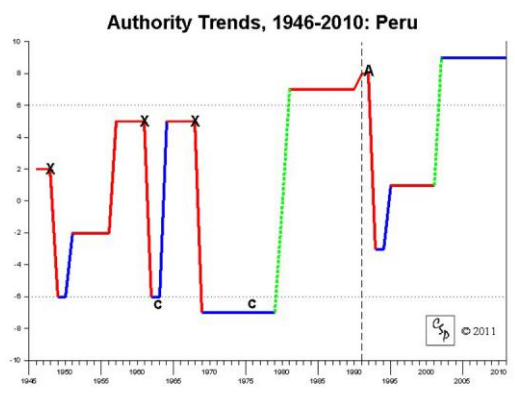


## Polity IV Country Report 2010: Peru

<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 15%;">Score:</td> <td style="width: 15%;">2009</td> <td style="width: 15%;">2010</td> <td style="width: 15%;">Change</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>Polity:</b></td> <td>9</td> <td>9</td> <td>0</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>Democ:</b></td> <td>9</td> <td>9</td> <td>0</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>Autoc:</b></td> <td>0</td> <td>0</td> <td>0</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>Durable:</b></td> <td></td> <td>9</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>Tentative:</b></td> <td></td> <td>No</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	Score:	2009	2010	Change	<b>Polity:</b>	9	9	0	<b>Democ:</b>	9	9	0	<b>Autoc:</b>	0	0	0	<b>Durable:</b>		9		<b>Tentative:</b>		No		
Score:	2009	2010	Change																						
<b>Polity:</b>	9	9	0																						
<b>Democ:</b>	9	9	0																						
<b>Autoc:</b>	0	0	0																						
<b>Durable:</b>		9																							
<b>Tentative:</b>		No																							
SCODE	PER	CCODE	135	Date of Report	1 June 2011																				
<b>Polity IV Component Variables</b>																									
XRREG	XRCOMP	XROPEN	XCONST	PARREG	PARCOMP																				
3	3	4	7	2	4																				
<b>Date of Most Recent Polity Transition (3 or more point change)</b>																									
End Date		21 November 2000		Begin Date																					
				28 July 2001																					
<b>Polity Fragmentation: No</b>																									
<b>Constitution</b>	1993																								
<b>Executive(s)</b>	President Ollanta Humala Tasso (PNP); directly elected 10 April and 6 June 2011; 31.7% and 51.5%																								
<b>Legislature</b>	Unicameral: Congress of the Republic (120 seats; proportionally elected; most recent elections, 10 April 2011) Win Peru (GP): 47 <i>[coalition of Lima Para Todos, Peruvian Communist Party, Peruvian Socialist Party and Peruvian Nationalist Party]</i> Fuerza 2011: 37 Peru Possible (PP): 21 <i>[coalition of Accion Popular and Somos Peru]</i> Alliance for Great Change: 12 <i>[coalition of the Alliance for Progress, Humanist Party, National Restoration Party and Popular Christian Party]</i> National Solidarity: 9 <i>[coalition of Cambio 90, Siempre Unidos, Todos por el Peru and Union for Peru]</i> Peruvian Aprista Party: 4																								
<b>Judiciary</b>	Supreme Court of Justice																								

## **Narrative Description:<sup>1</sup>**

### **Executive Recruitment: Competitive Elections (8)**

President Alberto Fujimori won a third 5-year term in May 2000 elections that were boycotted by the opposition. Continuing dissatisfaction with the quality of presidential authority, leadership, and the electoral process were further complicated by charges of corruption involving presidential advisor and de facto head of the intelligence service Vladimiro Montesinos. Rising popular dissent led Fujimori to announce on 16 September 2000, that he intended to hold new national elections in April 2001, in which he would not be a candidate. This strategy failed to quell the escalating challenges and opposition to the regime and on 20 November 2000, Fujimori sent his resignation to Congress from refuge in Japan. Congress refused to accept his resignation and instead voted to remove him from office for "moral incapacity" on the following day. As both vice presidents had already resigned their posts, the President of Congress Valentin Paniagua was sworn in as interim-President on 22 November 2000. He immediately appointed former UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to the post of Prime Minister and announced that new presidential and congressional elections would be held in April 2001. In the 2001 presidential elections, Alejandro Toledo, a leader of the anti-Fujimori opposition and populist candidate with ties to the large indigenous population of the interior, and Alan Garcia, a former President whose failed economic policies had seriously discredited his previous administration and led him to flee criminal charges in 1992 (charges later dropped by the Supreme Court), gained the most votes in an eight candidate field. Toledo won a narrow victory in the June 2001 runoff election against Garcia and was inaugurated President on 28 July.

In 2005 President Toledo's administration became bogged down by claims of nepotism, the misappropriation of funds and electoral malfeasance during his failed 2000 election bid against President Fujimori. A congressional commission reported that his party forged almost 80% of the 500,000 signatures required to register his party in 2000. In the midst of this political controversy, former center-left president Alan Garcia was returned to office in the elections of June 2006. In early 2006 the country's electoral agency ruled that former President Fujimori could not stand for re-election until 2011. In presidential elections held 10 April 2011, Ollanta Humala, the candidate of the Win Peru alliance who had lost the June 2006 election by a narrow margin to Alan Garcia, emerged along with the daughter of former President Alberto Fujimori, Keiko Fujimori of the Force 2011 alliance, to stand in 5 June 2011 runoff elections. Humala narrowly won the runoff vote with 51.5% of the vote and was sworn in as president on 28 July 2011.

### **Executive Constraints: Executive Parity or Subordination (7)**

Under the present Constitution, a directly elected president (head of state and government) holds executive power and, may serve two consecutive five-year terms. The president appoints a Council of Ministers (Cabinet) and can dissolve the legislature if necessary. The president is empowered to submit draft bills, to review laws drafted by the legislature, and (if delegated by the legislature) to enact laws. Since April 1992, the president has exercised enhanced powers, wherefore President Fujimori's administration was seen as authoritarian and characterized by "excessive centralism." This administration collapsed as he fled the country, while the parliament voted to remove him from office.

The Constitution provides for an independent judiciary; however, in practice the judiciary has been inefficient, subject to corruption, and easily controlled by the executive branch. Under the Toledo administration, the courts became quite active in prosecuting anti-corruption cases stemming from the Fujimori administration, including former government and armed forces leaders. In January 2003, the Constitutional Court ruled that key aspects of anti-terrorism laws enacted during the Fujimori presidency were unconstitutional. The Court's ruling raised the possibility that almost 2,000 insurgents convicted of treason during the 1990s would be eligible for retrial.

The most important constraint on executive power in Peru has historically been come from the military. Military support for the Fujimori administration during the period of serious challenge by the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) insurgency enabled a concentration of power in the executive office. However, the military was implicated in widespread abuse and corruption upon Fujimori's fall. As such,

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<sup>1</sup> The research described in this report was sponsored by the Political Instability Task Force (PITF). The PITF is funded by the Central Intelligence Agency. The views expressed herein are the authors' alone and do not represent the views of the US Government.

the military maintained a low profile during the transition period and into the first years of the new Toledo Administration. In August 2001 the three commanders of the armed forces (Air Force, Army, and Navy) resigned, citing their inability to work with the new Defense Minister, who had earned a reputation as a critic of the armed forces. It is unlikely that the military establishment will remain quiescent for long should the new administration expand its challenge to the military leadership's core interests.

**Political Participation: Political Liberalization or Democratic Retrenchment: Limited and/or Decreasing Overt Coercion (9)**

The collapse of the Fujimori administration has led to a significant opening in the area of political competition. The post-Fujimori administrations have permitted a greater degree of political expression and have made a concerted effort to establish a more competitive electoral system in Peru. The April 2001 presidential elections revealed a split between supporters of two main candidates: Alejandro Toledo, a leader of the anti-Fujimori opposition and populist candidate with ties to the large indigenous population of the interior, and Alan Garcia, a former President whose failed economic policies had seriously discredited his previous administration and led him to flee criminal charges in 1992 (charges later dropped by the Supreme Court). Despite the fact that neither candidate enjoyed the support of the military, the armed forces did not stand in the way of the electoral victory of Toledo. In the wake of his electoral victory in July 2001, President Toledo presided over an active purge of the armed forces' "old guard" and conducted a rigorous anti-corruption campaign designed to root out protégés of the Fujimori administration and Montesinos security apparatus. Toledo abolished the National Intelligence Council (CNI) on 22 March 2004. In this climate of reflection and reconstruction, social tensions regarding land issues and the status of the indigenous population have resurfaced.

Despite the significant liberalization of the political process in recent years, elements of factionalism continue to persist. While the threat of revolution has subsided in Peru, with the only 200-300 members of Peru's Shining Path movement still active, nonetheless, political tensions remain close to the surface in this country. In December 2006, Peruvian opposition leader Ollanta Humala was charged with treason as a result of his alleged ties to a 2005 siege of a police station in which six were killed. The siege, led by his brother, was orchestrated to demand the resignation of then-President Alejandro Toledo. Humala, leader of the largest coalition in Congress, had lost a run-off election to Alan Garcia in June 2006. Humala had earlier been kicked out of the army in 2000 after leading a failed revolt against President Fujimori.

Grinding poverty in many sectors of Peruvian society continues to facilitate long-standing factional grievances by the poor. Unable or unwilling to effectively alter the profound economic inequities which permeate Peruvian society, President Garcia has faced considerable social unrest in his second term in office. In the summer of 2007 nationwide protests and a general strike brought Peru to a near standstill. Led by labor unions and representatives of the indigenous community, these protests were largely a reaction to President Garcia's attempts to weaken union control and reform the economy.