

## Argentina

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Based on Polity (Marshall and Jaggers 2002), Argentina is considered authoritarian from 1919 until 1936, and then democratic from 1937 to 1942, and then becomes non-democratic again. During the democratic period of 1937-42, Argentina is coded as a presidential democracy (see Loveman 1999, 119; Nállim 2012, 106). Since 1943, Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2013) code Argentina as a military regime.

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.

Hipólito Yrigoyen of the Radical Civic Union (UCR) party served as president from 1916 to 1922. “Yrigoyen faced the challenge of maintaining power within the party as his presidential term ended in 1922... From the presidency, Yrigoyen could dole out contracts and jobs to loyalists, who would then direct their energies toward advancing the interests of the UCR. In a surprising move, Yrigoyen arranged for Marcelo Alvear to be the party’s presidential candidate and his successor” (Lewis 2001, 80). Since Marcelo Alvear was Yrigoyen’s pre-designated successor (Mainwaring 1995, 207), this is not a SOLS change.

During his time in office, Alvear proved to be 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). Given the factionalization and the split between Alvear and Yrigoyen, we do not consider Yrigoyen Alvear’s pre-designated successor despite the fact that they belonged to the same party. Thus, following our pre-designated successor rule, we code a SOLS change for the entry of Yrigoyen.

The Great Depression, Yrigoyen’s meddling in the military, and exclusion of Conservatives led to a military coup in 1930 (Mainwaring 1995, 208). 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. This means we code a SOLS change here. He was not a predesignated successor.

After annulling the election Uriburu lost support of the conservatives, who arranged another election, but excluded the Radicals that had won in Uriburu's election (Lewis 2001, 84). Three parties, "the Partido Democratico Nacional (National Democratic Party, PDN), the Anti-Personalist Radicals, and the Independent Socialists, a conservative faction of the Socialist Party (Lewis 2001, 84)" formed the Concordancia, which controlled Argentina between 1932 and 1943. While by our rules, Argentina is considered a democracy between 1937 and 1943, according to Lewis, this time period only had a semblance of democracy as the Concordancia systematically rigged elections.

Agustín Justo of the Concordance party (CC) became the first Concordancia president. This is a SOLS change. In 1938 Roberto Ortiz, UCR, became president. 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. In 1942 Ramón Castillo, UCR, became acting president when Ortiz was incapacitated (Cahoon 2012). This is not a SOLS change.

In June 1943 Arturo Rawson, Mil, became president of a provisional government (Cahoon 2012) beginning military rule. This is a SOLS change. Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2013) code a military regime as starting at the time. Three days later Pedro Pablo Ramírez, Mil, became president of the provisional government. This is not a SOLS change. In 1944 Edelmiro Julián Farrell, Mil, became president. This is not a SOLS change, either.

Farrell held power until 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. Since Guido was an interim president, we do not code any SOLS change here. 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

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

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 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 (Justicalist 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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