

The "Political Coexistence" Agreement and Social Transformation in Peru

Xie Wenkan

Summary: Before the 1956 election, Prado, the presidential candidate representing the oligarchic group, promised during negotiations to restore the legal status of the Apra Party after being elected, and the Apra Party promised to support Prado in the general election. The two parties moved from confrontation to alliance in history. Known as the "political coexistence" agreement. The background of this agreement is the climax of the populist movement that emerged with the in-depth development of Peru's social transformation. Aya's speculation and the Apra Party's deviation from the original intention of populism are the reasons why the Apra Party accepts and The important reason for the alliance between the oligarchic groups, and the political culture of zero-sum game led to the failure of the Apra Party to cooperate with the Belaunde camp. The reaching of the agreement reshuffled the political landscape of Peru, and the military's position changed to The coup in 1962 laid the groundwork. More importantly, the agreement intensified the divisions in Peruvian society. The zero-sum game between the two major social interest groups continued to escalate, which led to the military launching another coup in 1968 and a comprehensive Taking over the government, the reasons and impact of the agreement highlighted that Peruvian social transformation has fallen into a dilemma of exclusive growth without inclusive development. The essence of Peruvian populism is to seek inclusive development. When the efforts of the civilian government to solve the dilemma ended in failure, the military conveniently To shoulder this historical task, Peru's tortuous experience in pursuing inclusive development is worthy of reflection and reference by the majority of developing countries.

Keywords: social transformation, political coexistence, Apra party, zero-sum game, exclusive growth, inclusive development

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University, CLC classification number: K14 Document

identification code: A Article number: 1002 - 6649 (2022) 01 - 0046 - 16

On the eve of the 1956 election, Prado, the presidential candidate representing the oligarchic group, promised during negotiations to the outgoing President Odría that he would not be held accountable for problems during his term after being elected, and at the same time promised to restore the legal status of the Apra Party. In return, the Apra Party will call on the people to support Prado in the general election. The agreement reached by the three parties is called the "political coexistence" agreement. The conclusion of the agreement declares that the Apra Party, the former leading force of the populist movement, and the former political enemy oligarchy will no longer be in confrontation. The transition from confrontation to alliance is a landmark event that attracts attention in the process of Peruvian social transformation. However, domestic academic circles have not done much research on the reasons and impacts of the agreement, and have not yet been able to gain a deeper understanding of Peruvian society from the 1930s to the 1950s. The main characteristics of the transformation. By analyzing the reasons and impacts of the agreement, this article attempts to more comprehensively interpret the thoughts of Aya, the leader of the Apra Party, and to more accurately grasp the connotation of Peruvian populism and the direction of the Peruvian populist movement, and to more accurately understand the reasons and nature of the two military coups in the 1960s were analyzed in order to understand the difficulties faced by Peruvian social transformation. Based on the research of domestic and foreign scholars, this article starts from the climax of the second populist movement in Peru, the self-interest and self-interest in Aya thought. The reasons for reaching the "political coexistence" agreement were analyzed from four aspects: the components of compromise, the Apra Party's deviation from the original intention of populism and the influence of Peru's traditional political culture, and then the impact of the agreement on Peru's political structure and social transformation.

The Origin of the "Political Coexistence" Agreement

At the end of the 19th century, Peru, as an exporter of primary products, was involved in the world capitalist system and started the transformation from a traditional society to a modern society. It was proposed by Víctor Raúl Haya de la

Domestic and foreign scholars' research on the causes and impact of the "political coexistence" agreement is scattered in different monographs and papers. Some scholars believe that although the Apra Party was the first political party to propose a "United Front of Physical and Mental Workers", But this idea never became a reality. As a petty bourgeois party, the opportunism of the Apra Party led it to align itself with the oligarchies and imperialism. See Víctor Villanueva's "The Petty-Bourgeois Party in Latin America" in *Latin American Perspectives* Vol 4 No 3 1977. Through the analysis of Aya's letters, Manrek demonstrated his ideological changes from the early 1930s to the mid-1950s. See Nelson Manrique's *Usted Fue Aprista! Bases para una Historia Crítica del APRA* Icaria Universidad Católica del Perú 2009 p 175 Some scholars pointed out that the Apra Party only signed the agreement after negotiations with De La Valle, Prado and Belaunde. The decision was made in favor of the Prado, see Bethell Leslie (ed), *Historia de América Latina* 16 e: Cambridge University Press 1991 Julio Cotler's *El Perú: Insurrección y Democracia*: Insurrección y Democracia Some scholars have commented on 1963 The economic and social policies of the Belaunde government from 1968 to 1968 are studied. See James Petras and Nelson Rimensnyder. *Los Militares y la Modernización del Perú* en *Latin American Studies* 90 - 123 E V K Fitzgerald *La Economía Política del Perú 1956-1978: Desarrollo Económico y Social* a: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos 1981. In domestic academic circles, Han Qi pointed out that Aya accepted Prado's proposal. The alliance proposal was prompted by Prado's promise to restore the Apra Party after winning the election. Legal status, see "The Process of World Modernization" (Latin American Volume) edited by Han Qi, Nanjing: Jiangsu People's Publishing House, 2010. Li Han believes that the "right turn" of the Apra Party is related to its goal of seeking development within the system. See Li Han: «Preliminary Analysis of the Adaptive Transformation of the Peruvian Apra Party», published in «Latin American Studies», Issue 5, 2014.

Party Secretary-General Ramiro Prialé returned to Peru to contact all parties and look for opportunities to restore the legal status of the Apra Party.

Participating in the presidential election are Hernando de Lavalle and Manuel Prado Ugarteche. Arceche) and Fernando Belaúnde Terry (Fernando Belaúnde Terry) were forced to Odria, who gave up his re-election plan, elected De La Valle from his own camp to participate in the election in order to ensure that the newly elected president would not be held accountable for the corruption and suppression of civilians during his term. At the same time, he also started negotiations with the Apra Party. However, Odria's plan to restore the legal status of the Apra Party in exchange for the latter's support for De La Valle was vetoed by the military. Within the oligarchic group, fierce competition began among different candidates, and in the end it was Prado, who served as president from 1939 to 1945, stood out. Like Odria, Prado realized that the participation of the Apra Party was crucial to the smooth realization of regime change. However, compared with Odria, who had a military background, Prado was more Political skills. On the one hand, he publicly declared that he would not restore the legal status of the Apra Party if elected. On the other hand, he launched secret negotiations with Pugliale. The third presidential candidate was a little-known architect at the time. As a new face in the political arena, it took him until the last moment to collect the 20,000 voter signatures required to run for president. Belaunde's campaign platform was quite similar to the populist ideology of the Apra Party in the early 1930s. In order to be similar to others, he believed that Peru needed a social change and advocated land reform and nationalization of the oil industry controlled by foreign capital. Although it was his first time to participate in the presidential election, Belaunde received widespread support from the people. With the

vote As the election day approaches, Belaunde has a strong tendency to catch up from behind. On June 8, 1956, nine days before the election, more than 60,000 supporters poured into Plaza San Martín in Lima, the capital, to build momentum for Belaunde. Facing Belaunde, In the face of Land's overwhelming election, representatives of Odria, Prado and the Apra party held negotiations overnight at Odria's residence in Monterrico. The three parties finally reached an agreement: First, Prado promised to restore Aldria's political power after being elected president. The legal status of the Pula Party was granted, and Aya was allowed to participate in the 1962 election. Secondly, the Apra Party promised to mobilize its supporters to vote for Prado. Thirdly, Prado promised to Odria that after being elected, he would not interfere with his administration. Various issues were investigated. This agreement was historically known as the "Montrric Agreement" or the "Political Coexistence" Agreement (La Convivencia). In order to avoid backlash from their

respective supporters, the negotiations between the three parties were conducted in secret. The agreement After the agreement was reached, it was not announced to the public immediately. Although the Apra Party called on supporters to vote for candidates who could restore the legal status of the Apra Party at campaign rallies, it did not directly mention Prado. Aprado, who lives in exile overseas, Members of the Pula Party took advantage of the electoral law prohibiting campaigning two days before the vote. It was not until the evening of June 14, 1956 that they announced to the public that the Pula Party would support Prado. In the end, in the election held on the 17th, Prado won the election. With an advantage of less than 10%, he defeated Belaunde as presic

In 1956, this once ambitious young man was already in his 60s, but he never had the opportunity to turn his theories and ideas into practice. For Aya, forming an alliance with the oligarchic group was his last chance to return to politics. Faced with the temptation of power, he could not refuse Prado's proposal.

Second, despite his fierce criticism of U.S. imperialism in his writings, Ayah adopted a compromising attitude in practice. On the eve of the 1931 election, Ayah met with the U.S. Ambassador to Peru, Fred Morris Deering. Deering held a meeting. In a letter sent back to the U.S. State Department, Deering described the contact with Aya as follows: "Aya de la Torre hopes that our government will give the Apra Party the greatest understanding and as much support as possible. Help Now I am not sure whether he can win the election, but based on my current understanding, I can say that even if he is elected president, we have nothing to fear. On the contrary, the Apra Party government will be a government that has a strong liberal tendency and is beneficial to the United States." In 1955, Aya proposed in his book that there are two different kinds of imperialism, political and economic. He believed that "imperialism" and "anti-imperialism" have long existed in American politics. "Two equally powerful public opinions. With the election of Franklin Roosevelt as president in 1932 and the implementation of the Good Neighbor Policy, the threat of political imperialism has been eliminated, and economic imperialism can help Latin American countries eliminate feudal remnants. "If Indian America The industrialization of a country can only be completed in a capitalist or imperialist system. Then we can draw the following irrefutable conclusion: Imperialism is a phenomenon with a dual role. It not only means danger, but also brings danger to economically backward people. "The country brings progress" In Aya's thinking, since the threat of political imperialism has been eliminated, and the economic imperialism to which the oligarchic group is attached is a force for progress, it is logical to form an alliance with the oligarchic group.

Aya's thought was progressive when it was first proposed, and its conservative side was concealed by the long-term underground activities of the Apra Party. In the 1956 election, faced with the temptation of power, the weakness of this thought All exposed, Aya compromised with imperialism for his own selfish interests and embarked on the speculative path of alliance with the oligarchic group.

(3) The Apra Party has deviated from the original intention of proposing populism

and emphasized that the populism of class alliance is the most important proposition of the Apra Party and the basis for gaining widespread support. After the Apra Party populism theory was proposed, it gained more popularity than at the same time. on behalf of other change programs more broadly

1 1956年，这位曾经雄心勃勃的年轻人已经60岁了，但他从未有机会将他的理论和想法付诸实践。对于阿亚来说，与寡头集团结成联盟是他重返政治的最后一次机会。面对权力的诱惑，他不能拒绝普拉多的提议。

其次，尽管他在著作中对美国帝国主义进行了猛烈的批评，阿亚却在实践中采取了一种妥协的态度。在1931年选举前夕，阿亚与美国驻秘鲁大使弗雷德·莫里斯·德里昂会面。德里昂举行了一次会议。在写给美国国务院的一封信中，德里昂描述了与阿亚的接触情况：“阿亚·德拉·托雷希望我们的政府能给阿普拉党最大的理解和支持。现在我不确定他是否能赢得选举，但根据我目前的了解，我可以说，即使他当选总统，我们也没有什么可担心的。相反，阿普拉党政府将是一个具有强烈自由倾向且对美国有利的政府。”1955年，阿亚在他的书中提出，存在着两种不同类型的帝国主义，即政治帝国主义和经济帝国主义。他认为，“帝国主义”和“反帝国主义”在美国政治中已经存在了很长时间。“两个同样强大的公众意见。随着1932年富兰克林·罗斯福当选总统以及睦邻政策的实施，政治帝国主义的威胁已经被消除，经济帝国主义可以帮助拉丁美洲国家消除封建残余。‘如果印第安美洲的工业化只能在一个资本主义或帝国主义系统中完成。那么我们可以得出以下无可辩驳的结论：帝国主义是一种具有双重作用的现象。它不仅意味着危险，也给经济落后的国家带来危险。‘国家带来进步’在阿亚的思想中，由于政治帝国主义的威胁已经被消除，而寡头集团所依附的经济帝国主义是一种进步的力量，因此与寡头集团结成联盟是合乎逻辑的。

阿亚的思想在最初提出时是进步的，但其保守的一面被长期的阿普拉党的地下活动所掩盖。在1956年的选举中，面对权力的诱惑，这一思想的弱点全部暴露出来，阿亚为了自己的私利而与帝国主义妥协，走上了与寡头集团结盟的投机道路。

Supported and once became the guiding ideology of the Peruvian social movement. In addition to the important role played by Aya himself, it is also because this plan represents the direction of social progress.

When he was a student, Aya served as the president of the Peruvian Student Federation. He led the students to support the workers' movement for an 8-hour working day and achieved success. He established close ties with the working class early on. At the same time, he was influenced by the earliest national reflections in modern Peru. Influenced by Manuel González Prada, a thinker on national construction issues, he paid great attention to the Indian issue and went to the central mountainous area many times to inspect Indian life. In addition, Aya was good at socializing and eloquent, so he The Apra Party soon won widespread support from all walks of life after its establishment. During the 1931 election campaign, the slogan "Only the Apra Party can save Peru" (¡ Sólo el APRA salvará al Perú!) was popular among the people. Zhongguang In addition to the influence of Aya, the reason why the social movement led by the Apra Party has been able to develop rapidly is fundamentally because the populist theory is based on Peruvian reality and reflects the fundamental demands of the majority of society. In the 1930s, In Peru, party politics has just begun, and the popular class does not have a political party that represents its own interests and demands. The guiding ideology of the newly emerging labor movement at that time was still anarchism. For farmers living in the pre-capitalist mode of production, it was difficult to form representatives. Parties with their own demands are even more unrealistic. The populism proposed by the Apra Party unites the middle class, workers and farmers, which are relatively weak but represent the majority of society, in Peruvian society that is semi-feudal and semi-capitalist. It formed a joint force to challenge the ruling class. Although Aya failed to win the 1931 election, populism that united and mobilized the majority of society and advocated a more equitable distribution of the dividends of economic growth represented the hope of social progress. Direction

Although Peruvian society has undergone profound changes from the 1930s to the 1950s, national resources are in the hands of a very small number of people, and the social reality of dependence, inequality and backwardness has not changed. The desire to unite the majority of society and pursue fair distribution of economic growth dividends has Populism still has practical significance. However, subjective and objective reasons have caused the Apra Party to gradually deviate from the original intention of populism. Objectively speaking, from the defeat in the 1931 election to the 1956 election, in more than 20 years, The Apra Party is both the vanguard of the anti-oligarchic movement and the biggest "victim" of the oligarchic rule. Its long-term suppression has seriously limited the Apra Party's ability to mobilize society. More important than the objective reasons, the leadership of the Apra Party Subjectively, it failed to keep pace with the times and strengthen its beliefs. Instead, it looked at the changing reality with a rigid eye. Specifically, the Apra Party did not pay attention to the new changes in the domestic economic and social structure, that is, the inward-oriented economy. development and the expansion of social classes that rely on the inward-oriented economy, let alone actively unite and mobilize these emerging

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Social class. By comparing the official election data of the Apra Party in 1931 and 1962, we can see that the party's total vote share nationwide only increased slightly from 32.98% to 35.83%. Those with a vote share of more than 40% are limited to areas with the most developed primary product export economy. In places such as the capital Lima and the second largest city Arequipa, which have rapidly developed inward-oriented economies, the Apra Party's vote share in 1962 was lower than that in 1931. Not only did it not rise in 1962, but it actually declined significantly. These data show that although the Apra Party has been suppressed for a long time, its supporters did not give up. Instead, the Apra Party deviated from the original intention of populism. In April, while the party lost its direction, the Belaunde camp, which had similar views, continued to grow and replaced the Apra Party as a populist party. The Apra Party, whose social base shrank sharply, became a group of supporters concentrated in the export-oriented economic sectors. The "Party of Regions" and the "Party of Labor". In the 1956 general election, in order to safeguard the interests of its supporters, the Apra Party chose to form an alliance with the oligarchic group that also benefited from the export-oriented economy. (4) Peruvian

traditional political culture. If we say that populism has

ushered in a new upsurge and the oligarchic group has to seek support from the Apra Party, the self-interest and compromise elements in Aya's thought and the original intention of the Apra Party to deviate from populism are the reasons why the Apra Party accepts the oligarchic group. The reasons for the alliance proposal, then there is still a question that needs to be answered surrounding the reaching of the "political coexistence" agreement: Why did the former anti-oligarchic pioneer Apra Party and the emerging anti-oligarchic pioneer Belaunde camp become an opponent in the election? The answer to this question lies in the zero-sum game characteristics of Peruvian political culture that make integration difficult.

Long-term social divisions and inequality are the soil for the formation of Peruvian political culture. During the colonial period, in a highly hierarchical society constructed according to the political ideology of the mother country, the population of the Spanish colonies was divided into different classes and job groups. This structure has led to the fragmentation of social interests and hindered the formation of a common identity. In a "backboneless" society, a political culture based on the zero-sum game of a few ruling the majority has gradually formed, and the zero-sum game has gradually formed. This vicious cycle has been repeated in the process of Peruvian social transformation, hindering Peru's political integration. During the climax of Peru's first populist movement in the early 1930s, the left wing of Peruvian politics, except for the Apra Party, the Peruvian Socialist Party (later renamed the Communist Party of Peru) founded by the famous Marxist thinker José Carlos Mariátegui (later renamed the Communist Party of Peru) is also a force that cannot be underestimated. It has formed a class alliance with the Apra Party. The views of the Peruvian Socialist Party are different. The Peruvian Socialist Party aims to achieve socialism, regards class struggle as the main contradiction in Peruvian society, and advocates that the proletarian party should lead the revolution.

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After seizing power, they established a proletarian dictatorship state. Before 1930, although Aya and Mariátegui had different plans for social change, both of them regarded their respective opinions as part of their theoretical exploration, and both of them were still working on it. They worked together in the practice of spreading social reform ideas. Because Mariátegui died young in 1930, and his successors were divorced from the reality of Peru and blindly followed the leadership of the Communist International. In addition, Aya had already broken with the Communist International. The Apra Party and the Peruvian Communist Party, two political forces that could have cooperated, began to oppose each other. During the 1931 general election, in order to win more votes and get rid of the image of a "revolutionary party", the Apra Party even attacked the Communist Party of Peru. Stigmatizing propaganda y However, this did not help the Apra Party win the election. It only greatly weakened the power of the Peruvian Communist Party and failed to recover. The failure of integration caused by the zero-sum game within the Peruvian left was an important factor for the Peruvian populist movement. The important reason why the first climax failed but failed.

Zero-sum games not only appear in bottom-up social movements, but also occur within the bourgeoisie. The most typical example of this is the fishmeal industry in Peru. Fishing is not a traditional industry in Peru. Before 1940, it accounted for 10% of the Peruvian economy. The proportion of the Peruvian fishery industry is negligible. During Prado's first presidential term, the Peruvian fishery industry grew rapidly, with output increasing sevenfold. Although agricultural and mineral product oligarchies also made certain investments, the initial capital for the Peruvian fishery industry mainly came from the local small and medium-sized bourgeoisie. y As time went by, they gained a certain degree of autonomy and formed an interest group. The outbreak of the Korean War stimulated the international market's demand for Peruvian fishery productsy. Fisheries became the fastest-growing industry in Peru's export-oriented economy . After the Korean War, due to the protectionist policies of the largest market, the United States, towards native fisheries, Peruvian fishery capitalists had to explore the transformation from tuna previously used for human consumption to anchovy meal as feed and fertilizer. The adjustment of Peru's fishery development orientation caused the representative agricultural products to The Peruvian Guano Management Company, an exporter, is alert because anchovy meal used as fertilizer may pose a threat to the monopoly of guano in the domestic fertilizer market, and large-scale anchovy fishing means that seabirds will lose an important food source, resulting in bird Manure production decreased. In 1952, Peruvian agricultural product exporters applied to the Ministry of Finance to ban the fishing of anchovies. Since the agricultural product exporters were members of the agricultural and mining oligarchy that controlled the government, their request quickly received support from the government. In addition, In addition, in order to suppress competition from fishery products, the agricultural product oligarchy has also directed fishery production from fishmeal to edible products through administrative orders and other means. y

When the populist movement reached its climax again, the two old and new anti-oligarchic vanguards, the Apra Party and the Belaunde camp, had the opportunity to strengthen the anti-oligarchic camp through cooperation. However, Peru's political culture hindered

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It hinders the cooperation between the two. Due to the lack of integration between the export-oriented economy represented by the Apra Party and the inward-oriented economy represented by the Belaunde camp, and the oligarchic group has been restricting and suppressing the development of industries other than export agriculture and mining, Under the influence of zero-sum game thinking, the two parties did not regard each other as partners who could cooperate, but as enemies that needed to be defeated in order to safeguard their own interests. The Belaunde camp started negotiating with the Apra Party and Odria. Competition for supporters of the Apra Party, and the leadership of the Apra Party believes that only they can lead the populist movement in Peru. In this case, the Apra Party will certainly not support Belaunde in the election.

The impact of the three "political coexistence" agreements

The "Political Coexistence" Agreement of 1956 had an impact on the Peruvian populist movement in many ways.

In the short term, the agreement reshuffled Peru's political landscape. In the medium term, the continuation of oligarchic rule paved the way for the military intervention in politics in 1962. In the long term, the agreement intensified the divisions in Peruvian society. The zero-sum game between the two major interest groups representing the export-oriented and inward-oriented growth models continued to escalate, leading to another coup by the military in 1968 and a full takeover of the government.

(1) The reaching of the "political coexistence" agreement led to the reshuffling of Peru's political landscape. Before the reaching of the "political coexistence" agreement, Peru's political landscape had always maintained an alliance of conservative forces composed of oligarchs and the military and Apra. In the situation of dual opposition between the parties, the Apra Party has always been the leading force of the populist movement. The alliance between the Apra Party and the oligarchic group means the separation of the old and new anti-oligarchic vanguards. Integration failed, and Peru's political landscape underwent major changes.

The conservative forces under the new situation are composed of the oligarchic group and the Apra Party. Compared with the right-wing forces, the left-wing forces are more diverse and complex. After losing the election, Belaunde founded the People's Action Party (People's Action Party) on the basis of the National Democratic Youth Front. Acción Popular) became the most important left-wing force in Peru during this period. As an important part of society, the Peruvian Catholic Church also responded to the profoundly changing social reality, advocating the replacement of class struggle with class reconciliation, aiming to integrate social members. The Christian Democratic Party, which has become an organic whole, has become an important emerging left-wing party. In addition to the center-left parties, radical left-wing parties have also emerged. The "political coexistence" agreement caused internal divisions in the Apra Party. It is believed that Marxist theory and Marxist theory should continue to be adhered to. Practical members announced their resignation from the party and established the "APRA Rebelde" (APRA Rebelde).

More important changes occurred in the military, which was originally a conservative force. First of all, the military personnel structure

1 1956年《政治共存》协议对秘鲁的民粹运动产生了多方面的影响。在短期来看，该协议重组了秘鲁的政治格局。在中期来看，寡头统治的延续为1962年军事干预政治铺平了道路。从长期来看，该协议加剧了秘鲁社会的分裂。出口导向型和内向型增长模式之间的零和博弈持续升级，最终导致了1968年另一次军事政变和政府的全面接管。

Changes have taken place in the composition of the military. The promotion of military professionalization has caused the background of soldiers, especially officers, to change from being mostly from the upper class to mainly coming from the middle class of society. The new officer class is no longer attached to the oligarchic group. At the same time, they have a strong influence on Peru. They have a more personal feeling and understanding of social issues. Secondly, in order to deal with the penetration of different ideological trends, including Apraism, within the military, the Peruvian military has established institutions such as the Advanced Military Research Center to study and propose its own security and National defense theory. From then on, the Peruvian military's involvement in politics was no longer motivated by personal interests or individualism, but represented the overall will of the military. Finally, in the context of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, non-traditional national security doctrines were widely used in Latin America. It has spread and produced different variants. The Peruvian military believes that compared with the traditional threats to national security posed by foreign enemy invasion, if the social reality of dependence, inequality and backwardness is not changed, it may lead to a socialist revolution. outbreak, which constitutes a more serious threat to national security. Based on the above three factors, the Peruvian military believes that the status quo of oligarchic rule needs to be changed as soon as possible. At the same time, they believe that the Apra Party has become part of the conservative forces, and Belaunde The inward-looking development advocated by the camp is the way out for Peru. The

Peruvian military, whose position has changed, has changed from the former guardian of the oligarchic rule to

the core of the anti-oligarchic force. (2) The reaching of the "political coexistence" agreement paved the way for the military intervention in politics in 1962. Although the alliance formed by the oligarchic group and the Apra Party won the 1956 election with a narrow margin, the election results clearly reflected the general dissatisfaction of Peruvian society with the oligarchic rule. In the face of demands from all walks of life to change the growth model, The response of the oligarchic group and the Apra Party alliance, which controlled the government, parliament and a considerable part of the labor unions, was to push the "orthodox" export-oriented economic growth strategy to the extreme. In 1959, shortly after the Prado government came to power, The "Industrial Promotion Law" (Ley de Promoción Industrial), which had been drafted since 1955, was passed. Although this law was named to promote industrial development, it lacked pertinence and planning. In actual operation, the main benefit is the export sector. The promotion effect on local manufacturing that relies on the domestic market is very limited. Specifically, in 1958, the scale of locally produced non-durable consumer goods accounted for 80% of the total supply. As the market became increasingly saturated, manufacturing assets The class hopes to achieve industrial upgrading from non-durable consumer goods to durable consumer goods. Industrial upgrading requires the import of large quantities of expensive capital goods and intermediate products from abroad. However, manufacturing entrepreneurs themselves lack sufficient funds, and the government has not introduced incentives such as credit concessions. Therefore, the Industrial Promotion Act of 1959 became an opportunity for the well-financed primary product oligarchs to take advantage of the boom in the export economy and develop export processing industries (ore and fishmeal processing) through forward linkages and manufacturing industries (fishery) through backward linkages. Shipbuilding, as well as multinational companies' ent

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It is a tool to provide "subsidy" in the commodity market. According to scholars' estimates, the scale of this "subsidy" reached 10 billion soles in 1963, equivalent to 75% of the fiscal expenditure that year. In the later period of the Prado

government, long-simmering social conflicts began to Workers' strikes in urban areas and peasant uprisings in rural areas broke out one after another. The situation was in danger of getting out of control at any time. In June 1962, in the general election held before the end of Prado's presidential term, the three main presidential candidates Belaunde , Aya and Odría received 32.19%, 32.94% and 28.44% of the votes respectively. According to the provisions of the constitution at that time, a candidate must obtain at least 1/3 of the votes to be elected president. If no candidate gets more than 1/3 of the votes, / 3. Parliament will vote to decide on the presidential candidate. The military, which has changed its position, made it clear before the election results were announced that it would not accept Aya as president. Therefore, the Apra Party began to discuss an alliance with the Odría camp, and Odría took office again. The president was also unacceptable to the military. Faced with the prospect of the continuation of oligarchic rule, the military launched a coup to overthrow the Prado government on July 18, 1962. After the coup, the military established the Junta Militar (Junta Militar) composed of high-level officials. Translated as the Military Ruling Council), at the same time, it was stated that the purpose of establishing the Military Hongda was to fulfill the functions of a "caretaker government" and promised to hold a new election in one year. During the one year in power, in order to pacify the Lacon in the southern mountainous area In response to the peasant movement in the Visio Valley, the Military Junda issued a land reform decree targeting the region. In addition, the military's main reform measures also include amending the electoral law and establishing the Peruvian National Economic and Social Development Planning System. In June 1963, in the re-held general election, Belaunde defeated other candidates and was elected president with 39.05% of the vote. (3) The "Political Coexistence" Agreement further aggravated the divisions in Peruvian society. The "Political Coexistence" Agreement further Exacerbating the divisions in Peruvian society, the continuous escalation of the zero-sum game is

The reason why the military launched another coup in 1968 and fully took over the government.

Due to the alliance between the Apra Party and the oligarchic group, Peruvian society, which was already divided geographically, demographically, and culturally, became even more divided due to differences in opinions on the economic growth model. Although the military coup of 1962 changed authoritarianism Peru's rulers and growth model have changed, but the inward-oriented economy and the export-oriented economy have not been integrated. During the Belaunde government, the zero-sum game between the two major interest groups continued to escalate. Although he lost his ruling position after the coup, The oligarchic group still controls the economic lifeline of Peru. Although the oligarchic group lost to the Belaunde camp in the 1963 presidential election, the alliance composed of the Odría camp and the Apra party won a majority of seats in the parliamentary election. Due to the political

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Only 27 of the enterprises are completely controlled by Peruvian investors, accounting for only 18% of the total fixed assets. ̣

By 1968, people's dissatisfaction with social problems was escalating day by day, and the government's handling of the nationalization of oil companies controlled by American capital made nationalist sentiments rise. The domestic situation in Peru was once again out of control. The Belaunde government was in deep crisis. The situation made the military feel that the problems of Peruvian society cannot be solved through the existing party politics. In order to avoid the occurrence of socialist revolution, a kind of power beyond party and class is needed to make the dividends of economic growth more equitable from top to bottom. At this time, the military already had previous experience in governing. They believed that the situation was urgent. So on October 3, 1968, the military launched a coup to overthrow the Belaunde government and began a 10-year military revolutionary government. Perioḍ

Four Conclusions

The "Political Coexistence" Agreement of 1956 was a landmark event in Peru's social transformation from an exogenous start-up stage to an endogenous in-depth development stage. When the populist movement that had experienced a trough reached its climax again, the populist movement that once led it However, the Apra Party formed an alliance with its original political opponents. The rapid development of the inward-oriented economy and the outward-oriented growth model that only benefited a few people made the inward-oriented development proposals proposed by emerging interest groups gain the support of the majority of society and fell into crisis. In order to maintain their dominance, the oligarchic group was forced to seek support from the Apra Party. Aya's speculative mentality and the Apra Party's deviation from the original intention of founding the party are the reasons why the Apra Party accepted an alliance with the oligarchic group, and the politics of zero-sum game Culture is the reason why the Apra Party did not cooperate with the Belaunde camp. The reaching of the agreement reshuffled Peru's political landscape. The change in the military's position paved the way for the military coup in 1962. More importantly, Unfortunately, the conclusion of the agreement intensified social divisions. Although the oligarchic regime was overthrown in the 1962 coup and the Belaunde government that replaced it pursued an inward-looking development strategy, the zero-sum game between the two major social interest groups led to the collapse of Peruvian society. The chronic social ills still cannot be solved. In order to avoid a socialist revolution, the military launched a coup and took over the government. Looking at the causes and effects of the "political coexistence" agreement, we can see the integration difficulties caused by the political culture of zero-sum game. This caused Peru's social transformation to fall into a dilemma of only exclusive growth but no inclusive development. The essence of Peruvian populism is to seek inclusive development. When the efforts of the civilian government to solve the dilemma ended in failure, the military took on this historical task. Peru's tortuous experience in pursuing inclusive development is worthy of reflection and reference by developing countries.

(Editor in charge Xu Rui)

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