


## The City University of New York Application For PSC-CUNY Research Award Program

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<b>Control Number:</b> 35-6079	<b>Name: (Last, First)</b> Renique, Jose		<b>Review Panel:</b> History	
<b>Rank:</b> Associate Professor	<b>Tenure:</b> Y	<b>Junior:</b> N	<b>Type of Award:</b> 1YR	
<b>Department:</b> HISTORY	<b>College:</b> LEHMAN COLLEGE		<b>Subjects:</b> Human: N Animal: N	<b>Progress Report:</b>
<b>Supplementary Materials attached:</b> N	<b>Telephone:</b> (H)(201) 974-1189 (W)(718) 960-4998		<b>Email Address:</b> jrenique@aol.com	
<b>Title of Proposed Project:</b> "The Radical Imagination: From literati to militants in Peru, 1879-1980"				<b>Amount Requested:</b> \$ 2,200.00

### Brief Abstract:

This project explores the historical conditions that explain why Peru was the only Latin American country where Maoism assumed ideological importance. To do so I explore the evolution of a radical tradition born in the wake of deception with Liberalism catalyzed by military defeat against Chile in the 1870s. A tradition that from the realm of literature brought to the one of politics the idea of a criollo (Creole) nation thoroughly transformed by the mobilization of its Indian majorities --the children of the Andean civilization, more than the children of the Conquerors as the legitimate agents of genuine nation-making in contemporary times. By focusing on the major contributors to this radical tradition (Gonzalez Prada, Valcárcel, Mariátegui, Arguedas) this project explores the complex and fascinating exercise of composing a vision of the future based on local histories and collective memories as well as on ideological borrowing. It also shows how in the internationalist ferment of the 1960s this intellectual creation blended with Maoism to produce in 1980 a bloody Andean version of Mao's "protracted war from the countryside to the city."

<b>Budget</b>		
Foreign Travel: R/T airfare NY-Lima, Peru	<b>\$2,000.00</b>	(6920)
Other: Xeroxing	<b>\$200.00</b>	(ZZZ1)
Total:	<b>\$2,200.00</b>	(Amount Requested)
<b>Budget justification in order of importance:</b>		
<p>Travel Expenses: \$2,200 This includes an air-ticket for a one-month staying in Lima (800) as well as a per diem of \$ 40 a day (1,200) and airport and local transportation (200). Per diem is based on the lowest rates for lodge and meals in Lima, Peru. I am able to lower my costs thanks to my familiarity with Lima where I was born and lived for most of my life.</p> <p>Xeroxing: \$200 While duplicating services are inexpensive in Lima I have to use them intensely as a way to maximize my research time there.</p>		

### Biographical Summary

<b>Education</b>			
<b>Institution</b>	<b>Degree</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Field of Study</b>
Columbia University	Ph.D	1988	History
Columbia University	M.A.	1986	History
Universidad Catolica del Peru	B.A	1977	History

Publicactions, Performances or Works

1. La Batalla por Puno: Militantes y Campesinos en la sierra sur del Perú, (to be published in late 2003 by SUR and the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos)
2. La voluntad encarcelada: Las 'luminosas trincheras de combate' de Sendero Luminoso del Perú, Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2003.
3. Los Sueños de la Sierra. Cusco en el siglo XX, Lima: CEPES, 1991.
4. "From war to politics: Shining Path, 1992-2003" (to be published by the Bulletin of Latin American Research [London, Great Britain])
5. "Entre Mao y Mariátegui: ideología y campesinismo en el Perú" (to be published in early 2004 by Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe [Tel-Aviv, Israel])
6. "De literati a socialista: el caso de Juan Croniquer, 1911-1919" in El Hombre y los Andes. Homenaje a Franklin Pease G.Y, Javier Flores Espinoza and Rafael Varon Gabai, editores, Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica. Fondo Editorial, 2002, pp. 157-178.
7. "Apogee and Crisis of a 'Third Path': Mariateguismo, 'People's War,' and Counterinsurgency in Puno, 1987-1994" en Shining and Other Paths. War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995, Steve Stern, editor, Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1998, pp. 307-338.
8. "Flores Galindo y Vargas Llosa: Un debate ficticio sobre utopías reales" in Ciberayllu, 1997, <http://www.andes.missouri.edu>.
9. "The State and the Struggle for Land in the Southern Highlands of Peru" in Unruly Order. Violence, Power and Regional Identity in the Andes, Deborah A. Poole and Christiane Paponnet-Cantat, editors, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1994, pp. 223-246.
10. "Violencia y Democracia en la Sierra Sur del Perú: Puno en la Era Post-Velasquista" in Perú: Problema Agrario IV, Fernando Eguren, editor, Lima: SEPIA, 1992, pp. 414-441.
11. "Pérou: la bataille pour Puno. Guérillas, Etat et mouvement paysan" in Problèmes d'Amérique latine, n. 3, [Paris, France], October 1991, pp.39-54.
12. "La Batalla por Puno: Violencia y Democracia en la Sierra Sur del Perú" in Debate Agrario 10, [Lima-Perú], March 1991, pp. 83-108.
13. "Estado, partidos políticos y lucha por la tierra en Puno" in Debate Agrario 1, November 1987, [Lima-Perú], pp. 55-76.
14. "De la fé en el progreso al mito andino" in Márgenes 1, March, 1987, pp. 9-33.

Publicactions, Performances or Works resulted from PSC-CUNY funding

La Batalla por Puno: Militantes y Campesinos en la sierra sur del Perú, (to be published in late 2003 by SUR and the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos)

"The State and the Struggle for Land in the Southern Highlands of Peru" in Unruly Order. Violence, Power and Regional Identity in the Andes, Deborah A. Poole and Christiane Paponnet-Cantat, editors, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1994, pp. 223-246.

"Violencia y Democracia en la Sierra Sur del Perú: Puno en la Era Post-Velasquista" in Perú: Problema Agrario IV, Fernando Eguren, editor, Lima: SEPIA, 1992, pp. 414-441.

"Pérou: la bataille pour Puno. Guérillas, Etat et mouvement paysan" in Problèmes d'Amérique latine, n. 3, [Paris, France], October 1991, pp.39-54.





**Other Funding**

PSC-CUNY Awards (over past five years)				
Date	Title	Project Number	New or Renewal	Amount
1999	"An Andean Long March: Radical Tradition in Peru, 1880-1992"		New	2,800.00

External Research Grants/Award Proposals			
Date	Title	Funding Source	Amount
2000	"The Long March: Radical Tradition in Peru, 1883-1992"	NEH-Extending the Reach Fellowship	22,000.00
2003	"Missing Voices. Political Violence According to its Practicioners: the case of Shining Path"	Shuster Fellowship Award	1,600.00
2002	"Second Generation Peruvians in the U.S.; Memories of a Borrowed Past"	CUNY Graduate Center Mellon Humanities Fellowship	0.00
2002	"Missing Voices. Political Violence According to its Practicioners: the case of Shining Path"	US Institute for Peace	0.00

External Research Grants/Award Proposals resulted from PSC-CUNY funding			
Date	Title	Funding Source	Amount

Proposals Under Review or in Preparation			
Date	Title	Funding Source	Amount

Attachments
 35-6079_budgetnotice.pdf
 35-6079_letter.pdf
 35-6079_review.pdf
 PSC.CUNY.2003.fin.doc
Progress Report
No Progress Report Available

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# THE RADICAL IMAGINATION

## From *literati* to militants in Peru, 1851-1945

José Luis Rénique  
Lehman College/Graduate Center

### I

In the mid-1980s, as they brought their “popular war” to the last confines of their country, the militants of one of the several “Communist Party of Peru” claimed to be following the “shining path” opened by José Carlos Mariátegui (1893-1930) in the 1920s.<sup>1</sup> Around the same time, President Alan García Pérez –the first member of the Peruvian *Aprista* Party reaching that position-- announced that his newly elected government was going to be the opportunity for the long-awaited application of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre’s (1895-1981) ideas, originally issued during the 1920s. Then, when Haya de la Torre himself had launched his *Aprista* movement he had invoked the figure of Manuel Gonzalez Prada (1848-1918) as the inspiration of his party.

Mariátegui, Haya de la Torre, González-Prada. At least the first two had monuments in public squares of downtown Lima today. And there are roads, schools, soccer teams, and shanty-towns all over Peru named after them. Over time, they have been alternatively called “prophets of modern Peru” as well as “forerunners of modern subversion.” Endlessly reprinted, their books can be found in any library or bookstore throughout the country. A recent survey found out that Mariátegui’s *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* has been the most widely read book in Peru during the last half a century.<sup>2</sup> How to explain this cult when they were neither saints nor military heroes? How to explain the prominent place occupied by these intellectuals in the collective memory of a country affected by high rates of illiteracy?

Their own lives transformed into subject of their political struggles, their biographies carry the scars of protracted disputes over their ideological legacy.<sup>3</sup> Until very recently, for instance, the guardians of Mariátegui’s heritage refused to include his early writings in his “complete works” because they were mostly “literary work” that add nothing to his condition of the founder of Marxism in Latin America. Questions about more intimate

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<sup>1</sup> On the beginnings of this event see, Gustavo Gorriti, *The Shining Path: a history of the millenarian war in Peru*. Translated and with introduction by Robin Kirk, Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1999. According to Gorriti, this was, “the most important insurrection in the history of Peru.”

<sup>2</sup> By 1994, this book had been the object of 60 editions and it had been translated to a dozen languages.

<sup>3</sup> The list of studies of the ideas of Mariátegui, Haya de la Torre, and González Prada is quite long. Biographies in a stricter sense are not so numerous, most of them written by followers and sympathizers. Mariátegui has the greatest number of biographers, followed by Haya and González Prada in a distant third place. To my knowledge, the only biographical text on Mariátegui in English is the introduction by Jorge Basadre to Mariátegui’s *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971. For Haya, see, Frederick B. Pike, *The politics of the miraculous in Peru: Haya de la Torre and the spiritualist tradition*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986. The brief “Manuel González Prada. A son’s memories,” *Books abroad* [Norman, Oklahoma.], vol. 17, no. 3, July, p. 201-207, is the only biographical material in English on Don Manuel that I know.

topics –homosexuality and neurosis-- have also been rose in the cases of Haya de la Torre and Gonzáles Prada respectively but without being the object of any kind of serious examination. Defined by the different uses of their legacy their lives fit more in the realm of hagiography than in the one of history. They are something like lost texts in the jungle of “mariateguismo,” “hayismo,” and “gonzalespradismo” three of the main schools of thought in the world of Peruvian leftist politics. Is there a different way to read their lives? How could it be done? What would be the purpose of such an effort?

## II

They came to my attention has historical figures as I researched *indigenista* intellectuals of the 1920s (a sort of Andean *narodniki* of the Southern highlands of Peru). Later on, as I studied the political movements of the 1970s and the 1980s I encountered them again but this time as mythical figures.

In 2000 I wrote a research project (“An Andean Long March: Radical Tradition in Peru, 1880-1992”) in which I proposed that a close examination of the political tradition in which the leaders of the PCP-Shining Path were formed was a key to gain a better understanding of the origins of their rebellion.<sup>4</sup> As I have pursued this line of research I have increasingly focused on the “radical imagination” as the tool of construction of a political tradition of a radical nature. In doing so I have benefited from the increasing attention paid by researchers to the cultural and human dimension –as opposed to structural matters—in understanding political processes, revolutionary activities in particular. Thus, according to Eric Selbin, the modern Latin American revolutions have been characterized by “high degrees of voluntarism” –that is “conscious choice” and “intentional actions”—that structural theories are poorly equipped to grasp.<sup>5</sup> In practical terms, then, my search for a “political tradition,” has derived in a collective biography of a group of exceptional individuals that by exercising their imagination and sensibility beyond the boundaries of official or acceptable thinking opened new political horizons.

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<sup>4</sup> For long time, these origins have been seen as “enigmatic.” For a discussion on this point, see Stern, Steve J., “Beyond Enigma: An Agenda for Interpreting Shining Path and Peru, 1980-1995” in Steve J. Stern, editor, *Shining and Other Paths* (War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995), Durham 1998, pp. 1-9. On the uniqueness of Shining Path and the uselessness of Cold War revolutionary theories to interpret it, see McClintock, Cynthia, *Revolutionary Movements in Latin America* (El Salvador’s FMLN & Peru’s Shinning Path), Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press 1998, p. 13. Other interesting coomentaries on the literature about Shining Path are Carlos Iván Degregori, “Campesinado andino y violencia política: Balance de una década de estudios” en Benjamín Marticorena, editor, *Perú: el problema agrario en debate*, Lima: SEPIA, 1992, pp. 413-439; Orin Starn, “New Literature on Peru’s Sendero Luminoso” en *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 27, no. 2, 1992, pp. 212-226; Deborah Poole y Gerardo Rénique, “The New Chroniclers of Peru: US Scholars and their ‘Shining Path’ of Peasant Rebellion” en *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, vol. 10, no. 2. 1991, pp. 133-191.

<sup>5</sup> Eric Selbin, *Modern Latin American Revolutions*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1993, p. 3. Other authors who have called for a reevaluation of the role of ideas, styles, and culture in the study of political processes are Forrest D. Colburn, *The Vogue of Revolution in Poor Countries*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994; Yvon Grenier, *The Emergence of Insurgency in El Salvador: Ideology and Political Will*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1999.

Mariátegui, Haya de la Torre, and González Prada are, indeed, the most prominent representatives of this contingent. The latter one was the son of an aristocratic family whose early dissent was expressed in romantic poetry and liberal sympathies. His participation in the bloody battles that led to the occupation of Lima by the Chilean army in 1881 transformed him into a literary militant who through essays, articles and public speeches brought the cultural and political elites of his times into trial. His critique of liberalism was the cornerstone upon which Peruvian radicalism developed. Both Haya de la Torre—a student leader from an impoverished family of aristocratic background—and Mariátegui—a self-taught journalist of modest origins—met González Prada in 1917. And both of them will later claim that the movements they created were the continuation of “gonzalespradismo.” During the 1940s Haya’s *aprimo* would be considered the Latin American version of European social-democracy and his party is today the oldest populist party in the region credited to be the model for many reformist parties throughout the region. In the case of Mariátegui, an early death will cut in 1930 a brilliant career not before writing two books and hundreds of essays and founded the most famous journal in twenty-century Peru (*Amauta*) and the Peruvian Socialist Party that soon after his death will become the Peruvian Communist Party. As a whole, theirs will remain as a struggle for a modernization with social justice within a truly inclusive nation as opposed to the semi-colony that imperialism and oligarchic rule were forging.

In my work their lives appear as the points of entry to a larger phenomenon. That is, the making of a radical tradition through the exercise of the “radical imagination” which resulted in a series of individual acts of critique and defiance that eventually led to “radical encounters with the society:”<sup>6</sup> from poetry to politics, from the *bohemia literaria* to the political party, from *literati* to militant. The intention then is to rescue Gonzalez Prada, Mariátegui and Haya de la Torre from their role as “apostle of Peruvian radicalism,” “founder of the Latin American Marxism” or “creator of the Latin American Social Democracy” to place them in their time and space as individuals searching for the materials and the fissures that would allow their voices to resonate throughout society.

### III

I have been researching Andean radical politics for almost two decades. Initially, I oriented my work to examine the development of Shining Path rebellion and the peasant responses it elicited in several regions of Peru.<sup>7</sup> Two articles and two books completed

<sup>6</sup> The phrase comes from Arif Dirlik, *The Origins of Chinese Communism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> See my articles: “Apogee and Crisis of a ‘Third Path’: Mariateguismo, ‘People’s War,’ and Counterinsurgency in Puno, 1987-1994” en *Shining and Other Paths. War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995*, Steve Stern, editor, Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1998, pp. 307-338; “The State and the Struggle for Land in the Southern Highlands of Peru” in *Unruly Order. Violence, Power and Regional Identity in the Andes*, Deborah A. Poole and Christiane Paponnet-Cantat, editors, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1994, pp. 223-246; “Violencia y Democracia en la Sierra Sur del Perú: Puno en la Era Post-Velasquista” in *Perú: Problema Agrario IV*, Fernando Eguren, editor, Lima: SEPIA, 1992, pp. 414-441; “Pérou: la bataille pour Puno. Guérillas, Etat et mouvement paysan” in *Problèmes d’Amérique latine*, n. 3, [Paris, France], October 1991, pp.39-54; “La Batalla por Puno: Violencia y Democracia en la Sierra Sur del Perú” in *Debate Agrario* 10, [Lima-Perú], March 1991, pp. 83-108 and “The Revolution Behind Bars” in *NACLA, Report on the Americas*, Vol. XXIV (4), December-January, 1990/91, 17-19.

during 2003 are the conclusion of that cycle.<sup>8</sup> My participation as an associate researcher in the *Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación* (Commission of the Truth and Reconciliation) appointed by the Peruvian Government in 2000, has been for me not only a professional and intellectual satisfaction but a veritable moral reward.

Now the time has come to turn to the larger historical roots of contemporary political violence. The CVR's report as well recent bibliography on the topic stress the critical role played by ideology in unleashing violence. It is important to remember not only that a Professor of Philosophy was Shining Path's chief but that most of its leadership proceeded from a provincial university in the city of Ayacucho. The making of ideology, the production of a radical tradition that will inform the subversive attempts of the 1980s is the ultimate objective of this research.

To some extent this research is a byproduct of previous works. Based on information gathered from a variety of sources (press, letters, political documents, discourses, etc.) consulted in a number of repositories<sup>9</sup> I have reconstructed the setting and the cultural atmosphere as well as to identify the characters of the collective biography I am planning to write. Based on this information I am able now to get closer to the "conversations" of the circles of Lima's *literati* and *pensadores*. Republican Lima had inherited from colonialism its condition of the great "lettered city" of South America.<sup>10</sup> In an empire held together by "chains of paper and ink"<sup>11</sup> the written word was a crucial tool of domination. However, by the mid-nineteenth century the Lima's "lettered city" faced a different challenge. That is, to elaborate the notion of a national identity or the "imagined community" Benedict Anderson talks about. A particularly arduous task in a post-colonial country profoundly divided by ethnic, cultural and social lines. Between mid-nineteenth century and mid-twenty century several generations devoted their lives to that mission. From their study rooms in colonial residences in downtown Lima or the patios of the Real Convictorio de San Carlos, the intellectual impugnation of the post-colonial order by the liberals of the 1850s traveled to the workers' unions, student organizations and party cells of the 1940s to become a radical tradition within which boundaries, the rebellions of the 1960s and the 1980s will take shape.

Using words of British historian John W. Burrow I would describe my task as placing myself in the position of "an informed eavesdropper on the intellectual conversations of

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<sup>8</sup> La Batalla por Puno: Militantes y Campesinos en la sierra sur del Perú, (to be published in late 2003 by SUR and the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos); La voluntad encarcelada: Las 'luminosas trincheras de combate' de Sendero Luminoso del Perú, Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2003; "From war to politics: Shining Path, 1992-2003" (to be published by the *Bulletin of Latin American Research* [London, Great Britain]; a Spanish version will be published by *Política y Gestión* [Buenos Aires, Argentina]) and "Entre Mao y Mariátegui: ideología y campesinismo en el Perú" (to be published in early 2004 by *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* [Tel-Aviv, Israel])

<sup>9</sup> I have worked in Lima at the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, el Archivo General de la Nación, the archives of the Catholic University and of the National Congress. In the US I have mainly work at the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. and the New York Public Library in New York City.

<sup>10</sup> Angel Rama, The Lettered City. Translated and edited by John Charles Chasteen, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996.

<sup>11</sup> This phrase comes from Charles Gibson, Spain in America, New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1966.

the past.” By doing so, the intention is not to apprehend what we now think was important in those times but what was then important in the Lima’s lettered circles.<sup>12</sup>

By working with local sources and upon the basis of my own Peruvian experience and my professional training I expect to offer a unique history of radicalism “from within” in one particular Latin American country. A history which value is highlighted by the very fact that most of the studies on this topic derive from the application of theories on revolution shape by Cold War concerns.

A PSC-Cuny Research Award will allow me to conduct a one-month period of research at Peruvian archives. This will be mostly complementary research as two out of the six essays that my book consists of are already completed.<sup>13</sup> Each one of them is an examination of the politics and the culture of certain period constructed around the life of each one of our three main characters.

My expectation is that this book will contribute to understand Andean radicalism in general. From Colombia to Bolivia, this has been the mental source for some of the most notable rebellions in contemporary Latin American history. Finally, as a Peruvian I expect that this book would help my young compatriots –always ready to defend with religious zeal the timeless *vigencia* of the ideas of González Prada, Mariátegui, or Haya as proof of real radical conviction— to understand that in any case the point is not so much to parrot the “cultural caudillos”<sup>14</sup> from the past as much as to learn from their capacity to impeach their times. To do so we must first recover the lives behind the myth.

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<sup>12</sup> The Crisis of Reason. European Thought, 1848-1914, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000, p. X.

<sup>13</sup> Previous versions of these two chapters are: “De *literati* a socialista: el caso de Juan Croniquer, 1911-1919” in El Hombre y los Andes. Homenaje a Franklin Pease G.Y., Javier Flores Espinoza and Rafael Varon Gabai, editores, Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica. Fondo Editorial, 2002, pp. 157-178 and “Entre Mao y Mariátegui: ideología y campesinismo en el Perú.”

<sup>14</sup> The phrase comes from Enrique Krauze, Caudillos Culturales en la Revolución Mexicana, México: Siglo XXI Editores, 1985.