

## Chile

### Rice

While based on our coding rules, Chile is coded non-democratic 1919-1963, regional experts consider the period 1919-1927 and after 1933 as democratic. Chile's political situation in 1919 was officially classified as a "parliamentary republic". At the time, the Chilean Congress was divided between two groups of parties: the Alliance and the Coalition. The Radical Party was part of the Alliance and the Conservative Party was part of the coalition, and other parties shifted loyalties between the two. Each of these groups would select a candidate for the presidency, there were popular elections, and if no candidate received a majority, the winner would be decided by a vote within Congress itself. None of the sub-regime types of Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2013) are appropriate for Chile during this time, but Polity IV (Marshall and Jaggers 2002) codes Chile as nondemocratic, so we code Chile as a non-specific non-democracy (all subregime types = 0) and use the predesignated successor rule to determine SOLS changes.

In 1919, the president of Chile was Juan Luis Sanfuentes Adonaegui, technically a member of the Liberal Democratic Party (PLD), but overall a member of the Coalition. He had been elected in 1915, and remained in office until 1920. During that time, he had seventeen cabinets, mostly made up of the Coalition members. However, after the 1918 congressional elections, where the Alliance made some gains, he was forced to include some of their members in his cabinets as well (Collier and Sater 2004, 199). Before the 1920 elections, the Alliance split into two groups: with a group called the Liberal Union breaking off and nominating its own presidential candidate. The Coalition also renamed itself the National Union. Regardless, the Alliance candidate (a member of the Liberal Party, PL), Arturo Fortunato Alessandri Palma, won the selection of Congress and became President. This is a SOLS change. His selection was a bit controversial, and Alessandri had many opponents in Congress, who obstructed his social reform agenda. This situation had degenerated into a stalemate by 1924, and Alessandri began proposing constitutional reforms in order to fix the Parliamentary Republic (Collier and Sater 2004, 109).

However, progress in this respect did not occur, as Alessandri was overthrown by a military coup on September 12, 1924. Once Alessandri resigned, he was replaced by a governing junta, led by General Luis Altamirano Talavera. Altamirano's junta intended to be an interim government and to restore civilian rule as soon as possible (Blakemore 1986, 542). Therefore, we do not code a SOLS change when Altamirano came to power, and treat this period as an interim government. Other members of the military, however, disagreed with this plan. On January 23, 1925, Altamirano's junta was overthrown and replaced with a new junta. Carlos Ibanez del Campo was the power behind this new junta and is coded as the effective leader by Archigos (Goemans et al. 2009), although he was not officially the president. We consider him as a provisional president and code no SOLS change. This junta invited Alessandri back to Chile to resume his presidency, with Ibanez as war minister. Alessandri did this on March 20, 1925. This is not a SOLS change since Alessandri was the last regular leader. Alessandri did not recall Congress, and instead governed by decree, creating a new Constitution which diminished the

power of the legislature, relative to the executive (but not diminishing the power of political parties within the legislature) (Collier and Sater 2004, 212-13).

Although new elections were scheduled in December 1925, a political upheaval occurred in October 1925. Alessandri and Ibanez came into conflict with one another. Alessandri wanted to restore civilian rule and reduce the military role, and Ibanez wanted to run for president himself without resigning his post as the Minister of War. Ibañez told Alessandri that his name had to be included on all presidential decrees—a condition which Alessandri refused to comply with. The result was that Alessandri named Luis Barros Borgoño, formerly a political rival, to be vice president, then resigned from office (Collier and Sater 2004, 214). Barros then served in the position of “acting vice president” until elections could actually be held in December, making him a provisional leader. This is not a SOLS change. Ibañez, who, though powerful, still faced some opposition from the military, decided not to be a candidate in the election. Instead, the parties mostly compromised and selected Emiliano Figueroa Larraín, a member of the PLD, to be president, which is a SOLS change. Larraín was not able to consolidate any effective regime, and thus we code no sub-regime type for his period in office.

Ibañez, who at this point was Larraín’s Minister of the Interior, maneuvered his way into more power. He attempted to purge the judiciary, which then led to Larraín’s resignation. Ibañez’s position in the cabinet meant that he immediately became the acting vice president, and then the acting president, until elections could be held. This is a SOLS change. When new presidential elections were held, Ibañez was the clear winner, with 98 percent of the vote (Collier and Sater 2004, 215). Ibañez’s regime, which lasted until July 1931, was personalist, though his SOLS is listed as the military. First, he did attempt to create a support party following his election (the Republican Confederation for Civic Action), but was not very serious in his efforts. Second, he basically ruled by decree, and forced party leaders to create a list of candidates to be elected to Congress, thus getting rid of elections entirely. He also reformed the police force, making it an organized and efficient operation that was completely loyal to him (Collier and Sater 2004, 216-7).

In 1930, the effects of the Great Depression reached Chile, and the country quickly fell into economic crisis. The crisis came to a head in 1931, when Ibañez, quickly losing popularity, named a new cabinet of ministers which included some members from rival political groups. However, this did not quiet public discontent, and Ibañez chose to resign on 26 July 1931, turning over power to the President of the Senate, Pedro Opazo Letelier, who became the acting vice president. This is not a SOLS change. The next day, when Ibañez left Chile to go into exile, Congress declared the presidency vacant and made the Minister of the Interior, Juan Esteban Montero Rodríguez, who is a member of the Radical Party (PR), the new acting president. This is not a SOLS change. In September 1931, Montero stepped down from office to officially run as a candidate in the upcoming presidential race. During this period, September to November 1931, his Vice President, Manuel Trucco Franzani, also of PR, served as acting president. This is not a SOLS change. Montero, who was overwhelmingly popular, won the election and officially

assumed office on November 15, 1931. This is a SOLS change since now he is a regular, not an interim, leader. We do not code any particular nondemocratic sub-regime type while Montero is in office.

However, as the economy did not improve, Montero's popularity quickly faded. On June 4, 1932, he was overthrown in a coup led by Grove Vallejo, an air force commander and socialist (Drake 1991, 278). All of the members of the ruling junta were Generals in the military, and, though the military was divided, it was clearly in control (Collier and Sater 2004, 224). The three generals on the junta did not get along well, and on June 13, one of them, General Carlos Gregorio Dávila Espinosa, resigned, leaving Grove Vallejo in charge. This is not a SOLS change. Three days later, on June 16, a new junta led by Dávila took over, which is not a SOLS change, either. Press censorship was imposed, and the country was declared to be in a state of siege (Collier and Sater 2004, 225).

Dávila's popularity quickly waned, and on September 13, 1932, he was overthrown by another faction of the military, and his Minister of the Interior, General Bartolomé Blanche Espejo, became the provisional president. This is not a SOLS change. General Blanche quickly scheduled elections for the end of October, but due to widespread distrust of the military, he was also forced to step down and hand over the acting presidency to the president of the Supreme Court, Abraham Oyanedel Urrutia, who was non-partisan. This is not a SOLS change. When elections were held, Alessandri, who had remained politically active, was elected as the candidate of the Liberal Party, working as part of the newly-formed Liberal Alliance. This is a SOLS change.

It would appear that political stability and multiparty participation returned to Chile at this point. In fact, Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2013) code Chile as democratic from 1933-1973. Polity IV (Marshall and Jaggers 2002), however, continues to code Chile as a nondemocracy, and thus, we code a non-specific nondemocracy, following the pre-designated successor rule to code SOLS changes. Alessandri remained in office until December 24, 1938, when, after widespread violence and political maneuvering, elections resulted in the candidate from the Popular Front (FP) coalition (specifically PR: radical party), being elected to office. This is a SOLS change.

During Aguirre's time in office, democratic elections to Congress continued, and interparty competition still existed. Aguirre served almost his full term of office before falling ill and resigning on November 25, 1941. His Vice President, Jerónimo Méndez Arancibia, a member of PR, served as the acting president until elections were held. This is not a SOLS change.

On April 2, 1942, following another round of heated presidential elections, the PR/FP candidate, Juan Antonio Ríos Morales, ascended to the presidency. He was from the same party as the last regular leader, Aguirre. "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 remained in power until illness forced his resignation in January 1946.

The office of president briefly passed to his Vice President, Alfredo Duhalde Vasquez, also a member of the FP, who served as “acting” president technically from June 23 until October 17, 1946. However, from August 3 until October 17, Duhalde Vasquez was participating in his party’s primary elections, and turned over the presidency to his Vice President, Vicente Merino Bielich of FP, also listed as “acting.” Therefore, this is not a SOLS change. Duhalde Vasquez lost the primary, and briefly resumed office before stepping down as “acting vice-president” completely. He was replaced by Juan Antonio Iribarren Cabezas, also a member of PR, who served as acting vice-president until November 3. At this point, the winner of the presidential elections, Gabriel González Videla, also a member of PR, took office and became president. This is a tough call: given that there was a contested primary, the winner may not have been a pre-designated successor. Yet, given that most histories seem to treat Chile as a functioning presidential democracy at the time, and the successor is the official representative of the same political party, we do not code a SOLS change.

In sum, there are six leaders in 1946: Ríos 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.

González Videla (PR) served his full six-year term, and in 1952, handed over power to Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, the winning candidate from the Popular Liberation Alliance (APL). This is a SOLS change. Ibáñez del Campo also served his full term, and handed over power to Jorge Alessandri Rodríguez, a member of the Conservative Party (PC), after elections in 1958, which is a SOLS change. Alessandri Rodríguez, in turn, handed over the government to Eduardo Frei Montalva, the winning candidate from the Christian Democratic Party of Chile (PDC), in 1964. This is a SOLS change. Frei Montalva then served his full term and handed over power to Salvador Allende Gossens, a member of the Socialist Party (PS), in a coalition known as People’s Unity (UP) in 1970. This is a SOLS change.

On September 11, 1973, Allende Gossens was overthrown in a military coup led by Augusto Pinochet Ugarte. This is a SOLS change. This begins a period coded by Geddes (2003) as a military-personalist hybrid government. Pinochet Ugarte was in power until 1989. That year, following both domestic and international pressure, he allowed open democratic elections to be held. The winning candidate, Patricio Aylwin Azócar, of the PDC, took office on March 11, 1990. This is a SOLS change. At this point, Chile is once again coded as a democracy.

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.), 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 will think of Chile as having a two party (coalition) system. This means that there should be no SOLS change when members of Concertacion succeed one another.

In 1994, new elections were held and Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle, also a member of the PDC, was elected president. This is not a SOLS change. In 2000, he ceded power to Ricardo Lagos Escobar, the winning candidate from the Party for Democracy (PPD). This is not a SOLS change since PPD was a member of Concertacion as PDC. Lagos Escobar, in turn, ceded power to Michelle Bachelet Jeria, the winning candidate from the Socialist Party of Chile (PS), after elections in 2006. This is not a SOLS change since PS was also as a member of Concertacion. Bachelet Jeria remained in office until 2010.

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