

The Persistence of the Fujimori Legacy in Peru

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Abstract

The legacy of Alberto Fujimori in Peru has been previously treated by scholars as moribund at the regime's end in 2000. However, this thesis reassesses the recent past to shed light on the persistence of the Fujimori legacy in the twenty-first century. Peru's twentieth century political history culminated in 1990 with a breakdown of the traditional political system concurrent with grave economic and social crises. These developments allowed for political outsider, neopopulist and authoritarian Alberto Fujimori to become president in 1990. The Fujimori administration saw the development of a persistent legacy that powerfully captured and shaped meanings of an internal war and the restoration of macroeconomic stability, despite the period's widespread corruption. This thesis argues that Fujimori's daughter Keiko's near presidential win in 2011 emphasizes the persistence of this powerful legacy. Applying a contemporary historical methodology, this thesis examines the Fujimori legacy via the intersection of public opinion and intellectual interpretation.

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List of Abbreviations

AF	Alianza por el Futuro—Alliance for the Future
AP	Acción Popular—Popular Action
APEMIPE	Asociación de Pequeños y Medianos Industriales del Perú—Association of Small and Medium Sized Industrialists of Peru
APRA	Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana—American Popular Revolutionary Alliance
ASI	Acuerdo Socialista de Izquierda—Socialist Accord of the Left
ASN	Alianza solidaridad Nacional—National Solidarity Alliance
C-90	Cambio '90—Change '90
CCP	Confederación Campesina del Perú—Peruvian Peasant Confederation
CGTP	Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú—General Confederation of Peruvian Workers
GP	Gana Perú—Win Peru
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (U.S.)
CNA	Confederación Nacional Agraria—National Agrarian Confederation
CONFIEP	Confederación Nacional de Instituciones Empresariales Privadas—Peruvian Confederation of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs
FNTC	Frente Nacional de Trabajadores y Campesinos—National Front of Workers and Peasants
FOCEP	Frente Obrero Campesino Estudiantil y Popular—Worker, Peasant, Student, and Popular Front
FREDEMO	Frente Democrático—Democratic Front
FREPAP	Frente Popular Agrícola del Perú—Agricultural People's Front of Peru
IMF	International Monetary Fund

IPC	International Petroleum Company
IS	Izquierda Socialista—Socialist Left
IU	Izquierda Unida—United Left
NM	Nueva Mayoría—New Majority
MRTA	Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru—Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement
OAS	Organization of American States
PCP	Partido Comunista Peruano—Peruvian Communist Party
PCR	Partido Comunista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Communist Party
PNP	Unión por el Perú—Union for Peru
PP	Perú Posible—Peru Possible
PPC	Partido Popular Cristiano—Christian People’s Party
PSR	Partido Socialista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Socialist Party
PUM	Partido Unificado Mariatiguista—Mariatiguist Unified Party
SIN	Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional—National Intelligence Agency
SODE	Solidaridad y Democracia—Solidarity and Democracy Party
UCI	Unión Cívica Independiente—Independent Civic Union
UD	Partido de la Unidad Democrática—Democratic Unity Party
UDP	Unidad Democrática Popular—Popular Democratic Unity
UN	Unidad Nacional—National Unity
UNIR	Unidad de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Left Union
UNO	Unión Nacional Odrista—Odríst National Union
UPP	Unión Para Perú—Union for Peru

Introduction:

Topic, Methodology, Literature Review and Organization

Across Latin America, the early twentieth century saw the rise of popular demands for wider political inclusion, the loosening of the traditional oligarchy and land reform. These demands manifested themselves in different ways throughout the region. In Peru, the early twentieth century saw the formation of political parties and popular movements that aimed to address these demands through varied means. The unique political and social trajectory of Peruvian history in the twentieth century led to the domination of the political scene by outsiders in the last decade of the century. As a result of this shift in Peruvian politics, political outsider¹, authoritarian and neopopulist², Alberto Fujimori, was able to capture the presidency in 1990, remaining in office until 2000. Fujimori fashioned a powerful legacy that persisted beyond his removal from office and subsequent imprisonment on charges of corruption and human rights violations in 2000. This legacy was effectively capitalized on by his daughter Keiko during her 2011 presidential bid. This thesis attempts to uncover aspects of Fujimori's political legacy that have previously been perceived as moribund with the regime's end in 2000, drawing a new discussion of this legacy into the twenty-first century.

¹ The term "political outsider" denotes any political actor who does not possess previous ties to the political establishment and, thus, does not rely upon party identity to form the basis of an electoral platform.

² The term "neopopulist" will be applied according to Kurt Weyland's succinct definition of the style of leadership as, "...a majoritarian conception of political rule: 'the will of the people'—as interpreted by a predominant chief executive—reigns supreme, largely unrestrained by parliament and the courts. Checks and balances are weak and horizontal accountability is low, but the vertical relationship between a personalistic leader and 'the masses' sustains neopopulism." Taken from: Kurt Weyland, "The Rise and Decline of Fujimori's Neopopulist Leadership," in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio F. Carrión (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 13.

History of the Topic

A great deal has been written by historians, anthropologists, sociologists, economists and political scientists on what has been referred to as the “Fujimori phenomenon.” These works have focused on the social and economic crisis that plagued Peru in the 1980s and 1990s, the concurrent breakdown of the political system, the rise of Fujimori from obscurity to the presidency, his subsequent years in office and his regime’s breakdown in 2000. Such works have proven most useful for this project. Up to this point, scholars have treated the rise and legacy of Fujimori as a contained phenomenon, implying Fujimori’s ability to command the electorate has been subverted following his removal from office and his subsequent arrest and imprisonment on charges of corruption and human rights violations. Few scholars have included Peru’s recent past, from 2000 to the present, in their historical analysis of Fujimori and his legacy in Peru. The continued absence of traditional parties in twenty-first century Peruvian politics as well as the continuation of support for the Fujimori name as seen in widespread support for his daughter’s 2011 presidential candidacy provides the reasoning to reassess this topic.

Methodology

Contemporary history is an important component of historical understanding. As numerous scholars have argued, it is important to study recent historical developments in an effort to place these developments in a wider historical context. This methodology has been suggested by scholars of contemporary history such as Peter Catterall, who notes that the focus of contemporary history should be placed on “[wider] trends rather than apparent outcomes.”³ Taking into account the temporal closeness of contemporary history can prevent the historian from making any grand statements related to the end result of a particular historical process, a problem that more often arises in history of the

³ Peter Catterall, “What (If Anything) is Distinctive about Contemporary History?” *Journal of Contemporary History* 32, no. 1 (1997): 451-452. <http://jch.sagepub.com/content/32/4/441.citation> (accessed February 25, 2013).

distant past as the very nature of contemporary history denotes an ongoing process.⁴ Contemporary history is by its nature political, thus it is important to ground our understandings of the recent past in sound historical methodology in order to provide a more stable understanding of current situations than non-historical sources, often solicited by politicians or the public at large in order to advance certain goals, can provide.⁵ Daniel Little argues that laying a solid historical foundation for future scholars is a necessary pursuit; the work may be subject to different interpretation by later scholars, but this does not negate its intrinsic value.⁶

The “Tenets of Historicism” first put forward by Leopold von Ranke in the nineteenth century, now over a century old and vigorously expanded, outline some important cautions for the contemporary historian. The most widely cited concerns for the practice of contemporary history can be traced back to Ranke’s assertions. One such caution is that historians should avoid history that is concerned with present-day realities, that is historians should not study the past in order to understand contemporary issues but instead should look beyond contemporary conceptions of reality to attempt to re-create the past.⁷ Ranke’s concern with historical undertakings attempting to explain the present is valid. Taking this caution into account, this project aims to reassess the past based on recent developments in the historical process. Michel Foucault has convincingly argued that there is no possible way to distance

⁴ Timothy Garton Ash, *History of the Present: Essays, Sketches, and Dispatches from Europe in the 1990s* (New York: Random House, 1999), xvi-xvii.

⁵ Jan Palmowski, “Speaking Truth to Power: Contemporary History in the Twenty-First Century,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 46, no. 3 (2011): 499. <http://jch.sagepub.com/content/46/3/485.citation> (accessed February 25, 2013).

⁶ Daniel Little, “History of the Present,” *Understanding Society: Innovative Thinking about Social Agency and Structure in the Global World*, <http://understandingsociety.blogspot.ca/2009/08/history-of-present.html> (accessed February 10, 2013).

⁷ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2010), 7-8.

oneself or one's assessment of the past from the present and that an awareness of this relationship is necessary.⁸

The importance of contemporary history's engagement with other disciplines has been duly noted by contemporary historians who argue that this engagement is necessary to produce "a fuller account of contemporary history."⁹ This thesis engages with sources from outside the discipline of history while making every effort to ground the discussion in sound historical methodology and presentation. Furthermore, in viewing these recently produced scholarly works as primary documents of intellectual history and examining how and where they intersect with public opinion through poll data, this thesis provides a well-rounded and comprehensive analysis of some of the most important factors underlying the persistence of the Alberto Fujimori legacy in the twenty-first century.

Literature Review

This thesis relies primarily on literature produced by political and social scientists, as little historical work on this period in recent Peruvian history exists to date. Patricia Oliart's essay, "Alberto Fujimori: 'The Man Peru Needed?,'" published in 1998, provides a good starting point for the discussion of secondary sources related to this thesis. Oliart attempts to explain the force of Fujimori's influence in Peru within the context of Peruvian society from 1990 to 1995. Although her essay focuses on the "Fujimori phenomenon" through the lens of the president's sociocultural impact, it provides valuable insight into the forces that allowed him to remain in power, despite a marked shift to authoritarianism. Oliart's essay also analyses the forces underlying Fujimori's continued popularity up until 1995. Oliart argues that the persistence of high approval ratings for Fujimori during his presidency must be examined within the context of strategic relationships between the president and certain segments within the

⁸ Michael S. Roth, "Foucault's 'History of the Present'" *History and Theory* 20, no. 1 (1981), 35, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/stable/pdfplus/2504643.pdf?acceptTC=true> (accessed February 10, 2013).

⁹ Palmowski, 496.

population. Specifically, she argues, Fujimori's anti-traditionalist image was the determining factor in his appeal to the Peruvian masses, specifically to the poor.¹⁰

The 2006 collection of essays entitled *The Fujimori Legacy*, edited by Julio F. Carrión, provides a survey of scholarly works aiming to unpack the legacy of Peru's most controversial president. The book attempts to understand the context in which Fujimori rose from obscurity to the presidency, and the means by which his administration consolidated its power and why it suddenly collapsed in 2000.¹¹ Each essay in this collection assesses different aspects of Fujimori's rise to power, his administration and the regime's breakdown in 2000. Especially notable of these essays for the purposes of this thesis is Kurt Weyland's work entitled "The Rise and Decline of Fujimori's Neopopulist Leadership." This essay, although tightly focused on the political ramifications of neopopulism under Fujimori and the tendencies of this form of leadership, provides a useful analysis of Fujimori's rise, time in office and the forces that eventually undermined the administration. Weyland argues that the fall of Fujimori's regime was a product of the president's unwillingness to institutionalize his party and his own personalistic style of leadership.¹² Also of note in this collection is Maxwell A. Cameron's essay "Endogenous Regime Breakdown: The Vladivideo and the Fall of Peru's Fujimori." Cameron provides a valuable discussion of the internal workings of Fujimori's regime, highlighting internal forces that largely contributed to the regime's breakdown in 2000. Maxwell argues that the forces of corruption and clientelism that brought

¹⁰ Patricia Oliart, "Alberto Fujimori: 'The Man Peru Needed?'" in *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995*, ed. Steve J. Stern (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 411-424.

¹¹ Julio F. Carrión, "Conclusion: The Rise and Fall of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru," in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio F. Carrión (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 309.

¹² Kurt Weyland, "The Rise and Decline of Fujimori's Neopopulist Leadership" in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio F. Carrión (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 13-38.

the Fujimori regime down were the same forces that were intrinsic to the president's rise to power in 1990.¹³

Cynthia McClintock, a political scientist and scholar of international affairs, in her 2006 article "An Unlikely Comeback in Peru", provides an analysis of the events underlying Alan García Pérez's political comeback in the 2006 elections. This essay contains valuable insight into very recent political processes in post-2000 Peru, including the transition period between Fujimori's removal from office, his successor Alejandro Toledo's time in office, as well as García's somewhat shocking return to the presidency after his disastrous first term in office from 1985-1990 as well as McClintock's intellectual interpretation of these events. This analysis provides a view into the resurgence of political actors in Peru who were previously discredited but managed to return to domestic popularity, providing a valuable comparative approach that is utilized to better understand the persistence of the Fujimori legacy and the intellectual framework that scholars have constructed around such political resurgences in Peru. McClintock argues that García returned to the presidency in 2006 because he tailored his campaign platform to meet the majority of the electorate's concerns for democracy and social justice while at the same time continuing Peru on its neoliberal path to economic development.¹⁴

In a similar vein, Steven Levitsky's "A Surprising Left Turn," published in 2011, offers a contemporary analysis of the process underlying Ollanta Humala's successful presidential campaign and Keiko Fujimori's near win in 2011. Despite the article's emphasis on governmental processes the document offers an important historical framework that was most useful in this project's attempts at situating Peru's recent past in a historical context as well as understanding Levitsky's interpretation of

¹³ Maxwell A. Cameron, "Endogenous Regime Breakdown: The Valdivideo and the Fall of Peru's Fujimori," in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio F. Carrión (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 267-293.

¹⁴ Cynthia McClintock, "An Unlikely Comeback in Peru," *Journal of Democracy* 17, no. 4 (2006): 95-109, http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/journals/journal_of_democracy/v017/17.4mcclintock.pdf (accessed January 20, 2013).

important historical events related to Humala's win. Levitsky argues that left-leaning president Humala's 2011 presidential victory can be traced back to three important factors: the splitting of the moderate vote, persistent and widespread distrust of political institutions and finally Humala's efforts to moderate his image in the second round of voting that allowed him to capture middle class voters who saw Keiko Fujimori as the more dangerous of the two undesirable candidates.¹⁵

Sources

The majority of sources that examine Peru's post-2000 recent past are written by political scientists, sociologists, economic theorists and other social science scholars engaged in mapping political, social and economic trends with an eye to the future. This thesis argues that these sources can also be viewed as primary sources, demonstrating the intellectual framing of the Fujimori regime in dialogue with the political economy of Peru after 2000. While viewing these sources as primary documents, particularly works produced by respected Latin American scholars and intellectuals, this thesis grounds its discussion in historical processes and not in attempts to analyze or predict Peru's future. Such social science works have provided valuable insight into social, economic and political processes underlying this period of recent Peruvian history while a critical reading of them provides a better sense of the constructed nature of historical understandings of the Fujimori legacy. These sources are put into dialogue with opinion poll data, election results, journalism, Interviews and speeches in order to broaden the discussion of the social dimensions of historical memory of Fujimori and its uses. Finally, these scholarly primary documents provide the historical framework necessary to discuss the persistence of the Fujimori legacy in the twenty-first century. These sources were gathered with the help of Peruvian non-governmental organizations or online through governmental and non-governmental channels.

¹⁵ Steven Levitsky, "A Surprising Left Turn," *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 4 (2011): 84-94, http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/journals/journal_of_democracy/v022/22.4.levitsky.pdf (accessed February 10, 2013).

Organization of Thesis and Background

This thesis follows a chronological historical analysis beginning with some necessary background on Peruvian history and continuing to the end of the 2011 elections in Peru. A chronological narrative approach is employed in the lay out of this thesis in order to highlight a process of heightening crisis in Pre-Fujimori Peru that allowed him to rise to power in 1990. This narrative approach also best documents the construction of the Fujimori legacy during his decade in office and provides the momentum to explore how this legacy has continued and evolved in the years after his regime's collapse in 2000.

The first chapter covers the significant political history of the twentieth century up to the 1990 congressional and presidential elections. Examining the ways in which political parties were formed and how they attempted to address the masses' demands for increased political inclusion, it covers the breakdown of the oligarchy and the beginning of land reform as important elements of the historical context. These phenomena help explain the electorate's growing distrust of the political system. In addition, these political players mediated a growing social and economic crisis, which eventually led to the breakdown of the political system going into the 1990 elections. Early demands for substantial reform went unmet until 1968, when they were somewhat addressed under the military government that remained in power until 1980. The 1980 top-down return to civilian rule left a number of institutional weaknesses in its wake that will be examined. Furthermore, 1980 also signalled the beginning of an armed rural insurgency that aimed to topple the Peruvian state, throwing the country into social turmoil and precipitating a near complete breakdown of the institutional and political party systems aided by a simultaneous national economic crisis. The examination of Peruvian political forces up until 1990 provides the contextualization to understand the severity of the economic, social and

political crisis that reached its height in 1990 and led to a drastic disintegration of the traditional party system by 1990.

Chapter two looks specifically at the 1990 presidential election in order to examine the political, economic and social conditions that led to a unique presidential race between two political outsiders, Alberto Fujimori and Mario Vargas Llosa. This chapter focuses on Fujimori's and Llosa's campaigns and how each contender was able to employ the political system's breakdown to their own advantage with Fujimori ultimately coming out on top. Finally, this chapter provides a window into the creation of Fujimori's image as a "man of the people," a symbolism that would continue to be employed by the president during his ten years in office and that would also become an integral part of the Fujimori legacy that would persist after the regime's fall in 2000.

Chapter three attempts to analyse Fujimori's presidency in order to locate elements that have continued beyond the administration's rapid fall from grace in 2000 and that have come to form the backbone of Fujimori's persistent legacy in the 2000s. Although the regime sustained itself almost entirely on rampant corruption, coercion and clientelism, the Fujimori administration also saw the end of the internal war, a marked shift to a neoliberal economic mandate that brought about the restoration of macroeconomic stability, increased women's involvement in government, careful manipulation of public opinion and strategic social assistance initiatives. The factors that appear to underpin the persistence of Fujimori's legacy as seen in his daughter's near presidential win in 2011 despite her refusal and inability to effectively remove her campaign from this legacy are the focus of this chapter.

Chapter four seeks to put into a historical context the persistence of the Fujimori legacy as well as the continued presence of party-system and institutional weakness on the Peruvian political scene in the 2000s. By looking at the process of transition after Fujimori's removal from office in 2000 under the interim president Valentín Paniagua, Alejandro Toledo's presidential campaign and time in office (2001-

2006), Alan García Pérez's surprising return to the presidency (2006-2011) and the 2011 elections in which Ollanta Humala and Keiko Fujimori vied for the presidency under their respective electoral movements, it becomes clear that post-Fujimori Peru remains politically and institutionally weak in a traditional sense and also that the Fujimori legacy cannot be contained to his ten years in office.

Chapter One: Background and Crisis in the 1980s

In Peru, two parties emerged during the early part of the twentieth century that sought to address the majority's demands for wider political inclusion and put an end to oligarchic domination; the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA, or Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana), and the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP, or Partido Comunista Peruano).¹ APRA was established in 1924 under the leadership of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre as the first party that attempted to represent the majority of Peruvians and openly challenge the established order, which was at that time embodied in the military dictatorship that channelled the demands of a small group of ruling elite. The two major issues of contention that APRA leaders perceived in Peruvian politics were "...the exploitation of the indigenous population by the oligarchy [and] the need to develop a dynamic national economic capacity to free Peru from its extreme dependence on external trade and foreign capital."² *Apristas* wanted to achieve this set of revolutionary goals through democratic means. Although the party ultimately failed in its objectives, it evolved over time and maintained a large support base in the Peruvian electorate up until 1990.³ The PCP was formed in 1928 by José Carlos Mariátegui and commanded a small portion of the Peruvian electorate since its inception despite moments of complete suppression by the ruling powers.⁴ Although the PCP was not a strong force in Peruvian politics in its early years, it would come to be the inspiration and model for emerging left-wing political parties from the 1930s onward.⁵ From

¹ Steve J. Stern, "Introduction to Part I," In *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998): 13-14.

² Carol Graham, *Peru's APRA: Parties, Politics, and the Elusive Quest for Democracy* (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992): 24.

³ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁴ David Scott Palmer, *Peru: The Authoritarian Tradition* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980): 98.

⁵ James D. Rudolph, *Peru: The Evolution of a Crisis* (Westport CT: Praeger Publishers, 1992): 37-38.

these humble beginnings, the civilian and military governments that emerged over the twentieth century were unable to effectively address the majority's concerns or prevent economic, social and political crisis from gripping the country in 1990. The ineptitude of these governments to return order to Peru by the last decade of the century allowed for the rise of political outsiders by 1990 who appeared to offer novel solutions to century-old demands that had evolved over time but remained largely unaddressed.

The military and APRA would have many confrontations over the first half of the twentieth century. In 1948, in response to a failed coup led by APRA supporters in Callao, near Lima, the party was outlawed and a military junta took control of the country. The military government lasted for eight years under a thinly veiled guise of democratic rule. Due to economic growth, a result of a government-led focus on exportation, the military government enjoyed reasonable popularity. As this economic boom came to end in 1953 the military government, now led by General Odría, ceded a return to civilian government and elections were scheduled for 1956. APRA now joined into an alliance with Odría and together they supported the winning candidate Manuel Prado Ugarteche. In exchange the APRA was legalized and Odría was promised not to be investigated on suspicion of corruption in his administration. From 1956 onwards APRA further aligned itself with conservative forces and distanced itself from its revolutionary beginnings, causing an internal divide between the more radical components of the party and those willing to convene with the traditional conservative forces. When Fernando Belaúnde Terry and his party, Popular Action (AP, or Acción Popular), won the 1963 election, congress was controlled by a coalition of APRA and *Odristas* making it difficult for Belaúnde to proceed with his proposed reforms. This APRA-*Odrista* alliance fostered growing mistrust among a developing reformist wing in the military that "...grew increasingly skeptical of the possibility of social reform being achieved within the confines

of a stalemated constitutional political process.”⁶ Belaúnde enacted nominal land reforms and pushed modernization into Peru’s often ignored interior, requiring massive financing that came from foreign creditors resulting in a 400% increase in Peruvian foreign debt during his term in office and a 40% decrease in the national currency’s value. Small illegal land seizures made by poor rural Peruvians took place during these years exemplifying the electorate’s growing impatience for structural reform. Several of these movements became uprisings that were violently put down by the Armed Forces. These conflicts solidified a small group of reform-minded colonels’ resolve to intervene before the agitation became a widespread and resulted in a successful toppling of the government.⁷ Furthermore, it appeared that APRA was headed for a victory in the coming election. The military as a whole wasn’t prepared to cede the country to their long-standing rivals, a predicament that aided the reformist colonels’ cause for intervention.⁸

Reform under the Military Government, 1968-1980

Juan Velasco Alvarado, Commander in Chief of the Peruvian Armed Forces, led the reformist sector of the military, under the banner of the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces, to topple the Belaúnde government in a peaceful coup on October 3, 1968. The minimal reforms proposed in previous regimes, based in large part on the doctrines of the Alliance for Progress, had seen little action and the patience of the Peruvian electorate was growing thin.⁹ The reformist colonels had convinced General Alvarado to lead the new government in order to maintain unity within the military establishment. The coup was welcomed to an extent due to the perceived inability of Belaúnde’s government, and those constitutional governments before his, to impose meaningful structural

⁶ Ibid., 43-47.

⁷ Palmer, 99.

⁸ Rudolph, 48-51.

⁹ Palmer, 98.

adjustment, a perception that had fostered “...a certain level of frustration with constitutional processes and political parties.”¹⁰

The reformist colonels in the military government quickly gained control of the Presidential Advisory Commission and aggressively pursued a reformist mandate in the first phase of the military government until 1975.¹¹ The military government nullified the agreements that Belaúnde had made with the American-owned International Petroleum Company (IPC) ceding the subsoil mineral rights to the IPC and nationalized all the IPC’s mineral extraction plants. The Velasco government passed the Agrarian Reform Law of June 24, 1969 that began sweeping land-reforms while the traditional political elites found themselves unable to stop the process for the first time in the republic’s history.¹² The reforms provided some of Peru’s poorest sectors with cooperative lands and allowed them nominally increased control over their working conditions and relationships with their employers. Furthermore, the state took on an increasing role in the economy, on one hand to increase centralization and on the other to stimulate economic growth needed to go ahead with the planned reforms.¹³ The military government also nationalized important sectors of the economy previously under the control of foreign interests such as agriculture, banking, and telecommunications. Velasco’s nationalization campaign was countered with increased foreign investment into sectors such as manufacturing. The public sector reaped the benefits of the military government’s plan to move toward a ‘mixed economy’ in Peru.¹⁴ The Peruvian labour movement, under the banner of the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CGTP, or Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú), made headway for worker rights and labour laws

¹⁰ Palmer, 98.

¹¹ Mauceri, 17.

¹² Ibid., 17-18.

¹³ Palmer, 103-104.

¹⁴ Rudolph, 54-55.

during the reformist period of the military government. By 1980 the CGTP was a strong and influential force in Peruvian politics.¹⁵

The agrarian reforms were based on a cooperative model that saw the creation of a number of worker and peasant leagues including the Peruvian Peasant Confederation (CCP, or Confederación Campesina del Perú) and the National Agrarian Confederation (CNA, or Confederación Nacional Agraria). The state invested large amounts of capital into this move from traditional, oligarchical, land organizations to these more inclusive organizations. In doing so, foreign debt rose dramatically in these years despite a policy move away from foreign dependence. The need for foreign capital was further compounded by a drop in export prices in the 1970s. This drain on state capital also meant that industrial investment was on the decline during these years.¹⁶

By 1975, the economic drain of the agrarian reforms and rising political tensions led the military government to implement a number of severe economic restrictions that went some way to undo the gains made in previous years. The public opposition to the restrictions was so intense that Prime Minister General Morales Bermúdez, with full military support, usurped Valesco in hopes that new leadership would quell the unrest. After taking office in August of 1975, Bermúdez reversed community ownership policies relating to industry and agrarian cooperatives, stripped the CNA of legal recognition and promised a return to civilian government with elections scheduled for 1980. By mid-1978, Bermúdez began meeting with traditional party leaders in preparation for the election of a constitutional assembly that would draft a new constitution to guide the country's return to civilian rule. This move symbolized a realignment of the military with traditional political elites and was the first sign

¹⁵ Carmen Rosa Balbi, "Politics and Trade Unions in Peru," in *The Peruvian Labyrinth: Polity, Society and Economy*, eds. Maxwell A. Cameron and Philip Mauceri (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 134.

¹⁶ Christine Hunefeldt, "The Rural Landscape and the Changing Political Awareness: Enterprises, Agrarian Produces, and Peasant Communities, 1969-1994," in *The Peruvian Labyrinth: Polity, Society and Economy*, eds. Maxwell A. Cameron and Philip Mauceri (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 109-111.

of the military's new working relationship with APRA.¹⁷ Spurring on the transition, the labour movement staged a number of widespread strikes during this time. The conservative political forces were heavily involved in the writing of the new constitution and actively engaged in the transition to democracy to secure themselves a place in the civilian regime that would emerge. The political parties that identified themselves on the left¹⁸ of the political spectrum, on the other hand, saw a return to civilian rule as a return to the conservatively controlled political scene of the pre-1968 era and thus did not take part in the assembly elections. As a result the constitution and the civilian regime that would emerge, was dominated by an alliance between APRA and the Christian People's Party (PPC, or Partido Popular Cristiano) and, "...reflected a consensus forged by the military and conservative parties."¹⁹ Peru continued to fall into economic crisis during the final years of the military government. Finally in 1977 and 1978, Bermúdez realized the severity of the crisis and gave into the austerity measures that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other foreign creditors had been proposing for some years. By 1979, the full effects of the austerity measures were being felt across the country. The wide-reaching state budget restrictions, limits placed on imports, the removal of government price supports, and a dramatic devaluation of the national currency spurred wide-spread agitation. The military government had exhausted its political ambitions.²⁰

The military government under Velasco introduced some of the most far-reaching economic, foreign policy and agrarian reforms in Peruvian history.²¹ From the years between the military coup of 1968 and the return to civilian rule in 1980 some "...8.6 million hectares of land and 22 million head of

¹⁷ Graham, 7.

¹⁸ Note: The "left" as a general term is applied in this thesis to encompass left-wing political parties and electoral movements, excluding extreme political leftists that advocated for revolutionary change outside of electoral channels.

¹⁹ Philip Mauceri, "The Transition to 'Democracy' and the Failures of Institution Building," in *The Peruvian Labyrinth: Polity, Society and Economy*, eds. Maxwell A. Cameron and Philip Mauceri (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 19.

²⁰ Palmer, 125.

²¹ Rudolph, 54.

livestock...” had been redistributed to almost 400,000 peasants.²² These real numbers were evidence of the successes of the military government that in many respects would come to outweigh its many failures and leave in the minds of many, especially on the political left, a belief in the efficiency of a strong centralized and authoritarian government. The effectual military government that had implemented the farthest reaching reforms in the republic’s history and the legacy that it left in its wake would aid in gradually eroding confidence in the traditional party system in favor of authoritarian efficiency.²³

Return to Civilian Rule

The transition to civilian rule, led by the military and the conservatives, suffered from three main failures. The first was related to party structures that maintained the same personalistic, divided and authoritarian structure of the pre-1968 political scene. *Criollos*, white skinned elites from Lima, dominated party leadership and owing to “...a lack of institutionalized channels of renewal,” disagreements within parties led to the splintering of traditional parties. Second, the constitution retained the authoritarian structure of the military government leaving the congress severely dominated by the chief executive. Thirdly, the return to civilian rule, bound up in the 1979 constitution, left the civilian government without the means to assert control over the military.²⁴ The election system was also revamped in the 1979 constitution, creating the run-off system that exists today. This system dictates that if no presidential candidate wins a majority in the first round of voting, then the two leading candidates face off in a second, run-off, election. This new system would come to have some bearing on election results in the following years. Furthermore, the failings of the return to civilian rule

²² Hunefeldt, 110.

²³ Mauceri, 25.

²⁴ Ibid., 32-33.

would contribute to the successor governments' inability to effectively govern and prevent economic, social and political crisis in the following decade.²⁵

The Rural Insurgency

Along with the return to civilian rule, 1980 saw the beginning of an armed struggle led by a Maoist guerilla group, the Shining Path Guerillas (Sendero Luminoso), that would come to be the largest “peasant rebellion” of the twentieth-century in Peru. The Shining Path was centered in the south-Andean region of Ayacucho and concentrated at Ayacucho’s National University of San Cristóbal de Huamanga, where the group’s leader Abimael Guzmán Reynoso (known to his followers as Presidente Gonzalo) taught in the Philosophy department.²⁶ Ayacucho, like many Peruvian provinces, was dominated and subordinated by Lima and the *criollo*, white-skinned elite, class that governed the country. Over the course of the twentieth century a reaction to this relationship emerged and came to fruition in an intellectual movement known as *indigenismo*, aimed at undoing the injustices of indigenous subordination. As the century wore on, the relationship between Lima and the provinces changed somewhat, and more notably the rhetoric changed, moving the discussion from race to class. Still by the latter part of the century, racism and peasant, or *campesino*, subordination was still a hot topic among those living outside of Lima’s orbit and would go a long way in determining the Shining Path’s structure and limitations.²⁷

The ideology of the Shining Path had its foundations in Mariátegui’s 1920s critique entitled *Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality* (that Guzmán and his followers still felt applied to the Peru of

²⁵ Palmer, 124.

²⁶ Rudolph, 86-87.

²⁷ Marisol de la Cadena, “From Race to Class: Insurgent Intellectuals *de Provincia* in Peru 1910-1970,” in *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995*, ed. Steve J. Stern (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 22-59.

1970), Mao Tse-Tung and Mao Tse-Tung Thought, as well as *indigenismo*.²⁸ Once a thriving part of the Spanish colonial trade network from Cusco to Lima, Ayacucho had not experienced the same modernization or attention from the state in the twentieth century that other regions had, and some of its residents felt betrayed and forgotten by coastal elites. The land reforms under the military government had done little to benefit those living in the province and government expenditure in the region was a third of what similar provinces received.²⁹

The Shining Path had dominated the the University of San Cristóbal de Huamanga since the party was founded in 1973. Students trained at the school worked to widen support for the party all over the province, especially among young people, as they moved to find work after graduating.³⁰ On April 19th, 1980 Guzmán presented a speech, entitled *We Are the Initiators*, to the trainees of the Shining Path's military school calling for the beginning of an armed struggle aiming to "...put the noose around the neck of imperialism and the reactionaries, seizing and garroting them by the throat... [t]hey are strangled, necessarily."³¹ On May 18th, 1980 this threat was put into symbolic action. The Shining Path burned the ballot boxes in the town of Chushi, signalling to the world the beginning of the armed insurrection.³² Peru's attention was aimed at the return to civilian rule and the military was worn-out and fragmented. It was the perfect time for the next phase of the struggle for revolution. The symbolic gesture espoused the party's distaste and rejection of the return to civilian rule.³³

²⁸ R. F. Watters, *Poverty and Peasantry in Peru's Southern Andes, 1963-90* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994), 259.

²⁹ Rupolph, 86-87.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 87.

³¹ Abimael Guzmán, "We Are the Initiators," in *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, 2nd ed., eds. Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori and Robin Kirk (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 328.

³² Rudolph, 86.

³³ Maxwell A. Cameron, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in Peru: Political Coalitions and Social Change* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 25.

Fernando Belaúnde Terry and the Economic Crisis, 1980-1985

On the same day that the Shining Path lit fire to the ballet boxes in Chushi, Fernando Belaúnde Terry was elected president and his center-right party, Popular Action, gained a majority in congress. Despite the fact that Belaúnde's re-election represented a return to the pre-1968 political reality, it also demonstrated the electorate's growing propensity to look for personalistic leaders that could "save" Peru from the economic crisis that it faced. In spite of this, it was clear that the failures of the transition to civilian rule would come to haunt Belaúnde's term in office. Belaúnde continued with the neoliberal mandate that Bermúdez had set in motion with a populist twist.³⁴ He promoted primary exports, invested in large infrastructure works, encouraged privatization, expanded economic restriction by the state, overvalued the currency exchange rate and renegotiated and extended foreign and public borrowing.³⁵ Belaúnde did little to support or bolster the popular sectors. When the recession of 1983-1985 swept through Peru, labour took the hardest hit. The Peruvian economy remained dependent on foreign creditors, especially the IMF, and was exposed to global economic downturns owing to a heavy reliance on primary exports.³⁶ Overall, the Belaúnde administration did little to remedy a growing economic and social crisis, a failing that would aid a growing sense of mistrust for the traditional political system among the Peruvian electorate.

During Belaúnde's years in office, the Shining Path insurgency became a focal point of tension and fear. Early in his term, Belaúnde dispatched the police to deal with the growing threat in the region, fearing that too much military involvement could lead to another coup. Then in 1981 he enacted an antiterrorism law that saw much protest by the political left owing to the law's broad categorization of "terrorism." Late in 1981, following an attack on a police post in the Ayacucho province of La Mar, five

³⁴ Mauceri, 30.

³⁵ Carol Wise, "State Policy and Social Conflict in Peru," in *The Peruvian Labyrinth: Polity, Society and Economy*, eds. Maxwell A. Cameron and Philip Mauceri (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 75.

³⁶ Mauceri, 30.

Ayacucho provinces were placed under a state of emergency. The Shining Path did not wane. Their activities became more violent, widespread and unique. These activities included the forced closure of markets, the beginning of a murder campaign aimed mostly at bureaucrats, landowners and business owners, and attacks on electric stations that caused massive power outages in Lima and other municipalities. Perhaps most alarming to the Peruvian audience was the escape of 247 *senderistas*, Shining Path soldiers, from Ayacucho's jail in 1982 and the gathering of between 10,000 and 30,000 *senderistas* at a fallen soldier's funeral. Suddenly it became clear that the Shining Path was a force that commanded substantial support.³⁷ As the Shining Path continued to wage its murder campaigns, the number of provinces in the Ayacucho region under a state of emergency grew to nine, by 1983, when Belaúnde finally enlisted the armed forces, and to twelve by 1984. The conflict only escalated after the military became involved. The Armed Forces faced criticism related to the rising number of civilian casualties in the conflict. Further, in 1984, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA, or Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru) began its own armed struggle, including bombing and murder campaigns in Lima. This movement was led by a former member of APRA, Víctor Polay Campos and other radicals who had broken away from the reformist parties following what they saw as the failed transition to civilian rule. The MRTA, unlike the Shining Path, preferred outright and symbolic terrorist acts and rarely shied away from media attention.³⁸

By 1985 the death toll had reached over 7,000, and the majority of the victims of the internal war were peasants living in the highland regions, such as Ayacucho. The conflict profoundly altered public opinion, leaving the AP's hopes for a third term dashed and the idealistic promises of democracy completely depleted owing to numerous accusations of human rights abuses and an inability to quell the violence. As Belaúnde prepared to leave office in 1985 "...there was a widespread sense among the

³⁷ Gustavo Gorriti, *The Shining Path: A History of the Millenarian War in Peru* trans. Robin Kirk (Chapel Hill NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 214-215.

³⁸ Rudolph, 87-90.

electorate that the president had abdicated his authority over the deteriorating situations with respect to both Sendero Luminoso and the economic crisis and, as a result, the nation was hopelessly adrift.”³⁹

The deepening economic crisis had important consequences for a shifting electoral demographic in the 1980s.⁴⁰ In response to a lack of employment opportunity, inadequate state support and continued migration from the highlands into Peru’s urban centers, the informal sector had grown dramatically from the 1950s onwards, taking leaps and bounds in the 1980s due to the severity of the economic conditions.⁴¹ By mid-1980, after the crisis had pushed industry to drastically down-size, half of Lima’s working population was self-employed operating small unregistered businesses. This new group of voters would come to have an important impact on the changing political climate of Peru that would persist into the last decade of the twentieth-century as the informal sector continued to grow.⁴²

The United Left

The left-leaning parties that emerged out of the PCP over the course of the twentieth century gained considerable ground following a disappointing performance in the 1980 presidential elections. Recognizing the need for unification, the electoral front the United Left (IU, or Izquierda Unida) was formed in 1983. The IU brought together numerous coalitions of Marxist parties including the Popular Democratic Unity (UDP, or Unidad Democrática Popular), the Revolutionary Left Union (UNIR, or Union de Izquierda Revolucionaria), the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR, or Partido Socialista Revolucionario), the Revolutionary Communist Party (PCR, or Partido Comunista Revolucionario), the Worker Peasant Student and Popular Front (FOCEP, or Frente Obrero Campesino Estudiantil y Popular) as well as the original PCP. In 1983, the IU Mayoral candidate for Lima, Alfonso Barrantes Lingán, secured the victory. IU had proven itself to be a serious contender on the political scene. After a

³⁹ Ibid., 91-92.

⁴⁰ Wise, 72.

⁴¹ Watters, 295.

⁴² Cameron, 43.

reasonably successful term as mayor, Barrantes ran in the presidential election of 1985, presenting himself as a moderate leftist. However due to the persistence of radical factions within the IU, neither the military nor the middle-class ever came to support his bid and he lost to Alan García Pérez, the APRA candidate, in April of 1985.⁴³

Alan García Perez, Political, Economic and Social Crisis, 1985-1990

García had managed to align APRA with the center-left, a move that proved the ultimate antidote for what the electorate perceived as the previous regime's move from center-right to the right in reaction to the deepening economic crisis. Furthermore, García managed to consolidate his support through an integration of the informal sector into APRA's fold, creating a new brand of Peruvian populism that was not based on the expansion of industry but rather in the embrace of the informal sector and the maintenance of traditional APRA support: workers, peasants and the middle-class.⁴⁴ The APRA had remade its image and García's campaign slogan, "my promise is to all Peruvians," reflected a move away from the conservative image that had proven so damaging to the party in previous years. As had been the case in Belaúnde's victory, "...García was seen as the only salvation at a time of extraordinary national distress."⁴⁵ It appeared as though García's policy would finally signal a break from the authoritarian "transition-era" policies that seemed utterly hopeless in the crisis-stricken Peru of 1985. However, the same failures of the transition to civilian rule that had plagued the AP leadership would yet again surface under García.⁴⁶

García's economic policy reflected a new developmental model, neostructuralism, that included greater state involvement in the economy including the implementation of price and wage controls, an economic recovery plan that was based in supporting domestic consumption as well as far-reaching

⁴³ Rudolph, 92-95.

⁴⁴ Cameron, 42-43.

⁴⁵ Rudolph, 95-97.

⁴⁶ Mauceri, 30.

trade protections. The currency exchange rate was superficially high, state-spending skyrocketed and Garcia proposed debt payments be dramatically reduced to only ten percent of Peru's export profits.⁴⁷ The IMF and U.S. creditors were the most perturbed by this action and cut military funding and halted private U.S. bank loans. Meanwhile, the Garcia administration sought to broaden its relationships with other foreign creditors, thereby suspending payments while increasing the debt load.⁴⁸ In 1986 the World Bank declared Peru unfit to receive more loans and by 1989 the Inter-American Development Bank came to the same conclusion. Initially, the economy seemed to be growing. The GDP was up dramatically in 1986 and 1987. Employment rates went up and inflation fell from 200 percent to 63 percent in 1986 than rose again the following year to 115 percent. It became clear as exchange imbalances and price fluctuations became more severe that the government's strategy for controlling inflation and bolstering consumer demand was not working. Hyperinflation was inevitable.⁴⁹

As the economic situation worsened, insurgency violence increased and the Garcia administration began to lose the widespread support that had secured his electoral victory in 1985. When Garcia took office he promised to improve living conditions in the southern provinces to curb support for the insurgents as well as to reign in the armed forces after scandals emerged concerning human-rights violations. Although reports of violations did decrease under Garcia, many of his earlier measures were purely symbolic. In Garcia's first year in office, a prison uprising led by Shining Path prisoners ended in a brutal massacre of at least 249 *senderistas*. Garcia lost the support of the political left and progressive elements that had helped him win in 1985 because his counter-insurgency actions

⁴⁷ Wise, 75.

⁴⁸ Rudolph, 103.

⁴⁹ Rudolph, 110.

appeared to be nothing more than a ceding of authority to the Armed Forces. The Armed Forces were also alienated from Garcia by his attempts to rein them in as an effort to curb human rights violations.⁵⁰

Coca cultivation, which had always existed at some level in Peru, was on the rise after 1985. The Shining Path became involved in the trade and corruption ran rampant throughout the Peruvian judicial system. The Peruvian government and the U.S. led Operation Condor worked together to coopt the coca growers and traffickers, only heightening the state of fear and violence in the highlands of the southern provinces. Coca eradication campaigns led by the Garcia government further stretched institutional limits that were already over extended. The violence surrounding the coca trade and coca eradication campaigns thus added to a general mistrust in the political system as corruption infiltrated all levels of government and eradication measures in the southern highlands became embroiled in the internal war.⁵¹

On July 28, 1987 Garcia announced his plan to nationalize sixteen banks and seventeen insurance companies, shocking the country. The nationalization was not only an effort to “democratize credit” and encourage domestic investment but also to regain the support of the left and progressive sectors that he had lost. Both efforts failed and not only did the political community turn away from APRA and toward the more conservative forces in government, he completely alienated the conservatives as well. The Peruvian economy hit a wall and faced the worst crisis it had seen in the twentieth-century.⁵² The GDP fell 8.8 percent in 1988 and 14 percent in 1989. Real wages dropped. Inefficient and corrupt state enterprises compounded fiscal deficits. Furthermore, hyperinflation ran out of control rising to 1,722 percent in 1988 and 2,788 percent in 1989. By 1989 Peru owed \$25 billion dollars to foreign creditors. The Garcia administration grossly mishandled the economy and the

⁵⁰ John Crabtree, *Peru Under Garcia An Opportunity Lost* (Pittsburgh PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992), 109-111.

⁵¹ Rudolph 166-125.

⁵² Crabtree, 121.

mounting economic crisis, only bringing the country further into depression in a way that came to be known as *desgobierno*, or simply, disorder.⁵³

Allegations of corruption and massive clientelism only further alienated Garcia and the APRA from the electorate. By the end of the APRA's only term in office in 1990, "...Peru had entered its most polarized political situation in half a century."⁵⁴ The military's reformist government under Velasco and the legacy it had created, the built-in failures of the transition to civilian rule, the deepening economic crisis, the heightened violence and two terms of ineffectual civilian leadership left Peru deeply disturbed and politically adrift. The economic depression that began in 1976 and lasted until 1992 gradually eroded confidence in center and leftist economic models, leading to a gradual realignment of many ideologically centrist voters or center-left voters with the right as well as ideologically ambiguous political outsiders. The drastic economic crisis would also precipitate the degradation of Peruvian institutional frameworks from the judicial system to the electoral system as well as contribute to the deterioration of already limited state infrastructure.⁵⁵

The unique political experience of the twentieth century in Peru left a lasting impression on the Peruvian psyche and subsequently on voting behaviors. The early demands for wider political inclusion and land reform went unmet until the late 1960s, when they were enacted under a reformist military government. This government led a top-down return to civilian rule in 1980 that left in its wake several institutional weaknesses. The two civilian governments that emerged in the 1980s were unable to effectively address these weaknesses. A growing rural insurgency coupled with a deepening economic crisis further compounded institutional failings that resulted in a wide-spread and profound distrust in the political system leading up to the 1990 presidential elections.

⁵³ Rudolph, 131-136.

⁵⁴ Mauceri, 31.

⁵⁵ Francisco Durand, "The Growth and Limitations of the Peruvian Right," in *The Peruvian Labyrinth: Polity, Society and Economy*, eds. Maxwell A. Cameron and Philip Mauceri (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 163.

Chapter Two: The 1990 Elections

By 1990, Peru was facing its most serious economic, political and violent crisis in over a century. Scholars have gone as far as to argue that by this time Peru had become, "...a political economy of violence."¹ This crisis led to a deep mistrust of the traditional party system in Peru by the 1990 congressional and presidential elections. The forces of hyperinflation and the endemic violence propagated by the Shining Path, the Peruvian Armed Forces, and to a lesser extent the Tupac Amará Revolutionary Movement, culminated in a loss of faith in the political elites' ability to govern that was felt by virtually all social and economic classes across the country.² At the same time, "the explosion of social demands—a consequence of rapid population growth and of the increasing unwillingness to tolerate social injustice—overran the capacity of government organizations, legislative institutions, the legal framework, the judiciary system, political parties, private enterprises, trade unions and many other entities...."³ The economic and violent crisis that had been building over the decade of the 1980s culminated in a moment of profound political disturbance and a general fear that Peru was on the verge of complete social and political breakdown by 1990. The economic, social and political crisis that had been building over the 1980s culminated in 1990 allowing for the rise of outsiders on the Peruvian political scene that seemed to offer a novel approach to governing and represented a break with the traditional political elite.⁴

¹ Carol Wise, "State Policy and Social Conflict in Peru," in *The Peruvian Labyrinth: Polity, Society, Economy*, eds. Maxwell A. Cameron and Philip Mauceri (University Park PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 71.

² John Crabtree, "Neo-Populism and the Fujimori Phenomenon," in *Fujimori's Peru: The Political Economy*, eds. John Crabtree and Jim Thomas (London: Institute of Latin American Studies University of London, 1998), 15.

³ Francisco Sagasti and Max Hernández, "The Crisis of Governance," in *Peru in Crisis: Dictatorship or Democracy?*, eds. Joseph S. Tulchin and Gary Bland (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*

The destabilization of the traditional political system would have lasting consequences for all the actors involved in the 1990 election. The Popular Alliance and American Popular Revolutionary Alliance parties, which had long maintained the center of the ideological spectrum in Peruvian political history, had been almost completely discredited by the failed presidencies of Fernando Belaúnde Terry and Alan García Pérez. Owing to García's complete mismanagement of the crisis, the *disgobierno*, the APRA was especially isolated from the Peruvian electorate. Internal divisions within the traditionally centrist parties further propagated a burgeoning trend to look outside of the political system for viable congressional and presidential candidates. As one scholar put it, "competition for centrist votes would have stabilized the party system, but internal factions within parties discouraged centripetal competition."⁵ Thus, the center was "dangerously vacant" going into the 1990 election, leaving room for the rise of relative outsiders on the political scene.⁶

The Municipal Elections and the Rise of Political Outsiders

The 1989 municipal election in Lima serves as an example that underscores the political crisis and the rise of political outsiders who sought to occupy the vacancy of the center on the political spectrum. Ricardo Belmont Cassinelli, a television talk show host and independent candidate, won the 1989 mayoral election securing forty-four percent of the votes, fifteen points ahead of the right-wing coalition and over thirty points more than either the left-wing parties or the APRA. Belmont fashioned himself as a centrist and a political outsider, creating a cross-class following that focused on apolitical issues such as public works for the city. Belmont's election signalled the beginning of a voting trend that would lean increasingly toward centrist, ideologically ambiguous candidates, reminiscent of earlier populist tendencies but more tied to the informal sector than the traditional industrialist focus. Both the

⁵ Maxwell A. Cameron, "Political and Economic Origins of Regime Change in Peru: The Eighteenth Brumaire of Alberto Fujimori," in *The Peruvian Labyrinth: Polity, Society, Economy*, eds. Maxwell A. Cameron and Philip Mauceri (University Park PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 45.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 41.

left and the APRA took the hardest hit from the rise of independents and, in the case of the electoral left, this forced the coalition of the United Left to attempt to reorganize and regroup heading into the 1990 presidential election.⁷

Division of the United Left

The IU remained relatively distant from the political power locus in the 1980s and thus was not as severely discredited as the APRA or the AP going into the 1990 elections. However, the coalition was unable to collectively present a viable presidential candidate in the 1990 election thus leaving the political arena somewhat vacant allowing for the rise of political outsiders who capitalized on traditional party fragmentation. The IU had been experiencing internal division for much of the latter half of the 1980s. Alfonso Barrantes, leading the IU, had become Lima's mayor in 1983 and seemed to be the man who could secure the volatile coalition and lead the IU to power in the 1990 presidential election. However, beginning with Barrantes' failed bid at re-election in Lima in 1986, the coalition under his leadership began to fall apart. Barrantes' faced much criticism owing to his "personalistic and dictatorial" style of leadership and his perceived failure to confront García's mismanagement. This served to alienate the IU from its traditional support base, Peru's working-class and peasantry. By 1987, Barrantes withdrew from the leadership of the IU,⁸ leaving it divided "...by issues such as the role of the state, cooperation with non-leftist political parties, and the legitimacy of armed struggle in the transition to socialism."⁹ Division was heightened by two strongly opposing goals for the IU within the coalition. The radicals perceived the electoral focus as secondary to gathering mass support for the left as a revolutionary movement. The moderates rallied for reformation and saw the electoral system as the key

⁷ Cameron, "Political and Economic Origins of Regime Change in Peru," 46.

⁸ Maxwell A. Cameron, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in Peru: Political Coalitions and Social Change* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 77.

⁹ Barry S. Levitt, *Power in the Balance: President's, Parties and Legislatures in Peru and Beyond* (Notre Dame IA: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 106.

to the left's success.¹⁰ In the lead up to the 1989 municipal elections and the 1990 presidential elections, the various factions of the IU attempted to reconcile internal divisions and come to agreement on the IU platform. In January 1989, the IU split in two, unable to reconcile these opposing goals. The Socialist Accord of the Left (ASI, or Acuerdo Socialista de Izquierda) was made up of moderate factions within the IU, such as the Revolutionary Socialist Party, and moderate actors within the radical factions of the IU, such as the Mariateguist Unified Party (PUM, or Partido Unificado Mariateguista). This moderate coalition changed its name to the Socialist Left (IS, or Izquierda Socialista) for the 1990 elections and chose Barrantes as their presidential candidate. The remaining members of the IU maintained the name and surprisingly chose moderate leader Henry Pease García to lead the coalition of the more radical leftist factions. Pease attempted to reunite the left for the congressional and presidential elections, but Barrantes and the IS refused. Thus, not only was the left's electoral support effectively halved between the two coalitions but party members were demoralized and their enthusiasm sapped.¹¹ Furthermore, "...the division of the left reinforced the impression that a vote for one of the two leading [leftist] candidates was a lost vote."¹²

Going into the 1990 congressional and presidential elections, the two leftist coalitions that emerged shared a similar platform that further disorientated left-leaning voters. Both the IS and the IU focused on a shift to private market development and a step back from state-led protectionism. They differed in their implementation and party structures.¹³ In the months leading up to the elections opinion polls in Lima placed the IS, under Barrantes, as the runner up behind a right-wing coalition led by Mario Vargas Llosa.¹⁴

¹⁰ Cameron, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in Peru*, 78.

¹¹ Levitt, 106-107.

¹² Cameron, "Political and Economic Origins of Regime Change in Peru," 45.

¹³ Julio Gamero, "Estabilización: ¿Gradualismo o Shock?," *Quehacer* 63 (March-April, 1990): 14-15.

¹⁴ Rafeal Roncagliolo, "Elecciones en Lima: Cifras Testarudas?," *Quehacer* 62 (December 1989-January 1990): 20.

The Democratic Front

As the left's instability was causing a decline in electoral support, the conservatives experienced a surge of renewed popularity beginning in 1987. The "new right" was able to capitalize on the growing sense of fear and chaos felt by the middle- and upper-classes. The violence surrounding the internal war, as well as the previous administration's inability to effectively deal with the guerillas, helped garner support for the right whose hardline stance on insurgency seemed to offer a possible solution.¹⁵ Mario Vargas Llosa, a Peruvian born novelist, with the help of economist Hernando de Soto, formed the Liberty Movement (Movimiento Libertad), known simply as Liberty (Libertad) at a political rally in 1987 protesting the García administration's nationalization of the banks. Llosa, a political novice, was a widely read political commentator who had initially associated himself with the left but since the 1970s had become increasingly in line with Peru's conservative right. Liberty was first presented as a movement focused on civic involvement and not a political party. However, from early on it was clear that Llosa hoped to secure the 1990 presidential election under the movement's banner. Llosa and Liberty, supported by Hernando de Soto's economic analysis of Peru, pushed for a move toward liberalization and eventually staunch, free-market capitalism. Despite Llosa's personal political outsider status, by all accounts Liberty became increasingly associated with Peru's traditional political elite. As the 1990 election approached, Libertad recognized the need to expand its support base and in 1988 the movement formed a coalition with the AP and the conservative Christian People's Party under the banner of the Democratic Front (FREDEMO, or Frente Democrático). In 1989, two other relatively low profile parties joined FREDEMO's ranks, the Solidarity and Democracy Party (SODE, or Solidaridad y Democracia) and the Independent Civic Union (UCI, or Unión Cívica Independiente). FREDEMO did well in the municipal elections outside of Lima. It was clear that it had become a force with which to be

¹⁵ Francisco Durand, "The Growth and Limitations of the Peruvian Right," in *The Peruvian Labyrinth: Polity, Society, Economy*, eds. Maxwell A. Cameron and Philip Mauceri (University Park PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 166.

reckoned. Opinion polls for Llosa showed he was consistently above the IS' Barrantes and the APRA's presidential candidate, Luis Alva Castro leading up to the election; Llosa's victory seemed inevitable.¹⁶ However, Llosa's campaign was plagued by a separation between the party and the conservative political forces that rallied around it, and the majority of the electorate. The campaign platform, in many respects aimed to break ties with the old oligarchy and sought to gain support from who they advocated as the beneficiaries of neoliberal reform, the informal sector. The party itself was made up of individuals who represented Lima's *criollo* classes and had virtually no connections to even the *mestizo* (indigenous and Spanish hybrid) elements of Peruvian society or the informal sector. As one scholar noted, "the FREDEMO list read like a who's who of the Peruvian political establishment." Llosa focused on winning the election in the first round of voting while his opponents sought to push the election through to the second round in hopes of creating enough anti-Llosa sentiment to prevent his entrance into office.¹⁷ Despite FREDEMO's detachment from the Peruvian majority, their economic reforms, although frightening to many, received reasonable support on the basis that in order to reverse Peru's isolation from international creditors, the country would have to embrace a neo-liberal mandate, such as had been recommended by the IMF and the World Bank for years.¹⁸ Llosa's opponents capitalized on the fear that FREDEMO's platform invoked in voters. Compounding the electorate's apprehension, Llosa's campaign was the most expensive and media-based in Peru's political history, which further served to reinforce his image as an elitist candidate tied to big business and conservative forces. Scholars have pointed out many contradictions in his campaign which further alienated FREDEMO from Peru's indigenous, working-class majority. Llosa's white, *criollo* heritage made it difficult for him to gain the

¹⁶ James D. Rudolph, *Peru: The Evolution of a Crisis* (Westport CT: Praeger, 1992), 139-142.

¹⁷ Cameron, "Political and Economic Origins of Regime Change in Peru," 42-44.

¹⁸ Durand, 160.

support of Peru's majority of indigenous voters while his anti-party rhetoric was sharply contrasted by his coalition with two of Peru's oldest and largest established political parties, the AP and PPC.¹⁹

There was no shortage of political parties to choose from going into the 1989 municipal election or the 1990 presidential election but, as the case of Mayor Belmont illustrated, there was a widespread sense of mistrust for the traditional political parties to effectively quell the violence and restore economic order to the country. In fact, the break with Peru's traditional party system was so complete that, as was seen in Llosa's campaign, "...[party organizations] were seen by politicians and voters alike as electoral liabilities."²⁰ This situation allowed for independent political outsiders to garner the support of large sectors of the Peruvian electorate in relatively short periods of time. Such was the case for Alberto Fujimori and his party Change '90.

The Rise of Alberto Fujimori

Alberto Fujimori presented himself as a centrist, a moderate and political outsider managing to rise from virtual obscurity into second place behind FREDEMO in just a few weeks in what has become known as, "the Fujimori phenomenon." Fujimori was born into a family of Japanese immigrants. He was rector and an agricultural engineer at Lima's respected National Agrarian University.²¹ He also hosted the Chanel 7 television show, *Concertando*, which focused on issues surrounding agricultural production, such as policies and techniques, and was widely watched among rural Peruvians. He was relatively unknown among the traditional political elites which aided the image on which he rested his campaign, presenting himself as an anti-oligarchic, anti-party, "man of the people." However, Fujimori had previously attempted to establish ties with the APRA, under García, whom he had worked for in an

¹⁹ Levitt, 111.

²⁰ Kenneth M. Roberts, "Do Parties Matter? Lessons from the Fujimori Experience," in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio Carrión (University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006, 85.

²¹ Rudolph, 142.

attempt to become a senator.²² After being turned away by the APRA, Fujimori created his own political movement in 1988, Change '90, to support his bid for the 1990 congressional and presidential elections.²³ Even after the establishment of C-90 and registering his candidacy for presidency under the party, Fujimori attempted to form ties to the IS under Barrantes, but was again refused entry into the established political scene. He then turned his focus to C-90 and began campaigning for the 1990 elections. Change '90 relied on three bases of support: national networks made up of his connections from the Agrarian University and universities across Peru, the Peruvian Evangelical community and the Association of Small and Medium-Sized Industrialists of Peru (APEMIPE, or Asociación de Pequeños y Medianos Industriales del Perú) that held connections to the informal-sector. C-90 also received direct support from the Japanese Nisei community in Lima to which Fujimori's wife, Susana Higuchi de Fujimori, maintained strong ties. The electoral movement was tightly controlled by Fujimori himself despite its coalescence of these different groups. These groups were given the charge of picking legislative candidates to fill senate and deputy spots for the party. However, Fujimori maintained the right to veto any of the chosen candidates and insisted that the candidates be political novices without ties to established political parties.²⁴ Fujimori thus capitalized on his outsider status and presented an image that espoused his humble origins, minority status and disconnect from the political establishment that had been so discredited in the 1980s. He erroneously claimed that he financed his 1990 campaign by selling off the majority of his assets, when in reality he and his wife owned numerous properties in and around Lima of which only a few were sold to finance the campaign.²⁵ Fujimori and the C-90 did not initially present a campaign platform instead he relied on apolitical slogans to garner support from the working-class and the informal sector, recognizing the importance of the informal sector's support, a

²² Levitt, 113.

²³ Rudolph, 142.

²⁴ Levitt, 112.

²⁵ Maxwell A. Cameron. "Endogenous Regime Breakdown: The Valdivideo and Fall of Peru's Fujimori," in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio F. Carrión (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 272-273.

fact that Hernando de Soto, who would later become one of Fujimori's advisors, emphasized.²⁶ By the end of the 1980s, 60 percent of people living in Lima were employed in the informal sector partaking in unregulated economic activities such as, "...ubiquitous street vending, clandestine manufacturing, garbage processing and innumerable petty services."²⁷ The main campaign slogan, "honesty, technology and work," exemplifies this appeal to the masses and a move away from traditional political rhetoric.²⁸ Fujimori's campaign consisted almost entirely of inexpensive, mostly rural, tours where he drove a tractor to and from public appearances. The image of Fujimori atop a tractor became the campaign's powerful symbol and emphasized Change '90's carefully constructed "humble and grassroots" image.²⁹

The First Round

As the presidential campaign heated up in the months leading up to the first round of voting scheduled for April 8th, 1990 Fujimori and the C-90 went from virtual unknowns to winning second place in the first round and wrestling away Llosa's dream of securing a majority. Llosa came in first after the first round of voting with 32.6 percent of the national vote and Fujimori second with 29.2 percent of the vote. The APRA, under Castro, came in third with 22.5 percent of the vote. The IU, under Pease, came in fourth with 8.2 percent of the vote. The IS, under Alfonso Barrantes Lingán, came in fifth with only 4.8 percent of the vote. The remaining contenders including the National Front of Workers and Peasants (FNTC, or Frente Nacional de Trabajadores y Campesinos), the Agricultural People's Front of Peru (FREPA, or Frente Popular Agrícola del Perú), the Odríst National Union (UNO, or Unión Nacional Odrista) and the Democratic Unity Party (UD, or Partido de la Unidad Democrática) commanded only

²⁶ Cameron, "Political and Economic Origins of Regime Change in Peru," 46.

²⁷ Gregory D. Schmidt, "Fujimori's 1990 upset Victory in Peru: Electoral Rules, Contingencies and Adaptive Strategies," *Comparative Politics* 28, no. 3 (1996), 323. <http://www.jstor.org/> (accessed September 15, 2012).

²⁸ Cameron, "Political and Economic Origins of Regime Change in Peru," 46.

²⁹ Levitt, 112.

2.8 percent of the national vote collectively.³⁰ In a matter of three weeks, Fujimori had gone from receiving only 4.8 percent of national voter preference to placing second behind Llosa who had been the leader in opinion polls up until that point.³¹

The Second Round

Going into the second round of the presidential election scheduled for June 10th, 1990, only FREDEMO and C-90 stood as contenders, severely polarizing the electorate. FREDEMO had few votes to gain owing to its right-wing alignment in the first round, whereas C-90 seemed destined to receive the advantage this polarization created by receiving all of the anti-right votes that had previously been lost to the IU, IS and other smaller political parties. Regardless of the outcome of the second round, neither candidate would enter office with a majority in congress owing to the electoral system and the results of the first round of voting that dictated the congressional makeup.³² Sensing this undesirable post-election outcome as well as the unlikelihood of winning the votes needed to win the second round, Llosa proposed to Fujimori that FREDEMO and C-90 merge congressional forces, offering Fujimori the presidency under this new coalition. Fujimori refused this offer, recognizing that much of his electoral power lay in his anti-party identity, and chose to run under C-90 against Llosa and FREDEMO. Fujimori refocused the Change '90 campaign towards the left in an effort to secure the votes he needed.³³ In general Fujimori attacked Llosa for his neoliberal approach to economic policy and the brutal shock plan for stabilization laid out in the FREDEMO platform. Fujimori, on the other hand, did not present any kind of formal campaign platform until right before the second round and instead used anti-Llosa sentiment to bolster his campaign. He criticized Llosa's shock plan as too extreme and promised to deliver a more

³⁰ Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales, *Elecciones Generales 1990 Primera Vuelta*, <http://www.web.onpe.gob.pe/modElecciones/elecciones/RESUMEN/GENERALES/2.pdf> (accessed November 04, 2012).

³¹ Rudolph, 139-142.

³² Cameron, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in Peru*, 129.

³³ Cameron, "Political and Economic Origins of Regime Change in Peru," 47.

moderate approach to “save” the Peruvian economy. However, what proved most powerful in persuading electoral support for Fujimori was his outsider status.³⁴

FREDEMO, essentially boxed into a corner, attempted to discredit Fujimori on a number of levels, including alluding to his ethnicity in a derogatory sense, which only further solidified anti-rightist sentiment in an ethnically diverse electorate that identified with Fujimori’s plight as a minority. The Catholic Church also campaigned for FREDEMO, responding to perceived criticism of the church by members of the C-90 and their Protestant allies, which again solidified FREDEMO’s public image as deeply connected to the established order and the white elite. Furthering C-90’s campaign, the APRA and some members of the left began a campaign which directly attacked FREDEMO for its elitist image and neoliberal policy tied to the IMF that proved very persuasive in forging mistrust for Llosa, especially among Peru’s poorest sectors.³⁵ Although Fujimori had the support of large APRA and left-leaning newspapers such as *Pagina Libre*, *La Crónica* and *La República* as well as Panamericana Televisión he came under attack by the media that was in Llosa’s camp. Allegations of tax evasion, surreptitious land transfers, sexual harassment at the Agrarian University and even possible “...falsification of his birth records” began to surface and threatened to harm the campaign he seemed so likely to win.³⁶

In response to these damaging allegations, Fujimori enlisted the help of attorney Vladimiro Montesinos. Montesinos had been the subject of an exposé published in a well-read Peruvian magazine, *Caretas*, in 1983 that detailed his shady connections with Peru’s National Intelligence Service (SIN, or Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional) as well as his expulsion from the Peruvian Armed Forces for sharing military secrets with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Despite Montesinos’ reputation,

³⁴ Kurt Weyland, “The Rise and Decline of Fujimori’s Neopopulist Leadership,” in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio F. Carrión (University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 20.

³⁵ Rudolph, 143-144.

³⁶ Catherine M. Conaghan, *Fujimori’s Peru: Deception in the Public Sphere* (Pittsburgh PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 19.

Fujimori hired him to deal with the negative press he was receiving. He soon became C-90's most important campaign strategist. This was the beginning of a complex relationship between Fujimori and Montesinos.³⁷

Despite Fujimori's success in the second round campaign, Change '90 remained disorganized and institutionally weak. Fujimori's leadership prevented any attempts made by party members to form some kind of C-90 organizational leadership and Fujimori maintained a strong executive authority.³⁸

Alberto Fujimori's Presidential Victory

Fujimori won the second round of voting with 62.4 percent of the national votes and Llosa came in second with only 37.6 percent of the national vote.³⁹ The numbers testify that Fujimori and C-90 were able to effectively rally the traditional support of the APRA and the left-wing voters during the second round campaign. This success was especially pronounced in the countryside where the majority of Fujimori's support was based, as the margin of victory for Fujimori in Lima was much smaller at only 6 percent.⁴⁰ In congress, Fujimori faced serious difficulties as C-90 only held 14 of the 60 Senate positions and 49 of the 180 positions in the Chamber of Deputies.⁴¹ Owing to the nature of his rise to presidency and the C-90's lack of any institutional framework, Fujimori, "...owed nothing to the country's political institutions... [and] he was not constrained by campaign promises." He was free to proceed in whatever way he chose. Fujimori immediately began to consolidate his executive power, perfect his man of the

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Levitt, 113.

³⁹ Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales. *Elecciones Generales 1990 Segunda Vuelta*. <http://www.web.onpe.gob.pe/modElecciones/elecciones/RESUMEN/GENERALES/2.pdf> (accessed November 04, 2012).

⁴⁰ Cameron, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in Peru*, 140.

⁴¹ Ibid., 129.

people image and solidify his relationship with Montesinos who would become the man who held Fujimori's corrupt regime together.⁴²

Immediately following his victory in the second round, Fujimori began to undermine what little organization Change '90 had maintained pre-election. He effectively dismantled the C-90 in a matter of days, closing the office doors and removing any institutional remnants of the party such as the position of secretary general. In essence, "Fujimori's disdain for institutionalization carried over into his relationship with his own senators and deputies [when] those political novices tried to coordinate their legislative activities and policy analysis with one another and with more experienced groups; Fujimori reacted with great displeasure...." C-90 was beginning to get in Fujimori's way. He quickly took steps to prevent any kind of legislative restraint coming from his own party.⁴³

Following Montesinos' advice, Fujimori moved his family to the *Círculo Militar*, which was an exclusive military facility in Lima. This move initiated what would become an ever-increasing alignment with the Peruvian Armed Forces and provided the space necessary to begin dialogues with the military's most important officials. The move also cemented the relationship between Montesinos and Fujimori and gave the attorney the credibility he desired as Fujimori's most trusted advisor, or "El Doctor," as he became known.⁴⁴

The political, economic and social crisis that gripped Peru going into the 1990 congressional and presidential elections was so profound a force on the political scene that for the first time in Peruvian history two political outsiders, Fujimori and Llosa, battled for the presidency in a unique campaign. Alberto Fujimori under the C-90 banner was able to capitalize on the nature and severity of the crisis as well as a marked shift in voting behavior to successfully align himself with centrist voters as well as

⁴² Cameron, "Political and Economic Origins of Regime Change in Peru," 48.

⁴³ Levitt, 113-114.

⁴⁴ Conaghan, 25.

secure the support of the traditional APRA, IU and IS electorate during the second round of voting to win the presidency. Owing to the C-90's weak institutional framework, lack of ties with the political establishment, and a minority for the party in congress Fujimori was left unconstrained when he became the president elect in July 1990 and in desperate need of new allies in the political establishment.

Chapter Three:
Alberto Fujimori in Office

Alberto Fujimori became president elect on June 10, 1990. The neopopulist president remained in office for a decade, precipitating the rise of electoral authoritarianism in Peru. The regime was sustained by corruption that came to light in 2000, after Fujimori had questionably secured a third term in office, resulting in the administration's meteoric fall. Despite widespread recognition of corruption and human rights violations under the Fujimori government, his daughter Keiko Sofía Fujimori launched a bid for the presidency in 2011 running on her father's legacy that was only narrowly defeated by Ollanta Humala. It was owing in large part to Peru's unique political history, the economic and social crisis of the 1980's and the experience of the 1990 election that made Fujimori's presidency a reality and provided the framework under which electoral authoritarianism was able to flourish. Once in power, the president's clear successes in restoring economic stability and growth and ending the internal war provided the most enduring memories of the decade under Fujimori. However, it was his careful manipulation of public opinion, his close attention to the maintenance of his support base among Peru's poorest classes and his appeal to women that provided the more subtle and lasting legacy that made it possible for his daughter to run under his name a decade after his regime fell.

Economic Adjustment, "Fujishock"

Before taking office on July 28 1990, Fujimori travelled to the U.S. and Japan in an attempt to gain financial support to confront Peru's desperate economic crisis. He was guaranteed a bridge loan from the U.S. Treasury and the Japanese Export-Import Bank to offset IMF and World Bank payments on the condition that he would implement a stabilization program in line with the Washington Consensus.

Furthermore, the program would include large-scale structural reform and the continuation of foreign debt payments under the IMF's and the World Bank's guidance if Fujimori's administration was to receive the \$1.7 billion dollar loan.¹ In the final days before Fujimori assumed power, he and his closest advisors, including Vladimiro Montesinos, worked on the new austerity plan. Fujimori's move to the right on the political spectrum, seen in his embrace of neoliberal economic planning, precipitated a shift in what was left of the governing coalition that had been Change '90. Many of the members of C-90 who still supported Fujimori, despite his attempts at undermining party unity, were repulsed by his abandonment of C-90's vague campaign promises and his alignment with the military and the conservative business sector that rallied behind his economic adjustment plan that came to be known as "Fujishock."²

After Fujimori's inauguration in July, he announced his economic adjustment plan and enlisted his new found allies in congress. Many of these new congressional allies were drawn from the majority-holding conservative pools—lacking leadership after Mario Vargas Llosa's departure from Peru following his defeat in the 1990 presidential election—to pass through the new legislation. Fujimori defended his harsh austerity measures with the realities of the economic and political crisis, as well as the endemic violence of the internal war while at the same time politically intimidating his opponents in congress, namely the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance led by Alan García, to push through sweeping economic and social reforms. As part of these reforms, Fujimori officialised the military's supremacy over the national police force in the fight against the Shining Path and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, solidifying his administration's alliance with the Peruvian Armed Forces.³

¹ Luigi Manzetti, *Privatization South American Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 234-235.

² Stéphanie Rousseau, *Women's Citizenship in Peru: The Paradoxes of Neoliberalism in Latin America* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 49.

³ Manzetti, 236.

The economic adjustment plan went into effect in August producing severe shock waves throughout the country as the depth of the adjustment was realized. The plan included a multitude of reforms that lowered the inflation rate from 397 percent to 23.7 percent in less than six months while also leading to a marked increase in poverty levels, a deepening of the recession, and a further 19.4 percent decrease in real wages by 1991.⁴ The plan saw “draconian spending cuts aimed at reducing public-sector deficits, and the unification of the multitiered exchange rate. Virtually overnight, government-controlled prices and subsidies were lifted on everything from gasoline to utilities, from sugar and rice to medicines.”⁵ To offset the burden of Fujishock on Peru’s poorest segments of the population, many of whom had brought Fujimori to power in 1990, the administration set aside a poverty relief fund of \$400 million dollars and quadrupled minimum wage.⁶ In a further effort to preserve his grass-roots image, Fujimori’s administration openly encouraged and praised women’s organizations’ involvement in coordinating neighbourhood efforts aimed at ensuring daily survival.⁷ This move and the conscious preservation of Fujimori’s man of the people image was critical at this juncture as the Shining Path’s increasingly indiscriminate actions were severely alienating the insurgency group from the substantial urban poor and rural peasant support base it had earlier commanded. This sentiment is illustrated in a 1991 interview with grass-roots women’s activist, María Elena Moyano, in which she talks about her realization of the Shining Path’s desire to “...snuff out survival organizations so that levels of malnutrition and death rise.” Moyano was assassinated by the Shining Path just five months after this interview was published.⁸

⁴ Ibid., 235.

⁵ Carol Wise, “Against the Odds: The Paradoxes of Peru’s Economic Recovery in the 1990’s,” in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio F. Carrión (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 209.

⁶ Manzetti, 235.

⁷ Rousseau, 49.

⁸ María Elena Moyano, “There have Been Threats,” in *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, eds. Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori and Robin Kirk (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 388.

Public opinion of Fujimori's administration waned in the first year and a half of his presidency prompting the solidification of alliances with the conservatives in congress. As the initial shocks of the austerity measures gave way, Fujimori's presidential approval rating began to recover, reaching 60 percent in December of 1991. As popular support for Fujimori increased, he began to consolidate the executive power, eroding congressional alliances, using his high approval ratings as means to justify his actions.⁹ 1991 saw the widening of austerity measures and the embrace of large-scale privatization campaigns including the down-sizing of public enterprises and the promotion of private and foreign investment under Carlos Boloña, the head of the Ministry of Economics and Finance that restored a measure of stability to the economy.¹⁰ The gradual return of economic stability under Fujimori provided him the continued support of the middle- and upper-classes and provided the material support for his developing positive legacy.

Self-Coup, Anti-Terror Measures and a New Constitution

With hyperinflation quelled, Fujimori refocused his administration on combating the Shining Path and MRTA insurgents. He proposed a radical anti-terror plan to end the insurgency that was met with wide-spread public approval.¹¹ Despite Fujimori's public approval ratings for the plan, he still faced opposition within congress and from those outside of the political power locus that began to slow the passing of his executive orders.¹² Fujimori was able to employ the general mistrust for the political and bureaucratic systems to garner opposition to congressional delays of his orders. The APRA's lack of credibility only fostered support for Fujimori that he cleverly manipulated to his advantage when he

⁹ Julio F. Carrión, "Public Opinion, Market Reforms, and Democracy in Fujimori's Peru," in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio F. Carrión (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 128.

¹⁰ Manzetti, 237.

¹¹ Kurt Weyland, "The Rise and Decline of Fujimori's Neopopulist Leadership," in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio F. Carrión (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 21.

¹² Manzetti, 237.

staged a self-coup with the support of the Peruvian Armed Forces on April 5, 1992. Despite the coup's authoritarian overtones, the move received impressive domestic public support, with approval ratings for the president and the coup at 82 percent in the months following.¹³

Fujimori justified the non-violent self-coup and the suspension of the constitution and closing of congress in simple terms, stating "...I faced a predicament: either Peru continued walking, quickly heading to the abyss of anarchy and chaos, pushed by terrorism and before the passiveness of the state organization, or I took the risk of providing the state with necessary instruments for putting an end to that."¹⁴ The self-coup cemented the relationship between Fujimori and his executive branch and the Armed Forces that remained one of the only intact institutions that operated on a national level. The peculiar legacy of the military on the political scene made this alliance not only a viable one but also a reasonably respected one.¹⁵ Despite the authoritarian shift precipitated in the self-coup, the majority of Peruvians still felt that Fujimori's unmitigated and strong anti-terrorist stance was worth the loss of democratic rights and thus his approval ratings immediately following the coup remained strong. International observers, although constrained by the reality of the internal war, immediately put pressure on Fujimori's government to return to democratic rule. The immediate revocation of U.S. and European aid signalled the importance of restoring democratic rule for the economic stability that had cost Peru so much since the implementation of Fujishock. Recognizing this, Boloña threatened to resign if Fujimori did not concede to a slow return to democracy.¹⁶ The undermining of the political system that had occurred in the 1980s was compounded during Fujimori's first years in office so that by April 1992 traditional party systems and other public sector or labour union groups that would traditionally lead opposition movements were unorganized and unable to effectively respond to Fujimori's new dictatorial

¹³ Weyland, 22.

¹⁴ Alberto Fujimori, "A Momentous Decision," in *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, eds. Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori and Robin Kirk (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 460-461.

¹⁵ John Crabtree, "Neoliberalism and the Fujimori Phenomenon," in *Fujimori's Peru: The Political Economy* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1998), 19.

¹⁶ Weyland, 22.

regime.¹⁷ The inability of the political system, or institutional organizations to limit presidential power in 1992 was in line with a wider trend in the 1990s that saw the essentially unchecked expansion of executive powers until 2000 when Fujimori's presidency came to an end.¹⁸ In the face of mounting international pressure to return Peru to democracy, Fujimori begrudgingly called for elections to elect a Democratic Constitution Congress that would be in charge of drafting a new constitution. In order to maintain control of the new constitution, Fujimori created a new electoral body, New Majority (NM, or Nueva Mayoría), that drew from his supporters in the executive branch while still maintaining what was left of the C-90 party to run in the congressional elections. This clever maneuvering won Fujimori a clear majority in the newly established congress and control over the drafting of the new constitution.¹⁹

On September 12th, 1992, Abimael Guzmán, the leader of the Shining Path Guerillas, was arrested precipitating the end of twelve years of armed struggle. Although Shining Path attacks did not immediately end with Guzmán's capture, the following year saw the lessening of attacks and appeals made from Guzmán from behind bars to find an end to armed struggle. These developments saw a gradual tapering off of guerilla activities and a return to a pre-1980 normalcy in much of Peru.²⁰ Not surprisingly, Guzmán's capture led to a spike in approval for Fujimori's anti-terror policies that jumped from 44 percent at the beginning of 1992 to 66 percent at the end of the year.²¹ Even by 1995, when

¹⁷ Rousseau, 51.

¹⁸ Philip Mauceri, "An Authoritarian Presidency: How and Why Did Presidential Power Run Amok in Fujimori's Peru?" in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio F. Carrión (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 39.

¹⁹ Barry S. Levitt, *Power in the Balance: Presidents, Parties, and Legislatures in Peru and Beyond* (Notre Dame, IA: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 114-115.

²⁰ Carlos Iván Degregori, "After the Fall of Abimael Guzmán: The Limits of Sendero Luminoso," in *The Peruvian Labyrinth: Polity, Society, Economy*, eds. Maxwell A. Cameron and Philip Mauceri (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 188-190.

²¹ Carrión, 131-133.

terrorism had taken a back seat to the more relevant issues of poverty, unemployment and low wages, approval for his anti-terror legislation remained high.²²

In 1993, the new constitution was narrowly passed in a nation-wide plebiscite. The new constitution created a unicameral congress, further strengthened executive powers and gave Fujimori the ability to be immediately re-elected, something that had been illegal under the 1979 constitution. Amidst accusations of fraud pertaining to the plebiscite, it was clear that the Peruvian electorate was beginning to forget the economic and anti-terror gains made in the first two years of Fujimori's presidency and had turned its focus on more difficult issues of contention.²³

The 1995 Elections

The plebiscite controversy signalled not an end to Fujimori's high approval ratings, which remained relatively constant, but a growing dissatisfaction with governmental policy that needed to be addressed, especially as the 1995 presidential election was growing near. Fujimori recognized the importance of Peru's poorest populations in maintaining his grip on the presidency as well as the maintenance of his man of the people image and thus initiated carefully constructed social aid programs that targeted the urban poor and Andean peasantry. To compound the influence of his carefully maneuvered social spending, which was undertaken by his own presidential ministry, Fujimori tirelessly toured the countryside in the lead up to the 1995 municipal and presidential elections and in the years after, garnering the wide-spread support of Peru's poorest populations and boosting his image as a man of the people.²⁴ After stabilizing his administration in the wake of the 1992 self-coup, Fujimori concentrated all of his efforts on the 1995 election. This drive "...shaped public policy,

²² Ibid.

²³ Weyland, 25.

²⁴ Crabtree, 19.

intergovernmental relations, political rhetoric, ethics, military affairs, and the conduct of the media.”²⁵

As the election approached, Fujimori became increasingly hostile to critics of his regime and allegations of corruption, taking any means necessary to root out opposition and quiet such criticism. Fujimori’s wife Susana Higuchi became a target of Fujimori’s censorship when she raised questions first about Fujimori’s sister’s involvement in a charity scandal in 1992 and then in 1994 when she accused two cabinet ministers of corruption. Fujimori hastened to divorce Higuchi in 1994, claiming she was emotionally unsound and manipulated by his rivals. With the help of Montesinos in corrupting public officials and the C-90/NM majority in congress, Fujimori had his ex-wife banned from running for the presidency or congress in 1995, highlighting the main apparatus Fujimori employed in the silencing of his critics throughout his decade in office. After the divorce, Higuchi continued to charge Fujimori’s administration with corruption, identifying Montesinos as a main component of the underhanded dealings between the government and the National Intelligence Service (SIN or Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional). This prompted Fujimori to remove Higuchi from the position of first lady and install their eldest daughter, Keiko Sofía, as her replacement. Keiko was studying in the U.S. at the time but would remain in the government and in the public eye throughout her father’s presidential years and beyond.²⁶ In 2006, Keiko Sofía Fujimori was elected to congress and in 2011 when she ran for president with her electoral movement Force 2011 (Fuerza 2011) only to be narrowly defeated by Ollanta Humala.²⁷

Censorship under Fujimori was by no means limited to those closest to him. The media was severely restricted throughout his ten years in power. In previous decades, the Peruvian media had prided itself on its relatively open reporting and investigative journalists presented every side of the

²⁵ Catherine M. Conaghan, *Fujimori’s Peru: Deception in the Public Sphere* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 14.

²⁶ Catherine M. Conaghan, “The Immoral Economy of Fujimorismo,” in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio F. Carrión (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 114.

²⁷ John Otis, “Peru: The Return of Fujimori,” *Globalpost*, March 19, 2011, <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/americas/110307/alberto-fujimori-keiko-peru-election> (accessed January 10, 2013).

political spectrum and often played an essential role in the formation of public opinion. It was in large part owing to the media's influence that Fujimori sought to control it. The administration "...actively engaged in a pattern of harassment and manipulation, used supposed tax code violations to prosecute journalists and members of the media; extorting money from and bribing media owners...wiretapping journalists ...[and] using trumped up charges of treason to persecute opponents." At the same time, Fujimori established his own media teams that disseminated pro-Fujimori propaganda and manipulated public opinion. That is not to say that independent media did not exist in Peru under Fujimori's regime. But the influence of such media was significantly reduced under the oppressive measures, further stifling the ability of civil society to coalesce and provide meaningful opposition as well as undermining the administration's democratic legitimacy.²⁸

In the direct lead up to the 1995 elections, Fujimori's regime experienced a surge in support from the middle- and upper-classes owing to his neoliberal market reforms and the end of the internal war. Macroeconomic stability had been restored by 1994, when the Peruvian economy showed substantial gains and the inflation rate had stabilized at around 15 percent. This new spring of electoral support allowed Fujimori to adhere to democratic principles in the 1995 elections, effectively restoring some of his administration's lost legitimacy.²⁹

Fujimori's Second Term, 1995-2000

In 1995, Fujimori and his two parties, C-90 and NM, won a majority in congress winning 51.1 percent of the national vote.³⁰ Fujimori also secured a strong majority in the first round of elections with

²⁸ Mauceri, 58.

²⁹ Carrión, 130-131.

³⁰ Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales, *Elecciones Generales 1995 Nacional (Congreso)*, <http://www.web.onpe.gob.pe/modElecciones/elecciones/RESUMEN/CONGRESO/5.pdf> (accessed January 4, 2013).

64.3 percent of the national vote, guaranteeing his administration another five years in office.³¹ The APRA faced internal division. The left was more divided in 1995 than it had been in 1990 and thus was unable to effectively challenge Fujimori. Both the Popular Alliance and Christian People's Party were so discredited by 1995 that many of their candidates chose to run as independents who did not gain substantial electoral support. Again, the failure of the traditional political system to redeem itself in the public eye allowed Fujimori's political stronghold to remain unchecked. The independents who ran in opposition to Fujimori in 1995 were the only political actors who managed to garner substantial support. However, their efforts were not sufficient to challenge a C-90/NM majority in congress, although they experienced some success at the municipal level.³²

Early on in Fujimori's second term, achieving gender-equality and expanding the role of women in Peruvian society took on an increasing role in the government's administration and policy-making processes. In 1995, directly following the election, Fujimori began a family planning campaign. In 1996 the Ministry for the Promotion of Women and Human Development was formed as well as a Committee on Women in Congress. At the same time, women were given increasingly important roles within the public sector.³³ The Fujimori administration had openly supported the use and accessibility of contraception during its first term. However, in 1995, this promotion took on a new form as sterilization was legalized as a viable contraceptive method. Despite receiving condemnation from the Catholic Church, this law was supported in the media, the international community and domestic public opinion polls. The Fujimori government received aid from the U.S. Agency for International Development for the

³¹ Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales, *Elecciones Generales 1995 Nacional (Presidente)*, <http://www.web.onpe.gob.pe/modElecciones/elecciones/RESUMEN/GENERALES/10.pdf> (accessed January 4, 2013).

³² Levitt, 121-126.

³³ Gregory D. Schmidt, "All the President's Women: Fujimori and Gender Equality in Peruvian Politics," in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio F. Carrión (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 158.

program.³⁴ Racism and regionalism fueled what became coercive sterilization campaigns resulting in the forced sterilization of 200,000 poor rural women and, to a lesser extent, men.³⁵ Despite the regime's clever manipulation of family planning campaigns to bolster its image as an empowerer of women, the campaign's experience underscores the fact that the opposite was true in relation to contraception. Peru's poorest were not given the control to choose their own reproductive futures but coerced to ensure Peru met its goals for population control.³⁶

In the public arena, women were given increasing attention under Fujimori's regime as they entered public office in growing numbers during Fujimori's second term. Fujimori made significant headway for women during his final term in office encouraging the establishment of gender quotas in 1997. He supported bringing women's issues into the political arena and even established a women-focused micro-lending bank in 1998. Scholars have argued that Fujimori was employing clever support-gathering tactics in his embrace of women and women's issues, citing that public opinion polls point to the Peruvian electorate's perception of women as more effective and trustworthy than men in public office. Furthermore, Fujimori's strategic relationship with the female electorate (that was bolstered as he encouraged female participation in government) and the presence of perceived gender equity in Fujimori's government lent his administration legitimacy in the face of critics' attacks on the administration's lack of democratic practices and contributed to the creation of a positive legacy among the female electorate.³⁷

After Fujimori's re-election in 1995, the pace of market reform was reigned in on the advice of the World Bank and other foreign creditors, and thus, "...privatization slowed considerably, exports were still lackluster and too dependent on raw materials...and social policy had yet to reach sufficiently

³⁴ Jelke Boesten, "Choice or Poverty Alleviation? Population Politics in Peru under Alberto Fujimori," *European Review of American and Caribbean Studies* 82 (2007): 7, <http://www.jstor.org/> (accessed January 10, 2013).

³⁵ Schmidt, 170.

³⁶ Boesten, 15-16.

³⁷ Schmidt, 158-166.

beyond the executive's concern for political survival and hence his doling out of immediate adjustment relief."³⁸ The rate of economic growth dropped to 2.6 percent and employment levels continued to fall.³⁹ When the promised benefits of market reform failed to materialize after 1995, approval for Fujimori's economic strategy fell drastically especially among the middle- and upper-classes amidst allegations of corruption and human rights abuses as well as a perceived failure to create employment.⁴⁰ Interestingly, popular support among Peru's poorest classes remained relatively high for Fujimori and his administration even during the 2000 election controversy that began to emerge after 1998.⁴¹

In 1995, allegations arose implicating the Peruvian security forces in a 1992 massacre of students and professors suspected to be subversives at Lima's National University of Education that was often referred to as La Cantuta University. In an effort to stifle further allegations, Fujimori immediately pushed an amnesty law for all military officers alleged to have committed human rights abuses through congress. The Fujimori government continued to blatantly intervene in the judiciary system until 1998, using secret military courts to prosecute labelled terrorists in a manner that clearly dispensed with notions of due process, actions that served to further undermine notions of the regime's democratic legitimacy. Furthermore, these judiciary interventions led to further allegations of human rights abuses domestically and abroad throughout the 1990s and most notably after Fujimori's removal from office when many of these allegations became accepted fact.⁴²

Compounding Fujimori's problems in the public eye, just a year after his re-election it came to light that he was planning on running for an unconstitutional third term. The regime fought to retain a "vener of legality" and publicly denied any plans for re-election in 2000. However, as Fujimori's second term continued this illusion was eroded as Fujimori and Montesinos increasingly relied on bribery and

³⁸ Wise, 218.

³⁹ Weyland, 27.

⁴⁰ Carrión, 136.

⁴¹ Ibid., 130.

⁴² Mauceri, 49-50.

lies to open the necessary channels to make a third term possible. As has been noted by scholars, "...[Fujimori's] relentless pursuit of the 2000 election was the defining feature of Fujimori's second term in office."⁴³ The constitution would have to be amended for Fujimori to legally pursue a third term and this could only happen if the amendment won a two-thirds majority vote in congress or by gaining approval for the amendment in a national referendum that would only pass with a majority vote in congress. Instead congress, at the behest of Fujimori, passed two laws, 26654 and 26657, in August 1996, that essentially reinterpreted the 1993 constitution providing a loophole through which Fujimori's first term was not counted, allowing him to run for a true "second" term in 2000. In September of 1996, opposition leaders in congress led by Socialist Left member Javier Diez Canseco coalesced to launch a petition for a referendum to over-turn the new interpretive laws. The movement gained substantial domestic support despite a momentary eclipse of the issue during the four month long 1996 Japanese Embassy Crisis, when public approval for Fujimori surged after the army was able to put down the insurgent MRTA members.⁴⁴ The calls for referendum saw the first significant social mobilization of the decade that built upon earlier opposition movements aimed at the regime's ongoing privatization campaigns.⁴⁵ In 1998, over a million signatures had been gathered calling for a referendum to vote on the law that allowed Fujimori to run in the 2000 election. However, congress ignored the petition, further violating the 1993 constitution. This move only solidified the electorate's growing concern for Fujimori's underhanded dealings at all levels of government, which by this time had become the only thing sustaining the regime.⁴⁶

⁴³ Conaghan, "The Immoral Economy of Fujimorismo," 117-126.

⁴⁴ Conaghan, "The Immoral Economy of Fujimorismo," 117-126.

⁴⁵ Kenneth M. Roberts, "Do Parties Matter? Lessons from the Fujimori Experience," in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio F. Carrión (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 98.

⁴⁶ Rousseau, 56.

The 2000 Elections, Growing Unrest and the Collapse of the Fujimori Regime

As civil society began to mobilize, albeit lacking cohesion and organization, and the economic situation remained more or less static, Fujimori's popularity continued to wane, especially among the middle-class. In order to maintain bureaucratic support for his re-election bid, Fujimori and Montesinos increased payoffs and other illegal incentives to entice political support, further deepening the extent of corruption within the government. In Fujimori's attempts to maintain an image of legitimacy it was his unbridled use of coercion and corruption that led to his undoing. Owing to the poor's reliance on the regime's social programs, support among this group continued to rise, threatening to push Fujimori into his third term by electoral numbers alone. The opposition attempted to present viable alternatives to Fujimori in the coming 2000 elections but was again constrained by the disintegration and further degradation of the political and institutional systems during the 1980s and 1990s. Lima's mayor and opposition leader Alberto Andrade, Luis Castañeda Lossio (a defunct member of Fujimori's administration), and eventually Alejandro Toledo, represented the only serious opposition. All of these men presented themselves in the neo-populist fashion, as personalistic leaders, relying on charisma, personal ideologies and their leadership roles within the respective established political parties that they were loosely affiliated with.⁴⁷

In the lead up to the elections, thousands of poor urban immigrants staged land seizures in Lima's outskirts in January of 2000. Fujimori affirmed the opposition's suspicion that the move was part of a wider plot to elicit electoral support, when he ceded sanctioned lots to the squatters as part of a Family Lot Program in February. Interestingly, public polls show that the majority of respondents recognized the move as an attempt to buy votes but still supported the initiative.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Weyland, 31-33.

⁴⁸ Carrión, 143-144.

The 2000 elections were wrought with inconsistencies. Public opinion polls demonstrate that the electorate was well aware of these irregularities.⁴⁹ Fujimori and the electoral movement that he put together to back his bid for re-election, Perú 2000, secured victory in the polls for a third term. As in 1990, it was Peru's urban and rural poor who provided the bulk of Fujimori's electoral support. However, public opinion polls demonstrated the extent of concern over the electoral process and the widespread belief that the election race had not been fairly conducted and also that the vote count had been skewed.⁵⁰ International organizations such as the Organization of American States (OAS) openly called into question the 2000 electoral process but did not meaningfully respond after Fujimori's suspicious victory, validating the election, continuing to provide aid and maintaining the diplomatic status quo. Efforts were made to "strengthen democracy" but no official inquiry was launched into the election's democratic validity.⁵¹ In response to Fujimori's unjust victory, the opposition finally came together and rallied around Alejandro Toledo who had come in second during the first round of voting and boycotted the second round, claiming that the "playing field was too tilted." Opposition leaders mobilized civil society in the first substantial protests since the institutional crisis of the 1980s had taken hold. Massive public demonstrations that came to be known as the March of the Four *Suyos* (la Marcha de los Cuatro Suyos) signalled the end of Fujimori's monopoly on popular support and destabilized the regime so much so that when videos that documented the regime's widespread corruption were released to the media a few months later there was nothing left for the administration to stand on. The veneer of legitimacy that strong public support had provided was dissolved. Although widespread

⁴⁹ Ibid., 145.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Cynthia McClintock, "Electoral Authoritarian versus Partially Democratic Regimes: The Case of the Fujimori Government and the 2000 Elections," in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio F. Carrión (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 262.

discontent alone was not enough to topple the regime, the movement signalled the beginning of the end for Fujimori.⁵²

In September 2000, just months after Fujimori's victory in the 2000 elections, a videotape documenting Montesinos' \$15,000 bribe to an opposition congressman, Alberto Kouri, in exchange for his allegiance to Perú 2000 was leaked to the press and aired on national television. Within 48 hours of the airing of the first "Vladivideo" Fujimori ceded the presidency, promising new elections in which he would not run, fired Montesinos (something his daughter Keiko had been pushing him to do) and declared he would dismantle the SIN. The video's release proved to be the tip of the iceberg that would bring the regime to its knees as similar videos aired on national television for months exposing the incredible depth of corruption and clientelism that sustained Fujimori's presidency. Scholars have noted that the video effectively ended Fujimori's presidency because it drove a wedge between the president and his top advisor, Montesinos, which could not easily be remedied. Compounding this painful break was the fact that Fujimori could no longer sustain the close relationship with Peru's Armed Forces without Montesino's understanding of the legal system and personal willingness to use corruption to maintain the necessary relationships with the military's top advisors. Furthermore, the video precipitated Fujimori's loss of control in congress that had been essential for a 2000-2005 presidential term. As the regime crumbled around him, Fujimori boarded a plane to Japan in November of 2000 under the pretext that he was conducting official business in Asia.⁵³ Fujimori faxed his resignation into congress from Japan on the 21st of the same month, where it was rejected and he was instead removed as president, citing "moral incapacity" as the reason for his dismissal. Montesinos had already fled the country after the release of the first Vladivideo at the urging of Fujimori. He was arrested in Venezuela

⁵² Carrión, 146-147.

⁵³ Maxwell A. Cameron, "Endogenous Regime Breakdown: The Vladivideo and the Fall of Peru's Fujimori," in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio F. Carrión (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 277-283.

in June 2001 and extradited to Peru to face numerous criminal charges, pleading guilty to those that had been caught on tape. Both Fujimori, from his home in Japan, and Montesinos, from jail in Lima, implicated each other for self-serving purposes. In the end it was clear to the majority that one could not have existed without the other.⁵⁴

Fujimori's legacy persists despite the obvious shortcomings of his regime, as demonstrated by his daughter's close run in the 2011 presidential elections. The restoration of stability and growth of the Peruvian economy as well as the end of more than a decade of internal conflict signal the largest successes of the regime. However, these successes were somewhat eclipsed in 2000 by the corruption scandal and subsequent trials for human rights violations under the regime. It was the more nuanced aspects of the regime that have come to bear most heavily on Fujimori's continuing legacy namely his manipulation of public opinion, maintenance of a strong electoral support base among Peru's poorest classes and the regime's appeals to women.

⁵⁴ Conaghan, "The Immoral Economy of Fujimorismo," 241-245.

Chapter Four:

The Fujimori Legacy in the Twenty-First Century

Valentín Paniagua led the provisional government after Fujimori's removal from office on November 22nd, 2000 until elections were held in 2001. A constitutionalist from the centrist party Popular Action, Paniagua led a wide-ranging group of technocrats that represented the left to the right of the Peruvian political spectrum during Peru's transition period. Despite the importance of mass mobilization and non-political organization in bringing down the Fujimori government, the transition period under Paniagua was controlled by the political establishment and "...crafted to exclude the popular movement." In order to address growing demands for governmental reform, especially in regards to replacing Fujimori's chosen regional representatives with popularly elected ones, the Paniagua government went some way in reforming the centralized and institutionally weak government left in Fujimori's wake. The provisional government faced many obstacles in congress, owing to the number of seats filled by Fujimori supporters after the president's removal and the demands made by the official opposition who recognized the opportunity to engage in open and democratic politics for the first time in over a decade. The end of the Fujimori administration created an opportunity for the redefinition of Peruvian democracy. The forces that had worked together to oust Fujimori now faced a new challenge, one that rested on two divergent ideas of democracy. In a generalized sense, the popular movement's aims for democracy fell in line with traditional socialist-leftist aspirations more tied to ideas of equity and a critique of neoliberal orthodoxy. The political elite, who were at the helm of transition, still put their faith in the Washington Consensus and saw the return to democracy in terms of the political establishment and not in the abandonment of free market policies. The political elite that

emerged from the Fujimori decade still contained some of the traditional political actors, such as the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance, the Christian People's Party, the United Left and the Alliance Popular as well as newer parties such as the rightist Union for Peru (UPP, Union Para Perú) and members of the Peruvian Confederation of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. It was this grouping of the political elite that led the transition with the help of the Organization of American States. The General Labour Confederation, regional movements, peasant federations, university students, women's organizations and professional associations were given marginal shares in the process or excluded all together from the top-down transition period under Paniagua.¹

The 2001 elections saw the return of established political leaders such as Alan García Perez under the APRA, Flores Lourdes Nano under the PPC and Diez Conesco under the IU all of whom collectively secured more than 50 percent of the vote in the first round and a substantial holding in congress for the APRA and AP. Scholarly documents argue that the resurgence of these leaders did not equate the resurgence of the political parties under which they ran, instead the Fujimori decade changed the political system in that these traditional parties did not seek to re-institutionalize themselves going into the 2001 elections but instead party leaders employed personalistic campaigns often exposing the party to broad changes in identity and leadership to suit electoral needs. In 2009 Political Scientist Omar Sanchez argued that "[t]he lesson political entrepreneurs drew in the 1990s was that the building of bona fide parties with an organizational base was dispensable in the quest for influence and power."²

Alejandro Toledo was able to effectively mobilize anti-Fujimori sentiment to his advantage in the lead up to the 2001 presidential elections. Toledo was a free-market proponent who studied economics

¹ Deborah Poole and Gerardo Rénique, "Popular Movements, the Legacy of the Left, and the Fall of Fujimori," *Socialism and Democracy* 14, no. 2 (2000): 60-64, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08854300008428264> (accessed December 11, 2012).

²Omar Sanchez, "Party Non-Systems: A Conceptual Innovation," *Party Politics* 15, no. 4 (2009): 513-514, <http://ppq.sagepub.com/content/15/4/487> (accessed January 25, 2013).

at Stanford University and had worked for the World Bank.³ Toledo ran under the newly formed Peru Possible (PP or Perú Posible) and capitalized on his indigenous background while fashioning a campaign platform that focused on the reduction of poverty, unemployment and underemployment as well as an increase in health and education expenditure. Toledo beat out runner-up García in June 2001, becoming Peru's first self-identifying indigenous president since 1931.⁴

Alejandro Toledo in Office, 2001-2006

The 2001 elections and Toledo's time in office saw the reestablishment of democracy and multiparty politics in Peru but not the resurrection of the pre-1980 party system.⁵ In 2011 Political Scientist Martin Tanaka noted that party weakness in Peru is evident "...in their ever-diminishing presence in regional and local politics..., in their lack of discipline and fragmentation in the National Congress, and in extreme electoral volatility."⁶ The Toledo government saw a period of macroeconomic growth unmatched in Peru's history although the benefits of such growth were only seen in the top 30 percent of the economic strata. Unemployment and low wages continued to plague Peru's poorest sectors leading to widespread discontent. Presidential approval ratings for Toledo during his time in office hovered just above single digits.⁷ Toledo did not move fast enough to root out corruption or renovate the judicial system and increasingly came under attack for not taking the necessary initiative to prosecute those guilty of committing human rights violations that occurred during the internal war in the 1980s and 1990s.⁸ In an effort to address the demands for redress of human rights violations, in

³ Poole and Rénique, 63.

⁴ Eduardo Silva, *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 246.

⁵ Sanchez, 513.

⁶ Martin Tanaka, "A Vote for Moderate Change," *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 4 (2011): 77, http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/journals/journal_of_democracy/v022/22.4.tanaka.pdf (accessed January 25, 2013).

⁷ Cynthia McClintock, "An Unlikely Comeback in Peru," *Journal of Democracy* 17, no. 4 (2006): 97, http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/journals/journal_of_democracy/v017/17.4mcclintock.pdf (accessed January 20, 2013).

⁸ Silva, 246.

2001 the Toledo administration supported the establishment of the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation.⁹ The commission presented their final report in 2003 and found that 69,280 people died during the internal conflict, making it the bloodiest period in the republic's history. The controversial report also found that the peasant population was the most at risk. The report placed the blame for 54 percent of the deaths on the Shining Path, 1.5 percent on the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement and the remaining 44.5 percent on the police and Peruvian Armed Forces and, to a lesser extent, self-defence committees established in the emergency zones.¹⁰

Beginning in 2002, anti-neoliberal and anti-Toledo protests erupted throughout Peru although the movement failed to gain national cohesion. These waves of popular mobilization went some way in further opening the stage for anti-system candidates who could offer economic alternatives to Peru's poor masses in the 2006 elections.¹¹ Beyond his economic policy, Toledo was further criticized for his opulent lifestyle, a critique that was compounded by his indigenous identity and what Peruvians perceived as acceptable indigenous behavior. Furthermore, Toledo was judged in comparison to Fujimori's carefully constructed man of the people image that had been bolstered by incessant tours of the countryside and the inauguration of strategic public works throughout his time in office. Despite the fact that the Fujimori government had been witness to the syphoning off of 1.8 billion dollars of state money, government corruption was perceived as increasing under Toledo's leadership. Public opinion polls in 2005 also showed the electorate's increasing dissatisfaction with "the way democracy works in Peru."¹² Going into the 2006 elections it seemed clear to scholars that Peruvians would continue to look outside of the traditional political spectrum to find viable leadership.¹³

⁹ McClintock, 97.

¹⁰ Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission Final Report*, <http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php#up> (accessed December 10, 2012).

¹¹ Silva, 247.

¹² McClintock, 99.

¹³ Ibid.

Fujimori travelled from Japan to Chile in November 2005, where he was immediately arrested by Chilean authorities. The Peruvian government responded by immediately filing for Fujimori's extradition to face 21 criminal charges in Peru.¹⁴ In Peru, as the elections neared, the pro-Fujimori party, Alliance for the Future (AF, Alianza por el Futuro) sought "... to obtain a bloc of congressional seats in order to pursue favorable judicial treatment for Fujimori."¹⁵ Despite the fact that a large majority of Peruvians believed Fujimori should face persecution, 20 percent of the electorate still supported a political comeback for the authoritarian president and rallied behind the party when he announced his presidential bid in October, despite a congressional ban on his accession of public office from 2001 to 2011. The AF was led by Martha Chávez and at the head of the congressional roster sat the ex-first lady and Fujimori's daughter Keiko Fujimori.¹⁶

The 2006 Elections

Anti-Toledo and anti-neoliberal sentiment was the springboard for the rise of Ollanta Humala's candidacy in the lead up to the 2006 elections. Humala was a political outsider, ex-army officer and fierce nationalist and his party, the Peruvian Nationalist Party (PNP, or Partido Nacionalista Peruano), with the support of the Union for Peru electoral movement, gained momentum in the months leading up to the 2006 congressional and presidential campaigns. He presented another challenge to the resurrection of the traditional party system leading a personalistic and populist campaign. The PNP platform found strength in promises to break with the Peruvian oligarchy, repudiate the Trade Promotion Act, reduce coca eradication agreements with the U.S. and restore connections with

¹⁴ Jo-Marie Burt, "Guilty as Charged: The Trial of Former President Alberto Fujimori for Human Rights Violations," *The International Journal of Transitional Justice* 3 (2009): 395. <http://ijtj.oxfordjournals.org/> (accessed January 25, 2013).

¹⁵ McClintock, 99.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Venezuela's Hugo Chávez. Not surprisingly, Humala found the bulk of his support in the poorest sectors of the Peruvian electorate.¹⁷

By October 2005, opinion poll data and media coverage had narrowed the race down from 23 presidential candidates to 3, although 40 percent of the population remained undecided. Two of the three candidates ran with the support of established political parties, García with the APRA and Lourdes Flores Nano who ran under the National Unity (UN, or Unidad Nacional) that was closely related to the PPC. Humala, the third contender, ran with his own electoral movement, the PNP. Up until March 2006, it seemed clear that Humala and Flores would vie for the presidency in the second round, while García lagged behind substantially. However from March until the first round of voting in April, García impressively maneuvered himself to the middle of the ideological spectrum while portraying both Humala and Flores as extremes. On the campaign trail, García connected Humala to “irresponsible change” and Flores to “continuity” as her ties to the political elites and business sectors created her image as the candidate of the rich. While the election race waged on, with all sides coming under attack, García effectively presented himself as a moderate. His disastrous political history was downplayed, and his campaign focused on his moderating approach, for example, as scholars have pointed out, “...his proposal for la sierra exportadora (the exporting highlands) integrated the left's concern with the poor and the 'reconstructed' view that the way out of poverty was through the global free market.” Furthermore, García promised infrastructure development, measures to increase agricultural product exportation, labour reforms, and the negotiation with foreign companies to increase state revenue all of which seemed a middle-ground when compared with Flores' complacency with big business and Humala's nationalistic edge. Humala was attacked on a personal level, first because of his dubious ethnicity, having claimed to be indigenous despite his upper-class upbringing in Lima. He was also the subject of accusations related to his time in the Armed Forces and his involvement with extrajudicial

¹⁷ Silva, 247.

killings in the Huallaga Valley in 1992 as well as his party's connections to other players involved in human rights abuses and corruption under the Fujimori government. In 2000, Humala led a military uprising against the Fujimori government that turned out to be a means of distraction that had allowed Montesinos to flee the country. Humala's family was also drawn into the media after a 2005 attack on a police station led by Humala's brother, as well as unfortunate remarks made by both his father (pertaining to amnesty for Shining Path leader Guzmán) and homophobic remarks made by his mother.¹⁸ The first round of elections in April 2006, clearly demonstrated that García's posturing was working when the APRA came in a close second behind the PNP with 24.3 and 30.6 percent of the vote respectively.¹⁹

The first round of voting in April also signalled a victory of sorts for the Alliance for the Future and Keiko Fujimori. The party won 7.4 percent of the national vote for the party's presidential candidate Martha Chávez, coming in fourth overall. Keiko Fujimori won three times the preferential votes for her congressional bid than any other candidate after receiving positive media coverage and campaigning with her American husband.²⁰

The second round of voting saw Humala and García face off, with García capturing the presidency by only 5 percent of the national vote.²¹ Both candidates tried to retreat from their perceived corners with García attempting to win over the votes lost to Flores and Chávez in the first round, while Humala backed down from his proposals to nationalize Peru's natural resources and other staunchly leftist initiatives. Montesinos also intervened in the campaign on May 19, 2006 just days before the only

¹⁸ McClintock, 100-104,

¹⁹ Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales, *Elecciones Generales 2006 Nacional Primera Vuelta (Presidente)*, <http://www.web.onpe.gob.pe/modElecciones/elecciones/resultados2006/1ravuelta/index.onpe> (accessed January 25, 2013).

²⁰ McClintock, 104.

²¹ Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales, *Elecciones Generales 2006 Nacional Segunda Vuelta (Presidente)*, <http://www.web.onpe.gob.pe/modElecciones/elecciones/resultados2006/2davuelta/index.onpe> (accessed January 25, 2013).

presidential debate of the campaign. The media got a hold of an audio-tape smuggled out of Montesinos' jail cell that affirmed the media's accusations that the 2000 uprising led by Humala had indeed been a ploy aimed at securing Montesinos' escape from Peru. The tape also confirmed that Humala had been involved in Fujimori's 2000 election fraud. This further tarnished Humala's image connecting his name to the dark underbelly of the Fujimori administration without any of the benefits of establishing a connection to Fujimori's positive legacy. Ultimately, García won a clear victory in the coastal regions while Humala's support lay in the poor interior.²²

Fujimori on Trial

In September 2007, the Chilean Supreme Court's ruling called for the extradition of Fujimori to Peru to face charges of "...corruption, usurpation of authority and human rights violations."²³ The charges brought against him were grouped into categories and he was tried accordingly. In December 2007 at Fujimori's summary trial, he was found guilty of usurpation of authority related to a raid on the house of Montesinos' wife. The first public trial was the human rights cases pertaining to the Barrios Altos and Cantuta massacres as well as the kidnapping of a journalist and a businessman after the 1992 coup. Fujimori was found guilty on all charges of aggravated homicide, assault and kidnapping and was sentenced to 25 years behind bars on April 7, 2009. On June 20, 2009, Fujimori was also found guilty of the illegal transfer of \$15 million dollars of state money to Montesinos upon his departure from the country in 2000 earning him reparation payments of \$1 million dollars and 7.5 years in prison. The final public trial began on September 28, 2009 in which Fujimori was tried and convicted on three charges related to wiretapping opposition leaders, bribing congress members and purchasing a television channel with government money, earning him an additional six year sentence.²⁴ A public opinion poll

²² McClintock, 104-106.

²³ Burt, 396.

²⁴ Ibid.

conducted in March of 2009 revealed that the majority of those polled supported a prison sentence for Alberto Fujimori and believed he was responsible for the Barrios Altos and Cantuta massacres.²⁵

García in Office, 2006-2011

In office, García formed alliances in congress with the center-left and center-right to offset the APRA's minority. In 2006 García's five year plan was passed through congress that aimed to reduce poverty, increase expenditure on education, health, job creation, rural infrastructure and support for export-focused agricultural production in the interior.²⁶ García continued to maintain ties to Washington and "...significantly expanded trade and investment relations with the United States, with a free trade agreement between the two countries [that came] into effect in February 2009." Further anti-neoliberal protests, led by indigenous-peasant organizations, regional movements and labour unions erupted again in the last years of García's second administration and were met with increasingly harsh measures. It was in this climate of increasing popular mobilization and clashes between demonstrators and the police and military that the 2011 congressional and presidential election campaigns heated up.²⁷

The 2011 Elections

The Peruvian party system remained in tatters going into the 2011 election campaign; all five contenders presented themselves as political outsiders. One respected polling agency reported more than 80 percent of the electorate maintained no traditional-party allegiance. Humala ran with his electoral coalition Win Peru (GP, or Gana Perú); Keiko Fujimori ran under the electoral movement Force 2011 (Fuerza 2011); Toledo ran again with Peru Possible; Luis Castañeda ran with the National Solidarity

²⁵ Ipsos APOYO, "El Avance de Keiko Fujimori," *Resumen de Encuestas a la Opinión Pública* 9, no. 110 (2009): 2, www.ipsos-apoyo.pe/sites/default/files/opinion_data/Opinion_Data_Marzo_2009.pdf (accessed March 5, 2013).

²⁶ Silva, 248.

²⁷ Neil Burron, "Ollanta Humala and the Peruvian Conjecture: Democratic Expansion or 'Inclusive' Neoliberal Redux?" *Latin American Perspectives* 39 (2012): 135-136, <http://lap.sagepub.com/content/39/1/133> (accessed January 25, 2013).

Alliance (ASN, or Alianza Solidaridad Nacional) and Pedro Pablo Kuczynski ran as an independent. Scholars have also noted that a decisive factor in the election results was the splitting of the center-right between three candidates, Toledo, Castañeda and Kuczynski. In the end this division went a long way in locking all three candidates out of the second round run-off. Thus Humala and Keiko Fujimori, who ran simply as “Keiko,” were able to command their respective minority support to secure their places in the run-off in June. Fujimori capitalized on her father’s maintenance of 20 percent of the electorate, mostly among the poorest sectors, voters who still rallied behind the Fujimori who had ended hyperinflation, brought down the Shining Path and supported wide-spread social assistance programs.²⁸ In 1999, one year before Alberto Fujimori was removed from office, nearly 40 percent of the population was receiving some form of social aid from his administration.²⁹ Fujimori’s campaign platform promised an increase in public spending on social assistance programs that received 73% of the support of those polled by the national polling agency in 2011.³⁰ Up until April 2011, Keiko was consistently ahead of Humala in polling results.³¹ After April the race significantly narrowed while the majority of women continued to support Keiko.³²

Humala built his campaign on wide-spread economic discontent as well as “anti-Lima sentiment” coming from the highlands, and gained momentum as the only viable candidate on the left of the political spectrum. Both Keiko and Humala offered “more state.” Keiko stressed her father’s

²⁸ Steven Levitsky, “A Surprising Left Turn,” *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 4 (2011): 86-87, http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/journals/journal_of_democracy/v022/22.4.levitsky.pdf (accessed January 25, 2013).

²⁹ Julio F. Carrión, “Conclusion: The Rise and Fall of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru,” in *The Fujimori Legacy: The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*, ed. Julio F. Carrión (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 309.

³⁰ Ipsos APOYO, “Continúa el Empate,” *Resumen de Encuestas a la Opinión Pública* 11, no. 141 (2011): 4, www.ipsos-apoyo.pe/sites/default/files/opinion_data/Continua-el-Empate.pdf (accessed March 5, 2013).

³¹ Ipsos APOYO, “La Incertidumbre Continúa,” *Resumen de Encuestas a la Opinión Pública* 11, no. 143 (2011): 2, www.ipsos-apoyo.pe/sites/default/files/opinion_data/La-Incertidumbre-Continua.pdf (accessed March 5, 2013).

³² Ipsos APOYO, “Ligero Avance de Keiko Fujimori,” *Resumen de Encuestas a la Opinión Pública* 11, no. 142 (2011): 2, www.ipsos-apoyo.pe/sites/default/files/opinion_data/Ligero-Avance-de-Keiko-Fujimori.pdf (accessed March 5, 2013).

model of social assistance and his legacy of extending the state's presence into the interior. Meanwhile, Humala espoused a more socialist inspired model that looked to redistributive measures, at least in a rhetorical sense.³³

In the second round, it seemed clear that Keiko would win as it was the coastal middle-class who would tip the vote, presumably in favor of the free market orientated policies of Keiko.³⁴ The national polling agency conducted a poll in May of 2011 that demonstrated that Keiko was perceived as more likely to respect the institution of democracy than Humala.³⁵ 51 percent of those polled in May believed that a theoretical Keiko government would be more democratic than her father's regime.³⁶ The media engaged in ostracizing Humala and clearly supported a victory for Keiko Fujimori. At the same time both candidates attempted to gather votes wherever they could. Political Scientist Steven Levitsky has noted that in the end "...Humala moderated his appeal more successfully than did Fujimori."³⁷ Humala was able to reduce economic fears as he retreated back to the center, abandoning his espoused connection with Chávez in Venezuela for a more conducive relationship with Brazil's Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. Humala retreated from proposals for constitutional reform and radical economic change in exchange for increased "social inclusion." Most importantly Humala realigned his party with centrist economic thinkers and the liberal political and intellectual establishment gaining more legitimacy in the eyes of the middle-class. Essentially, Humala was able to transform his seemingly radical leftist electoral movement into a broad-based anti-Fujimorista campaign that quickly gained momentum. Keiko, on the other hand, was greatly aided by her father's legacy but in the final moments of the campaign also slightly hindered by it when anti-Fujimori rhetoric increased. A poll conducted in May of 2011 demonstrated that the Fujimori name still commanded attention on the political scene when 30 percent

³³ Levitsky, 84-90.

³⁴ Ibid, 91.

³⁵ Ipsos APOYO, "Continúa el Empate," 4.

³⁶ Ipsos APOYO, "Avaza Keiko," *Resumen de Encuestas a la Opinión Pública* 11, no. 140 (2011): 3, www.ipsos-apoyo.pe/sites/default/files/opinion_data/avaza-keiko.pdf (accessed March 5, 2013).

³⁷ Ipsos APOYO, "Aveza Keiko," 3.

of respondents named the Fujimori government as the most effective in 50 years.³⁸ This numerical evidence of continued support for Fujimori's government was effectively employed during Keiko's campaign tours, enabling Keiko to present herself as a continuation of her father's legacy.³⁹ In the end, Humala won the run-off with 51.5 percent of the vote on June 5, 2011 beating out Keiko Fujimori by an incredibly slim margin.⁴⁰

The presidential electoral movements of the 2000s clearly demonstrate the lasting impact of the political system's demise at the end of the 1980s and its further degradation that occurred under the Fujimori government. Despite Keiko Fujimori's loss in the 2011 elections, her near victory signals the profound impact of her father's legacy on the Peruvian psyche, one that nearly eclipsed the widely perceived moral ineptitude of the Fujimori administration.

³⁸ Ipsos APOYO, "Aveza Keiko," 3.

³⁹ Perucom Perú, "Keiko Fujimori Responde a Mario Vargas Llosa," *Surco*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-RCUpylLhSw> (accessed March 5, 2013).

⁴⁰ Levitsky, 84-91.

Conclusion

Peru's political history from the early twentieth century until 1980 has taken a unique course. It was not until the end of the 1960s that Peru experienced any substantial change in regards to land reform, wider political inclusion or the loosening of the traditional oligarchy. These reforms occurred under a military government that ruled until 1980, leaving a peculiar legacy in Peruvian politics that was centered on the failures of the transition to civilian rule that occurred at the end of the military regime and a growing mistrust for effectual constitutional reform. The 1980s saw the establishment of two civilian governments that were unable to effectively deal with a rising economic, social and political crisis. By the end of the decade, the country was on the edge of collapse owing to a rampant economic crisis and rising violence propagated by the Shining Path guerilla group and counter-insurgency efforts. By 1990 the majority of the Peruvian electorate was concerned with the traditional political elites' ability to govern in the face of such a crisis and gripped by a profound distrust in the political system.

This distrust in the traditional political system led to a breakdown of the political party system during the 1990 congressional and presidential elections and was an underlying factor that allowed for two political outsiders, Alberto Fujimori and Mario Vargas Llosa, to vie for the presidency. Fujimori was able to manipulate the party system breakdown, his outsider status as well as his ethnic minority status and man of the people image to win the presidency in June of 1990.

During Fujimori's ten years in office he restored macroeconomic stability to the country and ended the internal war. Fujimori's authoritarian regime however, was sustained by corruption, clientelism and coercion. When in 2000, amidst a re-election scandal, the depth of this corruption came to light with the release of the Vladivideos it seemed the Fujimori name had been completely

discredited. It was the regime's successes in restoring economic stability and ending the internal war, as well as Fujimori's careful manipulation of public opinion, his regime's appeals to women and his strategic use of social assistance programs during his presidency that allowed the Fujimori legacy to outlive the administration's rapid fall from grace.

The twenty-first century has seen a resurgence of the Fujimori name under Alberto's daughter and ex-first lady Keiko Sofía Fujimori. Keiko ran for congress in 2006, securing more preferential votes than any other candidate in Peruvian history and was narrowly defeated by Ollanta Humala in the 2011 presidential elections. Related to the persistent ability of the Fujimori name to command attention on the Peruvian political scene, is a sustained degradation of the traditional party system that collapsed at the end of the 1980s. The Fujimori government under Alberto was able to capitalize on the breakdown of the political system in 1990 and actively took measures to further reduce the political system's institutional capacity.

This thesis has shown that the Fujimori name still commanded attention on the Peruvian political scene in 2011 despite the administration's meteoric fall in 2000 as the depth of governmental corruption was realized and Alberto Fujimori's subsequent trial and conviction on numerous charges of corruption and human rights violations. As the twenty-first century has seen a resurgence of the Fujimori name it is clear that the social, political and cultural aspects of the Fujimori legacy that have allowed for such a continuation of public support for the family require a new historical assessment. This project has built upon academic study of Peruvian political history in the twentieth century via the intersection of opinion polls and intellectual interpretation to bring the discussion into the twenty-first century to include the continuation of the Fujimori legacy that has previously been treated as moribund with the regime's end in 2000. Whether the Fujimori legacy will continue to be a factor in Peruvian

politics remains to be seen, this project only suggests a new direction of study for historians engaged in contemporary Peruvian history.

The Peruvian political establishment has seen the resurgence of multiple politicians who have returned to domestic prominence despite previously failed political careers. One such political force is Alan García Pérez who left the presidential office in 1990 amidst a widespread economic, social and political crisis that had completely discredited his administration only to return to the presidency in 2006 with massive public support. If this trend is to be seen as an aspect of Peruvian politics it is equally likely that Alberto Fujimori could experience a similar resurgence of popularity whether that occurs with the help of his daughter or on his own accord.

The continuation of support for Fujimori in a general sense signals the Peruvian electorate's ability to negotiate and weigh successes against failures to make political decisions based less on a belief in the political system and more on an inherent distrust for the system that is seen as necessarily corrupt. The peculiar legacy of Alberto Fujimori has fed and fed off of this breakdown of trust in the political system that began in the 1980s. It becomes clear then, that it would be relevant for scholars to begin to study the nuances of the Fujimori legacy in order to place these recent developments within a larger historical context that aims to better understand the Peruvian political system and its historical trajectory. Related to this, scholars could spend much time studying the developments in the Peruvian political psyche that have allowed for such a cynical view of the political establishment to root itself in Peruvian politics.

The study of contemporary history is constrained by limitations such as access to unreleased sources and questions of temporal distance, issues that have been taken into account in the preparation and presentation of this thesis. However these limitations by no means negate the importance of contemporary history. In the case of this thesis, it is the recent past which calls into question the

limitations of more distanced interpretations of the meanings of Fujimori's political legacy for the Peruvian public. Contemporary history is an integral part of the historical profession and such recent historical interpretations of events provide an important jumping off point for future scholars. It is necessary to situate the recent past in a larger historical context in order to move forward in the study of history.

This thesis has attempted to shift the scholarly focus from one that treated the Fujimori legacy as moribund in 2000 to one that attempts to understand the underlying factors that have allowed this legacy to persist in the twenty-first century despite the regime's corrupt nature and Alberto Fujimori's imprisonment on grave charges of corruption and human rights violations. The fact that the Fujimori name commanded significant support within the Peruvian electorate, as seen in Keiko's near presidential victory in 2011, demands a reassessment of this legacy in order to situate Peru's recent past in a wider historical context.

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