CYCLES AND TRANSITIONS (II)

Global Factors, International Forces
READING ASSIGNMENTS

Smith, *Democracy*, ch. 4

Degregori, “Peru: The Vanishing of a Regime and the Challenge of Democratic Rebuilding”

Aguero, “Chile: Unfinished Transition and Increased Political Competition”
THIS EVENING’S PROGRAM

• Lecture/presentation

• Review/discussion of readings

• Film on Argentina (Garden of the Forking Paths)
DETERMINANTS OF DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS: DOMESTIC FACTORS

- Economic Development
- Social Forces/Class Coalitions
- Elite Negotiations and “Compacts”
DETERMINANTS OF DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS: INTERNATIONAL FACTORS

• Imperialism and Democracy

• Anti-Communist Crusades

• Optimism and Uncertainty: The 1990s

• Postscript: 9/11 and Its Aftermath
KEY IMPLICATIONS:

1. **Age of Imperialism** (negative influence: democracy proclaimed as a purpose, but in limited and secondary sense)

2. **Cold War** (extremely negative influence: democracy seen as a potential liability)

3. **1990s** (neutral moderately positive: democracy no longer threatening)

4. **Post 9/11** (negative again? democracy less important than alignment in war on terrorism)
TRANSITIONS OF THE
1990s: PERU AND CHILE
Degregori, “Peru: Vanishing of a Regime”

Phase 1: Outsider within a Democratic Framework (1990-1992)

June 1990: Fujimori elected president
Implosion of political parties
Focus on hyperinflation and terrorism
April 1992: autogolpe
September 1992: capture of Abimael Guzmán

Phase 2: Authoritarianism Triumphant (1993-1996)

October 1993: ratification of new constitution
April 1995: Fujimori re-elected
Inattention to institutionalization (e.g., PRI)
Weaknesses: nontransferable charisma, militarization of politics, lack of transparency

- Exposure of Vladimir Montesinos
- December 1996: Seizure of Japanese ambassador’s residence
- Surge of popular dissidence
- Intimidation of media
- Appearance of new players: OAS mission and Alejandro Toledo
- Resistance and eventual collapse

And Now?
Agüero, “Chile: Unfinished Transition”

Uneven progress in 1990s:

• Steady progress on economy
• Occasional achievements in governance and public policy
• Lag in “political-institutional” realm—inability to bring transition to an end

Argument: authoritarian legacy and manner of transition have had greater effects on Chile than in other countries of the region.
Ending the Transition? Competing Concepts

- Resolution of human rights problems
- Reconciliation: shared interpretation of 1973 coup
- Constitutional reform


Decline in *Concertación* vote (presidential elections):

1989  55.2 %
1993  58.0
1999  48.0 [first round]
2000  51.3 [second round]
CHILE: DEMOCRATIC HISTORY

• 1900-23    oligarchic
• 1924-32    non-democratic
• 1933-72    democratic
• 1973-88    non-democratic
• 1989-00    democratic
PERU: DEMOCRATIC HISTORY

• 1900-13 oligarchic
• 1914 non-democratic
• 1915-18 oligarchic
• 1919-33 non-democratic
• 1934-44 semi-democratic
• 1945-47 democratic
• 1948-55 non-democratic
PERU [continued]

- 1956-61 democratic
- 1962-63 non-democratic
- 1964-67 democratic
- 1968-79 non-democratic
- 1980-91 democratic
- 1992 non-democratic
- 1993-00 semi-democratic
ARGENTINA:
DEMOCRATIC HISTORY

• 1900-15  oligarchic
• 1916-29  democratic
• 1930-31  non-democratic
• 1932-42  semi-democratic
• 1943-45  non-democratic
• 1946-50  democratic
• 1951-54  semi-democratic
• 1955-57  non-democratic
ARGENTINA [continued]

- 1958-61 semi-democratic
- 1962 non-democratic
- 1963-65 semi-democratic
- 1966-72 non-democratic
- 1973-75 democratic
- 1976-82 non-democratic
- 1983-00 democratic