

## PERU

- Themes
  - Export oligarchy
  - APRA vs. military
  - “Peruvian Revolution” (leftist military)
- Export oligarchy very real, though more diversified (sugar, minerals, guano)
- Export enclaves (“company towns”) radicalized workers
- APRA (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance) founded in 1924 by Victor Haya de la Torre
  - Anti-imperialist and international solidarity
  - Longest-lasting political party (still a significant force today), with Haya de la Torre the most well-known political figure over a long period of time (1920s through the 1980s)
- 1945-48: Bustamante (elected, included APRA, with military and oligarchy opposed)
- 1948-56: Odria (military) ousts Bustamante and APRA
  - Begins to undermine APRA’s appeal to the lower-classes
  - “Odria’s populism”
  - Urban squatter as a political base for Odria
  - But oligarchy becomes intolerant and forces return to civilian rule
- 1956-62: Prado (elected, representative of the oligarchy, but APRA is supportive)
  - APRA is “selling out”
  - Popular Action (AP) formed to fill vacuum on the left
  - AP led by Fernando Belaunde Terry
- 1962—contested elections—Haya de la Torre narrowly wins, but army stages a transitional military coup
- 1963-68: Belaunde (elected, middle-class, urbanization, reformist)
  - Unable to fulfill promised reforms
  - Army sympathetic to these reforms—and increasingly anti-U.S. (nationalist)
  - Belaunde proves to be too weak to enact reforms
  - International Petroleum Corporation (IPC—subsidiary of Standard Oil) scandal—anger of Belaunde’s promise to compensate IPC and “loss” of contract page detailing compensation
- 1968-75: “Peruvian Revolution”
  - Military overthrows Belaunde—impatient with slow pace of reforms
  - U.S. pulling from the right and guerrillas pulling from the left
  - Velasco as President
  - Nationalizes IPC and many other enterprises, banks, utilities, etc.
  - Agrarian reform—significant redistribution of land
  - Industrial reform—joint worker/entrepreneur ownership
- 1975-80: Conservative military government
- 1980-85: Belaunde
- 1985-90: Alan Garcia
  - Aprista
  - Initially popular, dynamic, and charismatic
  - Hyperinflation (2,200,200% over the five years), decline in standard of living, rise of guerrillas (Shining Path, or Sendero Luminoso)

- 1990-2001: Alberto Fujimori
  - Popular after the problematic presidency of Garcia
  - But had authoritarian tendencies
  - 1992 “auto-coup” (centralizing of presidential powers)
  - Ended 15 years of Shining Path terror and arrested their leader, but at what costs?
  - Presidency ends in resignation under cloud of corruption
- 2001-2006: Alejandro Toledo
  - Opposition leader, initially seen as reformist
  - But also becomes accused of corruption
- 2006-2011: Alan Garcia
  - More moderate than earlier
  - Left feared he would become an anti-Chavez ideologue
  - Defeated Humala in election partly due to the impression by many that Humala was close to Chavez
- 2012-2016: Ollanta Humala
  - “More Lula than Chavez”
  - Former military officer
  - Fighting poverty is priority
  - Defeated Keiko Fujimori (Alberto Fujimori’s daughter)

## CONCLUSION

- “Peruvian Revolution”—why a leftist military
  - Reform space
  - Anti-Apra strategy
  - Anti-US strategy
  - Other political movements discredited
- But problems of the leftist military
  - Very difficult to maintain anti-US stance
  - Could not establish its own political base
  - Economic problems could not be resolved through populism and reform
- Historical problems of institutional development and political leadership