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Peru, where the city is sleeping.

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Peru, where the city is sleeping.

Abstract:

The presidential terms in Peru are five years. However, the latter, which began on July 28, 2016 and ends with the April 2021 elections, seems much longer. In a single presidential cycle, Peru has had five presidents.

Fujimorism, with an absolute majority in the congress, blocked the executive power, causing continuous government crises and, finally, the resignation of President Kuczynski and President Vizcarra, who was forced to dissolve the congress and advance the parliamentary elections.

The legislative elections changed the scene in Congress. Popular Force, Keiko Fujimori's party, affected by internal crises and corruption scandals, collapsed and it does not seem possible that it will recover. The new chamber brought in new populist parties and remained highly fragmented, awaiting the April 2021 elections. Following in Chile's footsteps, some political groups in the chamber have proposed a bill to draft a new constitution. Meanwhile, popular disaffection with politicians continues to grow in a country with little trust in its institutions and where the city slept too long ago thinking about the lesser evil.

Keywords:

Keiko Fujimori, political corruption, Popular Force, Odebrecht, Martin Vizcarra, Kuczynski.

***NOTE:** The ideas contained in the **Analysis Papers** are the responsibility of their authors. They do not necessarily reflect the thinking of the IEEE or the Ministry of Défense.

El Perú, donde la ciudad se ha dormido.

Resumen:

Los mandatos presidenciales en Perú son de cinco años. Sin embargo, este último, que comenzó el 28 de julio de 2016 y termina con las elecciones de abril de 2021, parece mucho más largo. Ha habido demasiadas tensiones y conflictos continuos en direcciones a veces previsibles y otras no. El tiempo cronológico y el psicológico a veces se distancian. En un solo ciclo presidencial Perú ha tenido cinco presidentes.

El fujimorismo, con mayoría absoluta en el congreso, bloqueo al poder ejecutivo, provocando continuas crisis de gobierno y, finalmente, la dimisión del presidente Kuczynski y del presidente Vizcarra, que se vio forzado a disolver el congreso y adelantar las elecciones parlamentarias.

Las elecciones legislativas cambiaron el escenario en el congreso. Fuerza Popular, el partido de Keiko Fujimori, afectado por luchas internas y escándalos de corrupción, se desplomó y no parece posible que vuelva a recuperarse. La nueva cámara dio entrada a nuevos partidos populistas, quedó muy fragmentada y siguió fragmentándose como consecuencia de movimientos trófugas.

La agenda política está marcada por las elecciones de abril de 2021. Siguiendo los pasos de Chile, algunos grupos políticos han planteado un proyecto de ley para redactar una nueva constitución. Mientras tanto la desafección popular por los políticos no deja de crecer en un país con poca confianza en sus instituciones y donde la ciudad se durmió hace demasiado tiempo pensando en el mal menor.

Palabras clave:

Keiko Fujimori, corrupción política, Fuerza Popular, Odebrecht, Martin Vizcarra, Kuczynski.

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Everything in the ruined city invites you to forget, the old gates, the great deserted square and the abandoned temple... The city has fallen asleep.

The dead city of Abraham Valdelomar, Peruvian writer and poet.

The memory of Fujimori hurts.

Pedro Pablo Kuczynski Godard was appointed President of Peru at the age of 78, after a long and distinguished political, financial and business career.¹ Holding important political and professional responsibilities leaves marks in a context where the main problem, since the independence of the Spanish-American republics, has been the governance deficit and institutional instability.

Kuczynski ran for president in 2016 for the party he founded two years earlier, Peruanos Por el Cambio (PPK). Interestingly, the party's initials coincide with the initials of its founder and presidential candidate. The party was running for the first time in an election. In the first round, Keiko Fujimori won by a landslide, practically doubling the number of votes cast for Kuczynski, with whom she would contest the presidency in the second round.

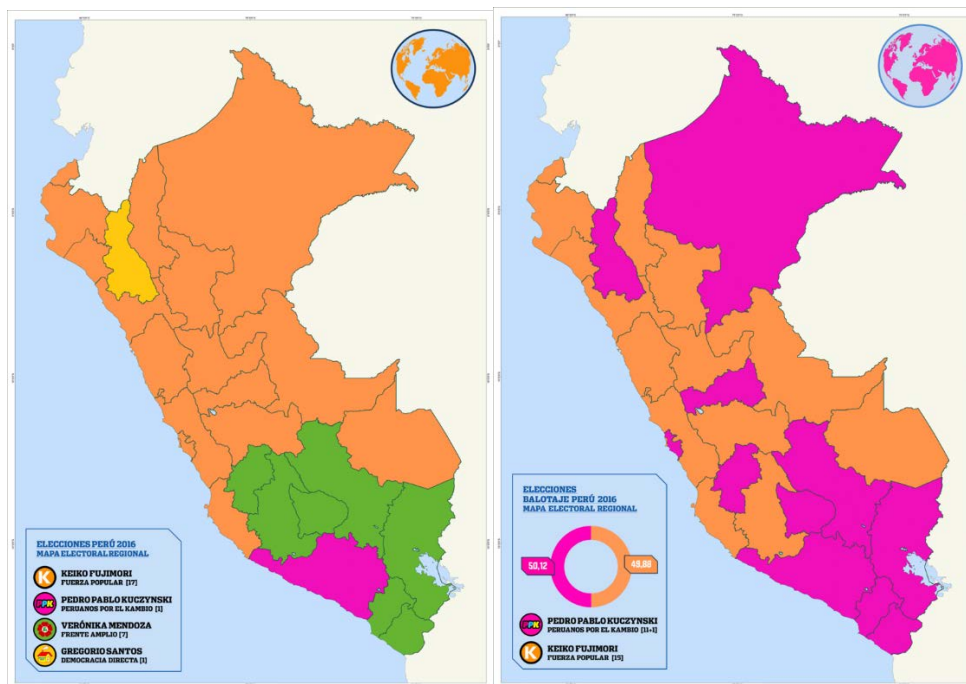
Kuczynski only came in first in Arequipa, one of the country's 24 regions. The centre-right candidate's only chance against the populist right was to mobilise the anti-Fujimori vote. At that time, after almost thirty years of Alberto Fujimori's self-coup and twenty since his dismissal, his memory was still polarising the country into two blocs.

¹<https://www.presidencia.gob.pe/docs/hojadevidappk.pdf>

He began his career at the World Bank as a regional economist for Central America, becoming chief economist for Latin America and then head of policy planning. He was appointed Chief Economist of the International Finance Corporation at the World Bank. He was manager of the Central Reserve Bank of Peru. He worked at the Kuhn, Loeb & Co. investment bank in NY. He was chairman of the American mining consortium Halco Mining. He was appointed co-director of First Boston Investment Bank. He was chairman of the Latin America Enterprise Fund. Between 1992 and 2004, he held management positions in several companies, such as Compañía de Acero del Pacífico, Magma Copper, Edelnor S.A., Toyota Motor Corporation, Siderúrgica Argentina, R.O.C. Taiwan Fund, CS First Boston, Tenaris, Southern Peru Copper Corporation. In 2007, he joined Ternium Inc. At the same time he developed his political career, becoming Minister of Energy and Mines, Minister of Economy and Finance, and in 2004 President of the Council of Ministers of Peru, running for President of Peru in 2011 and 2016, winning the presidency in the latter.

Fuerza Popular, the party of Keiko and Kenji Fujimori, the former president's children, have the support of popular sectors, which recognise Alberto Fujimori as a providential figure. Many Peruvians do not forget the former president's great successes in combating "Shining Path" terrorism and against the economic crisis and hyperinflation of the 80s, which he inherited from President Alan García. In the interior of the country, the Fujimori party has more support than in Lima and the coastal cities.

The two parties competing for the presidency were new and organised around the figure of a leader. Kuczynski, owing to his high age, his liberal economic policy and his career, was a candidate with little chance of attracting the left-wing vote, represented by Verónica Mendoza's Frente Amplio and Alan García's Alianza Popular. In any event, the second round was considered a choice for or against Fujimori. Fuerza Popular went alone, without any party or candidate to support it, to an election where the shadow of the family would determine the outcome.²



Source: National Jury of Elections. Regional distribution of first and second round votes³

https://portal.jne.gob.pe/portal_documentos/files/0555507c-f982-4f51-b0ca-34e0fa17fc73.pdf

² Kuczynski was supported by former candidates Veronika Mendoza, third in the first round, Alfredo Barnechea Acción Popular party, fourth in the first round, Cesar Acuña of the Alianza para el Progreso, Alejandro Toledo of Perú Posible, Fernando Olivera of Frente Esperanza, who publicly expressed support for the vote of the PPK.

³ The map on the left shows the regions where Fuerza Popular obtained the highest percentage of votes in brown, Frente Amplio in green, Peruanos por el Cambio in pink and Direct Democracy in yellow. The map on the right reflects the territorial distribution in the second round.

Simultaneously with the first round, legislative elections were held for Peru's single chamber, which has 130 deputies. Fuerza Popular won the absolute majority with 73 seats, while the PPK won just 18 seats.⁴ With this scenario in the legislative, a victory by Kuczynski in the second round would place Peru in a complicated political situation, where the duel between congress and the presidency would be permanent.

Finally, the second round showed the fractured nature of the country and its polarisation. Pedro Pablo Kuczynski won by some 45,000 votes, receiving 50.12% of the valid votes. Keiko Fujimori obtained 49.88% of the valid votes, practically a draw in a plebiscite election marked by the figure of Fujimori.⁵ The new president Pedro Pablo Kuczynski was faced with a congress dominated by the party he had defeated by only a small number of votes and a complicated mandate was announced.

The strategy of blocking the congress to the presidency.

The attacks by congress against the government began quickly. Jaime Saavedra, who had been education minister with Ollanta Humala, unusually in Peru, revalidated his mandate in the first government of President Kuczynski. With a brilliant performance in his professional career as an economist, Saavedra entered politics as an independent and stood out for his achievements and improvements in the education system. Two years after his appointment, he was chosen as Peru's Person of the Year.⁶ His successes

⁴Distribution of seats in the Peruvian Congress: Fuerza Popular with Keiko Fujimori 73 seats (populist right), Frente Amplio 20 seats (extreme left), Peruanos por el Cambio with Pedro Pablo Kuczynski 18 seats (centre-right), Alianza para el Progreso 9 seats (centre-right), Acción Popular with Alfredo Barnechea 5 seats (centre) and Alianza Popular with Alan García (centre left). Available at:

<https://www.web.onpe.gob.pe/modElecciones/elecciones/elecciones2016/PRPCP2016/Resultados-UbigeoBarras-Presidencial.html>

⁵ PERUANOS POR EL KAMBIO 8,589,529 with 50.12% and FUERZA POPULAR 8,547,845, with 49.88%. Available at:

<https://www.web.onpe.gob.pe/modElecciones/elecciones/elecciones2016/PRP2V2016/Resumen-GeneralPresidencial.html#posicion>

⁶ <https://peru21.pe/politica/jaime-saavedra-elegido-personaje-ano-peru21-conoce-logros-2015-207468-noticia/>

were recognised by a large part of the opposition, which even hoped he would maintain his position beyond the end of Humala's presidential term, as finally happened.⁷

Jaime Saavedra was the most popular minister and had the highest approval of the government. However, he would become the first target of the opposition-dominated congress. Fuerza Popular and Alianza Popular, an extravagant alliance between the right-wing populism of Fujimorism and the left-wing Aprism of Alan García, censured Minister Saavedra. Allegations of corruption in his ministry, related to the purchase of computers, were used to force his resignation. A minor issued, which was clearly investigated, dispelling any shadow of doubt about Saavedra's possible personal involvement, ended up making clear what the opposition's strategy in Congress would be against the president and his cabinet.⁸

Congress's censure, passed by a large majority, forced the education minister to resign and set a dangerous precedent. At that time the President of the Republic considered tabling a motion of confidence, which he would probably have lost and would have forced him to reshuffle the entire cabinet. Another, more forceful option would have been to reconvene legislative elections. In any case, Kuczynski decided not to put up a fight at that time and lost his minister with the most popular approval, uniquely prominent among students and opinion leaders.⁹ Not only that, he lost the initiative and after that a constant attack began from Congress against his cabinet first and then against the president himself.

Five months after the departure of the education minister, Martin Vizcarra, Vice-President and Minister for Transport and Communications, was forced to resign from his post. The reason for the resignation was the renegotiation of the contract and addendum for the construction of Chinchero International Airport near Cuzco.¹⁰

⁷ Reasons were not lacking, the 2015 PISA tests had begun to show progress that will become more evident in 2018. Available at:

<http://umc.minedu.gob.pe/el-peru-en-pisa-2015-informe-nacional-de-resultados/>

http://umc.minedu.gob.pe/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/PPT-PISA-2018_Web_vf-15-10-20.pdf

⁸ <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-38337604>

⁹ https://elpais.com/internacional/2016/12/15/america/1481841178_067082.html

¹⁰In July 2014, Ollanta Humala signed the Chinchero Airport concession with the Kuntur Wasi Consortium. Work was scheduled to begin in the first half of 2016. The inability to find funding to expropriate the land and start the work kept them at a standstill. The attempt to re-launch the project, by modifying its conditions, was questioned by the Comptroller General's office and the congress, forcing the

Only a month after Vizcarra resigned as minister, it was Minister for Economy and Finance Alfredo Thorne's turn. The press published an alleged conversation between the minister and the Comptroller of the Republic, Edgar Alarcón, which both later denied having taken place. The topic they discussed was the report that Alarcón was to submit on the renegotiation of the contract for Chinchero Airport. The minister, according to the press, would be trying to put pressure on the Comptroller of the Republic to express his support for the changes added to the contract to enable work to begin on Cuzco airport.¹¹

The congress easily won the necessary votes to summon Minister Thorne, to ask him for explanations. Interestingly, Kenji Fujimori, the younger brother of the Fuerza Popular leader, abstained. A new front was opening up. The party criticised and sanctioned Kenji's decision to dissociate himself from the parliamentary group.

Parallel to the questioning of his economy minister, Kuczynski had expressed his willingness to consider pardoning Alberto Fujimori. The government had presented a bill to Congress allowing prisoners over 75 years old, who have served a third of their sentence and are ill, to replace prison with house arrest. The initiative favoured Alberto Fujimori, but his daughter opposed it.

Political punishment, which was to result in the Finance Minister's request for censure in Congress, was to be avoided. Thorne decided to take the initiative and submitted a motion of confidence, which meant shifting the responsibility for his dismissal to the opposition in Congress. His wager was interesting but he lost and was forced to resign.¹²

Peruvian politics could not seem more contradictory. While the president sought to free Alberto Fujimori from prison with a law, his daughter and her party opposed it. The entire party did not, Kenji publicly thanked the president for this attitude and, when it came to

resignation of the minister of transport and communications. Three years have passed and Cuzco will still have to wait until the second half of 2021 for them to supposedly start building their airport. Available at:

<https://www.turiweb.pe/aeropuerto-de-chinchero-sufre-nuevo-retraso-obras-iniciaran-en-segundo-semestre-de-2021/>

¹¹ https://elpais.com/internacional/2017/06/22/america/1498083463_907900.html

¹² Minister Thorne used an appeal under Article 132 of the Peruvian Constitution, which allows a minister to submit a motion of confidence to Congress. If the motion of confidence is lost, only the minister is obliged to resign without affecting the rest of the cabinet. Available at:

<https://rpp.pe/politica/gobierno/por-que-alfredo-thorne-podria-dejar-el-ministerio-de-economia-noticia-1058374>

voting on the finance minister's censure, did not wish to take a stand against the executive and abstained.¹³

In less than 11 months the parliament had forced three very powerful ministers in Kuczynski's cabinet to resign, but the president had managed to break the voting discipline of his main opponent.

The tension between the executive and legislative powers started from day one and would not finish until the end. The next step was only three months later. Parliament's intention to censure Education Minister Marilu Martens for her handling of the teachers' strike put the President and his government in a difficult position. The continuous attacks on the ministers placed the executive in a position of continuous precariousness. The new challenge posed by Mr Fujimori's party from its majority position forced the cabinet headed by Fernando Zavala to respond with a dangerous political manoeuvre. The head of the Council of Ministers was no longer prepared to put up with a continuous trickle of resignations, forced by the Congress, and decided to ask for a vote of confidence. Fuerza Popular with an absolute majority denied the trust and the whole government had to cease.¹⁴

In December 2017, another three months later, Peru's parliament approved the consideration of the request for the dismissal of President Pedro Pablo Kuczynski on the grounds of "permanent moral incapacity". The "impeachment was related to the concealment of payments by the Brazilian construction company Odebrecht to one of the President's companies when he was a member of President Alejandro Toledo Manrique's cabinet.¹⁵ A year earlier, the Anti-Corruption Unit of the Peruvian Attorney General's

¹³<https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-39494792>

¹⁴ <https://rpp.pe/politica/gobierno/por-que-el-congreso-no-le-dio-el-voto-de-confianza-al-gabinete-zavala-noticia-1076841>

¹⁵ "The proposal of the Frente Amplio, APRA, APP and Fuerza Popular was approved by 93 votes to 17. Kuczynski was accused of untruthfulness, repeatedly denying any link to Odebrecht, a company that ended up revealing that it had paid over 782,000 dollars in consulting fees between 2004 and 2007 to Westfield Capital, a company owned by Kuczynski himself. At that time, President Kuczynski was Minister of Economy" Available at

<https://www.dw.com/es/congreso-peruano-aprueba-debatir-destituci%C3%B3n-de-kuczynski/a-41820923>

Office ordered the opening of the investigation into Kuczynski.¹⁶ Since then, much evidence had accumulated and Congress requested explanations.

The break-up of the Fujimori bloc and family

When everyone was taking the president's dismissal for granted, on 21st December Kenji Fujimori, Alberto Fujimori's youngest son, with a group of congressmen from Fuerza Popular, abstained from voting against the dismissal, breaking with the rest of the party. The abstentions of the minority group of Fuerza Popular were decisive in saving President Kuczynski.

A few days later, on Christmas Eve, the presidency of the republic announced in a communiqué that a presidential pardon had been granted to Alberto Fujimori. The pardon "on humanitarian grounds" was based on the opinion of the medical board, which assessed the former president's illness as progressive, degenerative and incurable and advised his release.¹⁷

President Kuczynski pointed out that the pardon for Alberto Fujimori: "had been perhaps the most difficult decision of my life".¹⁸ With this decision he had managed to avoid his dismissal and to divide his opponents in Congress. Milagros Salazar, spokesperson for Fuerza Popular, protested, saying that "It is unfortunate for the country that Kuczynski has traded his position for a pardon"¹⁹.

¹⁶ The accusation is based on the fact that it allegedly favoured the Brazilian firm Odebrecht to win a concession in 2006. Among these payments would be one from the firm TRG Allocational Offshore LTD, in Grand Cayman, which deposited 4 million dollars into Kuczynski's personal account in December 2015. Available at:

<https://talcualdigital.com/pedro-pablo-kuczynski-el-empresario-peruano-que-no-sobrevivio-los-fujimori/>

¹⁷ "The President of Peru, using his powers, which are conferred on him by the Constitution, has decided to grant a humanitarian pardon to Alberto Fujimori and seven other inmates. The son of former president, congressman Kenji Fujimori celebrated the decision. Via Twitter he wrote: "On behalf of the Fujimori family, I would like to thank President Pedro Pablo Kuczynski for the noble and magnanimous gesture of giving a humanitarian pardon to my father @albertofujimori. We are eternally grateful to you, President @ppkamigo. May God enlighten you." Available at: <https://www.dw.com/es/per%C3%BA-pedro-pablo-kuczynski-indulta-a-expresidente-fujimori/a-41924396>

¹⁸ <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-42482121>

¹⁹ <https://laprimera.pe/fujimorista-milagros-salazar-acepta-que-ppk-canjea-indulto-de-fujimori-con-frustrar-su-vacancia/>

In Fuerza Popular, Keiko Fujimori had progressively distanced herself from her father in order to disassociate herself from the negative aspects of his political legacy. However, there was still a minority trend, led by Kenji, which kept the memory of the former president and historical leader alive. This minority had the primary objective of obtaining Alberto Fujimori's freedom. President Kuczynski tried to use this fault line to his advantage.

The youngest of the Fujimoris and his followers, moving away from his party, have since become one of Kuczynski's main partners. However, Keiko Fujimori waited for her moment. Three months later, Fuerza Popular denounced one of its own, the youngest son of its historic leader. They accused Keiko Fujimori and congressmen from her block of trying to buy support against the second motion to remove President Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, which had just been tabled. The videos that were shown were definitive in proving that an attempt was indeed being made to buy votes to prevent the president from being removed again. The scandal was so serious that several congressmen from the president's party voted in favour of his dismissal. The PPK was dead and Fujimori and his family were divided.

Too many Presidents of the Republic for a single term.

Although Peru's presidential terms are set for five years, Pedro Pablo Kuczynski was forced to resign only 20 months after his inauguration. The first Vice-President, Martín Vizcarra Cornejo, took office in March 2018. Vizcarra's presidency was marked by continuous shocks, surprises, political blockages and institutional crises. Trying to tell it all would end up being boring.

Vizcarra set out to promote ambitious judicial and political reforms with a congress dominated by the opposition and with sectors of the judiciary opposed to its changes. He met with broad popular approval, despite the continued wear and tear of his complicated presidency. His term of office lasted two and a half years. In this short period of time, he had five presidents of the council of ministers and 16 government crises.²⁰

²⁰ His first ministerial cabinet was chaired by César Villanueva, a congressman from Alianza para el Progreso. This appointment was not well received by the PPK's ruling party. After eight government crises in less than a year, Villanueva resigned, citing personal reasons. The second cabinet was chaired by Salvador del Solar. The debate with Congress, because of his quick and disputed election of the vacancies

Meanwhile, Peru was hit harder than anywhere else by COVID and the data on deaths and the fall in gross domestic product are among the highest in the world.

Vizcarra was faced with serious institutional crises, including the most serious possible, living in a state with two presidents of the Republic for a short time.

Vizcarra, in accordance with the constitution, was forced to dissolve the congress, without having finished his time in office, because of the continuous obstructionism to his policies and governments. Congress's reaction was to declare the temporary suspension of Martin Vizcarra's post, which many saw as an institutional coup d'état by Fujimori. The Vice-President, Mercedes Aráoz, was even sworn in as Acting President.

The crisis generated was quickly resolved. Everything became clear when the heads of the armed forces expressed their support for President Vizcarra, who also had the overwhelming backing of public opinion. Mercedes Aráoz decided to quit.²¹ The constitutional court later ruled that the removal of the president from office by a dissolved congress was unconstitutional.²²

Vizcarra came to the presidency prepared to stand up to corruption and his purpose became the main argument for pushing forward his judicial and political reforms. However, his dismissal was due to alleged bribes received when he was governor of the Moquegua region. The full session of Congress approved a resolution declaring the "permanent moral incapacity of the president" and therefore "the vacancy of the presidency of the Republic".

The succession, as there was no vice-president at that time due to the resignation of Mercedes Aráoz, fell to the president of the congress, Manuel, a member of the right-wing Acción Popular party. The street protests against the attempt to overthrow President

of the Constitutional Court, ended up provoking his dismissal. Del Solar resigned five months after taking office and President Vizcarra dissolved the Congress of the Republic, calling for elections. Vicente Zeballos was the third President of the Council of Ministers. Ten months after his appointment, with seven of his ministers forced to resign because of serious accusations of corruption and the very serious health and economic impact of the COVID on the country, Congress once again withdrew its confidence in the prime minister. Pedro Cateriano was sworn in as president of the cabinet but 20 days later had to resign because he did not earn the confidence of the congress. Walter Roger Martos Ruiz was to become the fifth chairman of the council, and after three months he stepped down.

²¹ <http://miningpress.com/nota/323979/vizcarra-vive-ni-renuncio-ni-habra-elecciones-presidenciales-en-peru-las-precisiones-de-zeballos>

²² <https://larepublica.pe/politica/2020/05/05/mercedes-araoz-su-renuncia-sera-evaluada-por-el-pleno-del-congreso-este-jueves-7-de-mayo/>

Vizcarra led to two deaths and nearly a hundred wounded. Merino, the fourth president of the legislature, was a practically unknown provincial politician. Violence against demonstrators supporting Vizcarra was criticised by the newly appointed president's own party. Congress asked for his resignation. Manuel Merino's weakness forced him to resign only five days after being sworn in.²³

At present, surveys by both the Institute of Peruvian Studies (IEP) and IPSOS Peru show a 90% disapproval rating against Congress.²⁴ The population identifies him as being responsible for the ungovernability of the country.

Franz Sagasti Hochhausler of the newly formed Partido Morado was appointed president. In four years, Peru had had five presidents and extraordinary parliamentary elections held in January 2020.

The results of the extraordinary parliamentary elections.

The results of the parliamentary elections completely changed the composition of the legislature. Fujimori's party, which had an absolute majority, literally collapsed, occupying sixth place in terms of the total number of votes.

In October 2018, Keiko Fujimori was accused of organising a money laundering network to finance her election campaigns. The judge ordered the arrest of the party leader with an absolute majority in Congress for 36 months.²⁵ In November 2019, Peru's constitutional court agreed to accept the "habeas corpus" submitted in favour of Keiko Fujimori, annulling the pre-trial detention after she had served 393 days in prison. Only one month later, the public prosecutor José Domingo Pérez extended the charges against Keiko Fujimori, including the crimes of illicit association, criminal organisation, false

²³ <https://www.lavanguardia.com/internacional/20201110/49388977408/conservador-manuel-merino-nuevo-presidente-peru-tras-inesperada-destitucion-vizcarra.html>

²⁴ <https://rpp.pe/peru/actualidad/elecciones-2021-que-impacto-tuvo-en-la-intencion-de-voto-el-accionar-de-george-forsyth-y-julio-guzman-durante-la-crisis-politica-y-las-protestas-ciudadanas-el-poder-en-tus-manos-noticia-1306174>

²⁵ "In the document presented by public prosecutor José Domingo Pérez to support his request for 36 months of preventive arrest against Keiko Fujimori, he maintains that the leader of Fuerza Popular would have incurred in a real contest of crimes in the Odebrecht case, for which he would be sentenced to 24 years and 10 months of imprisonment.

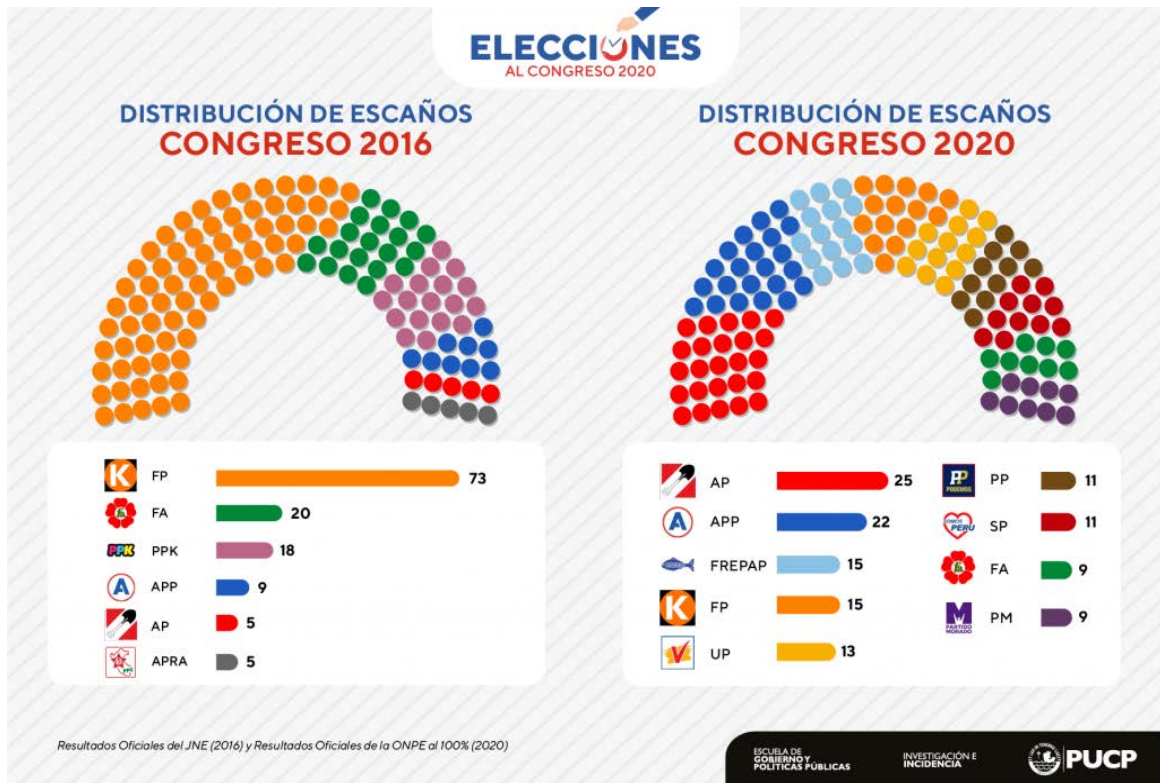
Available at: <https://gestion.pe/peru/politica/keiko-fujimori-fiscal-perez-pediria-24-anos-y-10-meses-de-prision-contra-lideresa-por-caso-odebrecht-noticia/>

declaration and procedural fraud, and generic falsehood. Accumulation of offences could result in a sentence of between 24 and 10 years' imprisonment. As a result of the extension of the charges, the judge again ordered pre-trial detention, this time for 15 months.²⁶

At the same time, the judge accepted the prosecution's request to include the Fuerza Popular party as a legal entity under investigation for the crime of money laundering against Keiko Fujimori in the Odebrecht case, a decision that could lead to the temporary suspension of the party or its dissolution.

Keiko Fujimori's comings and goings in prison, her dark criminal horizon and that of her party, the internal struggles between siblings and family, the pardon granted by President Kuczynski as payment for extravagant political favours, the permanent use of her majority in congress to block government action and the suspicion of serious crimes of general corruption are enough to understand the resounding failure of Fuerza Popular in the congressional elections. Fujimorism seems to have reached the end of its tether and it is unlikely that Keiko, who will still be in custody, will be able to run for president on 11th April 2021, even though her candidacy has been accepted.

²⁶ <https://elcomercio.pe/politica/dicta-15-meses-de-prision-preventiva-para-keiko-fujimori-la-cronologia-de-la-investigacion-por-el-caso-odebrecht-prision-preventiva-fuerza-popular-jose-domingo-perez-noticia/?ref=ecr>



Source: <https://escuela.pucp.edu.pe/gobierno/investigacion/infografias/elecciones-congresales-extraordinarias-2020/>

FP Fuerza Popular, party of Keiko Fujimori, right-wing populist.

FA Frente Amplio, extreme left.

PPK Partido por el Kambio with Pedro Pablo Kuczynski and Martín Vicarra.

PPP Alianza para el Progreso, centre.

AP Acción Popular, right.

APRA Partido Aprista, centre-left, Alan Garcia.

FREPAP Frente Popular Agrícola de Perú, evangelistic populism.

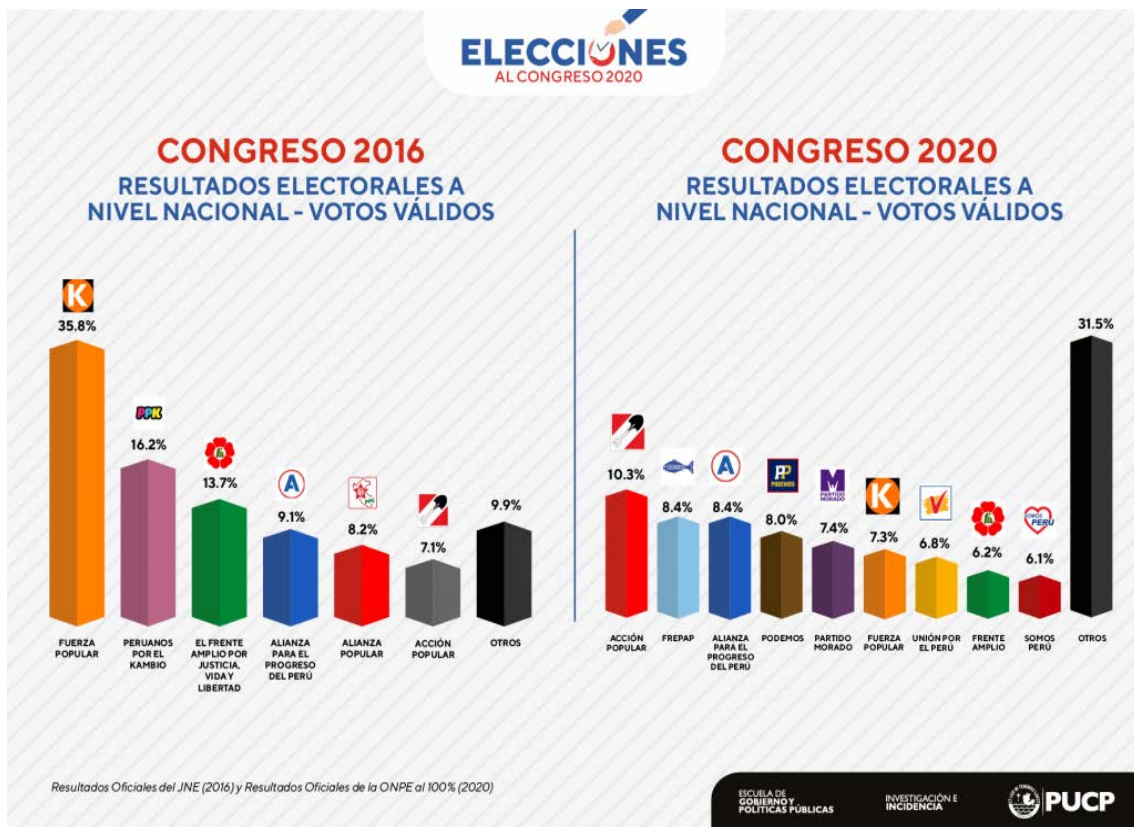
UP Unión por Perú, ultra-nationalist populism.

PP Podemos Peru, far-right populism.

SP Somos Perú, Christian democracy.

PM Partido Morado, party of the President of the Republic Francisco Sagasti.

Other, extra-parliamentary parties that have not obtained 5% of the national cut-off vote.



Source: <https://escuela.pucp.edu.pe/gobierno/investigacion/infografias/elecciones-congresales-extraordinarias-2020/>

The implosion of Fuerza Popular has resulted in a very fragmented congress. Many of the votes for Fuerza Popular have been redirected to new populist parties that have emerged from nowhere with a lot of strength: Podemos Perú, FREPAP and Unión por Perú.²⁷ APRA, led by former President Alan García, is another major defeat, and its continuity could be threatened, as it has failed to obtain any representatives for the first time in six decades.

The disaffection of citizens with Congress and the low profile of the candidates manifested itself in an unknown dispersion of the vote. More than 30% of the votes were diluted between different political forces that did not reach the 5 percent of vote needed nationally

²⁷ The evangelical, albeit Adventist-rooted, Frente Popular Agrícola del Perú (Frepap) has had the second best vote and the ultra-nationalist and right-wing Unión por Perú, led from prison by Antauro Humala, has been the third largest. Podemos Perú with Daniel Urresti, a champion of the "mano dura" (strong hand), has become another surprise of these elections. Available at:

http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano_es/contenido?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano_es/zonas_es/ari18-2020-malamud-nunez-limites-del-milagro-andino-crisis-institucional-paralisis-legislativa-ralentizacion-economica-peru?utm_source=newsletter233&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=mar2020

to get into Congress. The two parties with the most support, the right-wing Acción Popular and the right-wing religious populist FREPAP, together accounted for only 20% of the votes. Their votes all together were fewer than those received by the second most voted party in both the 2016 and 2011 elections.

The parties on the right and in the centre that were furthest from power in this period were also favoured because they did not accumulate new cases of corruption. This is the case of Acción Popular, Alianza por el Progreso and the Christian Democrat Somos Perú.

The very fragmented left remains irrelevant. Frente Amplio has split, losing representation, and its former leader, Verónica Mendoza, formed a new party, Juntos por Perú, which was not represented.

President Sagasti's Partido Morado has only nine members of parliament. The weakness of officialism is not a problem in such a fragmented congress with such a short horizon. The presidential elections and the renewal of the chamber scheduled for 11th April mark the entire Peruvian political agenda at this time.

In December 2020, 23 nominations for the presidency were approved, surely too many. At the moment, there is no candidate who stands out enough to be assured of a place in the second round. What is possible is to discard many of the candidates. The most significant is Keiko Fujimori, who lost the second round of the presidential elections by just over 40,000 votes and received 49.88% of the votes.

Voter disaffection with political parties can lead to a shift in voting towards new forces and candidates who are younger or have less political background behind them. Many of the new parties are not yet nationally established and could be a counterweight. Partido Morado with Julio Guzmán as candidate, Podemos Perú with Daniel Urresti and Restauración Nacional with George Forsyth have options to win the presidency.

Full stop or...

The last six former presidents of the country: Alberto Fujimori, Alejandro Toledo, Alan García, Ollanta Humala, Pedro Pablo Kuczynski and Martín Vizcarra are either convicted, under investigation or fugitives from justice. One of them, Alan Garcia, committed suicide when he was about to be arrested by the police. In the last 20 years, all presidents who have occupied the Pizarro House have been directly affected by cases of corruption.

The legislature also has its marks. In Congress, 68 of the 130 members had trials pending.²⁸

The judiciary is not free from sin. The Public Prosecutor's Office Specialising in Corruption (PPEDC) released a study on corruption in the justice system, which identified a total of 334 judges, 151 magistrates and 183 prosecutors, who were charged with or convicted of corruption cases.²⁹

The review of this presidential cycle and the data presented above are significant enough to illustrate Peru's institutional weakness. The Peruvian political system in recent years has functioned like a corrupt tombola in the midst of a duel between Fujimorism and anti-Fujimorism. The trust that was due disappeared. The disloyalty broke the ties between the different candidates, parties, institutions and society. Progress in almost any field, even preserving what was legitimately achieved, required recognition and acceptance that Peru had become a country where one could not say no. The only secure and consistent social, economic, political and institutional argument has long been to ensure the profitability of everyone's personal contributions.

The April 2021 elections may be a turning point. Surprisingly, with such a poor situation for forging broad national agreements, at a time of serious health, social, economic and political uncertainty, some parliamentary groups have tabled a bill to change the constitution. Chile's steps seem to have encouraged some Peruvians to make things even more complicated. While the city sleeps, some dream that it is awake.

The marble steps that the nobles once climbed with their lysis and star shields, which have since been hidden, have every step and now, poor steps! no one climbs them.

The dead city by Abraham Valdelomar, Peruvian writer and poet

Andrés González Martín*
Artillery Lieutenant Colonel
IEEE Analyst

²⁸ <https://caretas.pe/politica/estos-son-los-68-congresistas-que-tienen-procesos-en-investigacion-en-el-ministerio-publico/>

²⁹ <https://procuraduriaanticorrupcion.minjus.gob.pe/novedad/procuraduria-registra-mas-de-300-jueces-y-fiscales-investigados-por-corrupcion/>