

The Governments of the Republic of Argentina

Juan Manuel Abal Medina
Universidad de Buenos Aires/CONICET, Argentina

In Argentina, given the continuous ruptures of the constitutional order, there is no official list or agreement among specialists to determine who are the people who have governed the country. The purpose of this article is to respond to this demand. To do this we build a list of those individuals who have ruled the Republic of Argentina from 1862 to the present, defining the two categories: governor and government. From there, the article aims to describe and classify governments according to their duration, their institutional nature and their party's institutional provenance.

In order to fulfill said objectives, the article takes as a source of information the Acts of Oaths Books of the Members of the Government of the Argentine Nation of the General Notary Public of the Government of the Nation. The information provided by said acts was ordered and systematized to proceed with the analysis.

Keywords: Argentina, Presidents, government, democracy, dictatorship

INTRODUCTION

Unlike many countries, Argentina does not have an official list of its leaders. At the same time, there is no agreement in the literature, either common or specialized, about who were the people who governed our country. Undoubtedly, the continuous ruptures of the constitutional order that characterized the Argentine history during the last century explain to a great extent the difficulty of being able to reach an agreement on who and what are the Argentine rulers. As we find a large number of "de facto" rulers who gave themselves the title of president, it is difficult to establish who in fact governed the Republic of Argentina, even more so because of the existence of periods of time in which the military rulers proclaimed themselves as multi-personal rulers without even respecting the form of constitutional governments.

However, the disagreements in the literature are not limited to the de facto rulers and extend to the constitutional rulers when it comes to analyzing those persons who temporarily occupied the ownership of the Executive Branch according to the regulations set forth in the National Constitution¹ and the different Acephalian laws². Thus, for example, some authors consider that Raúl Lastiri should not be considered (Levene, 1992:401) and others that he should be understood as president (Molinelli, Palaza and Sin, 1999:550). The lack of agreement increases in the current century when the cases of Ramón Puerta, Eduardo Camaño and Federico Pinedo are analyzed.

We understand that the notorious existing divergences are due to the fact that the different lists proposed are generally based on subjective criteria, and to solve them we decided to make a list using the

only sources available for this purpose, which are the minutes contained in the Books of Acts of Oaths of the Members of the Government of Argentina of the General Notary's Office of the Government of the Nation (Books of Acts, hereinafter).

The Minute Books have been made continuously since October 15, 1862 and represent an objective and contrastable source to define those who have governed our country until today³. The books include not only those who have governed the country permanently for a temporary period, but also those who have temporarily replaced it for one of the reasons provided for in the regulations, such as leave (generally due to illness) or travel (outside the country in recent years, outside the Federal Capital, according to Article 88 of the National Constitution)⁴.

DEFINITIONS

In order to move forward with our purpose of establishing a list of those persons who have governed the Republic of Argentina up to the present day based on the information contained in the Books of Records, it is necessary to take some conceptual definitions, basically to define what we understand by "ruler" and by "governments".

In the first place, by ruler we understand that person who⁵ appears in the Minutes, directly or indirectly, as being in charge of the Executive Branch in a definitive way (for whatever period of time) and not only as a temporary replacement of others due to travel or illness. We maintain that in the Minutes the assumption of the ruler can be direct or indirect, due to the fact that - until June 4, 1946 when it is expressly stated that Juan Perón is the president who is given "the attributes of the supreme command he has just assumed when he takes the oath before the Honorable National Assembly" (Book 1, page 260) - the first act of government that appears of each ruler is the oath that he takes to those who become his ministers.

We are aware that we are making an arbitrary decision since the criterion of not differentiating between those who govern by their permanent or transitory character would be equally valid and understanding as people who have governed our country all those who appear in the Minutes as being in charge of the Executive Branch. However, we understand that appointing as governors those persons who temporarily occupy the position while living with their real owner lacks precision and analytical usefulness. As Serrafiero maintains (1999:86) "the substitution (provisional) would not imply taking important decisions since it is not a matter of definitive replacement," even more so since the enormous majority of replacements are for the trips of the head of the Executive. Thus, for example, in the last complete government under study, that of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner in her two terms was replaced 102 times by her vice presidents, 59 by Julio Cobos for 245 days and 43 by Amado Boudou for another 220 days.

We use the term governing and not president as established by our Constitution for several reasons. The first of which is that the Acts themselves sometimes do not use it, resorting to the formula "in exercise of the National Executive Power" generally for those who occupy our first magistracy by virtue of the Law of Acephalia (for example, Ramón Puerta or Eduardo Camaño "assumes temporarily in accordance with art. 88 of the national constitution and art. 1 of law 20.972"). Secondly, because those who reached executive power by breaking the constitutional order, although they generally called themselves "presidents", unlike constitutional presidents, exercised it with the sum of public power or, in any case, "sharing it" with other non-constitutional institutions such as the "Revolutionary Board " of 1963 and the "Military Board " of 1976, which according to the minutes were the ones who appointed them and could remove them from their posts as stated in the respective Books of Records (Book 2 pages: 85-87; 152-154; 174-175; 270-271; 317; 327; 330; 336; 337)⁶.

Finally, the term governing allows us to include the two multi-nominal entities that have exercised executive power in our country: the self-styled Revolutionary Board that governed the country between June 28 and 29, 1966 (Minutes Book 2 page 85-86) and the Military Board that did the same between March 24 and 29, 1976 (Minutes Book 2 page 270)⁷. However, in the following sections we will return to the subject of the name or title given to the rulers.

Secondly, for the purposes of this paper, we understand "government" to mean the period that has elapsed since the assumption of a certain person until his or her definitive replacement by another person or by himself or herself if he or she agrees to a new period of government. In other words, we define the period of government independently of whether it is shortened by the resignation or death of the head of the Executive or by a break in the constitutional order.

Below, and based on the information contained in the Minute Books and the definitions based above, we present a list of the Argentine rulers from 1862 to the present.

TABLE 1
ASSUMPTION OF ARGENTINE RULERS DATE, TIME, TITLE, AND MINUTES

PRESIDENT	ASSUMPTION DATE	TIME	TITLE	BOOK	PAGE
Bartolomé Mitre	OCT 15. 1862	12:00	President of the Republic of Argentina	1	1
Domingo Faustino Sarmiento	OCT 12. 1868	12:00	President of the Republic of Argentina	1	15-16
Nicolas Avellaneda	OCT 12. 1874	15:00	President of the Republic of Argentina	1	27-28
Julio Argentino Roca	OCT 13. 1880	it is not understood	President of the Republic	1	50
Miguel Juarez Celman	OCT 13. 1886	14:00	President of the Republic	1	63,64 y 65
Carlos Pellegrini	AUG 7. 1890	14:00	Vice-President of the Republic in exercise of executive power	1	78
Luis Saenz Peña	OCT 12. 1892	Not found	President of the Republic	1	53-54
José Evaristo Urriburu	JAN 23. 1895	Not found	President of the Republic	1	100
Julio A. Roca	OCT 13. 1898	Not found	President of the Republic	1	109
Manuel Quintana	OCT 13. 1904	Not found	President of the Republic	1	130
José Figueroa Alcorta	MAR 15.1906	17:00	President of the Republic of Argentina	1	133
Roque Saenz Peña	OCT 12. 1910	17:30	President of the Nation	1	151-152

PRESIDENT	ASSUMPTION DATE	TIME	TITLE	BOOK	PAGE
Victorino de la Plaza	FEB 18. 1914	16:00	Vice President of the Nation in exercise of the executive power	1	162-163
Hipólito Yrigoyen	OCT 12. 1916	18:00	President of the Nation	1	167
Marcelo Torcuato de Alvear	OCT 12. 1922	Not found	President of the Nation	1	176
Hipólito Yrigoyen	OCT 12. 1928	16:00	President of the Nation	1	191
José Félix Uriburu	SEP 8. 1930	16:00	President of the Provisional Government of the Nation	1	195-196
Agustin Pedro Justo	FEB 20. 1932	Not found	President of the Nation	1	200- 201
Roberto Marcelino Ortiz	FEB 20. 1938	17:00	President of the Nation	1	215- 216
Ramon S. Castillo	SEP 3. 1940	15:00	Vice President of the Nation in exercise of the executive power	1	224
Pedro Pablo Ramírez	JUN 7. 1943	Not found	President of the Provisional Government of Argentina	1	234-235
Edelmiro Farrel	FEB 28. 1944	11:00	Vice President of the Nation in exercise of the executive power	1	241
Juan Domingo Perón	JUN 4. 1946	15:10	President of the Nation	1	260
Juan Domingo Perón	JUN 4. 1952	16:00	President of the Nation	1	282
Eduardo Lonardi	SEP 23. 1955	13:00	Provisional President of the Government of the Nation	1	290
Pedro Eugenio Aramburu	NOV 14. 1955	17:00	Provisional President of the Government of the	1	308

PRESIDENT	ASSUMPTION DATE	TIME	TITLE	BOOK	PAGE
			Nation		
Arturo Frondizi	MAY 1. 1958	12:30	President of the Republic of Argentina	1	338-339
Jose Maria Guido	MAR 30. 1962	12:15	President of the Honorable Senate of the Nation, and in that act appointed President of the Nation	Book 2	17-18
Arturo Umberto Illia	OCT 12. 1963	13:00	President of Argentina	Book 2	70
REVOLUTIONARY BOARD (a)	JUN 28. 1966	11:00	They assume the government of the Nation integrating a revolutionary board	Book 2	85-86
Juan Carlos Onganía	JUN 29. 1966	11:15	President of the Nation	Book 2	87-88
Pedro Alberto José Gnavi	JUN 9. 1970	16:00	President of the Board of Commanders assuming the government of Argentina	Book 2	152-153
Roberto Marcelo Levingston	JUN 18. 1970	11:25	President of the Nation	Book 2	153-154
Alexander Augustine Lanusse	MAR 23. 1971	13:30	President of the Board of Commanders that resumes the political power and government of Argentina	Book 2	174-175
Hector Jose Campora	MAY 25. 1973	14:30	President of the Nation	Book 2	220
Raul Alberto Lastiri	JUL 13. 1973	22:30	President of the Honorable Chamber of Deputies of the Nation in the	Book 2	226-227

PRESIDENT	ASSUMPTION DATE	TIME	TITLE	BOOK	PAGE
			exercise of executive power		
Juan Domingo Perón	OCT 12. 1973	12:54	President of the Nation	Book 2	232
Maria Estela Martinez de Perón	JUL 1.1974	14:00	Vice President of the Nation in exercise of executive power and assumes in that act the position of president of the nation	Book 2	240 – 241
MILITARY BOARD (b)	MAR 24. 1976	not listed	They assume the government of the Republic of Argentina and take over the position of members of the Military Board	Book 2	270
Jorge Rafael Videla	MAR 29. 1976	not listed	President of Argentina	Book 2	271
Roberto Eduardo Viola	MAR 29. 1981	10:00	President of Argentina	Book 2	317
Carlos Alberto Lacoste	DEC 11. 1981	19:45	Minister of the Interior in the exercise of national executive power	Book 2	327
Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri	DEC 22. 1981	9:00	President of Argentina	Book 2	330
Alfredo Oscar Saint Jean	JUN 18. 1982	21:15	Minister of the Interior in the exercise of national executive power	Book 2	336
Reynaldo Benito Bignone	JUL 1. 1982	11:00	President of Argentina	Book 2	337
Raul Alfonsín	DEC 10.1983	11:55	President of the Nation	Book 2	352

PRESIDENT	ASSUMPTION DATE	TIME	TITLE	BOOK	PAGE
Carlos Saul Menem	JUL 8. 1989	14:10	President of the Nation	Book 3	93
Carlos Saul Menem	JUL 8. 1995	12:00	President of the Nation	Book 3	296
Fernando De La Rúa	DEC 10. 1999	11:40	President of the Nation	Book 4	110
Federico Ramon Puerta	DEC 21. 2001	13:35	Provisional President of the Senate of the nation in exercise of executive power	Book 4	196
Adolfo Rodriguez Saá	DEC 23. 2001	11:40	President of the Nation	Book 4	199
Eduardo Oscar Camaño	DEC 31. 2001	18:35	President of the Honorable Chamber of Deputies in exercise of the national executive power	Book 4	203
Eduardo Alberto Duhalde	JAN 2. 2002	12:05	President of the Nation	Book 4	208
Nestor Carlos Kirchner	MAY 25. 2003	15:00	President of the Nation	Book 4	260-261
Cristina Fernández de Kirchner	DEC 10. 2007	15:15	President of the Nation	Book 5	54
Cristina Fernández de Kirchner	DEC 10. 2011	18:10	President of the Nation	Book 5	256
Mauricio Macri	DEC 10. 2015	13:20	President of the Nation	Book 6	46

Source: Author's elaboration from the minutes contained in the Books of Acts of Oaths of the Members of the Government of Argentina.

- (a) The Revolutionary Board was composed of the commander-in-chief of the army, Lieutenant General Angel Pistarini; the commander of naval operations, Admiral Benigno Ignacio Varela and the commander-in-chief of the air force, Brigadier Major Alfonso Teodoro Alvarez Book 2, pages 85-86.
- (b) The Military Board was made up of the commander general of the army: Lieutenant General Rafael Videla; commander general of the navy: Admiral Emilio Massera and commander general of the air force: Brigadier General Ramón Agosti. Book 2 page 270.

ANALYSIS

The information contained in Table 1, date, time and title, corresponds faithfully to that contained in the Proceedings. A first reading already shows us that some relevant information is not found, for

example, the time of the inauguration of several rulers. At the same time, since the minutes are always after the swearing-in ceremony before the Legislative Assembly, in the case of constitutional rulers, it makes no sense to use the exact time to determine the period of government and we will have to be content with establishing the periods in days, which also entails some inconveniences. The main one is that we will necessarily count the days of change of government twice, for the period that concludes and for the one that begins. In this case, another criterion could be arbitrarily defined, but we find it more parsimonious to tie ourselves to the information available, even at the cost of this problem.

We can then establish the duration, in days, of the various governments in our country.

TABLE 2
DATE OF ASSUMPTION, TERMINATION AND DURATION IN DAYS OF
ARGENTINA GOVERNMENTS

PRESIDENT	ASSUMPTION DATE	DISMISSAL DATE	DURATION (IN DAYS)
Bartolomé Mitre	OCT 15. 1862	OCT 12. 1868	2191
Domingo Faustino Sarmiento	OCT 12. 1868	OCT 12. 1874	2191
Nicolas Avellaneda	OCT 12. 1874	OCT 13. 1880	2194
Julio Argentino Roca	OCT 13. 1880	OCT 13. 1886	2192
Miguel Juarez Celman	OCT 13. 1886	AUG 7. 1890	1395
Carlos Pellegrini	AUG 7. 1890	OCT 13. 1892	799
Luis Saenz Peña	OCT 12. 1892	JAN 23. 1895	833
José Evaristo Uriburu	JAN 23. 1895	OCT 13. 1898	1360
Julio Argentino Roca	OCT 13. 1898	OCT 13. 1904	2192
Manuel Quintana	OCT 13. 1904	MAR 15. 1906	519
José Figueroa Alcorta	MAR 15.1906	OCT 12. 1910	1673
Roque Saenz Peña	OCT 12. 1910	FEB 18. 1914	1226
Victorino de la Plaza	FEB 18. 1914	OCT 12. 1916	968
Hipólito Yrigoyen	OCT 12. 1916	OCT 12. 1922	2192
Marcelo Torcuato Alvear	OCT 12. 1922	OCT 12. 1928	2193
Hipólito Yrigoyen	OCT 12. 1928	SEP 8- 1930	697
José Félix Uriburu	SEP 8. 1930	FEB 20. 1932	531
Agustin Pedro Justo	FEB 20. 1932	FEB 20. 1938	2193
Roberto Marcelino Ortiz	FEB 20. 1938	SEP 3. 1940	927
Ramon S. Castillo	SEP 3. 1940	JUN 7. 1943	1008

PRESIDENT	ASSUMPTION DATE	DISMISSAL DATE	DURATION (IN DAYS)
Pedro Pablo Ramírez	JUN 7. 1943	FEB 28. 1944	267
Edelmiro Julian Farrel	FEB 28. 1944	JUN 4. 1946	828
Juan Domingo Perón	JUN 4. 1946	JUN 4. 1952	2193
Juan Domingo Perón	JUN 4. 1952	SEP 23. 1955	1207
Eduardo Lonardi	SEP 23. 1955	NOV 14. 1955	53
Pedro Eugenio Aramburu	NOV 14. 1955	MAY 1. 1958	900
Arturo Frondizi	MAY 1. 1958	MAR 30. 1962	1430
Jose Maria Guido	MAR 30. 1962	OCT 12. 1963	562
Arturo Umberto Illia	OCT 12. 1963	JUN 28. 1966	991
REVOLUTIONARY MEETING	JUN 28. 1966	JUN 29. 1966	2
Juan Carlos Onganía	JUN 29. 1966	JUN 9. 1970	1442
Pedro Alberto José Gnavi	JUN 9. 1970	JUN 18. 1970	10
Robert Levingston	JUN 18. 1970	MAR 23. 1971	279
Alexander Augustine Lanusse	MAR 23. 1971	MAY 25. 1973	795
Hector Jose Campora	MAY 25. 1973	JUL 13. 1973	50
Raul Alberto Lastiri	JUL 13. 1973	OCT 12. 1973	92
Juan Domingo Perón	OCT 12. 1973	JUL 1. 1974	263
Maria Estela Martinez de Peron	JUL 1. 1974	MAR 24. 1976	633
MILITARY BOARD	MAR 24. 1976	MAR 29. 1976	6
Jorge Rafael Videla	MAR 29. 1976	MAR 29. 1981	1827
Roberto Eduardo Viola	MAR 29. 1981	DEC 11. 1981	258
Carlos Alberto Lacoste	DEC 11. 1981	DEC 22. 1981	12
Leopoldo Galtieri	DEC 22. 1981	JUN 18. 1982	179
Alfredo Saint Jean	JUN 18. 1982	JUL 1. 1982	14
Reynaldo Benito Bignone	JUL 1. 1982	DEC 10. 1983	528
Raul Alfonsín	DEC 10. 1983	JUL 8. 1989	2038
Carlos Saul Menem	JUL 8. 1989	JUL 8. 1995	2192
Carlos Saul Menem	JUL 8. 1995	DEC 10. 1999	1617

PRESIDENT	ASSUMPTION DATE	DISMISSAL DATE	DURATION (IN DAYS)
Fernando De La Rúa	DEC 10. 1999	DEC 21. 2001	743
Federico Ramon Puerta	DEC 21. 2001	DEC 23. 2001	3
Adolfo Rodriguez Saá	DEC 23. 2001	DEC 31. 2001	9
Eduardo Oscar Camaño	DEC 31. 2001	JAN 2. 2002	3
Eduardo Alberto Duhalde	JAN 2. 2002	MAY 25. 2003	509
Nestor Carlos Kirchner	MAY 25. 2003	DEC 10. 2007	1661
Cristina Fernández de Kirchner	DEC 10. 2007	DEC 10. 2011	1462
Cristina Fernández de Kirchner	DEC 10. 2011	DEC 9. 2015 (1)	1461
Mauricio Macri	DEC 10. 2015	MAR 1. 2018	1462

Source: Own elaboration based on the minutes contained in the Books of Acts of Oaths of the Members of the Government of Argentina.

1. On December 9, 2015, the Federal Judge with electoral competence María Servini de Cubria, as a result of an action initiated by the Cambiemos alliance, issued a declaratory sentence that established the end time of the mandate of the, by that time, President Fernández de Kirchner at midnight on December 9 and the beginning of Macri's mandate at 0:00 am on December 10. But since Macri could not take office until he had been sworn in before the Legislative Assembly, which would happen at noon that day, the head of state would be Federico Pinedo, provisional president of the Senate under the Acephalus Law. As a consequence of this fact, for the first time in a long time someone was in charge of the executive power without appearing in the Books of Acts of Oaths of the Members of the Government of Argentina of the General Notary's Office of the Government of the Nation.

This way we can now establish who have been the individuals, or groups as we explained previously, that have governed our country.

In turn, in the information contained in Table 1 we can see that 32 governors are given the title of President (22 Presidents of the Nation and 10 Presidents of the Republic) to 4 as Provisional Presidents "in charge of the Executive Branch, Another 11 receive the title of "in office" or "in charge" of the Executive Branch (5 vice presidents exercising executive power, 2 presidents of the Senate, 2 presidents of the Chamber of Deputies, 2 ministers of the interior), 2 presidents of the board of commanders who assume the government of the Nation and finally the two "Boards" that assume the government of the Nation as a group.

However, as we know, and we expressly mentioned from the beginning of this article, the governments we are analysing have been of a very diverse nature. Some of them were clearly constitutional and democratic,⁸ others were the result of deep alterations of the electoral procedure and⁹ the remaining ones directly "de facto"¹⁰ or dictatorial, breaking with the constitutional order and the rule of law.

It is important to clarify that the definition of the type of government we use is restricted to the legality and legitimacy "of origin" (Weffort, 1988; López Hernández, 2009) of each of the governments without entering into the analysis of the legitimacy and legality "of exercise" (Rouquié, 1981) which is obviously equally relevant, but escapes the purposes of this paper.

In this article we understand governments and their incumbents as democratic when their incumbents reach office through the precise fulfillment of the rules and procedures that the National Constitution and laws established at that time. In turn, we define as semi-democratic or restricted democracies those

governments whose incumbents reach that position through procedures that violate some important point of the regulations of the time. Finally, we call *de facto*, or dictatorial, those who reach office through direct violation and explicit denial of established institutional procedures.

Therefore, the main distinction will be between constitutional and non-constitutional governments and, secondly, within the constitutional ones we will separate those who acceded to the office in strict respect of institutional procedures from those who did not. In this last subtype, which we call semi-democratic or restricted democracy, there are those governments prior to the reforms of Sáenz Peña¹¹ that formally respected all institutionality, but in practice departed from it, with the governments after the 1930 coup d'état that acceded to office explicitly violating institutionality by outlawing any candidate or political party. In this way we use the traditional classification in political science (De Luca, 2010) which distinguishes between competitive systems, for this article "democratic", from semi-competitive, "semi-democratic" for us and from non-competitive, "dictatorial" in our case to facilitate the comparative use of our data.¹²

In the same way that we did with the nature of governments, we can move forward with the classification of governors according to their institutional party background. In this case, the grouping is simple for most cases, that is, those who come from and were part of the Radical Civic Union, the Justicialist Party and the dictators, who we grouped under the label Armed Forces. It remains to classify those rulers who acceded to their positions until 1916 in what literature understands as the "conservative order" (Botana, 1977: 71-77), those who did so in the years of the so-called conservative restoration" between 1932 and 1943 (Serrafero, 1999: 124-125) and finally the current government.

Based on Molinelli's, Palanza's and Sin's (1999:553-554) list, Botana's (1977:349) "scheme of political groups 1854-1910" and other works¹³ we can group these rulers under the label of Liberal, Conservative and similar parties so as not to force the category and at the same time generate a classification that is useful and comparable. It is necessary to clarify that this category is not based on the type of public policies applied, let us remember that we only analyze the origin of each government, but in the institutional party memberships in the sense of "families" or groups of parties identified by Von Beyme (1986:35-186).

In Table 3, using the above definitions, we provide information on the nature of the governments and the institutional origin of the supporters of the rulers.

TABLE 3
NATURE OF THE GOVERNMENT AND ORIGIN OF THE RULER

PRESIDENT	INSTITUTIONAL NATURE OF GOVERNMENT	INSTITUTIONAL ORIGIN OF THE PARTY
Bartolomé Mitre	Semidemocratic	Conservative, liberal or similar
Domingo Faustino Sarmiento	Semidemocratic	Conservative, liberal or similar
Nicolas Avellaneda	Semidemocratic	Conservative, liberal or similar
Julio Argentino Roca	Semidemocratic	Conservative, liberal or similar
Miguel Juárez Celman	Semidemocratic	Conservative, liberal or similar
Carlos Pellegrini	Semidemocratic	Conservative, liberal or similar
Luis Saenz Peña	Semidemocratic	Conservative, liberal or similar
José Evaristo Urriburu	Semidemocratic	Conservative, liberal or similar

PRESIDENT	INSTITUTIONAL NATURE OF GOVERNMENT	INSTITUTIONAL ORIGIN OF THE PARTY
Julio Argentino Roca	Semidemocratic	Conservative, liberal or similar
Manuel Quintana	Semidemocratic	Conservative, liberal or similar
José Figueroa Alcorta	Semidemocratic	Conservative, liberal or similar
Roque Saenz Peña	Semidemocratic	Conservative, liberal or similar
Victorino de la Plaza	Semidemocratic	Conservative, liberal or similar
Hipólito Yrigoyen	Democratic	Radical Civic Union
Marcelo Torcuato Alvear	Democratic	Radical Civic Union
Hipólito Yrigoyen	Democratic	Radical Civic Union
José Félix Uriburu	Dictatorial	Armed Forces
Agustin Pedro Justo	Semidemocratic	Conservative, liberal or similar
Roberto Marcelino Ortiz	Semidemocratic	Conservative, liberal or similar (1)
Ramon S. Castillo	Semidemocratic	Conservative, liberal or similar
Pedro Pablo Ramírez	Dictatorial	Armed Forces
Edelmiro Julian Farrel	Dictatorial	Armed Forces
Juan Domingo Perón	Democratic	Justicialist Party
Juan Domingo Perón	Democratic	Justicialist Party
Eduardo Lonardi	Dictatorial	Armed Forces
Pedro Eugenio Aramburu	Dictatorial	Armed Forces
Arturo Frondizi	Semidemocratic	Radical Civic Union
Jose Maria Guido	Dictatorial	Radical Civic Union
Arturo Umberto Illia	Semidemocratic	Radical Civic Union
REVOLUTIONARY MEETING	Dictatorial	Armed Forces
Juan Carlos Onganía	Dictatorial	Armed Forces
Pedro Alberto José Gnani	Dictatorial	Armed Forces

PRESIDENT	INSTITUTIONAL NATURE OF GOVERNMENT	INSTITUTIONAL ORIGIN OF THE PARTY
Robert Levingston	Dictatorial	Armed Forces
Alexander Augustine Lanusse	Dictatorial	Armed Forces
Hector Jose Campora	Democratic (2)	Justicialist Party
Raul Alberto Lastiri	Democratic	Justicialist Party
Juan Domingo Perón	Democratic	Justicialist Party
Maria Estela Martinez de Peron	Democratic	Justicialist Party
MILITARY BOARD	Dictatorial	Armed Forces
Jorge Rafael Videla	Dictatorial	Armed Forces
Roberto Eduardo Viola	Dictatorial	Armed Forces
Carlos Alberto Lacoste	Dictatorial	Armed Forces
Leopoldo Galtieri	Dictatorial	Armed Forces
Alfred Saint Jean	Dictatorial	Armed Forces
Reynaldo Benito Bignone	Dictatorial	Armed Forces
Raul Alfonsín	Democratic	Radical Civic Union
Carlos Saul Menem	Democratic	Justicialist Party
Carlos Saul Menem	Democratic	Justicialist Party
Fernando De La Rúa	Democratic	Radical Civic Union
Federico Ramon Puerta	Democratic	Justicialist Party
Adolfo Rodriguez Saá	Democratic	Justicialist Party
Eduardo Oscar Camaño	Democratic	Justicialist Party
Eduardo Alberto Duhalde	Democratic	Justicialist Party
Nestor Carlos Kirchner	Democratic	Justicialist Party
Cristina Fernández de Kirchner	Democratic	Justicialist Party
Cristina Fernández de Kirchner	Democratic	Justicialist Party

PRESIDENT	INSTITUTIONAL NATURE OF GOVERNMENT	INSTITUTIONAL ORIGIN OF THE PARTY
Mauricio Macri	Democratic	Conservative, liberal or similar

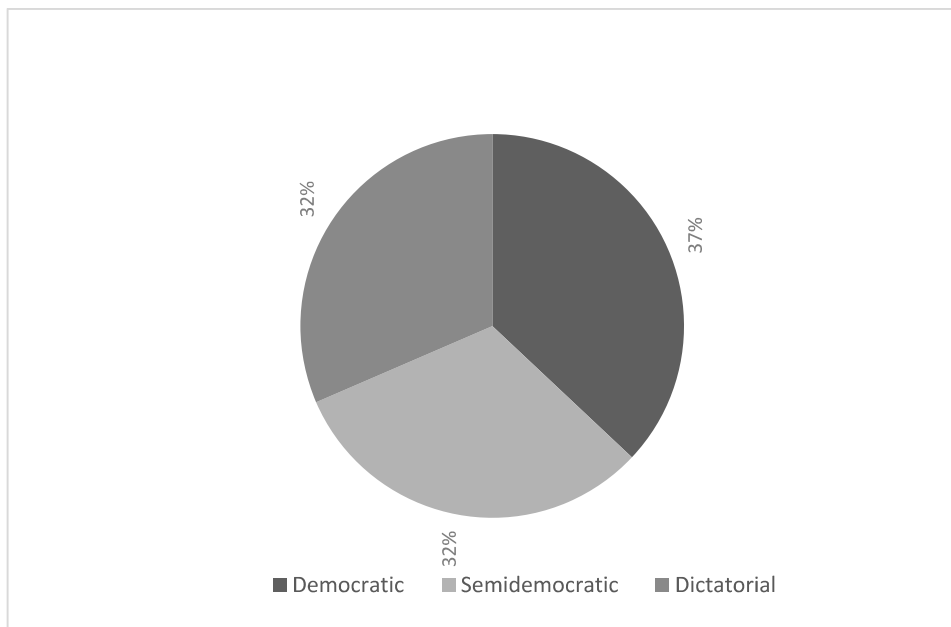
Source: Author's elaboration from the minutes contained in the Books of Acts of Oaths of the Members of the Government of Argentina.

- (1) Although Roberto M. Ortiz had been a member of the UCR, he broke with that party in 1925 founding the "Anti-Personalist" UCR, he supported the military coup that overthrew Yrigoyen, was part of Justo's government (Concordancia) and faced as a candidate Alvear, official postulant of the UCR.
- (2) Although the elections of March 11, 1973 that made C ampora president were considered institutionally correct, the truth is that his own candidacy was due to an arbitrary regulation established by Lanusse's dictatorship in order to prevent Per on's candidacy. That rule established a period of one month for all candidates to establish their domicile in Argentina (as of August 27, 1972). Because Per on had been in exile since 1955, he was prevented from running for office.

RESULTS

The first result we obtained is that in our political history we have had 57 governments¹⁴ and 51 rulers, since 5 have been so on more than one occasion.¹⁵ Of these governments, 21 (37%) have been democratic governments, 18 (32%) have been semi-democratic and 18 have been dictatorial. Thus, the total number of constitutional governments (39) exceeds the de facto ones (18).

**FIGURE 1
GOVERNMENT TYPE DISTRIBUTION**

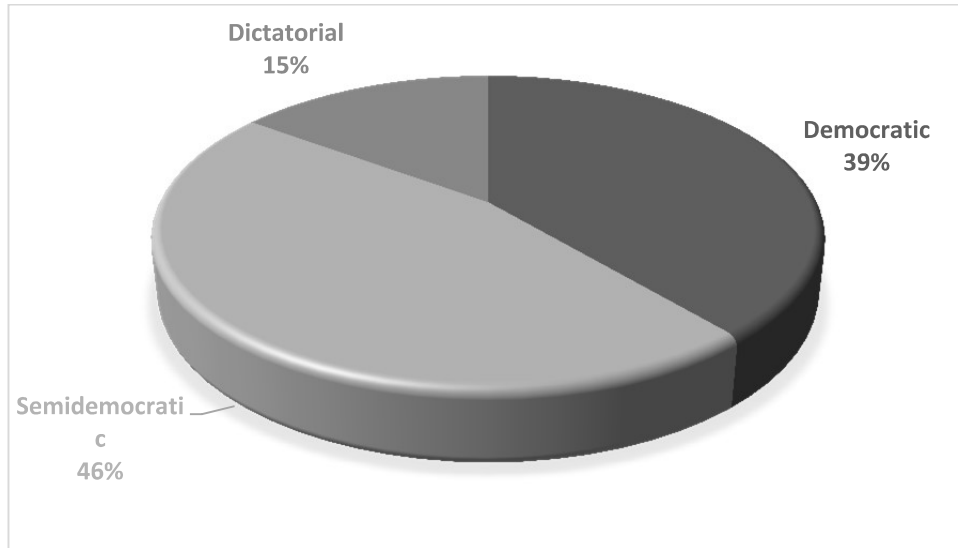


Source: Author's elaboration from the minutes contained in the Books of Acts of Oaths of the Members of the Government of Argentina.

The relative parity we observe in the number of governments of the three types disappears when we analyze the time that each of them has governed. Thus, we observe that semi-democratic governments have governed 26,282 days (72 years), that is, 46.3% of the period, exceeding the 22,031 days (60.4

years) of democratic governments, 38.8%, and 8,493 days (23.3 years), 14.9%, of dictatorial governments.

FIGURE 2
DURATION IN DAYS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF GOVERNMENT

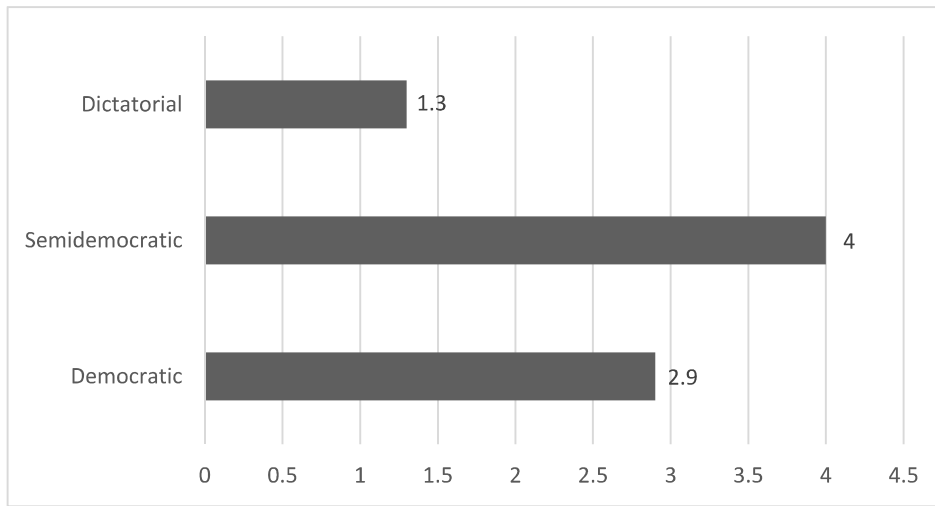


Source: Author's elaboration from the minutes contained in the Books of Acts of Oaths of the Members of the Government of Argentina.

An interesting conclusion is that constitutional governments far outnumber de facto governments by almost 85 to 15 per cent.

A second conclusion is that the relative stability of each type of government is clearly different, the greatest being that of semi-democracies, which with 32% of governments have governed 46% of the time. Conversely, dictatorial governments with the same number of governments have governed 15%, with democratic governments in the middle. Thus the average duration of semi-democratic governments is 1460 days (4 years), that of democratic governments 1049 days (2.9 years) and that of dictatorial governments 472 days (1.3 years).

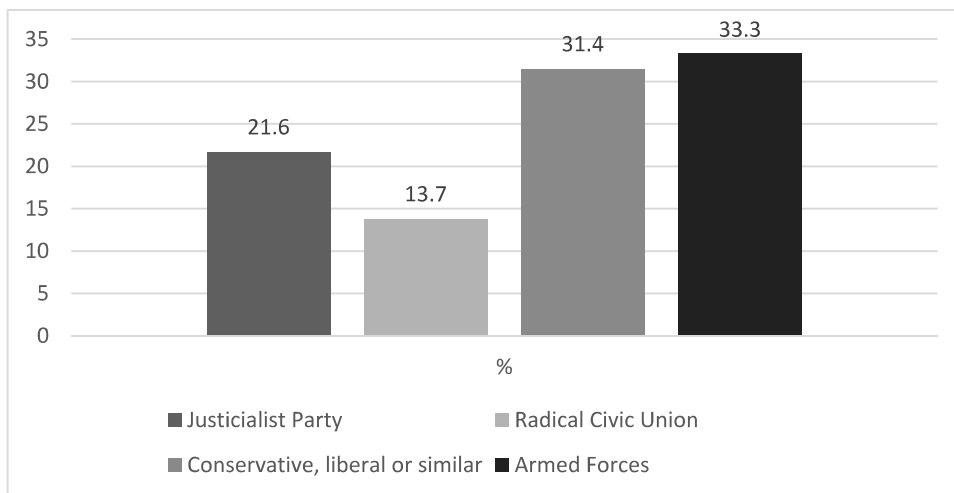
FIGURE 3
AVERAGE DURATION IN YEARS BY TYPE OF GOVERNMENT



Source: Author's elaboration from the minutes contained in the Books of Acts of Oaths of the Members of the Government of Argentina.

Regarding the institutional party membership of the 51 rulers, we can say that 11 (21.6%) have been members of the Justicialist Party, 7 (13.7%) have been members of the Radical Civic Union, 16 (31.4%) have been rulers that we group in the category of conservative, liberal or similar parties and finally 17 (33.3%) have been members of the Armed Forces.

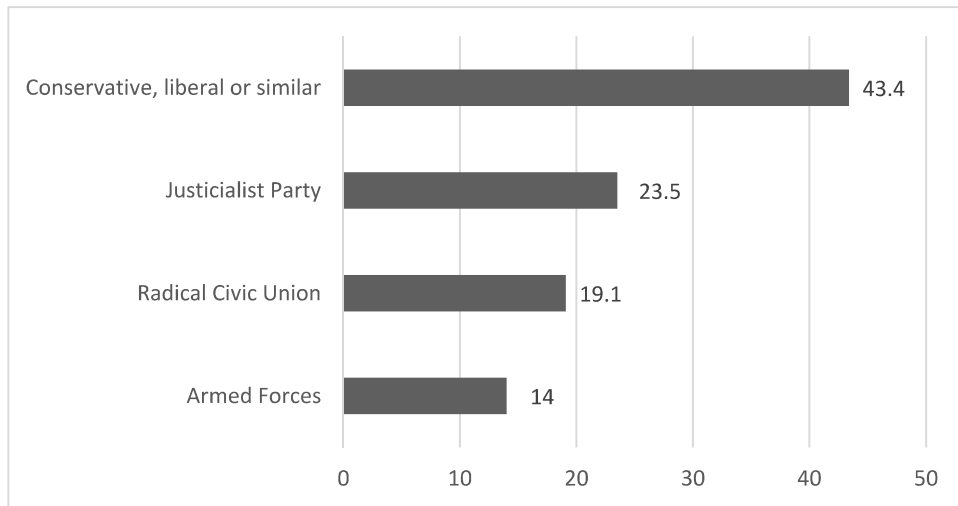
FIGURE 4
INSTITUTIONAL OWNERSHIP BY RULERS



Source: Author's elaboration from the minutes contained in the Books of Acts of Oaths of the Members of the Government of Argentina.

As for the time governed by each group, the Peronists have done so for 13,355 days, 36.6 years, which represents 23.5% of the time. The radicals 10,846 days - 29.7 years, representing 19.1% of the time - the conservatives, liberals and similar 24,674 days - 67.6 years, representing 43.4% of the time, and those belonging to the Armed Forces 7,931 days - 23.3 years, representing 14% of the time. This can be seen in Graph 6.

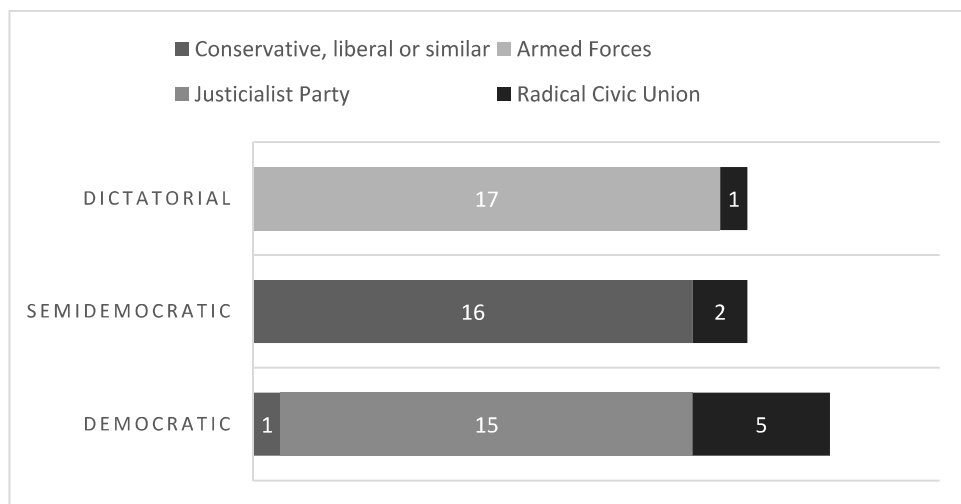
FIGURE 5
PERCENTAGE OF TIME IN GOVERNMENT TO PARTY INSTITUTIONAL ORIGIN



Source: Author's elaboration from the minutes contained in the Books of Acts of Oaths of the Members of the Government of Argentina.

An interesting result is obtained with the analysis of the crossing of the two variables under study, type of government and membership of the ruler. As can be seen in figure 7, while the Peronists and the Armed Forces have occupied the government in only one type of regime, those coming from conservative, liberal and similar parties have done so in two and only the radicals have governed in the three types of regime, democracies, semi-democracies and dictatorships, which we have defined,

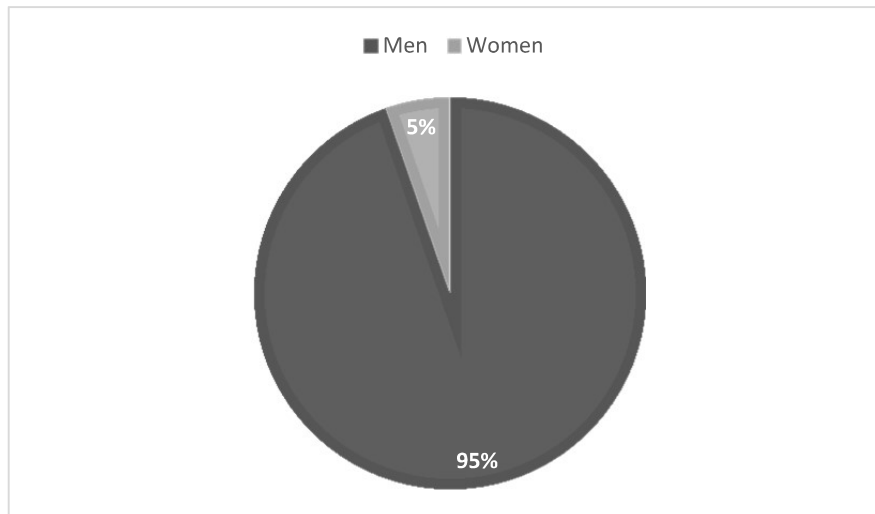
FIGURE 6
TYPE OF GOVERNMENT ACCORDING TO PARTY INSTITUTIONAL ORIGIN



Source: Author's elaboration from the minutes contained in the Books of Acts of Oaths of the Members of the Government of Argentina.

Finally, as far as the gender of the rulers is concerned, the primacy of men is absolute (94.7% of governments and 93.7% of the time). Women rulers have only been 2 (5.3% of the governments and 6.3% of the time) both in democratic and Justicialist Party governments.

FIGURE 7
DISTRIBUTION OF GOVERNMENTS BY GENDER



Source: Author's elaboration from the minutes contained in the Books of Acts of Oaths of the Members of the Government of Argentina.

CONCLUSIONS

The information contained in the Minute Books and presented in this article allows us a first analysis with objective bases of the governments that our country has had and of the different people that occupied that first magistracy, constituting a base for later developments.

The classifications that we present, both of the type of governments and of the institutional affiliation of the rulers, although they are debatable using the same information that we present, bring us closer to a view of our institutional history that is different from that which is generally held. In other words, although the institutional ruptures and their effects are notorious -which have especially characterized the years of the last century- these are only a part of a longer history in which the governments that we can properly characterize as military dictatorships only occupy 15% of the total period. This does not mean denying the enormous damage that these governments have done with consequences known to all, in terms even of human lives and state terrorism, but it does allow us to shed light on the remaining 85% of our institutional life that is often lost behind the dictatorial horror.

Likewise, the information on the type of regime allows us to trace a very simple periodization of our history. From 1862 to the Urriburu coup d'état we have a period of institutional stability that is characterized by the succession of 13 semi-democratic governments followed, after the opening of the political regime, by 3 democratic governments. In 1930, a period of institutional instability began, which ended with the assumption of Alfonsín's government in 1983, in which 29 governments succeeded each other (6 democratic, 5 semi-democratic, 18 dictatorial). And, finally, from then until now, a new period of clear institutional stability begins, this purely democratic one, with 12 such governments.

Finally, another conclusion that we reached is that the seemingly endless discussion on how to name our rulers, whether they are presidents or not, can be resolved by leaving the title of president only to those who have reached the position in a constitutional and definitive manner. We can call provisional presidents those who have been temporarily "in charge" of the Executive Branch according to the Constitution and the laws. Simply calling as dictators those who have governed by breaking the constitutional order.

We know that this is only a first work with these data for which we again thank Carlos D'Alessio, General Notary of the Government of the Nation, for his predisposition and generosity and we trust that with his discussion and debate we can continue to advance in the systematic understanding of our political

history. It is also important to highlight our enormous debt to Professor Mario Serrafiero. At the moment of concluding the work we received the regrettable news of his death. We discussed with him on several occasions the central arguments of the article, especially the typology of governments and the classification of rulers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author thanks and highlights the generosity of Carlos D'Alessio, General Notary Public of the Government of the Nation who kindly provided us with copies of all the minutes contained in the six Books of Oaths of the Members of the Government of the Nation of Argentina of the General Notary Public of the Government of the Nation. To him we owe the possibility of having been able to carry out this work. We are grateful for the valuable contributions and comments of Andrea Ariza, Ernesto Calvo, Gerardo Scherlis and Mario Serrafiero. The analysis and systematization of the information in the minutes was made possible by the collaboration of Andrea Ariza, Laura Eberhardt, Pablo Garibaldi and Matias Triguboff. The results of this analysis were used and partially presented in Abal Medina (2018).

ORCID iD

Juan Manuel Abal Medina <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4105-2195>

ENDNOTES

1. Article 88 of the National Constitution states that "In the event of illness, absence from the Capital, death, resignation or removal from office of the President, the Executive Power shall be exercised by the Vice President of the Nation. In case of dismissal, death, resignation, or incapacity of the President and Vice President of the Nation, Congress shall determine which public official shall hold the Presidency, until the cause of the incapacity has ceased or a new President is elected".
2. The first law of acephalia is 252 and was sanctioned on September 19, 1868 during the presidency of Bartholomew Mitre. This law established that, in the absence of the president and vice-president, the provisional president of the Senate would provisionally take over, in the absence of the latter the president of the Chamber of Deputies, and in the absence of the latter the president of the Supreme Court, with the addition of "in exercise of executive power" and they would have to call for elections within 30 days. Law 252 was amended by Law 20,972 of July 11, 1975 during the presidency of Isabel Perón and by Law 25,716 of November 28, 2002 during the presidency of Eduardo Duhalde, maintaining the order of succession but replacing the call for elections by the session of the Legislative Assembly within the following 48 hours. The Legislative Assembly will elect by absolute majority the new president who will complete the constitutional mandate and who must, at the time of his election, be serving "one of the following popularly elected mandates: National Senator, National Deputy or Provincial Governor" and meet the requirements established by the Constitution to occupy the presidency.
3. The analysis then begins in 1862 as it is the beginning of the Proceedings that are our main source. In turn, specialized literature in our country usually uses that same date since, although we can agree that there is a National State since 1853/54, the constitutional framework of 1853 suffered important changes in 1860 as a result of the dispute between Buenos Aires and the rest of the provinces (Molinelli, Palanza and Sin, 1999:22; Oszlak, 1982).
4. The Proceedings also contain a great deal of other information of great academic interest, especially the appointments of public officials holding cabinet positions. Precisely the first of these minutes, that of October 15, 1862, contains the appointment and swearing in of the "Ministers Secretaries of State" of then President Mitre.
5. Person or group of persons as will be explained later.
6. In the literature, non-constitutional rulers are often referred to as "de facto presidents", following the expression that integrates the doctrine of de facto governments created by the Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation in 1930 to provide legality to the dictatorial government of José Félix Uriburu that emerged from the coup d'état of that year.

7. As established in Article 87 of our National Constitution, and as one of the characteristics of the presidential institutional design in force since the 1853 National Assembly, almost all governments have been single-person governments. This has been the norm not only in constitutional governments but also in de facto ones with only the two exceptions mentioned above.
8. We understand constitutionally and democratically elected governments to be those that occupied the position strictly in accordance with the existing regulations at each historical moment, whether as elected presidents or those who replaced them, either temporarily or permanently.
9. These alterations to the institutional procedures established by the National Constitution and the laws ranged from the proscription of any candidate or political party to the use of the various fraud practices that characterized the Argentine electoral system prior to Saenz Peña's reforms and which were repeated between 1931 and 1943.
10. This list includes rulers who headed dictatorships using the title "president", but who, unlike constitutional presidents, held the sum of public power or, in any case, "shared" it with other non-constitutional institutions such as the "Revolutionary Board (Junta Revolucionaria)" of 1963 and the "Military Board (Junta Militar)" of 1976, which according to the minutes were the ones who appointed them and could remove them from their posts as recorded in the Minutes. Non-constitutional rulers are often referred to as "de facto presidents", following the expression that integrates the doctrine of de facto governments created by the Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation in 1930 to provide legality to the dictatorial government of José Félix Uriburu that emerged from the coup d'état of that year.
11. During the presidency of Roque Saenz Peña, a set of laws were approved that reformed the entire electoral system, guaranteeing free and competitive elections that define a regime as democratic. The most remembered is Law 8,871, the General Elections Law, commonly known as the Saenz Peña Law. This norm was accompanied by others previously sanctioned no less important and essential for its full functioning: the Laws of Enrolment (Law 8,129) and of Electoral Roll (Law 8,130).
12. We are aware that different things coexist in this category of semi-democratic governments and not only among governments before or after 1916. As several historians have pointed out (Paula Alonso 2006, Martín Castro 2012 and Lilia Bertoni and Luciano De Privitellio (2009) for example) in their works on the period 1890-1916 in those years we can observe a growing vitality of political competition and a greater graduality towards the change implied by the Sáenz Peña Law than what was generally believed.
13. Especially Hardoy (1993), Vanossi (1982) and Vommaro, Morresi and Bellotti (2015).
14. As we explained above, this calculation is made from 1862 when the Books of Acts began to be made and following most of the specialized literature, but we are aware that to this list could be added the governments of Justo José de Urquiza (1854-1860) and Santiago Derqui (1860-1861) and perhaps also that of Mitre (1861-1862) as de facto ruler after his victory in the battle of Pavón as Governor of Buenos Aires in charge of the National Executive.
15. Perón governed three periods while Roca, Yrigoyen, Menem and Fernández de Kirchner governed two.

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