

## Uruguay

Rice

By our coding rules, Uruguay is considered undemocratic from 1919 through 1945. Polity IV (Marshall and Jaggers 2002) codes Uruguay with a democracy score of 5 and autocracy score of 2 until 1934. Based on US Library of Congress (1990), it sounds like this is in fact a period of quasi-democracy with two competing parties, the Colorado Party (PC) and the National Party (PN, also known as the “Blancos”). The Colorado Party was in control of the government for most of the time period under consideration even though it was internally divided between several powerful factions. The executive branch in Uruguay was also powerful, but had a collegial format—meaning that though there was a president, the executive was made up of nine individuals working together and included representatives from both parties. Everything related to the government was a negotiation between the parties, not necessarily between the leaders of those parties. Our regional expert suggests coding non-specific autocratic regime until 1931. Accordingly, we use our pre-designated successor rule for coding SOLS changes.

In 1919, the president of Uruguay was Feliciano Viera Borges, who had been in office beginning in 1915. That year, his term of office expired, and power passed to Baltasar Brum Rodriguez, who served until 1923. From 1923 until 1927, the presidency was in the hands of José Serrato Bergeróo, followed by Juan Campisteguy Oxcoby from 1927 until 1931. Oddone (1986, 473) states that “The presidency was held by three figures from different factions of the colorados: Baltasar Brum (1919-1923), an aorthodox Batllista and architect of the new system of inter-American diplomacy; Jose Serrato (1923-1927), and engineer and entrepreneur, and a colorado but without close links with any of the major groups; and Juan Campisteguy (1927-1931), a lawyer and a prominent member of the dissident riverista factrion.” Given that these leaders all stemmed from different factions of the Colorado party, they should not be considered predesignated successors. Thus, we code SOLS changes for the entries of Brum, Serrato, and Campisteguy respectively.

The presidency then passed to Gabriel Terra Leivas, who became unsatisfied with the functioning of the collegial executive. In 1933, he declared a coup and dissolved the legislature and the executive, and naming himself a dictator, in order to execute constitutional reforms (Willis 1974, 235-6). Terra seems to have had an established regime, and personalist is probably the best characterization. This is a SOLS change. While he wrote a reasonably democratic constitution, he chose to ignore it by subverting the regular election schedule and seizing all power to the executive. Alexander (2005, 28-9) describes that “President Gabriel Terra tended more and more to split away from his own party, the Partldo Colorado Batllista, and to rely on the official opposition, the reactionary Partio Nacionalista....The government become increasingly more repressive....Finally, on March 31, 1933, President Gabriel Terra suspended the constitution and declared himself dictator.” He is frequently described as a dictator (see Davis 1995, 24-5), but not based on military power.

By 1934, a new constitution, which included a more standard executive branch (just the president and his cabinet ministers) had been ratified and went into effect. Terra was elected president under this new constitution (as a member of the Colorado Party again), and served a regular term of office, from 1934-1938. Terra was succeeded by Alfredo Baldomir Ferarri, his brother-in-law and also part of Terra's Colorado party, in 1938. During his time in office, the Terra constitution of 1934 was revoked. This might be one indication of the movement toward democracy. Essentially there was a move back to the pre-Terra system. However, the Polity IV (Marshall and Jaggers 2002) score does not change for Baldomir. Therefore, we code non-specific autocratic regime for him. Accordingly, we code a SOLS change for the transition from Terra to Baldomir (from personalist regime to non-specific autocratic regime).

Baldomir remained in office until 1943, at which point power passed to Juan José Amézaga Landaraso. Amézaga was Baldomir's "close associate" (Rock 1994, 192) so we code no SOLS change here. Amézaga remained in office until 1947, representing the Colorado Party (PC). His term expired in 1947, when elections placed Tomás Berreta, a member of Amézaga's government in power. This is not a SOLS change. Tomás Berreta died six months after the election, however, and his Vice President Louis Battle Beres took over. This is also not a SOLS change. The PC stayed in power for one more presidential term, which started in 1950, when Andrés Martínez Trueba was elected.

A constitutional change in 1952 changed Uruguay's governing structure. The National Council of Government was now chaired by leaders from the majority party, and this position of president could rotate as often as once per year. From 1952 to 1959, the presidency rotated among members of the PC, still indicating no SOLS change. Leaders during this time included Trueba (1952-1955, though the spreadsheet has this transition incorrectly entered as 1954), Battle Beres (1955-1956), Alberto Fermín Zubiría (1956-1957), Arturo Lezama Bagez (1957-1958), and Carlos Lorenzo Fischer Brusoni (1958-1959).

A SOLS change occurred in 1959, and the PC lost its position as the majority party on the council to the National Party (PN). They would stay in power until 1967, with leaders including: Martín Recaredo Echegoyen Machicote (1959-1960), Benito Nardone (1960-1961), Eduardo Victor Haedo (1961-1962), Faustino Harrison (1962-1963), Daniel Fernández Crespo (1963-1964), Luis Giannattasio (1964-1965), Washington Beltrán (1965-1966), and Alberto Héber Usher (1966-1967).

A new constitution in 1967 switched the country back to the single executive system. General Oscar Gestido won elections in March, and took office representing the PC. Gestido died in December of that year, being succeeded by his Vice President Jorge Pacheco Areco. Because Pacheco Areco was also of the PC, this is not a SOLS change.

In 1972 Juan Maria Bordaberry, initially also of the PC, won elections of dubious legality and fairness. In July 1972, the National Assembly passed a State Security Law limiting freedoms

and essentially consolidating power in the military for a takeover of government operations. The military began suggesting policy changes and government reforms by 1973, and soon President Bordaberry signed a pact ensuring the military would have advisory capacity in relationship to the executive. The National Assembly, reluctant to go along with the plan, was dissolved on June 27, 1973. Geddes (2003) codes the period from 1973-84 as a military regime, and thus Bordaberry's ascension to power is coded as a SOLS change. According to Cheibub et al. (2010), the country is coded as a democracy with presidential system from 1952 to 1972, and, since then it turns to be a pure-Military regime. As to this change, Banks et al (2011, 1550) describes "the election of Bordaberry in November 1971 did little to alleviate the country's problems. Continuing economic and political instability culminated in military intervention on February 3, 1973. A National Security Council was created to oversee the administration. However, even it was not until 1973, when Bordaberry ruled the country with the approval of the military, his SOLS in 1972 and 1973 is coded PC (Mil). As Schlager et al. (2006, 1417) describes that "during the period of military rule, parts of the PC were close to the military leadership, and this has tarnished the party's reputation among certain sectors of Uruguayan society."

There are three leaders in 1976: Bordaberry PC (Mil), Demichelli PC (Mil), and Mendez Manfredini PN (Mil). However, According to Polity IV (Marshall and Jaggers 2002), Uruguay is coded as a pure-Military regime since 1973 to 1983. In 1976, Bordaberry was forced to resign when he tried to force himself into a dictatorship. Alberto Demichelli Lizaso, the leader of the Council of State (the military's advisory board that had replaced the National Assembly), took office temporarily and suspended elections. He was a member of the liberal wing of the PC. According to Lentz (1994, 814), he was installed as interim president when the military forced the resignation of President Bordaberry on June 12, 1976. (We do not code Demichelli as interim because he assumed office as part of the ongoing military regime.) Demichelli remained president under the supervision of the military until he installed Aparicio Méndez Manfredi in the presidency on September 1, 1976, an easy feat after banning many major political figures. None of these changes were SOLS transitions, as the military was clearly still in charge.

In 1981, the Méndez administration left office, and Lieutenant General Gregorio Alvarez Armelino took over the presidency with backing from the military. This government ruled until 1985, when the military regime ended and free elections brought Julio María Sanguinetti to power, representing the PC and a SOLS change. Sanguinetti led the movement back to democracy over the course of his five year presidential term.

In 1990, Luis Alberto Lacalle was elected to the presidency, representing the PN, still the PC's chief rival. Then, in 1995, power shifted back to the PC as former President Sanguinetti won a second term, also signaling a SOLS change. He was in power until the 2000 election, when Jorge Batlle won on behalf of the PC as well, signifying no SOLS change. In 2005, there was a final significant transfer of power, as Tabaré Vázquez took office as a member of the Broad Front (FA) and signifying a final SOLS change.

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Pre-1945 coded by Meera Krishnan on March 16, 2011

Post-1945 coded by Graham West (Rice) on July 16, 2010

Pre-1945 revised by Ashley Leeds on June 14, 2013

Pre-1945 revised by Naoko Matsumura on August 15, 2013

Post-1945 updated by Mariana Rodriguez on February 9, 2012

Combined by Ahra Wu (Rice) on September 7, 2013

Revised by Naoko Matsumura on February 18, 2014

Revised by Andrew Wood on March 2, 2014

Edited by Andrew Wood (Rice) 05/24/2014

Edited by Michaela Mattes 10/01/2014

Edited by Michaela Mattes 11/11/2015