

ARGENTINA

Polity5 Regime Codes:

fac	scode	polity	pers	bmon	bday	byear	emon	eday	eyear	exrec	exconst	polcomp
1X	ARG	-5	5	1	23	1825	12	8	1829	3	1	6
1Xa	ARG	-88	5	12	9	1829	3	28	1835	-88	-88	-88
1Xb	ARG	-5	18	3	29	1835	12	2	1852	3	1	6
1Xc	ARG	-88	0	12	3	1852	5	1	1853	-88	-88	-88
1Xd	ARG	-3	27	5	2	1853	9	21	1880	3	3	6
1Xe	ARG	1	32	9	22	1880	6	30	1912	7	3	6
1Xf	ARG	2	18	7	1	1912	9	6	1930	8	3	6
1O	ARG	-8	6	9	7	1930	2	28	1937	3	1	2
1Oa	ARG	5	6	3	1	1937	6	5	1943	8	3	10
1Ob	ARG	-8	3	6	6	1943	2	24	1946	3	1	2
1Oc	ARG	-88	3	2	25	1946	12	5	1948	-88	-88	-88
1Od	ARG	-9	7	12	6	1948	9	22	1955	3	1	1
2X	ARG	-88	3	9	23	1955	4	30	1958	-88	-88	-88
2Xa	ARG	5	6	5	1	1958	11	15	1963	8	5	6
2Xb	ARG	6	3	11	16	1963	6	28	1966	8	5	7
2O	ARG	-9	7	6	29	1966	3	11	1973	3	1	1
3X	ARG	6	3	3	12	1973	3	24	1976	8	5	7
3O	ARG	-9	5	3	25	1976	3	29	1981	3	1	1
3Oa	ARG	-8	3	3	30	1981	10	30	1983	3	1	2
4X	ARG	8	5	10	31	1983	5	14	1989	8	7	7
4Xa	ARG	7	1	5	15	1989	12	31	1989	8	6	7
4O	ARG	7	10	1	1	1990	12	9	1999	8	5	9
4Oa	ARG	8	12	12	10	1999	12	9	2015	8	6	9
4Ob	ARG	9	3	12	10	2015	99	99	9999	8	7	9

PITF Problem Events:

- 1) 06/66-06/66 (ARC 06/66)
- 2) 03/76-12/80 (ARC 03/76; GEN 03/76-12/80)

2X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic: September 23, 1955 (military coup)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

The revolutionary government of Gen. Juan Perón was overthrown by a coordinated military revolt that began on September 16, 1955. Perón was forced to resign on September 19 and a provisional, civilian administration led by Gen. Eduardo Lonardi was sworn in on September 23, 1955. The provisional government immediately lifted many of the restrictions imposed by the *Peronista* regime; however, it disbanded and banned the *Peronista* political organization. Elite dissatisfaction with the regime had increased with the *Peronista* campaign to disestablish the Roman Catholic Church as the official religion that began in November 1954 and culminated in May 1955. An earlier Marine revolt on June 16, 1955, had been thwarted by forces loyal to Perón. Lonardi was subsequently deposed in a bloodless coup led by Gen. Pedro Eugenio Aramburu on November 13, 1955; Aramburu took over as provisional president in order to complete preparations for elections.

Identify Main Factions:

- *Military/Oligarchy* — The leadership of the Argentine military was drawn largely from the conservative oligarchy and was allied with Argentina's major economic interests. The oligarchy was also closely allied with the Roman Catholic Church. The military was divided in how best to control the *Peronistas* with the "colorados" (reds) favoring suppression and the "azures" favoring cooptation.

- *Unión Civica Radical Intransigente* (UCRI) — The banning of the *Peronista* political organization caused a shift in labor support to the “intransigent” faction of the UCR party led by Dr. Arturo Frondizi. The ambiguity of the relationship between the UCRI and the *Peronistas* undermined Frondizi’s ability to implement policy as suspicions led to declining support both from the military and the *Peronistas*.
- *Unión Civica Radical del Pueblo* (UCRP) — The “people’s” faction of the UCR was led by Dr. Ricardo Balbin who lost to Frondizi in the 1958 presidential election. The UCRP became the official opposition party following the 1958 elections as it gained a substantial, though inconsequential, block of seats in the UCRI-dominated legislature. March 1960 by-elections increased the party’s share of seats in the legislature at the expense of the UCRI.
- *Peronistas* — Although officially disbanded and banned from politics, the *Peronistas* continued to agitate for social change through unconventional political action. In early 1962, the *Peronistas* began to reorganize as the Justicialist Party.
- Lesser Factions:
Communist Party — The Communist Party was banned, like the *Peronistas*, but remained active in some of the labor unions.

Changes within Factional-Democratic Period:

2Xa) May 1, 1958 (inauguration of elected president) – Open and competitive general elections were held on February 23, 1958. Candidates of the *Unión Civica Radical Intransigente* (UCRI) won large majorities in both executive and legislative elections (133 of 187 seats). Dr. Arturo Frondizi of the UCRI was inaugurated president on May 1, 1958. The Frondizi administration was beset by pervasive social turmoil and economic crisis. Frondizi was forced to resign by a military coup on March 29, 1962, after the (neo-*Peronista*) Justicialist Party made major gains in March 1962 by-elections; he was replaced by Dr. José María Guido according to the order of succession. Guido annulled the results of the March 1962 elections because of they were in violation of the official ban on the *Peronistas*, effectively shutting down the legislature until new elections could be held. General elections were held on July 7, 1963, and resulted in a victory for the UCRP presidential candidate, Dr. Arturo Umberto Illia, and with the UCRP also becoming the largest party in Congress.

2Xb) November 16, 1963 (lifting of ban on parties) – On November 16, 1963, the laws restricting participation by the *Peronistas* and Communists were lifted. By-elections were held on March 14, 1965, which were open to all parties as long as they did not involve personalistic references and they swore allegiance to the country’s laws. The *Peronistas* gained the most votes in the 1965 by-elections and continued to make gains in municipal elections.

2O) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic: June 29, 1966 (military coup and government)

Brief Explanation of Change From: Adverse Regime Change: June 1966

Dr. Arturo Illia, who had been elected President of Argentina in August 1963, was forcibly removed from office on June 28, 1966. A junta consisting of General Pascual Angel Pizarini,

Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Admiral of the Fleet Benigno Ignacio Varela, and Brigadier-General Adolfo Teodoro Alvarez, announced that they had taken charge of the country, and that they had invited Lieutenant-General Juan Carlos Onganía to become “provisional president.” Onganía was sworn in on June 29, 1966. The coup followed a period of dissatisfaction with the civilian government’s policies among military leaders, and was instigated to prevent strengthening of the *Peronistas*.

3X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic: March 12, 1973 (general elections)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

Onganía’s heavy-handed rule triggered popular resistance that triggered a labor and student uprising in Córdoba in 1969 (*El Cordobazo*). Popular resistance and civil violence continued to spread until a military junta led by moderates unseated the hardliners on March 22, 1971. Lt-Gen. Lanusse’s policy of a *gran acuerdo nacional*, aimed at the reconciliation of moderate Peronistas with moderate anti-Peronistas, enjoyed widespread support also among Popular Radicals, Communists, trade unions, employers’ organizations, and students. Lanusse announced on September 17, 1971, that the junta had decided to hold general elections in March 1973 and allow a return of civilian government.

General elections were held on March 11, 1973. The *Frente Justicialista de Liberación (Frejuli)*, an alliance forged during a return by the former President Perón in late 1972, received more than twice the number of votes as its nearest rival, the *Unión Cívica Radical (UCR)*. The *Frejuli* presidential candidate received just under the 50% required to avoid a runoff election but gained office when the UCR candidate withdrew. Widespread civil disorder continued in spite of the return of elected government, however, and four months after taking office President Campora resigned to force a new election in which Juan Perón would be eligible to run as a candidate. Perón won the election held on September 23, 1973, and returned to power after 18 years in exile. President Perón was unable to quell civil disorder before he died on July 1, 1974; the Vice President, Perón’s wife Isabel, assumed the presidency on June 29, 1974.

Identify Main Factions:

- *Frente Justicialista de Liberación (Frejuli)* — an alliance of moderate and radical populist parties (*Peronistas*) forged during a return of former President Juan Perón from exile.
- *Unión Cívica Radical (UCR)* — Argentina’s oldest party, founded in 1890, a “radical-liberal” party popular among middle class and professionals.
- Lesser factions:

Alianza Popular Federalista — an alliance composing two groupings of provincial parties favoring decentralized authority.

Various political extremist groups (Marxist, Trotskyist, radical Peronistas, etc.) — various, radical leftist groups favoring armed struggle and revolutionary change.

3O) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic: March 24, 1976 (adverse regime change)

Brief Explanation of Change From:

Adverse Regime Change: March 1976

A military junta consisting of the heads of the three armed forces: General Jorge Rafael Videla (Army), Admiral Eduardo Emilio Massera (Navy) and General Orlando Ramón Agosti (Air Force), ousted President Isabel Peron on March 24, 1976. Gen. Videla was sworn in as President.

Politicide: March 1976 – December 1980

The newly installed military government immediately declared a state of siege, acting forcefully to end civil disorder. Government-sponsored death squads targeted suspected leftists in a systematic campaign of kidnappings, torture, murder, and “disappearances” which came to be known as the “Dirty War.”

Changes within Autocratic Period:

3Oa) March 30, 1981 (leadership change; lifting ban on political activity) – Gen. Videla relinquished leadership of the military government to Gen. Viola on March 29, 1981. Gen. Viola immediately expressed his willingness to meet with civilian leaders to discuss an eventual return to elected government. Following a meeting with the leaders of the country’s various political parties, the *multipartidaria*, in July 1981, the ruling military junta announced that it would lift the general ban on political activity. Subsequently, the government’s surrender on June 14-15, 1982, following its failed invasion of the British-controlled Falkland (Malvinas) Islands led to a split in the junta between the Army leadership, which preferred to continue military rule, and the Navy and Air Force leadership, which favored a return to civilian rule. On June 22, 1982, the Army assumed sole control of the government but, on February 28, 1983, it gave in to popular demands and announced that new elections would be held in October 1983.

4X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic: October 31, 1983 (general elections)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

General elections were held October 31, 1983, following a gradual transition from seven years of military rule. The newly elected congress, led by the Radical Civil Union (UCR) with an absolute majority, elected Sir Raul Alfonsín as president; the new civilian administration was inaugurated on December 10, 1984. Following the return to civilian rule, political groups were sharply divided on solving the economic crisis and coming to terms with the excesses of the military government during the “Dirty War” and the defeat in the Falklands-Malvinas War with Great Britain. President Alfonsín had gained popularity as a lawyer who opposed the war and had been a staunch defender of human rights.

Identify Main Factions:

- *Justicialist Party (FREJUPO)* — the formal name for the populist *Peronistas* and their allies. Internal, factional divisions within the Justicialist Party often undermined its ability to compete effectively in elections and present or promote a coherent political agenda.

- *Union Civica Radical (UCR)* — Argentina’s oldest party, founded in 1890, a “radical-liberal” party popular among middle class and professionals.
- *Argentine Military* — the officer corps of the armed forces have a tradition of political activism; during the administration of President Alfonsín, the military reacted defensively against attempts to hold it accountable for human rights abuses during the military regime.

Changes within Factional-Democratic Period:

4Xa) May 15, 1989 (general elections) – General elections on May 14, 1989, resulted in a return to power for the Justicialist Party, largely due to the inability of the UCR government to solve the economic crisis or confront the abuses of the former military government (there were three military uprisings during Alfonsín’s tenure). In order to regain support of the military, newly elected President Carlos Saúl Menem pushed through legislation granting pardons to most military officers. However, while gaining support from the military (and, thus, reducing executive constraints), Menem’s policies of amnesty triggered popular dissent from groups demanding justice for past abuses.

4O) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic: January 1, 1990 (democratic consolidation)

Brief Explanation of Change From:

President Menem and the Justicialist Party’s amnesty laws and rapprochement policy toward the military initiated immediately upon gaining power in late 1989 largely succeeded in taming military political activism and dampening tensions stirred up by the previous UCR government. Gaining support from the military establishment gave the Menem administration additional leverage in promoting general reconciliation. A fourth rebellion in three years by the right-wing “*carapintadas*” faction in the Army was crushed by loyalist forces on December 3, 1989. A national “state of siege” was lifted by Menem on December 5 and the government announced a five-year reorganization program of the armed forces on Dec. 7. By the end of 1989, it appears that all factions were weary of confrontation and willing to reconcile. (January 1, 1990, is an assigned date denoting the general lessening of factionalism.)

Changes within Democratic Consolidation Period:

4Oa) December 10, 1999 (presidential inauguration) – While Menem proved strong enough to push through a constitutional change that would allow him to gain a second consecutive term as president, his bid for a (prohibited) third consecutive term was rejected, first, by the Chamber of Deputies on March 10 and, then, by the Supreme Court on March 22, 1999. The opposition *Alianza* coalition then succeeded in defeating the Justicialist Candidate in presidential elections held on October 24, 1999; newly elected President de la Rúa took office on December 10, 1999.

4Ob) December 10, 2015 (presidential inauguration) – In elections held on October 25, 2015, opposition candidate Mauricio Macri forced a runoff ballot held on November 22, 2015. Macri narrowly defeated the Justicialist candidate, Daniel Scioli, and was inaugurated on 10 December 2015. He is the first non-Peronist president to be elected since 1916. He faces a congress controlled by the Justicialists.