

Chile

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Chile is considered as one of the most stable countries in the region in recent times. However, the history of this country has been marked by non-democratic, military, and democratic periods. Chile is coded non-democratic from 1919 through 1945, although regional experts consider it to be democratic 1919-1927 and Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2013) consider it a democracy starting in 1933. Between 1945 and 1964 Chile had been considered a non-democratic country, even it is coded as a presidential regime according to Cheibub et al. (2010). In 1964 Chile experienced a democratic transition, and it was considered a full democracy until 1973 when a military coup inaugurated a new autocratic period. Geddes (2003) codes this period as a military-personalist regime because of Pinochet. Pinochet ruled the country until 1990 when there was a new democratic transition. Since then Chile has been considered a full democracy and one of the most stable countries in the region.

While regional experts consider Chile to have been democratic between 1919 and 1927, our coding rules, based on the Polity score, do not allow us to code it as democratic. At the same time, its democratic features mean none of the sub-regime types of Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2013) are appropriate during this time and we code a non-specific non-democracy. US Library of Congress (1994) writes about the 1891-1925 period: “The so-called Parliamentary Republic was not a true parliamentary system, in which the chief executive is elected by the legislature. It was, however, an unusual regime in presidentialist Latin America, for Congress really did overshadow the rather ceremonial office of the president and exerted authority over the chief executive's cabinet appointees. In turn, Congress was dominated by the landed elites... Political authority ran from local electoral bosses in the provinces through the congressional and executive branches, which reciprocated with payoffs from taxes on nitrate sales. Congressmen often won election by bribing voters in this clientelistic and corrupt system.” Keech (2004, 8) writes that “The Congress was controlled by an oligarchy in this period.”

Juan Luis Sanfuentes Andonaegui of the Liberal Democratic Party (PLD) served as president from 1915 to 1920. His presidency was backed in the Senate by the “Alianza Liberal- Liberals, Radicals and Democrats- and in the Deputies for the Coalición—Conservatives, Liberals Democrats or Balmacedists, and Nationals” (Bethell 1993, 70). The alliance began to experience divisions starting in 1918 between those who wanted to continue the old patronage systems and those who desired change, especially Alessandri (Bethell 1993, 71).

In 1920 Arturo Fortunato Alessandri Palma of the Liberal Party (PL) became president. “As a dissident Liberal running for the presidency, Alessandri attracted support from the more reformist Radicals and Democrats and formed the so-called Liberal Alliance. He received strong backing from the middle and working classes as well as from the provincial elites. Students and intellectuals also rallied to his banner (US Library of Congress

1994).” While both Sanfuentes and Alessandri were alliance candidates, they were backed by different factions within the alliance. This is a SOLS change.

Alessandri had to contend with significant conservative opposition during his time in office and was ultimately (in 1924) overthrown by a right-wing military coup under Luis Altamirano Talavera, Mil (US Library of Congress 1994). Altamirano requested Alessandri “leave the country without resigning his high office” (Calderon 1925, 463) and Altamirano became interim president (Nunn 1970, 45) as part of a military junta (Nunn 1967, 12). According to Bethell (1993, 76), the junta vowed to return the reins back to civilians soon, so this is not a SOLS change. Some members of the military feared that Altamirano was trying to hand power to conservatives (Bethel 1993, 211). Therefore, in January 1925 there was a counter-coup by Alessandri-friendly reform-oriented elements in the military (US Library of Congress 1994). One of the leaders of the coup, Carlos Ibáñez del Campo (Mil) became provisional president. This is not a SOLS change. Ibáñez then oversaw the reinstatement of Alessandri as president in March 1925. This is not a SOLS change since Alessandri was the last regular leader.

Ibáñez served as powerful war minister and was planning his own election for President (Sater 1990, 99). According to the Encyclopædia Britannica (n.d., a), “From 1925 to 1927 Ibáñez in effect controlled Chile while serving as minister of war and then as minister of the interior.” In October 1925 Alessandri stepped down because he was unable to control the military and Ibáñez in particular (Sater 1990, 99). He transferred power to his vice president, Luis Barros Borgoño, PL, who served as acting president (Cahoon 2010). This is not a SOLS change. Alessandri hoped that elections would bring to power a civilian and curtail Ibáñez power (Sater 1990, 99).

The December 1925 elections were won by Emiliano Figueroa Larraín, PLD, who became president. This is a SOLS change. Figueroa was not Alessandri’s pre-designated successor in any clear sense even if Alessandri probably preferred a civilian over Ibáñez. During Figueroa’s presidency, Ibáñez continued to wield power. He became “minister of the interior, the second most important position in Chile (Sater 1990, 1000).” After a power struggle between Figueroa and Ibáñez, Figueroa resigned in 1927. Ibáñez then ran in a scam election without competition and was “elected” president. This is a SOLS change.

Ibáñez “based his reign on military support (especially from the army), on repression (especially of labor unions, leftists, and political parties), and on a flood of loans from private lenders (especially from New York) (US Library of Congress 1994).” Some authors call his dictatorship a military dictatorship (Barr-Melej 2001, 109), but others suggest that “below the president himself, the military were not especially prominent in government (Keech 2004, 12).” Indeed, he basically ruled by decree. He also reformed the police force, making it an organized and efficient operation that was completely loyal to him. “When opponents compared him to Benito Mussolini, the Fascist dictator who rules Italy (from 1922 to 1943), Ibáñez proudly adopted the nickname “the Chilean Mussolini” (Childress 2009, 26). Given

the fact that he tried to create an alternative security structure in the police force and kept the military from having a voice in politics, we code personalist regime for Ibáñez.

Chile suffered greatly in the Great Depression and, facing the ire of protesters, who disliked his economic policies and repressiveness, Ibáñez resigned in July 1931 (US Library of Congress 1994). President of the Senate Pedro Opazo Letelier, PLD, became interim president (Cahoon 2010; Klubock and Grandin 2007, 74). This is not a SOLS change. “By virtue of Article 66 of the Constitution of 1925, the vice-presidency devolved upon Juan Esteban Montero, Minister of Interior” (Thomas 1964, 203). The following day Montero, Radical Party (PR), became acting president (Colby and Sandemann 2011, 87). This is not a SOLS change. In September 1931, Montero “resigned the vice-presidency in favor of” his Minister of Interior (Thomas 1964, 204) Manuel Trucco Franzani, PR, who served as acting president (Cahoon 2010). This is not a SOLS change.

“The fall of Ibáñez had left a vacuum in which traditional political parties splintered and scores of new contenders for power sprang up... Broadly speaking, the multi-party political spectrum was recast in 1931-2 into Left (Socialists and Communists), Centre (Radicals and falangistas/Christian Democrats, and Right (Liberals/Conservatives). To show solidarity against the threats of both militarism and Socialism, the Right and Centre—representing the upper and middle classes—coalesced behind Juan Esteban Montero Rodríguez, a cautious Radical lawyer closely related to land-owning and banking interests” (Bethell 1991, 277). Montero then won the presidency. This is a SOLS change since he was the first regular leader after the end of Ibáñez dictatorship. As discussed above, Montero support base were the upper and middle classes, while the military stayed out of the elections (Bethell 1991, 277).

In June 1932 a junta deposed Montero and “installed a putative Socialist Republic (Bethell 1991, 278).” Carlos Gregorio Dávila Espinosa of the Socialist Party of Chile (PS) became provisional president of the Socialist Republic of Chile (Cahoon 2010). While he seems to have been referred to as provisional president, the creation of the Socialist Republic suggests that the leaders of the coup had more long-term government aspirations. The new socialist governing junta also showed “frenzied” activity, including the closure of the congress (Collier and Sater 1996, 224). This is a SOLS change. A few days later Grove Vallejo, PS, one of the other junta members, became president. This is not a SOLS change. A few days after that Dávila, PS, once again became provisional president. This is not a SOLS change. The junta relied heavily on military support and had little other support (Collier and Sater 1996, 225).¹

In September 1932, Dávila finally folded and handed power to Minister of the Interior Bartolomé Guillermo Blanche Espejo, Mil, who became provisional president (Cahoon 2010;

¹ Note: WSM codes the Socialist Party of Chile (PS) for Carlos Gregorio Dávila Espinosa and Grove Vallejo as their political affiliations. However, the Socialist Party was not formally organized until 1933 (see Bizzarro [1972] 2005, 560). Thus, we code their SOLS as Mil in our dataset.

Collier and Sater 1996, 225). This is not a SOLS change. Blanche Espejo immediately called for elections (Collier and Sater 1996, 225). In October 1932 Abraham Oyanedel Urrutia, Non-Party and President of the Supreme Court, became acting president (Cahoon 2010; Bethell 1991, 278). This is not a SOLS change. Oyanedel presided over the election.

In December 1932 Alessandri Palma, PL, won the elections to become president. “As in previous elections, the Radicals and Democrats provided his official support, but many Liberals and neophyte Socialists also flocked to his banner” (Bethell 1991, 278). This is a SOLS change. While we continue to code Chile as a non-democracy Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2013) consider Chile to be democratic from 1933-1973.

“Although still a centrist reformer at heart, Alessandri now became the paladin of the right because the new socialist left had outflanked him... The Socialists, Communists, and Radicals denounced Alessandri for insufficient economic nationalism and inadequate attention to the needs of working people... by the Communists, the Radicals and Socialists aligned in 1936 with the Confederation of Chilean Workers (Confederación de Trabajadores de Chile: CTCh), a by-product of union growth and solidarity, to forge the Popular Front... The Popular Front barely beat Alessandri's would-be rightist successor in the presidential contest of 1938 with 50.3 percent of the vote” (US Library of Congress 1994).

In 1938 Pedro Abelino Aguirre Cerda, PR, became president. This is a SOLS change. “Led by the centrist Radical Party, the administration of the Popular Front (Popular Front, left-wing coalition of PR, PS, PCC, 1937-41: Cahoon 2010) assimilated the Socialists and Communists into the established bargaining system, making potentially revolutionary forces into relatively moderate participants in legal institutions. Although the official Popular Front ended in 1941, that bargaining system, with Marxist parties usually backing reformist Radical presidents, lasted until 1952... President Aguirre Cerda labored to hold his coalition together, to overcome the implacable opposition of the right-wing parties... Early in 1941, the Socialist Party withdrew from the Popular Front coalition...” (US Library of Congress 1994).

Aguirre Cerda died in November 1941 and Vice President Jerónimo Méndez Arancibia, PR, became acting president (Cahoon 2010). This is not a SOLS change. In 1942 Juan Antonio Ríos Morales won the presidential election became president. His SOLS is coded as PR (Radical Party), although the PR was itself member of the FP (Popular Front) a left-wing coalition containing the PS and PCC. “Although the formal Popular Front had been terminated, the Socialists and Communists still gave their votes to Ríos to avoid a return of Ibáñez as the candidate of the Conservatives and Liberals (US Library of Congress).” Therefore, we code no SOLS change when he comes to power. He can be considered a pre-designated successor.

Before Ríos finished his term, he resigned due to health problems, and died in June of the same year. The minister Alfredo Duhalde Vasquez took over as interim president and called for next presidential elections in 1946 (Bizarro [1972] 2005, 386; Lea et. al. 2001, 63). In August 1946 Duhalde resigned as acting president because he wanted to run for the presidency in coming elections, and was replaced by the Minister of the Interior Vicente

Merino Bielich as an acting president also (Palma Zuñiga 1967, 232; Lea et. al. 2001, 63). Because Merino Bielich was a former Minister of Duhalde, political forces had some doubts about transparency in the coming elections. For that reason, Merino Bielich also resigned and was replaced by Juan Antonio Iribarren in October 1946. In the 1946 elections Gabriel Gonzalez Videla won and assumed the presidency in November 1946.

In sum, there are six leaders in 1946: Rios Morales (PR), Vazquez (FP, acting), Bielech (FP, acting), Vazquez (FP, acting), Iribarren (PR, acting), and Gonzalez Videla (PR, remained in power until 1952). As mentioned above the PR is part of the center-left-wing coalition called the FP. The changes from Rios Morales to Duhalde, then to Merino Bielich, and finally to Iribarren are not SOLS changes because after Rios, all were interim presidents; and the change from Iribarren to Gonzalez Videla is not a SOLS change either, because both Gonzalez Videla and Rios Morales belonged to the same coalition.

During Gonzalez Videla's term, he was backed by the Chilean left (PR) until 1950, when Videla turned his back on his leftist supporters, outlawing the Communist party and expelling its members from the cabinet.

The next elections were called for 1952. In this presidential election, leftist candidate Salvador Allende (APL), rightist candidate Arturo Matte, and Carlos Ibañez del Campo ran for presidency. Ibañez was the winner over the rightist candidate. The leftist Allende received just 6% of the vote share. Therefore, Carlos Ibañez was elected for his second term as Chilean president for the Popular Liberation Alliance, a broad coalition of dissident groups. This constitutes the end of the dominance of the Radical Party in Chile (U.S. Department of State 2010). Since Ibanez was not Gonzalez Videla's pre-designated successor, the change from Gonzalez Videla to Ibañez is a SOLS change (PR, APL).

Carlos Ibañez stayed in office until 1958 when Jorge Alessandri Rodriguez was elected president with 32% of the vote share.² "As the 1958 election approached, the electorate divided into three camps well-defined by their predominant class and ideology. The right represented mainly Conservatives and Liberals, the upper class, rural dwellers, the defenders of capitalism, and the status quo. In the center, the Christian Democrats and Radicals spoke largely for the middle class and the proponents of moderate social reforms to avoid socialism. On the left, the Socialists and Communists championed the working class, advocating a peaceful transition to socialism. Rural-urban migrants and women had gained social and political importance. The percentage of the population registered to vote in presidential contests had risen from about 11 percent in the 1940s to 17.5 percent in 1952 and then to 21 percent in 1958. In the 1958 election, the right, Conservatives and Liberals, hoped to return to power for the first time since 1938. Their standard-bearer was Jorge Alessandri Rodríguez, an engineering professor and the son of Chile's most recent rightist president. He posed as an independent who was above party politics, offering technocratic solutions to the nation's problems. In the center, the Radicals, with candidate Luis Bossay Leyva, and the Christian Democrats, who nominated Eduardo Frei Montalva, vied for moderate votes. On

² This is not coded as democratic by us.

the left, the reunited Socialists and Communists backed Salvador Allende (US Library of Congress 1994).

The election was won by Alessandri Rodriguez and this constitutes a SOLS change since he was not Ibañez's pre-designated successor and indeed as a Conservative candidate received backing from different domestic groups.

In the 1964 elections, Eduardo Frei Montalva was elected president for a six-year term by an overwhelming majority (56%) for the Christian Democratic Party of Chile. "In the 1964 presidential contest, the right abandoned its standard-bearers and gave its support to Frei in order to avert an Allende victory in the face of rising electoral support for the leftists. The center-right alliance defeated the left, 56 percent to 39 percent. The reformist Frei enjoyed strong United States support, both during and after the campaign. He also had the backing of the Roman Catholic Church and European Christian Democrats. Frei ran particularly well among women, the middle class, peasants, and residents of the shantytowns (*callampas* or *poblaciones*). Allende was most popular with men and bluecollar workers" (US Library of Congress 1994). Since Frei was not Alessandri's pre-designated successor, this is a SOLS change.

Frei ruled until 1970. In that year there was a presidential election in Chile in which Salvador Allende, the candidate for the People's Unity (which included socialists, Communists, radicals, and social democrats), won with the 37% of the vote share. Chile is coded as a democratic at the time, and given the different party affiliations, the change from Frei to Allende is a SOLS change.

By 1973, Chile was paralyzed by a strike by transport vehicle owners in July. By August Chile was one step closer to a civil war situation, after more than 22 bombing and shooting incidents. At the end of that month, the House of Representatives approved a motion of censure against the government. In addition, the General Pratt, current commander in chief, resigned and was replaced by General Augusto Pinochet. He launched a military revolt against the government in September, during which president Allende died. Pinochet assumed the office of president of the military junta, declared a state of internal war, and dissolved the Congress. Therefore, the Allende overthrow means a SOLS change. Allende was supported by the socialist party, while Pinochet has military support and installs a military-personalist government.

Pinochet stayed in office until 1990. However, by 1984 in the 11th anniversary of the military regime, several street demonstrations confirmed the decreasing tolerance to the military regime and the increasing demands to return to civilian rule. By 1989, Pinochet had ruled for 16 continuous years, and under pressure he called for free elections for December 1989 in which Patricio Aylwin of the PDC (Christian Democratic Party of Chile) received 55.6% of the votes, and assumed the presidency the next year. However, Pinochet remained as commander in chief of the Chilean army. The transition from Pinochet to Aylwin is a SOLS change since Aylwin was democratically elected and did not come to power with the

support of Pinochet's military-personalist crowd but rather the support of the voters of his party.

Since then every Chilean president has been democratically elected. Also, it should be noted that following the end of Pinochet's government, Chile was ruled by a coalition group named Concertacion. According to Encyclopædia Britannica (n.d., b), this Concertacion includes "the Christian Democratic Party (Partido Demócrata Cristiano: PDC), one of Chile's strongest parties; the Social Democratic Radical Party (Partido Radical Social Demócrata: PRSD), which was formerly known as the Radical Party (the centrist PRSD drifted to the left after 1965, was repressed in 1973, but made a comeback in the mid-1990s under its new name); the Socialist Party of Chile (Partido Socialista de Chile: PS); and the Party for Democracy (Partido por la Democracia: PPD)". Therefore, we can think of Chile as having a two party (coalition) system. This means that there should be no SOLS changes when members of Concertacion succeed one another.

In 1993, Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle was elected for the Christian Democratic Party. In 1999, Ricardo Lagos was elected president for the Party for the Democracy. In 2005, Michelle Bachelet also was elected for the Socialist Party. As mentioned above, even though these presidents belong to different parties, they were the member of Concertacion, we do not code SOLS change with these presidents.

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