

Paraguay

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Paraguay is considered authoritarian from 1919 through 1945. The country was led by the Liberals, “a deeply factionalized political oligarchy” until 1936 (US Library of Congress). Paraguay experienced severe instability with fifteen Presidents during the 1904-1922 (US Library of Congress). Given the factionalization of the Liberal Party (PL) (see below in detail) and the political power of private land owners, we code the period of Liberal rule (1919-1935: from Manuel Franco to Eusebio Ayala) as an oligarchic regime (see Alexander 1982, 581; Alexander 2005, 91; Benelli et al. 2005, 5). Accordingly, we code no SOLS changes for this period.

In 1919, the President of Paraguay was Manuel Franco who had been in office dating from August, 1916. Prior to Franco’s time in office, the Partido Liberal (Liberal Party, or PL) had been responsible for overthrowing a government led by the rival Colorado Party through a civil war which ended in 1904. The PL was organized to fight for a mass social movement (in this case, the Liberal’s right to control the government). Franco’s presidency was seen to be a “compromise...between the two primary factions [of the Liberal Party]” (Poett and Sacks 1991, 40).

Manuel Franco died in office in 1919, and was replaced by his Vice-President, José Pedro Montero Candia, of the PL (no SOLS change). Montero served for the remainder of Franco’s elected term, and then was replaced as the PL candidate by Manuel Gondra Periera, as noted above. Gondra won the elections, and served in office until he was forced to resign in October 1921, due to party infighting (Poett 1991: 40). His vice president Felix Paiva, PL, served as an “acting” president until November 1921 (Archigos; Hansen et al. 2006, 225) (no SOLS change). A few days later Eusebio Ayala, PL, took over as provisional president (Cahoon 2013; Hansen et al. 2006, 225). Ayala’s presidency was also full of political conflict, as the Liberal Party began to fracture into two groups. This led to a civil war between the groups—during which Ayala called upon “the party youth and loyal Liberal military officers to defend his administration” (Poett and Sacks 1991, 41). Though this group was ultimately unsuccessful in defending the capital from attack by the other faction of the PL in July 1922, President Ayala did not resign until April, 1923. At that point, he was replaced by José Eligio Ayala, the finance minister in Eusebio Ayala’s cabinet (no SOLS change). Eligio Ayala served as provisional president for almost a year, until March 1924. At that point, he was named as the party’s next presidential candidate, which meant that he had to step down from office until he was officially elected (Poett and Sacks 1991, 41). Eligio Ayala then turned over power to another provisional PL leader, Luis Alberto Riart Vera y Aragón, who served from 12 April until 15 August 1924 (no SOLS change). At that point, Eligio Ayala was elected President, and resumed office (no SOLS change).

Eligio Ayala remained in office for his full term, until 1928. At that point, he put forward another PL leader, José Patricio Guggiari Corniglione, to be the next Presidential candidate (and therefore, his successor). Guggiari had served as the leader of the party's Radical Youth division, and also was been the president of the lower chamber of the Paraguayan legislature (Roett and Sacks 1991, 41), further showing that the party promoted within itself (another qualification of a single-party state). Unlike his predecessor, Guggiari proved unable to navigate the factions of the Liberal Party, and was forced to resign after a violent confrontation between students and government forces (Roett and Sacks 1991, 44). Guggiari transferred power to his vice-president, Emiliano González Navero on 23 October 1931 (no SOLS change). González is not listed on Cahoon (2013), possibly because Guggiari returned to office through a power play in January 1932. Regardless, our source notes that González was technically in office and he is included in the spreadsheet.

Guggiari, as stated above, returned to office in January 1932, and proceeded to oust all individuals from his rival PL faction from upper party leadership. Later that year, he put forward Eusebio Ayala to be PL's selection for the presidential race. Eusebio Ayala was, of course, victorious, and came into office on 15 August 1932 (no SOLS change). However, Paraguay was also in the middle of a war with Bolivia (known as the Chaco War) during this period—the government (and PL) remained in control for this period, but had to deal with constant attack from both Bolivian groups and from discontented groups within their own country. A truce was declared in 1935, but the Liberals had lost a great deal of popularity and were not able to reconstruct their control over state politics. Eusebio Ayala was ousted in a military coup led by Rafael de la Cruz Franco Ojeda on 20 February 1936 (SOLS change).

Rafael Franco had led one of the most famous attacks against Bolivia during the war, but after the war had been sent into exile in Argentina. We code no consolidated autocratic regime for Franco. Franco did not rely on any specific support base. Roett and Sacks (1991, 47) describes that “Franco was a brilliant military leader but a political neophyte. His cabinet reflected Franco's attempt to reconcile the revolution's conflicting motivations by including representatives from each of its diverse competing factions” (see also Alexander 2005, 92). Thus, Franco's rule should not be considered part of the oligarchy. However, he also doesn't have an established personalist regime (see Benelli et al. 2005: 5)

Franco was overthrown in August, 1937 by a group of conservative army officers. Franco was replaced by Félix Paiva, a PL leader who had served as Vice-President in the 1920s. While referred to as a provisional President, Paiva served in office for two years until 15 August 1939. Thus, by our rule we do not treat him as a provisional leader. We code oligarchic regime for him and we code his entry into office as a SOLS change. Several sources suggest the aspect of oligarchic rule (see Benelli et al. 2005, 5; Bethell 1991, 240-241).

In 1939 PL put forward José Félix Estigarribia Insaurralde as their candidate in a one-party election, which he won. Estigarribia's regime, however, quickly sought to free itself from

the PL label, despite the fact that he had an “old-line Liberal cabinet and a Liberal majority in Congress (Roett and Sacks 1991, 49). He forced his cabinet to resign in February 1940, and then issued a proclamation giving himself dictatorial powers. He then appointed a cabinet of “New Liberals”, and created a new constitution which created a unicameral legislature and concentrated power in the presidency (Roett and Sacks 1991, 49). GWF code a personalist regime as beginning under Estigarribia. Thus, this is a SOLS change. Shortly after these changes in government structure, Estigarribia was killed in a plane crash on 7 September 1940.

After some political shuffling and confusion, a group of “authoritarian nationalists in the armed forces” (Roett and Sacks 1991, 49) installed Higinio Morínigo Martínez (Minister of War under Estigarribia) as President. Since GWF code Morínigo as belonging to the same personalist regime as Estigarribia, we code no SOLS change here. Morínigo, whose SOLS is listed as the military, remained in office until 1948. He stepped down and allowed for a democratic election to be held.

For two months, from June-August 1948, the presidency was held by Juan Manuel Frutos Ecurra, who was the ‘provisional president’. In August, the elections resulted in Juan Gonzalez Paredes (Natalicio in Archigos (Goemans et al. 2009)), a member of the Republican National Alliance/Coloured Party (ANR-PC) assuming the presidency. This is a SOLS change. At this point, Geddes (2003) begins to classify Paraguay as a single-party state. Gonzalez Paredes was ousted from office by his defense minister, General Raimundo Rolón Villasanti, a member of the military and ANR-PC in 1949, which is not a SOLS change. Rolón Villasanti was in office for less than one month, from January 30 until February 26. He then stepped down and allowed ANR-PC’s new leader, Felipe Molas Lopez, to take office, which is not a SOLS change. Molas Lopez was confirmed as president in May, but was only in power until September, when he was ousted by his own party. He was then replaced by the new ANR-PC leader, Frederico Chaves Careaga, which is not a SOLS change. Chaves Careaga remained in office until 1954.

In May 1954, Chaves Careaga was ousted in a military coup. For four months, Tomás Rivero Pereira, a member of ANR-PC, was installed as president. Following elections in which the coup leader, General Alfredo Stroessner Matiauda, was the only candidate, Stroessner Matiauda became the president in August, 1954. At this point, Geddes (2003) classifies the Paraguayan government as a “triple hybrid,” meaning a combination of military, personalist, and single party. The change from Chaves to Romero Pereira is a minor SOLS change because Stroessner was already effectively in power during Romero Pereira’s time as head of the provisional government. Bendix et al. (1973, 500) notes that the military junta had pre-arranged Stroessner being elected president. Kohut and Vilella (1973, 231) also note that Stroessner was already in control of the government. US Library of Congress (1988) also note that, “In May 1954, Stroessner ordered his troops into action against the government after Chaves had tried to dismiss one of his subordinates. Fierce resistance by police left almost fifty dead. As the military ‘strongman’ who made the coup, Stroessner was able to provide many of his supporters with positions in the provisional government. About two months later, a divided Colorado Party

nominated Stroessner for president.” The beginning of Romero Pereira’s spell, which, again, really represents the beginning of Stroessner’s time in power, is a minor SOLS change and not a major SOLS change because Stroessner also represented the Colorado Party which governed before him, but he added the military and the personalistic characteristic to his regime. In 1989, Stroessner was ousted by General Andres Rodriguez Pedotti, also of the same military/ANR-PC SOLS as Stroessner. This is not a SOLS change. The government continued to be classified as a “triple hybrid” until 1993, when democratic elections were permitted for the first time in more than 30 years.

In these elections, the ANR-PC candidate, Juan Carlos Wasmosy Monti, was elected president. Given that the ANR-PC was part of the triple hybrid SOLS, this is coded as a minor SOLS change. Wasmosy Monti served his full term in office. In 1998, elections were held and the ANR-PC candidate, Raul Cubas Grau won the presidency, which is not a SOLS change. Cubas Grau resigned in 1999, following the assassination of his Vice President Luis Maria Argana. He was replaced by the President of the Senate, Luis Gonzalez Macchi, also of the ANR-PC. This is not a SOLS change, either. Gonzalez Macchi attempted to create a multi-party cabinet, but was largely unsuccessful and his administration was charged with corruption (U.S. Department of State 2010).

In 2003, presidential elections were held and the ANR-PC candidate Óscar Duarte Frutos, won the presidency, which is not a SOLS change. He served his full term, and in 2008 handed over power to Fernando Lugo Méndez, of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC). This is a SOLS change. The PDC operated as part of a larger coalition, the Patriotic Alliance for Change (APC), so this is included as part of Lugo Mendez’s SOLS. Lugo Méndez remained in office until 2012.

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