoples and Classes of Latin America.<sup>12</sup>

As Haya envisioned his movement, it was to be a great united front of the oppressed classes of all of Latin America -- the Indians, the city workers, the lower middle class -- which would overthrow the entrenched oligarchies in each nation of Latin America and then unite together into one great antiimperialist state to control and moderate the inroads of foreign imperialism in Latin America. This antiimperialist state, in conformity with

<sup>10</sup>Haya de la Torre, Ideología Aprista, p. 121.

<sup>11</sup>Víctor Alba, p. 276.

<sup>12</sup>Luis Alberto Sánchez, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre o El Político (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Ercilla, 1934), pp. 108-109

the actual historical development of Latin America, could not possibly be the great classless worker's utopia foretold by Nicolai Lenin, for Latin America was still a multi-class continent still struggling to emerge from an agrarian stage of development. Besides, as Haya has frequently pointed out, foreign imperialism, for all the dangers that it poses for Latin America, also performs the beneficent role of laying the foundation for the capitalist stage of Latin America's development.<sup>13</sup> However, Haya was also quick to point out that the a priori condition of controlling foreign imperialism to insure that it did benefit Latin America was a united Latin America. Without unity, the twenty republics would stand helpless before the colossus of the North; united, they could deal effectively with the economic expansionism of the bigger, more industrialized nations of the world.<sup>14</sup>

Haya sought to ground this ideology in a philosophical scheme which combined elements of Spengler's notion of the evolution of civilizations and Einstein's theory of relativity. According to the Aprista view of history, man and society are fundamentally conditioned by their historical and geographical milieu. The laws according to which each society develops cannot be found in any abstract universal notion; on the contrary, they must be located in the actual reality of the environment in which a given

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<sup>13</sup>Haya de la Torre, Ideología Aprista, p. 17.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

society finds itself. Therefore, the historical course of development that a highly industrialized nation adopts will differ radically from that of an underdeveloped nation of an entirely different milieu. From this historical world-view, Haya deduced the conclusion that Lenin's prediction of the collapse of capitalism as it nears its fulfillment in world imperialism applies only to the big industrialized nations of the world, but does not at all apply to the underdeveloped nations where imperialism is actually the first stage of capitalism.<sup>15</sup>

Although the Apristas sought to integrate this historical vision with their immediate program for Peru, they realized that such an appeal to these rather abstract and grandiose ideals would have little effect on the uneducated masses of Peruvian Indians and workers from whom they must draw their support. Indeed, the Aprista movement, founded in exile, was relatively unknown inside Peru before the fall of Leguía.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, Aprista strategy rested on two main tactics to win popular support: a massive campaign to popularize the particular application of Aprismo to the Peruvian situation, and a well directed propaganda effort to identify the party's candidate for the presidency, Haya de la Torre, with the great mass of Peruvian people.

In spite of repeated claims that the Apra was a party of

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 17

<sup>16</sup>Cossío del Pomar, p. 213.

principles and not of caudillos, Haya de la Torre was hailed by many as the new rising caudillo of Latin America.<sup>17</sup> He was far more well known in Peru before 1930 than his Aprista program. The Peruvian workers and Indians still remembered him as the student leader who intervened on their behalf in the strike for the eight-hour day in 1919. But most of all, they remembered him as the founder and rector of the Popular Universities. The workers of Vitarte still remembered with nostalgia the old days of the Popular University in their town, and each year a faithful remnant of workers from Lima and Vitarte would gather to celebrate the annual Fiesta de la Planta in January.<sup>18</sup>

Haya returned to Peru in August, 1931, amid popular acclamations from workers and Indians in the different towns and cities he visited. On August 30th the first national party congress of the Apra proclaimed the Aprista program for Peru before 30,000 spectators in Lima. The effort to establish an efficient and disciplined party organization had been a great success in spite of the short time span in which it was accomplished. One reason for the rapidity with which the new movement had taken root was that it was composed of in large part by former professors and students of the Popular Universities. Haya de la Torre had frequently acknowledged this historical continuity between the

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<sup>17</sup>Carleton Beals, "Aprismo: The Rise of Haya de la Torre", in *Foreign Affairs*, XIII (January, 1935), 236-

<sup>18</sup>Libertad, February 9, 1931, p. 2.

Popular University and the Aprista movement. In his speech before the party congress in August, Haya pointed to the origins of the party in the university reform movement and the Popular University:

Nuestro Partido proviene del gran movimiento cultural de las Universidades Populares, fundadas aquí en 1921, que fueron resultante social de la continental Reforma Universitaria iniciada en 1918.<sup>19</sup>

Again, years later Haya traced the history of his movement from the university reform of 1918 to the protest campaign of the Popular Universities in May, 1923, to the Aprista movement:

Y en el Perú, donde el movimiento (de la Reforma Universitaria) alcanzó dimensiones singulares -dada la reacción que él provocó en la docencia oligárquica de la Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, baluarte de la plutocracia feudal limeña- su primera victoria culminó con el Congreso Nacional de Estudiantes del Cuzco de 1920. El estableció la Universidad Popular, poco después enaltecida con el nombre prócer de González Prada, y en ella se estructuró un dinámico frente único de trabajadores manuales e intelectuales, que recibió su bautismo de sangre el 23 de mayo de 1923, y de cuyas filas salimos los fundadores del Apra.<sup>20</sup>

Clearly, then, in the mind of the founder of both the Popular University and the Aprista movement there was a strong direct link between the two. Indeed, nearly all the top leaders of the Aprista movement had been involved at one time or another in the Popular University: Luís Heysen, Manuel Cox, Oscar Herrera, Manuel Seoane, Alcides Spelucín, and Haya himself. When the First Party Congress of 1931 revealed the Aprista program for Peru

<sup>19</sup>Haya de la Torre, Política Aprista, p. 43.

<sup>20</sup>Haya de la Torre, Ideología Aprista, p. 95.



it became clear that the new movement was also profoundly indebted ideologically to the Popular University as well.

In his speech on August 30th, Haya termed the Aprista party a "Frente Unico de Trabajadores Manueles e Intelectuales".<sup>21</sup> The influence of Manuel González Prada was again apparent here as it had been in the student congress of 1920. The phrase called to mind his notion of the union of the workers and intellectuals in society in a common fight for social justice. The phrase also brought to memory the successful alliance of students and workers in 1919 and in the Popular Universities in 1921. The students symbolized for Haya the middle class component of the Aprista party, and the city workers and the Indians who labored in the country were collectively termed "manuel laborers".

Haya himself had first coined the phrase in a speech which he gave in the University of Trujillo shortly after his return from his trip to Uruguay in 1923.<sup>22</sup> But the term did not acquire its later great significance for the future Apristas until the events of May, 1923 imbued it with strong emotional and psychological overtones. Haya had unified the protesting elements during that fateful month under the common denomination, "Frente Unico de Trabajadores Manueles e Intelectuales". The protest movement led

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<sup>21</sup>Haya de la Torre, Política Aprista, p. 35. "El Frente Unico" may be roughly rendered in English as the "United Front", although the word, "unico" in Spanish also connotes uniqueness or singularity, which are not carried over in the English word, "united".

<sup>22</sup>Sánchez, Haya de la Torre y el Apra, p. 115.

to the imprisonment and exile of the leading instigators of the protest, but the vision of the workers, peasants, students, and lower middle class joining together into one great alliance to combat the oligarchies of each Latin American nation and the grip of international imperialism on Latin America had already been firmly implanted in the minds of the young exiles.

The Aprista movement was conceived of structurally as a united front of the oppressed classes of Peru. The leitmotif of the campaign and the movement was social justice for these oppressed classes. The "Minimum Program" or the Immediate Plan of Action was an elaborate and carefully constructed blueprint which purported to solve or attempt to attend to all the major problems of these marginal groups in Peruvian society.

A superficial examination of the minimum program did not seem to offer much to a struggling middle class. The program called for the nationalization of the means of transportation, tight government control of imports and exports, government intervention in industry and commerce, heavy protective tariffs, destruction of all monopolies.<sup>23</sup> But in 1931 Peru was suffering the effects of the Great Depression which was afflicting the western world at that time. The lower middle class, which was already beleaguered by the monopolistic grip of foreign concerns, felt the pinch even more severely when the capital which these concerns

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<sup>23</sup>Haya de la Torre, Política Aprista, pp. 14-16.

helped circulate was cut off by the depression. By 1931 the middle class had much to gain by government regulation of the foreign companies and the flow of capital from the country.

This appeal to the lower middle class was no opportunistic profiting from the plight of a depressed class on the part of the Aprista party. On the contrary, the Popular University had begun as a project of middle class university students who felt that they had a duty to the poorer classes. These same middle class leaders were not the chief spokesmen of the lower classes in Peru ten years later. It was precisely the Aprista's emphasis on the role of the middle class as the vanguard of the lower classes that occasioned their break with the communists.

The Aprista appeal to both the middle class and the lower class tended to confuse the opposition. The party was accused of communist tendencies when it seemed to favor the latter, and of fascist tendencies when it seemed to favor the former.<sup>24</sup> However, this was mere labelling without regard to the specific historical origins of the Apra. While it is true that the Apra made use of a modified Marxism and seemed to imitate certain external modes of conduct then in vogue among the Italian and German fascists, it is not true that the Apra drew its principal inspiration for either Russian Communism or European fascism. The basic Aprista ideology stems from the experience of the Popular Universities which were

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 148, 151.

founded at a time when not too much was known of international communism or Italian fascism.

If it were not for the inclusion of the middle class element, some of the fears that the Apra was pro-communist might have been justified in light of the mass of pro-labor legislation which the minimum program proposed for the Peruvian worker. The minimum program stated that the purpose of the state is to guarantee the life, health, well-being and education of the working classes, and to do away with human exploitation.<sup>25</sup> The Aprista state was clearly designed to be a socialist state with the care and protection of the working class as its prime function. The program called for a whole series of specific reform measures to accomplish this end. The establishment of a social security system for all workers, an obligatory day of rest each week for all workers, annual paid vacations, a minimum salary for all regions of Peru, obligatory installation of sanitary and first aid services for the workers in all plants are among some of the reform measures proposed.<sup>26</sup>

At one point in the campaign Haya lectured on the great advances of the Labor party of England, thus indicating his familiarity with the labor reform programs in other parts of the

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-21.

world.<sup>27</sup> During his years of exile he had made a point of studying the different labor systems and movement in the countries he visited, and undoubtedly he derived many ideas from his observations. Yet the fundamental need to fight for the rights and better working conditions of the laboring class had long ago been impressed upon him. As a key figure in the fight for the eight-hour day Haya displayed a deep sympathy for the plight of the Peruvian worker. As Rector of the Popular University two years later he came to realize the inadequacy of his Popular University to achieve a total and lasting improvement of the lot of the workers. He described how he came to the realization that the fight to eliminate problems regarding hygiene among the workers was futile as long as it did not address itself radically to the economic and social situation that gave rise to these problems in the first place:

En las Universidades González Prada, nosotros enseñábamos higiene, por ejemplo, pero nos encontramos con que la falta de higiene en la vida de un obrero era generalmente y siempre, en su mayor parte, resultado de su condición económica.<sup>28</sup>

This discovery led logically to the conclusion that if most of the economic problems of the workers stemmed from the social situation of the country, then any program which really intended to alleviate their problems must necessarily become a

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>28</sup>Haya de la Torre, Construyendo el Aprismo (Buenos Aires: Editorial Claridad, 1933), p. 169.

political campaign to restructure the social system. In Construyendo el Aprismo, Haya writes:

La obra de las Universidades Populares del Perú se concretó en gran parte a enseñar a los trabajadores a derribar el actual sistema social que impide que las Universidades Populares realicen una obra integral de educación entre los trabajadores. Cuando la clase trabajadora Peruana haya derribado del poder a la actual clase dominante, las Universidades Populares González Prada podrán cumplir su programa de veras.<sup>29</sup>

The Popular University was originally conceived as a cultural project to educate and inspire the worker to improve his own condition in life. But the logic of the situation called for revolution when the Popular University discovered that not all of the worker's problems were due to himself, but rather to the social system in which he lived. The Aprista movement was essentially nothing else but a continuation in the political sphere what the Popular University had begun to do in the cultural sphere, namely to elevate and improve the condition of the Peruvian worker.

The third class of Peruvians which the Aprista movement claimed to represent and defend was the Indians. The Apristas were so successful in identifying their cause with that of the Indian population that Aprismo very nearly became synonymous with Indigenismo. The cult of Indigenismo in Peru was already in vogue in literary circles before the turn of the century. Novels, such as Clorinda Turner's Aves sin Nido romanticized the Andean Indians and his folklore. In the realm of historical speculation, Luis

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 170.

Valcarcel and Antenor Orrego wrote works in which they predicted the emergence of the Indian-mestizo element in Latin American society as the dominant trait and motif of the future.<sup>30</sup> In the area of politics, both Víctor Andrés Belaúnde and José de la Riva Agüero called for a greater concern on the part of the government for the Indian. Riva Agüero felt that the government should adopt a paternalistic system to care for the Indians somewhat modelled on paternalistic system of the Incas.<sup>31</sup> José Carlos Mariátegui virtually identified Indigenismo with socialism. He was the first figure to attract a popular following for his ideas, but in view of his rejection of middle class participation in the coming revolution, he never really posed any serious threat to the government, which had more fear of a small group of well-educated university students than a mob of uneducated Indians.<sup>32</sup>

The Aprista movement, which borrowed many of Mariátegui's ideas, was the first mass movement in Peruvian history to popularize and make political capital out of the cult of Indigenismo. The actual specific references to the problems of the Indian in the minimum program do not seem radical at all. The section devoted to the Indian problem called for the "Redemption of the Indians" and the incorporation of the Indian into the life of the nation.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Pike, p. 234.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 205

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 241.

<sup>33</sup>Haya de la Torre, Política Aprista, pp. 23-24.

It called for government protection of the lands of the Indians, encouragement of the use of native arts and language, the fostering of industry among the Indians and the abolition of alcoholism among the Indians. But the really radical measures affecting the Indian were to be found elsewhere in the minimum program and in Haya's speeches. Under "Agrarian Questions" the program called for the expropriation of oversized latifundia and the repartition of the lands to small property owners, which in the case of Peru would be the Indians. The program also called for state intervention to settle disputes between great and small land-owners, obviously to insure justice for the latter.<sup>34</sup> Under "Education" the program called for the establishment of agricultural schools and other such specialized schools for the working population:

Crearemos granjas-escuelas, institutos de comercio e industrias, universidades populares, escuelas nocturnas y dominicales, editoriales pedagógicas, bibliotecas populares fijas y ambulantes; misiones ambulantes para la difusión de los conocimientos elementales de agricultura.<sup>35</sup>

The proposal to establish popular universities in this provision quite clearly indicates that the Aprista movement wished to revive, support and extend to the whole country the very cultural center from which it had sprung. One other measure which suggests a prophetic insight into a future problem was a proposal for a scientific study to be made to find ways and means of con-

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 17-18.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 22-23.



troling and planning the Indian migrations from the mountain regions to the coast.<sup>36</sup>

In raising the banner of Indigenismo Haya was but echoing the sentiments he had expressed ten years earlier in the Popular University. The Popular University struggled to incorporate the Peruvian Indian into the life of the nation by bringing the benefits of national culture to him. But more than that, the Popular University strove to inculcate in the Indian pride in himself and in his past. The Popular Universities taught Quechua, fostered native Indian dances and songs, and glorified Peru's Indian past. Even more significantly, the Popular Universities became a forum where the Indians could learn of the existence of their rights as Peruvian citizens through contact with the zealous social missionaries from San Marcos. The Popular University was the critical juncture in Peruvian history where the Indian met for the first time on an equal basis with the middle class white man.

The didactic methods employed in the Popular University take on greater importance when placed in this dramatic context. Haya and his companion professors labored to break down the passivity of the Indians who came to hear them lecture. Through patient effort they soon had their eager listeners responding back discussing what they had learned, and even debating with their teachers. In time the Indians themselves prepared and gave

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 27-28.

lectures to their fellow students. This experience of give and take on an equal basis with university students and the practice of leadership provided by the Popular University imparted to the Indian a new sense of self-confidence and pride which he had never known before.<sup>37</sup> A lasting spirit of comradeship developed between the Indian students and the young university students who came to teach them. So strong was the sympathetic identification of one group with the other that in 1931 the epithet, "Cholo barato", which literally means "cheap peasant", became a designation of pride not merely for the Indians but for all rank and file of the Aprista movement.

The Aprista movement not only took the lead in fostering a new Indigenismo but also became the first political movement in Peru to vigorously campaign for women's rights. The Aprista minimum program demanded that women be accorded the right to occupy any position in public life and the right to receive the same salary and privileges as male workers.<sup>38</sup> Significantly, a large proportion of the workers who attended the sessions of the Popular University were women, in sharp contrast to the nearly complete absence of women at the big universities of Peru at that time.<sup>39</sup>

The enemies of the people as they Apristas defined them in

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<sup>37</sup>Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, Private Interview held August 11th, 1967.

<sup>38</sup>Haya de la Torre, Política Aprista, pp. 11, 22.

<sup>39</sup>Roberto Delgado Valenzuela, Private Interview held July 28, 1967. Dr. Delgado was a professor in the Popular University.

1931 were the same enemies that the student-professors of the Popular Universities had singled out in 1923. The political criticisms of the leaders of the Popular University were necessarily veiled in the beginning, but after the events of May, 1923, they became far more outspoken. In 1921 Haya called upon his fellow students at San Marcos to join in his campaign to fight for social justice, but he did not specifically designate against whom or what the fight was to be waged. But during the protest campaign of May, 1923 he very specifically denounced the civilista regime of President Leguía and Peruvian clericalism. Later, from his exile, Haya declared that the Popular Universities were to be the historical vanguard of the fight of the oppressed classes of Latin America against international imperialism:

Se habia ya enunciado el hecho económico del imperialismo pero no sus características de clase y la táctica de lucha para defendernos de él. De las Universidades Populares "González Prada" se lanza la primera voz en este sentido, en 1923, invocando la unión de la juventud de trabajadores manuales e intelectuales para una acción revolucionaria contra el imperialismo.<sup>40</sup>

In fact, Haya even envisaged the Popular University as a vanguard of the Aprista movement itself. He saw the Popular University performing the vital role of preparing the consciousness of the people to rise up against the entrenched oligarchies in each Latin American nation as the final step before the unification

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<sup>40</sup>Haya de la Torre and Jose Ingenieros, Teoría y Táctica de la Acción Renovadora y Antiimperialista de la Juventud en América Latina (Buenos Aires: Publicaciones "Centro Estudiantes de Ciencias Económicas, 1928), p. 30.

of all Latin America into one great antiimperialist state.<sup>41</sup>

At least in one area, however, the Apra modified its social criticism. The earlier rabid anticlericalism of the Popular University days was glossed over and tactfully ignored by the Apristas in the campaign of 1931. While it is true that they never entirely escaped the accusation of being anticlericals, Haya and the other members of the Aprista high command maintained a political silence on the subject of Church-State relations. The party program had signalled a radical departure from past history by calling for the complete separation of Church and State, but the Aprista leader denied that this necessarily implied any kind of anticlericalism.<sup>42</sup> Undoubtedly, the memory of Haya's crusade to disrupt the projected Consecration of Peru to the Sacred Heart in 1923 provided the basis for the accusations that the Apristas were anticlerical. However, the Apristas never proposed any legislation which remotely suggested any kind of government interference with the Church.

Ironically, however, it was not the Aprista's lack of religion that instilled fear in their enemies, but rather their excess of crusading zeal. The Apristas never considered their movement a mere political party, but rather they conceived it as a great social crusade to redeem the oppressed classes of Peru. Like

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>42</sup>Haya de la Torre, Ideología Aprista, pp. 185-186.

every crusade, there was an air of revivalistic fervor and self-righteous idealism that pervaded the movement. The Apra had its own code of personal morality and asceticism binding on all its members, which in many details bordered on the puritanical. The Aprista campaign with its mass assemblies, a novelty in Peru in 1931, songs, marches, pageantry and strident oratory was permeated with a strong note of moralism and messianism. Nowhere is this aggressive self-righteousness better expressed than in the dogmatic and apocalyptic slogan with which Haya concluded all his speeches, "Sólo el Aprismo salvará el Perú!"

Throughout the campaign Haya emphasized his belief that the Apra was no mere political party, but a movement and a crusade.<sup>43</sup> On October eighth, the day of the election fraud by Sánchez Cerro, Haya addressed the Apristas of Trujillo. He assured his dismayed followers that the Apra was not defeated because its mission was not to win political victories, but rather to reach the conscience of the people first:

Quienes han creído que la única misión del aprismo era llegar a Palacio, están equivocados. A Palacio llega cualquiera, porque el camino de Palacio se compra con oro o se conquista con fusiles. Pero la misión del aprismo era llegar a la conciencia del pueblo antes que llegar a Palacio. Y a la conciencia del pueblo no se llega ni con oro ni con fusiles.<sup>44</sup>

The mission of the Apra was not to "arrive at the Palace"

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., pp. 94-96.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 108.

but to teach and elevate the people. The Apra would still govern Peru, Haya declared, because to govern meant to educate, inspire and redeem the people, and the Apra alone could perform that historic task. The Popular University began as a cultural mission and ended as a political-social crusade in the Aprista movement. The Apra declared that its first mission was to teach and enlighten the people, then govern. This sense of a mission to teach the people was so strong that Haya even defined the Aprista party as one great "Partido-Escuela", whose principal task was to educate and lift the cultural level of the Peruvian people.<sup>45</sup> In a very true sense, the Aprista movement saw itself as one great Popular University for all of Peru.

Though created as an educational project, the Popular University was never content to restrict itself to the task of merely teaching the workers how to read or write, but insisted on imparting to them an integral formation which touched all aspects of their life. Thus, the Popular University impressed upon the workers the need for personal cleanliness, physical exercise, personal honesty in their dealings with others, and self-control as the key to self-improvement. This emphasis on personal self-improvement explains in large part the similar importance which the Apristas placed on self-discipline as a key to national regeneration, as well as their emphasis on moral and physical fitness,

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 192.

the avoidance of intoxicating liquors, and honesty in the government. This also explains the prominent place given public sanitation and hygiene in the Aprista minimum program of 1931. The program called for the creation of institutions to combat epidemics, malaria and venereal diseases, the establishments of regional clinics to bring the advances of modern medicine to the Indians, and the fostering of a national sports program. It also called for a state-supported campaign to curb alcoholism and the use of narcotics.<sup>46</sup>

The emphasis which the Apristas placed on personal self-discipline was complemented by a great stress on self-sacrifice to the interests of the group. The code of action for the Aprista youth exalted personal dedication to the party and the nation, as the eighth precept indicates: "Nothing for me, all for a new Peru, just and free".<sup>47</sup> The Aprista movement placed a great deal of importance on internal party solidarity and promoted a spirit of fraternity within the ranks. The Apristas addressed each other as "companion", and their slogans and songs paid tribute to the ideals of unity, solidarity and self-sacrifice for the party. The party sought to further stimulate this sense of fraternity by organizing camping trips and picnics for the rank and file of the

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., pp. 25-26

<sup>47</sup>Harry Kantor, El Movimiento Aprista Peruano (Buenos Aires: Editorial Pleamar, 1964), p. 224.

party, even during the days of persecution.<sup>48</sup>

The esprit de corps which characterized the Aprista movement in 1931 was due in part to the general excitement generated by the heat of the political campaign. But the cohesion and solidarity which characterized the movement after its defeat and persecution under Sánchez Cerro and Benavides suggests a stronger historical basis for this near religious esprit de corps. The strong sense of fraternity which held the Apristas together during that trying period was but a continuation of the same strong sense of camaraderie of the Popular University days. No doubt Haya was influenced in part by his contact with the Y.M.C.A. of Lima and the Protestant moral ethic through his friend, John Mackay, when he promoted the ideals of brotherhood and moral and physical fitness in Popular University. But more directly, his own experience with the workers in 1919 and in the Popular University itself led him to see the need for these qualities of the Indians and workers were ever to lift themselves up and become an enlightened citizenry.<sup>49</sup>

The best evidence attesting to the sincerity of the Apristas in their mission to educate the people was their revival of the Popular Universities immediately after their return from exile in 1931. The origin of the new Popular University was, of course,

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<sup>48</sup>Orestes Rodríguez, Private Interview held in 1967. El Sr. Rodríguez is the current Rector of the González Prada Popular University in Lima.

<sup>49</sup>Haya de la Torre, Private Interview held August 11, 1967.



dramatically different from the first one. The first Popular University was a cultural movement that gave rise to a political movement, but the second Popular University was a creation of that same political movement.

The Vice-Rector of the Popular University in 1933, Gordillo Zuleta, announced in an editorial that the Popular Universities formed an integral part of the Aprista party's campaign to educate the people. He further stated that the end of the University was to educate the Peruvian people, raise their moral standards, inculcate in them a love for their country, wage a war against the use of alcoholism, and prepare the people to lead honest lives as citizens of the country.<sup>50</sup>

However noble and disinterested the ends of the new Popular University were, its life was as secure or insecure as the party with which it was associated. One of the first acts of Sanchez Cerro after assuming power in 1931 was to harrass and eventually close down the Popular Universities. When the Aprista members of the parliament protested this action, the dictator seized the occasion as a pretext to expel twenty-three of them from parliament in February, 1932.<sup>51</sup> Shortly afterwards the Aprista movement entered its first period of underground existence from 1933-1945, interrupted by a brief breathing spell after the assassination of Sánchez Cerro in 1933.

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<sup>50</sup>Apra, Editorial, November 30, 1933, p. 11.

<sup>51</sup>Apra, November 12, 1933, p. 5.

During the period of "Clandestinidad", as the Apristas term those years, the Popular University lived a shadowy existence, functioning in the homes of Apristas at night. Under Sánchez Cerro there were no less than five Popular Universities operating in different parts of Lima. To avoid suspicion, the Apristas continually shifted their meetings to different houses week after week. Under these circumstances, it was inevitable that the meetings tended to subordinate cultural topics to political questions.<sup>52</sup>

After a brief period of relaxation under Oscar Benavides, the Popular Universities were again forced underground in March, 1934. However, the Apristas continued to display occasional public symbols of resistance, such as the annual commemoration of the Fiesta de la Planta. When the government closed down the railroad to Vitarte and detained the public busses to prevent the Apristas from holding the annual commemoration on January 28th, 1934, the Aprista taxi-cab drivers from all over Lima transported nearly 3,000 Aprista workers to attend the ceremonies in Vitarte.<sup>53</sup> Evidently, the esprit de corps of the old days of the Popular University was still quite strong.

Maintaining the Popular University during a period of open persecution required a combination of discipline, ingenuity and outright boldness. The Aprista's sense of mission and solidarity

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<sup>52</sup>Orestes Rodríguez, Private Interview held on July 4, 1967

<sup>53</sup>Apra, February 1, 1934, p. 3.

could hardly be better illustrated than by the establishment and maintenance of a Popular University on the Prison island of San Lorenzo by Aprista prisoners from 1942 until May, 1945, when the party was again officially legalized throughout Peru.<sup>54</sup>

When President Manuel Prado showed signs of relaxing his surveillance of the Apra late in 1944, the Popular Universities made use of the opportunity to publically reopen on October 22, 1944.<sup>55</sup> On January 22, 1946, the Popular University celebrated with grand solemnity its twenty-fifth anniversary. An older but still robust Haya, now the leader of the most powerful political party in Peru, and in the estimation of some the real power behind the government of José Luis Bustamante y Rivero, addressed the thousands of young students and workers who attended the celebration. He paid tribute to the memory of Manuel González Prada and honored his widow, la Sra. Anita V. de González, who attended the ceremonies, as well as several of the first professors of the Popular University. Reminiscing aloud, Haya pointed to the continuity of the APRA with the Popular University, both of which traced their guiding inspiration to the collective wisdom of the people:

Nosotros decíamos que había que colectivizar la riqueza intelectual y que debíamos repartir por deber lo que recibimos por suerte. Esta filosofía prosperó y élla fue el sentido inicial de la obra (la Universidad Popular). Obra

<sup>54</sup>Boletín de Las Universidades Populares González Prada, pp. 3-4.

<sup>55</sup>La Tribuna, November 1, 1944, p. 4.

de Justicia Social, que consistía en devolver al Pueblo lo que del pueblo venía. Estoy seguro, compañeros, que solo teniendo en cuenta estos principios iniciales de las U.P. puede comprenderse la Filosofía del Aprismo que emana de ella. Porque no solo surge como fraternidad en Frente Unico de Trabajadores Manuales e Intelectuales, sino como un Partido de Justicia Social, primero en la cultura, y, después, en la Economía.<sup>56</sup>

The aura of good will and liberty enjoyed by the Aprista party in the post-war years evaporated abruptly in October, 1948, when General Manuel Odría, fearful of growing Aprista strength, ousted Bustamante and seized power. The Popular University reverted back to the techniques of underground life, which was still fresh in the minds of all Apristas. In 1956, once again Manuel Prado was back in the presidency and once again the Aprista party was legalized.

The Popular University also began functioning again in 1956. The Popular University of Lima operates today as an adjunct to the Aprista party headquarters, "la Casa del Pueblo", under the direction of the current National Secretary of the Popular Universities, Orestes Rodríguez. The Aprista party divides its labor into two major types of organisms, "directive" organisms, which are concerned with policy-making, and "functional" organisms, which are concerned with carrying out specific tasks. The Secretariate of Popular Universities is one of these special sub-organs of the party, along with the Secretariate of Public Aid, the Secretariate

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<sup>56</sup>Boletín de las Universidades González Prada. p. 14.

of Labor Unions, etc.<sup>57</sup> The Popular University continues to give free nocturnal classes to workers in the technical arts, English, drawing, etc. Each year Haya de la Torre delivers a series of lectures at the Popular University on such diverse subjects as Toynbee's concept of history and Aprista political strategy.

Although the Popular University is a branch of the Aprista party, party membership is not required of anyone wishing to make use of the facilities of the Popular University. It is an irony of history that today the Popular University bears the stamp of the Aprista party, for it is really the Aprista party that bears the stamp of the Popular University, which was the precursor, progenitor and guiding inspiration of the Aprista movement.

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<sup>57</sup>Cartilla de Organización-Guía Práctica para la Organización de los Comités del Partido. (Lima: Editorial Rebelión, 1967), pp. 25-26.

## CONCLUSION

The González Prada Popular University began as a cultural project to educate the illiterate workers and Indians of Peru and ended as the greatest mass political movement in modern Peruvian history, the Partido Aprista Peruano. Haya de la Torre founded the Popular Universities with dreams of transforming Peru through the spontaneous efforts of university students to impart the benefits of education and culture to Indians and workers, but when this dream was frustrated by police repression, he and his companions turned to politics to accomplish what they had been prevented from doing through private initiative.

Most of the original ideology of the Popular University was indirectly inspired by the University reform movement of Córdoba, and directly based upon the guiding principles which the Peruvian university students developed at the student congress of Cuzco in 1920. But the Popular University was more than a mere transitional stage linking the university reform movement with the Aprista movement. The great significance of the Popular University is that for the first time in Latin America the demands of the reformers of Córdoba regarding popular education for the masses were put into effect. The Popular University in Peru became both a testing ground for the ideals of the university reform movement and a school of formation for the young university students who

directed it. The Popular University was a success, for the students did succeed in reaching and stimulating the people. This experience of successful cooperation between university students and the poorer classes of Peru both vindicated the university reform movement and foreshadowed the Aprista movement, which considered itself a continuation and fulfillment of both the university reform movement and the Popular University.

The Popular Universities were all but destroyed in 1924 and the Aprista movement rose up in Peru six years later in 1930. The latter was but a continuation of the former on a much larger scale. The founders and leaders of both institutions were the same. The ideology of the Aprista movement, for all the nuances in interpretation that accrued to it during the years of exile, was still essentially the same as that which had been worked out and tested in the Popular University. The protest movement of May, 1923, which was spearheaded by the Popular University, was described by the instigators as a "United Front of Intellectual and Manual Laborers". The Apristas used the same nomenclature to describe their movement in 1931. The Popular University was a project initiated by middle-class university students to raise the cultural level of the workers and Indians to prepare them to take their just place in society. The Aprista movement was a united front of middle-class, workers and Indians to fight for the just dues of each of these groups.

The theme of the students in 1921 was social justice for

the lower classes. Their principal instrument to achieve this end was education. In 1931, the theme of the Apristas was also social justice for the lower classes, but this time their instrument was both education and politics. The motto of the Popular University was: "We have no dogma except social justice". This diffuse idealism of the students in 1921 became the disciplined realism of the Apristas in 1931, who did have a dogma as regards the way in which they believed social justice was to be achieved in Peru: "Aprismo alone will save Peru!".

The Aprista movement grew out of the Popular University, but so did the Communist party of Peru. The future rift between José Carlos Mariátegui, the founder of a socialist party which became the Communist party of Peru after his death in 1930, and Haya de la Torre was already apparent when Mariátegui taught at the Popular University. Mariátegui wanted to impose a strict one class ideology on the Popular University and he opposed Haya's tolerant admission of all ideologies within the Popular University, as well as Haya's conviction that the fight for social justice could only be won by enlisting both the middle and lower classes in it.

The Peruvian syndicalist movement began under the aegis of the Aprista movement. The unofficial alliance of the two movements dates back to the collaboration of the students and workers in the strike for the eight-hour day in 1919. This solidarity of worker with student was firmly sealed through continual fraternization in the Popular Universities. In the Popular University



the workers of Peru learned the meaning of group solidarity and discipline, two indispensable tools for success in the fight for labor's rights. The nebulous anarchism of the workers also gave way to a well-defined Marxism in the Popular University under the tutelage of José Carlos Mariátegui.

Although the Popular University became immersed in politics and ideologies toward the end of its existence after May, 1923, it merits attention for what it represented and accomplished strictly as an educational center. It was the first center for popular education in Peru and the first serious project to incorporate the Indians of Peru into national life. The life of the Popular University was too short to judge its impact in affecting the educational level of the workers and Indians who attended it. But if education is taken in the wider sense of total self-development, then the Popular University did effect a veritable educational revolution among the workers and Indians that it reached. The Popular University was effective in awakening in the workers and Indians a real desire for self-improvement and participation in public affairs. The Popular University also stimulated the creation of a greater social consciousness among the student-workers, which manifested itself in an increased awareness of international problems and most of all, an increased love for their native Peru. The picnics and campouts of the Popular University were both an exercise in appreciation of the natural resources of Peru, as well as in developing a sense of community among the

workers themselves and with the students. It was precisely this sense of vocation to self-improvement, coupled with a strong esprit de corps, that accounted for the character of the Aprista movement as a crusade or mission to teach the people in order to prepare them to fight for their rights.

The Aprista movement has traversed a stormy and turbulent road since it first appeared as a major force in Peruvian national life in 1931. It has undergone years of underground hiding and persecution and tasted the bitterness of many frustrated bids for power. Its ideology, too, has been modified over the years, although the general ideals that inspired the first Apristas still prevail. The party and its leaders have mellowed over the years since the first presidential campaign of 1931. The Apristas are less doctrinaire, less obstinate and more flexible in their tactics than in the days of their first fervor.

As the Apra grows older, its origins grow dimmer in the memory of most Apristas. But there are members of the old guard who have not forgotten how the Apra began. On the night of July 21, 1967, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre addressed a mass meeting of nearly a hundred thousand Apristas in the central plaza of Lima. During the hour-long discourse, Haya ranged over a multitude of topics, including the tense relations between the armed forces and the Apra, the status quo of the Aprista-dominated parliament, and the many experiences of his six-month stay in Europe. The grand old leader of the party appeared to have lost none of his former

energy and vitality as he vigorously gesticulated to explain a point, or raised his voice to a high-pitched crescendo to triumphantly drive his point home. Haya de la Torre is an enigmatic leader who assumes different roles at different times, but at mass assemblies, where he is Master of Ceremonies, he seems to act them all out all at once. For some political observers, he is the demagogue who stages a show for the simple people who come to hear him. For others, he is the old ideologue-philosopher who comments on the problems of the world at large. For still others, he is the political strategist smoothing over the difficult impasse between the army and the Apra. In a sense, he plays all of these roles and none of them. Most of all, Haya is the teacher of the people. His demogogy is but his adroit use of pedagogic dramatism to arouse enthusiasm in his students. As the strategist, he is the artful teacher who employs only the most convincing arguments and logic to teach his class. As the philosopher Haya is the Master who illumines the way to social justice. This is the role he is best at, for it is the role he assumed when he founded the Popular University and the Peruvian Aprista movement.

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