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Fallece Alberto Fujimori, expresidente peruano controvertido y divisible

A las 11.45 de la mañana del jueves, seis portadores con guantes blancos llevaron un ataúd que contenía el cuerpo del político peruano más divisivo, amado y vituperado de las últimas cuatro décadas. Pasaron ante los dolientes, las cámaras y las lanzas con banderas del regimiento de Húsares de Junín, y lo dejaron en el vestíbulo del ministerio de Cultura de Lima, un edificio brutalista.

Detrás del ataúd, con las manos entrelazadas y vestidos de luto bajo un cielo primaveral suave pero cálido, vinieron su hija mayor y su hijo menor. Una multitud de ministros, aliados políticos y altos mandos militares los esperaban en las puertas dobles del ministerio.

Así comenzaron tres días de luto nacional en honor de Alberto Fujimori, el político que sorprendentemente se convirtió en presidente del Perú de 1990 a 2000 y que, nueve años después, fue ordenado a cumplir una sentencia de 25 años por autorizar secuestros y asesinatos durante su "guerra contra el terrorismo".

El hecho de que Fujimori, quien murió de cáncer a los 86 años el miércoles, recibiera el tipo de funeral no visto desde el funeral de 2024 del exsecretario general de la ONU peruano Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, puede haber enojado a muchos en el país sudamericano, pero vino como poca sorpresa.

Después de todo, la vida y el legado de Fujimori - quien fue indultado y liberado de la cárcel solo 10 meses antes - es quizás el tema más amargo y disputado en el Perú contemporáneo.

Para muchos, siempre será el autócrata cínico cuya corrupción, hambre de poder y desprecio por los derechos humanos envenenaron la nación. Para otros, siempre será el outsider político que, de alguna manera, logró derrotar las plagas del terrorismo y la hiperinflación.

Aquellos en el último campamento eran evidentes en las calles fuera del ministerio de Cultura el jueves, donde hacían cola, aplaudían y lloraban mientras recordaban al hombre cariñosamente conocido como "El Chino", mientras que las coronas florales enviadas por la élite empresarial del país se apilaban.

"Está recibiendo los honores que merece porque fue el mejor presidente en la historia del Perú", dijo Milagros Parra, de 54 años, quien había venido con compañeros del vecindario San Juan de Lurigancho en las afueras de Lima.

"Heredó un país lleno de sangre con una hiperinflación masiva. Tenemos que agradecerle."

Fujimori, el hijo de inmigrantes japoneses, fue el candidato casi desconocido que se postuló contra el novelista peruano - y futuro ganador del Premio Nobel - Mario Vargas Llosa en las elecciones de 1990, que se llevaron a cabo después de casi una década del terrorismo de Sendero Luminoso y años de agitación económica.

Con Vargas Llosa percibido como otro candidato de la elite blanca y centrada en Lima de Perú, Fujimori, ingeniero agrícola y matemático educado en Francia y Estados Unidos, capitalizó su atractivo para los peruanos comunes al conducir un tractor y prometer "honestidad, tecnología, trabajo".

La propuesta funcionó y Fujimori ganó. Sus reformas económicas drásticas y la desregulación de la economía peruana apelaron a la elite empresarial, mientras que los programas para construir escuelas, carreteras y puentes en comunidades pobres, abandonadas, ganaron votos y apoyo de por vida.

Como resultado, dijo José Alejandro Godoy, autor de dos libros sobre Fujimori, "tanto los sectores ricos como los pobres continúan siendo las principales bases de apoyo para él y el movimiento político que fundó".

Pero, enfrentado con el caos económico y el terrorismo desde el principio, Fujimori gobernó con una mano cada vez más autoritaria en connivencia con su jefe de inteligencia, Vladimiro Montesinos, un abogado corrupto y exsoldado que le ofreció el control de la judicatura y las fuerzas armadas.

Emboldened by broad public support, Fujimori embarked on the "war against terrorism" that eventually crushed the Shining Path insurgency and then the smaller Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, which made headlines when it took hostages during a party at the Japanese ambassador's residence in December 1996. The capture in 1992 of the Shining Path's leader, Abimael Guzmán, proved a major coup – the much-feared terrorist mastermind was paraded in a cage in prison stripes – as did the operation that ended the siege at the Japanese ambassador's residence in April 1997.

Desperate for an end to the bloodshed – the country's truth and reconciliation commission would later establish that 69,280 people were killed between 1980 and 2000, 54% of them by the Shining Path – many Peruvians supported Fujimori's "by any means necessary" tactics.

In the early 1990s, Fujimori holed up in the intelligence service headquarters from where he directed a dirty war using a death squad, the Grupo Colina, to carry out massacres for which he was eventually convicted and jailed for 25 years in 2009 in a landmark trial against a former head of state.

These crimes, which included the murder of an eight-year-old boy and a string of other human rights violations, turned a large sector of public opinion against Fujimori, as did increasing revelations of corruption.

But it took time. Even when he dissolved congress in 1992, allied himself with the military and co-opted the institutions to rewrite the constitution, allowing him to run for re-election, he still had broad support.

With a chokehold on power, he gutted and corrupted public institutions and, via Montesinos, controlled a significant part of the press that trashed his opponents through tabloids known as the prensa chicha.

He perfected the use of "fake news" to control and subjugate the population

"He perfected the use of 'fake news' to control and subjugate the population," said Jo-Marie Burt, professor of political science at George Mason University and a senior fellow at the Washington Office on Latin America.

Things finally began to fall apart towards the end of his second term when he began pushing for a third mandate using much of the apparatus of a co-opted state. Protests against his regime grew until they became daily in Lima and, after an election in 2000 that was beset with allegations of ballot-rigging – and the emergence of videos that showed Montesinos bribing lawmakers with stacks of cash – Peruvians tired of the Fujimori government and its graft.

Soon after, on an official trip to Asia, Fujimori fled to Japan, his parents' homeland, and resigned the presidency by fax. But Peru's congress rejected his resignation and, instead, stripped him of the presidency, arguing that he was "morally unfit" to be head of state.

With Fujimori in disgrace and, latterly, in prison, it was left to his daughter, Keiko, who had been his first lady since 1994 when her parents separated, to defend and perpetuate her father's legacy. Today, Keiko, who has finished second in the past three presidential elections, remains the standard bearer for the political force known, after her father, as fujimorismo – a viciously divisive movement that has contorted Peruvian politics since he won power.

Fujimori may be dead, but experts say his shadow lingers – and will continue to do so for a while yet. Hundreds of thousands of women and men – many poor and Indigenous – are still seeking justice after being forcibly sterilised under his presidency.

For Godoy, the late president "degraded Peruvian politics to extremes rarely seen in national history" and can be considered the father of the "competitive authoritarianism" seen today in El Salvador under Nayib Bukele.

The author Michael Reid describes Fujimori as "a transformative president for better and for

worse".Although many, unsurprisingly, associate the late president with human rights violations and the poisoning of democracy, Reid points out that "most poorer Peruvians look back on Fujimori as somebody who saved the country and somebody who improved their lives and the economy" during a time of crisis.

But, he added, Fujimori "introduced corruption as an instrument of rule and I think that was immensely damaging ... Above all, his legacy, sadly, has been one of dividing Peruvians because he did rule as an autocrat from 1992 to 2000."

As Peru digs in for the mourning period and the many memories it will stir up, some have noted that, in a quirk of fate, Fujimori died exactly three years to the day after his terrorist nemesis Guzmán died in a military hospital, also at the age of 86.

Some have even dared to imagine that the coincidence might herald a better future for a country desperately in need of a break with its recent past.

"And so Alberto Fujimori dies on the same day as Abimael Guzmán," the Peruvian writer Santiago Roncagliolo wrote on X. "Let's hope this is an omen for an era with neither terrorists nor dictators. Let's hope the universe is saying that Peru can be a democracy."

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