

## Argentina

Rice

The 1919-1929 period is usually considered democratic by country experts, but Polity IV (Marshall and Jaggers 2002) codes a democracy score of 4 and autocracy score of 2. In addition, only about 9% of the population seems to have voted in the 1922 presidential elections. Because the country had democratic features, even while being formally coded a non-democracy here, we code it as a non-specific autocracy, which was also suggested by a country expert. Thus, we use our pre-designated successor rule for coding SOLS change in this period.

In 1919, the president of Argentina was Hipólito Yrigoyen, a member of UCR (the Radical Civic Union), who had been elected in 1916. In 1922, having served his full 6-year term of office, Yrigoyen was replaced by the new UCR candidate, Marcelo Alvear, who became the new president. Marcelo Alvear was Yrigoyen's pre-designated successor (Mainwaring 1995, 207) and thus this is not a SOLS change. Alvear was more conservative than Yrigoyen and relied on the elite and landowners, while Yrigoyen represented the middle class (Mainwaring 1995, 207). Alvear cut spoils for workers that had supported Yrigoyen and this led the Radical party to split in the Yrigoyenistas (Yrigoyen loyalists) and Anti-personalistas (anti-personalists) (Lewis 2001, 80). The split was official in 1924 (Mainwaring 1995, 207). The different factions blocked one another in congress and little legislation was passed. "From 1926, Radical Party leaders directed all their energies toward competition for the presidency in 1928 (Lewis 2001, 80)." Apparently, Alvear did not help the anti-personalistas much and so the Yrigoyenistas gained the upper hand and Yrigoyen won the election (Lewis 2001, 82).

In 1928, after serving his full term, Alvear left office and Yrigoyen became president once again. Given the factionalism of the UCR and the split between Alvear and Yrigoyen we do not consider Yrigoyen to be a pre-designated successor and we code a SOLS change here. Yrigoyen was not able to serve his full term of office, as on September 6, 1930 he was overthrown in a military coup led by General José Félix Uriburu. Uriburu represented "hardliners within the military who resented Yrigoyen's...use of the army to intervene in provincial politics to the benefit of Radical Party interests" (Brown 2003, 187).

José Félix Uriburu, Mil, became president of the "provisional" government (Cahoon 2012; Lewis 2001, 84). Despite the officially provisional character of Uriburu's government, he seemed to try to install a dictatorship. When an election did not turn out in his favor, he simply annulled it (Lewis 2001, 84). However, his attempt did not succeed and was forced to call elections and leave office. Given these facts, we code no established autocratic regime for him. Since he was not a pre-designated successor, a transition to him is a SOLS change.

In 1932, elections were held, and General Agustín Justo was chosen to be president. He was a member of the military, but was not Uriburu's choice to succeed him. He was supported

by a coalition of military and conservative groups. This appears to be a transition period that we cannot code as any specific type of autocratic regime.

Justo's government did allow for some democratization, enough so that in 1937, Argentina is classified as a democracy by Polity IV (Marshall and Jaggers 2002). For the period of 1937-1942, Argentina is coded as a presidential democracy (see Loveman 1999, 119; Nállim 2012, 106). In 1938, elections resulted in Roberto Ortiz, a member of the UCR, being elected as president. Ortiz' UCR party was at the time in alliance with Justo's CC, called Concordancia. Ortiz "became President through the personal choice of General Agustín Justo and the willingness of the Concordancia to carry out Justo's wishes (Potash 1969, 104)." The elections were marred by fraud and Ortiz' election was also seen to be orchestrated by Justo (Romero 2002, 80). Because Ortiz was a member of the same electoral coalition as Justo, we code no SOLS change here.

Ortiz remained in office until illness forced his resignation in 1942. The presidency passed to his vice-president, Ramón Castillo, also a member of UCR. This is not a SOLS change. Shortly after this point, democracy in Argentina collapsed. Corruption once again took over politics, and, more importantly, the military gained a great amount of political influence and power over the presidency (Romero 2002, 87). In 1943, it chose to capitalize on that power by staging a coup and establishing another military government, led very initially by General Arturo Rawson (for three days: June 4-7, 1943), followed by General Pedro Pablo Ramírez. As Rawson's seizure of power marks the transition from democratic government to a military one, that will be the date of the SOLS change.

General Ramírez was in power until 9 March 1944, when he was removed by his fellow officers for his pro-US stance in World War II (Romero 2002, 93). He was replaced by General Edelmiro Julián Farrell, which is not a SOLS change. General Farrell remained in office until June 4, 1946, but under threat of international sanctions, he began the process of returning the country back to democratic rule.

A beneficiary of this move was Colonel Juan Domingo Perón. Perón, a founder of Partido Peronista (PP), was the winner of the 1946 election and he served a president from June 4, 1946 until September 21, 1955. The transfer of power from Farrell and the military to Perón was not only a leadership change but also a SOLS change since Perón was supported by PP and Partido Laborista (Labor Party (PL): integrated into PP from 1947) as well as military. He aggressively pursued policies aimed at empowering the working class and greatly expanded the number of unionized workers. Perón won reelection in 1952, but he was overthrown in a military coup and sent into exile on September 21, 1955.

Argentine politics continued much in this fashion with Perón from 1946, however, as time progresses, Argentina started becoming more and more personalist government. During this time period, we see the rise of the political group 'Peronists': but one manifestation of the

increasingly personalist tendencies of Argentina. In 1949, constitutional changes were made which increased his power and chances of reelection, which made his government more personalist regime.

The military became increasingly dissatisfied with Perón and on September 21, 1955, a military coup occurred, which resulted in Perón's exile and the government falling back into military hands, which is a SOLS change. The new military regime lasted until 1973 with interruptions of indirect military regime from 1959 to 1966. There were three different military leaders in 1955. José Domingo Molina Gómez took control of the military junta for just two days. He was followed by Eduardo A. Lonardi, who served as president for less than 30 days. Lonardi, however, proved too much of a soft-liner for the military forces behind Argentina's leadership; he was deposed and replaced by Pedro Eugenio Aramburu. Aramburu's regime lasted until his presidential term was up in 1958.

In the "election" of 1958, Arturo Frondizi was elected by a wide margin.<sup>1</sup> Frondizi was supported by the Radical Intransigent Civic Union (Unión Cívica Radical Intransigente: UCRI) and also enjoyed some support from Perón's followers. His policies encouraged investment to make the country self-sufficient in energy and industry, helping reversing chronic trade deficits. The military, however, frequently interfered in his policies. We code the leadership transition from Aramburu (Mil) to Frondizi (UCRI) as a minor SOLS change. This is because GWF codes the beginning of an indirect military regime in 1959 and Frondizi was not a pre-designated successor.

Frondizi was forced to resign in 1962 by a military coup. Until the "election" was allowed to take place, José María Guido served as an "interim" president from March 30, 1962 to October 12, 1963. Guido was also supported by UCRI and part of the same indirect military regime according to GWF. We code no SOLS change and we do not code Guido interim. Arturo Umberto Illia Francesconi, a member of the Radical Civic Union (UCRP), was elected in 1963 and enacted expansionist policies. His attempts to include the Peronists in the political process resulted in the armed forces' retaking power, leading a bloodless coup on June 28, 1966. GWF codes the beginning of a new military regime in 1967 and so we code a minor SOLS change here. The coup leaders' goals were more radical than previous coups had been and strived to be a revolution and establish a completely new system (Tedesco 1999, 17).

The armed forces formally exercised power through a revolutionary junta composed of the three service commanders until June 29, 1966. Juan Carlos Onganía (from June 29, 1966 to June 8, 1970) was de facto president. The revolutionary junta headed by Onganía aimed at establishing a new political and social order, which gave to the Armed Forces a leading political role in the economic rationalization of the country. Onganía was deposed in a military coup led by Roberto Levingston due to his ineffective response to the domestic guerillas. Although

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<sup>1</sup> According to Geddes (2003), the military banned the largest party.

Levingston served as president from June 18, 1970 to March 22, 1971, he was also deposed by another military junta led by Alejandro Agustín Lanusse, in response to renewed anti-government riots and to the labor crisis under his leadership. Lanusse was the president between March 22, 1971 and May 25, 1973. There are no SOLS changes since 1955 as Argentina is considered as a military regime for the entire period.

The repressiveness political violence under the military regime eventually resulted in the call for free elections in 1973. On March 11, 1973, Argentina held general elections for the first time in 10 years. Juan Perón was prevented from running, but voters elected his stand-in, Hector Jose Campora Demaetre, as president. Perón's followers also commanded strong majorities in both houses of the Congress. Campora was supported by Justicialist Liberation Front (FJL). Campora resigned in July 1973, paving the way for new elections. Raúl Alberto Lastiri served as an interim president from July 13, 1973, until October 12, 1973, who organized new elections and delivered the country's government to Juan Domingo Perón.

Perón won a decisive victory and returned as president on October 12, 1973 with his third wife, Maria Estela "Isabel" Martinez Cartas de Perón, as vice president. Perón was supported by a conservative personalist party, Partido Justicialista (Justicialist Party: PJ, previously named PP). For 1973, we code a SOLS change for the leadership transition from the military to Campora. However, we do not code a SOLS change for the leadership transition from Campora to Perón. This is because although Campora and Perón belonged to different parties, they were closely affiliated.

After Perón died on July 1, 1974, his wife, Martinez Cartas de Perón, succeeded him in office. She was also supported by PJ. However, a military coup removed her from office on March 24, 1976, and the armed forces formally exercised power through a junta composed of the three service commanders until December 10, 1983. The transition to military rule in 1976 is coded as a SOLS change. There is a leadership change from Isabel Perón to Jorge Rafael Videla. This year represents a major break with the previous regime type, changing from presidential democracy to a pure military autocracy.

The military held power for nearly the next decade which led to a succession of presidents. On 29 March 1981, Videla was replaced by Roberto Eduardo Viola who held power until he was replaced by Horacio Tomás Liendo on November 21, 1981. Liendo was replaced by Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri on December 22, 1981 who was then replaced by Alfredo Óscar Saint Jean on June 18, 1982. Saint-Jean was replaced by Reynaldo Benito Antonio Bignone on July 1, 1982. As already mentioned, the leadership transitions were all within the military. Therefore, there is no SOLS change but only a leadership change.

By 1983, the military had begun the process of transferring Argentina back into a democracy. This effort culminated in a 1983 general election which resulted in Raúl Alfonsín from the UCR party being elected president on December 10, 1983. This is a SOLS change since

the SOLS went from the military to the UCR as well as a leadership change. Alfonsín remained in power until 1989 when elections led to the victory of the PJ candidate Carlos Saúl Menem. Menem became president on July 8, 1989 and held power until December 10, 1999. This is also a SOLS change for 1989 as well as a leadership change.

Elections removed Menem from the presidency in 1998, shifting power to Fernando de la Rúa. This is a SOLS change. Fernando de la Rúa won the presidency and took office December 10, 1999. De la Rúa represented a coalition of parties called the “Alianza,” of which the most notable unit was the Radical Civic Union. This party controlled the government for only two years, however; De la Rúa’s resignation in 2001 saw a shift back to the PJ leadership, and thus a SOLS change. His successor and caretaker of the government was Federico Ramón Puerta of the PJ. On December 23, 2001, Adolfo Rodríguez Saá took over as interim president; Montero was also a member of the PJ. There are no SOLS changes in 2001 as all interim presidents belonged to the PJ.

On January 2, 2002, the Argentine congress chose Eduardo Alberto Duhalde to finish out Fernando de la Rúa's presidential term. There is a SOLS change for this date because Duhalde and De la Rúa, who was the last president before the interim government, are not from the same party. During his term, Duhalde tried to differentiate himself with his predecessors, and stabilize social situation of Argentina.

Following economic struggles and lost confidence in the Duhalde administration, early elections were held in 2003, which ultimately led to Néstor Carlos Kirchner of the PJ becoming president on May 25. There is no SOLS change since Duhalde and Kirchner both belonged to the PJ. On December 10, 2007, Kirchner’s wife Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, also of the PJ party, was elected president and remains in that capacity to this day. There is no SOLS change.

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