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## **ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, COUNTERINSURGENCY, AND PRIVATIZATION IN FUJIMORI'S PERU: EXAMPLES OF REGIONAL, PUBLIC, AND CONTROL HISTORIOGRAPHIES**

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Public perception of social issues impacting everyday life provides a strong political force capable of altering the course of events for both the common person and leading politicians alike. Opinion regarding a problem, or appreciation for a welcomed solution, gives weight to an economic fulcrum as intensely as any factor directly affecting a member of the citizenry as the desire of an effective governing body is to appease the wants of the population. Peru's governing body from 1990 to 2000, headed by President Alberto Fujimori, worked to understand, appease, and uphold popular opinion on major factors affecting the success of the Peruvian state. The factors included a trend away from Socialist economics, a decentralization of political control, in direct opposition to the norms of previous Latin American authoritarian regimes, and an initial image of concern for the average voter instead of a focus on upholding old-order elites. The limitations in researching a topic in Peru from the United States are stark as the paper's author cannot fluently comprehend Spanish and never visited the nation. The restriction necessitates the use of English language academic and popular news sources, creating a barrier between research/historical analysis and the use of first-hand accounts/primary sources generated by interacting directly with Fujimori's Peruvian legacy. When a politician relies on populist support for the maintenance of office said politician must present the people with a generally preferred reality because failing to do so results in the removal of the politician but the continuation of the citizenry's desires.

Historiographical themes of memory, the control of History, History as public interest, record as a leading example to other peoples, History as entertainment, and the role of region all play leading parts in conveying the historical narrative of the Fujimori presidency's effects on Peru and surrounding areas over time. The themes portray the information regarding the accounts of Fujimori's tenure as a national leader in various and altering lights over time and work to mix perceptions and objective research in telling the story of Peru's historical path in the 1990s. As events progressed, so too did historiographical methodologies and the result is a tapestry of work culminating in a dense record overall, one allowing any researcher with any specific end-goal in mind the ability to portray Fujimori in the desired manner with a large amount of research backing. Further historical analysis is a study of transcribed recollections, not a direct representation of the past. Any conclusions gathered are the result of the information any researcher possesses at any one time. An expansive collection of food, art, religion, and politics defines the nation, via the topography of the Andes Mountains and the Amazon River, into the current structure known to the world at large. A presidential republic, Peru is separated into 25 regions and a single

constitutional province and receives administration within the executive branch from a five-year term President, two Vice-Presidents, a Prime Minister, a Council of Ministers, and in the case of the legislative, a Congress of the Republic.<sup>1</sup>

While histories written about a nation's presidency focus heavily on the political facets of the country's development, one must also recall the context of cultural existence. As Peru is a physical location upon the globe, and comprised of the people inhabiting the nation's borders, the importance of ancient locations including La Galgeda (a ceremonial burial ground) and the Casma and Mocha Valleys (home to the ruins of ancient residential communities)<sup>2</sup> is paramount in understating Peruvian tradition as human and ancient because civilizations beginning in at least 200 BCE lived on the northern coast of the country.<sup>3</sup> Steele's work illustrates the role of region in a historical account as the focus of the material is an understanding of the unique circumstances forming Peru's earliest records. The article is not composed in Peru, but the main features of Steele's writings are centered in a specific geographical region and writing about a location, without the published work coming from said location, shows a distance between the region of study and the region of composition. The record of humanity in Peru is a collection of internal and external cultural power struggles, trade disputes, political and military conquests, and theological confrontations. All manner of daily and long-term issues facing any people in the world today passed through Peruvian life over the centuries, and the popular viewpoints of the inhabitants played powerful roles in the course of events.

Reflecting the views of the inhabitants, populism is the totality of public opinion regarding any issue in society with the view towards favouring the common person as opposed to the desires of the perceived elites of an organization.<sup>4</sup> The strategy aims to satiate the needs of a population based on the impressions of said population's knowledge of any factor in life. In other words, populism aims to base decisions on the opinion held by the general citizenry as opposed to the issues directly. Opinions regarding the economic future of Peru in the 1970s lead to the rise of ongoing guerilla warfare. Abimael Guzmán, a Professor at Huamanga University, emerged as the head of The Shining Path: a communist Peruvian insurgent group founded in Chinese Maoist doctrines of Socialism. Despite Shining Path's initial removal of drunkards, prostitutes, and drug dealers from home regions within Peru's remote Ayacucho and Apurímac regions popular support began to fall as government action throughout the 1980s, under the presidencies of Terry and Pérez, took the form of armed conflict against the Maoists, and Shining Path began compromising by marketing to Colombian buyers of coca produced in Peru.<sup>5</sup> Marcoux's piece on guerilla warfare serves as History as public interest, from the standpoint of a warning against the dangers of partisan armed conflict. The work aims to bring awareness to the root causes of class conflict and a population's need for recognition, and in so doing Marcoux conveys a record as a warning to the future.

The paper's author began researching Peru's 1990s past aiming to form a narrative of people, places, and events over time while focusing on specific themes of historical significance without the creation of a pure biography or timeline. As the author never visited Peru, does not speak Spanish, and possesses academic resources and popular open access materials, a barrier exists in the ability to experience directly the record of recollections created by persons directly affected by the Fujimori presidency's policies and Peru's economic, political, and cultural factors overall. The selection of Belanger, Steele, Salisbury, and Marcoux originated from a desire for general clarity regarding introductory elements of Peru's past and the colloquial definition of populism.

The presence of insurgent groups, either formalized or impromptu, is certainly not unknown around the world. The first 19 years of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century saw several major eruptions of revolutionary violence, removal or resignation of political leaders, military rule, and authoritarian regime collapse. The Arab Spring witnessed the Tunisian revolt causing the long-serving President Ali to flee to Saudi Arabia, the stepping-down of Egyptian President Mubarak with the military stepping-in to govern the country, the civil war in Libya between armed protestors and the forces of Gaddafi leading ultimately to the fall of Gaddafi's government and the death of the leader at the hands of an armed militia, and the Syrian Civil War, resulting in the defection of numerous members of President Assad's armed forces to the cause of protestors later joined by Kurdish sympathizers. Further events in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century bolstered the populist cause: the death of Osama bin Laden by United State forces, the later rise and fall of the Islamic State terrorist organization, and in the interests of peace, the formation of the nation of South Sudan.<sup>6</sup> The role of region appears again in "Yearender," not for the purposes of explaining Peru, but for providing examples of similar conflicts in differing regions in different time periods. The paper's author also chose the article because the work is from China and shows a different perspective on presenting news to the outside world. The regions of the Middle East and Africa are portrayed in the writings of East Asia and the conclusions are compared to the region of Peru. Armed struggles and diplomacy act as key counterweights in the pursuit of either pleasing, or falling victim to, the desires of the populace and Peru's experience with struggles is long-standing.

Alberto Fujimori first ran in a Peruvian presidential campaign in 1990. Initially, the gentleman's electoral possibilities ran to the very slight, as Fujimori's background as an academic, specifically a Professor and later a University President, proved an unusual starting point for the leader of a Latin American country emerging from the power battles and political structures of the 1970s and 1980s. The son of immigrants from Japan, the future President, born in 1938 near Lima, graduated from, and became an Instructor of Mathematics at, Peru's La Molina National University of Agriculture. After post-graduate studies at the University of Strasbourg and the University of Wisconsin at Madison, Fujimori returned to La Molina and received the appointment of head of the University in 1984,<sup>7</sup> though Pilon records the individual as attaining the role of Dean of Sciences in the same year, reaching the position of President of the University in 1989. The same author points out the crisis of Peru in the 1980s: the time of Alberto Fujimori's entrance into politics saw economic stability altered towards the unpredictable. Fujimori's appearance on talk shows as a political commentator, and eventual founding member of the party *Cambio 90-Nueva Mayoría*, represented the University President as a surprise candidate for the nation's head office, running against novelist Mario Vargas Llosa: a man regarded as an elite, yet a well-known figure in the public eye.<sup>8</sup>

Mass market populism, however, is not a political strategy without opposition. A candidate's appeal to a specific demographic creates an air of unpopularity among the group's outsiders. During the runup to Peru's 1990 election violence throughout the country resulted in the death of at least six people and the wounding of 30 more when a military jeep struck a landmine and two bombs, placed within public transportation buses, exploded. Bullets fired at the home of a Senator seeking reelection and the detonation of five additional bombs in Lima without reported injuries aided the national government's decision in declaring a state of emergency in the capital city, eight departments, and four provinces. While Shining Path assumed responsibility for the violence as an attempt to disrupt the election, Alberto Fujimori received high polling numbers due to the perception of the former Professor not fitting the standard politician mold, statements by the

candidate regarding economic changes, and the explanation of a steady process for reducing the risk of inflation shock. Simultaneously, novelist Llosa maintained the lead in polling overall and received coverage in the press as the candidate most likely to win the impending vote.<sup>9</sup>

Pilan and Harvey, along with the *Funk and Wagnall* encyclopedia entry, formed the beginning of initial imagery regarding Fujimori the man, while leading directly into one of the first primary sources used in the paper. The paper's author sought the utilization of as many primary sources as possible, as creating a narrative relied heavily upon the use of materials written in the same time period as the events in question, though not in Spanish or directly accessed in Peru. The construction process built a time capsule for a reader's focus. The "Yearender" article served as the focal point for placing the events of Fujimori's upcoming Presidential Coup in the scope of the revolutions during the Arab Spring, illustrating the commonplace nature of unrest. The works seek an unbiased approach in portraying information from the past, but fall within the same realm of uncertainty as any piece describing the recollections of another country, at another time, in another language.

The economic issues facing Peru comprised the largest portion of the divisive election campaign. Llosa's stated plan to alter the financial basis of Peru's government by forcing an inflation crisis sat poorly with many voters, while Luis Alva Castro, a candidate from the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance, consistently posted a close second in polls when publicly presenting examples to undermine Llosa's strategy. Fujimori, a late entrant to the race, soared to popularity as an advocate for decreasing Llosa's overall lead by insisting on an avoidance of inflation. Alberto Fujimori, therefore, assisted in the removal of centralized support for Llosa, acting as the single largest obstacle to winning the presidency, and needed only more favour than the lesser-known fellow candidates.<sup>10</sup>

Combining elements of populism, standard political strategy, and an image as an outsider, Fujimori, in the span of four months, proceeded from an unknown political advocate to the leader of the people of Peru, winning the presidential election in a runoff with Mario Vargas Llosa in June of 1990. In an immediate bid to foster good will among Peru's various political perspectives, the new President offered government positions to members of as many parties as compromise allowed. Fujimori reassured the citizenry of the country with statements condemning the need for military or police repression seeking instead economic factors as methods in fighting both Marxist disruptions and drug trafficking. President Fujimori's support base ultimately came from the poor Andean populations and Lima's ghettos, partly due to the former University head's decisions to call for food subsidies when approaching the end of the election campaign.<sup>11</sup>

Robinson and Hayes describe, in primary fashion, the stark contrast in the expected results of Peru's 1990 Presidential election. One focus of the paper is *elections* and the candidacies Fujimori dominated shifted through the 1990s from a favourable to a despised nature. Selecting works showcasing the initial desire of the Peruvian people for an unconventional leader highlights the fall Fujimori experienced as the individual behaved more and more similarly to the previous authoritarian leaders of Latin America.

Following the successful election bid, Alberto Fujimori witnessed dynamic changes in Peruvian and international policies, peace, and politics. The 1990s eventually culminated in fears including the Y2K technology panic, a disputed presidential election in the United States, the scrutiny of the Microsoft monopoly allegations, and Fujimori's own self-imposed exile to Japan.<sup>12</sup> The role of History's place as entertainment is apparent in the news article by Foster. Rather than

simply conveying the information of the time, the author chose to utilize terminology for the building of suspense. The suspense, however, captures the mood of Peru during the election and represents a desire to convey emotion in the historical record. An early Fujimori change in domestic policy consisted of a stark austerity maneuver and a political deadlock with immediate colleagues when the Peruvian President refused to meet one of the nation's Vice Presidents owing to the latter's Evangelical faith and the former's refusal in appointing any Evangelists to the President's Cabinet. The role of religion in Latin American politics resurfaced amidst the presidency of the '90s in varying intervals and acted as a partner to financial matters throughout Fujimori's tenure. The resulting jolt to the economy popularly known as *Fujishock* caused the monthly inflation rate to skyrocket to nearly 400 percent, forcing an initial outcry from the nation's poorest populations. Soon after, the rate descended to a mere six percent yet the theological outcries arose in force from leading Catholic national figures due to the President's criticism of birth control restrictions and the labeling of sectors of the Church as "medieval."<sup>13</sup> Outspoken opposition and directness of expression found favour with many but created early rifts with dissenters to the new political economy in Peru's leadership.

The need for a region's History to appear as a leading example to other governments is well defined by Wicker. The article's historiographical purpose is to illustrate the wisdom of the United States in foreign policy matters as well as describe the country's ability to learn lessons from past mistakes. In describing the risks involved in President Bush's decisions Wicker recalls History to describe the situation at the time, portraying his nation as having a leading edge in experience and confidence. Fujimori sought early foreign aid in the form of funds, equipment, and training to battle the Maoists on home soil, bringing the eye of the foreign press to bear on the budding relationship between the new Peruvian leadership and United States President George H. W. Bush. Criticism arose in U.S. news sources stating the recycling of history: a military intervention in Latin America in either the form of North American combatants or North American infrastructure showed an involvement in a conflict with seemingly little gain to offer the United States. Fujimori's government worked persuading the Bush administration, and the general population of the United States, of the legitimate cause of the armed counterinsurgency: a combating of drug traffickers not Communists. The statement received dubious acclaim in the eyes of North American media as The Shining Path's leftist tendencies arose as no surprise to any keeping abreast of Peru's struggles for power.<sup>14</sup>

Arguments against the political Left found solid ground in 1992 as Fujimori began the transition from a Socialist-driven economic model to a system of national finances fueled by privatization methodologies. The expanse of the new Peruvian free market concept extended into the previously off-limits domestic telecommunications industry. The nation's Channel 4 rapidly sold over 60 percent of the company's stock to a Mexican investor and later, in 1995, the owners of Channel 5 traded stocks on the international open market while the national government attracted new foreign loans as a means of easing the initial inflation shock. The year 1992 also saw Fujimori, with the military's backing, dissolve the nation's Congress in a bid to consolidate political control against opposing representatives of the citizenry. The Congress' replacement consisted of a Constitutional Assembly and contained a high majority of Fujimori supporters.<sup>15</sup> In utilizing a Presidential Coup Fujimori portrayed 1990s Latin American politics as no different from previous eras' trends, as an overthrow of the government takes many forms and succeeds via emergency legal procedures, as well as armed struggle.

Illustrating the contrast between the rise to favour and the fall from grace Fujimori experienced a source from the 2000 election by Foster follows works published in 1990. Long and Wicker describe the initial international hesitations regarding support for the Fujimori government despite the high level of approval at home. Long, especially, covers the initial wave of *Fujishock* as an unexpected downturn in the market spurred the growing need for privatizing the economy, avoiding outrageous inflation. The article focuses on economic history and illustrates the need to specify the differences between the effects of politics and economics on cultural factors.

Populism exists not merely within the voting abilities of the population, but amidst the very daily cultural behaviour defining the average person apart from the individuals with wealth, status, and power. Peru's modern experiences with populist tendencies date at least to the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Restaurants known as *restaurantes populares* arrived with the 1930s as a means of providing affordable food to the poorest populations in Peru's demographics. In studying the *restaurantes*, Drinot states the connection between the formation of class, populist politics, and the existence of the national state. Peru experienced a general strike, a food riot, and an increase in the cost of comestible goods from 1918 through 1919. The inability to afford food stuffs further coincided with an increase of the Asian population of Peru, especially in Lima. The general population perceived a link between an increase in cost and the arrival of Asian immigrants and the resulting racist conclusions fomented an ethnic class conflict over the attainment of meal supplies. In an odd twist, the reality of the situation illustrated Asian businesses, especially restaurants, forming a cornerstone of economic stability throughout Peru's working-class poor. The disparity between the objective, analytical factors in society and the at times inaccurately perceived causes of an issue are at the very center of populist mentalities. Peru's lower socio-economic neighbourhoods eventually benefited from the existence of Asian restaurants due to the low cost of food at the establishments. Peru's government in the 1930s capitalized on the fact and sponsored the *restaurantes populares* directly, allowing the citizenry the ability to acquire cheap food, especially for Peru's poorest school children, working to bridge the racial and economic divide through socialist politics. The political economy and the economics of the state provided the means to garner popular public support from two disparate voting factions.<sup>16</sup> Food and ethnicity form a backbone for memory in History and Drinot's work illustrates the place of memory in a nation's record. The human story and the need to collect recollections come through to the reader by the means of identity and Drinot's work. The story of Fujimori's presidency is also a story of humanity and identity and the article portrays the cultural environment of Peru in the decades prior to Fujimori's election.

In working to attain the approval of vast quantities of differing demographics, a politician, including Alberto Fujimori, seeks the approval of not only the population born within the borders of the nation, but descending from immigrants, and the immigrant citizenry, but also the indigenous societies. Fujimori's appeal arose from multiple factors: rhetoric focusing away from policies known to cause a hinderance to Peru's recent economic growth, up-selling the ties to Asian heritage (Fujimori is also a Japanese citizen), calling for education equality, a sustainable claim given the President's past as an administrative academic, and the persona of an individual deeply concerned with the plight of the poor and politically underrepresented. In the case of Peru in the 1990s, the underrepresented also included the indigenous nations of the modern state's past. Only in the year prior to President Fujimori's election did a convention following suite from 1957's Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention and Recommendation formalize the rights and

protections for native nations around the globe. The International Labor Organization hosted, at the 1989 General Conference, the C169-Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention citing 44 articles defending the customs and right to preservation for indigenous societies.<sup>17</sup> In demonstrating support for the under-privileged Fujimori took the lead on the national level supporting the tribal interests of local native descendants during the 1990 election campaign. A move well-timed given C169's signing and publication the world over, and a gesture expected throughout the President's term.

In addition to The Shining Path, Alberto Fujimori's Peruvian government faced the militant struggle of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement: an additional leftist guerilla and political movement closely aligned with poor Native American peoples. The organization carried out kidnappings, bombings, and the disruption of electrical services throughout Peru, stoking among foreign investors the fear of Fujimori's weakening hold on civil power throughout the country. In an attempt to provide a salve to the concerns of private international backers, the Peruvian President initiated an intense counterinsurgency campaign against Shining Path and Tupac Amaru. The efforts eventually lead to the capture of both organizations' leading figures and in 1995 foreign investment from Japan outpaced financial input to Peru from the United States. The following year, however, witnessed the storming by Tupac Amaru of the Japanese Ambassador's residence in Lima, resulting in the detaining of 490 hostages, including Fujimori's brother. In a move not outside the scope of Fujimori's tactics, 70 of the remaining hostages gained release in a military strike carried out by Peruvian national armed forces, though one hostage and two Peruvian soldiers perished, along with all 14 of the Tupac Amaru members.<sup>18</sup> Defining Fujimori's Peru requires a sharp focus on the guerilla movements the presidency faced as these armed conflicts shaped the historical record. Monahan writes from the historiographical perspective of controlling History, attempting to paint the struggles of the insurgent fighter in a definitive manner. In creating a firm outline of the adversary, a researcher of Peru in the 1990s walks away with a set picture of the political landscape and perceptions of the individuals at play within. The role of Fujimori as a national hero against terrorism is upheld by the control of History perspective and Monahan's labeling of Tupac Amaru as terrorists steers the perspective in favour of Fujimori's supporters.

The concept of Peruvian *populism* needed explaining in a non-political manner. The utilization of immigration and food in Drinot's work lays at the reader's feet the roadmap for understanding how the *popular* concept became a staple of Latin American power struggles, especially, of course, in Peru. The stance by the International Labour Organization regarding the place of indigenous peoples from the year immediately before Fujimori's first successful presidential election leads the way in illustrating the wide variety of populations affected by an appeal to the average masses on the home front. No one single entity occupies the place of the common people.

Alberto Fujimori's hardline stance against both continuing the economic policies of the Socialist past and accepting the existence of domestic revolutionary movements portrayed the Peruvian leadership, even after the Presidential coup, as unified, capable of garnering support from the general populace, and in charge of the country's future. Tourism to Peru rose sharply after the mid-1990s and holiday areas traditionally regarded as unsafe again saw the influx of foreign capital absent since the 1970s.<sup>19</sup> In the mid-1990s early comers to the Internet saw Peru hailed on the expanding World Wide Web as enjoying "political stability and an economic growth unmatched in Latin America thanks to the leadership of President Fujimori."<sup>20</sup> In praising Fujimori the website follows the historiographical theme of presenting History as a leading example and in



tying said History to tourism, the narrative becomes entertainment. Peru is shown as a leader in combating armed insurrection and in developing new economic models open to international trade and the perspective places the praise for the successes squarely at the feet of the President. The leading example factor aims to place accounts of Fujimori's policies above the realm of criticism, but the strategy does not last indefinitely.

The fall of Peru's 1990s government from grace began slowly and amid the highest levels of acclaim from international and domestic support. The opinion of the citizenry matched the actions of the government for years to the point Fujimori mistook internal, political will, whatever the form, for popular will, and the opinions of the people no longer reflected the governmental outlook by the end of the decade. The government serves well in carrying out the desires of the citizenry, however the flow of action does not work easily in reverse. In 1995, the Peruvian President called for elections for a constitutional convention, but stating the presence of government intimidation many opposers to Fujimori's policies chose not to run. As a result, Alberto Fujimori's own *Change-90* party won most seats, allowing the legislative body to write a new constitution to the preferences of the President. Fujimori won a second term via a large majority of votes.<sup>21</sup> The image of Fujimori as an attainable goal for anyone wishing to institute change swept through Peru as a new wave of cultural politics for the average member of the citizenry.<sup>22</sup> Di Tella's *History of Political Parties*' historiographical contributions take the form of the leading example of History. The accounts in the book of Fujimori in the role of President enhance the position of Latin America's possibilities for change and growth. The purpose of the work is the awareness of region as the catalyst for power and the statement of excellence in Peru through the efforts of executive action.

While politics is any struggle for power, the power issues from the identity of the people wielding, or attempting to wield, the power. Identity arises from daily life and historical traditions permeating the lives of both rulers and the ruled. One of the strongest cultural elements in Peru's existence is the place and role of theology. Peru's political ideologies in the 1990s faced a balance of opposition to, and acceptance of, the Christian majority, especially the Roman Catholic Church. Christianity in Peru dates to the earliest days of Explorers, Conquistadors, and Missionaries and May 3<sup>rd</sup> and September 14<sup>th</sup> are honoured as days of worship of the Holy Cross. In 1650 an earthquake in the town of Cuzco demolished many structures, including churches, though a surviving crucifix became the symbol of protection of the people from tremors under the name of *Our Lord of the Earthquakes*. In 1651 an unknown artist painted a re-creation of the crucifixion on a chapel in Lima. The structure survived a disastrous earthquake in 1655 and the local slaves brought the event to the attention of the authorities. The surrounding clergy heeded the acclaim and quickly incorporated the crucifixion into Lima's ceremonial calendar. Consolidation of theological power follows the same patterns as mortal politics and by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century Lima witnessed the largest consolidation of professional clergy among Peru's urban areas, and the urban areas held the largest percentage of clergy in comparison to rural outposts.<sup>23</sup> Where the politicians lived, so too did the priests.

Populism in Peru, ergo, contained the appeal to Christian leaders and, importantly, Christian followers. Theological politics possesses one main advantage over mortal power struggles: the consequences of disliking divine authority are not seen in the lifetime of the dissenter. Theological dissent involves disunity with The Almighty and results in punishment for the heretic seen only in the afterlife. The resulting authority of the clergy is far stronger than the power of the politician. A political opponent of the Church in Peru faced accusations of acting as

an enemy of Christ while distinct members of the population voiced opposition to religious perspectives, claiming said perspectives as weapons against the secular masses.<sup>24</sup> Fujimori walked the line from 1990 to 2000 with varying levels of success and Stein's book displays the role of History as a work for the public interest. Focusing on populism and the role of the common people presents a political leader seeking approval as not pandering, but considerate to voters. Applying the model to Fujimori conveys the impression of a dedicated leader seeking the security of a nation and Stein's narrative bolsters praise for the Peruvian President's claims to a legacy.

The chronological path of the Fujimori presidency brought the paper's author to Newman's article regarding the historiographical effect of the new administration's policies regarding tourism. A large part of convincing the global community a nation is safe is offering a welcome repast for foreigners seeking recreation. Fujimori's privatization plans and populism applied to individuals and companies outside Peru's borders as well as domestic partners and supporters. A 1980 book on populism in Peru combined with the 1976 book discussing Peru's cultural history contrasted the 2004 text about the record of Peruvian political parties. The juxtaposition displayed the direction the general opinion of the people took prior to the 1990 election and balanced expectations amidst the reality of political representation in the nation before, during, and after the Fujimori administration.

A researcher must maintain awareness of Latin America as an entity as disparate as any members of a single household. Envisioning the enormous landmass with multiple ancient histories, composed of vast languages, religions, ethics, terrains, architectures, and economies, as a single, homogenous unit underestimates the historiographical complexity of the international members within the label. Coming across historical work placing focus on the theme of region as a mere conglomeration of nearby nations forced the paper's author to utilize further works. Mexico in 1992, for instance, absorbed over 50 percent of all direct foreign investment in Latin America, while in 1994 "within Brazil's structurally adjusted economic and social structure, an estimated 53 million people found themselves (or rather, were pushed) well below the conservatively defined 'poverty line.'"<sup>25</sup> The reality of the 1990s slowly emerged: economic growth occurred in specific nations within Latin America and not in the construct as a whole, and inside the borders of the nations the wealth did not permeate smoothly.

Disparages in faith matched inequities of finances and political strength in Peru. Christian Democracy parties in the nation's past operated on a principle not wholly in line with the prevailing governmental administrative norms. The role of a Christian Democracy is not to win political power but to sustain a stable party, and the party's policy is attainable both inside and outside the confines of the ruling government.<sup>26</sup> The advocacy brought forward by *Christian Democracy in Latin America* places the role of history into the silo of public interest. In protecting the virtues of theological forces in political arenas the text upholds the view of ethics through spirituality and create a lens of analysis to view leaders like Fujimori. The President's The precise means of attaining stability without the need to seek political power is not well defined and the purpose of the existence of the party, lacking the goal of making command decisions for the nation as a whole, is paradoxical as all formal parties seek executive control. Outside the prevue of pure political struggle, the role of Christian influence largely permeated Latin American culture via artistic expression, not only in Peru, but in nearby Brazil and Ecuador through late 18<sup>th</sup> to the early 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries.<sup>27</sup> In covering the place of Christian faith in Latin America's past Scott squares the role of region not only in the sights of theology, but in the political and cultural realm. Fujimori's legacy formed partially from a conflict with the representation of divine doctrine in 1990s Peru

and Scott demonstrates the role of the country as region in the artistic depictions of religious belief and the resulting relationship the faith had with the population.

Fujimori's government in the latter half of the 1990s began to face opposition, not only from theological forces outside the administration, but also within the nation's system of finances. "The social base of the tax system in Peru is narrow. For instance, the number of registered tax payers in the first four months of 1997 was...around 20% of the total labour force. Of those who made a tax return...only 8% of the workforce," and the total percentage of workers paying taxes, even less.<sup>28</sup> The cause of Peru's economic problems due to a socialized system of government prior to 1990 is evident: the citizenry, for non-disclosed reasons, did not contribute to the cost of running the nation. Fujimori's attempts to attract outside investment to offset the imbalance proved noble, but ultimately incomplete. Foreign capital rested on shaky ground after the Presidential Coup. Though initially regarded as a strong move at home, the need to use military force in one's own government displayed a weakness by Fujimori to accomplish executive goals through diplomatic means, but neither is the scenario unknown in other Latin American states. Between 1961 and 1993 a breakdown in the executive-legislative process by leading politicians brought about the demise of national heads in Ecuador, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Haiti, and Guatemala.<sup>29</sup> The image of Fujimori as the answer to Peru's woes faded as early successes gave way to resulting deadlocks and social irritation.

The irritation built into outright outrage as early as 1992 when, on the President's orders, the counterinsurgency force battling The Shining Path allegedly abducted, tortured, and killed 10 individuals, including a Professor and students of La Cantuta University, accused of membership in, or support of, the Maoist organization. The actions of the government in suspending the civilian investigation of the case in favour of the government run military judicial process prompted poignant and public criticism of the Fujimori administration.<sup>30</sup> History as entertainment takes the form not only of major motion pictures and popular books, but as sensationalized accounts presented as objective realities. Conaghan's account of Fujimori as an agent of pure deception paints the leader in the light of a devious and conniving usurper. The view is held by the former President's opponents overall, but Conaghan's narrative represents a researched piece possessing only a single viewpoint aiming to capitalize on Peru's hardships at the hand of only one man.

Derision also arrived from the international community. Amnesty International launched an investigation into claims of human rights violations resulting from Fujimori's military and police actions against insurgent guerillas throughout the country and the list of testimonials grew long, quickly. In 1992 Amnesty published the findings and the extent of the force used to strike down The Shining Path came to light, the world over. Beatings, shock with electricity, near drowning, and hanging by the arms appeared as the most common forms of torture while threats of death and promises of mutilation occurred routinely. Disappearances reported the same year included the detention and misplacement of 10 individuals, all male, with the youngest aged 14. Extrajudicial killings by third party para-military groups went either unknown or unpunished by the government. In 1991 multiple journalists died or received grievous injuries from attacks while reporting on rights violations of the government and 20 individuals, including two families, perished at the hands of organized gunmen in the cities of Ayacucho and Lima.<sup>31</sup> In spite of criticism and scandal, President Fujimori maintained a level of support from a base focusing solely on the President's accomplishments while said base framed all criticism of the administration as the attacks of jealous, selfish, and power-hungry rivals.

Mainwaring's work on the role of Christian Democracy in Latin America and Crabtree's text describing the political economy of Peru in the 1990s bookend the historical accounts of the populist need for including faith-based voting in the transitions of political power. Scott covers the place of artistic history in the expression of the masses of Peru over time and Amnesty International's piece describing the in-depth investigation of the human rights abuses under Fujimori showcase the pain the population duly expressed. Kenney's book covering the Presidential Coup brings in line the additional element of the paper's focus: the overthrow of power. Unlike other global situations revolving around an ousting of the government at the hands of the people, the government of the people crumbled at the military hand of the President. The latter point only exacerbated the impending swing of public opinion against the man once described as unconventional and unlike previous Latin American leaders.

Stalled negotiations regarding the Japanese Ambassador's residence hostage situation fell to claims of media interference and did not land squarely at the feet of the government. Fujimori's inability to make amends in a political deadlock regarding the situation took on the appearance of a failed gentlemen's agreement as the negotiations did not involve gentlemen on both sides while Fujimori emerged the victor against lawless terrorists. Further criticism of the presidency portrayed by supporters as short-sighted complaints from citizens forgetting the true severity of problems in the pre-Fujimori days appeared as inaccurate portrayals of events. The reality of a democratic government appeared unattainable and the situation did not result from Fujimori's actions as the emergencies of the country rendered a transition impossible. The white elite opponents never accepted Fujimori and dictatorship is not a truly bad situation as the regime of Pinochet ensured enough time for the transition to a market economy and the previous leaders of Peru did not come in the form of political leaders, but terrorist masters, yet "because of one man's faith and courage millions had the ability to dream again."<sup>32</sup>

Appeal, or the lack of appeal, is not the defining factor regarding populism in the political sphere. The real tactic is appearing sympathetic to the masses, especially when sympathy is presented by a powerful individual, one set apart from the masses by the very nature of existing in the public eyes of large numbers of the general citizenry, and provides a shifting, and useful, methodology for shaping an account of the past. When one attempts to pigeon-hole a political leader's legacy said legacy must conform to the parameters of a historical style. Knight creatively utilizes the historiography of region when claiming "populism in terms of style has the virtue of flexibility and-perhaps most important-historic fidelity. That is, it seems to correspond to the historical record in a way that other-often more precise-theories/models fail to do."<sup>33</sup> The region, in the example, is not physical but political: a concept of a power struggle in comparison to other forms of control conflict. As a result, Knight's work also utilizes the History as control historiography as a means of influencing future perceptions of populism and the politicians utilizing such a method.

Overall, Peru's populist tendencies expanded once the nation reverted to a constitutional form of administration in 1980. The consolidation of executive and legislative power into a democratic system, however, passed through political commentary with little focus on the radical nature of the political process. The alteration from an authoritarian state to one where the voices of the masses rose into the national dialogue presented a problem as the desired voice did not fall into the traditional scope of political decision making. Democratic change brought about the ability to speak up, though the national leaders did not possess experience in acting on the statements. "Despite the emergence of a party system of sorts during the 1980s, the tradition of

populism permeated the political parties, limiting the extent to which they could become genuine vehicles for the expression of public demands.”<sup>34</sup>

The entrepreneurship of Latin America in the 1980s, combined with a sense of adaptation in banking, allowed small companies to trigger large-scale change in the financial factors at play for the average citizen.<sup>35</sup> Davila and Miller write with the conviction of Historians determined to illustrate the varied nature of business possibilities in Latin America. The region is regarded as a singular unit under the influence of new privatization regulations, but detail is paid to specific countries in varying ways giving the impression of an overall sense of success after passing through hard times. The historiographical theme of History as representing a nation as a leading example is applied deeply to the nations covered. The examples thrust Peru into the forefront of stability in financial transition on the global stage and bolster Fujimori’s place as a reliable visionary. The In an effort recalling *Fujishock*, original scholarship in the area of Peru’s economic policies of the 1990s illustrated “keenly the interest in making a theoretical contribution to an understanding of the relationship between socioeconomic factors and democratic consolidation.”<sup>36</sup>

The undying support for a man accused of war crimes and embezzlement needs showcasing, and Kimura’s work delivers. The portrayal of Fujimori as a saviour of Peru ignores any legitimacy the individual’s opponents possessed. The role of populism in Latin America as a whole is expressed in Knight and Crabtree so Peru’s place in the political process is further defined in context. Davila’s *Business History* showcases the trends in markets amidst the broader Latin American scope. Seeing how the economic engine of privatization flourished or failed in other nearby states surrounding Peru gives the at home situation greater context.

Blanca Varela’s poem “Material Exercises” states “to know thyself to forget thyself /to leave thyself behind,”<sup>37</sup> and recalls the final slide of the Fujimori presidency into disrepair. Utilizing poetry as a means of storytelling, as Watanabe also does, brings to the forefront the historiography of memory: artistic, representational memory, but memory all the same. Through memory in verse Varela creates a first-hand, Latin American, narrative and adds a personal reflection of the people to the paper. Silva leads into the History as an element of public interest, describing the news story of the Shining Path’s eruption of violence following Fujimori’s first Presidential election. The purpose of telling the narrative of the primary source is the awareness of general populace regarding the high stakes of the political climate.

The once confident Fujimori, the pride of the general population and outside candidate for the new Peru, received a blow reminiscent of the year 1990 when The Shining Path bombings caused a 600 square-mile blackout<sup>38</sup> as the general population, previously ardent supporters of the President, blacked-out popular opinion from the governing administration while further rallying against the government’s guerilla adversaries. “A lacking of understanding of Andean villagers was a major obstacle to the struggle of The Shining Path for lasting support in the south-central highlands.”<sup>39</sup> In order to regain populist support through economic success Fujimori, in 1996, arranged for large, new investments in gas exploration by Shell-Mobil, but the “announcement that the government hoped would improve its sagging ratings had little effect”<sup>40</sup> and the efforts failed to draw the administration’s needed return to glory. Rochabrun’s piece regarding the enigmas of Fujimori follow the History as an element of control historiography in the attempt to paint possible political foibles as complex traits of a complex man. Fujimori is presented as misunderstood and flawed, but ultimately justified in the actions taken during the presidency while

the author weaves a narrative presenting the aims of the historical work as a means to ensure the legacy of a politician.

In 1995 Fujimori won reelection to the presidency against United Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuellar, and following the 1997 hostage rescue the President, he saw a brief surge in polls. Unfortunately, like South Africa in the 1980s Peru in the 1990s became “a harsh reminder of the past.”<sup>41</sup> The Peruvian economic strategies of the latter-half of the 1990s, colloquially known as *Fujimorismo*, brought worldwide attention, but little in the way of morale improvement at home. “*Fujimorismo* did not, for example, resolve the private sector’s long-standing complaint about the lack of systematic access and representation of business interests in the economic policy-making process.”<sup>42</sup> A final example of the historiography of History as control is presented in Middlebrook’s *Conservative Parties* as the author aims to set the place of Fujimori in the positive light of conservative economic politics and presents the presence of conservatism in Latin America as a whole in an overall favourable, but generally objective, light. This paper’s author concluded that Fujimori’s policies, though fiscally conservative, brought radical change when implemented, allowing the Peruvian President claims to liberal alteration and conservative protection. Given failing popularity and hints of a 2000 election scandal, the government, after seeking and initially winning an unprecedented third term, called for new elections, but the current President did not intend to stand. Unfortunately, the rumors of internal interference with the 2000 Peruvian Presidential election quickly came into full light before Fujimori fully exited the political arena.

Initial investigations into the actions of the head of Peru’s National Intelligence Service, Vladimiro Montesinos, brought to public awareness reelection actions opponents to Fujimori’s government claimed as fraudulent. The Organization of American States stated the corruption of the highest levels of Peru’s government warranted serious action from Fujimori,<sup>43</sup> and Montesinos and by proxy the entire Peruvian executive branch, received widespread condemnation when a video of the Intelligence head giving bribes in exchange for support to the President in 2000 made appearances in the mass media.<sup>44</sup> After a period of public support following the hostage crisis and economic success in the free market, the desire to retain power and wield the tools of a national administration tainted the Fujimori presidency in the same manner as any authoritarian regime in Peru’s history. Poet José Watanabe illustrated Alberto Fujimori’s attempt to gain and failure to retain a reputation as the political rock Peru’s people needed at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: “I shall know/that I am not yet the mountain.”<sup>45</sup>

The President’s children, especially daughter Keiko Sofía, advocated for Fujimori, and stated until the leaked video surfaced no plausible options existed. Keiko continued claiming the post-1992 political environment in Peru featured a popular President but a corrupt government, attempting a leverage of blame away from the presidential father. The key to all of Peru’s political woes in the latter half of the 1990s originated in the contradiction of the presence of democratic institutions but a lack of the separation of powers the elections supported.<sup>46</sup>

Moser’s 1998 article describing Peru’s “crossroads” sums-up well the state of affairs regarding the last ditch efforts of Fujimori’s government: the hostage crisis, resulting in an initial rise in the approval polls, did not serve as enough momentum to carry the President through the 2000 election, forcing Fujimori to utilize cheating methodologies. The recruitment of poems and mass media news articles from the period balance the view of the times in Peru as both a chaotic political situation involving the highest levels of administration and the artistic expression of the

individual. Middlebrook brings perhaps the most poignant focus in describing the battle between both The Right and Conservative parties in Peru, because the two entities do not inherently exist as a single organization.

After the 2000 election scandal, Fujimori's historical record to the present day continued a downward spiral. Resigning in 2000, the former Professor's government fell, while Fujimori's daughter, Keiko later stood unsuccessfully for election as President in 2011. Alberto Fujimori fled Peru in 2000, seeking refuge in Japan, only to return to Latin America in 2007, facing charges of corruption and human rights violations. The resulting trial, concluding in 2009, resulted in a 25-year prison sentence for the killing of civilians in the counterinsurgency campaign against The Shining Path. Furthermore, in September of 2009, Fujimori plead guilty to the bribery of opposition politicians, journalists, and business leaders as attempts to maintain control as the head of state.<sup>47</sup> Unfortunately, the privatization legacy associated with the populist strategies and Presidential Coup further fell out of favour as by 2004 regional areas within Peru suffered further fiscal instability because "the future of the participatory budget is much more fragile under an uncommitted leadership."<sup>48</sup> Despite the strong-handed tactics and recriminations against the same, Fujimori's presence represented at least a continuity of power, though not an ethical example. The year 2017 finally brought a long-sought pardon on health grounds for Fujimori by the seated Peruvian President, however the efforts of the counterinsurgency surfaced once again and the former President faced orders to stand trial for the 1992 killing of six farmers.<sup>49</sup>

Culminating the paper's research with a final profile on Alberto Fujimori concludes the historical narrative with a historiographical theme of public interest. The article's author wrote to maintain awareness of the general public of the ongoing themes still present in the repercussions of the Fujimori presidency, for after all, the general public is the primary target of populist policies. The paper's author included sources created post-2000 illustrating the continuation of the Fujimori saga into the modern day. McNulty culminates the text with the political landscape of post-Fujimori Peru, painting an image of the exhausting cultural toll the endeavour took on the common citizenry Fujimori represented. The book's author, however, clearly states a preference against the former President and criticizes as opposed to offering a balanced argument.

Satiating unrest, providing security of life and property, offering economic comfort and reassurance, bolstering cultural rights, and protecting the nation from political unrest both within and outside international borders is a responsibility falling heavily to the Head of State. The filters of historiographical research present both the man and the environment in various lights depending on the goal of the author. The former Peruvian President suffered a subsequent fall from positive popular opinion due, in part, to bribery accusations resulting in a removal from office and burden of criminal charges and today acts as a key historical example, due to the variety of historiographical trends applied to the narrative, of the need to adapt to the changing desires and perceptions of key issues held by the general populace.

## NOTES

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