

Artículos atravesados por (o cuestionando) la idea del sujeto -y su género- como una construcción psicobiológica de la cultura.
Articles driven by (or questioning) the idea of the subject -and their gender- as a cultural psychobiological construction.

Vol. 5 (2020), enero-diciembre

ISSN 2469-0783

<https://datahub.io/dataset/2020-5-e141e>

JULIO PEREYRA - A PHENOMENOLOGICAL VISION OF PERONISM AS AN EGALITARIAN PHILOSOPHY

JULIO PEREYRA – UNA VISIÓN FENOMENOLÓGICA DEL PERONISMO COMO
FILOSOFÍA IGUALITARIA

Pablo Soprano¹ Ratan Lal Basu²

Cómo citar este artículo / Citation: Soprano P. & Basu R. L. (2020). «Julio Pereyra – Una visión fenomenológica del peronismo como filosofía igualitaria». *Revista Científica Arbitrada de la Fundación MenteClara*, Vol. 5 (141).
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32351/rca.v5.141>

Copyright: © 2020 RCAFMC. This open access article is distributed under the terms of the license [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License \(CC BY 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). Received: 25/02/2020. Accepted: 02/03/2020 Online publication: 06/03/2020

Conflict of interests: None to declare.

Abstract

This article was made to explore the relationships between Peronism as a philosophy and political practice and other philosophies. It seeks to establish differences among prevailing ideologies in the world -if still any- and the actual actions taken from such ideologies to identify those that are proper of Peronism and their relationship with neoliberalism. A leader of the historical Peronism selected for his background was interviewed to perform a critical analysis of his discourse. It was found that despite the attempts of capitalism to destroy ideological concepts that create intellectual ties among people to turn them into consuming individuals, yet there are social actors who try to achieve equity and harmony among citizens. This finding tends to redeem human values of fraternity and collective fulfillment destroyed by hegemonic mass

¹ Comunicador del colectivo literario El Anartista y columnista del programa radial Nuevo Mundo. pablosoprano@gmail.com

² Presidency College, Calcutta & University of Calcutta, India. rlbasu@rediffmail.com

media of global manipulation that isolate members of a society in order to manipulate them emotionally and block off critical thinking.

Resumen

Este artículo se realizó para explorar las relaciones entre el peronismo como filosofía y práctica política relacionado con otras filosofías. Se busca establecer las diferencias entre las ideologías imperantes en el mundo –si aún existen- y las acciones concretas tomadas de estas ideologías para identificar las propias del peronismo y su relación con el neoliberalismo. Se entrevistó a un dirigente del peronismo histórico seleccionado por su trayectoria para luego realizar un análisis crítico de su discurso. Se encontró que pese a los intentos del capitalismo para destruir conceptos ideológicos que establezcan vínculos intelectuales entre las personas y convertirlos en individuos consumidores todavía persisten actores sociales que intentan lograr equidad y armonía entre los ciudadanos. Este hallazgo tiende a rescatar valores humanos de fraternidad y realización colectiva destruidos por los medios hegemónicos de manipulación global que aíslan a los integrantes de una sociedad para poder manipularla de manera emocional y anular el pensamiento crítico.

Keywords: Peronism; inclusion; equity

Palabras Claves: Peronismo; inclusión; equidad

Introduction

It would seem that in the present times the ideologies and doctrines that emerged during the postmodernity are disappearing to respond to the demands of the working classes that, at the cost of their exploitation, enabled the expansion of modernity that developed state capitalism or individualist capitalism.

These ideologies and doctrines made it possible for workers to agglutinate by demanding better living conditions and could share some of the benefits achieved by the advancement of civilization in terms of science and technology used only by companies or the state. Thus, socialist ideologies arise in the world in their wide range from left to right and in the 50s, in Argentina, Peronism or justicialism, as an intermediate position between the different socialist currents (Solanas & Getino, 1971).

The postulates of this philosophy - way of life - politics are social justice, political sovereignty and economic independence establishing a doctrine for the concrete execution of these postulates seeking the inclusion of marginalized sectors of consumption and welfare produced by the advance of society, which only a few took advantage of, for greater social equity.

At present, as Velisone (2020) expresses, it seems that these ideologies have come to an end. In India, the use of super-developed technologies such as the Internet allowed access to information on depressed castes, understanding the notion of a subject without essence, built-in culture and therefore equal to each other - first notion of egalitarian subject³-

³ This first notion of egalitarian subject expressed by Mahavira in the 6th century B.C., developed between the years 268 to 232 BC. C. for what is known as early Buddhism, destroyed, demonized and expelled by the Brahmanic power (Gómez, 2017) and consolidated in Tibet in the seventh century (Gómez, 2016) was resumed only in the first half of the 20th century by Kusumāgraj and Ambedkar.

began to express humanitarian claims (Kumbhojkar, 2018) Already in Italy, in the middle of the last century, to concentrate again the power and wealth that these mass movements had managed to redistribute more equitably arises the idea of the *qualunquismo*-Political apathy- who is a political vision lacking ideologies and sustained that power must be in the hands of “common men” without contact with the people, nor with popular organizations, nor defending or uniting them to defend their collective interests (Codina, 2013). The progress of this de-ideologization and the installation of the idea that “the Politicians” are corrupt led to people moving away from active participation in public activities, leaving hands free to dogmatic states or companies, to re-concentrate again the power and the riches.

What was previously achieved with the force of arms and the brutal repression of the working classes today would seem to be achieved through the use of social networks by instilling in individuals the hatred towards politicians and all forms of community or union organization, enhancing hatred and the contempt that the upper classes felt for the workers and for the politicians who defended their rights, inculcating them to the workers themselves causing a division and struggle of the poor against the non-rich by fragmenting societies or as in India today limiting the Internet access to outcasts (Kumbhojkar, Magar & Ozarkar 2019).

At this post-ideological moment we go through the path of Peronism to verify if it constitutes an egalitarian philosophy as developed by the first Buddhist philosophers in the East (Bose, 2019) (Bauer, 2020), in the West the humanist philosophers and Karl himself Popper (1945); if it continues in force and, if so, to explore its ideological potential and its doctrinal updating, to boost again the cohesion of the unprotected classes to recover human dignity. In addition, we verify whether Peronism is

based on a belief installed by political marketing companies or provides concrete responses to temporary emergencies.

To this end, a Peronist leader of international projection selected for his career was interviewed for 45 minutes - Florencio Varela Mayor from 1992 to 2017 and founder and member of the Latin American Federation of Cities, Municipalities and Municipal Associations - and then perform a critical analysis of his speech.

Critical analysis of the speech given by Julio Pereyra during the interview conducted on February 20, 2020 (full audio)

Perhaps the response to the validity of Peronism as a philosophy or better, as a persistence within the Argentine political situation, lies in the origins of each of its militants. As the former mayor of Florencio Varela - Province of Buenos Aires- and current provincial deputy, Julio César Pereyra, refers: *“It all started where I was born, in my family. I killed him since childhood that, my parents were Peronists. There was no talk of anything else at home that was not Peronism.”* The social conscience, the freedom of debate as an initial kick in the home for the political formation of a boy, of a teenager leads to lending a hand in the needs of the neighborhood. Solidarity is a non-transferable good of the Peronist idiosyncrasy. *“Where there is a need, there is a right,”* said the spiritual guide of the National Justicialist Movement, Eva Perón.

Whenever a State does not commune with the social bases, there is always a partner, or whatever it takes, for example, to access cement bags, to make the slabs that will later be repairing paths for the neighbors and the neighbors of the humblest neighborhoods. *“I lived eleven blocks from the pavement. That is thunderous,”* Pereyra tells us. There is a pain

in his words. Nothing worse than exclusion, whether economic or social, to understand that sad grimace that reminds you of the hardships of those expelled from the system. For a long time in different localities of the national territory people were measured, among other things, in case the pavement passed through the door of their houses or not. Julio Pereyra's election to testify to the empirical observation of Peronism in more than 70 years was studied, it was not random. Pereyra is the living story of how a militant can become a leader, later reaching public service without abandoning the historical flags of Peronism: Social Justice, Economic Independence and Political Sovereignty. There is a special sensitivity of the politician "*who comes from below*" to understand the problems of his fellow men. Culture in the exercise of justicialist policies that are not only financially redistributive but also aims at the empowerment of citizens and the full awareness of their duties and rights. In reviewing his youthful position, Julio is blunt about it: "*It was very clear to me which side I wanted to be on. Next to the one that lacked the path.*" Away from the comrades who radicalized the struggle in the 1970s, Pereyra prioritized the issues of his municipality without losing political dialogue with these sectors of his party.

Without communication channels as developed as those of today, it was necessary to articulate channels with other young people for the realization of those first, and why not ambitious neighborhood projects. Societies of promotion or clubs where dances were organized, workshops with labor exit and in tune, the Basic Units that fulfilled and fulfill an exceptional task in the doctrinal constitution of its components. This is the living history of Peronism, since the fieldwork models its militants in the ideological, and from the philosophical is the pure awareness of reality, of the tangible. A true phenomenology from the egalitarian point of view.

With the arrival of democracy in 1983 and despite the electoral defeat suffered by Peronism, thousands of grassroots militants throughout the country were already in a position to access the public and legislative function thanks to the years of training before the dictatorship military and developed in hiding, at best, during it. The lists were full of workers, workshop workers, tertiary students, professionals who held municipal positions - intendancies, councilors - or in provincial and national legislatures. Julio Pereyra himself advises in plenaries, meetings or anyone who is challenged towards political and conceptual clarity in making decisions for the development of the public, in reading the works written by Juan Perón among others, "Political Conduction", "The organized community" or incorporate the knowledge in the field displayed by the same justicialist leader in the short film by Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino, "Doctrinal update for the seizure of power" Not only with the condition of mere ideological instruction, the determination of short-term problems of a municipality or locality but simultaneously, as a dam to contain selfishness, to excessive ambitions. An ideology that puts collective interests above individual interests, whether for the resolution of a conflict or in the application and promotion of distributive and progressive public policies.

"A State has to keep the population healthy, not permanently cure the sick" Pereyra ruling on public health and appeals to the memory of Dr. Ramón Carrillo, Minister of Health of Juan Perón, fundamental basis in the sanitary revolution of the first and second Peronist government, which transcended for years to these mandates its vaccination plans, diagnosis, prevention and cure of diseases and epidemics that as a corollary, allowed the eradication of them in our territory. Even today, many of his disciples hold important positions in health matters, such as the current minister of the area, Ginés González García or the

Sanitaristas Arnaldo Medina or Jorge Osvaldo García who, when correctly speaking by Julio Pereyra himself, *“they care more about strengthening a health center that guards a hospital.”* This is in full swing with the meanness of the neoliberal policies that favor the sanitary emptying of vaccines, supplies and hospital infrastructure in favor of medical emergencies and private medicine.

The son of a worker was able to go to a university due to the intermediation of Peronism. He was the guarantor of the education of the popular classes and as a banner, Pereyra peaks the thousands of students of his municipality who as the first generation in their families have reached a tertiary career. Education as an inclusive tool over opportunities, over social classes regardless of districts or areas where students reside. Practically, only in a Peronist government is this goal achievable. In terms of our interlocutor, *“it is conceptual, it is difficult to express it in words to this phenomenon. A way of life different from what monopolies want to impose on us, those who lead or the so-called ‘invisible hand of the market’.”*

Happiness goes hand in hand with empowerment, law and social demands. It is the call that History reserves to Peronism. As a Movement, its fight against hunger and in favor of the inclusion of the disadvantaged in the system is crucial. This makes it popular, current and irreplaceable, and it is the duty of the militant who finally enters the public service to protect these demands. Beyond the privilege of exercising under remuneration what one might like, is putting oneself at the service of the people.

There is an action in the permanent question, in the dismemberment of the phenomenon placed on the table, which allows, beyond time, the flame of the historical basis of Justicialism is kept alive. A perennial motivation coming from the dawn of Peronism, which passes from

generation to generation and is based on the definitive return of democracy to the present day. Even political meanness does not stop this call if one takes into account, as Pereyra notes, who is represented, whether to corporations or to the common good. Overcoming antinomies and vertices of misconduct knowing what to do. An unchanging and unchanging search acquired in the vision of the formative years - in the Basic Unit, in the Church, in the unions, etc. - of how to sustain the power that the national and popular model can affirm.

Julio Pereyra insists on the formation of cadres as the foundation in the essence of the Peronist doctrine for the exercise of public and municipal functions. Remember the creation together with Nestor Kirchner of the National Peronist Front in La Plata and now, the International Foundation for Local Development - FINDEL - that invests in the knowledge of the administration of public office for those who do not come from a university career and who nothing prevented them from being a very good secretary of Public Works without being an architect, or a competent sanitarian exempt from the practice of medicine for example. These differences would be settled in the blockade of short-term and short-term electoral interests by macro projects, rather in the long term. Thanks to its seven-year administrative experience - 28 years - in the municipality of Florencio Varela, Pereyra reflect on the boundary to two periods of the municipal mandate because it is considered unconnected with the development of the public and municipal sector. To this is added the errors of the policy that led to the erosion in the implementation of public measures and in the relationship between the leadership and the citizens.

Ideologically there should be a constitutive work in the argumentation of the issues that are discussed, Pereyra warns. This is attributed in many cases to the lack of information from colleagues, exposed to be

overcome in the knowledge of the political agenda based on false disputes and led to free controversy. For this he created “Milita”, an ingenious system for the formation of cadres with 3000 militants in the municipality of Florencio Varela and which extends throughout the province of Buenos Aires. A true virtual plenary, segmented by age, by the neighborhood was based on slogans and news points, purely and exclusively, to the provision of elements for the competent dissemination of the militant. A kind of Manual of Political Conduction of the 21st century.

Finally, as a ram between the inclusion and the municipal function, during his years as mayor of Florencio Varela, Pereyra created, analysis through and the study of traffic problems - a greater number of road accidents, vehicle increases in areas with few streets, etc.-, the so-called “shame ballot”. Based on the experience of the Italian pedagogue Francesco Tonucci, the former mayor and current provincial deputy met with ten-year-old children, not only for a primary notion of traffic regulations and laws but, accompanied by municipal inspectors, they applied fines signed by the same boys for the search of an educational and positive reaction of the offender. This allowed the culture of responsibility to be inoculated in children with a view to the future and thanks to the inquiry into the neighborhood needs, it instituted the Local Management Units, which empowered the reordering, recognition and prioritization of specific popular demands in health matters, buildings or any emergency. Through the intervention of intermediate cultural, ecclesiastical or sporting entities, the resolution was decided, together with the neighbors, a pressing and priority problem.

This is, in short, the importance of Peronism as an articulator of inclusive and redistributive policies. There is the reason for their permanence and the persistence of their voters and militancy. Here is the phenomenological. In leaders like Julio Pereyra we see the most

supportive, the most extensive and the most active face of justicialism. Without fear of being wrong, we can put it in the words of Juan Perón: *"Better than saying is doing, better than promising is doing."*

Conclusion

From the analysis of Julio Pereyra's speech, it follows that in the face of all the issues addressed, his instantaneous answers and his body language indicate concrete actions to solve problems or needs of citizens and not expressions of desire as in the discourse of the neo-liberal politicians who resort to abstractions such as zero poverty or, as Patricia Bulrich put it, *"all our proposals are aspirational."* He mentions that Peronism cannot be expressed very well in words, that it is a way of life, a philosophy that is acquired when one feels the need to group together to give solutions to concrete problems of the collective that one inhabits. This is an inclusive philosophy. Pereyra already 50 seconds after his speech mentions that one of the first tasks he did as a teenager, as a Peronist militant, along with his colleagues was to do the sidewalks of his neighborhood, that is, he saw a problem and solved it by grouping his neighbors in developed societies and basic units. In other words, contributing to building a common ideal, an ideology.

Already as mayor and 27 minutes after the interview, he says that he observed that many people died in traffic accidents and developed a program to instill good driving practices in children while producing positive effects in various areas, that is, a plan that covers many aspects simultaneously making management more effective.

The discourse also shows that, without thinking about it, without thinking about holding an image, he also talks about things that did not go as he thought, mentions his mistakes showing that Peronism has the

characteristic of rethinking, evolving, updating his doctrine and, by So, stand on time. In this sense, he expresses with passion the need to counteract the de-ideologization that the media imposes with the information of each citizen, forming militant cadres that give debates based on reality and not on the emotional tides that neoliberalism sows through false news through social networks, forming leading cadres through its creation, a social network, called Milita.

Thus, we understand that Peronism is an inclusive and equitable philosophy, still in force and we suggest the realization of studies similar to this one on other social and political actors, to counteract the exclusion and individualism that fosters capitalisms of both state and companies and to rebuild credibility in the political class in the people so that they can actively join it and guarantee the continuity of popular movements.

References

- Bauer, R. (2020). Igualitarismo humano y la ilusión patriarcal: Una visión fenomenológica. *Revista Científica Arbitrada de la Fundación MenteClara*, Vol.5 (122). doi: <https://doi.org/10.32351/rca.v5.122>
- Bose, A. (2019). Hacia una poética comparativa de Buda, Kabir y Gurú Nanak desde una perspectiva democrática secular. *Revista Científica Arbitrada de la Fundación MenteClara*, Vol.4(2), 19-44 (85). doi: <https://doi.org/10.32351/rca.v4.2.85>
- Codina G. (11 de febrero de 2013). La ideología de Macri. *Síntesis Comuna 3*. Recuperado de https://www.sintesiscomuna3.com.ar/amplia-nota.php?id_n=23
- Gómez, O. (2016). ANTONIO DE MONTSERRAT – LA RUTA DE LA SEDA Y LOS CAMINOS SECRETOS DEL TANTRA. *Revista Científica Arbitrada de la Fundación MenteClara*, Vol.1(1), 5-20 (8). doi: <https://doi.org/10.32351/rca.v1.1.8>
- Gómez, O. (2017). ANÁLISIS CRÍTICO DEL KULARNAVA TANTRA -PARTE 1- UN PRÓLOGO VICIADO DE SEXUALIDAD REPRIMIDA. *Revista Científica Arbitrada de la Fundación MenteClara*, Vol.2(1), 114-141 (26). doi: <https://doi.org/10.32351/rca.v2.1.26>
- Kumbhojkar, S. (2018). Dalits, internet y políticas emancipadoras. *Revista Científica Arbitrada de la Fundación MenteClara*, Vol.3(1), 45-56 (42). doi: <https://doi.org/10.32351/rca.v3.1.42>
- Kumbhojkar, S., Magar, R., & Ozarkar, S. (2019). ¿Acceso denegado? : Capital cultural y acceso digital. *Revista Científica Arbitrada de la Fundación MenteClara*, Vol.4(1), 65-78 (70). doi: <https://doi.org/10.32351/rca.v4.1.70>
- Pereyra J.C. (2020). “Entrevista periodística” *Revista Científica Arbitrada de la Fundación MenteClara*. Recuperada de <https://fundacionmenteclara.org.ar/revista/public/journals/1/EntrevistaJulioPereyra.m4a>
- Popper, K. R., & Loedel, E. (1957). *La sociedad abierta y sus enemigos* (Vol. 353). Buenos Aires: Paidós.
- Solanas & Getino (1971). *Perón: Actualización política y doctrinaria para la toma del poder*. Productora Cine Liberación
- Velisone, J. (2020). La posideología y el espíritu republicano. La construcción de la base electoral del PRO. *Revista Científica Arbitrada de la Fundación MenteClara*, Vol.5 (114). doi: <https://doi.org/10.32351/rca.v5.114>