

1990

The Impact of the Military on Peru's Predemocratization

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THE IMPACT OF THE MILITARY ON PERU'S
REDEMOCRATIZATION

A Thesis

Presented to

The faculty of the Department of Government
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

Michael Francis Plichta

1990

APPROVAL SHEET


This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts



Michael Francis Plichta

Approved, May 1990



George W. Grayson



Donald J. Baxter



Bartram S. Brown

DEDICATION:

To my parents whom I love dearly

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to consider what kinds of factors must be taken into account when analyzing the impact of military rule on redemocratization in Latin America.

Karen Remmer proposes that by looking at five factors which she has identified, it is possible to accurately predict whether there will be greater or lesser change in a returning democratic system. By applying Remmer's approach to the experiences of the 1968-1980 Peruvian military regimes one should be able to assess the strengths and weaknesses of Remmer's ideas.

The results of this study indicate that although a number of important factors relating to changes in Peruvian democracy are identified by Remmer, these alone cannot account for the degree of regime discontinuity seen in Peru. In applying Remmer's thesis to Peru, one discovers that several country-specific features must play a crucial role in our understanding of Peru's current democratic party system despite Remmer's failure to recognize their importance.

THE IMPACT OF THE MILITARY ON PERU'S
REDEMOCRATIZATION

Introduction

Since the early 1980s, Latin America has experienced a major shift towards redemocratization. The authoritarian regimes which established themselves in the late 1960s and 1970s have, for the most part, returned control to civilian democratic systems. In 1980 Peru reverted to democracy as a part of this trend. This thesis will examine the impact of Peru's most recent authoritarian regime on the democratic system which reemerged at the beginning of this decade.

In her article, "Redemocratization and the impact of Authoritarian Rule in Latin America," Karen Remmer suggests that by analyzing five specific factors, it is possible to determine whether a country like Peru will have been subject to greater or lesser change in its returning democratic political system. By applying Remmer's thesis to Peru, it should be possible to make a reasonable assessment of her work. In a sense this paper tests the ability of the Remmer study to explain the dramatic changes in Peru's democracy. The first chapter examines the entire spectrum of studies on redemocratization in Latin America and Spain and the apparent need for more research in the area of democratic consolidation. Can a comprehensive study like Remmer's adequately fulfill this need? The second chapter is an application of Remmer's ideas at the individual country level.

For the purpose of this study, Peru has been chosen as the test case. The final chapter is an assessment of how successful Remmer is at accounting for what appears to have been significant pre- and post-authoritarian regime discontinuity.

Background

On October 3, 1968, the military seized control of the Peruvian government and deposed the democratically elected president, Fernando Belaúnde Terry. The principle reason given for the coup was the scandal involving the International Petroleum Company (IPC). The military claimed its right to intervene due to the "moral decomposition" of the government exemplified by its mismanagement of the Brea and Pariñas oil contracts.¹ The Belaúnde administration had attempted to mislead the public about the existence of some terms which it had agreed to in a government contract with the IPC. The government had also been involved in numerous other scandals and had demonstrated its inability to resolve growing economic difficulties.

The new military government under General Juan Velasco Alvarado immediately repudiated the questionable petroleum contract and proclaimed itself to be the "Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces."² Rather atypically, the regime

¹"Belaúnde Deposed in Peru Coup," The Times(London), 4 October 1968, p.7.

²"Oil Dispute Behind Peru Coup," The Times(London), 11 October 1968, p.10.

attempted to promote serious reforms in the areas of labor-management relations, foreign capital investment, education, land reform, and the role of the government in the national economy. The regime created "industrial communities" to increase worker participation in the management and ownership of industry. Links between the workers and the governments were created through state promoted organizations like SINAMOS. An aggressive campaign of expropriation and nationalization of foreign and domestically owned industries was also initiated. Many of these expropriations proved to be very popular.

In the area of agriculture, the government redistributed a much larger percentage of Peru's land than any previous government. Under the Belaúnde administration land reform legislation had been created but proved ineffective. The Velasco government's land reform personally affected 2 million out of 6 million agrarian peasants by redistributing land to 350,000 families.³ The real significance of this land reform was that it was applied universally. It effected both the smaller sierra farms and the enormous sugar and cotton plantations along the coast.

In 1975, the more conservative General Morales Bermúdez replaced General Velasco as president. Near the end of the Velasco period, the "revolution" had begun to falter under the weight of growing economic deterioration. For example, Peru's

³Alain Rouquie, The Military and the State in Latin America (Berkley: University of California Press, 1987) 316.

fishing industry, which amounted to one-third of the country's foreign exchange, was devastated by an unpredictable shift in the Humbolt current. The price of copper, another major export, dropped dramatically and oil discoveries in the oriente region had not proven to be as abundant as expected. Also, the regime had borrowed heavily from foreign banks to finance ambitious irrigation and oil projects, thereby increasing the nation's foreign debt burden.

In light of these growing problems, the government implemented an austerity program, which resulted in public protest and strikes. The new government under General Morales Bermúdez disassembled a number of the more ambitious yet unsuccessful Velasco programs. In 1977, the Morales Bermúdez government announced the initiation of open elections for a Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly would draft a new constitution to insure an orderly transition back to democracy by 1980. Ex-president Belaúnde's party withdrew from the assembly elections, charging that they unnecessarily delayed the restoration of democratic rule.⁴

In 1980 presidential elections were held. Belaúnde, who had been ousted by the military in 1968, was elected once again to the presidency. It looked as if the military government had left as its legacy nothing more than continued economic instability and tattered revolutionary dreams.

⁴David P. Werlich, "Peru: the Lame-Duck Revolution," Current History 76 (February, 1979): 65.

On the surface, the impact of the military regime in Peru appeared to have no lasting effect on the political system. The Peruvians re-elected the same man who had been forced out of office by the military when they seized control of the government in 1968. Yet this may not have been the case. Merely considering the return of Belaúnde to power does not tell us enough to make such a judgment. Further evidence to prove or disprove this assumption must be analyzed in order to determine the extent of continuity between the pre- and post-authoritarian democratic regimes.

CHAPTER I

Approaches to Democratization

Democratic political systems have risen and fallen in Latin America since the 1950s. In response to this phenomenon, waves of literature on the subject of civilianization have followed each phase of the cycle of authoritarian regimes replacing civilian governments and vice versa. A new current of transitions to civilian government began in the 1980s. The past decade has seen the return of democracy in the majority of Latin American states including the recent transition made by Paraguay after nearly thirty-five years of authoritarian rule under General Alfredo Stroessner.

Despite years of debate over approaches to the study of this political phenomenon, no definitive theory has emerged. Dankwart Rustow called for the development of a single dynamic model for transitions to democracy almost twenty years ago. Although Rustow made a noble attempt to unify the various approaches to democratization, his overall emphasis was toward

the study of lengthy historical phases. Rustow posited that,

The "advent" of democracy must not, of course, be understood as occurring in a single year. Since the emergence of new social groups and the formation of new habits are involved, one generation is probably the minimum period of transition. In Britain, for example, it may be argued that it began before 1640 and was not accomplished until 1918.¹

The bulk of the literature on transitions to democracy in Latin America focuses on answering the following three questions: What causes authoritarian regimes to breakdown? What are the various paths to transition? What factors determine the success of democratic consolidation? Edward Epstein addresses the first of these questions in his study of "bureaucratic-authoritarian" states. Using Guillermo O'Donnell's framework, Epstein concludes that bureaucratic-authoritarian states become increasingly vulnerable as they attempt to substitute a new form of legitimacy based on economic achievement and hierarchical political order for the more traditional role of stability maintenance.² As the memory of past disorder fades over time, regime legitimacy becomes based on its economic success. Epstein argues that the lack of economic performance in Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina is the reason for the

¹Dankwart Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy," Comparative Politics. (April 1970) p. 347.

²Edward C. Epstein, "Legitimacy, Institutionalism, and opposition in Exclusionary Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Regimes: The situation in the 1980s," Comparative Politics. (October 1984): 37-54.

gradual breakdown of these authoritarian regimes in the 1980s.³

Focusing on Brazil alone, Bolivar Lamounier challenges a number of interpretations which attempt to link redemocratization to economic expansion. Lamounier questions the validity of such explanations regarding Brazil's liberalization process in the years 1973 to 1979:

. . . discarding the accepted wisdom that attempts to link political outcomes to the up- (or down-) swing of the economic cycle, if for no other reason, simply because the more usual tendency to link authoritarianism to recession and democracy to economic expansion seems flatly contradicted by the experience of many countries during the last 10 to 15 years. The connection between economic expansion and political "hardening" in Brazil circa 1968 is too well known to require elaboration.⁴

In "The Economics of the Peruvian Experiment in Comparative Perspective," John Sheahan equates the economic failures of the Peruvian Military (1968-1973) to similar failed attempts at economic restructuring in recent Latin American history. As will be discussed in later chapters, the Velasco government's lack of success in this area contributed to the eventual redemocratization of Peru. Sheahan notes:

³Epstein 1984, 52.

⁴Bolivar Lamounier, "Notes on the Study of Redemocratization," Working papers of the Latin American program, Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, No. 58. (Washington D.C.: 1979): p. 6.

What is particularly striking about these failures and the breakdown to which they inexorably led is their similarity to a basic pattern evident during the last thirty years in other countries that have tried to restructure their economic systems: it is almost as if Argentina under Peron, Chile under Allende, and Peru under Velasco had all been handed the same set of unworkable instructions.⁵

The Paths to Transition

The second question which must be looked at in this literature review deals with the various paths to transition. Donald Share provides a very useful model of transitions to democratic systems. In his article, "Transitions to Democracy and Transitions Through Transaction," Share establishes a fourfold typology based on two questions. First, does the democratic transition have the consent or guidance of the authoritarian regime? In the case of consensual transitions, open confrontation with democratic opposition is usually avoided. Transitions to democratic government which do not include support or cooperation from the authoritarian regime in power are achieved at the expense of the legitimacy of authoritarian rule. These non-consensual transitions tend to be more violent and the resulting democratic regimes will likely reject the support of political forces associated with authoritarian rule.

⁵John Sheahan, "Economics of the Peruvian Experiment in Comparative Perspective," eds., A. Lowenthal and Cynthia McClintock, The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983): 387-388.

The second question which forms the basis of Share's typology relates to the duration of the transformation. Has the transition occurred over an extended period of time, perhaps lasting a decade or more? Was it a fairly rapid change? Share suggests that democratization resulting from a gradual and consensual transition is becoming an increasingly elusive option for authoritarian rulers to undertake.⁶ The spread of mass communications in the contemporary world makes a gradual opening of the political process unrealistic in most cases. Gradual democratization which faces opposition from authoritarian regimes is the ideal breeding ground for Share's "protracted revolutionary struggle".⁷

Attitude of authoritarian regime
Pace of democratization (Consensual) (Non-Consensual)

Gradual:	Incremental Democratization	Transition through Protracted Struggle
Rapid:	Transition through Transaction	Transition through Rupture: A) Revolution B) Coup C) Collapse D) Extrication

Most modern democratic transitions have been as a result of rapid and non-consensual democratization (transition through rupture). Share lists four subtypes in this category. Most postwar European democracies emerged due to defeat and occupation by foreign powers producing a collapse of their non-

⁶Donald Share, "Transitions to Democracy and Transitions through Transaction," Comparative Political Studies 19 (January 1987): 530.

⁷(Share 1987, 531)

democratic regimes. The collapse of authoritarian states in Germany, Italy, and Japan all led to democratic transitions. Transition through rupture can also lead to extrication. Argentina (1983) and Peru (1980) are among the most recent examples of this kind of transition. Extrication comes about when an authoritarian regime faces a sudden loss of legitimacy and, as in the cases of Argentina and Peru, quickly transfers power to the forces of democratic opposition. A third subtype is the coup. In this situation, the authoritarian regime is removed from power by military elites who then call for the establishment of a democratic system. Mass mobilization, or revolution, constitutes the final subtype within the "transition through rupture" category. The most obvious example of this kind of transition is the French Revolution.

The central focus of Donald Share's work emphasizes the need for a broad typology of democratic transitions, in order to deal with what he sees as a significant number of variations among transition experiences. To illustrate this point, he argues that Spain's transition to democracy clearly differed from the "transition through rupture" scenarios. Spain's transition represents a fourth category, "transition through transaction". Special conditions must be met in order to achieve the kind of transition which took place in Spain in the late 1970s. Aside from the regime's willingness to implement a fairly rapid transition to democratic government, the Spanish regime fortunately had the skill and confidence to carry out its own

retreat from power. Guillermo O'Donnell describes the difficulty in achieving a brief and orderly transition, stating that, "This type of democratization poses an enigma that severely tests the ingenuity of the social engineers who offer their expertise to accomplish a task which amounts to squaring a circle".⁸

Share examines the specific conditions which allowed the Spanish to "square the circle" after Franco's death. Long-term conditions amounted to a serious succession crisis after more than forty years of rule under Franco and a lack of consensus concerning a solution to the crisis. The political conditions in Spain were also affected by the political will of appointed president, Adolfo Suarez. With the support that King Juan Carlos was able to gain for democratization from various sources including the opposition, the Suarez government was able to maintain enough control over the political situation to confidently initiate a rapid yet orderly transition.

Transition through transaction led to the establishment of a stable democracy in Spain. However, it required conditions which were not present during most of the recent transitions in Latin America. When a transitional regime brings in political leaders not connected to the past regime, the prospects of transaction are increased. If such a regime does not believe that its control over reform is threatened by opposition forces,

⁸Share 1987, 534.

then the opportunity for a successful transition through transaction is further increased. In the end, it requires the willingness of capable elites combined with the conditions mentioned above, in order to insure that this type of transition will succeed. Not all of these conditions were present during recent transitions to democracy in Latin America.

Looking at Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil, one sees examples of various forms of redemocratization which have characterized Latin American transitions in the 1980s. Uruguay's redemocratization in 1986 can best be categorized as a negotiated withdrawal. The Argentine military's sudden loss of legitimacy and abrupt retreat from power resembles Share's transition through extrication. In contrast to Argentina's hasty withdrawal, Brazil's authoritarian government initiated a gradual and deliberate program of liberalization which resulted in the return of democracy in 1985.

Transición y restauración democrática by Luis Eduardo González gives an analysis of the Uruguayan military's decision to step aside. Gonzalez argues that the military regime began to face significant opposition as a consequence of its attempt to create a "democradura" - a democracy limited by its commitment to national security doctrine.⁹ Uruguay's 1980 plebiscite, which would have established the foundations for a democradura, and the

⁹Charles G. Gillespie, "From Authoritarian Crises to Democratic Transitions," Latin American Research Review. 22 (1987): 172.

prolonged presence of the military in government was defeated by a vote of 57 percent to 43 percent.¹⁰ González points out that the loss at the polls severely weakened the Uruguayan military's claim of legitimacy. Despite the belief of some in the military that the plebiscite represented an acceptance of the status quo, George Phillip noted that most Uruguayan officers were disheartened by the results:

" . . . there was a period of confusion and conflict; the majority of the military felt, however, that it was necessary to replace the existing figurehead with a "real" president and begin bargaining with the opposition so as to maintain as much control as possible over a gradual transition to democratic rule."¹¹

Unlike Share's example of transition through transaction in Spain, Uruguay's military rulers faced opposition from deeply rooted democratic traditions. González argues that the military made a second mistake by depending on the electorate for support and legitimacy. The 1982 party primaries proved disastrous for the civilian allies of the military because of a surprising lack of support at the polls. The regime also failed to reach an understanding with the parties which would allow them to retain significant control after open elections. No such guarantees were made by the political parties which worked out an acceptable

¹⁰George Phillip, The Military in South American Politics. (London: Croom Helm, 1985), p. 350.

¹¹Phillip 1985, 350.

transition process under the 1984 Acuerdo del Club Naval.¹²

Uruguay's transition to democratic rule arose out of a triangular relationship among the military, a popular movement, and opposition parties. Although the military publicly claimed to have engineered the transition and the opposition parties made similar claims, González points out that no single force predominated over Uruguay's redemocratization process. Just as the military felt the pressure to meet the public's demands, the opposition parties were under pressure not to demand too much of the military. As González observed, "Popular pressure in terms of votes was overwhelming, but mobilization through demonstrations and strikes served its purpose as an instrument of pressure on the armed forces because it was under control, and kept within limits."¹³

The return of democracy to Argentina in 1983, is seen by many as simply the result of Argentina's defeat in the Falklands War. However, the transition which took place in Argentina merits closer examination. Andres Fontana suggests in Fuerzas armadas, partidos politicos y transicion a la democracia en la Argentina that, aside from growing economic instability, the Galtieri government also faced increasing dissension and disunity within the military as an institution immediately before to the start of the war. The regime's decision to invade

¹²Gillespie 1987, 173.

¹³Ibid.

the Falklands was not only a reaction to socio-economic pressure, it was also an attempt to reunify the military.¹⁴

As if defeat at the hands of the British was not enough, the Argentine public was confused and angered by the sudden defeat by the so-called "retreating" British forces. Their government had deliberately led them to believe that they were winning the war. "The manipulation of opinion was conducted in a masterly way: from 2 April to 13 June, helped by nationalist fervor, the Argentine armed forces were supposed to go from triumph to triumph."¹⁵ On June 14th General Menendez promptly surrendered to the British at Port Stanley.¹⁶ Not only had the military failed to win the war, they had also deceived the Argentine public until the very moment of defeat.

Fontana describes the military's extrication from government as an "unconditional transition". Political parties in Argentina did not give conservatives in the military an excuse to crackdown on them by mobilizing against the regime, nor did they agree to any negotiations.¹⁷ The military was in no position to bargain effectively with party leaders. In the end, the military managed to retain control only until promised elections took place in October 1983. In order to improve its credibility

¹⁴Gillespie 1987, 172.

¹⁵Phillip 1985, 267.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Gillespie 1987, 171.

after the war, the military replaced General Galtieri and recommended court martials for top ranking Generals Menendez, Galtieri, and Admirals Anaya and Llami Dozo.¹⁸ Other measures which the regime took during its final days were not so well received. Human rights violations and the economic situation were key factors which continued to damage the reputation of the military as an institution.

Brazil's return to democracy is a stark contrast to Argentina's transition. According to Share's typology, Brazil's transition comes under the category of Incremental Democratization. In "Transitions to Democracy: Brazil and Argentina," Scott Mainwaring and Eduardo Viola contrast the deliberate liberalization from the top down which took place in Brazil with Argentina's experience.¹⁹ While many observers argue that Brazil's transition began in 1974, and continues today, the Argentine military proved incapable of prolonging its stay in power for more than a year after the 1982 war. Mainwaring and Viola observe that Brazil's ability to limit the pace of its transition is owing to its economic successes combined with the Brazilian tradition of political accommodation. In the 1970s, the Brazilian military was able to claim legitimacy based on efficiency and development. Economic growth under the

¹⁸Phillip 1985, 268.

¹⁹Scott Mainwaring and Eduardo Viola, "Transitions to Democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980s," Journal of Interamerican Affairs 38 (Winter 1985): 193-219.

military's supervision gave the regime the confidence to begin the "abertura."²⁰ The authoritarian government was so successful at mobilizing support for itself that it was able to establish a legitimately powerful pro-government party, despite liberalization. Faced with growing opposition in the late 1970s, the regime showed considerable flexibility and confidence. Viola and Mainwaring comment that between 1977 and 1980 the government "responded with notable sagacity and success, using a pattern of cooptation where possible and repression where necessary".²¹

In his article, "Entrepreneurs and the Transition process: the Brazilian case," Fernando Cardoso argues that Brazilian industrialists have played an important role in the redemocratization of their country. While critical of authoritarianism, they have supported regime control over a gradual transition to democracy. Cardoso stresses how significant the support of the business community has been for Brazil's authoritarian rulers during the last three decades:

²⁰Abertura refers to Brazil's liberalization or "opening" process which began under president Ernesto Geisel in 1974.

²¹Scott Mainwaring and Eduardo Viola, "Transitions to Democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980s," Journal of International Affairs 38 (Winter 1985) p.204.

Without business participation, however, the experiment with "enlightened-authoritarian transformation would have been difficult: just as before 1964 and in 1968, the more hard-line sectors of the military needed business support for their resistance to any liberalization (even when controlled from "above") for fear that the political process might get out of hand.²²

Factors Associated with Successful Redemocratization

The third concern of literature related to democratization in Latin America seeks to determine, what factors determine the success of democratic consolidation. The question becomes more complex when one considers that a significant number of states have undergone more than one transition to democracy. Success is thus measured by comparing reemerging democratic systems with pre-authoritarian regimes.

Karen Remmer identifies five factors which affect the impact of authoritarian regimes on returning democratic systems.²³ She posits that continuities and discontinuities which exist between pre- and post-authoritarian democratic regimes can be accounted for if one examines how her five features relate to the authoritarian regime in question. The more pronounced these factors become due to the authoritarian

²²Fernando Cardoso, "Entrepreneurs and the Transition process: the Brazilian case," eds. Guillermo O'Donnell and Phillip C. Schmitter, Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986) p.150.

²³Karen Remmer, "Redemocratization and the Impact of Authoritarian Rule in Latin America," Comparative Politics (April 1985): 253-275.

regime's direct or indirect actions, the greater the likelihood of change in the reemerging democracy system.

Few studies of redemocratization and democratic consolidation have been as broad in scope as that of Karen Remmer. A greater number of studies have focused on descriptive analysis of specific cases of redemocratization in Latin America. Much attention has been given to the successful democratic transitions in Colombia and Venezuela. Jonathan Hartlyn emphasizes the factors which led to Colombia's ability to sustain uninterrupted civilian rule.²⁴ Hartlyn sites structural and historical experiences combined with political stagecraft as the key elements of Colombia's success. Liberal and Conservative party leaders in Colombia committed themselves to a series of pacts called the National Front, which were approved in a national plebiscite and have served as the basis for over thirty years of stable democratic government. Before the military intervention of General Rojas Pinilla (1953-1957), Colombian politics had been characterized by both compromise and intolerance.²⁵ While the political intolerance of the bloody La Violencia period built strong party loyalties, a history of pact-making between the Conservative and Liberal parties made a lasting compromise possible.

²⁴Jonathan Hartlyn, "Military Governments and the Transition to Civilian Rule: the Colombian experience," Journal of Interamerican Affairs 26 (May 1984): 245-279.

²⁵Jonathan Hartlyn, 274.

Hartlyn argues that successful redemocratizations are more difficult now than when Colombia's politicians worked out an agreement in 1958. Factors such as the fall of Rojas, the party pacts, and their final agreement as to the choice of president, lead one to believe that the key to solving Colombia's political problems was merely a matter of reaching an interelite consensus. The party leaders were not hindered in their efforts by having to "sell" proposed agreements to their parties' mass following as leaders would have to do today. As Hartlyn observes,

current regime traditions in Latin America are likely to face much more severe challenges: parties are less likely to develop or old ones are more likely to possess a more organized and less acquiescent following.²⁶

Terry Lynn Karl also notes the importance of "democracia pactada" in her article, "Petroleum and Political Pacts: The Transition to Democracy in Venezuela."²⁷ Karl's analysis of redemocratization in Venezuela focuses on the extent to which Venezuela's oil-strengthened economy aided in maintaining a democratic system. Much like Colombia, elite-negotiated pacts played an important role. The pact of Punto Fijo and the "Statement of Principles and Minimum Program of Government," formulated in 1958, were the basis for Venezuela's return to

²⁶Hartlyn, 252.

²⁷Terry Lynn Karl, "Petroleum and Political Pacts: the Transition to Democracy in Venezuela," in Transition from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America eds., Guillermo O'Donnell and Phillippe C. Schmitter (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

democracy. The assurances made by the leaders of the political parties in Venezuela meant that in exchange for the military's retreat from power, they would guarantee funding for improvements in the technical capabilities and economic status of the armed forces. Acknowledging that party leaders skillfully negotiated a peaceful and lasting transition to democracy, Karl stresses that petroleum played a key role in the persistence of the democratic system in Venezuela stating that,

In the short run, petrodollars financed an emergency plan that calmed the atmosphere during the transition period to democracy. In the long run, petroleum provided the fiscal revenues upon which democratic administrations depended to maintain the ambitious, and expensive, situation of fomenting the growth of the private sector while simultaneously granting favors to the middle and working classes.²⁸

Alfred Stephan's comparative study of redemocratization also notes that pacts have played crucial role in successful cases of redemocratization. He further notes that in Colombian and Venezuelan pacts included mutual guarantees, vetoes, and purposeful depoliticization. Both Stephan and Karl agree that the limiting effect of the Venezuelan and Colombian pacts on socioeconomic changes contributed to stable political democracy.²⁹

²⁸Terry Lynn Karl, 215.

²⁹Alfred Stephan, "Paths toward Redemocratization: Theoretical and Comparative considerations," eds., O'Donnell and Schmitter, Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986) p.80.

Having discussed the basic questions with respect to democratization and more specifically redemocratization, some attention should be paid to Raul Saba's analysis of the development of politics and government in contemporary Peru.³⁰ Focusing on the period from 1962 through 1980, Saba posits that the 1980 redemocratization of Peru was part of an ongoing process of political reform which began in 1962. He argues that the link between the authoritarian and democratic rulers during this period was their reformist attitudes. The thrust of Peru's recent political development has been based on a need for overall systemic reform. Despite differences in policy emphasis, Saba believes that one can trace important continuities in Peruvian government since the early 1960s.

Saba disregards the current focus which political scientists have taken in this area of study and analyzes Peru's transition to democracy as part of a lengthy historical phase. One of the most recent and comprehensive studies of Peruvian political development, Saba's analysis looks at the important ideological linkages between Peru's reformist thinkers (González Prada, Jose Carlos Mariategui, and Haya de la Torre) and the political events of the last twenty-five years in Peru. Saba believes that the key to understanding changes in recent democratic and authoritarian governments in Peru is in their consistently reformist approaches. He concludes that in Peru "a

³⁰Raul Saba, Political Development and Democracy in Peru: Continuity in change and crisis (London: Westview Press, 1987).

certain fidelity to the principles of reform has evolved since 1962."³¹ Saba's study brings out a basic question about studies of redemocratization in Latin America. Are country-specific factors such as the ones Saba studied irrelevant or crucial to our understanding of redemocratization? By using a comprehensive approach like Remmer's and applying it to Peru, perhaps this question can be partially resolved.

The majority of literature on democratization in Latin American concerns itself with answers to questions relating to how authoritarian regimes breakdown and the various paths to making a democratic transition. Much less has been written about what factors lead to prolonged democratic rule. Case studies of Colombia and Venezuela may offer some clues. Karen Remmer's thesis falls into this third category of the literature of democratization and therefore can be used to help determine whether country-specific factors deserve consideration in studies of redemocratization and the impact of the authoritarian regimes. Her study addresses the questions relating to the characteristics of and the environment surrounding democratic regimes in Latin America. Because questions of democratization in Latin America are becoming exclusively questions of redemocratization, studies such as Remmer's are increasing in their value and relevance to modern Latin American political analysis.

³¹Saba, 156.

CHAPTER II

Applying A Theory of Redemocratization to Peru

The purpose of this chapter is to apply Remmer's ideas to Peruvian politics between the years 1968-1980. Remmer attempts to predict the impact of authoritarian rule on the recently reestablished democracies in Latin America. Before analyzing various aspects of redemocratization, however, it is necessary to understand the meaning of redemocratization.

Redemocratization Defined

Certain factors must be present to indicate that ultimate power has been transferred to a democratic system of government. Beyond simply recognizing the legitimacy of a new government, Lamounier adds that a truly democratic Latin American state must contain the following: 1) non-discriminatory political rules, in other words, a single set of rules which apply to all political parties; 2) an electoral process which contains built-in uncertainties for incumbent office-holders; 3) election schedules that comply with a pre-arranged and permanent calendar not subject to government manipulation; and, 4) freedom of the press.¹ Mere liberalization sponsored by an authoritarian regime does not

¹Bolivar Lamounier, "Notes on the Study of Redemocratization," Working Papers of the Latin American Program, Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, No.58 (Washington D.C.: 1979): 2-5.

in itself constitute a country's redemocratization. Lamounier's criteria take this into account. His conditions are based on observations of Brazil's recent transition to democracy. During the 1970s, despite liberalization, these factors were not a constant feature of Brazilian political life. Although gradual liberalization eventually led to actual redemocratization in the 1980s, the entire process had taken more than twenty years.

McClintock points out that many Peruvians have a broader concept of democracy than North Americans. Their definition of democracy includes social justice and concern for the public welfare while North Americans tend to think exclusively in terms of free elections and liberty. In her survey of Peruvian coastal cooperatives, McClintock found 60 percent of the respondents believed "democracy" meant the government's concern for people and social justice.² McClintock also noted that the use of democratic procedures was not a major concern of many Lima citizens, surveyed in 1983, when assessing presidential performance. In the survey, military president Velasco Alvarado topped the list of best presidents since 1950.³

²Cynthia McClintock, "The Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in a 'least likely' Case," Comparative Politics 21 (January 1989) 142.

³Ibid.

Although using such a broad definition of democracy might lead to some interesting conclusions about Peruvian democratic rule in Peru, Remmer chooses to accept a more traditional definition of democracy for her study. Remmer's theory of redemocratization in Latin America focuses on factors leading to discontinuity between pre- and postauthoritarian regimes. Remmer identifies five variables used to examine a given country: (1) the strength of democratic traditions before the authoritarian rulers came to power; (2) the duration of the regime's stay in power; (3) electoral growth rates during the non-democratic period; (4) the levels of repression; and (5) the regime's capacity to mobilize support for itself. By examining the extent to which these variables exist, Remmer posits that one can determine whether significant changes have taken place within the returning democratic political system.⁴ Examining such changes can help determine whether a successful democratic consolidation is likely.

Political Instability, Democratic Traditions, and the Peruvian Party System

Peru's political history has been one of continual instability and conflict. As a republic, Peru underwent frequent political turmoil and periodic military intervention

⁴Karen Remmer, "Redemocratization and the Impact of Authoritarian Rule in Latin America," Comparative Politics (April 1985) 253-275.

because of many factors. First, the geography of Peru is formidable. The country is divided into three distinct regions by the Andes mountain range. Today the coastal, sierra, and Amazonian regions of Peru continue to remain relatively isolated from each other. Terrorist organizations like Sendero Luminoso have clearly capitalized on the growing frustration among sierranos that the problems of Ayacucho and other parts of the Peru remain ignored by the central government in Lima. Second, Peru is divided ethnically and geographically. The largest of its ethnic groups are the mestizos, a mixture of both Spanish and Indian. Indigenous Indians make up one-third of the population. There is only a relatively small percentage of Peruvians who can trace their ancestry directly to Europe. Peru's ethnic confusion led to serious racial tension in the past (the Tupac Amaru II rebellion in the 18th century, for example), and has remained a fundamentally important issue for modern Peruvian society. Third, recurring economic crises have threatened Peru's ability to maintain sound economic policies. Peru has continually experienced the effects of boom and bust economies, from the guano trade in the 1860s to the fishing industry bust in the 1970s. In both of these cases the Peruvian economy (which became highly dependent on these products for export earnings), failed to become sufficiently diversified and was severely crippled as markets and resources dried up. Peruvian governments have also frequently saddled

themselves with foreign debt. Today, debt mismanagement continues to cause problems in the economy. Dependency theorists suggest that Peru's economic instability is caused by the effects of its dependent relationship with the developed world.⁵ Regardless of who or what is to blame, economics has been linked very closely to political instability and the absence of institutionalized democratic processes.

Coupled with economic factors, the very nature of party politics has contributed to the instability of the political system. David Easton suggests that political parties in Third World countries like Peru inhibit progress toward political stability and tolerance by acting more as the agents of demand than of support.⁶ Political parties such as APRA and Acción Popular have done this by failing to demonstrate consistent ideological foundations. They are, instead, fueled by uncompromising broad-based emotional and nationalistic issues. The lack of stable party politics which was apparent before the Velasco coup remains a problem today. The dramatic shifts

⁵For a good overview of dependency theory see: Gabriel Palma, "Dependency: A Formal Theory of Underdevelopment or a Methodology for the Analysis of Concrete Situations of Underdevelopment," World Development (1978) 881-924. For a discussion of the impact of the foreign debt on democracies in Latin America see: Debt and Democracy in Latin America, Barbara Stallings and Robert Kaufman (eds), (Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 1989).

⁶David Easton, "An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems," World Politics 9 (April 1957) 383-400.

in percentages of votes which Peru's four leading parties received in the 1978, 1980, and 1985, national elections clearly illustrate a continuing lack of party loyalties and clear ideological positions.

Table 2.1
Electoral Tallies 1978, 1980, and 1985 (percentages of valid vote)⁷

	1978	1980	1985
	Constituent Assembly	Presidential	Presidential
Acción Popular	N.A.	45	7
APRA	35	27	53
Izquierda Unida (United Left)	29	14	25
Partido Popular Cristiano	24	10	12
Other	12	4	3

The continued existence of Peru's larger parties has depended on the success and charisma of their personalistic leadership. The APRA party is the only political party which has shown resilience in spite of its long-term association with a single political figure. With the election of president Alan Garcia in 1985, APRA became the only party in history to make a successful transfer of leadership from one generation to the next. The Accion Popular party (AP) which won presidential elections in 1964 and 1980, is so closely linked to its only successful presidential candidate, Belaúnde Terry, that it would be nearly impossible for AP to field another candidate capable of overshadowing the reputation and

⁷McClintock, 131.

personality of Belaúnde. Belaunde's Accion Popular has recently formed a coalition with the conservative PPC party of Luis Bedoya. The two parties hope to win the 1990 presidential elections with internationally acclaimed novelist Mario Vargas Llosa as their candidate. The two parties have worked together in the past. Bedoya's Party formed an alliance in congress with AP from 1980-1985. Until now, PPC has always run its own candidates during elections. PPC has never captured more than 20 percent of votes cast in a national election due to its lack of organization outside of the Lima area.⁸ The pact-building which is taking place between the two parties is a positive step toward democratic institutionalization, evident by both the Colombian and Venezuelan cases of redemocratization. Unfortunately, Peruvian political parties both before and after the 1968 coup have shown a continuing lack of deep party loyalties. Then, as now, successful parties have been vague in their ideologies and have offered no clearly definable alternatives.

Remmer suggests that a lack of strong democratic traditions enhances the likelihood of change. In general, the democratic system had not yet been firmly established by the time of Belaunde's election in 1963, according to Ratings in the Fitzgibbon-Johnson index on "The U.S. View of Political

⁸Henry Deitz, "Electoral Politics in Peru: 1978-1986," Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs 12 (1986) 146.

Democracy" in Latin America. The index ranked Peru as 13th out of 20 Latin American countries for the period between 1945 and 1965.⁹ The categories included in the survey were free speech, free elections, free party organizations, independent judiciary systems, and civilian supremacy over the military.¹⁰

The absence of a stable party system before 1968 indicates that Peruvian democracy was indeed vulnerable to changes resulting from military rule. These changes are discussed later in this chapter. In Colombia and Venezuela, the strength and durability of their partisan politics did not permit brief military interventions in the 1950s to permanently alter the political landscape. Peruvian parties of the 1960s did not demonstrate characteristics which would be likely to shelter the pre-coup political system until the military stepped down from power in 1980.

The Duration Authoritarian Rule

A second factor which Remmer suggests relates to change in Peru's postauthoritarian democracy is the duration of the military's rule. The military governed Peru from 1968 until democratic elections were completed in 1980. During this twelve year period, significant changes occurred which affected the newly emerging democratic system. Peru, like

⁹James W. Wilkie, David E. Lorey, and Enrique Ochoa eds., Statistical Abstract of Latin America. 28 (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1988): p.198.

¹⁰Ibid.

many other underdeveloped countries, has been characterized by rapid population growth. Between 1963 and 1980, the population of Peru increased from 10.93 million to 17.30 million people.¹¹ Greater urbanization was also notable during military rule. The capital city of Lima more than doubled its population, expanding from 2.5 million in 1970 to 5 million by 1984.¹² Not only had the population risen dramatically during these twelve years, it was also becoming more concentrated in urban areas which were highly accessible to national party politicking. Rapid growth under authoritarian rule created the obvious potential for a new generation to come of age without democratic socialization. As a result, such a long period of military rule severely curtails the legitimacy of political parties. A decade of political inactivity would certainly weaken parties without deeply committed memberships. Past stagnation of this kind has led to the eventual demise of some parties and the emergence of new ones, as democracy returned.

Twelve years of military rule affected Peru's political parties in other ways as well. It closed opportunities for new political figures to rise through the ranks of established parties while safe-guarding the preeminence of aging party leaders. The extended political career of Belaúnde, which

¹¹Wilkie, Lorey, and Ochoa. 80.

¹²Wilkie, Lorey, and Ochoa. 94.

stretched across three decades of national politics, is among the most obvious examples of a prolonged political career. Consequently, the life of Belaúnde's Acción Popular party was also extended. It should be noted that the political resilience of Víctor Raul Haya de la Torre for more than five decades resulted, in part, from several long periods of military intervention between the 1920s and his death in 1979.¹³

The APRA party and its founder Haya de la Torre were dramatically affected by the Peruvian military's frequent interventions. Haya de la Torre had legitimately beaten Belaunde in the nullified 1962 presidential election and stood a good chance of winning the presidency after Belaunde's term was completed. Unfortunately, Haya de la Torre died before he had another opportunity to stand for election. The military's intervention and extended rule deprived Haya de la Torre of any chance at becoming president despite his being Peru's best known political figure for more than fifty years.

The Impact of Electoral Growth

Remmer sees electoral growth as another potential contributor to discontinuity between the pre- and post-authoritarian regimes. According to Remmer, substantial electoral growth makes it less difficult for new political

¹³Karen L. Remmer, 254.

organizations to compete with established parties.¹⁴ Under extended military rule parties are not able to gradually assimilate new members into their organizations effectively. From the time of the Constituent Assembly elections in 1978 to the 1980 elections, Peru's older parties were forced to scramble for their share of the new voters. Subsequently, they were not able to recruit effectively. Prolonged population growth and increasing migration to urban centers led to significant electoral growth between 1968 and 1980. At the time of the military coup, roughly 44 percent of the population was 15 years old or younger.¹⁵ This suggests that more than one-third of the 1980 electorate would have been voting in a presidential election for the first time, further weakening the chances that the political landscape could remain constant.

Approximately 2,041,748 voters participated in the presidential elections in 1963.¹⁶ In the elections which followed the departure of the military, 4,030,000 people went to the polls.¹⁷ Such a substantial increase in the electorate strengthens the hypothesis that the democratic system was

¹⁴Remmer, 267.

¹⁵Wilkie, Lorey, and Ochoa. 76.

¹⁶Magali Sarfatti Larson and Arlene Eisen Bergman, Social Stratification in Peru (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1969), p.379.

¹⁷Wilkie, Lorey, and Ochoa. 220.

affected by this factor. Aside from increases in the population, other factors contributed to a sizable increase in the electorate. As the result of political bargaining at the 1978-79 constituent assembly, convened to create a new democratic constitution, the literacy requirement for voters was dropped.¹⁸ When democracy was restored in 1980, the percentage of illiterates among the population over age 15 was 18.5 percent.¹⁹ The majority of these people were now able to vote in elections.

During the 1978 election for the constituent assembly, for the first time in Peruvian history, 18-year olds were admitted to the polls.²⁰ This lower age requirement remained in effect during the 1980 elections. Because of the relative youth of the Peruvian population, the age group between 18 and 20 encompasses a large block of new voters. Lowering the age requirements and changing the literacy laws contributed to electoral growth beyond normal population growth. The percentage of the adult population which voted in 1963 was much lower than in the 1980 balloting: in 1963, only 20.6 percent of the adult population voted; in 1980 49 percent voted.²¹

¹⁸Remmer 1985, 268.

¹⁹Wilkie, Lorey, and Ochoa. 112.

²⁰David P. Werlich, "Peru: The Lame-Duck Revolution," Current History (February 1979) 65.

²¹Wilkie, Lorey, and Ochoa. 221.

The effects of an increased number of voters contributed to the widening of the political spectrum in Peru after the authoritarian military regime stepped down. In elections before the military coup, the parties of the Peruvian left accounted for only a small percentage of the vote. In the 1980 and 1985 elections, various Marxist and Socialist parties obtained a substantial share of the ballots cast. The democratic elections on the eve of the military overthrow gave the left no more than a few percentage points. In 1985 the United Left party (IU) received 21.3 percent of the vote in the presidential elections.²² Because of the abnormal electoral growth rate, the left was able to attract many of the first-time voters which APRA and the other older parties were unable to effectively incorporate. If scheduled elections take place in 1990, leftist parties will have an opportunity to further strengthen their position. Alfonso Barrantes, a well respected United Left leader and popular former mayor of Lima, is seen as a serious contender for the presidency in 1990.²³

Repression

The use of high levels of repression by an authoritarian regime is another factor which Remmer sees contributing to

²²Wilkie, Lorey, and Ochoa. 220.

²³Kathryn Leger, "Peruvians Worry their Country is Heading toward Collapse," The Christian Science Monitor, 22 November 1988, 9.

change in reemerging democratic politics. Repressive measures such as the suspension of the right to free speech, free press, and free organization disrupt the efforts of political parties to maintain their contact with society during non-democratic periods. Repression in its most severe forms may result in the targeted elimination of specific individuals and parties. Fortunately, such drastic measures were not taken by the Peruvian generals.

Although many of its early moves were quite popular, the Peruvian military soon found it difficult to maintain the public's enthusiasm for their efforts. Expropriation of the IPC and other foreign interests was greeted with outpourings of nationalistic pride not uncommon among Latin American countries (Mexico's 1938 expropriation of foreign oil firms is celebrated annually with "a day of national dignity"). Soon much of this initial enthusiasm faded. Other less nationalistic reformist efforts by the regime met with mixed responses. Because of the nature of military authority and the regime's firm belief that it represented the only institution in society capable of resolving the country's ongoing problems and preventing a civil war, the government was often unsympathetic toward those who questioned the appropriateness of their actions. The government attempted to intimidate its critics by encouraging mass protests in support of the military's controversial programs. Existing political and labor organizations resented the government's

attempts to circumvent their influence over the masses by forming state supported worker organizations. Clashes between the state and pre-existing organizations as well as criticism and internal divisions within the military led to the removal of General Velasco in 1976. Under the more conservative General Morales Bermúdez, the opposition was dealt with more severely. Several Lima newspapers were placed under state control along with various national magazines.

By the mid-1970s (as previously discussed), Peru's export base began to show signs of decay. The fishmeal industry fell into rapid decline. The prices of both copper and sugar dropped significantly and the payment of foreign debt, as in the past, became a serious national problem. The Morales Bermudez regime found itself in the position of having to impose severe austerity measures. An increasing number of strikes and protests in response to these measures caused the government to increase its use of repression, and to declare a state of emergency. During this state of emergency, arrests averaged 1,000 per day over 18 months.²⁴ Constitutional guarantees were temporarily suspended as Lima and other major cities were placed under strict curfew.

Although the extent of this regime's repression was high it did not reach the levels of extreme repression that had taken place in Chile and Argentina during this same period.

²⁴Werlich, 63.

In Argentina the mid-1970s was the era of the "dirty war." Repression in that country was so extensive that the entire leftist portion of the political spectrum was virtually wiped out. The effects of this most extreme example of repression continue to be felt in Argentina's recently revitalized democratic political system. The Morales Bermudez government chose a different course when faced with growing political unrest. The government began negotiations with the party leaders in preparation for a return to democratic rule.

Did Peru's military repression contribute to significant discontinuity between the reemerging democratic system and its pre-authoritarian predecessor? The answer is less obvious than in the cases of Argentina and Chile. The repression which was imposed by the military regime falls evenly between the extreme cases on both sides of the Latin American spectrum. In relation to Peru's past experiences with repressive governments, the military appeared to be quite tolerant throughout its docenio. At first, the regime's use of repression was very limited. As the number of successful strikes and protests increased, the military relied increasingly on repressive tactics. The decision by the Morales Bermudez regime to return to democracy in 1980 placed the military in a more traditional role as a caretaker government. This eventually eased tensions between the military and opposition forces which led to a partial relaxation of political repression during the regime's final

year in power.

Mobilization of Support

The final factor which Remmer examines is the impact of the authoritarian regime's efforts to mobilize support. If such a regime can achieve and maintain relatively high levels of support from the public, significant discontinuity between the pre- and post-authoritarian democracies is likely to be greater. To determine whether this factor led to changes in Peru's reemerging democratic system, an examination of both the nature of the regime's mobilization techniques and the extent of their success is required.

The military regime that overthrew the government of President Belaunde displayed three major characteristics which made it unique in relation to past interventions: an unwillingness to withdraw from power until it had executed its reform agenda, a legitimate desire to implement meaningful and widespread reforms, and, a recognition by the military leaders of the need for direct contact between national and often isolated local governments.²⁵ As a result of the bloody suppression of large-scale uprisings in the sierra during the mid-1960s, the military had become brutally aware of the need for major socio-economic reforms. The military's attempts to establish these and other kinds of contacts between the

²⁵Kevin J. Middlebrook and David Scott Palmer, Military Government and Political Development: lessons from Peru, (London: Sage Publications, 1975), 5.

central government and those isolated from it were a characteristic which made this regime particularly unique.

The Velasco government came into power after the overthrow of a democratically elected government. The military claimed that the abuses of the Belaunde administration had discredited the democratic system's ability to act as an effective political process. The Belaunde government had been characterized by corruption and incompetence in dealing with the growing social and economic problems facing Peru. The military regime's reformist rhetoric, accompanied by the nationalization of some highly publicized foreign investments, gave them temporary legitimacy. Soon the regime's rhetoric began to call for radical changes which would affect the entire socio-economic structure of Peru. President Velasco Alvarado stated in 1969:

Almost ten months ago. . . the armed forces in the first revolutionary movement in their history took over the government of Peru. This was not just one more military coup d'etat but the beginning of a nationalist revolution. . . the whole nation and the armed forces took up the march towards their definitive liberation, and established the basis for their genuine development by breaking the power of an egoistic and colonialistic oligarchy, recovering their sovereignty despite foreign pressures.²⁶

The regime undertook a serious effort to reform Peruvian society, which the democratic system seemed incapable of

²⁶Middlebrook and Palmer, 17.

accomplishing. It was the belief of the new government that legitimacy could be maintained after it was realized that the regime was both sincere and capable of initiating equitable societal reforms. A study which was done during the regime's early period suggested "the military's political framework simultaneously attempts to reorient existing political forces and to establish structures capable of incorporating new political actors mobilized as a result of socio-economic reforms."²⁷

Through the establishment of a corporatist structure of government, the regime expected to initiate reforms with the support and cooperation of large agricultural and urban sectors of society. Regime sponsored organizations were established down to the local industrial and agricultural levels of society. The political inputs and support of the masses were meant to travel up the organizational chain while policy outputs were supposed to travel downwards.

Most of the military leaders publicly agreed that mass mobilization and popular participation should play an important role in the Revolutionary Government. The bulk of the urban and rural populations were targeted as the central focus of the military's mobilization campaign. These groups were continuously reminded that, "La Revolución es tuya" (the

²⁷Middlebrook and Palmer, 18.

revolution is yours).²⁸ General Rudencio Zavaleta, one of the more conservative military officers and head of SINAMOS in 1974, enthusiastically stated:

The task of liberating the workers should be accomplished by they themselves. In Peru the Armed Forces have but given the initial thrust, nothing or no one can replace the will, the capacity, and the responsibility of the worker.²⁹

Although the regime was able to inspire greater political participation by the masses, it had difficulty controlling the demands and actions of the new urban, agricultural, and industrial organizations that it had encouraged to blossom. SINAMOS and the Comunidades Industriales became havens for the formation of more unions and increased worker demands. The regime's November 1970 Law of Security of Employment further fueled worker unrest because it protected workers from the threat of being fired as a method of discouraging unionization.³⁰ Consequently, the number of unions doubled

²⁸Henry Dietz, Poverty and Problem-Solving Under Military Rule: The Urban Poor in Lima, Peru. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980) 23.

²⁹Liisa North, "Perspectives on Development Policy and Mass Participation in the Peruvian Armed Forces," Working Papers of the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, No.22. (Washington D.C.: 1978) 22. Translated into English by M. F. Plichta.

³⁰Evelyn Huber Stephens, "The Peruvian Military Government, Labor Mobilization, and the Political Strength of the Left," Latin American Research Review 18 (1988) 70.

under the Velasco government.³¹

The military's political mobilization efforts aided the growth of both leftist parties and unions. The growth of labor organizations clearly contributed to the increased electoral strength of the left in later years. Unions have been valuable channels through which the left can promote its own ideology. During the Velasco years, Communist controlled unions such as the (CGTP) were given official recognition by the government. The (CGTP) flourished under the government's new policies and drew members away from the previously dominant APRA worker's organization. APRA began to lose its preeminence as the defender of working man. The Velasco regime also provided many future leftist leaders with an opportunity to gain valuable experience in political organizing while working in the expanding state apparatus.

Examples of the legacy caused by greater exposure to political mechanisms can be seen in other countries as well. A study of Mexican-Americans who became members of local CAA boards in Los Angeles showed that the members of the councils developed increased political skills. They improved their techniques for creating pressure on the government, showed a greater propensity towards affecting the government, and generally greater political participatory behavior.³² By mid-

³¹Evelyn Huber Stephens, 65.

³²Henry Dietz 1980, 178.

1976, between 15 and 20 percent of Peru's work force was included in the local-level participatory framework of the military's programs.³³ These experiences have clearly led to continued politicization among participants even after SINAMOS and the Industrial Community programs were dropped (much like the Mexican-American study's findings indicated). Lowenthal points out extent of increased militancy among Peruvian voters:

A significant share of Peru's expanded electorate is militantly anti-establishment, in ways that never previously happened in Peru. Five leftist parties won over 31 percent of the vote in the 1978 election for the Constituent Assembly, an astonishing gain over the 6 percent that the leftist parties garnered in 1962.³⁴

Problems soon arose with the military's mobilization strategy and in the economy as a whole, leading to the program's eventual failure in establishing a controllable source of support and legitimacy. It was thought by many of the newly established political organizations that the system was not responsive enough to their demands. The economy also became increasingly sluggish. The regime soon faced steadily increasing opposition. Despite its efforts to make significant reforms and systematically structure a support

³³Henry Dietz 1980, 23.

³⁴Abraham Lowenthal, "The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered," in The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered, McClintock and Lowenthal eds., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 427.

system through programs like SINAMOS, the regime succeeded only in re-legitimizing the democratic process by their failure.

The military was able to attain a relatively constant level of support during early period of the 1970s. As problems grew the organizations which had been set up to promote regime legitimacy lost their significance and in some cases turned against the government. The military's ability to mobilize support appeared to be minimal and inconsistent. The regime's support mechanisms began to fall apart after General Velasco stepped down from power and the Morales Bermudez regime reversed many of the previous policies. The military's mobilization program led to profound changes in Peru's postauthoritarian democracy. Whereas Remmer suggests that the key to the mobilization of support is in prolonging the regime's stay, it is evident that the Peruvian military's strategy directly resulted in creating a more generally politicized society.

Conclusions

Examining Remmer's ideas in relation to changes in Peru, one sees the difficulty in formulating a comprehensive theory of redemocratization is readily apparent. Obviously, not all of Remmer's five factors are crucial in explaining why changes have occurred in Peru. The factor least relevant to explaining Peru's discontinuity appears to be that of repression. Although the use of repression by the Argentine

military left a lasting impression on democracy in that country, this was not so in Peru. The remaining elements which Remmer uses to determine discontinuity merit greater discussion with regards to Peru. The question of the military's attempt to mobilize support for itself can be linked to several other aspects of Remmer's thesis. In the case of the military's docenio, the key to its effect on redemocratization is deeply rooted in policies which widened the political spectrum. Remmer's thesis emphasizes the duration of the authoritarian regime, its mobilization efforts, and the extent of repression; dismissing the more individualistic characteristics of military governments. Remmer states that, "Other characteristics of authoritarian regimes, such as the role played by the military or individual personalities within them appear far less significant in explaining their impact."³⁵ The Peruvian military's rule was quite distinctive (particularly under General Velasco), in comparison to past military interventions in Peru or, for that matter, throughout the rest of Latin America. Remmer's comprehensive approach to redemocratization accounts for several aspects of the impact of the Velasco and Morales Bermudez governments which led to changes now a part of Peruvian democratic politics but there is certainly room for doubt as to the adequacy of her explanations.

³⁵Remmer, 273.

CHAPTER III

The Impact of Authoritarian Rule on Democracy in Peru: An assessment of Remmer's Thesis

Remmer's analysis assumes that by focusing on five specific aspects of authoritarian rule one can predict the degree of change which a returning democracy will exhibit. By choosing any recent return to civilian rule in Latin America and placing it in the context of Remmer's thesis, it should be possible to make a reasonable assessment of Remmer's ideas. In this study, the use of Peru as a test case is quite acceptable. Political scholars often refer to Peru as a bellwether for political trends in South America. Peru is often referred to as a bellwether for political trends in South America. Remmer herself cites the 1968-1980 military intervention in Peru as one of eleven cases which fulfill her requirements for study. Having examined the extent to which each of the five factors played a role in changing the nature of civilian rule in Peru, an over-all judgment of Remmer's thesis is now in order. Here it will be determined to what degree Remmer can account for the discontinuity between Peru's current democratic party system and the system which existed before the 1968 coup.

The Impact Remmer's five factors exhibit in Peru

Remmer comments that high electoral growth, the extensive use of repressive measures, and the ability to successfully mobilize regime support are the most likely foundations for significant change.¹ Evidence indicates that electoral growth was abnormally high for the 1978 and 1980 Peruvian national elections. This was clearly owing to the twelve year lapse between elections, rapidly increasing urbanization, and "institutional changes".² The levels of repression during military rule were neither particularly high nor directed toward individuals, a specific party, or ideology. One might even argue that the military's increased tolerance of the political left contributed to the growth and legitimacy of the IU parties.³ Whereas the armed forces had traditionally displayed a tremendous animosity toward APRA, they now tolerated or ignored APRA's activities. The military's

¹Karen Remmer, "Redemocratization and the Impact of Authoritarian Rule in Latin America," Comparative Politics 21 (April 1985) 273.

²Remmer admits that the military's "institutional arrangements" such as the enfranchisement of illiterates and lowering the voting age to eighteen are directly responsible for growth in the Peruvian electorate. See: Remmer, 268.

³According to a study of officers under Velasco done by Liisa North, 26 percent of those officers interviewed considered their own political orientations to be leftist. See: Liisa North, "Perspectives on Development and Mass Participation in the Peruvian Armed Forces," Working Papers of the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, No.22 (Washington D.C.: 1978) 13.

capacity to mobilize support during the docenio (as a factor which altered the current democratic system) is a much more complicated matter. Saba comments that the military left a troublesome legacy for democratic politicians:

The efforts at political modernization and integration during the military years so heightened the pace of popular awareness and expectations that the second Belaunde administration was confronted with increased political demands from a wider and more inclusive spectrum of the population.⁴

Under the Velasco government, popular mobilization was enthusiastically promoted. Because the regime did not effectively channel its support, the political left benefited from the newly aroused social atmosphere. Phillip argues that by destroying the traditional social structure of rural Peru the military in general and the Velasco regime in particular created the conditions which led to the emergence of Sendero Luminoso--the most savage and effective terrorist organization in South America.⁵ Although it might be unfair to blame the rise of Sendero Luminoso on the Velasco regime one cannot easily dispute the profound and continuing impact of the military's political mobilization program. While Remmer considers mobilization of support as having an indirect impact on post-authoritarian democracies (one which allows prolonged

⁴Raul Saba, Political Development and Democracy in Peru: Continuity in change and crisis. (London: Westview Press, 1987) 147-148.

⁵George Phillip, The Military in South American Politics. (London: Croom Helm, 1985) 300.

rule), in the case of Peru, the failure to effectively channel this support sparked to significant political and social change.

Remmer's points on stable party systems and the duration of authoritarian rule are well taken. The political system in Peru before 1968 proved to be highly susceptible to change due to its weak and factionalized nature. However, this alone could not account for the degree of change which had taken place by the 1978 Constituent Assembly elections. The twelve year duration of its rule enabled the military to have a more lasting impact than in previous interventions. The Junta Militar de Gobierno, 1962-1963, had only briefly interrupted civilian rule until new elections could be held. In contrast, the Velasco regime intended on staying in power until its lengthy reform agenda was completed. Its ultimate goal was to create a "New Peruvian Man".

The Impact of Political Leadership Institutional change

In her study, Remmer dismisses some aspects of authoritarian rule which she claims do not enhance our understanding of how redemocratization leads to greater party system discontinuity. The political leadership and institutional changes which have characterized various authoritarian regimes are of little consequence to the Remmer thesis.⁶ However, many observers have emphasized that the

⁶Remmer, 269.

discontinuities which are now features of Peruvian party politics resulted from these same characteristics. The Velasco regime was perhaps the most reform-minded government in the history of the republic. The legacy of the docenio extends beyond the widening of Peru's political spectrum. Other consequences of the military's rule include the expansion of the state sector and the shifting of political power away from the oligarchy. Saba suggests a correlation between these two phenomena:

The disappearance of the oligarchy--not the ex-oligarchs--is the clearest sign of a profound reordering of the social structure of the country. As a result of this, new dominant groups emerged and flourished, principally from industry and from the technical bureaucracy strengthened by the growth of a state apparatus.⁷

In order to initiate its reforms (which in turn led to the decline of the oligarchy), the military greatly expanded the state bureaucracy. A larger state sector not controlled by the traditional elites now exists thanks to the Peruvian military. The driving force behind the organizers of the "institutional revolution" was a sense that civilian democratic government was not capable of initiating badly needed political, social, and economic reforms. Without such reforms, the leaders of the military believed that violent social upheaval would soon follow. Under the leadership of General Velasco, the military pursued a course of immediate

⁷Saba, 62.

and radical reform, passing some 4,000 laws in its first five years in office.⁸

Lowenthal observes that despite the radical nature of the Velasco regime's reform program, the military was ideologically divided, to which North adds that the political orientations of the officers were evenly split between left, right, and center.⁹ How then could such liberal reforms have been implemented? The answer lies in the politicking within the military leadership itself. For example, the Velasco government won over many officers with its generally popular policy of expropriation and nationalization. As a further consequence, the regime's extended control over the economy provided non-military jobs for about half of the senior officer corps, all of whom received double salaries.¹⁰ Also, General Velasco's initial administrative reforms opened up a number of new cabinet posts which allowed him to create a favorable balance between the radical and non-radicals in top government positions. Lastly, Velasco himself sympathized with the radical elements in the military yet managed to appease conservatives by including moderates like Morales Bermúdez in important cabinet posts.

⁸Abraham Lowenthal, "The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered," in The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered. McClintock and Lowenthal eds., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) 421.

⁹Ibid., and North, 13.

¹⁰Phillip, 291.

The formation of the Presidential Advisory Commission (COAP), Velasco's personal staff agency responsible for vetting administrative proposals, helped tip the balance within the military hierarchy toward radicalism. Philip states that "this organization, headed by General Graham, became the real power-centre of the radical nationalists as would become clear in the following months."¹¹ In spite of frequent rumblings of dissension within the military, which eventually led to Velasco's replacement in 1976, the regime was able to initiate one of the most radical redistributions of property in South American history.¹² The devastation of the previously dominant oligarchical class had a profound effect on Peru's returning democracy. The decline of the traditional elites is evinced in their losing control over the media in Peru. As Lowenthal aptly points out,

Most of Peru's former oligarchs have fallen from unquestioned authority to oblivion or even ignominy. The major newspapers - La Prensa and El Comercio - that for so long established the limits of debate in Peru have been severely weakened, and no comparably influential newspaper has yet emerged.¹³

¹¹Philip, 284.

¹²Susan Eckstein provides an interesting analysis of the redistribution efforts under General Velasco in comparison with similar attempts in Cuba, Mexico, and Bolivia in: "Revolution and Redistribution in Latin America," in The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered. McClintock and Lowenthal eds. 1983.

¹³Lowenthal, 425.

Remmer admits that institutional changes do not fit well into her comparative approach because of the country-specific character of such factors.¹⁴ Here again Remmer has set aside relevant variables for the sake of economy. Her rationale is understandable--namely, that "the array of phenomena that falls under the institutional change rubric is so broad and disparate that comparative analysis is virtually impossible."¹⁵ However, to discount the institutional changes that resulted from authoritarian rule under the Peruvian military neglects a vital aspect of the military's impact on Peru's democracy. The institutional changes initiated by the Peruvian generals played an important role in explaining party system discontinuity. Such changes enfranchised illiterates, lowered the voting age, and impelled agrarian, judicial, and educational reforms. Although Remmer is correct in pointing out the difficulty in sorting out the effects of each state sponsored institutional change, the Peruvian military's numerous reforms significantly altered Peru's political landscape.

Continuity in Change

The present state of Peruvian democracy is in many ways the result of the demands which Peru's reformist thinkers made throughout the first half of this century. Remmer's thesis

¹⁴Remmer, 268.

¹⁵Remmer, 269.

avoids the inclusion of such factors with good reason. These too are country-specific considerations. Regardless of this, the impact which Peru's leading reformist thinkers had on the generals of the docenio offers important answers as to why changes have occurred. González Prada, Jose Carlos Mariategui, and Haya de la Torre were important social critics whose ideas were easily identifiable within the rhetoric and initiatives of Velasco's Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces (GRFA). Such themes as indigenismo, Peruanidad, and agrarian reform had been discussed and debated for decades before the 1968 coup. A number of Peruvian officers had become familiar with these reformist concepts while attending the Center for Higher Military Studies (CAEM). CAEM was established in the 1950s to increase the professionalism of Peru's military officers. APRA's leader, Haya de la Torre, supported its creation believing that the "central idea was to give the army a political conscience to protect democracy and not destroy it."¹⁶

Indigenismo, Peruanidad and Agrarian reform

Indigenismo is best understood as the promotion of Peru's indigenous culture and its values. Among the first to propagate this concept in modern Peruvian society was Manuel

¹⁶Saba, 37.

González Prada (1848-1918).¹⁷ González Prada believed in incorporating the Indian into the mainstream of Peruvian society. He attacked the elite hacienda structure of rural Peru and was a supporter of the rights of the working classes. González Prada stressed the importance of realizing the cultural strengths and responsibilities of Peruanidad (Peruvianity). Through the blending of Spanish and Indian cultures, a unique racial mix--the Mestizaje--would bring Peru true national glory.¹⁸ The Indians needed greater social consciousness accompanied by radical structural changes in society in order to allow Peru to benefit from their racial strengths and values. The Velasco government claimed to be working on behalf of Indigenismo and emphasized indigenous culture in urban and agrarian reform efforts.¹⁹ The ideas of González Prada continued to thrive in the social commentary of Mariategui and Haya de la Torre. Mariategui expounded Indigenismo and Peruanidad through a Marxist interpretation. During his short life-time (1894-1930) Mariategui criticized the economic and social hegemony of the Peruvian elites, Peru's dependency on foreign imperialism, and called for the complete integration of Peru's indigenous heritage along with

¹⁷Saba, 13.

¹⁸David P. Werlich, Peru: A Short History. (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978) 143.

¹⁹Some obvious examples are Velasco's Plan Inca and the Morales Bermudez Plan Tupac Amaru.

radical agrarian reform.²⁰ In contrast, Haya de la Torre saw the problems of the Indians as the result of Peru's socio-economic structure rather than racial inequalities. Haya believed that,

From the extraction of Peru's natural resources to cultural and economic domination from abroad, the impact on indigenous Peru had been devastating. Thus to struggle for the Indian was to struggle against imperialism.²¹

Haya de la Torre did not wish to return Peru to the ancient times of the Tahuantinsuyo empire but rather promoted the idea of an independent and integrated Peru built on the dignity of its unique historical and racial character. Education was the key to Haya's plan for integrating society. Free night schools for workers called Universidades Populares de González Prada were established by Haya's Aprista party.²² APRA's "popular universities" had emphasized the lack of educational opportunities available to the poorer classes of society.

In the 1950s and 60s the Peruvian military began to discuss, and eventually accept, many of the reformist

²⁰Saba, 19.

²¹Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, Obras Completas: Construyendo el Aprismo/Ideario y imperialista y la Rusia Sovietica. Tomo 3. Lima: Editorial Siglo XXI. p. 18-19. in Saba, 163.

²²Werlich, 164.

teachings of Peru's three most prominent social commentators. At CAEM Peru's social, political, and economic problems became the central focus of debate. Some of the major concerns discussed by the officers attending CAEM dealt with the following issues: ²³

1. National control over the extraction and production of petroleum, monopolized by the International Petroleum Company (IPC), a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey.
2. Defense of the 200 mile limit for fishing rights
3. Promotion of industrialization
4. Establishment of an Institute of National Planning
5. Implementation of regional development projects, especially in the sparsely settled border areas the selva (jungle)
6. Promotion of "patriotism" and national unity, crossing over barriers of class and culture
7. The need for agrarian and tax reforms to assure internal stability and neutralize revolutionary potential
8. A growing criticism of the traditional oligarchy for their responsibility for Peru's underdevelopment and its dependent ties with foreign capital

Unlike most previous presidents, General Velasco came from a humble mestizo background. Velasco's supporters in the military were the sons of the middle classes and almost half

²³Saba, 39.

of them had an association with CAEM.²⁴ During Velasco's seven years as president, the goals of the "revolution" called for the radical transformation of society. Unburdened by a clearly defined ideology, Velasco's Plan Inca reflected both nationalist and humanist ideals. The military addressed issues concerning many of the same reforms which had been demanded by Peru's leading reformist thinkers. For example, McNicoll called the Agrarian Reform Act of June, 1969 the "most sweeping land reform program since the Cuban Revolution."²⁵ The military's agrarian reforms distributed enough of Peru's arable land to destroy the economic base of the traditional landed elites. In addition, educational reform during the Velasco years led to an expansion in secondary education with an emphasis on vocational training, cost-free higher education, and much needed organizational reforms at the university level.²⁶ The effect of the secondary education reforms has given Peru substantially higher levels of secondary enrollment than neighboring Bolivia and Ecuador.²⁷ Other programs which were also inspired in part by Peru's reformist traditions included mobilizing and integrating

²⁴North, 25.

²⁵Robert McNicoll, Peru's Institutional Revolution. (University of West Florida: Latin American Studies, Interdisciplinary Occasional Papers, 1973) 31.

²⁶Werlich, 328-329.

²⁷McClintock, 138.

politically isolated sectors of society, nationalizing of foreign industries such as the IPC, and the establishing a foreign policy less tied to the United States.

The lasting impact of the military reforms made during Velasco's regime is evident in Peru. In turn, it is reasonable to assume that Velasco established his reform programs in response to a growing consensus within the military based on themes propounded by Peru's most prominent social critics. The dedication to these reformist ideals as the focus of the Velasco government constitutes a factor leading to postauthoritarian regime discontinuity. Remmer's thesis does not take in account the impact of the motivations behind authoritarian intervention. Unlike most recent military overthrows in Latin America, the Peruvian military was not merely motivated by a need to maintain the status quo, but rather by a desire to implement profound changes. From this perspective, it could be argued that the greater the dedication to reforms, the greater the likelihood of significant change in the returning democratic system.

The Impact of Greater Tolerance

The experience of the Peruvian Military docenio had a major impact on the democratic system which followed. Peru is currently on the verge of its third uninterrupted democratic presidential succession; an unprecedented event for democracy in Peru. With the annual inflation hovering in the four figure range, recent polls indicate that the majority of

citizens remain committed to the principles of democratic political regime.²⁸ Why is it that despite suffering from the worst economic crisis in over a century, Peru's populace has continued to place its confidence in democratic institutions? Part of the answer may be related to Viola and Mainwaring's observations about Argentina's recent redemocratization.²⁹ Political scholars observed that the legitimacy of Argentina's democratic regimes is linked to the public's perception of their efficiency. In the past, inefficiency weakened the call for democratic alternatives and strengthened arguments for military intervention. For many Argentines, democracy was becoming synonymous with governmental impotence. Viola and Mainwaring discovered that the failures of authoritarian rule in Argentina since 1976 have improved the previously tarnished image of civilian government: "The disastrous results of the military broke that linkage, and at least for now there is a high tolerance of inefficiency and an acceptance of some restrictions."³⁰ There appears to be a similar sense of tolerance in present day Peru. In 1968 the Peruvian military committed its reputation as an institution to the task of guiding the nation along a path of social justice and

²⁸McClintock, 140.

²⁹See: Scott Mainwaring and Eduardo Viola, "Transitions to Democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980s," Journal of Interamerican Affairs 38 (Winter 1985) 193-219.

³⁰Mainwaring and Viola, 218.

prosperity. Although advances were made in the area of social justice, the military failed to bring sustainable prosperity to Peru. The inability to resolve these problems damaged the image of the military as being an efficient and responsible national institution. As a result, military rule has lost its attractiveness--at least for the time being.

Conclusion

Remmer admits that the five factors which she identifies vary in their significance from case to case. In assessing the strength of each of these factors in relation to the experiences of the Peruvian docenio, it becomes apparent that some of Remmer's factors are very important while others are largely irrelevant. The duration of the regime, high electoral growth, and a lack of party system stability have contributed to discontinuity between Peru's pre- and postauthoritarian democracies. The military's efforts to mobilize support for the regime were not altogether successful, yet resulted in a widening of the political spectrum and the growth of leftist parties. In a general sense, organizations like SINAMOS and the Comunidades Industriales were meant to provide the military with a corporatist style base of support but ended up politicizing the rural and urban working classes instead. The use of repression as a factor leading to change in Peru tends to be neutralized by its lack of distinction in comparison with

previous authoritarian regimes. On the other hand, a strong case can be made for the absence of a stable party system before 1968. Strong party loyalties and the ability to make effective pacts between parties were not characteristics of the pre-docenio democracy. Remmer is correct in her assumption that had such traits been exhibited by a party system like Peru's, the chances of regime discontinuity would have been lessened.

Remmer leaves out three country-specific factors in her study which are crucial in explaining the causes of change in Peru: 1) The military leadership and politicking among the officers played an important role in shaping the "revolution"; 2) The institutional changes which the military initiated altered Peru's political landscape significantly; 3) The unique reformist character of the Velasco regime was influenced by issues brought forward by prominent Peruvian intellectuals. Their social commentary called for the economic, social, and political changes that lay at the heart of Velasco's reform efforts.

Remmer's thesis has merit, and does define some factors that have, indeed, affected Peru's struggle for democracy. However, because of the unorthodox nature of the Peruvian "experiment", it is also apparent that her comprehensive approach might be better applied to other recent cases of redemocratization in Latin America. Here lies the difficulty in applying Remmer's thesis to recently democratized Peru.

CONCLUSION

Remmer's study attempts to bring together the key factors which affect returning democracies in Latin America. Having examined the literature on the subject of redemocratization it is readily apparent that very little attention has been paid to the causes of successful democratic consolidation. Most studies of redemocratization have focused on the types of transitions to democracy and the various reasons for the withdrawal of authoritarian rulers. The need for more studies like Remmer's, dealing with the factors which can strengthen returning civilian rule, is quite obvious. In this sense Remmer's efforts are justly deserving of praise.

In an attempt to determine the effectiveness of her comprehensive approach, this thesis has brought Remmer's study down to the individual country level. The choice of the Peruvian docenio as a test case is reasonable, as Remmer would agree.¹ The five factors which she identifies as key contributors to Pre- and Post-authoritarian regime discontinuity vary in their significance to the Peruvian case. Such factors as the degree of party system stability before the military intervention took place in Peru appear to be important. Of all of the

¹Karen Remmer, "Redemocratization and the Impact of Authoritarian Rule in Latin America," Comparative Politics 21 (April 1985) 257.

factors which Remmer has identified, the military's ability to mobilize support seems to play a crucial role in explaining the a shift to the left in Peru's political spectrum. Electoral growth and the duration of the docenio also added to the increased political strength of leftist parties in Peru. Although the use of repression by the military may provide a valuable explanation for discontinuities in the southern cone states, it does not do so in the case of Peru.

The weaknesses which can be seen in Remmer's approach are owing to her failure to account for country-specific factors. The uniquely reformist nature of the Peruvian military had a significant impact on Peru's democratic party system. McClintock concludes that comprehensive studies of redemocratization are routinely hindered by this kind of problem: ". . . unfortunately for those scholars who aspire to comprehensive studies of redemocratization we must be sensitive to the increasing diversity and complexity of our cases."² The Peruvian docenio is a good example of how the unique and complex nature of a regime can play an important role in transforming the democratic party system, despite being ignored in Remmer's thesis. In Brazil and Argentina, such features as greater economic prosperity and the absence of guerrilla movements may lead to democratic consolidation by means not available to Peru. The radical reform efforts of the Velasco regime may, in turn, result in an equally successful consolidation.

²Cynthia McClintock, "The Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in a 'Least Likely' Case," Comparative Politics (January 1989) 144.

The future of Peruvian democratic institutions is still unclear. McClintock sees hope for the continuation of Peru's revitalized democratic system in spite of a growing problem with guerilla groups like Sendero Luminoso and Tupac Amaru II. Using Remmer's ideas one can also make a somewhat optimistic prediction about Peru's political future. Remmer's five factors indicate a less substantial degree of change than is apparent when one examines this case more closely. Although Remmer provides a number of insights regarding the kinds of factors which might have an impact on redemocratization it should be noted that in the 1980s there is no single recipe for initiating changes leading to democratic consolidation.

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