

Uruguay

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Uruguay is considered authoritarian from 1919 through 1951. Based on the US Library of Congress (1990), it sounds like this is a period of quasi-democracy by two competing parties, the Colorados and the Blancos. Starting in 1952, Uruguay experienced 21 years of democratic continuity until 1972 when a military regime started. The military dictatorship lasted for 11 years until 1984 when a new transition to democracy happened. Since then Uruguay can be considered a democracy.

The pre-1945 era was dominated by the Colorados, which were internally divided. “To the existing Colorado factions--Riverism and Vierism--were added the Colorado Party for Tradition (also known as Sosism), founded by Julio María Sosa in 1925, and the Advance Grouping (Agrupación Avanzar), founded by Julio César Grauert in 1929” (US Library of Congress 1990). Despite the divisions in the Colorado party it seems that the dominant influence was that of Batlle y Ordóñez and many of his followers were presidents until 1931 when he died. US Library of Congress (1990) note that “These contradictions forced Batlle y Ordóñez to make electoral arrangements with his opponents within the Colorado Party to prevent the victory of the National Party. The resultant “politics of compromise” diluted his reformist agenda. Baltasar Brum (1919-1923), one of Batlle y Ordóñez's followers and a former foreign minister, was succeeded as president by a "neutral" Colorado, José Serrato (1923-1927), who turned over the office to a Riverist, Juan Campisteguy (1927-1931)” (US Library of Congress 1990).

Another important feature of the Uruguayan regime was that the executive branch 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.

As a result of these unusual features, our regional expert suggests coding a non-specific autocratic regime until 1931. Accordingly, we use our pre-designated successor rule for coding SOLS changes.

Feliciano Alberto Viera Borges of the Colorado Party (PC) served as president from 1915 to 1919. He was a long-time Batlle y Ordóñez follower, but also founded a dissident faction, the Vierists (US Library of Congress 1990). In 1919, Baltasar Brum Rodríguez (PC) became president. Brum had been a member of Viera's administration (Lavrin 1995, 216), but “Baltasar Brum (1919-1923) [was] one of Batlle y Ordóñez's followers and a former foreign minister (US Library of Congress 1990).” “Baltasar Brum (1919-1923), one of Batlle y Ordóñez's followers and a former foreign minister, was succeeded as president by a "neutral" Colorado, José Serrato (1923-1927), who turned over the office to a Riverist, Juan Campisteguy (1927-1931) (US

Library of Congress 1990).” Oddone (1986, 473) describes that “The presidency was held by three figures from different factions of the colorados: Baltasar Brum (1919-1923), an orthodox 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 faction.”

Since these leaders came from different factions of the colorados, an argument could be made that each leader transition should be considered a SOLS change. They were not pre-designated successor in the traditional sense. However, they all were part of the Batllista system. According to Henderson et al. (2000, 168), “the socially progressive batllista system continued under Presidents Baltasar Brum (1919-1923), Jose Serrato (1923-1927), and Juan Campisteguy (1927-1931).” They also governed in the collegial executive and thus represented similar interests overall. Therefore, we code no SOLS changes between them.

In 1931, to Gabriel Terra Leivas (also PC) became president. Originally a Batllist, he distanced himself from Batllista and his followers and he coalesced with Blanco Party leaders Herrera and Manini, the leader of the Riverista dissident faction of the Colorados (a more conservative faction than the Batllistas) to conduct a coup (US Library of Congress 1990). As a result of the coup, one leading Batllista’s committed suicide and another was assassinated and the regime imprisoned opponents.

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 Partido 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.

For the 1938 election, “Terra divided his support between his son-in-law's father, Eduardo Blanco Acevedo, and his brother-in-law, General Alfredo Baldomir. These candidacies reflected a split in Terra's political faction within the Colorado Party... Baldomir (1938-1943) was elected president. Once again, Batllists, Independent Nationalists, and Radical Blancos abstained from voting.” During his presidency Baldomir had political difficulties with his Blanco ally Herrera and removed Herrerists from his cabinet. Instead he favored the Batllists and other Colorados more starting in 1942 (US Library of Congress 1990; Rock 1994, 191-2). During his time in office, the Terra constitution of 1934 was revoked. This might be an 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).

In the 1942 election the “Batllists supported the Colorado candidate, Juan José Amézaga (1943-47), who won the election (US Library of Congress 1990).” Amézaga was Baldomir’s “close associate” (Rock 1994, 192) so we code no SOLS change here. Note that Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2013) consider Uruguay democratic from 1943-1973. He stayed in power until 1947 when he was followed by Tomás Barreta from the same party, the Colorado Party (PC), and part of Amézaga’s government. Five months after Barreta assumed the presidency, he died, and was replaced by his Vice President Luis Batlle Berres. So, these two changes are not SOLS changes.

In 1950 there were presidential elections in Uruguay in which the candidate backed by Batlle and also from the Colorado Party, Andrés Martínez Trueba, won (US Library of Congress 1990). He ruled Uruguay to 1955 when Batlle (also from the PC) returned to office as head of the National Council of Government. The executive power was made up by: Luis Batlle Berres, Alberto Zubiría, Carlos Fisher, Arturo Lezama, Justino Zavala, and Zoilo Chelle. From 1955 to 1959, some of them were the head of the National Council in a sort of rotating head of state. So, neither of these changes are truly SOLS changes.

US Library of Congress (1990) note that “The new constitution was approved by plebiscite in 1951 and went into effect in 1952. It reestablished the *colegiado* as the National Council of Government (Consejo Nacional de Gobierno). The council had nine members, six from the dominant faction of the majority party and three from the party receiving the second highest number of votes--two from its leading faction and one from its second-ranking faction. The presidency was to rotate each year among the six members of the majority party. The constitution mandated coparticipation in directing autonomous entities and ministries, using a three-and-two system (three members appointed by the majority party on the council and two by the minority party). Uruguay enjoyed unprecedented prosperity at this time, and the establishment of a purely collegial, Swissstyle executive reinforced the country's title as the “Switzerland of South America.”” Uruguay is coded as a democracy starting in 1952.

The 1958 elections marked the end of the 94-year Colorado rule in the country. In that election the National Party (PN) won broadly, starting a 9-year period of electoral dominance. As a result, the National Council of Government was formed by Martín Echegoyen, as first head, Benito Nardone, Eduardo Víctor Haedo, Faustino Harrison, Justo Alonso, and Juan Pedro Zabazla. They ruled Uruguay from 1958 to 1963. The transition in 1959, when Echegoyen assumed the presidency, constitutes a SOLS change. The PN continues the same rotation system and thus a number of PN leaders assume power until 1967 when the Colorado Party wins the election. None of the transitions involving PN leaders are SOLS changes.

In November 1967 there were presidential elections and four plebiscites. Uruguayan citizens had to elect their president and had to decide to whether to change the government system to return to presidentialism. Uruguayan citizens decided to return to presidentialism and elected the PC candidate General Orcas Diego Gestido as president. However, due to a heart attack on December 1967, Gestido died and was replaced by his vice president Jorge Pacheco Areco. So, the change from Alberto Heber Usher to Gestido is a SOLS change, but the change from Gestido to Pacheco is not.

Pacheco faced significant domestic conflict marked by the activity of guerrillas affiliated with the National Liberation Movement, also called as Tupamaros. In that context, in 1972 the PC won the election by just 1% of votes. Juan María Bordaberry assumed the presidency. In February 1973, Bordaberry wanted to expel Senator Enrique Erro from the Senate. However, this request was denied by both Chambers. As a result, Bordaberry decided to close the Senate and the Deputies Chamber and to install a State Council. His measures were backed by the military. So, this was a kind of auto-coup, starting a military regime in Uruguay.

The transition from Pacheco to Bordaberry is tricky. On the one hand, Bordaberry was democratically elected and he was like his predecessor a member of the PC. He was also the candidate favored by Pacheco when Pacheco was unable to seek his reelection. On the other hand, Bordaberry established a military regime that remained in place for 10 years. We code a SOLS change when Bordaberry assumes power because soon after his assumption of the presidency his SOLS changed from Pacheco's. Bordaberry is democratically elected (although in elections with lots of fraud) and comes to power in March 1972, representing the same party as his predecessor (and according to sources, was the hand-picked successor of his predecessor). By 1973, he had dissolved the legislature and become a military ruler. Geddes (2003) codes the military regime starting in 1973. Slight discrepancy is about how to notate a SOLS for Bordaberry (i.e., PC or PC (Mil)). 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 do 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."

By May 1976, Bordaberry went further and he wanted to dissolve the traditional parties: the PC and the PN. This measure was not approved by the military. Therefore, in June 1976 the military overthrew Bordaberry, and Alberto Demicheli was designated as interim president (Caetano and Rilla 2005, 342; Giménez 2004, 177). 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.

Demicheli was a member of the liberal wing of the PC. According to Lentz (1994, 814), he was installed an 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.) Because Demicheli did not sign a resolution to jail 15,000 citizens accused of terrorism, he had to resign, and the military decided to put in office a civilian, Aparicio Mendez from the PN 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.

Therefore, the change from Bordaberry to Demicheli is not a SOLS change because Demicheli was interim president. The change from Demicheli to Aparicio Mendez is also not a SOLS change because the latter relies on the military for support just like Democheli and Bordaberry did.

Five years later, in September 1981, Mendez was substituted by General Gregorio Álvarez. This is not a SOLS change given that the same military regime continues ruling the country. Alvarez was the ruler in charge of the democratic transition in Uruguay. In 1984 he started the democratic process, and in November, the PC candidate Julio María Sanguinetti was elected constitutional president of Uruguay. This change is clearly a SOLS change.

Since that election, every president in Uruguay was democratically elected, and also there was a rotation between PN and PC presidents, until 2005 when Tabaré Vasquez won the elections for the Broad Front (FA). So, every change from PN to PC or vice versa is a SOLS change.

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(August 31, 2013)

Pre-1945 coded by Anna Carella in March 2010

Post-1945 coded by Arturo Maldonado (Vanderbilt) on August 5, 2010

Pre-1945 revised by Michaela Mattes on August 3, 2012

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

Post-1945 checked by Michaela Mattes on August 12, 2010

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

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

Revised by Andrew Wood on March 2, 2014

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

Edited by Michaela Mattes 09/30/2014

Edited by Michaela Mattes 11/11/2015