

PERU

Polity5 regime codes:

fac	scode	polity	pers	bmon	bday	byear	emon	eday	eyear	exec	exconst	polcomp
1X	PER	-3	1	7	28	1821	9	20	1822	4	1	6
1Xa	PER	-5	1	9	21	1822	2	24	1824	3	1	6
1Xb	PER	-88	4	2	25	1824	6	30	1828	-88	-88	-88
1Xc	PER	5	7	7	1	1828	2	25	1835	8	5	6
1Xd	PER	-3	1	2	26	1835	2	9	1836	4	1	6
1Xe	PER	-1	1	2	10	1836	10	28	1836	4	3	6
1Xf	PER	-3	3	10	29	1836	8	15	1839	4	1	6
1Xg	PER	-1	40	8	16	1839	12	23	1879	4	3	6
1Xh	PER	-3	1	12	24	1879	1	17	1881	4	1	6
1Xi	PER	-66	3	1	18	1881	10	20	1883	-66	-66	-66
1Xj	PER	-3	3	10	21	1883	5	30	1886	4	1	6
1Xk	PER	2	33	5	31	1886	7	4	1919	8	3	6
1O	PER	-88	1	7	5	1919	1	18	1920	-88	-88	-88
1Oa	PER	-9	11	1	19	1920	8	25	1930	3	1	1
1Ob	PER	-88	3	8	26	1930	4	9	1933	-88	-88	-88
2X	PER	2	15	4	10	1933	10	28	1948	8	3	6
2O	PER	-6	2	10	29	1948	7	28	1950	4	1	2
3X	PER	-2	6	7	29	1950	7	28	1956	5	2	6
3Xa	PER	5	6	7	29	1956	7	18	1962	7	5	7
3O	PER	-6	1	7	19	1962	7	27	1963	3	3	2
4X	PER	5	5	7	28	1963	10	3	1968	8	5	6
4O	PER	-7	8	10	4	1968	2	4	1977	4	1	1
4Oa	PER	-7	1	2	5	1977	6	18	1978	5	1	1
4Ob	PER	-88	2	6	19	1978	7	27	1980	-88	-88	-88
5X	PER	7	10	7	28	1980	7	27	1990	8	6	7
5Xa	PER	8	2	7	28	1990	4	5	1992	8	7	7
5O	PER	-4	2	4	6	1992	12	28	1993	4	2	3
6X	PER	-1	7	12	29	1993	11	21	2000	4	3	6
6O	PER	-88	1	11	22	2000	7	27	2001	-88	-88	-88
6Oa	PER	9	17	7	28	2001	99	99	9999	8	7	9

PITF Problem Events:

- 1) 07/62-07/62 (ARC 07/62)
- 2) 10/68-10/68 (ARC 10/68)
- 3) 03/82-04/97 (REV 03/82-04/97; ARC 04/92)

During its first 150 years of independence, Peruvian politics was characterized by alterations between civilian and military governments. Attempts to address the social and economic problems faced by Peruvian society have been forestalled by these alterations, particularly when leftist parties gained control and attempted to pass reforms seen as a threat to the traditional economic elites. Although the formation of the Marxist-oriented American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) in 1924 raised hopes that economic reforms could be passed and the political system democratized, the creation of this party simply marked the beginning of a new era of political tensions between APRA, supported by the middle and working classes, and the military-backed economic elites. These tensions escalated in the 1940s, ultimately resulting in the coup of October 29, 1948, led by Gen. Manuel A. Odria. Although Odria acted to repress and, then, ban APRA, a strong economy and liberalizing elites allowed him to pursue a populist agenda, including a return to competitive elections in 1956.

3Xa) July 29, 1956 (general election) – On June 17, 1956 Peru held its competitive elections since 1945, with three candidates standing for the presidency: Manuel Prado, a conservative patriarch and leader of his personal political party the Democratic Pradista Movement; Hernando

de Lavalle, nominee of the Restoration Party, which held the support of General Odria and promised to continue that policies of that regime; and Fernano Belaunde, a leader of the left-wing opposition. APRA was prohibited from posting a candidate because that party was still banned following General Odria's 1948 coup. The election was largely decided by supporters of APRA, voting in large numbers for either Prado or Belaunde, opposing de Lavalle because of General Odria's ban on their party. Prado won the election with 46% of the vote, was inaugurated on July 28, 1956, and shortly after taking office reversed the ban on APRA and allowed its leaders to return from exile.

3O) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic: July 19, 1962 (military coup and government)

**Brief Explanation of Change From:
Adverse Regime Change: July 1962**

On June 10, 1962, Peru held a general election to replace President Prado, whose six-year term was ending in July. Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, founder and leader of APRA polled the highest number of votes, defeating second-place Fernando Belaunde of the Popular Action Party and former-President Gen. Odria, but he failed to garner one-third of the total votes cast, a constitutional requirement for electoral victory. Although the Peruvian Congress was constitutionally required to decide the election in this scenario, and Haya de la Torre and Odria had reached an agreement whereby APRA would support Odria for the presidency, thus ending the crisis, the military nonetheless intervened and demanded that the election results be annulled, citing electoral irregularities. When the Electoral Board investigated and rejected these accusations, refusing to submit to the military's demands, the military, led by Gen. Perez Godoy, seized control, arrested President Prado, annulled the election results, banned APRA once again, and established a military government with Gen. Godoy as prime minister and president.

4X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic: July 28, 1963 (new government)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

Presidential elections took place in Peru on June 9, 1963, marking the return to a constitutional regime in accordance with the promise of the military junta which had taken over the government in July 1962. The elections were won by Fernando Belaunde, candidate of the Popular Action Party (AP) and Christian Democratic Party (PDC), with 39% of the vote, defeating Haya de la Torre (APRA) and Gen. Odria. Belaunde was sworn in as President on July 28, 1963, thereby ending the military regime and completing the country's return to constitutional government. Communist parties remained banned.

Identify Factions:

- *Popular Action (AP)* — A moderate liberal party in Peru founded by Fernando Belaúnde in 1956 as a reformist alternative to the status quo conservative forces and the controversial American Popular Revolutionary Alliance party (APRA), the AP had most of its support in the middle class and promoted a leftist and nationalist agenda.

- *American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA)* — APRA is Peru's oldest political party, representing the working and middle classes and promoting leftist (although anti-Communist) economic policies and democratic reform. Tensions between APRA and the military dominated the country's politics for much of the 20th century.
- *Military* — The military of Peru has been a dominant force in its politics, generally supportive of the traditional economic elites, who have historically supported conservative political and economic policies. The military was fiercely opposed to the left-wing opposition movement led by APRA. In the late 1960s, due in part to shifting political fortunes within its ranks, the military changed tactics, abandoning the traditional elites and adopting a populist, pro-Communist approach.
- Other minor factions:
National Union Odristas (UNO) — Personal political vehicle of former military dictator Gen. Manuel Odría, UNO often aligned itself with APRA, forming a majority coalition in Congress after Belaunde won the 1963 election.

40) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic: October 4, 1968 (military coup)

Brief Explanation of Change From: Adverse Regime Change: October 1968

President Belaunde, who was reelected President in June 1968, was overthrown in a bloodless military coup on October 3, 1968. A statement by the armed forces on October 3 said that the previous government had been overthrown because of its “moral decomposition” and announced that the Congress had been dissolved, that the new government would hold office for an indefinite term, and that constitutional guarantees were suspended. Gen. Juan Velasco assumed the presidency on October 4, adopting “Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces” as the title for the new regime and on the same day formed an all-military cabinet. Velasco’s regime was oriented towards the far-left; under his rule multiple industries, including the Peruvian subsidiary of Standard Oil, were nationalized, widespread land and educational reforms were implemented, leftist intellectuals received enhanced freedoms for the first time, and the government undertook aggressive import substitution industrialization policies, forming political alliances with the Soviet bloc and Cuba.

Changes within Stabilization Period:

40a) February 5, 1977 (announcement of gradual return to civil rule) – With the health of President Velasco deteriorating and his regime’s economic policies proven ineffective, Gen. Francisco Morales Bermudez deposed Velasco and assumed the presidency on August 29, 1975. President Bermudez diverged from Velasco’s left-leaning policies, and, after failing to fix the economic and political problems inherited from his predecessor, initiated a gradual return to civilian rule that was announced in detail on February 5, 1977. The first step towards this goal was the lifting of the state of emergency and resumption of political activities, which took place August 29, 1977.

40b) June 18, 1978 (new government) – On June 18, 1978, elections were held for a Constituent Assembly, which was charged by the Bermudez military government with drafting a new

constitution. After Belaunde and the AP pulled out of the election, APRA emerged as the strongest party with 37 of 100 seats, while the Christian Popular Party (PPC), led by Luis Bedoya Reyes, won 25 seats. The Popular Front of Workers, Peasants and Students (FOCEP) came in third with twelve seats. The dominance of the military government significantly declined following the formation of the Assembly. On July 12, 1979, the Assembly passed a new constitution, with elections scheduled for May 18, 1980, and imposed several immediate restrictions on the military government, limiting the jurisdiction of military tribunals, recognizing various civil liberties and human rights, and abolishing the death penalty.

5X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic: July 28, 1980 (general election)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

On May 18, 1980, in the first general elections held since 1963 when he was originally elected president, Fernando Belaunde was elected president at the head of his center-right Popular Action party. He assumed office on July 28, 1980, bringing to an end twelve years of military rule. The AP became the majority party in both legislative chambers (98 of 180 seats in the lower house; 26 of 60 seats in the upper house), while APRA came in second with 58 lower house seats and 18 upper house seats. The PPC came in third with ten and six seats in the upper and lower houses, respectively.

Identify Main Factions:

- *Popular Action (AP)* – A moderate liberal party in Peru founded by Fernando Belaúnde in 1956 as a reformist alternative to the status quo conservative forces and the controversial American Popular Revolutionary Alliance party (APRA), the AP had most of its support in the middle class and promoted a leftist and nationalist agenda. The AP joined with PPC and the Liberty Movement to form the Democratic Front (FREDEMO) in 1988.
- *American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA)* – APRA is Peru's oldest political party, representing the working and middle classes and promoting leftist (although anti-Communist) economic policies and democratic reform. Tensions between APRA and the military dominated the country's politics for much of the 20th century. APRA candidate Alan Garcia was elected president in 1985.
- *Military*– The military of Peru has been a dominant force in politics, repeatedly seizing power to promote its own political agenda.

Revolutionary War: March 1982 – April 1997

Beginning in the early 1980s the *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path), a Maoist guerilla movement, began attacking government forces in the Andean highlands of the country. The organization gradually declined after the arrest of its most prominent leaders in the 1990s.

Changes within Factional-Democratic Period:

5Xa) July 28, 1990 (general election) – Support for APRA and President Alan Garcia fell off in the late 1980s as the Shining Path insurgency gained momentum and the economy experienced hyperinflation. Although the candidate for the main opposition party, the Democracy Front (FREDEMO), won the first round of voting, the public was wary of the party's neo-liberal

economic policies and austerity proposals. In June 1990, running as candidate for the new Cambio-90 party and capitalizing on public dissatisfaction both APRA and FREDEMO, Alberto Fujimori won the election for president. Fujimori was inaugurated on July 28, 1990, and faced an opposition Congress dominated by FREDEMO.

5O) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic: April 6, 1992 (presidential coup)

**Brief Explanation of Change From:
Adverse Regime Change: April 1992**

Facing internal war and economic recession, President Alberto Fujimori on April 5, 1992, seized power in an army-backed, presidential coup, suspending those sections of the Constitution which recognized the authority of the Congress and of the judiciary. The coup took place on the eve of the reopening of Congress (in which Fujimori lacked a majority) after the summer recess and was directed by Capt. Vladimiro Montesinos, who went on to head Fujimori's internal security apparatus. On November 22, 1992, elections were held for a Democratic Constituent Congress (DCC) envisioned by the Fujimori regime to replace the suspended Congress. All of the main opposition parties, except the conservative Popular Christian Party, boycotted the election.

6X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic: December 29, 1993 (new constitution)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

On December 29, 1993, President Fujimori formally promulgated the new Constitution approved in an October 1993 referendum that was boycotted by the opposition. The constitution was approved despite statements from a member of the National Election Board (JNE), Juan Chávez Molina, that the government had failed to win the two-thirds majority needed to approve constitutional changes. The new constitution dramatically strengthened the presidency and allowed for the reelection of an incumbent president. Having consolidated his regime's control of the policy process, Fujimori relaxed some overt restrictions on oppositional groups.

Identify Main Factions:

- *Fujimori regime* — President Fujimori was supported in power by an alliance of political interest groups named the New Majority Change-90 (NM-C90) in 1995 elections, and the Peru 2000 in 2000 elections.
- *Opposition to Fujimori* — Opposition to Fujimori's government remained highly fragmented through the 1990s. The passing of a law in August 1996 allowing Fujimori to seek a third term in office provided a rallying issue for the opposition but the opposition remained largely ineffective in challenging Fujimori's policies until early 2000.
- *Military* — Although the military did not interfere directly in politics during the period of Fujimori's rule, largely because the military supported Fujimori's repression of the country's Maoist insurgents, the regime was critically dependent on the military's support.

6O) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic: November 22, 2000 (removal of president; transitional government)

Brief Explanation of Change From:

Following the weakening of the Shining Path insurgency by the late 1990s, the Fujimori regime came under increasing pressure to lift political restrictions and loosen his control of the government. President Fujimori's announcement on December 27, 1999, that he would run as the presidential candidate of the Peru 2000 alliance in the forthcoming elections scheduled for April 9, 2000, galvanized the opposition. The regime was accused of massive fraud in the conduct of the elections, which were boycotted by the opposition. Facing mounting protests, on November 16, 2000, Fujimori, after a power struggle between Fujimori and intelligence chief Montesinos, announced his intention to step down and call a new election in which he would not be a candidate. The announcement, issued by fax while Fujimori was preparing for exile in Japan, was rejected by the legislature, which voted on November 21 to reject the resignation and instead remove him from office on grounds of "moral incapacity." Valentín Paniagua, President of Congress and leader of the AP, was sworn in as interim president on November 22, 2000.

Changes within Democratic-Consolidation Period:

60a) July 28, 2001 (election) – The first election following President Fujimori's departure was contested by former President Alan Garcia, representing APRA, and Alejandro Toledo, of the center-left Peru Possible party. After an inconclusive first round, Toledo won the June 3 run-off election with 51.9% of the vote and was sworn in as president on June 28, 2001, becoming the first indigenous Andean Indian to hold the post. With the military coming under scrutiny for its role in human rights violations under the Fujimori regime, Toledo embarked on far-reaching reforms of the military and intelligence services in an attempt to depoliticize the military, including a sweeping purge of senior personnel. In 2005 President Toledo's administration suffered numerous claims of nepotism, misappropriation of funds and electoral malfeasance during his failed 2000 election bid against President Fujimori, leading to the 2006 electoral victory of former President and APRA leader Alan Garcia.