

## ANTI-IMPERIALIST ANTI-FASCIST POPULAR FRONT, PERU

### REPORT ON THE GOVERNMENT OF PEDRO CASTILLO AND THE PERUVIAN POLITICAL SITUATION

We of the Anti-Fascist Anti-Imperialist Popular Front – FPAA, expose the following:

*1. The FPAA supported the proposals and demands represented by the candidacy of Pedro Castillo Terrones (candidate of Perú Libre) in the general elections of the year 2021.*

The working class, the peasant communities, the teachers, and in particular, those sectors of Peru deeply and historically marginalized by the Lima bourgeoisie, was hopeful of the promises of change of the government of Free Peru<sup>1</sup> and that could be a political opening that would bring together the different popular bases for the rise of a historic deed in search of a series of demands; such as i) the nationalization of Camisea gas project, ii) the renegotiation of contracts of the large mining concessionaires, iii) a real university reform and, above all, iv) the change of the constitution through a Sovereign Constituent Assembly with popular participation. It should be clarified that by then we already took into account the limitations and difficulties that the government would have with its presumed reformist and left-wing social-democratic character.

But what was the political course of Pedro Castillo Terrones for him to come to power?

Pedro Castillo was a leader of the National Committee of regional bases and was on the political stage in the Teachers' Strike in 2017 in which more than 300,000 teachers affiliated with SUTEP<sup>2</sup> participated.

Among its main demands were:

- I. Salary increases in steps until 2021.
- II. That teachers would not be fired when they disapproved of the evaluation of a teacher's performance. Since they considered this to be an elitist and discriminating instrument.
- III. That the Education Reform be repealed.
- IV. That 10% of the GDP be allocated to education.

On the other hand, Vladimir Cerron, founder and secretary general of the Free Peru (PL) party, could not run for elections in 2021 due to the "La Oroya" Case [before the Inter-American court for damages caused to the La Oroya community due to pollution by a metallurgical company – *translator's note*] because in August of 2019 he was sentenced to 4 years and 8 months for "incompatible negotiation and taking advantage of his position in grievance of the state" (the crime of corruption of an official, according to the Peruvian Penal Code).

*2. Was this political instability or a political attack? The elected government won the elections by promising democratic-popular demands, a slogan that was not to our class enemy's liking. Taking into account that in the last 5 years there have been 5 presidents and that, in the first round, Pedro Castillo won 18 of the 20 poorest districts of Peru.*

At the beginning of its mandate, the government approved the Initial Institutional Budget for 2022 greater than 7.6% compared to 2021. It coordinated the entry of new banks of foreign capital to buy "the debts of the MYPES [small and medium enterprises] in order to reactivate the national economy," carried out the largest public investment in the last 20 years (30% more than in 2018); the main international authorities and governmental institutions gave the go-ahead to Pedro Castillo on several occasions. However, the recalcitrant right and the bourgeoisie loudly warned of the threat of the "ghost of

---

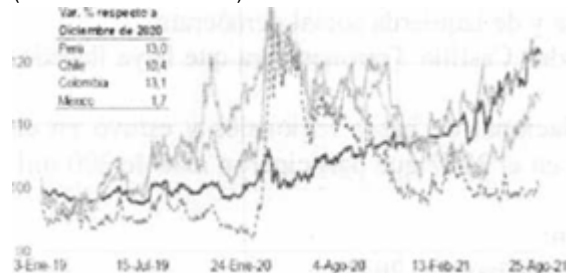
<sup>1</sup> Political party that boasts of being a revolutionary party

<sup>2</sup> Unitary Union of Workers in Education of Peru

communism," which could ruin the Peruvian economy as has happened in Venezuela; that a government that promotes "constitutional change" will only cause instability and political uncertainty, that the "left will only scare away the big investors and there will be no jobs." In that context the financial and banking bourgeoisie created anxiety; closing the main bank offices and promoting the volatility of the exchange rate.

*So to what instability and uncertainty was the pro-fascist conservative opposition referring? Who was better off with this exchange rate volatility, a product of "political uncertainty"?*

Nominal exchange rate indices  
(December 2018 = 100)



As shown in the graph of the BCRP report<sup>3</sup>, the exchange rate has been increasing since the beginning of the pandemic as in the rest of the countries of Latin America. In the first 6 weeks of the pandemic, the currencies had their most important leap, reaching an average devaluation of 12%. Above this average were Mexico (34%), Colombia (22%),

Brazil (21%) and Uruguay (18%).

But did the big investors really flee the country for the foreign market? *The truth is that, despite the oscillations caused by the political noise, the rise of the dollar has continued for a long period that ultimately benefited the large banks through the accounting record IAN [International Accounting Norm] 21 that **generates income from currency exchange transactions**.* That, according to Arturo García, a professor at the university of ESAN, shows that "this amount is 14% higher than that generated in the same period of the previous year."

As if this were not enough, between April and June 2021, Credicorp saw an increase in **net profits in foreign exchange transactions**, gaining 55.8% more than in the same period in 2020. Until July 2021, the Banks gained about US \$361 million by variation of the exchange rate while, in May 30.1% of the people did not cover the costs of a basic food basket; there was an increase of 3,330,000 in the number of poor people in the last year. "In 2020, rural poverty had 5 years of decline. In the case of Metropolitan Lima we have gone back 13 years," according to Dante Carhuavilca, head of INEI.<sup>4</sup>

All these events caused the Castillo government to make many changes in its power composition in order to "calm" the opposition and "let it govern." However, this effort only led to the following in his first 100 days of government:

- The executive only presented 6 bills with something of "relevance," the lowest number in the last 20 years.
- Of the 43 promises evaluated, 85% have not been fulfilled, 8 are in the process of being realized and only 7 have been fulfilled.
- He obtained a record time in which a government made its first change of cabinet of ministers in less than 70 hours.
- More than 730 appointments have been promoted (25 from Perú Libre), according to *El Peruano* newspaper.

<sup>3</sup> BCRP (Central Reserve Bank of Peru)

<sup>4</sup> National Institute of Statistics and Informatics

3. *Given the change of Guido Bellido's cabinet<sup>5</sup> for that of Mirtha Vásquez (a cabinet partly coming from the ranks of Together for Peru and a faction of the Broad Front) in mid-October 2021, we predicted the weakness of the government in undertaking the structural reforms that were promised.*

The incoming cabinet was linked to the NGOs, more negotiator and less confrontational against our class enemy. In conclusion, a more tamed social democracy than the then outgoing cabinet. That is why we, and the working class in general – some sectors already pointed out the betrayal of the teacher – maintained a critical position towards the government, demanding that it comply with the popular demands that led it to win the elections. Our slogan was "Let the campaign promises be fulfilled."

At that time, several outstanding personalities during the political campaign who apparently were preparing to defend the democratic-popular demands began to waver in their intentions as was the case of Pedro Francke and Betsy Chávez regarding the new constituent assembly:

Betsy Chavez said:

"The Constituent Assembly will not be prioritized over the Pandemic," justifying his lack of interest in continuing to wave the banner of the new constituent assembly despite the fact that it was a campaign promise during the pandemic.

"I reject any action that is not by peaceful means" delegitimizing the national mobilization that was coming to pressure for the change of the constitution.

Peter Francke said:

"On the agenda of the government is not the Constituent Assembly and any change will be made within the framework of the constitution (of 1993)<sup>6</sup>"; at the meeting in Washington Guido Bellido, the "most loyal and consistent cadre" of PL and right arm of Vladimir Cerrón, did not present the Constituent Assembly as part of the political project.

Although the rank and file began collecting signatures for the constituent assembly, it was delegitimized and demobilized by these "leaders."

4. *The government's position on the ecological crime committed by REPSOL on the shores of Ventanilla exposed the true interests of former cabinet of Mirtha Vásquez and of Pedro Castillo.*

While many sectors of the left demanded the renegotiation of the contract with REPSOL, focusing on its responsibility in the spilling of 1.65 million liters into our sea – other sectors closer to the NGOs focused on cheap voluntarism which did not deal with the underlying problem – the government limited itself to defending this multimillion-dollar company by mentioning its 'commitment' to delivering baskets to families of fisherfolk affected. The fishing workers booed Mirtha Vásquez (president of the Council of Ministers) and undertook a series of demonstrations at the refineries of La Pampilla.

This natural disaster has an environmental impact, destroying the National Reserve System of Islands, Islets and Puntas Guaneras—Islets of Fisherfolk and the Reserved Zone of the town of Ancón, the spilled crude oil went from the beaches of Ventanilla to those of Chancay, covering an area of 1,739,000 square meters; the marine fauna and flora of the area has been seriously affected.

---

<sup>5</sup> Most "loyal" cadre of Free Peru and the "most consistent" in raising the banner of constituent change

<sup>6</sup> The constitution of (92) was presented to violate that of 73 which recognized many fundamental rights. To then be replaced by the 93 creates given by the constituent congress by Jaime Yoshiyama Tanaka who is now imprisoned for money laundering for the campaign of Keiko Fujimori. In addition, it emerged as a legal and political instrument to legitimize the coup d'état of '92, to consolidate a government de facto son-in-law and the neoliberal model.

Therefore, the economy of many families who were dedicated to artisanal fishing.

The Premier supported the company REPSOL in granting baskets of basic products and work for the cleaning up of the beaches; these measures do not undo the damage caused to these families and the ecosystem. On the contrary, the lack of planning for these possible events that the company should have foreseen is evident; moreover, until now it has given the impression that it never had a contingency plan for oil spills.

On the government's side, its regrettable statements are the product of the lack of economic and social planning in the country, since it offers *social assistance* to remedy the damage of a company, making it clear that the private sector maintains control of the state. Added to this is the lack of planning for natural disasters by the Peruvian War Navy which, unlike other countries in the region, did not give a warning of the tsunami or of similar waves, an argument that was blatantly used by REPSOL to evade responsibility for the ecological tragedy.

Only days later, the government, through the Ministry of the Environment, ordered the paralysis of loading and unloading operations of hydrocarbon in La Pampilla – not the total cessation of activities. Inaction and lukewarm decision-making are characteristic of the current government.

*5. The constant attempts at **presidential vacancy**<sup>7</sup> by the coup and philofascist right, President Pedro Castillo, instead of relying on the popular classes that voted for him, sought to negotiate **and** agree with the *ementos* coming from the middle bourgeoisie; with César Acuña who owns the César Vallejo University. This element is radically opposed to young people being able to access a free university education and defends the commodification of education (University Law 30220).*

The president did not even show appear regarding the *labor package* promoted by the president of the Congress María del Carmen Alva. If this package did not proceed, it was because of the insistence and organization of the working class and its unions themselves in the streets.

*6. Pedro Castillo's constant "stumbles" by incorporating people of dubious reputation into his ministerial cabinet have provided reasons to be questioned by the opposition.*

He has pleased them and betrayed the working class to such an extent in order to advance their rightward motion. One of his most reprehensible acts is to assign Héctor Valer as president of the Council of Ministers, an opportunist fugitive who has gone through 7 political parties of the recalcitrant right. An anti-communist and conservative reactionary who called for a vote against the presidential candidacy of Perú Libre, with accusations of family aggression, an investigation approved for the crime of corruption in the form of collusion in a grievance of the State and in 2009 as a member of APRI [American Popular Revolutionary Alliance] he justified the police attacks during the massacre of "Baguazo."<sup>8</sup>

– In the Ministry of the Interior, Alfonso Chávarry Estrada who was sentenced for abuse of authority

---

<sup>7</sup> PRESIDENTIAL VACANCY FOR MORAL INABILITY is specified in the 1993 Constitution in article 113 inc. 2. However, this law dates back to 1839 to refer to "moral" mental illnesses.

<sup>8</sup> On June 5, 2009, there were incidents in Bagua (Amazonas Department) that left 33 people dead, including 23 police officers. and serious human rights violations. The day of the 'Baguazo', agents of the DINOES (National Directorate of Special Operations) with the support of the Armed Forces violently repressed hundreds of native people who were entrenched for more than 50 days in the area known as 'Devil's Curve.' The 'Baguazo' began because the second government of Alan García (2006-2011) promoted an investment policy as part of carrying out the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the United States. Several legislative decrees that were signed directly affected the indigenous communities of the Amazon.

and two other cases for illicit drug trafficking and crime against the public administration.

- Condori Machado, recommended by Vladimir Cerrón, as Minister of Health, known as a promoter of false medical treatments such as **Cluster X2** (supposed hexagonal water that has magical properties to cure several diseases).

While some portfolios remain intact, such as justice, education and social inclusion, the current cabinet **does not at all represent the interests of the working class**.

The reason for the progressive formation of this cabinet is to ensure votes against the Vacancy that allows it to have the support of the majority of the parties.

*7. Protection for Merino. On June 9, Alejandro Cavero<sup>9</sup> presented a final report in the subcommittee of constitutional accusations to shelve the complaint by the prosecutor's office against Manuel Merino, Antero Flórez Aráoz and Gastón Rodríguez for the dead and wounded on the 2020 march.*

On November 14, 2020, for the sixth consecutive day we went out to march against the illegitimate government of Manuel Merino. However, on the last day the absurd and violent police repression took place.<sup>10</sup> There were more than 200 wounded and 2 dead (Inti Sotero and Brayan Pintado).<sup>11</sup> Of these, 78 were able to file a complaint with the ministry, in which the attack and violence were recorded.

In October 2021, the prosecutor formalized a constitutional complaint against these three for the alleged crime of homicide and serious and minor injuries for all those injured in the march.

Guido Bellido voted with Waldemar Cerrón to shield those responsible shelving the constitutional complaint against Manuel Merino and former ministers Antero Flores-Aráoz and Gastón Rodríguez for the deaths of Inti and Brayan.

He stated it this way: "No matter how many political enemies one has, truth and objectivity must prevail," alleging that the evidence and investigations presented by the prosecution were doubtful for him to make a decision.<sup>12</sup>

*8. Considering the points explained above, the Anti-imperialist Anti-fascist Popular Front considers that the current government of Pedro Castillo Terrones is bourgeois and a continuation of the neoliberal policy that has been implemented in Peru since Fujimorato. Castillo does not govern for the working class; he governs for the middle bourgeoisie and big financial bourgeoisie.*

---

<sup>9</sup> Alejandro Enrique Cavero Alva is a Peruvian lawyer and politician. He is a congressional representative of the republic for 2021-2026.

<sup>10</sup> Between November 10 and 15 (*Ojo Público*) The Division of special units fired more than 1500 rubber pellets and more than 3100 tear gas bombs. On the 14th alone it fired 310 pellets and more than 800 tear gas bombs (80 per hour).

<sup>11</sup> In December 2020, the forensic ballistics expert report of the body of Inti Solero (Public Ministry) the lead found in his body had no hand-made characteristics. And it was shown that the shot was made by a shotgun of the type used by the PNP [Peruvian National Police].

<sup>12</sup> Brayan and Inti case: The director of the Office of Institutional Integrity of the Ministry of the Interior, Luis Naldos, the same one who drew up the report, stated that "there was an excessive and indiscriminate use of non-lethal weaponry and that they were aware of the plan of operations during the protests." Manuel Merino met with the director of intelligence of the navy, subcomandante General PNP, Head of special Services Division, director of intelligence of the DINI [National Directorate of Intelligence], the head of Joint Command of the Armed Forces, the director of Counterintelligence of the DINI and the chief of advisers of the DINI (on November 11, 12 and 14). His press advisor called the national institute of radio and television and told them not to broadcast the march.

Our initial support for the Free Peru Party was to support the *democratic-popular proposals and demands* and to prevent the rise of Fujimorism, a criminal organization of a pro-fascist faction. We will never support the pro-fascist and pro-coup right-wing entrenched in Congress, whose only task has been to try to hinder the advance of popular demands and prevent the change of the constitution. However, if the working class decides to raise the vacancy against President Pedro Castillo for his betrayal of the proletariat, we will not oppose this. The proletariat cannot be at the tail of any politician. It must organize itself politically and defend its class interests; it must decide on its own destiny and future.

Finally, we have already noticed the limitations of the social democratic left. It has shown – and continues to show – historically its cowardice and betrayal of the proletariat when contradictions have been about to erupt. "Social democracy is the left leg of fascism."

For the nationalization of energy resources (Camisea gas and the "La Pampilla" refinery)

Against savage neo-liberalism and fascism!

For the declaration of an emergency in national agriculture, for national sovereignty and food sovereignty!

For the promotion of the development of national agricultural, industrial and scientific production, down with the monopolies, oligopolies and Peru's dependence on foreign supplies!

ALL POWER TO THE WORKING CLASS!

FOR A SOVEREIGN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WITH POPULAR PARTICIPATION!