


# The Politics of Impeachment and the Latin American New Instability

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Presidential  
Impeachments  
and  
Depositions

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1992: Fernando Collor de Mello, Brazil

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1993: Carlos Andrés Pérez, Venezuela

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1997: Abdalá Bucaran, Ecuador

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1999: Raul Cubas Grau, Paraguay

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2000: Jamil Muhad, Ecuador

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2005: Lucio Gutierrez, Ecuador

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# Presidential Impeachment and the New Political Instability in Latin America

Arturo Escobar-Lladro

## PRESIDENTIAL BREAKDOWNS IN LATIN AMERICA

Causes and Outcomes of Executive  
Instability in Developing Democracies

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## INSTITUTIONS ON THE EDGE

The Origins and Consequences of  
Inter-Branch Crises in Latin America



GRETCHEN HELMKE

# COLD WAR INSTABILITY

COUNTRY	Pres	Sucessor	Prov_civ	Prov_mil	Military	Dictator_c	TOTAL
Argentina	54,5	0,6	3,5	2,4	39,0		16119
Bolivia	58,9	3,5		7,1	30,5		16155
Brazil	42,6	9,0			46,7	1,6	16372
Chile	62,9	0,2			36,9		16308
Colombia	88,6				11,4		16527
Costa Rica	96,6	0,1		3,3			16426
Dominican Republic	58,2	0,0		3,5	5,6	32,6	17988
Ecuador	69,5	5,7	1,1	0,1	23,6		16783
El Salvador	11,3		4,7		83,9		16094
Guatemala	76,6		0,0		23,4		16731
Honduras	21,8		13,3		64,9		15905
Mexico	0,0					100,0	15914
Nicaragua	11,8					88,2	16423
Panama	40,6	6,5			53,0		17759
Paraguay	0,0				100,0		19458
Peru	54,7			2,3	43,1		16510
Uruguay	73,9				26,1		16358
Venezuela	76,6				23,4		15967
TOTAL	49,6	1,4	1,2	1,0	34,5	12,2	299797

# THE NEW INSTABILITY

COUNTRY	Aut	Elected	1st Suc	2nd Suc	3rd Suc	4th Suc	Total
Argentina		94,3	0,1	0,0	1,1	4,5	12543
Bolivia		93,4	5,4	1,2			19088
Brazil		86,1	13,9				12658
Chile		100,0					12300
Colombia		100,0					12150
Costa Rica		100,0					12241
Dominican Republic		100,0					12263
Ecuador		80,4	14,9	4,6			11707
El Salvador		100,0					15170
Guatemala		98,9	1,1				11988
Honduras		98,3	1,7				12341
Mexico		100,0					8387
Nicaragua	35,34	64,7					12258
Panama		100,0					12109
Paraguay		78,1	21,9				9221
Peru	27,96	59,1	10,8		2,1		12159
Uruguay		100,0					12777
Venezuela	48,08	49,9	0,1	1,9			12501
TOTAL	6,14	89,3	3,7	0,5	0,2	0,3	223861



## LATIN AMERICA NEW INSTABILITY BASIC FACTS

- 136 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS UNDER DEMOCRACY
- 118 PRESIDENTS COMPLETED THEIR TERMS
- 3 CLEAR CASES OF IMPEACHMENT
  - 1 IMPEACHMENT/COUP (PARAGUAY)
  - 6 HARD TO DEFINE (PERU, ECUADOR)
  - 4 RESIGNATIONS (ARGENTINA, BOLIVIA (2), GUATEMALA)
  - 6 COUPS
- NO SUSPENSION OF THE ELECTORAL CALENDAR
- 2476/2516 COUNTRY\*YEARS UNDER DEMOCRACY (98.4%)



## Impeachment as the outcome of inter-branch conflict

- The bottom line is that contemporary presidential crises are fueled not by presidentialism per se, but by a certain mix of institutional and partisan features that precludes effective inter-branch bargaining.

- Institutions on the Edge.
- *The Origins and Consequences of Inter-Branch Crises in Latin America.*
- Gretchen Helmke, 217

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### Introduction

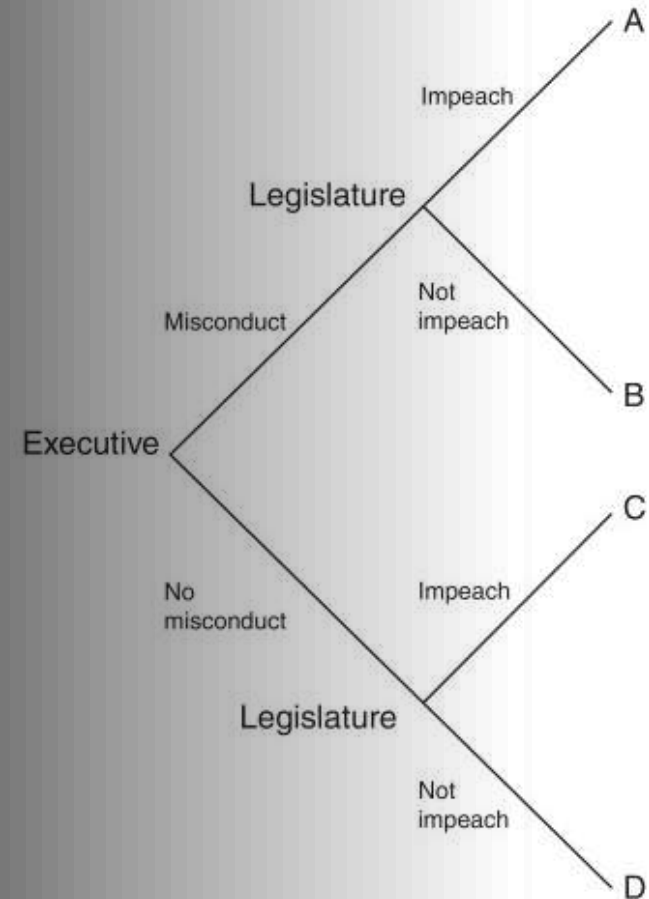


FIGURE 1.1: The impeachment game.