

I, Patrick James Christian, Ph.D., declare under penalty of perjury that the following is true and correct:

**1. Expert Qualifications.** My name is Patrick James Christian. I am a psychological anthropologist specializing in the psychological, sociological, and emotional conditions of civilian populations in current and post conflict conditions. I hold a doctorate in the psychopathology of ethnic and cultural conflict.

1.1 I confirm that I have read and understand the European Asylum Support Office's EASO Practical Guide: Evidence Assessment, to include data collection, credibility assessment, risk assessment, and application of Article 4(5) QD. I affirm that I am an expert witness qualified by knowledge, skill, experience, training, and education of the country-of-origin conditions within the population segments of the Andes Mountain and Amazon Jungle Basin regions of South America that include the conflict regions of Peru, Peru, and Colombia. I employ the scientific principals and methods approved by the American Anthropology Association's Society for Psychological Anthropology and of the American Psychological Association's Division 45 (Race, Ethnicity, & Culture) and Division 48 (Peace, Conflict, & Violence) – all of which, I am a member in good standing. My work is guided by the application of western psychology based on the Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Health Disorders - V<sup>5</sup><sup>1</sup> that is carefully curated using anthropology to establish a baseline and pathway of indigenous family and tribal health – psychologically, physically, socially, emotionally, and spiritually, within an indigenous system of knowing and phenomenological reality.

1.2 In my professional life, I work as a research scientist, clinical practitioner, and professor of practice in the field of ethnic and cultural identity and conflict at the family, village, and community levels of social organization in pre/ongoing/post conflict settings. My expertise is derived through a combination of academic training and extensive field expertise.<sup>2</sup> My expertise is best described as the 'application of psychoanalytical sociological analysis using anthropological methodology to curate the science to a specific subject community's emic or lived/living experiences both mentally and emotionally.' This level of analytical research allows me to illuminate the underlying psychosocial-emotional drivers or motivations of individual and collective behavior post-mortem to and predictive of, violent conflict. Since my retirement from uniformed service as a US Army Green Beret Officer with 26 years of service in 2015, I have been on continuous contract for research, development, and teaching of my expertise with the Canadian, UK, USA, NATO, and other approved allied nations whose military and civilian personnel are deployed as interventionists into conflict communities. I am the lead social scientist researcher-author for the Islamic Militaries Counterterrorism Coalition (IMCTC) based in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia and I am currently physically stationed in Kyiv, Ukraine, where I conduct field research into the psychosocial trauma conditions in the eastern oblasts for Valka-Mir Foundation. I am under continuous contract with the UK and Canadian Home Office Immigration Tribunals for Country-of-Origin expertise.

**1.1** I have spent more than 30 years in total, researching, advising, and clinically engaging civilian communities in Northern Uganda, Sudan (Darfur & South), Ethiopia (Somali-Ogadin & Oromo Lands), Chad, Kenya, Northern Niger & Mali (Valley of Azawad homeland of the Kel Tamashek or Tuareg), Eastern Mauritania, Morocco, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, North-eastern Syria, Iraq, Iran, Qatar, UAE, and Afghanistan. With respect to my field research and academic lines of inquiry and instruction regarding Central and South America's indigenous and mestizo communities generally, and those of Peru and Peru specifically, my field work includes the Republic of Panama in the Golfo de San Blas, El Porvenir to Ustupo Yantupo, conducting ethnographic population surveys along the Caribbean coastline narco-trafficking routes; the Republic of Peru in the states of Orellana and the highlands region around Quito. I was based out of Puerto Francisco Orellana for the former and USEMB - Quito for the former, where I also supervised a MIST team operating in the barrios and indigenous regions adjacent to the capital. My work involved training and advising the Peruvian Army and Police to combat criminal gangs and narcotics organizations that recruited from and controlled the civilian population. This included host nation participation projects that constructed a school, hospital, and several roads and bridges that helped unite remotely located villages with provincial governance and state services. I have extensive multi-year experience in the Republic of Colombia in the provinces of Caquetá, Los Amazonas, and Putumayo, advising & assisting the 6th Colombian Army Division combatting the FARC and transnational criminal narco-trafficking gangs and interrupting the ongoing weaponization of the civilian population. As a US Army Special Forces officer with diplomatic clearance, I was able to operate on both sides of the Rio Putumayo with the COLAR, Peru and Peruvian Armies to interfere with FARC's cross border operations. Finally, I have field experience in the Northern Triangle region of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. I was based in Guatemala City and Antigua, conducting ethnographic

<sup>1</sup> (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition, Text Revision (DSM-IV-TR), 2000)

<sup>2</sup> 26-years as a United States Army Special Forces (Green Beret) officer and 7 more years as a civilian field researcher for Five-Eyes and NATO governments.



research and qualitative psychological inquiry into recruitment and weaponization of civilians by the Mara Salvatrucha-13 and Barrio-18 criminal organizations in the tri-state border regions of El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala. I have been researching and training United States Southern Command's Special Operations forces (Civil Affairs, Psychological Operations, and Special Forces) in the psychosocial-emotional phenomenological realities of life in Peru and Peru's various population segments, with emphasis on the growing divide between these countries European oriented cultural and social construction versus the awakened Quechua confederations of indigenous populations that have been struggling to redefine Sumak-Kawsay life in the Andean Mountains and the Amazon Jungle Basin. I teach a weeklong intensive course to US Army SOF operators twice annually at Fort Liberty, NC in the USA, using my textbook and training materials for these military personnel who are working to help US policy makers understand the changing nature of the cultural, sociopolitical, and psychosocial landscape in these countries. I am aware that, in providing this report, my overriding duty is to the United States Federal Immigration Court. I believe that the facts stated in this report are true, and that the opinions I have expressed are correct. I believe that I have dealt fully with those issues which have been drawn to my attention or which seem relevant to my understanding of this case. I have not omitted any facts of which I am aware which would have had a material effect on my conclusions as stated above. The absence of an expressed opinion on any point should not be construed as meaning that I have no opinion on that point. I would be happy to assist the court by clarifying any matter raised herein, during testimony or in writing. My fee is not dependent on the outcome. I am widely published in my field of praxis via peer reviewed journals, books, book chapters, and professional publications published within the USA, UK, Canada, Israel, Saudi Arabia, and the Hague.<sup>3</sup> I hold a USA DoD and NATO Top Secret Clearance with access to Secure Compartmentalized Intelligence programs and submit to a full scope background investigation every five years.

**2. Disclaimers & Limits of Expertise.** I have never spoken with the asylum claimant Ms. REDACTED. My research is based entirely upon primary and secondary research on country conditions in the Andean highlands between Quito and Lima Peru.

2.1 I would like to be clear that I am not a medical practitioner, a mental health clinician, a psychiatrist, or a social worker. I do not present myself as such.

2.2 I am a country-of-origin expert providing information about the psychosocial-emotional conditions of the host population in post-colonial and mixed indigenous communities under stress from intrusive globalization. This includes the dichotomy between national versus indigenous and tribal systems of justice, governance, physical and mental pathology & treatment, and psychosocial development and sustainment.

2.3 In this respect, I am qualified to understand the North American APA DSM-5 and, through field research and analysis, apply it (translate) to indigenous communities outside of western psychological theory language.

2.4 I have served, in the past, as a military advisor to the Peruvian and Peruvian governments, operating within the Runasimi and Waoroni speaking civilian population segments in the Andes Mountain Ranges and the Amazon Jungle Basin. As part of my regular duties, I research and teach ongoing country-of-origin case studies (psychosocial-cultural) to the United States Army Special Operations Detachments (7<sup>th</sup> Special Forces Group, 1<sup>st</sup> Psyop Battalion, & 98<sup>th</sup> Civil Affairs Battalion) at Fort Bragg NC.

2.5 Despite my military service and support of military and police security operations in these countries, my principal focus uses psychosocial anthropology to understand the human civilian populations rather than regional, international political science to understand the desired political order.

**3. Restatement of the substance of the case.** The appellant, Ms. REDACTED, was born on 6th July 1978 in Lima, Peru. She is a Peruvian woman of indigenous descent; her parents are descendants of the Inca's. Ms. REDACTED has a daughter, Valentina Marion Fernandez Chahuayo, who is currently 10 years old. She is staying with Ms. REDACTED

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<sup>3</sup> <https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Patrick-Christian>  
<https://www.narrative-strategies.com/patrick-james-christian>  
<https://nova.academia.edu/PatrickJChristian>  
<https://www.ein.org.uk/experts/christian>  
[https://www.amazon.com/Patrick-James-Christian/e/B0051H47QA%3Fref=dbs\\_a\\_mng\\_rwt\\_scns\\_share](https://www.amazon.com/Patrick-James-Christian/e/B0051H47QA%3Fref=dbs_a_mng_rwt_scns_share)  
[https://nsuworks.nova.edu/shss\\_dcar\\_etd/22/](https://nsuworks.nova.edu/shss_dcar_etd/22/)  
<https://www.da-ic.org/Sgen/2016/09/10/patrick-james-christian-origin-epidemiology-of-violent-extremism-radicalization/>

here in The Netherlands. She also has two other children; they live in Peru. Ms. REDACTED lived in Argentina between 2006 and 2015. Ms. REDACTED returned to Peru in 2016 because she had problems with her in-laws. Ms. REDACTED worked in Argentina for approximately 10 years to financially support her family in Peru. Ms. REDACTED's family lives in poverty in Peru. After returning to Peru, in July 2016, Ms. REDACTED started a small business, a restaurant. It was a small room, close to a bus station, from which she sold day menus and small meals. She quit her business in December 2017, because her restaurant was robbed by criminals several times. She was forced to give them her revenue for the day and also her mobile phone. During some of these incidents, Ms. REDACTED was also physically abused. Ms. REDACTED intended to report the incidents to the police, but when she was on her way to the police station, she was stopped by a car, and threatened with a knife. After that, she was too afraid to go to the police. Ms. REDACTED has a brother who lives in Italy, that is why Ms. REDACTED travelled to Italy (alone) in May 2018. She met a man there, and intended to marry him, however, unfortunately he passed away later.

Ms. REDACTED did not obtain a residence permit in Italy, she never applied for one. Ms. REDACTED returned to Peru in September 2019, because she wanted to pick up her daughter, and take her with her to Italy. Her daughter, Valentina, was a victim of an attempted kidnapping in October 2019. Valentina was rescued by bystanders, and the criminals fled. Valentina was traumatized by this incident and still suffers from the consequences today. In November 2019, while Ms. REDACTED and her daughter were on their way from Peru to Italy, they were stopped in The Netherlands, when they were in transit at the airport. Ms. REDACTED then asked for asylum in The Netherlands. She did not ask for asylum in Italy, because she did not know it was a possibility. The asylum application was rejected by the Dutch Immigration Authorities (IND) on 4 November 2020, the decision from IND was confirmed by a court on 27 October 2021. Ms. REDACTED returned to Peru in February 2022.

She fled from Peru again around March 2023. Since April 2023, Ms. REDACTED and her daughter are staying in a family shelter for undocumented migrants in Utrecht, a city in The Netherlands. Ms. REDACTED fled Peru again because of the following reasons: Ms. REDACTED's mother sublet rooms in her house to two Venezuelan men. On 26 February 2022, one man murdered the other one, in the house. The nickname of the murderer is "El Loco". He is a member of an armed criminal gang. In April 2022, El Loco returned to Ms. REDACTED's mother's house, where Ms. REDACTED confronted him. On 12th April 2022, Valentina was struck by a motor taxi. Ms. REDACTED assumes this was retaliation from El Loco or his associates. In March 2023, there was an attack on Ms. REDACTED's brother's home. Ms. REDACTED also suspects El Loco is behind this. To summarise: Ms. REDACTED states that she and her daughter are not safe in Peru, because they were repeatedly targeted by members from (various) criminal groups. Ms. REDACTED states that she will not receive protection from the Peruvian government, because the government is very corrupt and has no power to stop the criminals. According to public sources, the IND argues that this statement is not true. *The IND argues that Ms. REDACTED should have reported the incidents to the police and that the government is able to provide adequate protection to Ms. REDACTED and her daughter.*

**4. Assigned Research.** I have been asked to provide an expert opinion assessing the credibility of this family's claimed experiences as well as their risk of return to Peru and a country condition report that explains the psychosocial-political landscape in Peru during the recent past as well as currently. Specifically, I have been asked to address the following questions:

- 4.1 Can you elaborate on the activities of organized crime groups in Peru, Lima, specifically?
- 4.2 Is the Peruvian government able to provide protection to citizens who are targeted by criminal groups?
- 4.3 How does the fact that Ms. REDACTED is a woman and of indigenous descent affect her chances of being a target by criminals?
- 4.4 How does the fact that Ms. REDACTED is a woman and of indigenous descent affect her chances of being protected by the Peruvian government?

**5. Materials Provided.** For the preparation of this report, I have been prepared with a letter of instruction from Ms. Milou Dohmen <milou@stil-utrecht.nl> @ STIL Utrecht, Laan van Nieuw Guinea 143 3531 JH Utrecht, +31 (0)302713463, [www.stil-utrecht.nl](http://www.stil-utrecht.nl).

**6. Country-of-Origin Context of Peru.** *The states of Peru and Ecuador are often intermixed in this research for greater accuracy and understanding. The populations of these two Andean nations are inextricably linked by blood and ideology and examining them together, offers the clearest understanding of what is happening in this region. The Republic of Colombia is not included because those populations have already endured a similar version of what is now taking place in Peru and Ecuador, namely a half-century civil war of existential change. The Republic of Colombia's 2006 Constitution declared for the first time that The Republic of Colombia is a multi-cultural, multi-lingual, multi-ethnic nation of peoples who are all equal under the laws of the nation. Colombia's latest constitution, passed after intensive and lengthy negotiations offered even deeper reforms sought by its population segments:*

"The [Colombian] State recognizes and protects the ethnic and cultural diversity of the Colombian Nation... It is the obligation of the State and of individuals to protect the cultural and natural assets of the nation... Spanish is the official language of Colombia. The languages and dialects of ethnic groups are also official in their territories... The right to life is inviolable. There shall be no death penalty... The education provided within communities with their own linguistic traditions shall be bilingual... Members of ethnic groups shall have the right to education that respects and develops their cultural identity. Culture in its diverse manifestations is a basis of nationality. The nation's cultural heritage is under the protection of the State. It is the duty of the State to protect the diversity and integrity of the environment, conserve areas... prevent and control environmental deterioration... ensure that public space is protected and dedicated to common use, which has priority over private interests... Colombian nationals [include]... Members of indigenous peoples straddling border areas ..."<sup>4</sup>

While the Republic of Colombia still struggles with Armed Movements such as the ELN and crime, the civil population appears to have accepted their internal diversity which ranges from Criollos to Waoroni to Mestizos to Quechuan. These terms will become clear during reading of the report.

**6.1 Introduction to "the Implosion of Peru and Ecuador."**<sup>5</sup> From the external perspective of international news and governance, the events in Peru over the last 12 months have surprised and shocked the region and the world community. The political crisis in Peru is getting worse by the day. Since 2016, instability has taken over this South American country: 6 presidents in 5 years, Congress dissolved twice, one institutional reform referendum, early elections, a coup in November 2020, an internal war between the President and the Congress. From the news and academic reporting, there seem to be no clear reasons why Peru is near to becoming a failed state. What is clear, however, is that the political states of Peru and Ecuador, created by Spanish Colonial administrators, appear to be on the verge of implosion. As long-term researchers of the psychosocial-cultural conditions of population segments in the Andean Mountain Range and Amazon Jungle Basin, we can state that this 'implosion' for lack of a better word, has been centuries in the making. As a country-of-origin researcher, I study people, not politics, ethnic and cultural societies, not political states, and I investigate peoples' emic reasons for their behaviour choices and psychological motivations, not etic or outsiders' assumptions of what others do or why they do it. For the sake of logic, let's begin with the current situation of violence, social breakdown, and the collapse of the political order that most recently became inflamed in December of 2022. For ease of comprehension, I have organised this report into the following four sections that, together, illustrate the cause and effects of the ongoing breakdown of Peru's social order.

**6.1.1 §6.2: Making Sense of the Andean Highland's populations.** Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia are three South American states whose territories cover both Andean Highlands and the Amazon Jungle Basin. This is important because the Andean Highlands contain the former populations of the pre-Columbian INCA Empire that Spanish Conquistadors fought and defeated roughly 600 years ago. This empire consisted of many different tribes and languages; however, we can refer to them as **Quechuan peoples** who speak a variant of the **Runasimi** language. The Amazon Jungle Basin also has several different tribal ethnicities and languages, but we can refer to them under the umbrella of the largest collective, the Waoroni, an ethnicity and language.

**6.1.2 §6.3: Cultural Pathologies of Alienation, Shame, and Rage, in Latin America's Ruling Mestizo Classes.** The colonial-legacy governments of Peru and Ecuador, in the centuries after independence from Spain, constructed cultural and social structures that mimicked Europe generally and Spain specifically, in terms of architecture, social construction, and cultural identity. Both legacy-colonial governments have always maintained that the indigenous populations of these two countries are a minority, and that most of the populations are Spanish Criollo or Spanish Mestizo. Social scientists have always questioned these assumptions and now believe that in fact, most of the populations of Peru and Ecuador are indigenous in cultural identity and that population segments desiring to self-identify as European without regard to their actual ethnic bloodlines, are in the minority. The Criollo and light-skinned mestizo populations still hold most

<sup>4</sup> (Corte Constitución Republica de Colombia 2021 En Inglés, 2021)

<sup>5</sup> (Rédaction & WEILL, 2022)

of the legacy-colonial power in Peru and Ecuador in the areas of globalisation of trade, travel, communications, manufacturing, natural resources (protection, extraction, refining & marketing), societal structure, agricultural, animal husbandry, government operations, internal and external security, infrastructure planning and development, environmental protection, and more. All of this was possible in the centuries after independence from Spain because the indigenous population were largely ignored and left to their own lives external to European concerns and development.

**6.1.3 §6.4: A CLASH of CIVILISATIONS: Indigenous Social Evolution and European Devolution in Peru.** What has changed is that the indigenous population discovered political activism and the power of democratic voting, assisted by liberal-leaning social activists and the power of tourism to one of the greatest empires in human history, the remnants of INCA, MAYAN, and AZTEC Empires and their vast societies. What we are witnessing in Peru and Ecuador, is nothing less than the realisation of Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilisations occurring within two political states of the OAS. While a bit melodramatic, the forces in conflict in Peru and Ecuador, consist of competing alignments. The first alignment favours keeping these countries European in cultural identity and social structure. The second alignments favour a fundamental change towards an indigenous framework of thought and cultural identity that would, if successful, require a fundamental shift in all aspects of Peruvian and Ecuadorian life.

**6.1.4 §6.5: Revolution, Civil War, & Anarchy in Peru and Ecuador.** To be clear, these two alignments are not simply opposite absolutes of each other. Instead, they consist of gradations of difference with many segments in each alignment favouring some level of integration of the ancient with the modern. For those segments in the alignment currently in power, however, any change would necessitate the surrender of long-held power and position that will not easily be let go. Amidst the ongoing internal breakdown of society, millions of Venezuelan refugees have flooded into Peru from its neighbouring authoritarian regime led by Rafael Madero, the late Hugo Chavez's protégé. The public space of collaborative governance and security of persons and property has been replaced by travel advisories about violent crime waves within the Venezuelan immigrant population and within each side of the growing and hardening divide between Peru's population segments.

The current crisis in Peru exploded into the news cycle when the newly elected president, Pedro Castillo, the first indigenous president elected in Peru, was impeached, and arrested only a year after his election. Peru's political cartoonists depict Castillo as having breakfast as president, lunch as dictator, and dinner as prison inmate. His impeachment was the Peruvian Parliament's third attempt to do so, and they finally succeeded when Castillo attempted to dissolve parliament and rule by decree. Literally no one from either side of the political spectrum accepted such a move. His impeachment was followed by the succession of the 1<sup>st</sup> Vice President, Dina Boluarte, to the presidency, the first female president of Peru. Both Castillo and Boluarte were members of the Marxist oriented *Partido Político Nacional Perú Libre*, founded in 2008.<sup>6</sup> Free Peru's presidential candidate Pedro Castillo won the 2021 Peruvian general election against Popular Force nominee Keiko Fujimori.<sup>7</sup> Free Peru has the second most seats in the Congress of Peru, with 22 out of 130 total representatives, but remains as a minority opposition, to an alliance led by conservative Popular Action party. Free Peru is a participant in the São Paulo Forum, an annual conference of leftist parties in the Americas. After Free Peru's election win, Castillo ascended to the presidency, the 5<sup>th</sup> office holder in 5-years, and Boluarte assumed the position of 1st Vice President after vowing to resign is Castillo was forced out from office. Boluarte subsequently distanced herself from the Free Peru party and her campaign promise after the election. Below is the timeline of events between Castillo's impeachment and Boluarte's assumption of the presidency.



Figure 1 Presidents Castillo & Boluarte

<sup>6</sup> Free Peru party describes itself as "a left-wing socialist organization" that supports anti-imperialism, democracy, decentralization, federalism, humanism, internationalism, Latin American integration, and sovereignty.

<sup>7</sup> Popular Action Party ideology is defined by authoritarianism, support for neoliberal economics, opposition to communism, and socially and culturally conservative stances such as opposition to LGBT rights and school curriculums including gender equality or sex education.

- **December 7, 2022:** President Pedro Castillo was ousted and arrested after he attempted to dissolve Congress and rule by decree in an effort to avoid impeachment over allegations of corruption. Vice-president Dina Boluarte was sworn in as Peru's new leader.
- **December 9, 2022:** Peruvians took to the streets to demand the resignation of Boluarte, the release of Castillo, and the celebration of new elections.
- **December 11, 2022:** Protests grew and spread around the country. Two people were killed in clashes between protesters and police in the southern Peruvian city of Andahuaylas. The city's airport was closed after demonstrators tried to storm the terminal.
- **December 13, 2022:** Boluarte announced she would submit a bill to Congress to celebrate elections in April 2024 instead of April 2026.
- **December 14, 2022:** Peru declared a 30-day nationwide state of emergency in the wake of widespread protests that so far left seven people dead.
- **December 15, 2022:** A Supreme Court judge ruled that Castillo would remain in detention for 18 months, after the ex-leader was arrested for the crime of rebellion and conspiracy.
- **December 17, 2022:** The political crisis left thousands of tourists stranded in Cusco, the gateway city to the Inca citadel of Machu Picchu.
- **January 9, 2023:** After having subsided during the Christmas break, anti-government protests resumed on what was the deadliest day so far. At least 18 people died in the southern Puno region in clashes between security forces and demonstrators.
- **January 11, 2023:** Clashes broke out in Cusco, with protesters attempting to enter the airport. The Prosecutor's Office announced it would open an investigation of Boluarte for the death of 47 people since protests began.
- **January 12, 2023:** A 16-year-old demonstrator, who had been hospitalized for two days, died in Juliaca. Protesters arrived in Lima, which had been spared of violence so far. The country's labour minister stepped down.
- **January 13, 2023:** Peru's general attorney launched 11 inquiries to identify those responsible for the civilian deaths.<sup>8</sup>

In the aftermath of Castillo's impeachment and Boluarte's assumption of office as the 6<sup>th</sup> president in 5 years, Peru exploded into mass, violent protests and the nation's security services reacted with a level of violent force that the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) described as a massacre. The IACHR President, Margarete May Macaulay, wrote in her official report that *"there were serious human rights violations that must be investigated with due diligence and an ethnic-racial approach."* She also warned the Organisation of American States (OAS) that *"the deaths could constitute extrajudicial executions"* on the part of Peru's military and police forces.<sup>9</sup> The human rights group Amnesty International called the government's crackdown *"systemically racist"* for disproportionately targeting Indigenous populations that have already endured a history of neglect, disenfranchisement, and state violence.<sup>10</sup> Peru's last elected president, Pedro Castillo, remains in prison. The current president, Dina Boluarte is struggling to maintain control. A state of emergency is in place, and across the nation, confrontations between protesters and the Peruvian authorities have killed 28 people and injured hundreds. Peruvians in the capital region now face unsustainable levels of violent insecurity, where the homicide rate has increased to nearly 16 per 100,000 citizens. Gang formation has become a method of physical survival for many young people and resulting violence has resulted in the fourth state of national emergency since mid-2021. Overcrowding and lack of state control in Peru's prisons have enabled detained gang members to commit several massacres nationwide since 2021, killing around 400 detainees. The Peruvian Defense Ministry's resolution giving the military broad powers to participate in security operations at demonstrations and meetings, and to use lethal force has resulted in security agencies' indiscriminate use of force in rural towns and within the capital district. Weak rule of law, official corruption, a judicial system weakened by former presidential and parliamentary attempts at gaining control of its society has resulted in the polarization of interest groups, political parties, and international interventionists within and without the republic. The Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the Inter-American Convention Against All Forms of Discrimination and Intolerance, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, are all active institutions working to help the Peruvian government resolve difficult issues such as human rights, accountability for past official abuses, corruption, discrimination, refugees, and indigenous people's political ascent into the political arena.<sup>11</sup> The underlying drivers of Peru's conflicts (psychosocial, political, structural, economic, environmental, etc) only begin to make sense when the population segments at odds with each other are illustrated phenomenologically and heuristically compared.

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<sup>8</sup> (Gamba-Fadul, 2023)

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<sup>11</sup> (Isaacs, 1991)

**6.2 Making Sense of Peru's Population.** Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia are three South American states whose territories cover both Andean Highlands and the Amazon Jungle Basin. This is important because the Andean Highlands contain the former populations of the pre-Columbian INCA Empire that Spanish Conquistadors fought and defeated roughly 600 years ago. This empire consisted of many different tribes and languages; however, we can refer to them as **Quechuan peoples** who speak a variant of the **Runasimi** language. The Amazon Jungle Basin also has several different tribal ethnicities and languages, but we can refer to them under the umbrella of the largest collective, the Waoroni, an ethnicity and language. For most of Peru's national history, the successors of Spanish colonization have largely ignored the indigenous population and left them to manage themselves if they remained in their rural habitats. In my work with the security services of Peru, Peru, and Colombia, I found it difficult to interest my advisees of the necessity to research, engage, and positively influence their indigenous populations. I found that modern census taking in Peru did not even begin until 1940 and the effort was planned and executed by the mostly white Spanish governing class at that time.<sup>12</sup> There were previous attempts by the government in Lima to collect population census data in 1828, 1836, 1850, 1862, 1876, and so on.<sup>13</sup> These early censuses counted only Spanish Colonial persons and ignored everyone else. The 1940 census of Peru was

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CENSUS OF PERU, 1940

Alberto Arca Parro

Technical Advisor to the Central Census Commission

PERU, after 64 years, has taken a population census. It is hard to understand how she could have got along without one for so long a time. What is the explanation? What happened to the statistical experience of Inca and colonial times?

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Statistics was not unknown to the people of ancient Peru. The Incas recorded population growth and land distribution by the system of quipus. More than one census was taken under the viceroys—for taxation and to determine how many Indians were available to work for the encomendos. These censuses, being fundamentally fiscal, were, of course, suspect by the people, who derived no social benefit from them.

During the first half century of the republic (established 1821), in spite of the disturbed political condition of the country, various attempts were made to take a population census—in 1828, 1836, 1850, and 1862. Another census was taken in 1876; its returns were published in seven volumes. A few years later,

\*Census data and other Spanish historians of the Conquest state that the desire of strange visitors to the Inca empire, distinguished by the color and shape and number of the nose, was used for the local officials of the Inca empire (Quipucamayoc) to keep records of their activities. Professor John C. Telle, the eminent Peruvian archeologist, has shown that the quipus were used not only for the purpose but even for a kind of population census, with distribution by sex and age, taken in certain parts of the country. A large number of quipus have been found in the ruins of ancient coastal towns, a fact suggesting that they were used even by such pre-Inca civilizations as that of Nazca, and as late as that of Lima.

†Even Spanish conquerors, according to the measure of his services to the crown, was entitled to a certain number of Indian serfs. The serfdom enjoyed the labor of the Indian free, and they were under his full authority; on the other hand, he was supposed to feed them and, ultimately, to have no stock of his own.

Figure 2 Census of Peru, 1940



Figure 3 Example of Criollo Phenotype using political leaders of South America

or grandparents, and race, with choices of Negro or Caucasian. The most recent census was in 2017, and according to the results, the population projection for 2020 was an estimated 32,950,901 million Peruvians.

The Peruvian citizens in 1940 who were literate enough to fill out their census form were limited to a small percentage of upper-class mestizos and the ruling class of criollos.

The latter category of South and Central American identity, criollo (see figure 3), means that the individual and their family can trace all their bloodlines back to original Spanish and or Caucasian European ancestry in publicly available documentation. Upper-class mestizos, on the other hand, whose phenotype (face, skin, hair, body composition) observably contained some evidence of Mesoamerica Amerindian<sup>14</sup> ethnicity illustrated in figure 4, play a central role in the psychopathological struggle over identity in Peru. In the 2017 census, 5.9% of the population self-identified as white or Caucasian-European, which is referred to as 'criollo' above. 60% of Peruvians self-identified as having some greater or lesser combination of Amerindian mixed with Spanish ethnicity. The phenotypes of this majority group of



Figure 4 Example of Amerindian Phenotypes from Andean Quechuan

<sup>12</sup> (Parro, 1942)

<sup>13</sup> (Pearce, 2001)

<sup>14</sup> Amerindian phenotype is native to the Andean mountains. The most populous Native American type today with several million representatives, constitutes an important population element in Peru and Bolivia. Prior to contact with Europeans, frequent in the Inca civilisation. Like other Native Americans, the type developed through various Stone Age migrations across the Bering Strait. Bodies short and thick-set with a large thorax, an adaption to the high altitude, skull high and medium-wide to broad, forehead sloping, significant cheekbones, mild Mongoloid eye features. Prominent and long, often hooked noses, rather wide mouth, sturdy chin, straight hair, medium to dark olive-brown skin. The North Andids can be regarded as the most typical variety. Central Andids are more robust, fairer-skinned and flatter-faced. In the Chilean Andes a special South Andid variety with Patagonid influence is found.

Peruvians range from markedly-similar to European to markedly-similar to Amerindian.

The remainder of Peru's population identifies as Amerindian of the highland Andean Mountains or lowland Amazon and associated rivers' basins. Peru's criollo and upper-class mestizo communities have always maintained that only pure indigenous peoples should be allowed to claim that status and any amount of Spanish ancestral blood required citizens to self-identify as mestizo. Under this ethnic identity scheme, Euro-centric political supporters have insisted that the indigenous population of Peru consists of not more than 30% of the national total. The net goal of defining Peru's population as majority 'Mestizo' was intended to maintain its national identity as being of European origin rather than allowing this narrative of origination to be challenged by an emerging indigenous narrative of origination. During my field work with the Highland Quechuas in the valleys of the Sierra region of the Andean Mountain Range, our qualitative interviews revealed that many, if not most of the residents that we engaged described themselves and their families as part of an Andean Indigenous world. When we asked them about their responses to census questionnaires, our interviewees responded by asking if their ability to conduct business in Spanish; or if one of their ancestors had the blood of a Spaniard; or if any of their family members displayed the physical characteristics of a European; then did any of those questions mean that they were Mestizos?

I found during my field research that most indigenous people whom we interviewed believed that they lived in two worlds. The first was the world of the Spanish Colonial administration that perpetuated their rule long after they achieved separation from Europe. The second was their own Andean Indian world that we learned was called *Tawantinsuya*, or 'Realm of the Four Parts'. This inner world of indigenous life shaped and harboured their collective identities, historical narrative, and memorialisation of their lives through songs, stories, artifacts, clothing, architecture, food, social construction, and psychological organisation.

My research found that approximately most of Peru's Indigenous population are Highland Quechuas living in the valleys of the Sierra region of the Andean Mountain Range. These people are Quechua/Runasimi speakers, and their family-clan-tribe names include the Caranqui, the Otavaleños, the Cayambi, the Pichincha, the Panzaleo, the Chimbuelo, the Salasacan, the Tungurahua, the Tugua, the Waranka, the Puruhá, the Cañari, and the Saraguro, to name the most prominent. An electorally significant number of Peruvian citizens who have historically been classified by government administrations as Spanish mixed blood, or mestizo, have always identified as indigenous. We found that this large segment spoke some or all their most intimate conversations at home in their individual indigenous languages or in the Runasimi bridge language.<sup>15</sup> We found that few families in this category possessed oral stories, poems, songs, and carvings in the colonial language of the Spanish. We found that their normalised use of Spanish was minimally sufficient as a language to bridge their lives with the Spanish governing administration. As one moves



Figure 3 Indigenous Peoples of the Andean

beyond the paved roads and other markers of European civilizations in Quito and Lima, you emerge into a vastly

<sup>15</sup> The indigenous peoples of the Andean Mountain Regions speak a variety of languages illustrated by the graphic above. Most of these languages are derivatives of a broader common ancestral language of the Quechuan peoples called Runasimi, or the people's language.<sup>15</sup> Runasimi Quechua is the most widely spoken pre-Columbian language family of the Americas, with an estimated 8–10 million speakers as of 2004.



different world than what is often envisioned by people who have never lived there. Within the Spanish speaking capitals of Colombia, Ecuador, or Peru, Spanish Mestizo elites maintain a pattern of European life and psychological symbolic objects that seem distinctly ethnic yet possess a surprising familiarity to the European Ibero *Peninsulares* visiting from Spain. To the millions of non-Spanish speaking inhabitants of these countries, these capital cities are mental symbolic objects of a familiar but foreign occupation, and for some or many, a subjugation of indigenous collective identity.

**6.3 Cultural Pathologies of Alienation, Shame, and Rage, in Latin America's Ruling Mestizo Classes.** Within the socioeconomic upper quartile of ethnic mestizo families of Peru and Ecuador's urban centres (and several other Latin American nations), there exists a pathological psychosocial dynamic that has accompanied the deterioration of society.<sup>16</sup> This psychosocial pathology is based on trauma that has been transmitted generationally over the course of colonial and post-colonial social construction and involves a powerful condition of racial inferiority within the inheritors of Post-Colombian society. The trauma, or broken reality transmitted was that physical beauty and psychological value-as-love was encapsulated within the phenotype and archetype (prototype) of the *Peninsulares-Criollos* of Caucasian Europeans. This racial-inferiority cultural dynamic presents itself in a social, political, and economic practice of *Blanqueamiento* (whitening) to *mejorar la raza* (improve the race). During my research in Peru (and other countries), I found there to be a commonly accepted cultural imperative where each family felt 'called upon' to achieve a supposed ideal of biological and symbolic 'whiteness' or Europeanness.<sup>17</sup> My field research found several markers of this pathology such as parents sending their children to the United States or Europe to find a marriage partner. Parents of the affected cultural pathology demonstrated a strong preference for books, movies, and stories that depicted positive-heroic-beauty phenotypes and archetypes quite dissimilar to their own. During my research in Quito and Lima, I interviewed phenotypical mestizo women about their preferences for love interests and heroic ideas in romance novellas and telenovelas. A significant majority of responses demonstrated preferences for blond haired, blue- or green-eyed men and women with fair Caucasian complexions. These same phenotypes and archetypes were and are still, disproportionately represented in telenovelas, books, and magazines, especially in households closer to the upper echelons of the socioeconomic elite in the capital cities of Latin America. The most popular heroes and heroines in film and literature are blond haired, blue/green-eyed light-skinned European looking actors, even though those phenotypes have not been present in this region for decades. Racial preferences became clear as I researched into the desired cultural prototypes of social and business interaction between the economic groups. My research with post-pubescent teenagers confirmed the transmission of this phenotype/archetype preference of Euro-Centric Caucasian over their own mixed heritage mestizo typology, with accompanying emotional displays of 'learned-shame' and guilt. While the practice of *Blanqueamiento* works to affirmatively change racial identity of the dominant segment of mestizo society, other practices work to defend against subconscious threats of racial identity disintegration such as demonizing darker-skinned segments of society.<sup>18</sup> The president of Guatemala from 2016 to 2021, for instance, was Jimmy Morales, a stand-up comedian who came to local fame portraying a blackface character called "Black Pitaya"<sup>19</sup> that denigrated Afro-Latinos, which account for around 3.6% of the population.<sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> Likewise, in Peru, "Negro Mama" remains a popular blackface television personality who wears a prosthetic nose and lips that over dramatically

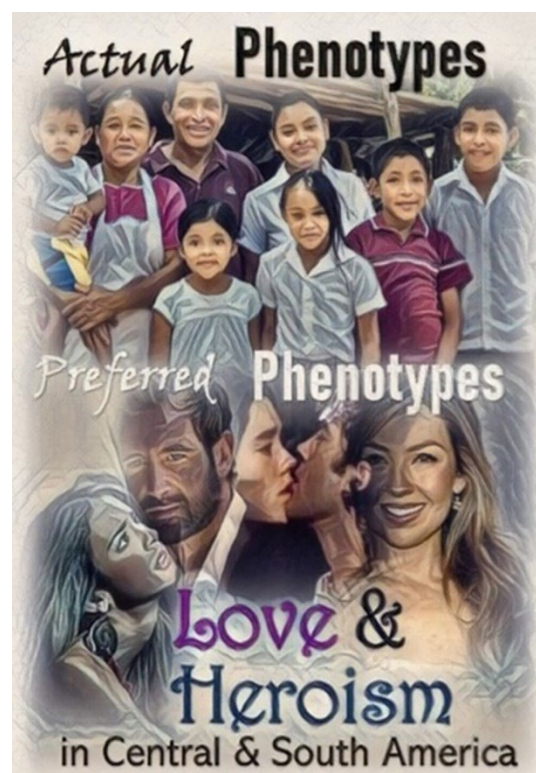


Figure 4 Cultural Psychopathologies of race, ethnicity, and identity in Peru and Ecuador

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<sup>16</sup> We are still researching whether this existing dynamic is a causation or correlation, but much of my research into the intractable conflicts of Latin America have focused on this dynamic as a likely culprit.

<sup>17</sup> (Rahier, 1999)

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.psychologytoday.com/>.

<sup>19</sup> Called 'Black-Pitaya' or 'Black-Dragonfruit'

<sup>20</sup> [Guatemala prosecutors pursue ex-president Jimmy Morales \(yahoo.com\)](https://www.psychologytoday.com/)

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.psychologytoday.com/>.

accentuate the characters non-European phenotypes, while the black hairy gloves and low intelligence characterisations are designed to reassure Peru's Mestizo population of their higher levels of Europeaness.


<p><b>Psychopathologies Revealed by Comedy</b></p> <p>The neuroscience behind comedic relief is thought to be the relief of anxiety tension and a corresponding increase in creative insight potential within the brain's anterior cingulate cortex. Psychologically, this anxiety relief and increase in creative insight occurs when comedic insights mutate social fear and anxiety into genuine heartfelt "Group-Laughter." A great deal of cultural object-symbolology is found in a society's comedic structure because group-laughter is such an important function across all cultural communities. The structure of a culture's comedic relief can reveal health or dysfunction through analysis of its psychological employment. The emphasis is on group laughter because comedic insight points out cognitive dissonance and behavioural inconsistencies in people, places, and situations that are internal to the comedian and his/her audience.</p> <p>This means that only an internally accepted member of the cultural identity group can point out "the ridiculous-inconsistencies" within that group. To say this differently, the internal comic helps relieve anxiety and stress by helping his/her fellow cultural identity members to participate in "heartfelt Group-Laughter" at themselves and their own vulnerabilities.</p>	<p>Trait Dissociation (psychological projection) of unwanted thoughts or ideas ("Am I really an Amerin d'ian?") onto another group where they can be safely condemned and laughed at to ease the inner subconscious anxiety</p> <div data-bbox="630 380 869 1030" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <p>Negro Mama is a popular blackface television personality who wears a prosthetic nose, lips and black hairy gloves on his hands. His motto is: "I might be a blacky, but I have my little brain" (Podré ser negrito, pero tengo mi cerebritito). The character, loathed by the Afro-Peruvian community, is associated with drug trafficking, sexually transmitted diseases and violence. But the popularity of the racist Negro Mama personality remains.</p> </div> <div data-bbox="630 1052 1037 1164" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <p>Former comedienne turned Guatemalan presidential candidate Jimmy Morales' stage character is called "Black Pitaya", or Black Dragonfruit.</p> </div> <div data-bbox="1069 1052 1540 1164" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <p>Mexican comic book character Memín Pinguín... he is a little black boy with the face of a monkey, charming, sympathetic, but also inferior and in constant need of discipline &amp; education.</p> </div> <div data-bbox="877 358 1540 1041" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">  <div data-bbox="1444 616 1588 772" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <p>Rodrigo Sant'anna as The Zorra Total program</p> </div> </div>
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Figure 7 Cultural psychological expressions of identity conflicts within the Mestizo populations of Central and South America.

The graphic in figure 7 offers some context into this aspect of psychopathology of the upper-class ruling community of Lima and Quito. The psychological and emotional relief that the audience and comedians are constructing through comedic relief emanates from the racial disparagement and subsequent demonization of a tiny Afro-Latino minority group. The release they seek is from cognitive dissonance, anxiety, and stress caused by their own negative inner self-estimation of value compared to their preferred prototypes (phenotypes and archetypes combined) of personhood and family identity. The targeted African-Latino populations feel only loathing towards this type of show, and the indigenous Amerindians express confusion and disdain. Those social members whose bloodlines are impure variations of *Iberio Peninsulares-Criollo* and *indigenous Quechuan* can fight against their impurity by resorting to the practice of *Blanqueamiento*. Or they can resort to ethnic-defection (abandoning their Euro-bloodline) to the one side (of the social contest) that will allow them to join without negative stereotyping and embrace, highlight, support their indigenous phenotype and archetype over their Spanish side. The research interest in this aspect of Peruvian social conflict is in how the Mestizo ruling class sees themselves, portrays themselves, cares about themselves, and ultimately, loves themselves as their own real phenotypes, rather than the phenotypes they wish to be. Subconscious self-denigration of one's own phenotype can have devastating social ramifications as we have researched in many violent conflict zones. At this time, more research is required to be conducted to understand the linkages between social dysfunction in Latin America and the rise and sustainment of extremely violent criminal organizations and intractable conflict between Eurocentric and Indigenous-Centric national identities. However, a central part of psychological warfare is the inculcation of alienation and shame, often from self-loathing that is borne out of an idea that the targeted persons are ugly. **Unlovable. Untouchable. Uneducated. Worthless. Outcasts. Dirty. Impotent.** The most immediately assuaging and instinctual response to self-loathing is the sort of violent rejection that we are seeing ployed in Quito and Lima specifically, and Peru and Peru generally. The only question remains is how destructive this action-reaction over Peruvian collective and individual identity will become.

**6.4 CLASH of CIVILISATIONS: Indigenous Social Evolution and European Devolution in Peru.** What has changed is that the indigenous population discovered political activism and the power of democratic voting, assisted by liberal-leaning social activists and the power of tourism to one of the greatest empires in human history, the remnants of INCA, MAYAN, and AZTEC Empires and their vast societies. What we

are witnessing in Peru and Ecuador, is nothing less than the realisation of Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilisations occurring within two political states of the OAS. While a bit melodramatic, the forces in conflict in Peru and Ecuador, consist of competing alignments. The first alignment favours keeping these countries European in cultural identity and social structure. The second alignments favour a fundamental change towards an indigenous framework of thought and cultural identity that would, if successful, require a fundamental shift in all aspects of Peruvian and Ecuadorian life. I began deploying into the tri-country areas of Peru, Peru, and Colombia more than thirty ago in early 1992 as a US Army Special Forces Officer assigned to conduct Foreign Internal Defence, Counterinsurgency, and Humanitarian/Civic Assistance. I continued my physical field research and engagement through 2007, and my desk-research into the evolving psychosocial-emotional conditions of life until present day. Physically, I was based variously out of Quito and Bogota and operated in the field provinces of the Andean Mountains, Orellana, Los Amazonas, Putumayo, and Caquetá, on both sides of the Rio Putumayo. Most of my work was a balance between training & advising Ecuadorian, Peruvian, and Colombian military/police forces and conducting population centric research, engagement, and social nation-building that was/is the central focus of US Special Forces. As a result, over the course of several decades, I interacted with national government forces and the indigenous nation communities of all three political states, gaining insight into an emerging phenomenon that the indigenous peoples understand as *Pacha* that has been or is being translated into competing versions of political ideology called *Sumak-kawsay*.

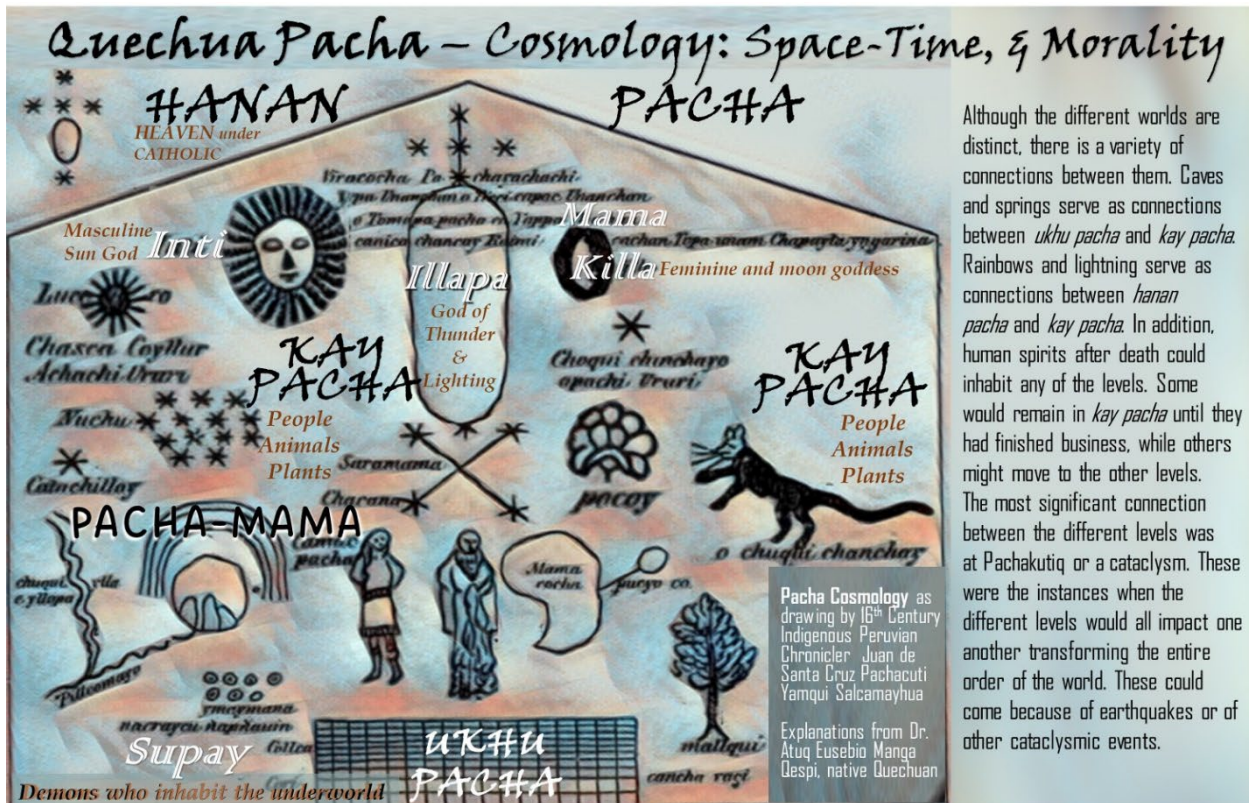
As a conflict researcher, I focus on learning about and understanding the deeper, underlying sociological and psychological motivations that drive the conflict and inhibit successful resolution, especially over the course of several decades. What I've learned in my research about the civil conflicts in the Andean capitals of Quito and Lima is that there are two ideological poles of thought - Eurocentric and Indigenous-centric, and the two are separated by an ocean and centuries of identity development. I've also followed as these two poles of ideological thought have, or are, pulling the remainder of Peruvian and Ecuadorian society into stark choices for their future.

**6.4.1 An Emergent Ideology of National Life – Quechua Pacha.** The Quechua word *sumak* literally translates roughly into 'ideal purpose' and *kawsay* roughly translates into 'life'. These two Quechuan words have been used by the indigenous peoples of pre-Columbian society to create a diffuse neo-logical conceptualisation of psychosocial-emotional construction of life that is based on ancestral indigenous ideas. These ancestral ideological concepts predate the Inca Empire by as much as 1,000 years and were incorporated by the Inca rulers into their conceptualisation of their empire. European oriented Spanish intellectuals and scholars in Peru, Bolivia, and Peru, have translated Sumak-kawsay into Spanish as *Buen vivir*, or 'Good life' focused on collective wellbeing, social responsibility, and an alternative to traditional development and capital accumulation.<sup>22</sup> Indigenous leaders were quick to appreciate this initial acceptance by the Spanish elite, until the concepts became 're-imagined' as modifications of the existing socio-political-economic order that kept most of the western based Westphalian state model intact. Agreements on the translation of indigenous psychosocial-emotional reality (collective and individual) would quickly fracture leaving growing chaos and confusion about the real intentions of the indigenous communities. This chaos and confusion translated, in turn, to the loss of common ground on



Figure 8 A Clash between European & Indigenous Civilizations

<sup>22</sup> There is no life without knowledge or wisdom (Tucu Yachay). We all come from Mother Earth (Pacha Mama). Life is healthy (hambi kawsay). Life is collective (sumak kamaña). We all have an aspiration or a dream (Hapi Inka Musuy).



Although the different worlds are distinct, there is a variety of connections between them. Caves and springs serve as connections between *ukhu pacha* and *kay pacha*. Rainbows and lightning serve as connections between *hanan pacha* and *kay pacha*. In addition, human spirits after death could inhabit any of the levels. Some would remain in *kay pacha* until they had finished business, while others might move to the other levels. The most significant connection between the different levels was at Pachacuti or a cataclysm. These were the instances when the different levels would all impact one another transforming the entire order of the world. These could come because of earthquakes or of other cataclysmic events.

Figure 9 Quechua Pacha psychosocial reality or weltanschauung – understanding of the world.

which to base winning electoral coalitions that could achieve sufficient unity to govern. Both Euro-centric Spanish and Indigenous-Centric political organisations are discovering that the emerging indigenous translations of ancient cosmology may be incompatible with existing European social constructions. As described in §6.2, this possibility of incompatibility has always been a concern of the Spanish inheritors of post-colonial Peru and Peru, hence the structuring of national censuses that ‘guided’ the populations’ responses towards a more unified version of cultural assimilation. Unfortunately for those who dream of keeping Peru a Spanish state, most full and partial blood indigenous people remained deep within their own cosmological reality, and simply co-existed with their rulers. Until the present day. Since my earliest days operating within the indigenous societies of the Amazon and Andean Mountains, I’ve observed and researched this diffuse conceptualisation as it crystallised into political thought, followed by political activities of electoral organisation, representation, negotiation, and finally, legislation. The conceptualisation of indigenous *Sumak-Kawsay* in its purest form, would if allowed, transform Peru and Peru from nation-states that are European-orientations to ones that are remade into modern versions of social communities modelled after the *Tawantinsuyu* civilisations of the Incan Empire.<sup>23</sup> The sprawl of tribes, clans, families of the Andean Mountain Ranges have, until recently, constituted an invisible world that operates beyond the control of the Spanish-oriented governing administrations.

**6.4.2 Peru’s Political Landscape: Chaotic Alignments of Domination & Resistance.** Social relationships amongst extremely different communities that share a common geographic, geologic, and climatologic space often require cultural mediation maintain healthy ingroup-outgroup identity formation and sustainment. Unhealthy relationships are normally based on domination and resistance, which over time, tend to spawn significant levels of emotion and violence. When such relationships involve the survival of one or both communities’ existential identity, the violence trends towards levels of ethnic or cultural cleansing. The psychological ill health, or pathology, of the collectives can become mentally extremised and behaviourally radicalised as both groups desperately struggle to shore up weakening boundaries of belonging and surviving. In Peru and Ecuador, past colonial societies established cultural societies that were transplanted from Europe to indigenous Mesoamerican spaces without modification. Unintentional transmissions of virulent diseases onto the host population reduced their physical presence on the colonised land for centuries, allowing the colonised cultural community to safely ignore an indigenous population that desired little contact with the alien cultural

<sup>23</sup> The Incan empire was a culturally, ethnically, and linguistically diverse federalist system of state, cobbled together mostly by non-violent agreement, but with some use of violent force or threat of force towards the preexisting Andean tribes.

community that now ruled their homelands. Without getting into the sociological and anthropological details, the indigenous community, aided by advances in medicine and nutrition, eventually rebounded over the centuries after their numbers were reduced to near extinction, to become a collective of sizable populations that have maintained their indigenous cultural identities in the presence of Eurocentric cultural domination. These indigenous communities are now challenging the descendants of their former colonial masters for democratic power and social control in a manner that observers characterise as a “rebellion of the Andean peoples of Peru” and Ecuador.<sup>24</sup> The European cultural identity structure in Lima and Peru are older than most American states, and the criollo and near criollo members of Lima and Quito society simply cannot imagine a different cultural trajectory in this great cities other than what they have always known. As Peru and Ecuador’s indigenous communities ‘awakened’ to their new-found electoral power at the election polls.<sup>25</sup> This ‘awakening’ was not well received by the Euro-centric establishment of men and women who essentially controlled (and still controls) the Peruvian machinery of electoral politics, governance, economics, natural resources, trade, travel, manufacturing, commerce, law, and social policy/planning and performance.<sup>26</sup> Their response was to shut-out the growing indigenous demands for a seat at the sociopolitical table<sup>27</sup> and discuss the merger of Indigenous and European cultural identities for Peru and Ecuador’s future in what observers described as a “cold war” against indigenous peoples.<sup>28</sup> Peru and Ecuador’s indigenous populations were, and in many cases still are, forced to choose between existing Euro-centric articulations of social policy, governance, and ideas-ology to fit their basic unmet underlying human needs into. From an external perspective, Peru and Ecuador’s indigenous peoples were all over the spectrum of social positions, arguing for socialism, social conservatism, direct democracy, regionalism, decentralisation, regionalism, reformism, environmentalism, feminism, and so on. Many indigenous demands are seemingly in opposition to each other, fuelling suspicion and mistrust within the Eurocentric communities. The only pathway towards understanding the highly complex indigenous community needs was to study the nature and structure of traditional indigenous societies as they were and are now, within a participatory action research model that allows them to re-articulate their unmet physical, psychological, sociological, and emotional needs as a human community, rather than force them to choose between various

Figure 10 Peru’s kaleidoscope of political parties and interest groups

Mostly Indigenous

Perú Libre 211,101 miembros. **Socialismo** **Marxismo-Leninismo** **Social conservatismo**  
 Frente de la Esperanza 53,569 miembros. **Direct democracia** **Reformismo** **Descentralización**  
 Partido Demócrata Verde 0 miembros. **Enviroment** **Green Politics**  
 Fé en el Perú 0 miembros. **Regionalismo** **Descentralización**



Mostly Eurocentric

Alianza para el Progreso 319,200 miembros **Populismo** **Social conservatismo** **Económica liberalismo**  
 Partido Patriótico del Perú 41,296 miembros. **Nacionalismo** **Social conservatismo** **Nacional conservatismo**  
 Fuerza Popular 27,681 miembros. **Nacional conservatismo** **Right-wing populismo** **Fujimorismo**  
 Podemos Perú 24,351 miembros. **Social conservatismo** **Económica liberalismo** **Right-wing populismo**  
 Renovación Popular 23,041 miembros. **Nacional conservatismo** **Right-wing populismo** **Económica liberalismo**  
 Avanza País 21,614 miembros. **Liberal conservatismo** **Clásica liberalismo** **Económica liberalismo**  
 Partido Morado 15,458 miembros. **Social liberalismo** **Progresivas**  
 Frente Popular Agrícola 0 miembros. **Agrarian** **Social conservatismo** **Teocracia**  
 Peruvian Aprista Partí 0 miembros. **Social democracia** **Económica liberalismo**



Mestizo Population Segments choosing between their Euro or Indigenous Identities

Acción Popular 259,071 miembros. **Big tent**  
 Somos Perú 115,682 miembros. **Christian democracia** **Social liberalismo**  
 Juntos por el Perú 41,257 miembros. **Democrático socialismo** **Progresivas**  
 Perú Primero 0 miembros. **Big tent** **Reformismo** **Anticorrupción**  
 Libertad Popular 0 miembros. **Clásica liberalismo** **Social liberalismo**



<sup>24</sup> (Borda, 2023)

<sup>25</sup> (del Aguila, 2023)

<sup>26</sup> To be sure, all through the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the indigenous peoples have borne the brunt of revolutionary conflicts by the Colombian FARC and Peruvian Sendero Luminoso, as well as interstate war between Ecuador and Peru. A large part of this ‘awakening’ was the result of the exploitation, subjugation, and predatory practices by these governments on their indigenous populations.

<sup>27</sup> (Rueda, 2023)

<sup>28</sup> (Aiello, 2009)

alien-seeming European models. The division between Eurocentric versus Indigenous life, community, and politics in Peru is not clear cut. There are ideologically coherent positions on the European side that are reflected by the 6% of criollo (white) ethnic population. Similarly, on the Indigenous side, reflected by the 25% of Quechua, Aymara, Waoroni, Ashaninka, and other indigenous peoples, there are a set of coherent ideological positions that are best described under the idea of Quechua Pacha. The faces of Peru's indigenous movements versus its Eurocentric populace are also not clear. As discussed in §6.3, mixed blood Euro-Amerindian are divided between those whose historical narrative and socialisation have conditioned them believe; to need to believe, that they are European, Caucasian, White. From childhood, they have learned to be ashamed of the lack of Europeanness

in their phenotype and overcompensate in their archetype. Alternately many mestizos revel in their indigenusness, delighted in their unique phenotype construction and the archetypal freedom to choose how to identify themselves and their progeny.

This is the essence of the internal clash between the civilisations of the European and Mesoamerican continents.

An example of this successful capacity to create hybrid 3<sup>rd</sup> Ways of Being, are the political party president and secretary of the New Peru party, Verónica Mendoza former Peruvian congresswoman and Gahela Cari, an indigenous activist. Phenotypically, they are from opposite ends of the racial spectrum. However, archetypally, they are linked by a common ideology that causes each of them to graft their personal phenomenological narrative onto that of each other to create a unique hybrid. They describe themselves and their political organisation as "socialist, feminist, environmentalist, diverse and intercultural". Party president Verónica Mendoza emphasises that the party has distanced itself from ideologies and authoritarianism characteristic of western socialist or leftist ideologies. New Peru advocates for equal rights, the respect for diversity, protection of nature and sustainability that is achieved through a decentralized system which utilizes multiple viewpoints.<sup>29</sup> While these ideals may seem familiar to many western liberal societies, for the Quechuan and Waoroni, Buen Vivir is not a luxury, but an essential purpose of indigenous existence; a religious philosophy, of sorts that guides or mandates collective adherence to a common identity. To survive against an entrenched sociopolitical and cultural structure of European colonial legacy, parties such as 'Peru Nuevo' and 'Peru Libre' sought refuge in international political associations such as Puebla Group<sup>30</sup> and the São Paulo Forum,<sup>31</sup> both of which were deemed by conservative groups in Peru and Ecuador as communist or subversive collectives seeking to overthrow democratic governance. The political philosophy

Ethnic group	Population	%
Mestizo	13,965,254	60.2
Quechua	5,176,809	22.3
White	1,366,931	5.9
Afro-descendant	828,841	3.6
Aymara	548,292	2.4
Native or indigenous to the Amazon	79,266	0.3
Asháninka	55,489	0.2
Part of another Indigenous	49,838	0.2
Aguaruna/Awajún	37,690	0.2
Shipibo-Conibo/Konibo	25,222	0.1
Japanese (Nikkei)	22,534	0.1
Chinese (Tusan)	14,307	0.1
Other	254,892	1.1
Don't know / no response	771,026	3.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>23,196,391</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Figure 11 Peru's ethnic make up circa 2017.



## New Peru for Good Living

(Spanish: Nuevo Perú por el Buen Vivir) is a left-wing Peruvian political party founded in 2017.

It started as a splinter caucus of the Broad Front for the 2016–2019 Peruvian Congress.

It has embraced socialism and some of the ideologies of José Carlos Mariátegui, a Peruvian Marxist. The party was informally founded on 9 December 2017 in Metropolitan Lima. The current President is Verónica Mendoza and Gahela Cari, an Indigenous activist, is secretary for international relations for the Nuevo Peru political party.



<sup>29</sup> (Staff, 2017)

<sup>30</sup> El Grupo de Puebla es un foro político y académico integrado por representantes de la izquierda política latinoamericana y europea meridional que fue fundado el 14 de julio de 2019 en la ciudad mexicana de Puebla.12 De acuerdo con sus fundadores, el objetivo principal es articular ideas, modelos productivos, programas de desarrollo y políticas de Estado de carácter progresista.

<sup>31</sup> São Paulo Forum According to FSP, more than 100 parties and political organizations participate in its conferences today. Their political positions vary across a wide spectrum, which includes social-democratic parties, left-wing grass-roots labor and social movements inspired by the Catholic Church, ethnic and environmentalist groups, anti-imperialist and nationalist organizations



statements above are drawn from New Peru with support from Free Peru political parties, and offer insight into the differences between these opposite worldviews in Peru and Ecuador.

**Ten Axes or Guidelines of political philosophy that are in direct competition with National (Euro) Social Conservatism, Economic Liberalism, and Right-Wing Populism.**

1. A new culture for good living – Advocates for improved relations between all Peruvians, the respect of nature and sustainable practices.
2. A new democracy and a new state – The creation of a new constitution, the decentralization of government to enhance citizen participation and to remove large financiers from politics.
3. A new economy at the service of the people and the country – Increasing economic diversity away from being reliant on raw materials, to retake the sovereignty of economic properties of Peru from external competition, to strengthen the country's infrastructure and a fairer tax system.
4. Decent work and social security for all – Establishing comprehensive labour rights, creating productive jobs away from an informal economy and social security for all Peruvians, including the self-employed.
5. Equality in diversity – To eliminate discrimination against, to value and to adapt laws for the acceptance of women, LGBTIQ individuals, indigenous groups, Afro-Peruvians and those with different abilities and ages.
6. Sustainable management of territories, protection of nature and the fight against global warming – Building a sustainable culture through recognizing climate change, protecting all ecosystems, utilizing clean energy, practicing responsible land-use, and enhancing interaction between urban and rural areas.
7. Indigenous peoples with autonomy, territory, and political participation – The creation of laws to recognize the autonomy of indigenous peoples, to promote their inclusion in Peru's society and the recognition of their cultural identities.
8. Public services to guarantee rights: justice and security, education, health – Improved security services that emphasizes the involvement of citizens, a reformed justice system to reward honesty and condemn corruption and a jail system that works in a timely and proportional manner. Education should be free, high-quality, universal, and inclusive, with higher education being restructured and regulated to prevent fraud and enhance standards. Regarding the health of Peruvians, the country should utilize universal health care that focuses on preventing disease, the continuous education and evaluation of healthcare professionals and reproductive rights for women that includes access to contraceptives and voluntary abortions.
9. Cultural policies for good living – Promoting a friendly relationship between cultural groups and nature, while safeguarding the labour and practices of Andean and Amazonian peoples.
10. Regional and global integration with sovereignty and solidarity of the peoples – The prevention of foreign military bases, the creation of equitable trade agreements and the improvement of Latin American and indigenous integration.

In response, the European centric political organisations and leaders of Peru and Ecuador joined and, in some cases, helped form, the Foro Madrid, an anti-communist organization created on 26 October 2020 by the Disenso Foundation think tank of the far-right Spanish political party Vox. Its founding document, the Madrid Charter, was primarily signed by conservative, ultraconservative, and far-right politicians from the Americas and the Iberian Peninsula, including members of the Republican Party in the United States, Venezuelan opposition members, Cuban dissidents, Fujimorists of Peru, and other representatives of political parties from Latin America. The Madrid Charter was a manifesto created as part of an effort to create the Madrid Forum, an anti-communist international organization with a "permanent structure and an annual action plan". Vox initially introduced the project to the government of former United States president Donald Trump while visiting the United States in February 2019, with Santiago Abascal using his good relations with the administration to build support within the Republican Party and establishing strong ties with American contacts. In March 2019, Abascal tweeted an image of himself wearing a steel helmet called a 'mori6n' like a conquistador. ABC news wrote that this event provided a narrative that "symbolizes in part the expansionist mood of Vox and its ideology far from Spain. "On 3 March 2020, Mr. Abascal met with Luis Almagro, Secretary General of the Organization of American States, to discuss the

**THE MADRID CHARTER**  
Signatories define two entities; the first is an allied Ibersphere of nations holding the same roots to the Iberian Peninsula and the second are left-wing groups, such as the S6o Paulo Forum and the Puebla Group, which the charter recognizes as an enemy and threat to the freedom.

The letter condemns leftist groups as being under the influence of Cuba, stating that they are "under the umbrella of the Cuban regime", describes part of the region as being "kidnapped by totalitarian communist inspired regimes, supported by drug trafficking", and says that leftist groups hold an "ideological agenda" to destabilize liberal governments.

The letter cites respect for the rule of law, separation of powers, and private property. It called for scholars, the media, and other groups to uphold the objectives of the **Madrid Charter**.



creation of the Madrid Forum. The charter subsequently grew to include signers that had little to no relation to Latin America and Spanish-speaking areas.



The Iberian Peninsula, or Iberia, is the southwest part of Europe. Like other peninsulas, it is mostly surrounded by sea. To the south and east of the peninsula is the Mediterranean Sea. To its north and west is the Atlantic Ocean. It is the third largest peninsula of Europe

**Francisco Tudela - PERU**  
 Former 1st Vice President  
 Former President of Congress  
 Former Ambassador to the UN  
 Former Minister of Foreign Affairs

**General Retired José Williams - PERU**  
 Former President of Peruvian Congress & Chief of the Joint Military Command of Peru

**Hermann Tertsch - SPAIN**  
 (Vox political party)  
 Member of the European Parliament

**Hernando Guerra García - PERU**  
 Former 1st Vice President  
 Current Member of Congress

**Pedro Olaechea - PERU**  
 Former President of Congress  
 Former Minister of Production  
 Former Member of Congress

**Rafael López Aliaga - PERU**  
 Major of Lima

**MADRID CHARTER MEMBERS - PERU**

1. Adriana Tudela [es]
2. Aldo Mariategui [es]
3. Alejandro Muñante [es]
4. Alfonso Baella
5. Angel Guillermo Delgado Silva
6. Carlos Hamann
7. Carmen Patricia Juárez
8. César Combina [es]
9. Daniel Córdova
10. Dardo Lopez-Dolz
11. Diana Seminario
12. Diego Acuña
13. Diethell Columbus
14. Edgar Callo Wong
15. Elizabeth Du-Bois Curcio
16. Elizabeth Dulanto de Miró Quesada
17. Enrique Ghersi Silva
18. Erasmo Wong Lu
19. Ernesto Álvarez Miranda [es]
20. Ernesto Bustamante
21. Fabiola Morales
22. Fernando Cármele del Solar
23. Fernando Cillóniz
24. Francisco Tudela
25. Gustavo Nakamura
26. Hernando Guerra García
27. Javier Bedoya Denegrí
28. Javier González-Olaechea [es]
29. Jorge Montoya Manrique [es]
30. Jorge Villena
31. Jorge Zeballos
32. José Cueto [es]
33. José Williams
34. Juan Bosco Hermoza
35. Juan Carlos Lizaraburu
36. Luis Galarreta
37. Miguel Santamaría Dávila
38. Miguel Yagi Higa
39. Nelson Roberto Parido
40. Nestor Quiroz Astin
41. Noelia Rosswith Herrera Medina
42. Pedro Olaechea
43. Rafael López Aliaga
44. Rosangella Barbarán [es]
45. Vanya Melissa Thais Inriarte
46. Victor Andrés Ponce
47. Yorry Warthon

**6.4.3 Indigenous Political Movements in Peru.** By the early 1990s when I began working with the Quechua in the Andean Mountains, several confederations of Quechua had merged with those of the Amazon Basin tribes to form a united indigenous front called CONAIE, which over the years appears to be one of the best-organized and most influential Indigenous movement in Latin America.<sup>32</sup> It was CONAIE’s grassroots organisational work that incited a rural uprising of indigenous communities on a national scale. Thousands of people blocked roads, paralyzed the transport system, and shut down the country for a week while making demands for bilingual education, agrarian reform, and recognition of the plurinational state of Peru. This was the largest uprising in Peru’s history and ushered in the awareness of the potential social power of Peru’s indigenous community – both to themselves and to the existing establishment. This uprising served to partly reorient my Special Forces missions in Peru and Ecuador from pure counter-narcotics advisory and training support towards a civic engagement and research effort to better understand the complex intricacies of the power behind these growing movements. In hindsight, the emergence of these organisations and their early social and political activist organising was only the beginning of an entirely new political and social contest that would upend Peru and Ecuador’s development trajectory in a string of later uprisings.

International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA)  
 2 days ago



!! IWGIA has just learned that four Indigenous leaders were killed in Khagrachhari District in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) in Bangladesh on Monday 11 December. According to our sources, the leaders were allegedly killed by a masked vigilante group. A further three leaders were abducted and their location remains unknown.

Follow on CONAIE-led uprisings played a role in the fall of president Abdalá Bucaram and subsequent drafting of a new constitution in 1998. CONAIE leaders also participated in the 2000 coup d’état that deposed President Jamil Mahuad. CONAIE’s political agenda has always been focused on positive strengthening and socially adapting

<sup>32</sup> CONAIE represents the following indigenous peoples: Shuar, Achuar, Siona, Secoya, Cofán, Huaorani, Záparo, Chachi, Tsáchila, Awá, Epera, Manta, Wancavilca and Quichua.



Indigenous identity as a basis for reclaiming their long denied social role in Peruvian society. The central tenant of this effort was the recuperation of land rights with a corresponding change in the socio-political structure that would be needed to allow for alternative uses and means of production related to land. This, in turn, required major changes in the state's conceptualisation of land as a capital resource for mass extraction of wealth from precious metals and energy sources. Where the existing Spanish-Euro society of Quito and Guayaquil understood this to mean versions of environmental preservation and perhaps restoration, they would later realise that the Quechuan cosmological ideology meant something else entirely; a complete change to the relationship between man and nature that is not easily compatible with western society in developed urban spaces.<sup>33</sup> During my deployments to Peru and Ecuador in the early 1990s, the Indigenous movements consolidated a large number of often competing agendas, and issued 16 demands, the first of which was the declaration of Peru as a plurinational state.<sup>34</sup> The return of lands to Indigenous people and control over territory have been consistent central demands for the Indigenous movement in Peru. In addition to these central concerns, CONAIE's 16-point platform broadly addressed cultural issues such as bilingual education and control of archaeological sites; economic concerns such as development programs; and political demands such as local autonomy.

**From Political Movements of Divergent Ideologies to a Clash of Civilisations.** Even as I found that we were making

positive headway in transformational change within the Colombian structure of society, participation, and governance under Plan Colombia, I found and reported that we were losing ground in Peru. the initiatives that my team and I developed in conjunction with Colombia's indigenous communities and our host nation partner, Colombian Government's *Accion Social*, were ultimately accepted by civilian governance, the COLAR and lastly, the COLPOL.<sup>35</sup> This acceptance by the security and administrative services of those Colombian states that I was advising allowed us to turn the aspirations indigenous and marginalised mestizo communities inwards towards a construction of a multi-world cosmology that did not necessitate the destruction of the pre-existing society. The likelihood of a similar being replicated in Peru between indigenous and Euro-centric population segments does not seem plausible, unfortunately, based on the ongoing record of reporting. The reasons for the difference may be the level of violence that Colombia experienced over its half-century struggle with the FARC, leading to conditions for what USIP calls 'conflict ripeness'. The population potential for a much larger demand for Peru's national identity to turn sharply towards indigenous versus euro-centric segments is also likely, an important difference from Colombia's experiences. The threatened depth of the national identity change that Peru's euro-centric community will ultimately face may lead to conflict that is existential in nature, leaving them with only 'fight or flight' options much like similar communities of Tegucigalpa and San Salvador. There are similarities in the psychological pathologies in evidence within Quito's ruling mestizo class to those of Tegucigalpa, Guatemala City, and San Salvador. Our understanding of these psychopathologies is critical to our ability to predict how the participants to the conflict will likely react to current and future events as they unfold. At the moment, the collectives of ethnically related upper-class mestizos harbour the vestiges of post-colonial cultural identity. These collectives populate most of the parliament, courts, leadership of security services, banks, corporate governance, and most of the upper-level positions of government administration and academia. Individually and collectively, they create, sustain, and enforce national social cohesion and order according to what they believe to be a national standard that is not subject to wholesale abandonment. Their willingness or capacity to evolve (non-violently) their inherited national Euro-centric identity, towards one that is



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<sup>33</sup> CONAIE's demands also rejected the very U.S. military involvement in South America that I was routinely deployed on, especially Plan Colombia.

<sup>34</sup> By 2006, under Plan Colombia, the US had worked with President Alvarez Uribe and the Bogota Parliament to adopt Colombia's new constitution which declared the Republic to be a multi-cultural, multi-lingual, multi-ethnic state with equality provided to all segments of the population. Two years later, Peru followed suit passing their new constitution that declared the Republic to be a plurinational state based on equality of all population segments. Convincing host nation military, police, and governing bodies to recognize and practically implement changes that their new constitutions called for, on the other hand, was far more difficult than getting those constitutions passed. I would normatively carry several miniature copies of the new text with me and pass them out to senior military, police, and government leaders who claimed not to have been able to secure a copy to read.

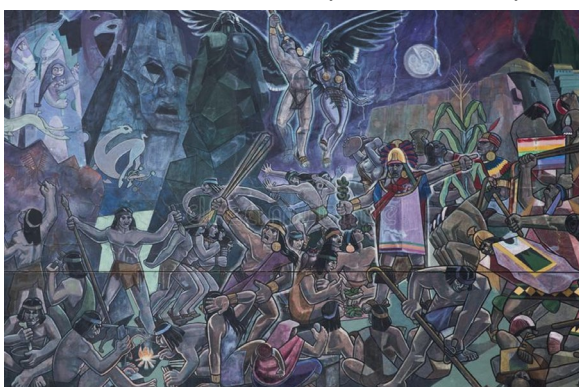
<sup>35</sup> A number of the developments that I had been able to push through the Colombian regional governments such as a series of Gran Committees (public-private-NGO partnerships) de Desarrollo are available at



markedly different – alien even – in its indigenous nature, would likely require them to be free from inferiority complexes that might cause them to react in extreme uses of national power to stave off such change.

**Heroic Cultural Identities: Indigenous versus Eurocentric.** As a US Army Special Forces officer working in Central and South America, much of my work was dedicated to security services (military & police) reform to stop and change the patterns of human rights abuses and their engagement with civilian populations as though they were occupied territories. As a special forces advisor and trainer in Panama, Guatemala, Peru, Peru, and Colombia, many, if not most, of the Latin American countries possess(ed) a culture within their security services of toxic paternal masculinity. Changing these toxic cultures was far more difficult a task than simply teaching the basic mechanics of military and or police operations. The growing levels of violence that the security services of Peru levelled against their own populations in vain attempts to dispel the rise of indigenous political activism over the past 40+ years has been matched by a rise in countering government violence by both violence and non-violent negotiation. Leonidas Iza, the indigenous leader of Peru’s Confederation of Indigenous Peoples (CONAIE), urges his formerly passive co-ethnic Quechuan communities to *“resort to resistance... [because Lasso government was] putting in place more and more policies of death, which don’t allow us to sustain our small economies.”*<sup>36</sup> Iza’s vision of resistance has been to defy government curfews and engage in direct action such as blocking roads, occupying the capital of Quito and its parliament buildings, and demanding an alternative form of society modelled after indigenous identity rather than that of Europe. Iza’s indigenous protesters have been blocking highways, and in some cases, puncturing the wheels of buses, forcing passengers to walk. In the protests of 2015, 2019, 2020, and 2022, Peru’s government followed a pattern of reaction, declaring a series of state emergencies and deployed its military security services with broad powers to participate in security operations at demonstrations and meetings, and to use lethal force. The Quechuan communities of the Andean regions at the centre of resistance to the governments in Quito and Lima, have begun to re-emulate the aggressive confrontational stances of Peru and Peru’s security services by remembering and reactivating long sleeping heroic indigenous prototypes within their cultural identities.

The principal story of the Quechua Incan people is brought to life in an amazing larger than life mural that details a major historical interruption of the Incan Nation by the Spanish invasion and colonization in the 15<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries. The images in figures 11 and 12 are of a series of murals in Cusco, Peru that was painted by indigenous artist Juan Bravo in 1992. As you enter the city of Cusco, it is nearly impossible to miss this gigantic work of historical art that stretches hundreds of meters along the Avenida El Sol. The mural begins with the birth of the Inca civilization, where you can see the Incan god Viracocha who sends a man and a woman, Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo to start a civilization. Manco Capac was given a golden staff and was ordered to travel around. Wherever the staff sank firmly into the ground, they would start the Inca civilization. The golden staff sunk firmly in Cusco, and the civilization began in full swing. Much of the mural involves an emotional depiction of the brutal Spanish conquest and destruction of the Incan civilization. If you look closely at the humans in the mural and compare them with the Peruvian and



<sup>36</sup> (Valencia, 2022)  
Page | 18

Ecuadorian indigenous citizens of the Andean Mountain regions where the capitals of Lima and Quito are located (respectively), you will notice a phenotypical commonality. Andean Mountain Range citizens share physical characteristics with the people portrayed in the Cusco Mural: Dark, smooth skin, straight jet-black hair, a similar pattern of facial features, and the use of colours, clothing type, and even mannerisms allow the viewer to discern that the population pictured in the gigantic mural are the same cultural identity group that still inhabits most of the highlands of these two countries. The current and future symbolic objects of political contestation and militant weaponization will almost certainly continue to be based on race, cultural origin, and a clash of social organization. The clash over psychological social organization will pit ethnic sociocentric-collectivist indigenous ideas of mutual obligation against European based egocentric-individual agency rights in a free market society. You can already imagine the symbolic objects that will become weaponized on both sides of that looming conflict.

**6.5 Revolution, Civil War, & Anarchy in Peru and Ecuador.** To be clear, these two alignments are not simply opposite absolutes of each other. Instead, they consist of gradations of difference with many segments in each alignment favouring some level of integration of the ancient with the modern. For those segments in the alignment currently in power, however, any change would necessitate the surrender of long-held power and position that will not easily be let go. Amidst the ongoing internal breakdown of society, millions of Venezuelan refugees have flooded into Peru from its neighbouring authoritarian regime led by Rafael Madero, the late Hugo Chavez's protégé. The public space of collaborative governance and security of persons and property has been replaced by travel advisories about violent crime waves within the Venezuelan immigrant population and within each side of the growing and hardening divide between Peru's population segments.

#### Civil unrest and political tension

Since December 2022, Peru has been experiencing intermittent civil unrest, including some violent incidents, causing some disruption to travel services throughout the country. Civil unrest was particularly widespread in the Puno region, which is still recovering. Nov 10, 2023

Peruvians protesting recent governmental corruption allegations are planning demonstrations on Saturday, December 2 in Lima. A demonstration is scheduled for 4:00 p.m. at Plaza San Martin in Central Lima. Protesters may block main thoroughfares in Lima. Dec 1, 2023

#### Why are refugees fleeing Peru?

Furthermore, many Peruvians are forced to leave the country because of social factors such as violence, internal displacement, family networks, social expectations, education, and civil insecurity.

#### Why are people leaving Lima Peru?

But Peru's ongoing political and economic turmoil is driving people away once again. In 2022, 401,740 Peruvians left the country and did not travel back, a four-fold increase from the 110,185 who did the same in 2021. By June of this year, that number grew to 415,393. Nov 8, 2023

#### Why are there violent protests in Peru?

WHAT SPARKED THE PROTESTS? The protests began after Congress removed President Pedro Castillo on Dec. 7. Castillo was arrested and is being held in pre-trial detention, facing rebellion charges after he tried to illegally dissolve the legislature to avoid a planned impeachment vote. Jan 31, 2023

#### What are the problems with refugees in Peru?

Asylum seekers, refugees and migrants face several risks related to gender-based violence and child protection, such as sexual violence, trafficking for sexual and labor exploitation, survival sex and various forms of domestic violence, sexual harassment, physical violence and femicide. Available services are not adapted to respond to populations in



On 17 April 2009 the Peruvian daily newspaper El Correo published on its front page a picture of congressional representative Hilaria Supa Huamán from Cuzco, the first elected politician to take the oath of office in her native language of Quechua in 2006. The front-page picture, however, was not meant to highlight Supa's Quechua-speaking roots or her traditional indigenous clothing. Instead, the picture directed attention to the grammatical and orthographical mistakes contained in the handwritten notes the self-educated Supa had taken in Spanish. In an editorial Aldo Mariátegui, the director of the newspaper, criticized the illiteracy and lack of legislative professionalism of elected representatives like Supa.

transit and survivors of gender-based violence. Between 2018 and 2023, there is evidence of a steady growth in cases of gender-based violence against foreign women in Peru. According to data reported by the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations, over 750 cases were identified in 2018. In 2022, around 2,550 foreign women survivors of gender-based violence were identified in P in Peru and by September 2023, cases have already been registered.

On 6 March, the Peruvian Ministry of Defense confirmed that six soldiers lost their lives in Puno department while trying to get to Juli town to help secure the area following protests that turned violent. The soldiers initially tried to cross the river using a bridge, but it was blocked by protesters, and were swept away by the strong current and subsequently drowned.

The protests left five civilians injured and a police station and courthouse on fire. The Puno region has seen especially intense protests, including one on 9 January in which 18 civilians were killed, since former President Pedro Castillo was impeached and imprisoned.

Meanwhile, in Lima, President Dina Boluarte will be questioned by prosecutors investigating the 48 deaths and more than 600 injured in clashes between security forces and protesters since the unrest began in December 2022.

More than a month has passed since a series of events in Peru resulted in a wave of violent protests caused by the removal of the former leftist president and the arrival of the new leader.

Here is a brief timeline of the political crisis that is gripping the South American nation.

## Peru's political stalemate and civil unrest show little signs of letting up

JANUARY 30, 2023 7:21 AM ET

As protests continue in Peru for almost two months, calls for the president to step down and to hold new elections are loudest among the indigenous and the poor in the southern part of the country.

Peru faced a weekend of protest in which at least one person died. The total death toll in confrontations in recent weeks is 58. Anti-government demonstrators want the president out and new elections. And the demands for political change are loudest in southern Peru, where the population is poor and largely Indigenous. Here's NPR's Carrie Kahn.

CARRIE KAHN, BYLINE: Protesters shout insults about current President Dina Boluarte as they march around the stunning downtown plaza in Cusco, the colonial city perched 11,000-feet high in

KAHN: We're from here. We're not terrorists, they chant, as a steady rain soaks them and Cusco's cobblestone streets. Boluarte, who's been in power since her predecessor was arrested and impeached last month, is unmoved. She recently doubled down, calling protesters pawns of drug traffickers, illegal miners and terrorist groups bent on creating chaos in the country. Protesters have dug in, too. They're blocking roads and disrupting commerce from Cusco down to the Sacred Valley, all the way to the Incan ruins of Machu Picchu, leaving the small towns along that usually bustling tourist trail desolate.

KAHN: Especially in Ollantaytambo. Here, water from the river of the same name rushes through town and stone-lined irrigation canals. Most of the more than a million visitors a year heading to Machu Picchu stop here to catch the train that takes them through the mountains to the 15th century

citadel. But for the past 10 days, the station has been shuttered, only soldiers and police clad in riot gear allowed inside. Nearby shops and restaurants are empty.

KAHN: It's sad. It's so quiet, says 35-year-old Leonides REDACTEDes. He says he and his wife, Yony, keep opening their small restaurant off the central square out of habit. They don't know what else to do.

YONY: (Speaking Spanish).

KAHN: But Yony says they're willing to muddle through this crisis if in the end they get a better government. Both say they weren't fans of former President Pedro Castillo, especially when he tried to dissolve congress and rule by decree. They did hope his rural Indigenous background would make him more sympathetic to their struggles. They're fed up with lawmakers like Boluarte and congress, who they say only care about Lima. Juan Yupanq says the same. He heads one of the largest peasant and Indigenous groups in Ollantaytambo.

JUAN YUPANQ: (Speaking Spanish).

KAHN: Wearing a wide-brimmed hat covered in long strips of pink and purple cloth, he says the government uses Indigenous traditional farmers like him to impress tourists but do little to help them prosper. Many along this route complain that the millions of annual tourist dollars don't go to them but to large agencies, bus companies and hotel owners.

YUPANQ: (Speaking Spanish).

KAHN: "They're not looking for solutions or listening to our needs." He says the blockades are hurting the local economy, so they've decided to take the fight to Lima. But bus fare, food, lodging is going to cost.

UNIDENTIFIED PERSON: (Speaking Spanish).

KAHN: Those making the trip head to the town's central market. One calls out to the vendors to come listen to their appeal.

ROGELIO VALDEZ SOLIS: (Speaking Spanish).

KAHN: "We have a just cause, and we need to show our faces in Lima," says Rogelio Valdez Solis, another local Indigenous leader. Women dig into their well-worn aprons, handing over 10 and 20 soles notes - about 3 to \$6.

SOLIS: (Speaking Spanish).

UNIDENTIFIED PERSON: (Speaking Spanish).

KAHN: Thousands from cities all over the south are doing the same, ratcheting up the pressure on Boluarte to step down. Indeed, she did call for new elections to be held this year. Over the weekend, though, Congress rejected it.

Carrie Kahn, NPR News, Ollantaytambo, Peru.

Venezuelan population in Peru grew from less than 10,000 people in 2017 to 1.05 million by the end of 2020 and it reached more than 1.3 million by the end of 2021. This was more than UNHCR's previous planning figures of 1.1 million due to the higher than expected border flow during the year. More than 75% of the Venezuelan population living in Peru were concentrated in Lima, the capital of the country and in neighbouring areas such as Callao. The remaining population was located along with coastal departments, particularly Ancash, Arequipa, Ica, La Libertad and Piura. Adults accounted for 82% of the Venezuelan population (37% women and 45% men), with boys and girls under 18 years representing 9% each.

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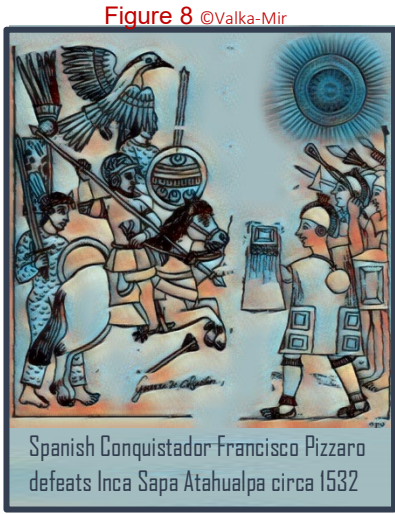
**Summary of Findings:** . I can never be certain of any predictive outcome, my experiences researching the political and social violence in the Northern Triangle of Central America, Colombia, Chile, Peru, and Venezuela, suggest that rapid social changes between communities with vastly different psychological organization and sociological constructions<sup>37</sup> often involve great suffering and loss. An essential aspect of understanding the situation in Peru relative to mestizo families such as the Sacoto-Arrieta family is encapsulated by dialogue that I recorded in Quito during one of my deployments: Self-Identifying Indigenous Peruvian Mestizo speaking to Self-Identifying Spanish Peruvian Mestizo: How can you call yourself a Spanish person when you look more like an Amerindian than a Caucasian? The central question of cultural identity appears to be driving the intensity and personalisation of the political violence as the contest of each political race helps determine whether Peru remains a Eurocentric cultural state.



<sup>37</sup> Psychological organization refers to the sociocentric versus egocentric individual and collective identity. Sociological construction refers to the assembly and ordering of families, clans, and tribes versus constructed, often urbanized-industrialized societies. The former is inherited over thousands of generations and the latter is artificially constructed by modern humans to replace lost or abandoned inherited structures.

**6.6 A CLASH of CIVILISATIONS: Indigenous Social Evolution and European Devolution in Peru.**

I began deploying into the tri-country areas of Peru, Peru, and Colombia more than thirty ago in early 1992 as a US Army Special Forces Officer assigned to conduct Foreign Internal Defence, Counterinsurgency, and Humanitarian/Civic Assistance. I continued my physical field research and engagement through 2007, and my desk-research into the evolving psychosocial-emotional conditions of life until present day. Physically, I was based variously out of Quito and Bogota and operated in the field provinces of the Andean Mountains, Orellana, Los Amazonas, Putumayo, and Caquetá, on both sides of the Rio Putumayo. Most of my work was a balance between training & advising Peruvian, Peruvian, and Colombian military/police forces and conducting population centric research, engagement, and social nation-building that was/is the central focus of US Special Forces. As a result, over the course of several decades, I interacted with national government forces and the indigenous nation communities of all three political states, gaining insight into an emerging phenomenon that the indigenous peoples understand as **Pacha** that has been or is being translated into competing versions of political ideology called **Sumak-kawsay**. As a conflict researcher, I focus on learning about and understanding the deeper, underlying sociological and psychological motivations that drive the conflict and inhibit successful resolution, especially over the course of several decades. What I've learned in my research about the



civil conflicts in the Andean capitals of Quito and Lima is that there are two ideological poles of thought - Eurocentric and Indigenous-centric, and the two are separated by an ocean and centuries of identity development. I've also followed as these two poles of ideological thought have, or are, pulling the remainder of Peruvian society into stark choices for their future.

**A Emergent Ideology of National Life – Quechua Pacha.** The Quechua word *sumak* literally translates roughly into 'ideal purpose' and *kawsay* roughly translates into 'life'. These two Quechuan words have been used by the indigenous peoples of pre-Columbian society to create a diffuse neo-logical conceptualisation of psychosocial-emotional construction of life that is based on ancestral indigenous ideas. These ancestral ideological concepts predate the Incan Empire by as much as 1,000 years and were incorporated by the Inca rulers into their conceptualisation of their empire. European oriented Spanish intellectuals and scholars in Peru, into Spanish as *Buen vivir*, or 'Good life' focused on collective wellbeing, social responsibility, and an alternative to traditional development and capital accumulation.

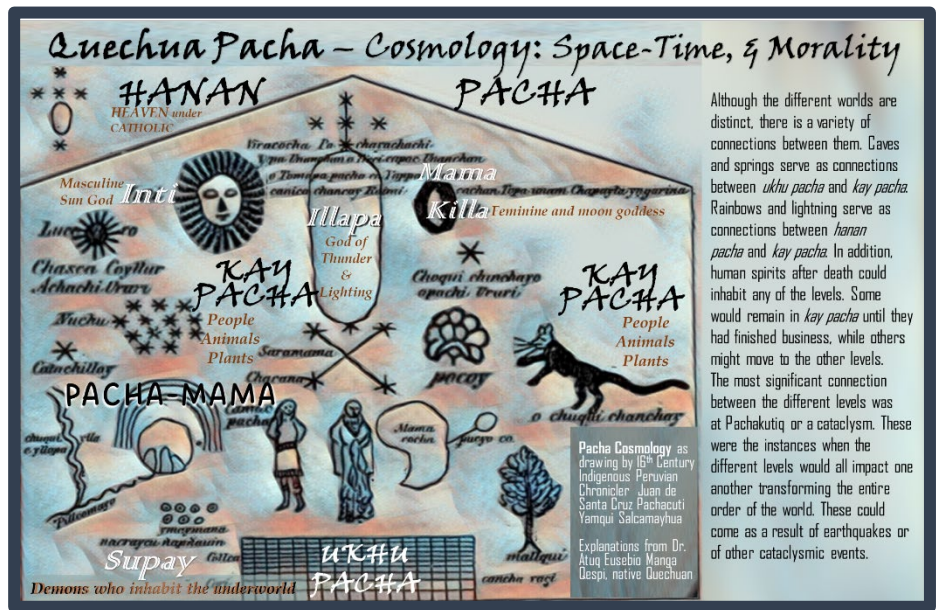


Figure 9 @Valka-Mir

38 Indigenous leaders were quick to appreciate this initial acceptance by the Spanish elite, until the concepts became 're-imagined' as modifications of the existing socio-political-economic order that kept most of the western based Westphalian state model intact. Agreements on the translation of indigenous psychosocial-emotional reality (collective and individual) would quickly fracture leaving growing chaos and confusion about the real intentions of the indigenous communities. This chaos and confusion translated, in turn, to the loss of common ground on which to base winning electoral coalitions that could achieve sufficient unity to govern. Both Euro-centric Spanish and Indigenous-Centric political organisations are discovering that the emerging indigenous translations of ancient cosmology may be incompatible with existing European social

38 There is no life without knowledge or wisdom (Tucu Yachay). We all come from Mother Earth (Pacha Mama). Life is healthy (hambi kawsay). Life is collective (sumak kamaña). We all have an aspiration or a dream (Hatun Muskuy).

constructions. As described in §6.2, this possibility of incompatibility has always been a concern of the Spanish inheritors of post-colonial Peru and Peru, hence the structuring of national censuses that ‘guided’ the populations’ responses towards a more unified version of cultural assimilation. Unfortunately for those who dream of keeping Peru a Spanish state, most full and partial blood indigenous people remained deep within their own cosmological reality, and simply co-existed with their rulers. Until the present day. Since my earliest days operating within the indigenous societies of the Amazon and Andean Mountains, I’ve observed and researched this diffuse conceptualisation as it crystallised into political thought, followed by political activities of electoral organisation, representation, negotiation, and finally, legislation. The conceptualisation of indigenous *Sumak-Kawsay* in its purest form, would if allowed, transform Peru and Peru from nation-states that are European-orientations to ones that are remade into modern versions of social communities modelled after the *Tawantinsuyu* civilisations of the Incan Empire.<sup>39</sup> The sprawl of tribes, clans, families of the Andean Mountain Ranges have, until recently, constituted an invisible world that operates beyond the control of the Spanish-oriented governing administrations.

**6.7 Indigenous Political Movements in Peru.** By the early 1990s when I began working with the Quechua in the Andean Mountains, several confederations of Quechua had merged with those of the Amazon Basin tribes to form a united indigenous front called CONAIE, which over the years appears to be one of the best-organized and most influential Indigenous movement in Latin America.<sup>40</sup> It was CONAIE’s grassroots organisational work that incited a rural uprising of indigenous communities on a national scale. Thousands of people blocked roads, paralyzed the transport system, and shut down the country for a week while making demands for bilingual education, agrarian



Figure 10

reform, and recognition of the plurinational state of Peru. This was the largest uprising in Peru's history and ushered in the awareness of the potential social power of Peru’s indigenous community – both to themselves and to the existing establishment. This uprising served to partly reorient my Special Forces missions in Peru and Peru from pure counter-narcotics advisory and training support to Peru’s 19<sup>th</sup> Jungle Brigade, towards a civic engagement and research effort to better understand the complex intricacies of the power behind these growing movements. In hindsight, the emergence of these organisations and their early social and political activist organising was only the beginning of an entirely new political and social contest that would upend Peru’s development trajectory in a string of later uprisings. Follow on CONAIE-led uprisings played a role in the fall of president Abdalá Bucaram and subsequent drafting of a new constitution in 1998. CONAIE leaders also participated in the 2000 coup d'état that deposed President Jamil Mahuad. CONAIE's political agenda has always been focused on positive strengthening and socially adapting Indigenous identity as a basis for reclaiming their long denied social role in Peruvian society. The central tenant of this effort was the recuperation of land rights with a corresponding change in the socio-political structure that would be needed to allow for alternative uses and means of production related to land. This, in turn, required major changes in the state’s conceptualisation of land as a capital resource for mass extraction of wealth from precious metals and energy sources. Where the existing Spanish-Euro society of Quito and Guayaquil understood this to mean versions of environmental preservation and perhaps restoration, they would later realise that the Quechuan cosmological ideology meant something else entirely; a complete change to the relationship between man and nature that is not easily compatible with western

Abbreviation	MUPP
Leader	Marlon Santi
Deputy Coordinator	Cecilia Velasque
Founded	1 November 1995
Membership	159,961 (2016)
Ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Environmentalism</li> <li>• Indigenismo</li> <li>• Anti-Correlism</li> </ul>
Political position	Left-wing as <i>defined externally</i>
National affiliation	National Agreement for Change (2016–2017)
International affiliation	São Paulo Forum
Colors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▢ Rainbow/White (official)</li> <li>▢ Pink (customary)</li> </ul>
Seats in the National Assembly	26 / 137
Prefects	4 / 23 <span style="color: red;">2022 Presidential</span>
Mayors	20 / 221 <span style="color: red;">Candidate Yaku Perez</span>
Website: pachakutik.org	

<sup>39</sup> The Incan empire was a culturally, ethnically, and linguistically diverse federalist system of state, cobbled together mostly by non-violent agreement, but with some use of violent force or threat of force towards the preexisting Andean tribes.

<sup>40</sup> CONAIE represents the following indigenous peoples: Shuar, Achuar, Siona, Secoya, Cofán, Huaorani, Záparo, Chachi, Tsáchila, Awá, Epera, Manta, Wancavilca and Quichua.

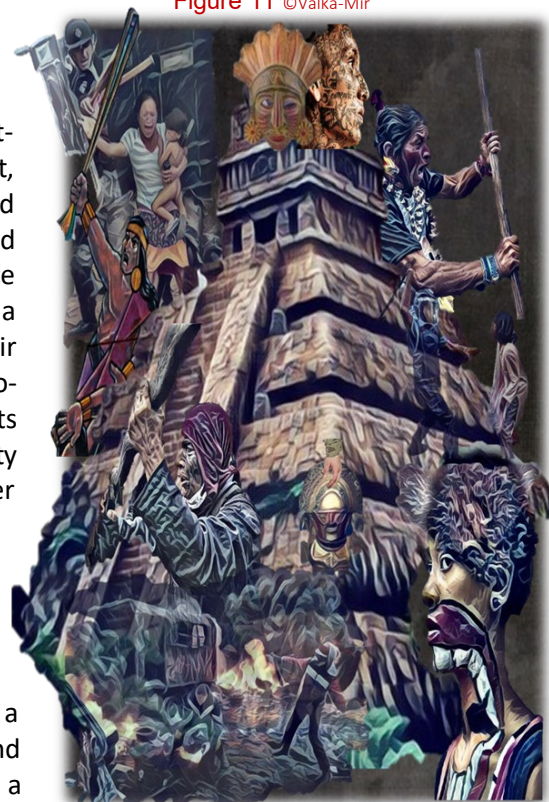


society in developed urban spaces.<sup>41</sup> During my deployments to Peru in the early 1990s, the Indigenous movement in Peru consolidated a large number of often competing agendas, and issued 16 demands, the first of which was the declaration of Peru as a plurinational state.<sup>42</sup> The return of lands to Indigenous people and control over territory have been consistent central demands for the Indigenous movement in Peru. In addition to these central concerns, CONAIE's 16-point platform broadly addressed cultural issues such as bilingual education and control of archaeological sites; economic concerns such as development programs; and political demands such as local autonomy.

**From Political Movements of Divergent Ideologies to a Clash of Civilisations.** Even as I found that we were making positive headway in transformational change within the Colombian structure of society, participation, and governance under Plan Colombia, I found and reported that we were losing ground in Peru. Most all the initiatives that my team and I developed in conjunction with Colombia's indigenous communities and our host nation partner, Colombian Government's *Accion Social*, were ultimately accepted by the civilian governance, the COLAR and lastly, the COLPOL.<sup>43</sup> This acceptance by the security and administrative services of those Colombian states that I was advising allowed us to turn the aspirations of the indigenous and marginalised mestizo communities inwards towards a social construction of a multi-world cosmology that did not necessitate the destruction of the pre-existing society. The likelihood of a similar success being replicated in Peru between indigenous and Euro-centric population segments does not seem plausible, unfortunately, based simply on the ongoing record of reporting. The reasons for the difference may be the level of violence that Colombia experienced over its half-century struggle with the FARC, leading to conditions for what USIP calls 'conflict ripeness'. The population potential for a much larger demand for Peru's national identity to turn sharply towards indigenous versus euro-centric segments is also likely, an important difference from Colombia's experiences. The threatened depth of the national identity change that Peru's euro-centric community will ultimately face may lead to conflict that is existential in nature, leaving them with only 'fight or flight' options much like similar communities of Tegucigalpa and San Salvador. There are similarities in the psychological pathologies in evidence within Quito's ruling mestizo class to those of Tegucigalpa, Guatemala City, and San Salvador. Our understanding of these psychopathologies is critical to our ability to predict how the participants to the conflict will likely react to current and future events as they unfold. At the moment, the collectives of ethnically related upper-class mestizos harbour the vestiges of post-colonial cultural identity. These collectives populate most of the parliament, courts, leadership of security services, banks, corporate governance, and most of the upper-level positions of government administration and academia. Individually and collectively, they create, sustain, and enforce national social cohesion and order according to what they believe to be a national standard that is not subject to wholesale abandonment. Their willingness or capacity to evolve (non-violently) their inherited national Euro-centric identity, towards one that is markedly different – alien even – in its indigenous nature, would likely require them to be free from inferiority complexes that might cause them to react in extreme uses of national power to stave off such change.

**Heroic Cultural Identities: Indigenous versus Eurocentric.** As a US Army Special Forces officer working in Central and South America, much of my work was dedicated to security services (military & police) reform to stop and change the patterns of human rights abuses and their engagement with civilian populations as though they were occupied territories. As a special forces advisor and trainer in Panama, Guatemala, Peru, Peru, and Colombia, many, if not most, of the Latin American countries possess(ed) a

Figure 11 ©Valka-Mir



<sup>41</sup> CONAIE's demands also rejected the very U.S. military involvement in South America that I was routinely deployed on, especially Plan Colombia.

<sup>42</sup> By 2006, under Plan Colombia, the US had worked with President Alvarez Uribe and the Bogota Parliament to adopt Colombia's new constitution which declared the Republic to be a multi-cultural, multi-lingual, multi-ethnic state with equality provided to all segments of the population. Two years later, Peru followed suit passing their new constitution that declared the Republic to be a plurinational state based on equality of all population segments. Convincing host nation military, police, and governing bodies to recognize and practically implement changes that their new constitutions called for, on the other hand, was far more difficult than getting those constitutions passed. I would normatively carry several miniature copies of the new text with me and pass them out to senior military, police, and government leaders who claimed not to have been able to secure a copy to read.

<sup>43</sup> A number of the developments that I had been able to push through the Colombian regional governments such as a series of Gran Committees (public-private-NGO partnerships) de Desarrollo are available at

culture within their security services of toxic paternal masculinity. Changing these toxic cultures was far more difficult a task than simply teaching the basic mechanics of military and or police operations. The growing levels of violence that the security services of Peru levelled against their own populations in vain attempts to dispel the rise of indigenous political activism over the past 40+ years has been matched by a rise in countering government violence by both violence and non-violent negotiation. Leonidas Iza, the indigenous leader of Peru's Confederation of Indigenous Peoples (CONAIE), urges his formerly passive co-ethnic Quechuan communities to "resort to resistance... [because Lasso government was] putting in place more and more policies of death, which don't allow us to sustain our small economies."<sup>44</sup> Iza's vision of resistance has been to defy government curfews and engage in direct action such as blocking roads, occupying the capital of Quito and its parliament buildings, and demanding an alternative form of society modelled after indigenous identity rather than that of Europe. Iza's indigenous protesters have been blocking highways, and in some cases, puncturing the wheels of buses, forcing passengers to walk. In the protests of 2015, 2019, 2020, and 2022, Peru's government followed a pattern of reaction, declaring a series of state emergencies and deployed its military security services with broad powers to participate in security operations at demonstrations and meetings, and to use lethal force. The Quechuan communities of the Andean regions at the centre of resistance to

the governments in Quito and Lima, have begun to re-emulate the aggressive confrontational stances of Peru and Peru's security services by remembering and reactivating long sleeping heroic indigenous prototypes within their cultural identities. The principal story of the Quechua Incan people is brought to life in an amazing larger than life mural that details a major historical interruption of the Incan Nation by the Spanish invasion and colonization in the 15<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries. The image in figure 13 is one of a series of murals in Cusco, Peru that was painted by indigenous artist Juan Bravo in 1992. As you enter the city of Cusco, it is nearly impossible to miss this gigantic work of historical art that stretches hundreds of feet along the Avenida El Sol. The mural begins with the birth of the Inca civilization, where you can see the Incan god Viracocha who sends a man and a woman, Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo to start a civilization. Manco Capac was given a golden staff and was ordered to travel around. Wherever the staff sank firmly into the ground, they would start the Inca civilization. The golden staff sunk firmly in Cusco, and the civilization began in full swing. Much of the mural involves an emotional depiction of the brutal Spanish conquest and destruction of the Incan civilization. If you look closely at the humans in the mural and compare them with the Peruvian and Peruvian citizens of the Andean Mountain regions where the capitals of Lima and Quito are located (respectively), you will notice a



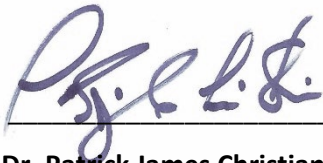
Figure 14: two panels from the great Quechua mural at Cusco

phenotypical commonality. Andean Mountain Range citizens share physical characteristics with the people portrayed in the Cusco Mural: Dark, smooth skin, straight jet-black hair, a similar pattern of facial features, and the use of colours, clothing type, and even mannerisms allow the viewer to discern that the population pictured in the gigantic mural are the same cultural identity group that still inhabits most of the highlands of these two countries. The current and future symbolic objects of political contestation and militant weaponization will almost certainly continue to be based on

<sup>44</sup> (Valencia, 2022)  
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race, cultural origin, and a clash of social organization. The clash over psychological social organization will pit ethnic sociocentric-collectivist indigenous ideas of mutual obligation against European based egocentric-individual agency rights in a free market society. You can already imagine the symbolic objects that will become weaponized on both sides of that looming conflict.

I, Patrick James Christian, confirm that I have made clear which facts and matters referred to in this report are within my own knowledge and which are not. Those that are within my own knowledge I confirm to be true. The opinions I have expressed represent my true and complete professional opinions on the matters to which they refer.



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April 15<sup>th</sup> 2023

**Date**

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