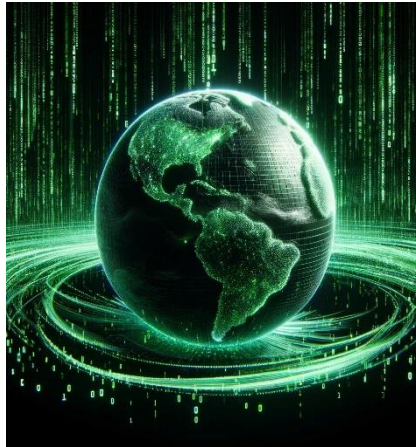


# **Varieties of Political Regimes (Va-PoReg)**



## **Country Reports A-G**

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## Overview

The following country reports are part of the Va-PoReg supplementary materials. We provide these materials to transparently trace how we have classified political regimes between 1900 and the present. For details on regime classification, please consult the codebook. The countries and territories covered by the dataset are listed in alphabetical order in the document. In each case, the history of political regimes in the named territory from 1900 to the most recent cut-off date (currently 07/01/2024) is listed. The description begins in each case with an entry starting 01/01/1900. This is followed in each case by the regime type at that time. The time at which this regime began is indicated in square brackets behind it. All following entries indicate the end of a regime and the start of a new regime. The entries conclude with a note indicating which regime was continued at the last cut-off date, specifically 07/01/2024. Please note that regime periods that begins after 07/01 of year x and end before 07/01 of the following year appear in the following regime narratives but not in the country-year dataset. If the regime type is mentioned in brackets after the protectorate, this always refers to the country that is a protectorate. If after colony a regime type is mentioned in brackets, this always refers to the colonizing country.

## Acronyms for datasets used in the following regime narratives:

AF	Anckar and Fredriksson (2020, Political Regimes of the World Dataset, v.2.0) Regimes of the World Dataset, v.2.0
BMR	Boix, Miller, and Rosato
BR	Bjørnskov and Rode (2019)
CGV	Cheibub, Gandhi, and Vreeland
FH	Freedom House
GWF	Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2018)
LIED	Lexical Index of Electoral Democracy, dataset v6.4 (2022)
MCM	Magaloni, Chu, and Min (2013, Autocracies of the world)
REIGN	Rulers, Elections and Irregular Governance Dataset
RoW	Regimes of the World

## Other abbreviations

EU	European Union
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
USA	United States of America

**Abyssinia** see Ethiopia

## **Afghanistan**

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 05/31/1880]: From 1747 on Afghanistan was a sovereign state.<sup>1</sup> On 05/26/1879 the Afghani rulers signed the Peace of Gandamak Treaty by which Afghanistan became a protectorate of Great Britain (Willoughby/Fenwick 1974). On 05/31/1880 the monarchy was founded by Abdur Rahman who accepted British tutelage after defeating domestic rivals. The monarchy of Afghanistan was subject to a British protectorate from this date on until 08/08/191, therefore consequently also at the time of our start date on 01/01/1900. Power was passed to his son Habibullah Khan, who was assassinated in February 1919. Afterwards his son, Amanullah, took over (Barfield 2010).

08/08/1919 Continuation Absolute Monarchy [as independent country]: Afghanistan reached independence through the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1919. Already on 02/28/1919 Amanullah proclaimed himself Emir. From this date to 06/09/1926 he ruled as Emir, after that date as King until 01/14/1929. In 1919, King Amanullah Khan established Afghanistan's inaugural constitution, eliminating slavery, establishing a legislative body, ensuring secular education, and implementing equal rights for both men and women.<sup>2</sup> The constitution was approved and ratified on 04/11/1922 by 872 tribal elders and government officials.<sup>3</sup> Along with the constitution, Amanullah supported several other “Western style”-reforms, as for example his 1928 plan to incorporate a legislative reform on the emancipation of women, which enraged the Muslim religious leaders.<sup>4</sup> On 11/14/1928, the Shinwari tribe in Jalalabad began to revolt against Amanullah’s ideas on the emancipation of women. This marked the beginning of the Afghan Civil War.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://rulers.org/rula1.html>

<sup>2</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>3</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amanullah\\_Khan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amanullah_Khan)

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Amanullah-Khan>

12/14/1928 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Personalist Autocracy: One month later, on 12/14/1928, a concurrent Saqqawist revolt, led by Habibullah Kalakani, attacked Kabul.<sup>5</sup> They succeeded in capturing Kabul on 01/17/1929. Next to the Saqqawists in Kabul, a rival government in Jalalabad led by Ali Ahmad Khan emerged and was defeated by the former on 02/09/1929. Nevertheless, they were not able to defeat King Amanullah and Nadir Khan. The latter, however, left the country on 05/23/1929. Following Nadir Khan's departure, Habibullah Kalakani continued to rule in Kabul. However, his authority was increasingly challenged, and the country remained in a state of civil war. Eventually, Nadir Khan's troops managed to push back and capture the Presidential Palace in Kabul. This marked the end of the Afghan Civil War and the fall of Habibullah Kalakani's rule. This event on 10/13/1929 marked the end of the Afghan Civil War.<sup>6</sup> Although short-lived, this regime phase can only be characterized as the de facto institutionalized personalist autocracy of Habibullah Kalakani.

10/13/1929 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Absolute Monarchy: On 10/10/1929 tribal forces led by Mohammad Nadir Khan and his brothers seized Kabul after defeating insurgents who had ousted the previous hereditary monarch, a distant relative of Nadir.<sup>7</sup> After the end of the Afghan Civil War on 10/13/1929, Nadir began to reign over Afghanistan on 10/15/1929. On 11/01/1929, he executed Habibullah Kalakani, who had taken over Amanullah's monarchy, by firing squad. Some of his family members as well as his inner circle were also executed. Nadir abolished most of Amanullah's reforms. Like in the GWF dataset the monarchy is counted as a new regime because Khan ousted the previous hereditary monarch and was only a distant relative of the former monarch (Baxter 1997, Herb 1997: 287). The previous constitution and all voting rights were removed. From 1929-1932 he faced a number of revolts and uprisings. Meanwhile, religious, and tribal forces were becoming stronger in Afghanistan. In September 1930, a cabinet of ten members, which had been named by Nadir Kahn and consisted mainly of his family members, confirmed Nadir's accession to the throne. In 1931, Nadir Kahn introduced a new constitution, which was approved by the National Council consisting of 105 members.<sup>8</sup> The constitution named sharia law as an alternative to statutory law and used heavily religious language and. Additionally, the constitution gave real power to the clergy. Power was vested both in the monarch and in the ulema.<sup>9</sup> A number of constitutional concessions were made to the religious and conservatives which empowered the ulema. Additionally, important

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<sup>5</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Habibull%C4%81h\\_Kalak%C4%81ni](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Habibull%C4%81h_Kalak%C4%81ni)

<sup>6</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghan\\_Civil\\_War\\_\(1928%E2%80%931929\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghan_Civil_War_(1928%E2%80%931929))

<sup>7</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad\\_Nadir\\_Shah](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad_Nadir_Shah)

<sup>8</sup> [https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/Afghanistan-Peace-Process\\_Religious-Inclusion-and-Reform.pdf](https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/Afghanistan-Peace-Process_Religious-Inclusion-and-Reform.pdf)

<sup>9</sup> [https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/Afghanistan-Peace-Process\\_Religious-Inclusion-and-Reform.pdf](https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/Afghanistan-Peace-Process_Religious-Inclusion-and-Reform.pdf)

cabinet positions were given to religious conservatives which placed the judiciary, especially, in conservative hands for a generation. While the constitution did establish a National Consultative Assembly and vested the power in it to approve the conclusion of treaties and conventions and the granting of concessions (Art. 46), the King held the prerogative to declare war and conclude peace and all treaties (Art. 7).<sup>10</sup> This period is not coded as a constitutional monarchy because popular participation was an illusion, and the constitution created a de facto absolute monarchy.<sup>11</sup> On 11/03/1933, Nadir Khan was assassinated. This however had no significant impact on the regime, as his son Mohammed Zahir Shah was immediately proclaimed King and accepted by all ministers, the ulemas and the tribal leaders.<sup>12</sup> On 03/10/1963 a policy dispute resulted in the forced resignation of the prime minister and direct rule of the royalty under Zahir Shah. In 1964 universal suffrage was introduced.<sup>13</sup>

07/17/1973 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Personalist Autocracy: Army general and prince Mohammed Daoud Khan led a successful military coup against his cousin King Mohammed Zahir Shah (Baxter 1997, Craddock 2011, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 39). Zahir Shah formally abdicated on 08/24/1973, remaining in Italy in exile. Despite his affiliation with the Musahiban Barakzai dynasty, Daoud Khan chose to dismantle the monarchy, opting instead to establish a new republic. In doing so, he proclaimed himself as both the head of state and head of government.<sup>14</sup>

The earlier constitution, which instituted a parliament with elected representatives and a division of powers, got replaced by a predominantly appointed loya jirga (meaning "grand assembly"). As a result, the parliament was disbanded.<sup>15</sup> In 1975, he founded his own political party, the National Revolutionary Party, intending it to be the focal point of all political activities. The aim was to ensure that his former supporters in the PDPA were kept out of political power. Although the party was designated to approve candidates for the upcoming election under the new constitution, Daoud Khan personally appointed the party's central committee in advance, bypassing any consultation process. Consequently, the committee ended up being filled with his close associates. In January 1977, a loya jirga endorsed a new constitution, introducing several new articles and revising others, including the establishment of a government with a presidential one-party system.<sup>16</sup> The classification of the regime is

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<sup>10</sup> [https://legal.un.org/legislativeseries/pdfs/chapters/book3/book3\\_afghanistan.pdf](https://legal.un.org/legislativeseries/pdfs/chapters/book3/book3_afghanistan.pdf)

<sup>11</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad\\_Nadir\\_Shah#cite\\_note-LD-8](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad_Nadir_Shah#cite_note-LD-8)

<sup>12</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1933\\_in\\_Afghanistan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1933_in_Afghanistan)

<sup>13</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>14</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1973\\_Afghan\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1973_Afghan_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>15</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad\\_Daoud\\_Khan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad_Daoud_Khan)

<sup>16</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad\\_Daoud\\_Khan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad_Daoud_Khan)

disputed. HTW and MCM classify it as a military regime, while GWF and AF subsume it under the category personalist regime. LIED categorizes it from 1973 on as a one-party autocracy which seems problematic since a one-party regime came de jure only in existence in 1977. In this case we would argue that indeed the party founded in 1975 was solely an instrument of the ruler with no real power, which could be seen in its internal structure. Therefore, the regime is classified as a personalist autocracy.

04/27/1978 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Communist Ideocracy: On this date, a coup by a revolutionary faction of the army allied with the Communist People's Democratic Party ousted Daoud Khan. A new regime under the control of Nur Mohammad and his Marxist-Leninist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) took over and established a ruling Revolutionary Council.<sup>17</sup> On 03/27/1979 as the civil war in Afghanistan grew in intensity, the Soviet-led authority forced Nur out of the executive (Baxter 1997, Newell 1997). On 12/27/1979 after suffering a strain in relations, the USSR carried out a coup against President Amin and replaced him with Kamal.<sup>18</sup> De facto the regime was a mixture between an occupation regime and a communist ideocracy. However, different from HTW this regime period is not coded as an occupation regime in this dataset. It might also be disputed if the regime is rightly classified as a communist regime since the PDPA in its final years moved away from Marxism–Leninism and towards Afghan nationalism. After National Reconciliation talks in 1987, the official name of the country reverted to the "Republic of Afghanistan" (as it was known before 1978). Under the leadership of Mohammad Najibullah in 1990, the party was renamed the Homeland Party and much of the party's symbols and policies were altered or removed. Karmal, who developed the ideology of the moderate wing of the PDPA, believed that Afghanistan was not developed enough for a Leninist revolutionary approach and instead sought a patriotic and anti-imperialist united front to take the next steps toward revolution.<sup>19</sup>

04/16/1992 End Communist Ideocracy/Start No Central Authority: On this date, the government of Mohammad Najibullah was ousted by the Mujaheddin insurgency. Afghanistan is from this point on coded as a case with no effective central government. On 06/28/1992 battles between Islamic insurgents forced President Mojadidi to resign (Rais 1993: 910, Ewans 2001: 178, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 39).<sup>20</sup>

09/27/1996 End No Central Authority/Start Islamist Ideocracy: The Islamist Taliban captured Kabul, forced the government of Rabanni to flee and a new regime led by Omar enforced strict

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<sup>17</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People%27s\\_Democratic\\_Party\\_of\\_Afghanistan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People%27s_Democratic_Party_of_Afghanistan)

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/event/Soviet-invasion-of-Afghanistan>

<sup>19</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parcham>

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Afghanistan/Civil-war-mujahideen-Taliban-phase-1992-2001>

Islamic rule (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 39). The Taliban leaders quickly renamed the country as the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. Advocating for the primacy of Islamic law, they chose not to introduce a new constitution.<sup>21</sup>

11/13/2001 End Islamist Ideocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by USA, Democracy]: The USA invaded Afghanistan beginning on 10/07/2001. On 11/13/2001 the Taliban government in Kabul was defeated (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 39).<sup>22</sup> In June 2002 Hamid Karzai was voted into office by the Emergency Loya Jirga (Casey et al. 2020: 27, Derpanopoulos et al. 2016, Suhrke 2011: 164, 179-80). In 2004 universal suffrage was reintroduced.<sup>23</sup>

08/20/2009 End Occupation Regime [by USA, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy: The occurrence of fraudulent presidential elections is recognized as the event that signified some degree of independence for the government of Hamid Karzai from U.S. influence (Casey et al. 2020: 27, Derpanopoulos et al. 2016, Suhrke 2011: 164, 179-80, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 39). In November 2009, the Afghan attorney-general announced that 15 current and former cabinet members were under investigation for alleged corruption (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 39). By 2014, the Afghan state had almost no legitimacy, and violence blanketed the country as a resurgent Taliban gained ground. President Karzai left office that year at the end of his second term, and U.S. combat operations in Afghanistan came to a close, with the United States transitioning to an advise-and-support role for Afghan forces (Murtazashvili 2022). The 2014 presidential election was mired in so much corruption that the actual winner was hard to identify. The elections in September 2019 were the first time in Afghanistan's history that power was democratically transferred.<sup>24</sup> On 09/28/2019 Ashraf Ghani was declared winner of the presidential elections. In May 2020 Ghani and Abdallah signed a sharing agreement.<sup>25</sup>

08/16/2021 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Islamist Ideocracy: In April 2021 US-President Joseph Biden announced a complete withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan by 09/11/2021 (Murtazashvili 2022). Afghan Government collapsed on this date after President Ashraf Ghani fled the country into exile following territorial gains of the Taliban throughout the country. With the Taliban again in power, the regime is coded as an Islamist ideocracy.

Islamist ideocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

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<sup>21</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Afghanistan/Finance#ref306629>

<sup>22</sup> <https://2009-2017.state.gov/outofdate/bgn/afghanistan/191350.htm>

<sup>23</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>24</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014\\_Afghan\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014_Afghan_presidential_election)

<sup>25</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-52699158>

Additional sources (Arjomand 2008, Baxter 1997, Blood 1997, Craddock 2011, Dorrnsoro 2005, Enterline/Greig 2008, Ewans 2001, Halliday/Tanin 1998, Hippler 1997, Newell 1997, Rais 1993, Sarbi 2001)

## **Albania**

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Ottoman Empire, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 1431]: The Ottoman Empire established power in Albania in 1431.<sup>26</sup> Even though the Ottomans claimed rule of all Albanian lands, most Albanian ethnic territories were still governed by medieval Albanian nobility who were free of Ottoman rule. This circumstance led to uprising and revolts against the Ottomans until the last town Himara was captured by them in 1509. Only the region of Mirdita in the north of Albania could never be fully invaded, and Ottomans had to ensure the right of autonomy for this region. In 17<sup>th</sup> century Islamization increased in the invaded regions and converted Albanians would eventually dominate the Ottoman power structures disproportionately. As Ottoman central authority weakened, a period of the semi-independence started for local Albanian rulers in Balkans in the 1750s with the era of the so called Independent Albanian Pashas. These de facto independent Albanian Pashaliks would extend from Bosnia to today's southern Greece.<sup>27</sup> Those pashas created separate states within the Ottoman state until they were overthrown by the sultan in 1831. As a result, power passed to tribal chieftains called 'bajraktars', who presided over given territories with rigid patriarchal societies that were often torn by blood feuds.<sup>28</sup> The Albanian League was founded in 1878 to assert Albanian national interest. Its aim was to establish an autonomous state within the framework of the Ottoman Empire. The Albanian League was suppressed in 1881, because they were alarmed by its strong nationalistic orientation. This circumstance was current around our start date on 01/01/1900. When the Ottomans ignored their commitments to Albanians to institute democratic reforms and to grant autonomy, Albanians embarked on an armed struggle in 1910, which at the end of three years forced the Ottomans to agree, in effect, to grant their demands.<sup>29</sup> On 08/1-11/1912 Albanian nationalist and Ottoman government representatives held negotiations, during which the Albanian presented a list of fourteen demands to the Ottoman government.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania\\_under\\_the\\_Ottoman\\_Empire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania_under_the_Ottoman_Empire)

<sup>27</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania\\_under\\_the\\_Ottoman\\_Empire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania_under_the_Ottoman_Empire)

<sup>28</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Albania/Medieval-culture>

<sup>29</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Albania/Albanian-nationalism>

<sup>30</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/europerussiacentral-asia-region/ottoman-empire-1905-1913/>



11/28/1912 End Part of Other Country [Ottoman Empire, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, Albanian nationalists led by Ismail Kemal Bey proclaimed the independence of Albania from the Ottoman Empire in the port of Valona (Vlorë) on 11/28/1912 (Lansford 2021:18). Bey took office as president of the provisional government in Valona (Vlorë) on 04/12/1912. The Ottoman Empire formally relinquished its sovereignty over Albania only on 05/30/1913.<sup>31</sup> However, de facto from this date on Albania was independent.

03/07/1914 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of the “Great Powers”]: The Principality of Albania (Albanian: Principata e Shqipërisë) denotes the brief monarchy in Albania led by Wilhelm, Prince of Albania. This monarchy persisted from the Treaty of London in 1913, concluding the First Balkan War, up until the invasions of Albania during World War I.<sup>32</sup> Prince Wilhelm reached his provisional capital of Durrës in Albania on 03/07/1914, along with the Royal family. The security of Albania was to be ensured by an International Gendarmerie led by Dutch officers. In this regime period there were no elections for parliament. Albania in this period was de facto a protectorate of the Great Powers (United Kingdom, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, France, and Italy), as in the Conference of London Albania was proclaimed “an autonomous, sovereign and hereditary principality“ by virtue of primogeniture, assured by the six Powers. The sovereign will be appointed by these six Powers.<sup>33</sup> Albania accepted this decision on 07/29/1913.

09/03/1914 End Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of the “Great Powers”]/Start No Central Authority: Amidst the onset of World War I, political chaos engulfed Albania, prompting Prince Wilhelm's departure from the country on 09/03/1914. In the aftermath, central and northern Albania saw control fall to various tribal chiefs and self-styled warlords, while in the south, leaders renounced the Protocol of Corfu and seized power. Prince William's exit from Albania occurred against this backdrop, highlighting the fragmented state of governance amidst the turmoil.<sup>34</sup> The Albanian people split along religious and tribal lines after the prince's departure, as Muslims demanded a Muslim prince and looked to the Ottoman Empire as the protector. Albania's political confusion continued in the wake of World War I. The country lacked a single

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<sup>31</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/europerussiacentral-asia-region/ottoman-empire-1905-1913/>; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albanian\\_Declaration\\_of\\_Independence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albanian_Declaration_of_Independence)

<sup>32</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Principality\\_of\\_Albania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Principality_of_Albania)

<sup>33</sup> [http://www.albanianhistory.net/1913\\_Conference-of-London/index.html](http://www.albanianhistory.net/1913_Conference-of-London/index.html)

<sup>34</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World\\_War\\_I\\_in\\_Albania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_I_in_Albania)

recognized government and Albanians feared, that Italy, Yugoslavia, and Greece would succeed in extinguishing Albania's independence.<sup>35</sup>

10/27/1914 End No Central Authority/Start Occupation Regime [by Greece, Italy, Serbia, and Montenegro, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, France]: Greek forces entered southern Albania after receiving the approval of the Great Powers and established a military administration in this territory by 10/27/1914.<sup>36</sup> As a reaction to the Greek occupation, Italy occupied Vlorë and on 10/31/1914 the Italians seized the strategic island of Sasaneo. Serbia and Montenegro occupied parts of northern Albania until a Central Powers (United Kingdom, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Ottoman Empire) offensive scattered the Serbian army.<sup>37</sup> On 02/09/1916, the capital Tirana was occupied by the Austro-Hungarian Empire.<sup>38</sup> The evacuation of the Serbian army from Albania was completed on 02/10/1916. In the Serb's wake came the armies of Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria and they occupied further about two-thirds of the country. They would occupy most of Albania until the Vardar Offensive of 09/1918.<sup>39</sup> After WWI, left without any political leadership or authority, the country was in chaos, and its very fate hung in the balance. At the Paris Peace Conference after the war, the extinction of Albania was averted largely through the efforts of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, who vetoed a plan by Britain, France, and Italy to partition Albania among its neighbors.<sup>40</sup>

10/03/1918 End Occupation Regime [by Austria, Constitutional Monarchy and Hungary, Constitutional Monarchy and Bulgaria, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Absolute Monarchy: On 09/09/1917 Bulgarian occupation in parts of the east of Albania ended, when French troops captured Pogradec from the Bulgarian army. After that the territory went back to Macedonia and Albania remained under Austro-Hungarian occupation.<sup>41</sup> Austro-Hungarian troops announced their withdrawal from Albania on 10/03/1918.<sup>42</sup> On 12/25/1918 a provisional government was elected by a congress in Dürres.<sup>43</sup>

04/21/1921 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Constitutional Monarchy: On this date, the first parliamentary elections in the country's history were held.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Principality\\_of\\_Albania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Principality_of_Albania)

<sup>36</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World\\_War\\_I\\_in\\_Albania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_I_in_Albania)

<sup>37</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Principality\\_of\\_Albania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Principality_of_Albania)

<sup>38</sup> [https://en.Awikipedia.org/wiki/Albania\\_during\\_World\\_War\\_I#Austro-Hungarian\\_occupation\\_of\\_Albania\\_\(1916%E2%80%931918\)](https://en.Awikipedia.org/wiki/Albania_during_World_War_I#Austro-Hungarian_occupation_of_Albania_(1916%E2%80%931918))

<sup>39</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Principality\\_of\\_Albania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Principality_of_Albania)

<sup>40</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Albania/Collapse-of-communism>

<sup>41</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bulgarian\\_occupation\\_of\\_Albania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bulgarian_occupation_of_Albania)

<sup>42</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World\\_War\\_I\\_in\\_Albania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_I_in_Albania)

<sup>43</sup> <https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Albania.htm>

<sup>44</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1921\\_Albanian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1921_Albanian_parliamentary_election)

12/24/1924 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Personalist Autocracy: Ahmet Zog took control following an armed rebellion supported by Yugoslavia in December 1924. Formerly the commander-in-chief of the armed forces until December 1921, he assumed the roles of minister of the interior and prime minister the following year. On this date, he ousted the government of Fan Noli, declaring himself president on 01/31/1925 and acquiring dictatorial powers. The Albanian Republic was proclaimed. On 09/01/1928 Ahmet Zog crowned himself king without any royal connections. In this way “King” Zog is a case similar to self-proclaimed “Emperor” Jean-Bédél Bokassa in Central Africa. The ruling elite did not change between the time when Ahmed Muhtar bey Zogolli, taking the name Ahmet Zogu, was president and when he crowned himself king (Swire 1937: 92, 94-95, Lentz 1999: 13, Austin 2012: 92, 94-95, Mëhilli 2017: 17).

04/07/1939 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by Italy, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: On this date, before the outbreak of World War II, Fascist Italy invaded and rapidly overrun and occupied Albania. Its ruler King Zog I went into exile in neighboring Greece, and the country was made a part of the Italian Empire as a protectorate in personal union with the Italian Crown.” (Mëhilli 2017: 17, Casey et al. 2020: 1-2).<sup>45</sup> The regime is a borderline case between being part of another country and an occupation regime. The Albanian Fascist Party “held nominal power in Albania” in this period.<sup>46</sup>

09/08/1943 End Occupation Regime [by Italy, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: After the armistice and the Italian exit from the Axis, German military forces entered Albania and it came under German occupation, creating the client-state, the Albanian Kingdom.<sup>47</sup>

11/29/1944 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Communist Ideocracy: On this date the last German forces expelled, and the Albanian state was re-established after Italian/German occupation. A provisional government under the leadership Enver Hoxha of the leader of the Communist Party of Albania took over power after the liberation of the country from German forces. In non-competitive elections on 12/02/1945 voters were presented a single list from the Democratic Front, which was organized by the Communist Party of Albania, which consequently won all seats in the parliament. From the start the regime was communist. However, the elections on 12/02/1945 were the first Albanian women could vote in.<sup>48</sup> On 01/11/1946 Albania was renamed in the People’s Republic of

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<sup>45</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Italian\\_invasion\\_of\\_Albania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Italian_invasion_of_Albania)

<sup>46</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albanian\\_Fascist\\_Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albanian_Fascist_Party)

<sup>47</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German\\_occupation\\_of\\_Albania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_occupation_of_Albania)

<sup>48</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

Albania.<sup>49</sup> On 12/28/1976 Albania became the People's Socialist Republic of Albania (Sudetic 1994, Pearson 2006:221). The government of Albania rejected all other Communist nations, including China, as "revisionist" traitors to true communism. The Hoxha Regime was marked by systematic terror, repression, and violation of human rights. There existed no freedom of speech, movement and especially religious people were persecuted.<sup>50</sup> In 1976 the communist party declared Albania to be the first atheist state in the world.<sup>51</sup> Hoxha ruled until his death in 1985.<sup>52</sup> He was succeeded by Ramiz Alia as first secretary of the Albanian Party of Labor. On 12/11/1990, opposition parties were legalized. On 12/12/1990, the oppositional Democratic Party (PDS), was formed.<sup>53</sup>

03/31/1991 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, the first parliamentary multi-party elections since 1923 were held. However, the communist party, the Albanian Party of Labor, dominated the system to an extent that the elections cannot be characterized as free and fair. The result was a landslide victory for the communist Party of Labour, which won 169 of the 250 seats.<sup>54</sup> The oppositional PDS was not competitive in elections given the brief period to organize for elections and government denial of competitive access to state-controlled media; it boycotted the opening session of the legislature in April 1991. Beginning in May 1991, hundreds of thousands of citizens participated in strikes and demonstrations to demand that the communists step down.

06/01/1991 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, the Communist-dominated National Assembly resigned in response to the popular uprising. Power was transferred to a coalition government to handle the transition, and Alia's loss of all but formal power. The transitional government led by the opposition established a new electoral law in February 1992 (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 39-40).<sup>55</sup>

03/22/1992 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, competitive elections were held.<sup>56</sup> There were few reports of irregularities and fraud in the parliamentary elections. The opposition Democratic Party won a majority of the seats, defeating the Socialist (formerly the Communist) Party. However, there were reports on infringing on the

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<sup>49</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enver\\_Hoxha](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enver_Hoxha)

<sup>50</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/albania/166.htm>

<sup>51</sup> <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/08/28/how-albania-became-the-worlds-first-atheist-country/>

<sup>52</sup> <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/al-history-55.htm>

<sup>53</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Albania2018.pdf>

<sup>54</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991\\_Albanian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991_Albanian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>55</sup> <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/al-history-55.htm>;

<https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/albanians-force-out-communist-government-1991>

<sup>56</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992\\_Albanian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992_Albanian_parliamentary_election)

rights of the Socialist Party through harassment, detentions and the withholding of food aid to areas where Socialists won in the year's local elections.

05/26/1996 End Semidemocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: Elections on this date were considered by observers as not meeting the standards of free and fair elections. Almost all opposition parties boycotted the second round of the elections as a result. The PDS gained almost 90 % of seats in the legislature. Albania became almost a one-party state under President Berisha. At the following parliamentary elections on 06/29/1997 the norms for free and fair elections were also not met. Regarding the parliamentary elections in 2005 Monitors from the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe called the election a “disappointment,” saying it failed to comply with international standards because of “serious irregularities,” intimidation, vote-buying and “violence committed by extremists on both sides.”<sup>57</sup>

08/05/2011 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: Since 2011 elections in Albania were rated as competitive, free and fair with no considerable restrictions on political parties.<sup>58</sup> However, the electoral process in Albania is deeply flawed. Procedural irregularities increasingly exacerbate the contestation of results by the losing parties, leading to political distrust between the parties, political stalemate “Parliamentary activities are affected by the opposition relinquishing their mandates” and incidents of electoral violence (Lansford 2021).<sup>59</sup> Amendments of the Electoral Code in 2020, to further regulate the electoral process did not show any improvement. Instead, they permitted party leaders to contest parliamentary elections in as many as four districts simultaneously, providing them with an unjust advantage in comparison to other candidates.<sup>60</sup> As such, the electoral campaigns have become an arena for electoral violence and political polarization: For example, the 2021 multiparty elections led to incidents of public intimidation, injuries, even fatalities<sup>61</sup> and incidents of electoral violence (Lansford 2021).<sup>62</sup>

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Fischer 2006, Lansford 2015, Lansford 2021, Nève 2010, Osterberg-Kaufmann 2011, Pano 1968, Pano 1988, Pano 2009, Pearson 2006, Schmidt-Neke 2002, Skendi 1954, Sudetic 1994, Zickel/Iwaskiw 1992)

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<sup>57</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005\\_Albanian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_Albanian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>58</sup> <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/ALB#pos4>

<sup>59</sup> <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/ALB#pos4>

<sup>60</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/albania/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>61</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/albania/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>62</sup> <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/ALB#pos4>

## Algeria

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 11/04/1848]: Prior to French occupation on 11/04/1848 Algeria was a semi-autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire (Choi 2016, Barclay/Chopin/Evans 2018). The Tafna Treaty promised Arab leader Abd'el Qadir control of the interior in exchange of recognizing French presence, but later France gradually annexed Algeria and made it officially a part of France in 1848 (Choi 2016, Barclay/Chopin/Evans 2018). Algeria was integrated into the administrative apparatus of the French state in 1848 under the auspices of a governor general, who reported back to the French Ministry of the Interior (Choi 2016, Barclay/Chopin/Evans 2018, Roberts 1986). This period is therefore coded as a colonial regime. Instead of indirect rule, as agreed by the Tafna Treaty, Muslim Algerians had the status of non-citizens without self-government nor representation in government. They were ruled by French mayors and administrators who even handled matters of Muslim law (Roberts 1986). From the start of French colonial rule, so also for our start date on 01/01/1900, until 1903 'Pacification of Algeria' took place as a series of military operations after the French conquest of the Regency of Algiers that aimed to put an end to various tribal rebellions, razzias and massacres of French settlers that were held in the Algerian countryside. French forces engaged in a scorched earth policy against the Algerian population.<sup>63</sup> On 11/10/1946, French legislative elections were held in Algeria introducing male suffrage.<sup>64</sup> From 1954 until 1962 the National Liberation Front (FLN) fought an independence war against France.

07/03/1962 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start One-Party Autocracy [as independent country]: On 09/19/1958 the Algerian Republic was proclaimed. On 07/03/1962 French President Charles De Gaulle pronounced Algeria an independent country and on 18/03/1963 a peace treaty was signed (Evian Accord).<sup>65</sup> However, 07/05 became a national holiday as Independence Day (Jackson 1977: 55-56, 70-73, 104, Casey et al. 2020: 58).<sup>66</sup> The FLN, which had led the fight for independence and established a provisional government, seized power among a chaotic transition (near civil war). The non-electoral transitional one-party regime became permanent. On its independence from France, Algeria granted equal voting rights to all men and women.<sup>67</sup> On 08/08/1962 a political crisis between Benkhedda and

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<sup>63</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pacification\\_of\\_Algeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pacification_of_Algeria)

<sup>64</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/November\\_1946\\_French\\_legislative\\_election\\_in\\_Algeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/November_1946_French_legislative_election_in_Algeria)

<sup>65</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89vian\\_Accords](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89vian_Accords)

<sup>66</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Algeria2018.pdf>

<sup>67</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

the more popular Ben Bella sparked a violent civil war which was resolved by the forced resignation of Benkhedda. On 09/25/1962 Algeria became the People's Democratic Algerian Republic. In the 1962 Algerian Constituent Assembly elections a single list of 196 National Liberation Front (FLN) candidates was put to voters to approve.

Following the mass exodus of many Europeans in 1962, the FLN regime undertook extensive confiscation of property, including farms, homes, and businesses. (Casey et al. 2020: 59, Ruedy 2005: 198-99). Throughout his term, Ben Bella faced political conflicts with past leaders of the FLN, such as Mohammed Khider, Ferhat Abbas, Mohammed Boudiaf, and Hocine Aït Ahmed. Ahmed established the Front des Forces Socialistes (Socialist Forces Front) (FFS) as a means to oppose Ben Bella, and the remaining leaders joined in response to their dissatisfaction with Ben Bella's dictatorial leadership.<sup>68</sup>

06/19/1965 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A military coup led by General Houari Boumédiène overthrew Ben Bella's government. Before the coup, Boumédiène was minister of defense and vice president in the government. Bournediene took over the power as Chairman of a 26-member Revolutionary Council, eliminated the constitution and the institutions emplaced by the previous regime.<sup>69</sup> In 1976, his administration promulgated a National Charter and subsequently introduced a new constitution, both ratified through a referendum.<sup>70</sup> "The text reasserted socialism as the The document reaffirmed socialism as the unequivocal choice of the Algerian people and affirmed the exclusive legitimacy of the socialist party. On 12/29/1976, the president issued an executive order specifying principles and procedures for electing the Assembly. It seems this regime change has been overlooked by (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 40). This explains the misclassification as a party regime.

06/27/1976 End Military Autocracy/Start One-Party Autocracy: On this date the referendum committed Algeria to socialism adapted to third-world conditions. It was, officially, approved by 98.4% of voters. While the regime elite was the same the legitimation of the regime became significantly different through this act. Until Algeria was a one-party state, with only the National Liberation Front being authorized as a political group. Since then, political parties have been allowed to form, but have faced restrictions and have needed to obtain government permits to operate legally (Lansford 2015).

01/11/1992 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Concerned with the results of the national election which favored the Islamists, the military hindered the election. Benjedid

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<sup>68</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed\\_Ben\\_Bella](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed_Ben_Bella)

<sup>69</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1965\\_Algerian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1965_Algerian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>70</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Houari-Boumedienne>

was ousted. The High Council of State became the ruling body and the constitution was suspended (Metz 1994, Ruedy 2005:256,260).<sup>71</sup> While the military constituted a crucial support base for the regime prior to 1992, the following era is recognized as distinct due to the initial years post-coup, during which the FLN - the previously dominant party - was sidelined from exerting influence and holding office (Toth 1994, Bouandel 2003, Ruedy 2005:256,260, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 40). On 07/02/1992, after the assassination of the nominal civilian head of government, the effective ruling power, the High State Committee military junta, emerged as the effective ruler by appointing General Nazzar as its figurehead and new effective leader of Algeria.

06/05/1997 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral (Military) Autocracy: A referendum was held on 11/28/1996. A new constitution was approved. It permitted political parties, but not if based on a separatist feature such as race, religion, sex, language or region (Lansford 2021:93). On 06/05/1997 elections took place, which cannot be considered free and fair.<sup>72</sup> After four consecutive terms, the loss of military backing played a significant role in Abdelaziz Bouteflika's resignation in 2019 after facing large popular protests (Hirak movement) (Lansford 2021).<sup>73</sup> He was replaced by Abdelkader Bensalah on an interim basis, however due to the influence of the military, army chief of staff General Ahmed Gaïd Salah was considered the *de facto* leader.<sup>74</sup> Before the elections in December five candidates were presented by the newly established National Authorities for Elections (ANIE) which had notably all served as ministers in Bouteflika's cabinet. Protests called for a different selection, and Bensalah met them with crackdowns and mass arrests. The elections were won by former prime minister Abdelmadjid Tebboune in an election with a turnout rate between 20 and 40%.<sup>75</sup> The army chief of staff continues to wield considerable influence under his presidency.<sup>76</sup> While a constitutional reform package intending to address some demands of the protest movement was passed in 2020 with 67% of voters participating, turnout was as low as 24%. Protest groups such as protesters for the autonomy of Kabylie region were criminalized and labeled terrorists.<sup>77</sup> The government continues to enforce laws threatening media freedom and restricting civil liberties, with protesters and journalists regularly facing arrests and prosecution.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/High\\_Council\\_of\\_State\\_\(Algeria\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/High_Council_of_State_(Algeria))

<sup>72</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1997\\_Algerian\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1997_Algerian_legislative_election)

<sup>73</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President\\_of\\_Algeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President_of_Algeria)

<sup>74</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/algeria/freedom-world/2020>

<sup>75</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/algeria/freedom-world/2020>

<sup>76</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/algeria/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>77</sup> <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2022/country-chapters/algeria>

<sup>78</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/algeria/freedom-world/2021>



Electoral (military) autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Axtmann 1999, Bouandel 2003, Choi 2016, Lansford 2012a, Lorch/Bunk 2016, Moore 1970, Ruedy 2005, Toth 1994)

## **Andorra**

01/01/1900 (de facto) Colonial Regime [being jointly ruled by two external rulers from France and Spain] [Start: 09/07/1278]: Andorra was formally ruled as a constitutional monarchy during this period. Andorra was founded on 09/07/1278 by means of a treaty between the Bishop of Urgell and the Count of Foix.<sup>79</sup> De facto in the period from 1900 on Andorra was jointly ruled by representatives of France and Spain, this circumstance also applies to our start date on 01/01/1900. Hence, it is a borderline case between a de facto joint colony/part of France and Spain and a ruling monarchy. On 08/31/1933 the first parliamentary elections under universal male suffrage were held.<sup>80</sup> This was partially the result of a coup d'état carried out by the so-called Young Andorrans.<sup>81</sup> Two opposing parties ran in the elections: The *Unió Andorrana*, a political party founded by the Young Andorrans, and the *Integral Nationalist Group*. The latter won with a vast majority of votes which brought an end to the Andorran revolution and kept the co-principality in place.<sup>82</sup> On 04/23/1970 Andorran women gained the right to vote.<sup>83</sup> However, no political parties were allowed to run in the elections. During an institutional reform process in 1982 the office of prime minister was created. The first prime minister was Òscar Ribas Reig.<sup>84</sup> The only regime dataset apart from this one that classifies Andorra's regime in this period is LIED. The classification as a one-party autocracy is not convincing, since it clearly was not a one-party regime in this period. According to our classification it has priority to the formal monarchical character of the regime that Andorra was not an independent country until 1993. We would classify it as a complicated form of a joint colony of France and Spain.

12/12/1993 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [being jointly ruled by two external rulers from France and Spain]/Start (Monarchical) Semidemocracy [as joint protectorate of France and Spain]: A constitutional referendum was held concerning a draft constitution agreed upon by the co-princes. The draft included the separation of powers, parliamentary rule, civil and human

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<sup>79</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Co-Princes\\_of\\_Andorra](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Co-Princes_of_Andorra)

<sup>80</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1933\\_Andorran\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1933_Andorran_parliamentary_election)

<sup>81</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andorran\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andorran_Revolution)

<sup>82</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andorran\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andorran_Revolution)

<sup>83</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/1970/04/24/archives/the-women-of-andorra-receive-right-to-vote.html>

<sup>84</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%92scar\\_Ribas\\_Reig](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%92scar_Ribas_Reig)

rights.<sup>85</sup> The proposal was approved by 74% of the voters and enabled the parliamentary elections in the same year.<sup>86</sup> On 12/12/1993 the first free and fair parliamentary elections since gaining full sovereignty took place. However, amid unique circumstances as Andorran citizens constitute a minority within Andorra, leaving almost two thirds of the population without political representation.<sup>87</sup> Therefore, Andorra is only considered to be a semidemocracy. Currently, the Bishop of Urgell and the president of France serve as co-princes.<sup>88</sup> Officially, the co-princes are the heads of State, however, de facto power lies with the head of government. The co-princes do nevertheless hold veto power concerning international treaties.<sup>89</sup> Since 12/12/1993 the government was authorized to generate income through taxation, establish an independent judiciary, grant citizens the freedom to establish political parties and trade unions, and manage foreign policy and participation in international organizations. The coprinces retained their constitutional roles as heads of state, primarily in a ceremonial capacity.<sup>90</sup> Andorra has since 1993 experienced regular peaceful transfers of power and held fair and free parliamentary elections in 2023. Nonetheless, while civil liberties and political rights are well established, more than 50% of the population are non-citizens and are thereby not eligible to vote.<sup>91</sup>

Semidemocracy [as joint protectorate of France and Spain] as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Marxer/Pállinger 2009, Mickoleit 2010)

## Angola

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 02/01/1575]: From 02/01/1575 on, Portuguese settlers gradually occupied the territories along the African west coast. In the 1900s, as on our start date on 01/01/1900, the colonial economy expanded despite domestic unrest.<sup>92</sup> Policies of civil administration in the colony were introduced by a governor general between 1907 and 1910. Colonial rule increasingly ensured a high dependence of

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<sup>85</sup> <https://www.sudd.ch/event.php?lang=en&id=ad011993>

<sup>86</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993\\_Andorran\\_constitutional\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993_Andorran_constitutional_referendum);  
<https://history.state.gov/countries/andorra>

<sup>87</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993\\_Andorran\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993_Andorran_parliamentary_election);  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Andorra\\_1993?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Andorra_1993?lang=en)

<sup>88</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Co-Princes\\_of\\_Andorra](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Co-Princes_of_Andorra)

<sup>89</sup> <https://www.sudd.ch/event.php?lang=en&id=ad011993>

<sup>90</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Andorra>

<sup>91</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/andorra/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>92</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1900s\\_in\\_Angola](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1900s_in_Angola)

Angola on metropolitan Portugal insofar that Lisbon held wide-ranging control over its colony (Oliver/Sanderson 2004). Portugal's approach to Angola during the 1930s and 1940s centered on the concept of national integration. In terms of economy, society, and politics, the goal was for Angola to be seamlessly incorporated into the Portuguese nation (Roth 1979). This period is thus coded as direct colonial rule. Angola became a Portuguese overseas province in 1953, while Liberation movements began forming in the late 1950s (Kaplan 1979). A civil war started when the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) started a guerrilla campaign against Portuguese rule on several fronts. They also fought with each other after the 1974 coup in Portugal (Kaplan 1979). On 10/23/1975, South Africa intervened in Angola (Dobert 1979, Oliver/Sanderson 2004, Keltie 2014b, Roth 1979, Kaplan 1979).

11/11/1975 End Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Democracy]/Start No Central Authority: On this date, independence from Portugal was declared. This marked the beginning of the Angolan Civil War.<sup>93</sup> Following the Alvor Agreement<sup>94</sup>, MPLA, FNLA and UNITA agreed to a transitional government with equal representation and left Angola run by a provisional independence government headed by the leftist MPLA during the lead up to independence. The US-backed rightist and nationalist National Front for the Liberation of Angola insurgents broke the Alvor Agreement cease fire and drove the provisional Government out. Hence, at the date of independence Angola had no self-government to receive control from the Portuguese: High Commissioner Admiral Leonel Cardoso declined to relinquish power to the MPLA and opted to grant independence to the people of Angola. In response, the MPLA declared the establishment of its government in Luanda, naming the controlled territory the People's Republic of Angola. Meanwhile, FNLA and UNITA declared a distinct regime, headquartered in the southern city of Huambo, designating their territory as the Democratic People's Republic of Angola (Dobert 1979, Warner 1991, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 40). Universal suffrage was introduced with independence.<sup>95</sup> The MPLA was backed by the Soviet-Union and Cuba in the civil war (Valenta 1978).

01/02/1976 End No Central Authority/Start Communist Ideocracy: After months of civil war, the MPLA established its rule over the entire country. After taking power, the MPLA set out to radically transform Angolan agriculture through villagization and collectivization of peasant

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<sup>93</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angolan\\_Civil\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angolan_Civil_War)

<sup>94</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alvor\\_Agreement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alvor_Agreement)

<sup>95</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections\\_in\\_Angola](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_in_Angola)

farmers. Nationalization of property and companies began in 1976 within a year of taking power (Heywood 2000: 205-7, Scott 1988, Somerville 1984, Zafiris 1982, Casey et al. 2020: 60). 11/09/1990 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional [One-Party] Regime: On this date, the Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly passed a resolution which established a commission tasked with the revision of the Angolan constitution.<sup>96</sup> The new constitution was to abolish the one-party state and include elections and participation by all.<sup>97</sup> In April 1991 the MPLA denounced Marxism-Leninism in favor of social democracy.<sup>98</sup> On 05/06/1991, the National Assembly amended the constitution by passing law 12/91 which was aimed at eradicating the one-party state.<sup>99</sup> On 08/25/1992, constitutional revisions were enacted, the country was renamed Republic of Angola and all explicitly Marxist elements (including the words People's or Popular) were removed from the constitution and from the names of institutions (Lea/Rowe 2001)(GFW codebook).<sup>100</sup>

09/29/1992 End Non-electoral Transitional [One-Party] Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: Parliamentary elections on this date were endorsed by foreign observers and the UN as free and fair.<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, an official observer reported that there was very little UN supervision, around 500.000 UNITA voters had been disenfranchised and there had been over 100 clandestine polling stations.<sup>102</sup> In the presidential elections the MPLA's José Dos Santos won 49.6% of the vote and UNITA's Jonas Savimbi 40.7%. The second round of elections never took place because Savimbi rejected the results as fraudulent.

10/31/1992 End Electoral Autocracy/Start No Central Authority: On this date, government troops attacked UNITA in Luanda.<sup>103</sup> A brutal war between the two camps followed. While the capital and parts of the territory were under the control of the MPLA, UNITA controlled the rest of the country.<sup>104</sup> In almost all datasets this period is classified as a multiparty autocracy (e.g. HWF, MCM). This is a misclassification. Parts of the country were ruled by one party, while the rest of the country was ruled by the opposing party. This does definitely not constitute a multiparty regime. However, an alternative approach from the coding as no central authority

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<sup>96</sup> <https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/afr120041991en.pdf>

<sup>97</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Angola/Independence-and-civil-war>

<sup>98</sup> <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/angolan-civil-war-1975-2002-timeline-events>

<sup>99</sup>

<https://www.angonet.org/docs/pmu/LAW%20ON%20THE%20AMENDMENT%20OF%20THE%20CONSTITUTION.pdf>

<sup>100</sup> <https://constitutionnet.org/country/angola>

<sup>101</sup> <https://www.eisa.org/wep/angoverview9.htm>

<sup>102</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angolan\\_Civil\\_War#1990s](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angolan_Civil_War#1990s)

<sup>103</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angolan\\_Civil\\_War#1990s](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angolan_Civil_War#1990s)

<sup>104</sup> <https://www.eisa.org/wep/angoverview9.htm>

would be to code the regime in the MPLA and UNITA controlled territories separately as one-party regimes.

11/20/1994 End No Central Authority/Start Non-electoral Transitional [One-Party] Regime: On this date, the Lusaka Protocol was negotiated and signed in Lusaka, Zambia. It was a second peace agreement, similar to the Alvor Agreement of 1975. The accord aimed to bring peace between the Angolan government and the rebel group UNITA. As part of the agreement, former UNITA insurgents were to be integrated into the government and armed forces. UNITA was to be disarmed and demobilized. The agreement awarded UNITA politicians homes and offices. The agreement additionally created a joint commission consisting of officials from the Angolan Government, UNITA and the UN including the governments of Portugal, the United States and Russia in order to oversee the implementation of the protocol. All in all, the protocol integrated UNITA into a coalition government.<sup>105</sup> MONUA and the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III spent \$1.5 billion on the oversight of the implementation. Nevertheless, the provisions aimed at the prevention of armed UNITA forces were largely disobeyed. Both the government and UNITA continued buying arms from abroad.<sup>106</sup> However, localized incidents of violence and fighting resumed in 1995. Nevertheless, this period is coded as non-electoral transitional [one-party] regime and not as “no central authority” because overall, the cease fire was respected. The period following the Lusaka Protocol saw attempts at creating a coalition government, integrating UNITA into the political framework. This integration, including the provision of homes and offices for UNITA politicians and the creation of a joint commission, indicates an effort towards a transitional regime rather than a one-party autocracy by MPLA. The presence of international oversight, including the United Nations and other foreign governments, further suggests a transitional nature. It can be considered as an attempt at a transition to peace with an integrated coalition government. After an incident, where UNITA fighters shot down a government helicopter in March 1995 dos Santos and Savimbi met four times to secure the peace. Dos Santos offered the vice-presidency to Savimbi on each of these occasions. Savimbi declined the vice-presidency that was offered to him and again renewed fighting on 12/04/1998.<sup>107</sup> The Angolan military launched a large-scale offensive in 1999, which resulted in the destruction of UNITA’s conventional military capabilities and the recapture of major cities previously held by Savimbi’s forces. Following this, Savimbi declared that UNITA would resort to guerrilla tactics, causing continued turmoil throughout the

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<sup>105</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lusaka\\_Protocol](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lusaka_Protocol)

<sup>106</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lusaka\\_Protocol#Implementation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lusaka_Protocol#Implementation)

<sup>107</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lusaka\\_Protocol#Implementation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lusaka_Protocol#Implementation);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angolan\\_Civil\\_War#1990s](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angolan_Civil_War#1990s); [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jonas\\_Savimbi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jonas_Savimbi)

country.<sup>108</sup> On 04/04/2002 a ceasefire between UNITA and the MPLA was negotiated after government troops had killed Jonas Savimbi (UNITA) and on 02/22/2002. UNITA's new leadership declared the rebel group a political party and officially demobilized its armed forces in August 2002. The civil war ended.<sup>109</sup> Nevertheless, the government had to deal with separatist movements in the oil-rich region of Cabinda, a conflict which intensified in 2004. A peace agreement was reached in 2006.<sup>110</sup> While the political situation in Angola started to stabilize, it was not until the 2008 elections that regular electoral processes were fully established in the country.<sup>111</sup> Between 09/29&30/1992 and 09/06/2008 there have been no elections in Angola. Hence, it seems problematic that LIED, MCM and AF classify the regime as multiparty/electoral. The political process was dominated from the violent conflict between MPLA and UNITA. However, the regime was non-electoral and apart from a short period the MPLA ruled alone. While the legitimation of power came largely from the transitional aspect this arrangement de facto failed. Hence, while the regime is classified as a non-electoral transitional regime in practice it came close to be.

09/06/2008 End Non-electoral Transitional [One-Party] Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, the first elections since the end of the civil war were held, securing the MPLA's hegemony with 82% of the vote (Roque 2009). In 2010, direct presidential elections were abolished by the constitution, instead the leader of the national list of the political party that gets the highest outcome is entitled to the Presidency, without any confirmation process by the elected legislature. The powers of the president are broad and the parliament is very weak, acting "largely as a rubber stamp in approving the president's policies".<sup>112</sup> The country has been ruled by the same party (MPLA) since independence in 1975 "and the president is expected to consult routinely with the party's political bureau."<sup>113</sup> Although a multiparty electoral system exists since 1991, the regulation of political parties is very strict (Lansford 2015). There was no transition of power to the opposition until the most recent elections on 08/24/2022 and although parliamentary elections are held regularly, they are neither free nor fair. Government authorities have consistently suppressed political dissent. Corruption, violations of due process,

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<sup>108</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Angola](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Angola)

<sup>109</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angolan\\_Civil\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angolan_Civil_War)

<sup>110</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Angola/Independence-and-civil-war>

<sup>111</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angola>

<sup>112</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/angola/freedom-world/2022>;

[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Angola\\_2010?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Angola_2010?lang=en)

<sup>113</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/angola/freedom-world/2022>

and misconduct by security forces persist as prevalent issues.<sup>114</sup> Angola was at rank #121 out of 180 in the Corruption Perceptions Index in 2023.<sup>115</sup>

Electoral autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Clemente-Kersten 1999a, Collelo 1989, Dobert 1979, Kaplan 1979, Keltie 2014a, Macmillan 2022a, Oliver/Sanderson 2004, Roth 1979)

## **Anguilla**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 1650]: Anguilla was first colonized by English settlers from Saint Kitts beginning in 1650.<sup>116</sup> During the colonial period, Anguilla was administered by the British through Antigua; in 1825, it was replaced under the administrative control of nearby Saint Kitts and Nevis as crown colony.<sup>117</sup> This was also the case on our start date of 01/01/1900. On 02/27/1967, British authorities definitively stroke Anguilla to St. Kitts-Nevis and granted the territory the status of "associated state", with its own constitution and a considerable degree of self-government. But many Anguillans objected to the continuing political subservience to Saint Kitts<sup>118</sup>.

05/30/1967 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: As a reaction insurgents expelled the Saint Kitts police and installed a "Peace-keeping Committee" as the government on 05/30/1967. The provisional government under Ronald Webster unilaterally seceded Anguilla from St. Kitts-Nevis on 06/16/1967.<sup>119</sup> The provisional government requested United States administration, which was declined.<sup>120</sup> The provisional government had this actuated by a referendum on 07/11/1967, that was approved by 99,72% of voters. The following day the separation was declared and an independent republic proclaimed, thus known as Anguillan Revolution. The ultimate goal of the Anguillan Revolution was not independence per se, but rather independence from Saint Kitts and Nevis and a return to being a British colony.<sup>121</sup> The new government under Ronald Webster was not recognized by either St. Kitts-Nevis or Great Britain, which was reluctant to

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<sup>114</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/angola/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>115</sup> <https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2023/index/ago>

<sup>116</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anguilla>

<sup>117</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic\\_of\\_Anguilla](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_Anguilla)

<sup>118</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic\\_of\\_Anguilla](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_Anguilla)

<sup>119</sup> <https://www.sudd.ch/event.php?lang=en&id=ai011967>

<sup>120</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic\\_of\\_Anguilla](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_Anguilla)

<sup>121</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anguilla>

interfere in the internal politics of Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla.<sup>122</sup> On 02/06/1969 a constitutional referendum was held.<sup>123</sup> The republican constitution was put forward and approved by 99.71% of voters. On 03/11/1969, the British government sent William Whitlock, a junior minister, as a diplomatic envoy to Anguilla in an effort to resolve the conflict and establish an interim British administration. Whitlock's proposal was rejected in part because of his treatment of the local Anguillians. British troops returned to occupy the island on 03/19/1969.<sup>124</sup>

03/19/1969 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime [as independent country]/Start Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Democracy]: British authority was restored on 03/19/1969 and Anthony Lee was installed as Her Majesty's Commissioner.<sup>125</sup> British paratroopers stayed on the island until 09/14/1969 to maintain security. Eventually, the islanders were content with the political situation and no more civil strife took place following the operation.<sup>126</sup>

07/10/1971 End Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]: The restoration of authority was confirmed by the Anguilla Act on 07/10/1971 and placed Anguilla directly under British control.<sup>127</sup>

02/20/1976 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Democracy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: On this date, Anguilla was granted a constitution and was finally allowed to formally secede from Saint Kitts and Nevis and become a standalone UK Dependent Territory, following the Anguilla Act. Anguilla operates as an electoral democracy within the framework of the British parliamentary system. Since 2002 Anguilla is a British overseas territory.<sup>128</sup> Universal suffrage is granted to all those aged above 18. Anguilla has a unicameral legislative branch (the House of Assembly). Fair and free elections are held in regular five-year intervals. The judiciary operates independently from the rest of the governing institutions and the British Crown remains the *de jure* chief of state.<sup>129</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Antigua and Barbuda**

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<sup>122</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1967\\_Anguillian\\_separation\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1967_Anguillian_separation_referendum)

<sup>123</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1969\\_Anguillian\\_constitutional\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1969_Anguillian_constitutional_referendum)

<sup>124</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation\\_Sheepskin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Sheepskin)

<sup>125</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic\\_of\\_Anguilla](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_Anguilla)

<sup>126</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation\\_Sheepskin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Sheepskin)

<sup>127</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Anguilla-Act>

<sup>128</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anguilla>

<sup>129</sup> <https://www.countryreports.org/country/Anguilla/government.htm>



01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 1632]: Antigua and Barbuda were colonized by Great Britain already in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. It belonged to the British Leeward Islands, which Britain concerned in 1671. Besides Antigua and Barbuda, the Leeward Islands included the British Virgin Islands, Dominica (until 1940), Montserrat and Saint Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla.<sup>130</sup> This division was also current at the time of our start date on 01/01/1900. On 12/20/1951 the first elections under universal adult suffrage took place.<sup>131</sup> However, less than 20% of the population was registered to vote during the 1950s.<sup>132</sup> Antigua and Barbuda boasts a rich legacy of conducting free and fair elections, with three instances culminating in the peaceful transition of governmental authority.<sup>133</sup> On 01/03/1958, the colonial islands were absorbed into the Federation of the West Indies. The Federation was, however, short lived and disintegrated on 05/31/1962.

02/27/1967 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Democracy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: On this date Antigua and Barbuda became a self-governing entity. However, democratic elections took place already on 11/29/1965.<sup>134</sup> In 1969 Antigua joined the West Indies Associated States as an internally self-governing territory (Lansford 2021: 62). On 04/24/1980 general elections took place. They were won by the governing Antigua Labour Party. ALP leader Vere Bird was re-elected as Prime Minister of Antigua and Barbuda.<sup>135</sup> During the 1970s, Antigua witnessed the emergence of an independence movement led by Prime Minister George Walter. Walter advocated for complete independence for the islands and opposed the British plan of independence within a federation of islands. However, in the 1976 legislative elections, Walter was defeated by Vere Bird, who supported regional integration. In 1978, Antigua underwent a significant shift in its stance and announced its desire for independence. The negotiations for autonomy were complicated by Barbuda, which had long been dependent on Antigua but felt economically suppressed by the larger island and sought secession.<sup>136</sup>

11/01/1981 Continuation Democracy [as independent country]: On this date Antigua and Barbuda became independent, with Vere Bird as the first prime minister. The first two decades of Antigua's independence were dominated politically by the Bird family and the ABLP, with Vere Bird ruling from 1981 to 1994, followed by his son Lester Bird from 1994 to 2004. The

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<sup>130</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British\\_Leeward\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Leeward_Islands)

<sup>131</sup> <http://www.caribbeanelections.com/ag/education/history.asp>

<sup>132</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections\\_in\\_Antigua\\_and\\_Barbuda](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_in_Antigua_and_Barbuda)

<sup>133</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Antigua\\_and\\_Barbuda](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Antigua_and_Barbuda)

<sup>134</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1965\\_Antiguan\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1965_Antiguan_general_election)

<sup>135</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1980\\_Antiguan\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1980_Antiguan_general_election)

<sup>136</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-Antigua-and-Barbuda>

government was frequently accused of corruption, cronyism and financial malfeasance.<sup>137</sup> In the election on 04/17/1984, the ALP swept all the Antiguan seats in the House of Representatives, with Bird forming a new government two days later (Lansford 2021:62).

03/09/1989 End Democracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this day the second elections of Antigua and Barbuda as an independent country were held, which were marred by serious irregularities and fraud(McColm 1992). Throughout this era, the monopolization of state media by the Bird family significantly obstructed the dissemination of opposition viewpoints and ideologies. Additionally, the ruling party's control over patronage restricted the ability of opposition parties to recruit new members and acquire financial backing. Although the judiciary maintained nominal independence, it faced significant manipulation by the ruling party. Nevertheless, civil liberties were upheld(House 2003). Between 1989 and 2004 Freedom House classifies Antigua and Barbuda as partially free.

03/23/2004 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: On this day general election were held which were won by the oppositional United Progressive Party (UPP) and a peaceful transfer of power took place.<sup>138</sup> Antigua and Barbuda is a democracy that holds regular elections in a multi-party system with universal suffrage. The judiciary is independent from other branches of government.<sup>139</sup> In July 2022 it ruled that the criminal prohibition of same-sex relations was unconstitutional and banned discrimination based on gender and orientation. Moreover, the government ratified a convention that recognizes the right to work without experiencing violence as well as the effect of domestic violence on the ability of women to work<sup>140</sup>. However, corruption in government remains a concern.<sup>141</sup> Most regime datasets did not code Antigua and Barbuda due to its small size. HTW and LIED classified Antigua and Barbuda in the period 1981 to2004 as a multiparty autocracy<sup>142</sup> in the coding of this dataset, while CGV classified it as a democracy. According to our data we classify the regime as an electoral semidemocracy between 1989 until 2004 and as democracy from then on based on our coding rules.

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Hillebrands/Schwehm 2005a)

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<sup>137</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1980\\_Antiguan\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1980_Antiguan_general_election);  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Antigua\\_and\\_Barbuda\\_1981?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Antigua_and_Barbuda_1981?lang=en)

<sup>138</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2004\\_Antiguan\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2004_Antiguan_general_election)

<sup>139</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Antigua\\_and\\_Barbuda](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Antigua_and_Barbuda)

<sup>140</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/antigua-and-barbuda/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>141</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/antigua-and-barbuda/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>142</sup> Coding rules are similar to the coding rules for an electoral autocracy in this dataset.

## Argentina

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [Start: 07/09/1816]: On 07/09/1816 Argentina declared independence from Spain. Universal male suffrage was instituted in 1853.<sup>143</sup> The Sáenz Peña Law, also known as the General Election Law of 1912, granted universal, secret, and mandatory suffrage to male citizens over the age of 18. This law was a result of a power-sharing agreement between conservative President Roque Sáenz Peña and the UCR (Radical Civic Union) in response to social unrest in 1911/12. While the law confirmed the already existing universal male suffrage, it introduced the significant change of secret voting. The key impact of the pact and the Sáenz Peña Law was the establishment of truly competitive elections, breaking away from the previously prevalent central control and widespread manipulation of elections.<sup>144</sup> Therefore, the period between 1912 and 1930 is often referred to as Argentina's "first experience of liberal representative government" (Rock 1972: 233). Important for the justification of the classification as an electoral oligarchy is that the 'universal' scope of the Sáenz Peña Law only included native men and therefore excluded not only women but male immigrants. In Buenos Aires for example "the non-voting immigrants outnumbered the natives at this time by about 9 to 4" (Rock 1972: 234).<sup>145</sup> The quantitative indicator according to Vanhanen supports the classification. In 1904 only 2%, in 1910 only 2,8% and in 1916 (the first election under Sáenz Peña Law) 8,8% of the population participated (Vanhanen 2019).

02/04/1916 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: On this date general elections were held under the new rules. Voters elected the President, legislators, and local officials. They were the first secret-ballot presidential elections in the nation's history, they were mandatory and had a turnout of 62.8%. The turnout for the Chamber of Deputies election was 65.9%.<sup>146</sup> The period spanning from 1916 to 1930 in Argentina is known as the Radical Phase (Spanish: Etapa Radical), as it began with the election of the Radical Civic Union candidate Hipólito Yrigoyen, ending the conservative Generation of '80's domination on politics.<sup>147</sup>

09/06/1930 End (Male) Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A military coup led by General José Félix Uriburu overthrew the elected government of President Hipólito Yrigoyen (Radical Civic Union). The coup was supported by the Nacionalistas, a far-right nationalist

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<sup>143</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#)

<sup>144</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C3%A1enz\\_Pe%C3%B1a\\_Law](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C3%A1enz_Pe%C3%B1a_Law);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Argentina\\_\(1916%E2%80%931930\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Argentina_(1916%E2%80%931930))

<sup>145</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C3%A1enz\\_Pe%C3%B1a\\_Law](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C3%A1enz_Pe%C3%B1a_Law)

<sup>146</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1916\\_Argentine\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1916_Argentine_general_election)

<sup>147</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Argentina\\_\(1916%E2%80%931930\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Argentina_(1916%E2%80%931930))

movement (Lewis 2003: 83f).<sup>148</sup> In this period Uriburu acted as “President of the Provisional Government”. He planned to structure the regime along corporatist and fascist lines.<sup>149</sup> However, more traditional forces behind the coup were opposed to this direction. In November 1931 General Agustín P. Justo created a new conservative party, the „Concordancia” and succeeded Uriburu. The regime employed a combination of direct and indirect military control, along with fraudulent elections that effectively prevented opposition candidates from participating, guaranteeing victory for the regime’s candidates in every election (Rock 1993: 173-74, 177-81, 208, Lentz 1999: 21, Mainwaring/Pérez-Liñán 2013b: 131, Finchelstein 2014: 26).

11/08/1931 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral (Military) Autocracy: On this date elections were held. Justo, supported by a coalition comprising the conservative National Democratic Party, the Independent Socialist Party, and the anti-personalist faction of the Radical Party (later known as the Coalition of Parties for Democracy), ran for president. With the Yrigoyen faction excluded from the elections and its supporters opting for a strategy of “revolutionary abstention,” Justo secured a straightforward victory.<sup>150</sup> Justo’s rule was characterized by prioritizing commercial interests, promoting fraud in elections, and implementing significant public works projects. However, the urban and industrialized social landscape of Argentina posed challenges for the ruling Concordance, an alliance dominated by the conservative National Autonomist Party. The Radical Civic Union (Ilsley), led by Marcelo Torcuato de Alvear, emerged as a significant force after its boycott of the 1931 elections. Negotiations between Justo and Alvear resulted in the lifting of the UCR’s boycott, and the party achieved victories in various elections, including the election of Amadeo Sabattini as Governor of Córdoba Province.<sup>151</sup>

09/05/1937 End Electoral (Military) Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, elections were held. Alvear became the UCR’s presidential candidate in 1937, with Enrique Mosca as his running mate. However, Alvear faced opposition from certain progressive factions and failed to secure the endorsement of influential groups like FORJA. Additionally, the resignation of Lisandro de la Torre from the Senate and the prevalence of corruption and impunity further shaped the political climate. Justo, influenced by British commercial interests, nominated Roberto Ortiz as his party’s candidate, with Ramón Castillo as his running mate. The elections were marred by intimidation, ballot stuffing, and voter roll tampering, leading to

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<sup>148</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9\\_F%C3%A9lix\\_Uriburu](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9_F%C3%A9lix_Uriburu)

<sup>149</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1930\\_Argentine\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1930_Argentine_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>150</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agust%C3%ADn\\_Pedro\\_Justo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agust%C3%ADn_Pedro_Justo)

<sup>151</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1937\\_Argentine\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1937_Argentine_presidential_election)

a clear victory for Ortiz. The system of “patriotic fraud” prevalent during the “Infamous Decade” was evident in the 1937 elections, which Governor Manuel Fresco described as one of the most fraudulent in history.<sup>152</sup>

06/04/1943 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup by ultra-nationalist officers (from Grupo de Oficiales Unidos (GOU))<sup>153</sup> led by General Pedro Pablo Ramírez occurred, resulting in the removal of the conservative civilian government and the establishment of a military junta (Rock 1993: 174-75, 221, Levitsky 2003: 38, Finchelstein 2014: 30, Casey et al. 2020: 2, Potash 1996:573, : 40-41 Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 40).<sup>154</sup>

The coup was directed against the corruption and perceived ineffectiveness of the civilian government. The military junta that followed prioritized nationalistic and corporatist policies, which set the stage for the eventual rise of Colonel Juan Perón to power within the government.

02/24/1946 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: The Argentine general elections of 1946 were considered to be free and fair. Voters chose both the President and their legislators (Lewis 1990:98-99).<sup>155</sup> The elections of 1946 were the last in Argentina in which only men were enfranchised. In this election Juan Domingo Perón (Labour Party) became president. The Sáenz Peña Law was amended to include female citizens in 1947 but became effective in 1952.<sup>156</sup> While the 1946 elections were conducted with voters choosing both the president and their legislators, the broader political context included elements of authoritarianism, such as suppression of opposition and control over political life, which makes it impossible to characterize the regime as even semidemocratic. Peron “was bidding for undisputed power, based on the support of the underprivileged laborers and on his popularity and authority in the army”.<sup>157</sup> However, during his presidency the autocratic elements became clearer visible. GWF states that the regime crossed the line to autocracy only on 09/28/1951. On this date, the Peronist government, suspended constitutional guarantees and allowed detention without trial. “In the months preceding the November 1951 election, the government had pursued a strategy of harassment and manipulation against the opposition, but at the end of September, they began arresting opposition leaders and excluded opposition deputies from the legislature shortly afterward, completing the transition to dictatorship” (Ilsley 1952:229, 240, Potash 1996:133, Brooker 1995:175, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 40).

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<sup>152</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1937\\_Argentine\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1937_Argentine_presidential_election)

<sup>153</sup> <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/GOU>

<sup>154</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1943\\_Argentine\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1943_Argentine_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>155</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946\\_Argentine\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946_Argentine_general_election)

<sup>156</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>157</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Juan-Peron>

MCM coded the regime as military because Peron had a prominent military background and inserted military officers into other positions of power as candidates (MCM codebook: 15). According to the coding rules of this dataset the regime does not fulfil the coding rules of a military regime and is clearly an electoral autocracy.

09/23/1955 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup led by General Eduardo Lonardi ousted the Peronist government (Potash 1996: 575, Brooker 1995:181, Lewis 2001: 110-111). Peron fled the country and Lonardi established himself as the head of a military junta.<sup>158</sup>

02/23/1958 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: In the Argentine general election voters chose both the president and their legislators. The election was competitive “but the largest party, the PJ, was banned” (O'Donnell 1973: 166-192, Potash 1996:228, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 41), hence, the regime is coded as an electoral autocracy. The military actively wielded veto power over economic policy decisions, ministerial appointments, and prohibited the Peronist Party from participating in elections (O'Donnell 1973: 166-192, Finer 1975: 153, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 41).

03/29/1962 End Electoral Autocracy/Start [Indirect] Military Autocracy: On this date Army Chief of Staff General Rual Poggi surrounded the presidential palace and arrested President Frondizi. The military dissolved Congress and set up a government with José María Guido as the interim president.<sup>159</sup> During Guido's presidency, the military held significant sway, and although he was a civilian, his role was largely to provide a constitutional façade for what was effectively military rule. Since, the military in this period named a president to their liking and kept the parliament dissolved the regime is classified as a military autocracy.

06/28/1966 End [Indirect] Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup mainly organized by General Julio Alsogaray and military led by Lieutenant-General Pistarini ousted President Arturo Illia. Indirect military rule was replaced with direct military rule and General Juan Carlos Onganía took over the presidency (Gallo 1969: 497-498, 501, Potash 1996: 160-161, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 41).

03/11/1973 End Military Autocracy/Start Democracy: On this date, free and fair presidential elections took place. The Peronist party was allowed to run and won (Arceneaux 2001b: 68, Lewis 2001: 149-51, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 41). Perón's surrogate candidate, the left-wing Peronist Hector Cámpora, won the presidential elections and assumed office on 05/25/1973. Following a month of his presidency, Perón returned from Spain. However,

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<sup>158</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eduardo\\_Lonardi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eduardo_Lonardi)

<sup>159</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Argentina/The-conservative-restoration-and-the-Concordancia-1930-43>

Cámpora's tenure was marred by political and social unrest, leading to his resignation alongside Vice President Vicente Solano Lima in July 1973.

06/20/1973 End Democracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, the Ezeiza Massacre took place, which marked the starting point for the violent conflict within the Peronist movement. Subsequently, new elections were called, this time with Perón as the nominee of the Justicialist Party. Perón emerged victorious in the 10/12/1973 election, with his wife Isabel Perón elected as vice president.<sup>160</sup> The period was marred by a raging violent conflict between the left and right wing of the Peronist party, with right wing death squads - supported by the minister of social welfare José López Rega and some sectors of the federal police and military<sup>161</sup> - and leftist guerilla groups committing a myriad of atrocities.<sup>162</sup> From 1974 to 1983, as part of Operation Condor and the so called Dirty War, parts of the military and security forces, along with death squads such as the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance (AAA, or Triple A), systematically targeted political dissidents and individuals suspected of affiliations with socialism, left-wing Peronism, or the Montoneros movement. Between 22,000 to 30,000 people were killed or disappeared during this period, with many impossible to formally document due to state terrorism.<sup>163</sup> Despite the occurrence of two free and fair elections held under universal suffrage during this period, the state-sponsored repression targeting left-wing Peronists, coupled with a cycle of violence, renders it untenable to characterize Argentina between 1973 and 1976 as a democracy.

03/23/1976 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup led by General Jorge Rafael Videla ousted democratically elected President Isabella Peron and established a military junta headed by Videla (Balmaseda 1992, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 41).<sup>164</sup> The country was ruled by a three-man junta comprising the heads of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. The military regime aimed to restore order and stability, which they believed were undermined by economic difficulties, social unrest, and political violence. The regime was notorious for its widespread human rights abuses, including forced disappearances, torture, and extrajudicial killings. Thousands of political opponents, activists, and suspected dissidents were abducted and "disappeared" in what is known as the "Dirty War" (Guerra Sucia). Political parties were banned, and political activities were heavily suppressed. The junta dissolved the National Congress and suspended the constitution, effectively erasing any remaining

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<sup>160</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Argentina#Per%C3%B3n's\\_return\\_and\\_death](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Argentina#Per%C3%B3n's_return_and_death)

<sup>161</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Argentine\\_Anticommunist\\_Alliance](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Argentine_Anticommunist_Alliance)

<sup>162</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isabel\\_Per%C3%B3n#Presidency](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isabel_Per%C3%B3n#Presidency)

<sup>163</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dirty\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dirty_War)

<sup>164</sup> <https://2009-2017.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/26516.htm>

democratic institutions. The regime implemented neoliberal economic policies, including privatization, deregulation, and opening the economy to foreign investment. These policies were overseen by Economy Minister José Alfredo Martínez de Hoz. The military regime imposed strict censorship on the press and other media, controlling the flow of information and suppressing any criticism of the government. Educational institutions were purged of suspected leftist influences, and the regime promoted a nationalist and conservative curriculum. By the early 1980s, the regime's popularity waned due to economic problems and growing domestic and international pressure. The disastrous Falklands War (Guerra de las Malvinas) in 1982 further weakened the junta.

10/30/1983 End Military Autocracy/Start Democracy: On this date, free and fair elections were held (Rock 1995:189, Arceneaux 2001a: 114-140, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 41). Since then, Argentina can be characterized as a democracy with competitive elections, a free media, and vibrant civil society sectors. Nevertheless, significant challenges persist, including economic instability, governmental and judicial corruption, and drug-related violence.<sup>165</sup> Ex-president Fernández de Kirchner was accused and found guilty of corruption charges in 2022. While civil liberties are generally guaranteed, the institutions meant to safeguard them are plagued by corruption. Additionally, while a free press and freedom of expression is enshrined in law, journalists are frequently harassed when reporting sensitive issues such as drug-related criminality<sup>166</sup>, which could lead to self-censorship. Argentina is a presidential representative republic, featuring a bicameral legislative branch. The President of Argentina is both the Head of State as well as Head of Government. Elections are held regularly and within a multi-party framework.<sup>167</sup> Presidential and parliamentary elections in October 2023 were deemed fair and free by independent observers and turnout was over 70%. The right-wing candidate Javier Milei won the presidency with 36% of the vote while the Union for the Homeland (UxP) coalition hold the majority of parliamentary seats (102 in the Chamber of Deputies, 33 in the Senate). Mass protests that erupted as a response to reforms which caused inflation to spike considerably, and restricted protests slightly were conducted peacefully.<sup>168</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Allub 1973, Alvarez 2003, Brooker 1995, Brown 2010, Carreras 2002, Cavarozzi 1986, Cavarozzi 2001, Domínguez 2002, Finer 1975, Gallo 1969, Ilsley 1952,

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<sup>165</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/argentina/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>166</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/argentina/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>167</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Argentina](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Argentina)

<sup>168</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/argentina/freedom-world/2024>



Levitsky 2008, Lewis 1990, Lewis 2001, López-Alves 2000, Munck 1985, O'Donnell 1973, Peruzzotti 2001, Potash 1996, Rock 1995, Smith 1974, Smith 1978, Thibaut 1996, Thiery 2002, Waldmann 1995)

## **Armenia**

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Ottoman Empire, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 1453]: From 1453 until 1829 western Armenia was a part of the Ottoman Empire. Eastern Armenia, consisting of Yerevan and Nakhichevan khanates of Iran, was under Persian control.<sup>169</sup> In the aftermath of the Russo-Persian War (1826–1828) the parts of Eastern Armenia were incorporated into Russia after Qajar Persia's forced ceding in 1828 per the Treaty of Turkmenchay.<sup>170</sup> This territorial division was also current on our start date on 01/01/1900. Eastern Armenia remained part of the Russian Empire until its collapse in 1917.<sup>171</sup> Western Armenia on the other hand remained a part of the Ottoman Empire until its dissolution.<sup>172</sup>

04/22/1918 End Part of Other Country [Ottoman Empire, Ruling Monarchy]/Start Part of Other Country (TDFR): Armenia became a founding member of the short-lived Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic (TDFR).

05/28/1918 End Part of Other Country (TDRF)/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: As provided for in the 1918 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Russian Armenia became an independent republic under German auspices before emerging as the core of a revived Greater Armenia under the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres (Lansford 2021: 78).

06/21[&23]/1919 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: On these dates, the first direct parliamentary elections were held in Armenia under universal suffrage – every person over the age of 20 had the right to vote regardless of gender, ethnicity or religious beliefs and three women were elected as members of parliament. The election was boycotted by the Hunchaks and Populists. The government was held by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF, Dashnaksutiun).<sup>173</sup> The First Republic of Armenia, established in 1918, faced significant challenges due to its geopolitical position. Surrounded by hostile neighbors and caught in the broader context of regional conflicts, Armenia struggled to maintain its territorial integrity and security. These external threats impacted the country's internal

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<sup>169</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian\\_Armenia\\_\(1502%E2%80%931828\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian_Armenia_(1502%E2%80%931828))

<sup>170</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Armenia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Armenia)

<sup>171</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian\\_Armenia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_Armenia)

<sup>172</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armenians\\_in\\_the\\_Ottoman\\_Empire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armenians_in_the_Ottoman_Empire)

<sup>173</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1919\\_Armenian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1919_Armenian_parliamentary_election)

political processes, making the establishment and maintenance of democratic norms and institutions a difficult endeavor. The situation was further complicated by the aftermath of the Armenian Genocide and the influx of refugees, which added to the internal turmoil and humanitarian crisis. characterized by a strong atmosphere of mistrust and uncertainty among the various political parties. The parliamentary elections in 1919 further demonstrated the ARF's dominance, where it won a substantial majority of the seats. This landslide victory highlighted the ARF's influential position in the government, but also indicated a lack of significant opposition within the parliament.<sup>174</sup> The state of emergency, which was declared in May 1920, is an indicator of the fact that democratic civil rights were not fully realized. As a result of the state of emergency, the parliament gave up its rights in favor of the executive.<sup>175</sup> Therefore, we code this period as semidemocracy.

12/02/1920 End Semidemocracy/Start Communist Ideocracy [as (de facto) Protectorate of the USSR, Communist Ideocracy]: Due to the threat of a Soviet ultimatum the Armenian government transferred power to the Communists.<sup>176</sup> A (semi-)independent socialist soviet republic was established.

12/30/1922 End Communist Ideocracy [as (de facto) Protectorate of the USSR, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Part of Other Country [USSR, Communist Ideocracy]: The Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia became a founding republic of the USSR. Western Armenia returned to Turkey” (Lansford 2021: 78). Armenia became part of the Transcaucasian SFSR.<sup>177</sup> Since Armenia became part of another country a regime change has to be coded in the dataset. However, at the same time it was in many ways a continuation of the communist regime spell starting on 12/02/1920.

09/21/1991 End Part of Other Country [USSR, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Semidemocracy: On this date independence was regained. Immediately before the official date of independence on 10/17/1991 the first presidential elections took place, which were won by Levon Ter-Petrosyan.<sup>178</sup> The opposition Union for National Self-Determination, led by Paruyr Hayrikyan, claimed “that there were violations during the campaign, including an act of violence against him and his supporters”.<sup>179</sup> Initially, ideas and goals about democracy and pluralism were expressed, but the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict demanded all attention and a national unity. As

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<sup>174</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First\\_Republic\\_of\\_Armenia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Republic_of_Armenia)

<sup>175</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First\\_Republic\\_of\\_Armenia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Republic_of_Armenia)

<sup>176</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First\\_Republic\\_of\\_Armenia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Republic_of_Armenia)

<sup>177</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armenian\\_Soviet\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armenian_Soviet_Socialist_Republic)

<sup>178</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991\\_Armenian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991_Armenian_presidential_election)

<sup>179</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paruyr\\_Hayrikyan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paruyr_Hayrikyan)

a result, not only did the democratic demands and processes fade into the background, but also the gradual elimination of potential opponents by the incumbent government.<sup>180</sup> The classification of the regime is highly disputed. The classifications range from clearly autocratic to clearly democratic. GWF and HTW classify the period 1991-1994 as democratic, RoW as an electoral democracy, BMR as non-democratic, MCM and LIED as a multiparty autocracy and CGV as a civilian autocracy. We classify it as a semidemocracy, because political and civil liberties were given, but nevertheless severely restricted. Deficits in the electoral process have also been present, even if it was possible for the opposition to participate.

12/31/1994 End Semidemocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: This is the date when the elected Ter-Petrosian government crossed the line between democracy and dictatorship in suspending the largest opposition party (Dashnak, HHD) to prevent its participation in the July 1995 parliamentary election, and in subsequent months it disqualified multiple other parties and more than a third of the candidates (Bremmer 1997: 86-87, Lansford 2012b: 65-73, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 41-42). Ter-Petrosian's coalition originally included nearly all non-communist Armenians. The coalition narrowed over time but always included people from multiple regions. On 02/04/1998 Ter-Petrosian and numerous other top officials of the HHS stepped down due to widespread public demonstrations and a decline in support from significant political figures, resulting in the Kocharian government assuming power (Libaridian 2006: 9-10). Since the accession of Kocharian, the leadership has been dominated by individuals from Nagorno Karabakh; the HHS is no longer in government (Journal 1998, Usher 1999:20, Libaridian 2006: 9-10, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 41-42). However, different from GWF it is not coded in this dataset as a new regime but a continuation of the electoral autocracy. In 2015, voters approved constitutional changes that, among other things, transformed the country from a problematic quasi-presidential to a parliamentary form. The president, previously directly elected for a maximum of two five-year terms, would now be selected by the parliament for a singular seven-year term. Additionally, a significant transfer of executive power to the prime minister would occur, with the prime minister also being chosen by a parliamentary majority.<sup>181</sup>

12/09/2018 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: A series of anti-government protests in Armenia from April to May 2018 staged by various political and civil groups led by a member of the Armenian parliament – Nikol Pashinyan (head of the Civil Contract party)

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<sup>180</sup> <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6a6c014.html>

<sup>181</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/armenia/freedom-world/2022>;  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Armenia\\_2015?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Armenia_2015?lang=en)

occurred. Protests and marches took place initially in response to Serzh Sargsyan's third consecutive term as the most powerful figure in the government of Armenia and later against the Republican Party-controlled government in general. Pashinyan declared it a Velvet Revolution.<sup>182</sup> The parliamentary elections on 12/09/2018 "were markedly freer and fairer than elections in previous years". Local and international observers also deemed the snap parliamentary elections on 06/20/2021 "to be competitive, well organized, and fairly administered". The OSCE assessed the election as meeting international standards and described it as: "marred by increasingly inflammatory rhetoric" but was "positive overall."<sup>183</sup> While civil liberties are mostly upheld, the judiciary grapples with systemic political interference, while judicial institutions suffer from corruption. Judges are purportedly pressured to collaborate with prosecutors in securing convictions, resulting in notably low acquittal rates.<sup>184</sup> In September 2022 Azerbaijani forces crossed into Armenian territory and armed conflict was initiated in a dispute over the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh, resulting in up to 200 casualties.<sup>185</sup> Freedom House classifies Armenia as partly free. Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Arjomand 2008, Bremmer 1997, Blood 1997, Curtis/Suny 1995, Grotz/Rodriguez-McKey 2001, Journal 1998, Lansford 2012b, Libaridian 2006, Luchterhandt 1996, Sehring/Stefes 2010, Usher 1999)

## **Aruba**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Netherlands, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 1636]: The initial inhabitants of the island were Arawak Indians, who left behind red cave drawings, clay pottery, and stone tools. Following Spain's claim on Aruba in 1499, it became a hub for piracy and illicit trade. In 1636, the Dutch took control of the island, which was subsequently administered by the Dutch West India Company. Aruba temporarily fell under British rule during the Napoleonic Wars but was restored to Dutch authority in 1816.<sup>186</sup> In August 1947, Aruba drafted its inaugural Staatsreglement (constitution) to establish Aruba's autonomous

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<sup>182</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2018\\_Armenian\\_revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2018_Armenian_revolution)

<sup>183</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021\\_Armenian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021_Armenian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>184</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/armenia/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>185</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/armenia/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>186</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Aruba>

status as a self-governing entity within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, driven by the initiatives of Henny Eman, a prominent Aruban statesman.<sup>187</sup>

12/15/1954 End Colonial Regime [of Netherlands, Democracy]/Start Democracy [as Part of Netherland Antilles as Protectorate of Netherlands, Democracy]: In 1954, the Charter of the Kingdom of the Netherlands was introduced, laying out a structure for the connections between Aruba and the remainder of the Kingdom. This led to the formation of the Netherlands Antilles, bringing together all Dutch Caribbean colonies into a single administrative system. Nevertheless, this new arrangement was met with dissatisfaction among many Arubans, who felt it was primarily controlled by Curaçao.<sup>188</sup> In March 1983, Aruba secured a formal arrangement with the Kingdom for its eventual independence, with a progression of steps granting greater autonomy as approved by the Crown. In August 1985, Aruba formulated a constitution that received unanimous approval.<sup>189</sup> Aruba conducted general elections on 11/22/1985 to choose the members of the Island Council. These elections took place shortly before Aruba's separation from the Netherlands Antilles and its establishment as a 'land' (country) within the Kingdom of the Netherlands.<sup>190</sup>

01/01/1986 Continuation Democracy [as Protectorate of Netherlands, Democracy]: Aruba separated from the Netherlands Antilles and formally became a constituent country within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, with complete independence planned for 1996. During a convention held in The Hague in 1990, upon the request of Aruba's Prime Minister Nelson Oduber, the governments of Aruba, the Netherlands, and the Netherlands Antilles decided to indefinitely delay Aruba's move toward full independence. The article outlining Aruba's ultimate independence was revoked in 1995, but it was agreed that the possibility of resuming the process could be considered following another referendum.<sup>191</sup> Aruba possesses self-governing authority. The Netherlands handles matters like foreign affairs and defense. Aruba's political system consists of a 21-member Staten (Parliament) and an eight-member Cabinet. The Staten's 21 members are directly elected by the people to serve four-year terms. The governor of Aruba is appointed by the monarch for a six-year term, and the prime minister and deputy prime minister are indirectly elected by the Staten for four-year terms.<sup>192</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

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<sup>187</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aruba#20th\\_and\\_21st\\_centuries](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aruba#20th_and_21st_centuries)

<sup>188</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aruba#20th\\_and\\_21st\\_centuries](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aruba#20th_and_21st_centuries)

<sup>189</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aruba#Autonomy>

<sup>190</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1985\\_Aruban\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1985_Aruban_general_election)

<sup>191</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aruba#Autonomy>

<sup>192</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aruba#Government>

## Australia

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 01/26/1788]: The British government determined on settling New South Wales in 1786, and colonization began on 01/26/1788.<sup>193</sup> In the period from 1788 to 1901 there were six British colonies on the Australian continent: New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria and Western Australia. In 1894 universal suffrage was granted in the colony of South Australia and in the colony of Western Australia in 1899.

01/01/1901 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: On this date, the six British colonies on the Australian continent became independent from the United Kingdom. The transition to democracy in Australia began with the Federation in 1901, uniting these six British colonies under a single constitution.<sup>194</sup> This federation resulted in the creation of the Australian Parliament and marked the start of the nation's journey as a representative democracy, where Australians elect members of parliament to make laws and decisions on their behalf. On 03/29 & 30 the first federal national elections for a parliament took place.<sup>195</sup> From 1901 immigration was restricted by a series of historical policies that were enacted by the Australian government to restrict non-European immigration to Australia. These policies were implemented in the early 20th century and were a defining feature of Australia's immigration laws until the mid-20th century (White Australia Policy).

06/12/1902 Continuation as Semidemocracy: The transition of Australia from a penal colony to a federation saw the establishment of autonomous parliamentary democracies in the British colonies from the mid-19th century. The British monarch still served as the ceremonial head of state. This period was also marked by the gradual weakening and diminishing of Aboriginal people due to diseases and conflicts with colonists.<sup>196</sup> With the Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902 from this date Australia granted universal vote for non-indigenous people.<sup>197</sup> Indigenous Australian women (and men) were granted the vote in South Australia in 1895, but this right was revoked in 1902 for any Aboriginal person not already enrolled. Indigenous Australians were not given the right to vote in all states until 1962.<sup>198</sup> In 1902, the Commonwealth Parliament enacted the Commonwealth Franchise Act, extending federal voting rights to men

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<sup>193</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Australia/History>

<sup>194</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Australia\\_1985?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Australia_1985?lang=en)

<sup>195</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1901\\_Australian\\_federal\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1901_Australian_federal_election)

<sup>196</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Australia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Australia)

<sup>197</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commonwealth\\_Franchise\\_Act\\_1902](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commonwealth_Franchise_Act_1902)

<sup>198</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

and women across all states of Australia. However, the Act explicitly excluded Aboriginal natives of Australia, Asia, Africa, or the Pacific Islands (excluding New Zealand) who did not already possess voting rights in state elections at the time of the Act.<sup>199</sup> For this reason Australia is until 1962 a borderline case between a democracy and a semidemocracy.

05/21/1962 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: On this date the Commonwealth Electoral Act stipulated that Indigenous Australians possessed the right to register and cast their votes in federal elections, encompassing those held in the Northern Territory; however, enrollment was not mandatory. Any attempt to coerce Indigenous individuals into either enrolling or abstaining from voting through undue influence or bribery was considered an offense under the Act.<sup>200</sup>

Australia is a parliamentary democracy with a bicameral system. A governor-general, appointed upon the prime minister's suggestion, serves as the representative of the United Kingdom's monarch as the head of state. The monarchy's powers are greatly constrained.<sup>201</sup> Today Australia's democratic quality is reflected in its robust electoral system, respect for rule of law, civil liberties, political stability, inclusiveness, strong social policies, transparency, and active civil society. While historically there were significant issues with inclusivity, particularly regarding Indigenous Australians and immigrants, Australia has made considerable progress. The revocation of the White Australia Policy and legal reforms have moved towards a more inclusive society. The High Court of Australia, established in 1903, plays a crucial role in interpreting the constitution and ensuring that laws comply with democratic principles.<sup>202</sup> Australia generally ranks well in global indices measuring corruption and transparency. Efforts to maintain high standards of public service and government accountability contribute to the quality of its democracy. Australia has developed a comprehensive welfare system, including healthcare, education, and social security, reflecting a commitment to social justice and equity. On 05/21/2022 a federal election was held. After nearly a decade in opposition the Labor Party regained power by securing 77 seats in the House of Representatives, allowing them to form a majority government. An independent federal agency, the Australian Electoral Commission, is responsible for organizing federal elections, referendums, defines electoral boundaries and keeps the electoral rolls. Elections and electoral laws are generally deemed free and fair. Compulsory voting requires registered voters to participate, and not voting may result in a small fine.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Voting\\_rights\\_of\\_Indigenous\\_Australians#Queensland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Voting_rights_of_Indigenous_Australians#Queensland)

<sup>200</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Voting\\_rights\\_of\\_Indigenous\\_Australians#Queensland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Voting_rights_of_Indigenous_Australians#Queensland)

<sup>201</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/australia/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>202</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline\\_of\\_Australian\\_history](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_Australian_history)

<sup>203</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/australia/freedom-world/2023>

(Monarchical) Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Bolton 1900, Butler 1976, Hughes 2004, Macintyre 1999)

## **Austria**

[for the time from 1900 to 11/11/1918 Austria refers to the Austrian Half of the Habsburg Empire]

01/01/1900 Constitutional Monarchy [Start: 08/11/1804]: On 08/11/1804 the Austrian Empire was proclaimed. The Austrian part of the empire was a constitutional monarchy under the Habsburg dynasty. The emperor held significant executive power, but there was also a parliament (Reichsrat) which had legislative authority. Officially known as the Kingdoms and Lands Represented in the Imperial Council, this part of the empire was often referred to as Cisleithania, distinguishing it from the Hungarian part (Transleithania). The Austrian part was ethnically diverse, including Germans, Czechs, Poles, Ukrainians, Slovenes, Italians, and others. This diversity created a complex societal fabric, with various linguistic and cultural influences. In 1861 men gained the right to vote. Women were first allowed to vote in 1907.<sup>204</sup> Nationalist tensions among various ethnic groups posed significant challenges, with calls for more autonomy and rights. The political landscape was fragmented, with numerous parties representing different ethnic and interest groups.

11/11/1918 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, Emperor Karl I signed his abdication. On 11/12/1918 the republic was announced, the law of state and government reform was introduced. Article 9 of the reform mentioned that suffrage for the election of the Austrian Parliament should be universal, regardless of gender.<sup>205</sup> Since the period started after 07/01/1918 and ended before 07/01/1919 it does not appear in the country-year-version of the dataset.

02/16/1919 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Democracy: Free and fair founding elections were held for the Constituent Assembly. The elections were the first election in which all women were granted the right to vote. German citizens living in Austria, as well as Sudeten-Germans living in Czechoslovakia were allowed to participate in the elections. The Social Democratic Workers Party (SPÖ) won the majority with 72/170 seats. The resulting coalition between the SPÖ and the conservative Christian Social Party (CS) with Karl Renner as Chancellor, passed the first constitution for the First Austrian Republic on

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<sup>204</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage\\_in\\_Austria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage_in_Austria)

<sup>205</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage\\_in\\_Austria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage_in_Austria)



10/01/1920. In September 1919 the Treaty of Saint-Germain was signed, finalizing the end of WWI, and officially breaking up the Habsburg Empire.

05/27/1933 End Democracy/Start Right-wing [Corporative] Autocracy: Engelbert Dollfuss, holding a ministerial position, assumed the role of prime minister through standard procedures on 05/20/1932. In October, his government began to rule by emergency provisions and forced judges to resign. This purging of judges was completed by 05/27/1933. The Austrofascist corporative state closely followed the ideal of a Christian corporative state as developed by Pope Pius XI in the 1931 encyclical *Quadragesimo anno*. After Dollfuss was assassinated in 1934, his successor Kurt Schuschnigg continued the regime and maintained (Kitchen 1980: 5, 41, 110, Lentz 1999: 40-42, Casey et al. 2020: 2) <sup>[206]</sup>.

03/12/1938 End Right-wing [Corporative] Autocracy/Start Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy: German troops, accompanied by Hitler himself, entered Austria on this date (Hochman 2016: 237, Casey et al. 2020: 2). However, due to the strength of the national-socialist movement in Austria the period is not classified as an occupation, but as a new fascist ideocracy (by the Nazi movement). For instance, Vienna had already had a national-socialist mayor with Hermann Neubacher.

04/10/1938 End Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy [as independent country]/Start Part of other country [Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: On this date a plebiscite regarding the Anschluss to Germany was held. The result of 99 per cent pro annexation appears highly questionable.

04/27/1945 End Part of other country [Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Allied Forces]: Allied occupation of Austria and Restoration of the Republic of Austria. Austria was divided into four occupation zones and jointly occupied by the United Kingdom, the USSR, the USA, and France.

11/25/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Allied Forces]/Start Democracy: Austria between 11/25/1945 and 10/25/1955 is a borderline case between a democracy and occupation. Parliamentary elections on 11/25/1945 were free and fair. On 06/28/1946 the 'Second Control Agreement' was signed by the Allies. The agreement intended to gradually loosen their dominance over the Austrian government. The Austrian government continued to exist after parliamentary elections and was able to govern by democratic means, but the Allies retained the possibility of undermining government decisions through veto rights. In turn Soviet vetoes were routinely canceled by Western opposition.<sup>206</sup> While the country was still formally

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<sup>206</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allied-occupied\\_Austria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allied-occupied_Austria)

occupied it was largely sovereign regarding domestic policy. However, the occupying troops only left Austria on 10/25/1955. Since the Allies did not compete with the government for power and internal political autonomy prevailed, it is coded as a democracy from the time of the parliamentary elections on 11/25/1945. On 10/26/1955 the Austrian National Council passed the Constitutional Law on the Neutrality of Austria. Austria is a parliamentary democracy with a bicameral system consisting of the National Council (Nationalrat) and the Federal Council (Bundesrat). The president serves as head of state and the head of government is the chancellor.<sup>207</sup> Political Parties in Austria operate freely in a competitive environment. The judiciary operates independent. On 09/29/2019 snap elections were held to elect the National Council. Sebastian Kurz, among others, took center stage in the election campaign. ÖVP, his party, emerged as a clear winner. Backing for the FPÖ crumbled, resulting in the party losing 20 seats in the National Council. The ÖVP secured 71 seats, the highest among all parties but insufficient for a governing majority. The SPÖ obtained 40 council positions, the FPÖ secured 31, and the liberal NEOS garnered 15. After a two-year absence from parliament, the Green Party made a comeback and secured 26 seats.<sup>208</sup> A ÖVP-Green government took office with Kurz as chancellor. After corruption allegations, Kurz had to resign in October 2021. After a few weeks under Alexander Schallenberg as chancellor, Karl Nehammer took over in December.<sup>209</sup> Generally, elections in Austria are free and fair (Pelinka 2009).<sup>210</sup> Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Benedikt 1977, Carsten 1978, Gerlich/Campbell 2000, Grass 1969, Gulick 1976, Kitchen 1988, Pelinka 2009, Poier 2010, Strong 1974, Sweet 1950, Tálos 2001, Tálos et al. 1995, Weinzierl/Skalnik 1983a, Weinzierl/Skalnik 1983b)

## **Azerbaijan**

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Russia, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 02/28/1828]: Following a series of conflicts between the Russian Empire and Iran, the treaties of Golestān (Gulistan; 10/24/1813) and Turkmenchay (Torkmānchāy; 02/28/1828) redefined the border between the two empires. As a result, Russia gained control of Baku, Shirvan, Ganja, Nakhichevan (Naxçıvan), and Yerevan. Notably, there was no distinct Azerbaijani state before 1918, and the

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<sup>207</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Austria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Austria)

<sup>208</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/austria/freedom-world/2020>

<sup>209</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/austria/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>210</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/austria/freedom-world/2023>

Muslim population in Transcaucasia, instead of identifying with a continuous national tradition like the Georgians and Armenians, considered themselves part of the broader Muslim world, known as the ummah. The Russians referred to them as “Tatars,” and the term Azerbaijani (azərbaycanlı) only gained prominence among urban nationalist intellectuals in the pre-revolutionary era. It was during the Soviet period that this ethnonym became the official and widely recognized name for this group of people.<sup>211</sup>

04/22/1918 End Part of Other Country [Russia, Ruling Monarchy]/Start Part of Other Country [TDFR]: The Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic (TDFR) existed briefly in the Caucasus, from 04/22/1918 to 05/28/1918. It encompassed the majority of the modern territories of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, along with portions of Russia and Turkey. However, the republic's existence was short-lived, as Georgia declared independence after just a month, followed closely by Armenia and Azerbaijan.<sup>212</sup>

05/28/1918 End Part of Other Country [TDFR]/Start Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime: On this date the Azerbaijani Democratic Republic gained independence. The Azerbaijani National Council was the first delegated legislative body of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (ADR) from 05/27 May/1918 to 06/17/1918 and again from 11/16/1918 to 12/03/1918. Universal suffrage was introduced, making Azerbaijan the first Muslim-majority country to enfranchise women.<sup>213</sup> Elections for a constituent assembly were planned but did finally not take place.

04/28/1920 End Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start Part of Other Country [USSR, Communist Ideocracy]: This date marked the end of statehood by Soviet invasion.

10/18/1991 End Part of Other Country [USSR, Communist Ideocracy]/Start One-Party Autocracy: On this date “under the leadership of the Communist Party and Mutalibov” independence was regained (Nichol 1995a, Lansford 2012c:90, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 42). On 09/08/1991 presidential elections with Mutalibov from the Communist Party being the only candidate were held.<sup>214</sup> Although the communist party ruled during this period, this regime is not classified as a communist ideocracy because of the party's ideological distancing from Marximus-Leninism.

03/06/1992 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: After suffering great losses to the Armenians in battle, armed opposition party Azerbaijan

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<sup>211</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Azerbaijan/Russian-suzerainty>

<sup>212</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transcaucasian\\_Democratic\\_Federative\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transcaucasian_Democratic_Federative_Republic)

<sup>213</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women\\_in\\_Azerbaijan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women_in_Azerbaijan);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Declaration\\_of\\_Independence\\_of\\_Azerbaijan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Declaration_of_Independence_of_Azerbaijan)

<sup>214</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991\\_Azerbaijani\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991_Azerbaijani_presidential_election)

Popular Front protesters seized government buildings on 03/06/1992. Elements of the military participated but the leadership refused to evict the mobs. The popular uprising ousted Mutalibov, leading to control by the National Assembly, which contained about half communist successor deputies and half opposition deputies (Altstadt 1992: 109, Lansford 2012c: 90, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 42).

06/07/1992 End Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy: On this date the first competitive presidential election took place, which was won by Abulfaz Elchibey of the Azerbaijan Popular Front Party (APFP).<sup>215</sup>

06/04[-15]/1993 End Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy: A militia led by military commander Surat Huseynov overthrew President Elchibey and brought Heydar Aliyev to power.<sup>216</sup> On 06/16/1993 “the elected president fled the capital in the face of rebellion by a faction of the military” (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 42). The leader of the military rebellion agreed to allow Aliyev, speaker of parliament to replace the ousted president, while the military leader became prime minister in the new government (Nichol 1995b, Lansford 2012c: 92).<sup>217</sup>

10/03/1993 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy: On this date, presidential elections were held. Heydar Aliyev of the New Azerbaijan Party received most votes and was elected president in polls marked by fraud and irregularities. Political power was concentrated in the hands of Aliyev and his extended family, corruption is rampant, and human rights violations are severe.<sup>218</sup> After Aliyev's death in 2003, a cult of personality formed around him, which has persisted to this day.<sup>219</sup> On 10/15/2003 upon Heydar Aliyev's demise, power transitioned to his son, Ilham, signaling the initial dynastic transfer of power within the post-Soviet realm.<sup>220</sup> On 09/26/2018 a constitutional referendum extended presidential terms to seven years and created two vice presidents. It also gave the president the ability to suspend the legislature. Aliyev named his wife, Mehriban Alyeva, as one of the new vice presidents. Aliyev was re-elected president on 04/11/2018, with 86 percent of the vote. The OSCE and other international groups condemned the balloting as unfree and unfair, and several major opposition groups boycotted it (Lansford 2021). Presidential elections were held on 02/07/2024. Incumbent president Ilham Aliyev won his fifth consecutive term with over 92% of the vote,

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<sup>215</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992\\_Azerbaijani\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992_Azerbaijani_presidential_election)

<sup>216</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993\\_Azerbaijani\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993_Azerbaijani_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>217</sup> <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/AZE>

<sup>218</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ilham\\_Aliyev](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ilham_Aliyev)

<sup>219</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heydar\\_Aliyev](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heydar_Aliyev)

<sup>220</sup> <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/AZE>

defeating his closest competitor Zahid Oruj, who obtained just 2% of the vote. The election occurred within an authoritarian context characterized by repression of the opposition and independent media in Azerbaijan. The two main opposition parties, Musavat and Popular Front, decided not to field candidates and urged voters to boycott the election due to its undemocratic nature. Additionally, many candidates featured on the ballot had previously expressed admiration for Aliyev, leading to the absence of genuine opposition contenders amidst the crackdown on independent media and journalists. GWF and AF classify the regime as personalist, HWF, LIED and RoW as an electoral autocracy. Although Azerbaijan exhibits characteristics of a personalist regime during this period, the existence of elections to the executive and legislative branches of government places it in the category of electoral autocracies with the subtype (Personalist) electoral autocracies.

Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Altstadt 1992, Nichol 1995b, Grotz/Motika 2001, Hale 2005, Lansford 2012c, Nichol 1995a)

## **[The] Bahamas**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 07/26/1718]: Starting in 1629 the English had expressed an interest in the Bahamas. It was not until 1648 that the first English settlers arrived on the islands. Britain made the Bahamas a crown colony in 1718.<sup>221</sup> Woodes Rogers was officially appointed as Captain-General and Governor in Chief over the Bahama Islands by King George I on 02/06/1718, and he arrived at Nassau on 07/26/1718.<sup>222</sup> The political decolonization of the Bahamas took place with the gradual democratization of electoral law after 1959 and the gradual transfer of powers from the British colonial power to the differentiating system of government.<sup>223</sup> From 1958 onwards all men could vote equally in the Bahamas. Bahamian women could vote for the first time on 11/26/1962.<sup>224</sup>

01/07/1964 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Democracy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: On this date internal self-governance was

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<sup>221</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Bahamas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Bahamas)

<sup>222</sup> <http://www.bahamasnationalarchives.bs/assets/woodes-rogers.pdf#:~:text=On%20February%206%2C%201718%2C%20Rogers%20was%20o%20cially,Pardon%20from%20King%20George%20I%20for%20the%20pirates.>

<sup>223</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>224</sup> <https://cob-bs.libguides.com/wsb>

granted. Since the features of a democracy were already fulfilled before, Bahamas is classified as a democracy starting from the date of internal self-governance.

07/10/1973 Continuation Democracy [as independent country]: On this date, the Bahamas gained independence from the United Kingdom (Nohlen 1993). Since 1964 the Bahamas are a stable multiparty democracy where political rights and civil liberties are generally respected.<sup>225</sup> Executive power is held by the cabinet, the British monarch as a head of state has no effective political power. The government form is parliamentarism and, hence, the prime minister is the head of government. The judiciary is independent from political influences. Nonetheless, government corruption remains a problem, most recently in 2022 regulators were accused of colluding in the bankruptcy proceedings of FTX. Additionally, ongoing issues concerning societal freedoms, such as protection against domestic violence remain a serious problem. Migrants and Haitian-Bahamians face discrimination and their freedom of movement is inhibited by their lack of Bahamian identity documents.<sup>226</sup> In August 2022 it was announced that the government would seek to amend the Bahamas Nationality Act to increase gender equality for its citizens.<sup>227</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Hillebrands/Schwehm 2005b)

## **Bahrain**

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 07/23/1783]: After the Portuguese had controlled Bahrain between 1521 and 1602, Bahrain was ruled by the tribal Khalifa family from 1783 who rejected “claims of suzerainty from Persia and the Ottoman Empire” (Turner 1999). After the invasion of Bahrain on 07/23/1783 Ahmed ibn Muhammad ibn Khalifa became the first Hakim of Bahrain.<sup>228</sup> With British assistance, Bahrain was able to resist Ottoman control and signed a treaty of peace and friendship with Britain in 1861 (Sluglett 2007, Turner 1999). The country’s British-protected status dates from 1861, with the completion of a treaty named “Perpetual Truce of Peace and Friendship”<sup>229</sup> by which the sheikh agreed to refrain from “the prosecution of war, piracy, or

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<sup>225</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bahamas/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>226</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bahamas/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>227</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bahamas/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>228</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bani\\_Utbah\\_invasion\\_of\\_Bahrain](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bani_Utbah_invasion_of_Bahrain)

<sup>229</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Bahrain\\_\(1783%E2%80%931971\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Bahrain_(1783%E2%80%931971))

slavery.”<sup>230</sup> Thus, Britain assumed responsibility for the defense of Bahrain and for the conduct of its relations with other major powers.<sup>231</sup> Further treaties were signed in 1882 and 1892, practically transferring responsibility of Bahraini defense and foreign policy to Britain. This meant that the tribal chiefs of Bahrain agreed not to cede or transfer any portion of their territories except to Britain and to manage their relations with other powers through the British government. In return, Britain aimed at containing growing French interests in the region (Sluglett 2007). This period is coded as protectorate because the Bahraini rulers only delegated the conduct of foreign affairs to the British by a consensual treaty, while they maintained internal autonomy.

08/15/1971 Continuation Absolute Monarchy [as independent country]: On this date Bahrain and Britain agreed on a new treaty of friendship which granted independence to Bahrain and nullified all earlier treaties. Shaikh Isa bin Salman Al-Khalifa became the Emir with the Council of State as a cabinet. In June 1973, a constitution was ratified providing for a National Assembly of 30 members, together with all members of the cabinet who were appointed by the Amir (Turner 1999).<sup>232</sup>

12/12/1973 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Constitutional Monarchy: On this date under the 1973 constitution, general elections in Bahrain were held. The National Assembly had thirty members elected by a franchise restricted to male citizens, with an additional 14 ministers of the royally appointed government becoming ex officio members.<sup>233</sup> Because the right to elect representatives to the lower house of parliament was not inclusive, this brief period is coded as electoral autocracy. In 1973 universal suffrage was introduced, although parliament was suspended and dissolved in 1975 for approximately 30 years. Non-Sunni Muslims could not vote.<sup>234</sup>

08/1975 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Absolute Monarchy: The results of the 1973 elections were abrogated by Shaikh Isa in 1975. He dissolved the national assembly, suspended the constitution and started ruling by decree (Turner 1999).<sup>235</sup> Bahrain was governed under emergency laws from 1975 to 2002. During this time, “the worst human rights violations and torture were said to have taken place”.<sup>236</sup> In 2002, Bahrain changed its official name to Kingdom

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<sup>230</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bahrain/Cultural-life#ref93660>

<sup>231</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Bahrain\\_\(1783%E2%80%931971\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Bahrain_(1783%E2%80%931971))

<sup>232</sup> [https://aceproject.org/ero-en/regions/mideast/BH/bahrain-constitution-1973/at\\_download/file](https://aceproject.org/ero-en/regions/mideast/BH/bahrain-constitution-1973/at_download/file)

<sup>233</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1973\\_Bahraini\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1973_Bahraini_general_election)

<sup>234</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>235</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State\\_Security\\_Law\\_in\\_Bahrain](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State_Security_Law_in_Bahrain);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1973\\_Constitution\\_of\\_Bahrain](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1973_Constitution_of_Bahrain)

<sup>236</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State\\_Security\\_Law\\_in\\_Bahrain](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State_Security_Law_in_Bahrain)

of Bahrain and the Emir declared himself King.<sup>237</sup> Ever since the Khalifa family acquired power in 1783, they have dominated all state institutions. The parliament in Bahrain was reconvened in 2002 after a long hiatus. This reopening was part of the political reforms initiated by King Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa.

02/14/2002 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Constitutional Monarchy: On 02/14/2002, Bahrain was officially declared a kingdom, and the first parliamentary elections since 1975 were held on 10/24/2002, marking the parliament's return to operation. Since 2002 general elections are regularly held but they are not considered to be free and fair. In 2002, the constitution granted the king authority over the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The monarch has the power to appoint and remove the prime minister and cabinet members, who are accountable to him rather than to the legislative.<sup>238</sup> The uncle of king Hamad bin Isa al-Khalifa, Khalifa bin Salman al-Khalifa, served as the country's sole prime minister from independence from Britain in 1971 until his passing in 2020. Hence, after 2002 was a borderline case between a constitutional and an absolute monarchy. In 2011, a prodemocracy movement was violently repressed by security forces and the authorities have methodically eradicated a wide spectrum of political rights and civil liberties, dismantled political opposition, and suppressed persistent dissent, particularly concentrated among the Shiite population.<sup>239</sup> Following his death, the crown prince and eldest son of the king, Salman bin Hamad al-Khalifa, assumed the role of prime minister, which he retained after a cabinet reshuffle subsequent to the parliamentary elections of November 2022.<sup>240</sup> On 11/12/2022 and 11/19/2022 elections for the lower house were held.<sup>241</sup> However, the electoral process lacked competitiveness as major opposition groups were banned from participating. The performance of political societies overall was weak in the 2022 elections, with the majority of seats being won by independent candidates, including Sunni Islamists, due to a law enacted in 2018 that barred individuals from running for office if they were associated with dissolved political societies, had previously boycotted or been expelled from parliament, or had served a prison sentence of six months or longer. The political system features a bicameral structure, with the king appointing the 40-member Consultative Council as the upper house of the National Assembly. The lower house, known as the Council of Representatives, is comprised of 40 elected members serving four-year terms. While formal

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<sup>237</sup> <https://english.alaraby.co.uk/opinion/ruling-bahrain-part-i-emir-declares-himself-king>;  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Bahrain\\_2017?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Bahrain_2017?lang=en)

<sup>238</sup> <https://www.constituteproject.org/countries/Asia/Bahrain>

<sup>239</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bahrain/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>240</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bahrain/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>241</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022\\_Bahraini\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022_Bahraini_general_election)



political parties are prohibited, individuals affiliated with “political societies” have been allowed to participate in elections. The electoral framework is criticized for being unfair, primarily due to the deliberate underrepresentation of Shiites, who make up the majority of the citizen population but have never secured majority representation in parliament. Furthermore, the body responsible for administering elections is not an independent body. It is headed by the justice minister, who is appointed by the crown prince. The political landscape is characterized by a monopoly on political power of the ruling family, with the constitution not allowing for a change in government through elections.<sup>242</sup> Civil liberties and political rights are severely restricted in Bahrain. For instance, courts have been convicting people and sentencing them to death based on trials that clearly weren’t fair. These verdicts were mostly based on confessions that were supposedly forced out of people through torture and harsh treatment.<sup>243</sup> Constitutional Monarchy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Herb 1999, Herb 2003, Herb 2004, Sluglett 2007, Turner 1999)

## **Bangladesh**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [Part of British India, United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 06/23/1757]: The British East India Company, established in 1600 as a trading company attained wide-ranging control over large areas of the Indian subcontinent (see India). In 1757, following a battle in the town of Plassey between forces led by British and the Mughal nawab (viceroy), the East India Company emerged as the dominant political power in Suba Bangalah on 06/23/1757.<sup>244</sup> Bangladesh was under British colonial rule until 1947.

08/14/1947 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Part of Other Country [Pakistan, Electoral Oligarchy]: On this date, the Dominion of Pakistan was established. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Governor General, had pledged to establish a new state that would uphold religious freedom and a secular democracy.<sup>245</sup> Even though the Dominion of Pakistan consisted of two geographically separated areas, it was governed as one entity. In 1956 however, it was split into West Pakistan and East Pakistan.<sup>246</sup> East Pakistan, the territory that later became Bangladesh, was both politically and economically dependent on West Pakistan.

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<sup>242</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bahrain/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>243</sup> <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2023/country-chapters/bahrain>

<sup>244</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-Plassey>

<sup>245</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh#History>

<sup>246</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominion\\_of\\_Pakistan#Partition\\_and\\_independence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominion_of_Pakistan#Partition_and_independence)

In the newly established state, Pakistan, the populace of Bangladesh, were denied access to positions of power and the accompanying privileges (Ahmed 2001: 516). Many of the positions in both civil service and the ministries were held by people from West Pakistan (Sayeed 1972: 389). The Pakistani ruling elites resorted to intimidation and force to retain their authority. During Pakistan's first general elections in 1970, the Awami League (BAL), a party based in East Pakistan that mobilized against Pakistani governance, secured a significant majority of seats in the federal legislatures. Additionally, it claimed victory in nearly all seats in the provincial assembly. Instead of transferring authority to the BAL, however, the military leaders in Pakistan initiated a conflict against East Pakistan on 03/26/1971 (Ahmed 2001: 516).

04/10/1971 End Part of Other Country [Pakistan, Military Autocracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On 03/26/1971, the Bangladesh Liberation War started, in which the Mukti Bahini fought a guerilla war against the Pakistani forces. In early December, India intervened in the conflict, supporting the Bangladesh efforts.<sup>247</sup> On 04/10/1971, a Provisional Government of Bangladesh was established, after the Pakistani government newly elected in 1971 was never inaugurated. The reason that Pakistani officials did not want the new government to take office, was the victory of an East Pakistan party, the Awami League, which gained a majority of the seats in the National Assembly. This, in combination with Operation Searchlight, led to civil unrest and ultimately the civil war.<sup>248</sup> Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, also known as Sheik Mujib or simply Mujib, the leader of the Awami League, was arrested on 03/25. However, a had been formed with Sheikh Mujib as its president with the senior Awami League leaders who had attended the Mujib-Yahya talks as cabinet members. Tajuddin presented himself as the prime minister.” The Indian government allowed this provisional Bangladesh government to operate from within their borders. This government issued a declaration of independence on 04/10, which acted as a constitution for Bangladesh until 1972. The declaration announced the creation of a constituent assembly, composed of elected legislators, and proclaimed Bangladesh as a people's republic with its fundamental principles centered on "equality, human dignity, and social justice."<sup>249</sup> The parliament consisted of the elected Bengali members of Pakistan's assemblies and they build the Constituent Assembly of Bangladesh. Furthermore, Bangladesh was divided into administrative units, which were governed by elected legislators.<sup>250</sup> On 12/16/1971 the Bangladesh Liberation War ended. The Provisional Government of Bangladesh under Mujibur took over and started to transform “East Pakistan's

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<sup>247</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh#First\\_parliamentary\\_era](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh#First_parliamentary_era)

<sup>248</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970\\_Pakistani\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970_Pakistani_general_election)

<sup>249</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provisional\\_Government\\_of\\_Bangladesh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provisional_Government_of_Bangladesh)

<sup>250</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provisional\\_Government\\_of\\_Bangladesh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provisional_Government_of_Bangladesh)

state apparatus into an independent Bangladeshi state".<sup>251</sup> While the Awami League had participated in elections in Pakistan prior to the country's dissolution, the Mujib administration did not permit opposition parties or conduct fair elections (Blood 1988, Lansford 2012h). Universal suffrage was introduced upon Bangladesh's independence in 1971.<sup>252</sup> On 07/10/2005, the constituent assembly formally adopted the constitution of Bangladesh, delineating the nation's structure as a secular, multiparty parliamentary democracy. Following this constitutional milestone, Bangladesh proceeded to join prominent international organizations, including the Commonwealth of Nations, the United Nations, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), and the Non-Aligned Movement.<sup>253</sup>

03/07/1973 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, the first parliamentary elections were held. The elections were not free and fair. Opposition candidates were sometimes prevented from participating by abduction, and vote counting was abruptly halted in constituencies where opposition candidates were in the lead. Bangladesh Awami League won 293 of the 300 seats. This resulted in an electoral autocracy which was de facto extremely close to a one-party autocracy.<sup>254</sup> Under Mujibur's rule, the Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini was formed, a para-military force, which had to goal to crack down on left wing insurgencies. The group committed numerous human rights abuses without facing consequences.

01/25/1975 End Electoral Autocracy/Start One-party Autocracy: On this date, Mujibur Rahman declared the state of emergency, after unrest arouse after the 1974 famine. He subsequently banned in a self-coup all other political parties and gave himself more power. The only legal party became the Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League (BAKSAL).<sup>255</sup> BAKSAL was a political front comprising Bangladesh Awami League, the Communist Party of Bangladesh, the National Awami Party (Muzaffar) and Jatiyo League. All civilian government employees, professionals, and trade union leaders were pressed to join the party.<sup>256</sup>

08/15/1975 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Shortly after declaring himself a practical dictator, a group of disgruntled military junior officers led by Major Syed Faruque Rahman violently overthrew and killed president Sheikh Mujibur. The officers devised a plan

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<sup>251</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh#First\\_parliamentary\\_era](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh#First_parliamentary_era)

<sup>252</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>253</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh#First\\_parliamentary\\_era](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh#First_parliamentary_era);  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Bangladesh\\_2014?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Bangladesh_2014?lang=en)

<sup>254</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1973\\_Bangladeshi\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1973_Bangladeshi_general_election)

<sup>255</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970s\\_in\\_Bangladesh#Sheikh\\_Mujibur\\_Rahman\\_administration](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970s_in_Bangladesh#Sheikh_Mujibur_Rahman_administration)

<sup>256</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh\\_Krishak\\_Sramik\\_Awami\\_League](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh_Krishak_Sramik_Awami_League)

to substitute Rahman's secular government with an Islamic one.<sup>257</sup> Brigadier General Khondaker Mostaq Ahmad, one of the junior officers leading the coup, was appointed as president (Blood 1988, Lansford 2012d:108).<sup>258</sup> In November 1975, martial law was declared. Tajuddin Ahmad, the country's initial prime minister, along with four other leaders of the independence movement, were assassinated during that time. Following the assassinations, Chief Justice Abu Sadat Mohammad Sayem assumed the presidency under military rule.<sup>259</sup>

11/03/1975 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup led by Major General Khaled Mosharraf took place to remove the assassins of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman from power. Mosharraf put Major General Ziaur Rahman, the Chief of Army Staff, who was not believed to have supported the August coup, under house arrest.<sup>260</sup>

11/07/1975 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A coup led by socialist officers along with a mutiny by NCOs ousted on this date the military government and killed or arrested senior officers, among them Major General Khaled Mosharraf (Blood 1988, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 43).<sup>261</sup> Abu Sadat Mohammad Sayem was made chief martial law administrator and presided over a cabinet headed by the three chiefs of the armed forces. Ziaur Rahman, the chief of the Army, became a deputy chief martial law administrator along with the two other chiefs of the Navy and Air force.<sup>262</sup> However, Bangladesh's constitution did not have any provision for these arrangements. On 04/21/1977 Ziaur Rahman, assumed the presidency replacing Abu Sadat Mohammad Sayem, after the latter resigned on health grounds.<sup>263</sup> As President Rhaman founded the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) in 1978.<sup>264</sup> On 05/30/1977 voters were asked in a referendum "Do you have confidence in President Major General Ziaur Rahman?" and his adopted policies and programs was held, the result saw 98.9% vote yes, with a turnout of 88.1%. Although there is no serious challenge to the validity of the referendum, the critics are suspicious of such massive victory.<sup>265</sup> During his tenure, Rahman lifted martial law, reintroduced multiparty politics, privatized industries and newspapers, created BEPZA, and organized the country's second general election in 1979.<sup>266</sup> In the

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<sup>257</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military\\_coups\\_in\\_Bangladesh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_coups_in_Bangladesh)

<sup>258</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/3\\_November\\_1975\\_Bangladesh\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/3_November_1975_Bangladesh_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>259</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh#Presidential\\_era\\_\(1975%E2%80%931991\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh#Presidential_era_(1975%E2%80%931991))

<sup>260</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military\\_coups\\_in\\_Bangladesh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_coups_in_Bangladesh)

<sup>261</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/7\\_November\\_1975\\_Bangladesh\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/7_November_1975_Bangladesh_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>262</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Presidency\\_of\\_Ziaur\\_Rahman](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Presidency_of_Ziaur_Rahman)

<sup>263</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Presidency\\_of\\_Ziaur\\_Rahman](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Presidency_of_Ziaur_Rahman)

<sup>264</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ziaur\\_Rahman](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ziaur_Rahman)

<sup>265</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1977\\_Bangladeshi\\_presidential\\_confidence\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1977_Bangladeshi_presidential_confidence_referendum)

<sup>266</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh#History>

presidential elections of 1978, he was elected president by 76.6% of the vote.<sup>267</sup> “This was the result of the popularity that he enjoyed at that time among the masses who extolled his sincerity and dedication to the business of the state” (Khan 1979: 1035).

02/18/1979 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, general elections were held. The announcement of the elections divided the opposition. Part of the opposition raised demands that should be met by the president so that the elections would not be boycotted. Rahman fulfilled many of these demands, such as the restoration of civil rights, which had been suspended by the emergency order of December 1974, and the commitment to release political prisoners. This led to the participation of almost all opposition parties (Khan 1979). The result was a victory for the Bangladesh Nationalist Party, which won 207 of the 300 seats.<sup>268</sup> The participation of nearly all parties led observers to consider the elections as credible.<sup>269</sup> After the elections, however, the opposition raised accusations of manipulation, an allegation for which there was never any real evidence. However, there were irregularities in the by-elections, which in turn lent credibility to the allegations of manipulation (Khan 1979). Freedom House noted, “[t]he shadow of the violent military rule of the recent past still hangs over election processes and parliamentary independence.”<sup>270</sup> On 05/30/1981 Rahman was assassinated by military officers. Vice president Abdus Sattar succeeded him as acting president.<sup>271</sup> He was elected on 11/15/1981. AF, BR, HTW and MCM all classify this period still as military autocracy, at least until 1981, GWF and REIGN as personal and LIED as multiparty autocracy. Nevertheless, we designate this era as a semidemocracy due to the general elections of 1979, coupled with preceding concessions, which signify democratic advancements and the classification of the elections as predominantly free and fair, thus marking a distinct departure from military autocracy.

03/24/1982 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On the specified date, a military coup orchestrated by General Hossain Ershad, the army chief of staff, deposed the BNP government and instituted a government under martial law (Blood 1988, Lansford 2012d, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 43). Ershad suspended civil rights and the constitution, dissolved the parliament and banned all political parties.<sup>272</sup> In 1983 he assumed the presidency, promised

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<sup>267</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1978\\_Bangladeshi\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1978_Bangladeshi_presidential_election)

<sup>268</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Bangladeshi\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Bangladeshi_general_election)

<sup>269</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Bangladeshi\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Bangladeshi_general_election)

<sup>270</sup> [https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Freedom\\_in\\_the\\_World\\_1980\\_complete\\_book.pdf](https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Freedom_in_the_World_1980_complete_book.pdf)

<sup>271</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1981\\_Bangladeshi\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1981_Bangladeshi_presidential_election)

<sup>272</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1982\\_Bangladeshi\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1982_Bangladeshi_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

presidential elections for the following year and legislative elections for the year after that. However, it took until 1986 for the elections to take place.<sup>273</sup>

05/07/1986 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, the government of Hussain Muhammed Ershad, who seized power in a military coup in 1982, lifted the ban on political parties and conducted a general election (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 14). The parliamentary elections on 05/07/1986 were won by Ershad's newly founded Jatiya Party with 153 of 300 seats. The BNP boycotted the elections, other opposition parties participated. International Journalist considered the elections a farce, and opposition parties raised allegations of manipulation.<sup>274</sup> On 10/15/1986 presidential elections were conducted. Ershad won with 84% of the vote. However, all major opposition parties boycotted the elections. Again, international newspapers reported widespread fraud and irregularities. In July 1987 mass protests under the lead of a united opposition occurred. In response, Ershad declared a state of emergency and dissolved the parliament on 12/06/1987. In 03/06/1988 parliamentary elections were held, which were boycotted by all major opposition parties. Contrary to the secular constitution, his party declared Islam as the state religion in 1988.<sup>275</sup>

12/06/1990 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime: Transition: Opposition parties and groups backed by students brought the economy and most of the country to a standstill leading to the ousting of Ershad. Power was handed over to Ahmed, the chief justice of the supreme court.<sup>276</sup>

02/27/1991 End Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, relatively free and fair elections were held, in which the BNP emerged as the largest party in parliament (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 14-15). Numerous international observers characterized the elections as both free and fair, with their outcome playing a crucial role in strengthening democracy following the anti-government protests of the late 1980s.<sup>277</sup> In response to escalating lawlessness, the government deployed around 40,000 army personnel in an anti-crime initiative starting in October 2002, which extended into 2005. Although initially popular due to public concern over rising crime rates and perceived impunity for criminals, both domestic and international critics have denounced the police and army for their excessive actions during operations. Despite these efforts, lawlessness persisted, compounded by the escalating threat of Islamist extremism across most of the nation. On 08/17/2005, nearly 500

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<sup>273</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1986\\_Bangladeshi\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1986_Bangladeshi_presidential_election)

<sup>274</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1986\\_Bangladeshi\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1986_Bangladeshi_general_election)

<sup>275</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1986\\_Bangladeshi\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1986_Bangladeshi_presidential_election)

<sup>276</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990\\_Mass\\_Uprising\\_in\\_Bangladesh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990_Mass_Uprising_in_Bangladesh)

<sup>277</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991\\_Bangladeshi\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991_Bangladeshi_general_election)

small bombs exploded in 63 out of 64 districts, primarily targeting government buildings, courts, and press clubs. Political violence also surged following August 2004, when a series of grenades detonated at an AL rally in Dhaka, resulting in 22 fatalities and numerous injuries, including several prominent party leaders. Although the government pledged an independent commission to investigate the attacks, concerns arose regarding its impartiality, and the perpetrators remain at large without facing justice.<sup>278</sup> Furthermore, the two biggest parties, the BNP and the AL, have disrupted the legislative process through prolonged parliamentary boycotts while in opposition. In recent times, political violence during demonstrations and general strikes has resulted in hundreds of fatalities and thousands of injuries in major urban centers. Additionally, law enforcement frequently resorts to excessive force against opposition demonstrators.<sup>279</sup>

01/11/2007 End Semidemocracy/Start Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime: The military installed a non-political caretaker government (Alamgir 2009:47, Lansford 2012d:109). In 2007, the interim government took action against corruption and bribery allegations targeting the leaders of the two major political parties, as well as some of their top aides. The aim was to address the issue of corruption in the country, which had gained a reputation for being highly corrupt.<sup>280</sup>

12/29/2008 End Start Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start Democracy: On this date, free and fair parliamentary elections were held. The winning party took over power (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 43).

04/22/2013 End Democracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: Hamid was elected president unopposed in 2013. During the parliamentary elections of 12/30/2018, the Bangladesh Awami League (BAL) headed by Sheikh Hasina gained the majority with 257 seats. The electoral process was marred by incidents of violence against dissent that saw thousands of people and several political candidates arrested, threats, harassment of the opposition and allegations of electoral irregularities were raised.<sup>281</sup> The Bangladesh Awami League was re-elected in 2014 in polls boycotted by the opposition and marred by violence (Lansford 2021:129). On 12/30/2018, the Awami League won most seats in elections defined by violence, electoral irregularities and accused of vote rigging.<sup>282</sup> On 02/07/2018, Hamid was re-elected president since no other candidates chose to contend the balloting (Lansford 2021). General elections were held in

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<sup>278</sup> [https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Freedom\\_in\\_the\\_World\\_2006\\_complete\\_book.pdf](https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Freedom_in_the_World_2006_complete_book.pdf)

<sup>279</sup> [https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Freedom\\_in\\_the\\_World\\_2006\\_complete\\_book.pdf](https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Freedom_in_the_World_2006_complete_book.pdf)

<sup>280</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006%E2%80%932008\\_Bangladeshi\\_political\\_crisis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006%E2%80%932008_Bangladeshi_political_crisis)

<sup>281</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bangladesh/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>282</sup> <https://www.bmz.de/en/countries/bangladesh/political-situation-48720>

Bangladesh on 01/7/2024, as required by the constitution. The Awami League, led by incumbent Sheikh Hasina, won the election for the fourth consecutive time, with less than 40% of eligible voters participating, according to the Election Commission, which is controlled by the ruling political party. The Awami League secured 224 seats, while independent candidates, many of whom were Awami League members posing as competition, won 62 seats.<sup>283</sup> REIGN is the only dataset to classify the regime after 2014 as democratic, while BMR classifies it as non-democratic, BR as a civilian autocracy and RoW and LIED as an electoral autocracy. Electoral Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Ahmed 2001, Heitzman/Worden 1988, Wagner 2008, Alamgir 2009, Blood 1988, Lansford 2012d, Maniruzzaman 1992)

## **Barbados**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 02/17/1627]: On 02/17/1627 the English expedition ship ‘William and John’ landed on Barbados.<sup>284</sup> Hence, Barbados became a British Colony in 1627.<sup>285</sup> From 1833 to 1885 Barbados was part of the Windward Islands (with the governor of Barbados also governor of the Windward Islands) and from 01/03/1958 to 05/31/1962 part of the Federation of the West Indies. Universal adult suffrage was introduced in 1951 (Lansford 2021:138).

12/04/1961 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Democracy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: Barbados attained full internal self-government in October 1961 and the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) won the election in December of the same year.<sup>286</sup> First free and fair elections were held on 12/04/1961 after Barbados was granted self-government.<sup>287</sup>

11/30/1966 Continuation Democracy [as independent country]: On this date Barbados became independent.<sup>288</sup> An election confirmed the dominant position of the DLP, whose leader, Errol Walton Barrow, had been named premier in 1961 and was reappointed prime minister in 1971 (Lansford 2021:138). Barbados is a democratic country that conducts regular competitive

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<sup>283</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2024\\_Bangladeshi\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2024_Bangladeshi_general_election)

<sup>284</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Barbados/Cultural-life#ref54603>

<sup>285</sup> [https://www.barbadosparliament.com/main\\_page\\_content/show\\_content/13](https://www.barbadosparliament.com/main_page_content/show_content/13)

<sup>286</sup> [https://www.barbadosparliament.com/main\\_page\\_content/show\\_content/13](https://www.barbadosparliament.com/main_page_content/show_content/13)

<sup>287</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1961\\_Barbadian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1961_Barbadian_general_election)

<sup>288</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Barbados/British-rule>;  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Barbados\\_2007?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Barbados_2007?lang=en)



elections and protects civil liberties.<sup>289</sup> In November 2021, the government officially declared its independence from the United Kingdom, establishing a republican constitutional system. In snap elections in 01/2022 the Barbados Labor Party won elections, while voter turn-out fell to about 42%. In 12/2022 the high court abolished laws criminalizing same-sex relations thereby improving the quality of civil freedoms.<sup>290</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Hillebrands/Falk 2005)

## **Belarus**

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Russia, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 02/26/1797]: In 1797, the Belarusian territories which had been annexed by the Russian Empire during the rule of Catherine II were incorporated into the Belarusian Governorate. As Belarus was closely connected to the Commonwealth of Poland-Lituania, it was affected by the third partitioning of Poland following Austrian, Prussian and Russian parley on 10/24/1795 to dissolve Polish-Lituanian Commonwealth, with the three conquering powers signing a treaty to divide the region on 02/26/1797.<sup>291</sup> During the 1840s, Nicholas I initiated a Russification campaign that banned the use of the Belarusian language in public schools, suppressed Belarusian publications, and attempted to force individuals who had converted to Catholicism during the Polish rule to revert to the Orthodox faith.<sup>292</sup>

11/07/1917 Continuation as Part of other Country [Russia, Communist Ideocracy]: On this date the Russian Soviet Republic was proclaimed.<sup>293</sup>

02/21/1918 End Part of other Country [RSFSR, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]: On this date, Minsk was taken over by the Germans in the context of the First World War.<sup>294</sup> On 03/03/1918 the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed. As per the conditions of this brief agreement, Russia relinquished a portion of what is now Belarus, as well as Ukrainian and Baltic territories, to Germany.<sup>295</sup> While negotiating the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Belarus declared its independence on 03/25/1918, under German

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<sup>289</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/barbados/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>290</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/barbados/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>291</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third\\_Partition\\_of\\_Poland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third_Partition_of_Poland)

<sup>292</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belarus#Russian\\_Empire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belarus#Russian_Empire)

<sup>293</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian\\_Soviet\\_Federative\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_Soviet_Federative_Socialist_Republic)

<sup>294</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Belarus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Belarus)

<sup>295</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Belarus/History#ref33454>

occupation, establishing the Belarusian People's Republic.<sup>296</sup> On 12/03/1918, the German troops withdrew from Minsk.<sup>297</sup>

12/10/1918 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Russia, Communist Ideocracy]: On this date, Minsk was taken over by the Soviet troops. The Rada (Council) of the People's Republic of Belarus went into exile, initially relocating to Kaunas, and subsequently moving to Berlin before ultimately settling in Prague.<sup>298</sup>

01/01/1919 End Occupation Regime [by Russia, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Part of Other Country [Russia, Communist Ideocracy]: On this date, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR) was proclaimed belonging to the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.<sup>299</sup> Under Soviet administration women in Belarus were granted universal suffrage on 02/04/1919.<sup>300</sup>

02/17/1919 End Part of Other Country [Russia, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Part of Other Country [Lithuanian–Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Communist Ideocracy]: On this date, the BSSR was dismantled, and a period of power struggle began in Belarus. A portion of the territory was amalgamated with the Lithuanian SSR to create the Lithuanian–Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (LBSSR), commonly referred to as Litbel, with its capital in Vilnius. Belarusian Democratic Republic, was a state proclaimed by the Council of the Belarusian Democratic Republic in its Second Constituent Charter on 03/09/1918 during World War I. The Council proclaimed the Belarusian Democratic Republic independent in its Third Constituent Charter on 03/25/1918 during the occupation of by the Imperial German Army. During this time, as the Belarus National Republic clashed with Litbel, external powers were preparing to reclaim territories they considered their own: Polish forces were advancing from the West, while Russian forces were approaching from the East. When Polish forces captured Vilnius on 04/17/1919, the capital of the Soviet puppet state Litbel was relocated to Minsk. However, on 07/17/1919, Lenin disbanded Litbel due to the mounting pressure from advancing Polish forces in the West.<sup>301</sup>

08/08/1919 End Part of Other Country [Lithuanian–Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Poland, Democracy]: On this date, Polish troops captured Minsk. Józef Piłsudski, the leader of Poland, had a vision of creating an

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<sup>296</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belarus#Russian\\_Empire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belarus#Russian_Empire)

<sup>297</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Belarus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Belarus)

<sup>298</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Belarus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Belarus)

<sup>299</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist\\_Soviet\\_Republic\\_of\\_Byelorussia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Soviet_Republic_of_Byelorussia)

<sup>300</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage); [https://data.ipu.org/node/16/elections/historical-data-on-women?chamber\\_id=13335](https://data.ipu.org/node/16/elections/historical-data-on-women?chamber_id=13335)

<sup>301</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Belarus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Belarus)

Intermarium federation in Central and Eastern Europe to act as a buffer against both Germany in the west and Russia in the east. In pursuit of this goal, Poland initiated a Kiev offensive into Ukraine in 1920. However, this move triggered a counter-offensive by the Red Army of the Soviet Union, which advanced deep into Polish territory, coming perilously close to Warsaw. Additionally, the Soviet Red Army recaptured Minsk on 07/11/1920.<sup>302</sup>

07/31/1920 End Occupation Regime [by Poland, Democracy]/Start Part of Other Country [Russia, Communist Ideocracy]: On 07/11/1920, Minsk was captured by the Red Army. On 07/31, the new Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic was declared.<sup>303</sup> The following year, with the Treaty of Riga signed on 03/18/1921 and stating the end of the Polish-Soviet War, Belarus was partitioned between Poland and Russia.<sup>304</sup>

03/18/1921 End Part of other Country [Russia, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Part of other Country [Russia, Communist Ideocracy and Poland, Democracy]: With the Treaty of Riga and the following partition of Belarus, the country was controlled by two powers. Western Belarus was given to the Second Polish Republic. During this time, Belarusians were subject to the government's effort of Polonization. Their language, teachings and cultural practices were discriminated against.<sup>305</sup> Eastern Belarus fell under the administration of the RSFSR. In 1922, the SSRB was one of the founding members of the Soviet Union and became known under BSSR.<sup>306</sup>

09/17/1939 End Part of other Country [USSR, Communist Ideocracy and Poland, Electoral Autocracy]/Start Part of other Country [USSR, Communist Ideocracy]: On this date, soviet troops invaded Poland and consequently, Western Belarus became part of the BSSR.

06/28/1941 End Part of other Country [USSR, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: On 06/22/1941, the Axis powers invaded the Soviet Union. On 06/28/1941, Minsk was captured by German troops and all present-day Belarus was captured within the end of August. The German occupation was marked by violence and death. Altogether, during World War II, Belarus suffered the loss of a quarter of its population before the war, including virtually its entire intellectual elite.<sup>307</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Belarus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Belarus)

<sup>303</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Belarus#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Belarus#)

<sup>304</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_Riga](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Riga)

<sup>305</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western\\_Belorussia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_Belorussia)

<sup>306</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Byelorussian\\_Soviet\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Byelorussian_Soviet_Socialist_Republic)

<sup>307</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Belarus#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Belarus#)

09/02/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Part of other Country [USSR, Communist Ideocracy]: With the end of the Second World War and the victory of the Allies, the BSSR became part of the USSR again.<sup>308</sup>

08/25/1991 End Part of Other Country [USSR, Communist Ideocracy]/Start One-Party Autocracy: On this date the Belarussian parliament, still dominated by the Communist party (302 from 328 seats), declared independence from the USSR. The Supreme Soviet was elected prior to independence in an election that excluded the major opposition (Zaprudnik/Helen 1995, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 43). In December, Belarus, along with Russia and Ukraine, participated in the Alma Ata Declaration, leading to the complete dissolution of the USSR. Following an extended struggle, the still-prevalent former communist party consented to a new constitution and multiparty elections in 1994 (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 15). Since the elections in 1990 were not multiparty elections and the opposition in the parliament formed only after the election the regime is classified as a one-party autocracy. It is a borderline case between a communist ideocracy and a one-party autocracy.

07/10/1994 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy: On this date there was a free and fair competitive presidential election (second round)<sup>309</sup>, which was not won by the government candidate, but Alexander Lukashenka<sup>310</sup> (Korosteleva 1998:35-45, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 43).<sup>311</sup> Nonetheless, the process of becoming more authoritarian commenced shortly after Lukashenka's election on 07/21/1994. One of his initial actions involved delaying parliamentary elections, allowing those who had been elected to the Supreme Soviet in 1990 to remain in office. The harassment of the opposition began only days after his election (Silitski 2003:44-46, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 43-44).<sup>312</sup> This assessment is founded on the notable limitations imposed on electoral politics, as well as attempts to circumvent both the legislature and the constitutional court by issuing executive decrees (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 72). In the 2008 parliamentary election, the government won all seats, maintaining its political control. Despite domestic and international calls for reform, Lukashenka remained defiant. He secured another presidential term in 2010, which was marred by allegations of vote rigging by the opposition and international observers. He was reelected again in 2015 with accusations of irregularities. The 2019 parliamentary elections resulted in the opposition failing to win any seats, allowing Lukashenka's government to continue its hold

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<sup>308</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Belarus#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Belarus#)

<sup>309</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Belarus\\_2004?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Belarus_2004?lang=en)

<sup>310</sup> Also transliterated as Lukashenko (Russian version of the name).

<sup>311</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander\\_Lukashenko](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_Lukashenko)

<sup>312</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/Belarus2010.pdf>

on power. A referendum held on 02/27/2022 allows the president to rule until 2035 and guarantees him impunity even after leaving office.<sup>313</sup>

Electoral autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Fedor 1995, Korosteleva 1998, Ó Beacháin 2011, Sahm 2010, Silitski 2003, Steinsdorff 2010, Way 2005)

## **Belgium**

01/01/1900 (Monarchical) Electoral Oligarchy [Start: 02/07/1831]: On 10/04/1830 Belgium proclaimed its independence from the Netherlands. From 08/25/1830 until 07/21/1831 the Belgium Revolution took place. On 02/07/1831 Belgium became the Kingdom of Belgium. On 04/19/1839 independence was recognized by the Netherlands. As parties emerged, initially beginning as representative clubs, the king's sway over cabinet formation and policy experienced a consistent decline. Subsequent to 1848, the monarch managed to dismiss the prime minister only on two occasions (in 1871 and 1884), despite the prime minister enjoying parliamentary support (Trefz 2010: 271). While the 1893 electoral reforms in Belgium were progressive for their era and marked a departure from more elitist voting systems, the plural voting system meant that it was not a full democracy in the sense that we understand today. The principle of 'one person, one vote' was not yet realized, and significant segments of the population, including women and those without property or certain educational qualifications, were either excluded or had limited influence compared to wealthier and more educated males. All datasets including the one's with a separate category for ruling monarchies like AF classify Belgium from 1900 on as a democracy or semidemocracy. According to our coding scheme Belgium is a borderline case between a semidemocracy and an electoral oligarchy. However, because no universal male suffrage was guaranteed we classify it as an electoral oligarchy, despite the percentage of the population participating in elections is above 15.

08/04/1914 End (Monarchical) Electoral Oligarchy/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]: As part of the Schlieffen Plan to attack France, Germany invaded Belgium in August 1914, and a significant portion of the Western Front fighting during World War I took place in the western regions of the country.<sup>314</sup>

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<sup>313</sup> <https://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/belarus-referendum-101.html>

<sup>314</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belgium#Independent\\_Belgium](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belgium#Independent_Belgium)

11/11/1918 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start (Monarchical) (Male) Semidemocracy: In 1919 a new electoral law enacted universal equal and secret suffrage for men. However, the enfranchisement of women was prevented by Liberals and Socials because they feared a majority of women would vote for the Catholics (Trefs 2010) In 1918 universal census suffrage for all men aged 25 and above since 1893. Depending on education and amount of taxes paid, males could cast between one and three votes. Widows were also allowed to vote but lost their voting rights after remarrying. Universal suffrage was introduced in 1918.<sup>315</sup>

05/10/1940 End (Monarchical) (Male) Semidemocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: In May 1940, German forces invaded Belgium for a second time, resulting in the deaths of 40.690 Belgians, more than half of whom were Jews, during the occupation and Holocaust. Belgium was liberated by the Allies from September 1944 to February 1945.<sup>316</sup>

09/03/1944 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start (Monarchical) (Male) Semidemocracy: On this date the German occupation of Belgium ended.<sup>317</sup> In 1948 universal suffrage for women was introduced.<sup>318</sup>

06/27/1949 End (Monarchical) (Male) Semidemocracy/Start (Monarchical) Democracy: On this date, the first parliamentary election in which women participated took place.<sup>319</sup> On 03/12/1950 the Belgium monarchy referendum took place. Questionable was whether King Leopold III. should return to the country after his time abroad and resume his rights and duties as a monarch. 57.68% voted in favor of the Kings return.<sup>320</sup> Belgium is a parliamentary (Monarchical) democracy with a bicameral system, consisting of the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives. Belgium has a multi-party system. The Belgian monarchy is predominantly ceremonial, though the king maintains constitutional authority to moderate the government formation process.<sup>321</sup> While the King acts as head of state, the Prime Minister is the head of government.<sup>322</sup> Elections are generally free and fair, and the political landscape is fragmented but broadly diversified. Freedom of the press, freedom of religion and freedom of assembly are generally guaranteed. Belgium's judiciary is independent, and equal treatment is guaranteed.<sup>323</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>316</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belgium#Independent\\_Belgium](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belgium#Independent_Belgium)

<sup>317</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German\\_occupation\\_of\\_Belgium\\_during\\_World\\_War\\_II](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_occupation_of_Belgium_during_World_War_II)

<sup>318</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>319</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1949\\_Belgian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1949_Belgian_general_election)

<sup>320</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1950\\_Belgian\\_monarchy\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1950_Belgian_monarchy_referendum)

<sup>321</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/belgium/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>322</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Belgium](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Belgium)

<sup>323</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/belgium/freedom-world/2023>

Federal elections took place on 05/26/2019, alongside the European and regional elections. All 150 members of the Chamber of Representatives were elected from eleven multi-member constituencies. The right-wing Vlaams Belang (VB) experienced a resurgence in Flanders, and along with the New Flemish Alliance (NVA), parties advocating Flemish separatism and nationalism secured nearly 50% of the vote in Flanders. The Belgian coalition of N-VA, CD&V, MR, and Open VLD lost over a quarter of its seats, marking the most significant government punishment in 20 years. Furthermore, the far-left Workers' Party of Belgium (PVDA-PTB) and the green Ecolo party made gains in Wallonia. Overall, traditional parties faced losses in both regions.<sup>324</sup>

(Monarchical) Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Redslob 1918, Woyke 2009)

## **Belize**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 01/01/1862]: First colonized in the early 17th century by English woodcutters and shipwrecked sailors, the territory was historically known as British Honduras. In 1862, Belize became a Crown dependency governed from Jamaica, and it was established as a separate colony in 1884. The country's western boundary was defined in an 1859 convention, which Guatemala repudiated in 1940 (Lansford 2021: 160). A parliament was introduced in 1935, although its members were initially nominated. However, with the enactment of the British Honduras Constitution on 03/25/1954, the parliament was defined as comprising a Speaker, three ex officio members, three nominated members (British subjects), and nine elected members.<sup>325</sup> After years of political struggle, universal adult suffrage was won in 1954 by the People's United Party (PUP) with the support of the people. On 04/28/1954, the first general elections were held, and the PUP won eight of the nine elected seats and 67 per cent of the vote.<sup>326</sup>

01/01/1964 Start Democracy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: On this day, Belize became a self-governing unity as a new constitution came into force that decreased the governor's powers, formed a cabinet headed by a premier, and established a bicameral parliament. Moreover, it declared that general elections were held every five years and granted

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<sup>324</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019\\_Belgian\\_federal\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019_Belgian_federal_election)

<sup>325</sup> <https://www.nationalassembly.gov.bz/history-of-the-legislature-of-belize/>.

<sup>326</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Nationalist\\_Movement\\_\(Belize\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Nationalist_Movement_(Belize))

complete internal self-rule.<sup>327</sup> In 1964, following the implementation of universal suffrage, the composition of the legislature shifted, with a majority of its members being elected rather than appointed. Specifically, of the eighteen seats in the legislature, thirteen were elected and five remained appointed. From 1964, the British government only controlled the defense, foreign affairs, internal security, and public service in British Honduras.<sup>328</sup> In preparation for its independence, the official name was changed into Belize on 06/01/1973.

09/21/1981 Continuation Democracy [as independent country]: Price held the position of Belize's initial prime minister until his party faced defeat by the United Democratic Party (UDP), led by Manuel Esquivel, in December 1984. Belize gained official recognition as an independent sovereign nation from Guatemala in September 1991. Despite this acknowledgment, a lingering border dispute persisted and remained unresolved when Dean Barrow assumed the role of prime minister in February 2008 after the UDP secured a decisive victory. General elections took place in Belize on 11/11/2020, to elect the 31 members of the House of Representatives. The People's United Party won 26 seats, marking its first national election victory since 2003, while the incumbent United Democratic Party secured the remaining 5 seats, experiencing its worst result since 1998. Despite challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic and a recent tropical storm, voter turnout in the 2020 general elections exceeded 81%, the highest since 1998. Notably, the election saw the participation of the first female party leader and Prime Ministerial candidate in Belizean general election history, Nancy Marin of the Belize People's Front.<sup>329</sup> Belize operates as a democratic nation where regular shifts in power have occurred through competitive electoral processes. The nation generally upholds civil liberties, although concerns linger regarding government corruption and a notable prevalence of violent crime. Addressing persistent issues such as police brutality and human trafficking within the country's borders has been a slow process for the authorities.<sup>330</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Hillebrands/Ortiz Ortiz 2005)

## **Benin**

[Formerly known as Dahomey]

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<sup>327</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/belize/69.htm>

<sup>328</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Belize](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Belize).

<sup>329</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020\\_Belizean\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020_Belizean_general_election)

<sup>330</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/belize/freedom-world/2022>



01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 10/17/1899]: Dahomey became a French protectorate on 01/01/1894. Since 10/17/1899 it was a colony as part of French West Africa. In 1956 universal suffrage was introduced (LIED).

04/12/1958 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime [as Protectorate of France, Democracy]: On this date Dahomey became a self-governing unit within the French Community (Republic of Dahomey) (Lansford 2021: 164).

04/02/1959 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime [as Protectorate of France, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date fairly competitive pre-independence elections took place. On 08/01/1960 Dahomey became fully independent (Lansford 2021: 164).<sup>331</sup> However, after independence a highly problematic winner-take-all system, which cannot be considered democratic, was introduced. The election in one national district led to one party (Dahomeyan Unity Party) taking all seats with 68.7 per cent of the vote and the other party (Dahomeyan Democratic Union) with 31.3 per cent of the vote was left with no seat at all. Since the elections were competitive, the regime is not classified as a one-party autocracy (Decalo 1973:458, Ronen 1973:27-28, Carter 1963:229-231, Mathews 1966:144). In the month before the elections, several opposition deputies were dismissed from parliament and opposition party activists were harassed, further limiting their ability to compete. In April-May 1961, repression intensified. The opposition party was dissolved, and its leaders arrested (Decalo 1973:458, Ronen 1973:27-28, Carter 1963:229-231, Mathews 1966:144, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 44).

05/31/1961 End Electoral Autocracy/Start One-Party Autocracy: On this date, accusations of plotting a coup resulted in the arrest of Ahomadegbe and the prohibition of his political organization, the Union Democratique Dahomeenne. Consequently, Dahomey transitioned into a one-party state under the governance of the Parti Dahomeende l'Unite.<sup>332</sup> It remains unclear which specific features of the rule under Hubert Maga as head of government brought GWF and AF to classify the regime as personalist. PRC classified it as democratic, which is clearly wrong, and MCM as single party, which is in line with our observation. As it is often the case with regimes in Africa, there is a lot of disagreement in the regime classification.

10/27[&28]/1963 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Extensive protests and a widespread general strike compelled the military to depose Maga and take control to reinstate order. The military replaced a civilian leader with another, effectively establishing a de facto

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<sup>331</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Benin2018.pdf>

<sup>332</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Benin2018.pdf>

military regime (Decalo 1973: 458-459, Decalo 1976:52, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 44). On 12/22/1965 Congacou, the President of the National Assembly, was handed over power as provisional President by General Christophe Soglo, Army Chief of Staff, and had a constitutional mandate to hold elections quickly. However, Congacou failed to do so and was overthrown by Soglo. Following a coup, General Soglo assumed direct control of power (Decalo 1973: 459-460, Decalo 1976: 8) (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 44).

12/17/1967 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Another round of political crisis coupled with a devastating general strike promoted a group of junior officers to depose General Soglo from power. Major Kouandate took power and established a provisional military government. The regime elite differed fundamentally even if both regimes were military. While in the previous regime top officers from the South dominated, in the new regime lower ranked officers from the South reigned (Bebler 1973:20-23, Decalo 1973:464, Decalo 1976:55, 64-66, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 44-45). The new regime created the Military Revolutionary Committee as a decision-making body, but the main decisions were made by an informal junta (Bebler 1973:23).

12/10/1969 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Zinsou, the civilian president chosen by the military, demonstrated a level of independence beyond what was anticipated, prompting Kouandete to order his abduction. The remaining officer corps declined to endorse Kouandete as the government leader but instead replaced Zinsou with a Military Directorate accountable to the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. This Directorate included representatives from major regions and factions. While Kouandete remained a part of this structure, his authority was curtailed, and he no longer held the predominant role (Bebler 1973:25, Decalo 1973:469-470, Decalo 1976:72, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 44-45). On 12/13/1969 a Military Directorate responsible to the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces replaced Zinsou/Kouandete. The regime is coded as a different regime because the regional/ethnic and rank composition of the ruling group changed. "Fon officers who had previously been retired or arrested under the former regime, were reinstated and entrusted with influential positions in the new government (Decalo 1976:72-73, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 45).

05/07/1970 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-Electoral Transitional [Multi-Party] Regime: In March 1970 elections were held that were aborted (Decalo 1970: 445). The military turned power over to an unelected civilian Presidential Council representing the three major regionally based leaders and parties in the country. The Presidential Council was to serve as a transitional body with the presidency to rotate among the three leaders in preparation for new democratic

elections. The military withdrew from politics and members of the presidential council agreed to rotating the presidency (Decalo 1973: 470-476, Decalo 1976: 76f, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 45).

10/26/1972 End Non-Electoral Transitional [Multi-Party] Regime/Start Military Autocracy: Presumably frustrated with the unstable nature of the rotating presidential system, General Mathieu Kérékou together with junior officers staged a coup and established himself as the head of a Military Committee for the Revolution.<sup>333</sup> They replaced the entire senior military establishment (Decalo 1973:476-477, Decalo 1976-80, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 45).

11/30/1974 End Military Autocracy/Start Communist Ideocracy: On this date, Commander Mathieu Kérékou declared that the country is communist. On 11/30/1975 Benin was named the People's Republic of Benin. Strikes and demonstrations from late 1989 to mid-1990 forced the Kerekou government to agree to a National Conference, which transformed itself into a transitional interim government (Soble 2007).

02/25/1990 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date the National Conference was opened. The Conference declared sovereignty and appointed a transitional government. The role of Kerekou was reduced to a figurehead. He gave up the Defense Ministry and military provincial prefects were replaced by civilians. On 03/01/1990 Benin became the Republic of Benin. The transitional government was led by the opposition and rewrote the constitution (Englebert 2004: 67-68).<sup>334</sup>

02/17/1991 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Democracy: On this date the first multi-party elections (for parliament) in the country since 1964 took place.<sup>335</sup> On 03/10+24/1991 multi-candidate presidential elections were held.<sup>336</sup> The elections were won by opposition politician Niephore Soglo, who had headed the transitional government (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 16). Free and fair elections were the norm in Benin from 1991 to 2016 although there have been claims of electoral fraud in the 2001 Beninese presidential elections, leading to a boycott by the Renaissance Party of Benin (Gisselquist 2014:137).<sup>337</sup> Freedom of expression and association were generally respected, although there were periods of restriction, such as the months-long ban on student association activities that began in late 2016. Additionally, corruption remained a challenge. While the executive branch generally

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<sup>333</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mathieu\\_K%C3%A9r%C3%A9kou](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mathieu_K%C3%A9r%C3%A9kou)

<sup>334</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Benin\\_1990?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Benin_1990?lang=en)

<sup>335</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991\\_Beninese\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991_Beninese_parliamentary_election)

<sup>336</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991\\_Beninese\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991_Beninese_presidential_election)

<sup>337</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/3\\_November\\_1975\\_Bangladeshi\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/3_November_1975_Bangladeshi_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat); <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/BEN>; <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/BEN>

acknowledged judicial independence, the courts operated with inefficiency and susceptibility to corruption. The procedures for nominating and advancing judges lacked transparency.<sup>338</sup>

04/28/2019 End Democracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: The government under Talon elected in 2016 introduced a new electoral code in 2018 that required parties to obtain a threshold of 19 percent of the overall votes to win seats in the National Assembly and pay a deposit to put up candidates. Moreover, the national Constitutional Court declared further party assessments in February 2019, which was only passed by two parties.<sup>339</sup> The 2019 legislative elections were described as not free, nor fair as newly established electoral rules. Only the Republican Bloc and the Progressive Union, both of which are assumed to be linked to incumbent President Patrice Talon, were registered to contest the elections, while the election commission disapproved the applications of the five other opposition groups.<sup>340</sup> Protests erupted following the elections demanding the President Talon's resignation. As a response, security forces arrested major opposition leaders and political journalists. In April 2021, President Talon was re-elected as president with 86 percent of the vote (Lansford 2021:167).<sup>341</sup> In parliamentary elections on 01/08/2023 the pro-government parties emerged as winners, ensuring that the incumbent president, Patrice Talon, continued to lead the government, despite not being a member of either party. Talon enjoyed support from both the UPR and BR. Éric Houndété, leader of the opposition LD party, alleged instances of vote buying and ballot stuffing without providing evidence. He expressed dissatisfaction with the election results, claiming that they did not reflect the will of the people to make his party the leading political force in the country. Election observers, including the local organization Civic Academy for Africa's Future (CiAAF), noted that these elections were notably free from violence compared to previous elections in 2019 and 2021.<sup>342</sup>

Electoral autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Bebler 1973, Carter 1963, Decalo 1973, Decalo 1976, Decalo 1990a, Englebert 2004, Hartmann 1999, Houngnikpo 2001, Lansford 2021, Magnusson/Clark 2005, Mathews 1966, Ronen 1973, Soble 2007)

## **Bermuda**

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<sup>338</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/benin/freedom-world/2018>

<sup>339</sup> <https://www.ips-journal.eu/regions/africa/suicide-of-a-democracy-3438/>

<sup>340</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019\\_Beninese\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019_Beninese_parliamentary_election)

<sup>341</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/benin/freedom-world/2020>

<sup>342</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023\\_Beninese\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023_Beninese_parliamentary_election)

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy][Start: 1684]: Bermuda was discovered in the early 1500s. Bermuda had no indigenous population when it was discovered, nor during initial British settlement a century later. Neither Spain nor Portugal attempted to settle it, because of rough conditions. In 1612 the Virginia Company began settlement of the archipelago and established a colonial government under Richard Moore, the first Governor of Bermuda.<sup>343</sup> In 1615, the colony, was passed on to the Somers Isles Company. In 1649 the British royalists ousted the Somers Isles Company's Governor and elected John Trimingham as their leader.<sup>344</sup> In 1684 the colony became administered by the British crown, as crown colony.<sup>345</sup> As the Bermudians invested in smuggling and trade with America amid the War of Independence, the relationship between Bermuda and the United Kingdom began to break down. Upon the death of George Bruere in 1780, the governorship passed to his son, George Jr., an active loyalist. Under his leadership, smuggling was stopped, and the Bermudian colonial government was populated with crown loyalists. During the War of 1812 between Britain and the United States, the British attacks were planned and launched from Bermuda.<sup>346</sup> In 1815 the colonial capital was transferred from St. George to Hamilton on Main Island. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the colony developed thriving industries in tourism and international finance. The U.S. government acquired lease for military bases in 1941, their military presence lasted until 1995. The British army garrison was withdrawn in 1957, a Canadian base closed in 1993, and a small remaining Royal Navy base ceased operating in 1995.<sup>347</sup> In 1960 universal adult suffrage and the development of a two-party political system was promulgated, before that suffrage was dependent on a certain level of property ownership. The first Bermudian political party, the Progressive Labour Party (PLP), organized in 1963, claimed to represent the non-white citizens.

06/02/1968 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Democracy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: Universal suffrage and a parliamentary democracy was adopted under the Bermuda Constitution Act 1967 of the United Kingdom, that came into effect on 06/02/1968. The constitution provides the island with formal responsibility for internal self-government, while the British Government retains responsibility for external affairs, defence, and security. The Bermudian Government is always consulted on any

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<sup>343</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Bermuda](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Bermuda)

<sup>344</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bermuda>

<sup>345</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bermuda/History>

<sup>346</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bermuda>

<sup>347</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bermuda/History>

international negotiations affecting the territory.<sup>348</sup> It also gave strong powers to the elected head of the majority political party in the legislature. The elections of 05/1968 placed the multiracial United Bermuda Party (UBP) in power. Political tensions increased in 1973 when the governor, Sir Richard Sharples, was assassinated by local Black Power militants during a period of civil unrest. Resulting political unrest and rioting led to official efforts to end de facto racial discrimination and to begin independence talks. In a referendum held in August 1995, however, nearly three-fourths of those voting opposed independence. The PLP won the 1998 elections, and its leader, Jennifer Smith, became Bermuda's first PLP premier. On 05/21/2002 the British Overseas Territories Act changed the status of Bermuda to overseas territory with significant autonomy<sup>349</sup> and additionally granted full British citizenship to Bermudians, which would not automatically accrue to citizens of an independent Bermuda.<sup>350</sup> Bermuda officially is the oldest self-governing British Overseas Territory. In 2004 full independence from Great Britain was still an issue and the PLP government established a commission to reach independence, but they found no support among the population.<sup>351</sup> Even though the PLP dominated the political landscape for much of this time, there have been peaceful transitions of power and changes in government.<sup>352</sup> Fair and free general elections were held in October 2023, with voter turnout at 55%. The PLP maintained its dominance, securing 62% of the votes and 83% of parliamentary seats, David Burt became the acting premier of Bermuda.<sup>353</sup> Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Bhutan**

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 11/11/1865]: Bhutan emerged first as a state in 162. Bhutan fought with the British in 1864-65 over the so-called Duars region at the southern foothills of the Himalayas. Losing the war, the local rulers of Bhutan “Druk Desi”<sup>354</sup> ceded part of the territory (Sikkim, Assam and Bengal) to the British rulers (which became part of British India) in the framework of a treaty

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<sup>348</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Bermuda](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Bermuda)

<sup>349</sup> <https://2009-2017.state.gov/outofdate/bgn/bermuda/82716.htm>

<sup>350</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bermuda/History>

<sup>351</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bermuda>

<sup>352</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012\\_Bermudian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012_Bermudian_general_election)

<sup>353</sup> <https://bermudaelection.com/all/2020-general-election-results/>

<sup>354</sup> The Druk Desi was either a monk or a member of the laity—by the nineteenth century, usually the latter; he was elected for a three-year term, initially by a monastic council and later by the State Council.

signed at Sinchhula on 11/11/1865. However, Bhutan was compensated by the British and its rulers retained full sovereignty (Gallenkamp 2011).

12/17/1907 Continuation Absolute Monarchy [as independent country]: On this date, the Bhutanese monarchy was established as the Kingdom of Bhutan, unifying the country under the control of the Wangchuck dynasty who was chosen as the hereditary ruler (Gallenkamp 2011).<sup>355</sup> In this time period, the Monarchy of Bhutan came under de-facto guardianship of British India (Mehdi 1988).

01/08/1910 Continuation Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]: The British tutelage over the Kingdom of Bhutan was formalized by a treaty in 1910, according to which the Bhutan rulers agreed that the Government of India (back then under British direct rule as British India) oversaw Bhutan's foreign relations. In return, the Kingdom of Bhutan received guarantees of protection from the north. By this agreement, the British maintained their influence in the region, towards China (Mehdi 1988). This period is coded as protectorate, since there was a consensual treaty in effect that allowed the British a substantial influence of the Kingdoms' foreign relations in exchange of protection. After India attained formal independence in 1949, it signed a new treaty of friendship with Bhutan on 08/08/1949, that affirmed Bhutan's independence but at the same time restricted Bhutan's status as an independent and sovereign state (Crawford 2006) and in which Bhutan agreed "to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its external relations" (Crawford 2006).<sup>356</sup> Scholars are generally divided upon the status of Bhutan's sovereignty in presence of this agreement because Bhutan has delegated a certain degree of influence over its foreign relations to India. For example, Bhutan cannot establish diplomatic relations with another country without the consent from India (Mehdi 1988). However, from 2007 on it is undisputed that Bhutan is a fully sovereign country.

03/24/2008 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Constitutional Monarchy: Pursuant to a royal decree issued in June 2007, the first general elections to the new 47-member National Assembly – the lower Chamber of the Bhutanese Parliament – were held on 03/24/2008. They followed elections to the newly created upper Chamber – the National Council – held in December 2007 and January 2008 (Gallenkamp 2011, Crawford 2006).<sup>357</sup> Ambiguities: Dispute if Bhutan is in recent years a democratic parliamentary monarchy or a constitutional ruling monarchy. In March 2008, the first general elections to a new 47-member National Assembly – the lower

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<sup>355</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12641778>

<sup>356</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12641778>

<sup>357</sup> [http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2035\\_08.htm](http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2035_08.htm); <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12641778>

Chamber of the Bhutanese Parliament – were held. In the third National Council elections, 20 members (again, all independents) were elected in single-member constituencies on 04/20/2018. Five more members were appointed by the king. Two rounds of elections for Bhutan’s National Assembly were held on 10/15&18/2018. The 47 seats were contested by four parties in the first round, with the two parties that won the highest number of votes progressing to the second round. In the second round the Druk Nyamrup Tshogpa (DNT), led by Lotay Tshering, won 30 of the 47 seats with 55·0% of the vote against the Druk Phuensum Tshogpa (DPT; Bhutan Peace and Prosperity Party), led by Pema Gyamtsho, which gained 17 seats and 45·0% of the vote. Turnout was 66·4% in the first round and 71·5% in the second. Bhutan’s first formal constitution came into force on 07/18/2008, after a period of almost seven years of planning. Executive power is vested in the Council of Minister.<sup>358</sup> Bhutan functions as a constitutional monarchy featuring executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The Druk Gyalpo serves as the head of state but is required to step down upon reaching the age of 65. While females are included in the line of succession, a male heir takes precedence, even if younger. The Parliament consists of two chambers: the upper house, National Council, comprises 25 members (20 elected and five appointed by the king), and the lower house, National Assembly, has a maximum of 55 members (47 members as of March 4, 2020), elected through single-member constituencies. Both houses have five-year terms, but the National Assembly can be dissolved early in the event of a political impasse, requiring a two-thirds majority from its members and the monarch's concurrence. The monarch can declare a state of emergency for up to 21 days, with an extension requiring a two-thirds vote from Parliament in a joint session (Lansford 2021:172). Bhutan is a borderline case between a constitutional monarchy and a (monarchical) democracy. Policies and legislation are mostly determined by elected officials, however, the monarch still has considerable influence.<sup>359</sup> In the 2023-2024 parliamentary elections, the People’s Democratic Party won the majority, securing 30 out of 47 seats on the national assembly in a fair and free election that is becoming increasingly competitive. Voter turnout was at 65%.<sup>360</sup> However, despite notable democratic institutions, the monarch retains its special political powers.

Constitutional monarchy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

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<sup>358</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Bhutan\\_2008?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Bhutan_2008?lang=en)

<sup>359</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bhutan/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>360</sup> <https://asiasociety.org/policy-institute/bhutans-2024-elections-economic-complexities-and-regional-dynamics>



Additional sources (Crawford 2006, Gallenkamp 2011, Lansford 2021, Lehr 2001, Mehdi 1988, Rizal 2015, Savada 1993)

## **Bolivia**

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [Start: 08/06/1825]: On 08/06/1825, after the Bolivian War of Independence from Spain, the Declaration of Independence was issued.<sup>361</sup> On 07/21/1844, its independence was recognized by Spain. From 1850 onward, direct elections with restricted suffrage became the norm. The criteria for voting encompassed possessing a minimum level of property, income, or engagement in one of the professions, while individuals 'in domestic service' were prohibited from voting. This effectively led to the exclusion of indigenous peoples from participating in the electoral process.<sup>362</sup> Another restriction was literacy, which had been enshrined in the constitution of 1826 and maintained up until the constitution of 1945 (Engerman/Sokoloff 2005: 912). According to the consensus of BMR, RoW, LIED the electoral regime cannot be considered democratic.

07/11[&12]/1920 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime: In a bloodless coup, the Republican Party overthrew President José Gutiérrez Guerra from the Liberal Party.<sup>363</sup> The Congress elected in May 1920 was prevented from taking office. Bautista Saavedra became president. Immediately after the coup, the Republican Party split into two new parties, the Republican Socialist Party led by Bautista Saavedra and the Genuine Republican Party, led by Daniel Salamanca.<sup>364</sup>

11/14/1920 End Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime/Start Electoral Oligarchy: On this date, a new National Congress was elected. On 01/24 the National Congress elected Bautista Saavedra President of the Republic.<sup>365</sup> While the regime was an electoral autocracy it came close to a one-party autocracy. The Republican Party won 60 out of 63 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and all seats in the Senate. Saavedra expelled leaders from the Genuine Republican Party from the country and used extra-constitutional means to remain in power. Moreover, he annulled the 1925 elections due to technicalities, and set up Hernando Siles and his own brother Abdón Saavedra for the repeated election. In 1926 Saavedra chose Hernando Siles, the founder

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<sup>361</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1825\\_in\\_Bolivia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1825_in_Bolivia)

<sup>362</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections\\_in\\_Bolivia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_in_Bolivia)

<sup>363</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1920\\_Bolivian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1920_Bolivian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>364</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bautista\\_Saavedra](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bautista_Saavedra)

<sup>365</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/bolivia-1917-present/>;  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/December\\_1920\\_Bolivian\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/December_1920_Bolivian_legislative_election)

of the Nationalist Party, as his successor.<sup>366</sup> The restricted voting rights continued to exist in this period. These included property, income, and literacy requirements (Engerman/Sokoloff 2005: 912).<sup>367</sup>

05/28/1930 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military Autocracy: In 1930 Siles tried to stay in office after his tenure expired.<sup>368</sup> This led to a military coup on this date led by General Carlos Blanco Galindo. He replaced Siles (Whitehead 1991: 513, Lentz 1999: 52-53, Casey et al. 2020: 2).<sup>369</sup>

03/05/1931 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Oligarchy: On this date Blanco Galindo's regime ended after an election resulted in Daniel Salamanca's victory" (Lentz 1999: 53, Casey et al. 2020: 2). Despite his earlier championing of clean elections, Salamanca engaged in similar electoral fraud and manipulation as his predecessors. On 11/27/1934, during the disastrous Chaco War (July 1932- June 1935), the elected republican president Daniel Salamanca was overthrown in a military coup and replaced by his liberal Vice President José Luis Tejada. (Centeno 2002: 58, Klein 2011: 169, 171, 178-79, 181-82).<sup>370</sup> Moreover, the coup effectively annulled the general elections held on 11/11/1934.<sup>371</sup> Voting rights remained restricted. The property requirements were only lifted in 1938, but literacy requirements remained (Engerman/Sokoloff 2005: 912).<sup>372</sup>

05/17/1936 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military Autocracy: In a big labor strike, Germán Busch demanded Tejada Sorzano to be deposed. Shortly after the military overthrew the government of Tejada, a military junta was established in which Busch was interim president. On 05/22/1936 General David Toro became president of new junta.<sup>373</sup> On 07/13/1937, after a coup d'état, David Toro was deposed and Germán Busch became president of the junta.<sup>374</sup> However, this was a continuation of the military autocracy. The coup led by General David Toro resulted in the end of President Salamanca's term and the beginning of Military Rule in Bolivia. Colonel David Toro and Colonel German Busch ousted Tejada from power in May 1936.(Klein 2011: 181, 187, Casey et al. 2020: 3)(Klein 2011: 187-88, 194, Casey et al.

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<sup>366</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bautista\\_Saavedra](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bautista_Saavedra)

<sup>367</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections\\_in\\_Bolivia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_in_Bolivia)

<sup>368</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hernando\\_Siles\\_Reyes](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hernando_Siles_Reyes)

<sup>369</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos\\_Blanco\\_Galindo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos_Blanco_Galindo)

<sup>370</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/event/Chaco-War>; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel\\_Salamanca](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel_Salamanca)

<sup>371</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1934\\_Bolivian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1934_Bolivian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>372</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections\\_in\\_Bolivia#Direct\\_elections\\_with\\_restricted\\_suffrage,\\_1839\\_and\\_1850-1938](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_in_Bolivia#Direct_elections_with_restricted_suffrage,_1839_and_1850-1938)

<sup>373</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Germ%C3%A1n\\_Busch#1936\\_coup\\_d'%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Germ%C3%A1n_Busch#1936_coup_d'%C3%A9tat)

<sup>374</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Germ%C3%A1n\\_Busch#1936\\_coup\\_d'%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Germ%C3%A1n_Busch#1936_coup_d'%C3%A9tat)

2020: 3)<sup>[OBJ]</sup>. On 04/15/1940, following Busch's suicide, the Army's high command, under General Carlos Quintanilla and having gradually sidelined 'radical' officers, orchestrated a transition back to civilian governance(Klein 2011: 194-95, Casey et al. 2020: 3)<sup>[OBJ]</sup>. General Enrique Penaranda, backed by a coalition of traditional parties (Liberal-Republican alliance) opposing the left, emerged victorious in the 1940 elections. His administration subsequently shut down left-wing publications and suppressed labor organizing(Klein 2011: 196, 199-200, Casey et al. 2020: 3)<sup>[OBJ]</sup>.

12/20/1943 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A coup d'état of nationalist junior officers led by Major Gualberto Villarroel overthrew General Peñaranda and brought to power a junta headed by Villarroel (Klein 1969: 368-670, Corbett 1972: 403, Times 1943).<sup>375</sup> From March to December 1944, under US pressure, the MNR was barred from the cabinet, yet it maintained its alliance with the government and retained political significance (Klein 1969: 373, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 45-46). Junior officers executed a coup d'état, ousting Penaranda (Whitehead 1991: 526, Klein 2011: 201, Casey et al. 2020: 3).

07/21/1946 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime: An enraged armed mob of civilians and some military elements stormed Villarroel's palace, brutally murdered him and hung him up on the street. The mob appointed Néstor Guillén to the role of acting president (Klein 1969: 382, Corbett 1972: 403, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 45-46). The civil junta consisted of labor, teacher, and student representatives as well as magistrates of the Superior District Court of La Paz.<sup>376</sup>

01/05/1947 End Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start Electoral Oligarchy: On this date general elections were held (Klein 1969: 382).<sup>377</sup> The elections were won by the Republican Socialist Unity Party, which was despite its name a conservative party. We agree with GWF that this period was oligarchic. There were severe suffrage limitations, that excluded illiterates. This prevented a huge part of the population from voting. It is estimated that in 1951 only 7% of the population or 28% of adult males were able to vote (Klein 1969: 404, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 46). On 10/22/1949 José Enrique Hertzog Garaizábal was forced to resign by his own party after losing the parliamentary elections of 1949, officially for health reasons. His vice-president Mamerto Urriolagoitia Harriague took over. His presidency was characterized by harsh repression of the opposition.<sup>378</sup> He is regarded as the final constitutional

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<sup>375</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gualberto\\_Villarroel](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gualberto_Villarroel)

<sup>376</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government\\_Junta\\_of\\_Bolivia\\_\(1946%E2%80%931947\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_Junta_of_Bolivia_(1946%E2%80%931947))

<sup>377</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1947\\_Bolivian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1947_Bolivian_general_election)

<sup>378</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mamerto\\_Urriolagoitia\\_Harriague](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mamerto_Urriolagoitia_Harriague);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enrique\\_Hertzog](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enrique_Hertzog)

president of the predominantly oligarchic social and political system.<sup>379</sup> On 05/06/1951 limited participation elections resulted in the victory of a leftist candidate Victor Paz Estenssoro (while remaining in exile in Argentina). He was the founder and leader of the National Revolutionary movement (MNR).

05/16/1951 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup led by General Hugo Ballivián Rojas took place. The military established a junta led by Roja and annulled the results of the election fearing that the leftist candidate Paz Estenssoro becomes president (Klein 1969: 399f, Alexander 1982: 178-179, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 46).<sup>380</sup>

04/09[-11]/1952 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: The MNR launched a three-day armed rebellion which ended with the defeat of General Ballivián and loyalist military forces. Víctor Paz Estenssoro, the winner of the 1951 limited suffrage election, took over the presidency. Under the presidency of Paz Estenssoro, universal suffrage was granted by decree in 1952, suffrage was extended to women and illiterates before the next election. However, the regime is not coded as democratic because of violence against the opposition (Malloy 1971:124-131, Corbett 1972:403, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 46). Furthermore, many civil rights were suspended (Zunes 2001).<sup>381</sup> On 06/17/1956 general elections were held. Hernán Siles Zuazo of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR) was elected president with 84% of the vote, whilst the MNR won 61 of the 68 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and all 18 seats in the Senate.<sup>382</sup>

11/04/1964 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A military coup led by General and Vice President René Barrientos, former head of the army, along with General Alfredo Ovando, the Commander of the Bolivian Air Forces, overthrew the MNR government (Corbett 1972:408-410, Wagner 1991, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 46).

07/03/1966 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, general elections which are not considered to be free and fair took place. The presidential election was won by Barrientos. Although he was a general, his government substantially civilianized (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 46) and the regime is classified as an electoral autocracy.

09/26/1969 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Frustrated with the civilian government and having presidential ambitions of his own, General Ovando disposed of the Siles Salinas regime and the civilian institutions (Corbett 1972: 416). The coup led to a regime controlled by the Superior Council of the Armed Forces with a rotating chair (Corbett 1972:

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<sup>379</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mamerto\\_Urriolagoit%C3%ADa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mamerto_Urriolagoit%C3%ADa)

<sup>380</sup> <https://www.onwar.com/data/bolivia1951.html>; <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Bolivia2018.pdf>

<sup>381</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bolivian\\_National\\_Revolution#Controversy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bolivian_National_Revolution#Controversy)

<sup>382</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1956\\_Bolivian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1956_Bolivian_general_election)

416-419, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 46-47). On 10/06/1970 armed uprisings persisted through the Ovando dictatorship and to the dismay of the rightist military commanders, Ovando frequently offered them concessions or amnesty rather than brutal defeat. The military forces launched a coup with the intention of replacing Ovando's policy of appeasement. A three-headed junta consolidated power for a brief period of time in the aftermath.

10/07/1970 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: After the formation of the neutral junta, General Juan Torres overthrew it and established himself alone as president by using a violent left-wing splinter of the military. He was supported by different military factions.

08/21/1971 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Colonel Hugo Banzer allied with the MNR, the FSB, and a rightist faction of the military launched a coup against military dictator General Juan José Torres. Banzer emerged as the head of a junta that outlawed unions and political parties (Corbett 1972: 424, Wagner 1991, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 46-47). Stringent measures were taken to suppress any opposition. In 1974, he withstood two coup attempts and effectively quashed a peasant uprising.<sup>383</sup> On 07/21/1978 General Juan Perede Asbun won elections, but they were annulled due to fraud. Asbun overthrew Banzer and assumed the presidency. On 11/24/1978, a group of democratically oriented generals led by David Padilla rejected Asbun's leadership due to vagueness with regards to elections and his incompetence and overthrew him. After years of military rule, there was a peaceful transition to a civilian government in 1979 when General David Padilla opted to transfer power to whoever won the presidential elections 1979.<sup>384</sup>

07/01/1979 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, competitive elections took place after the military's decision to return to barracks. Due to the impartiality of the executive [General David Padilla], the electoral process exhibited a heightened sense of freedom. However, the tense electoral atmosphere was marked by bitterness and accusations among the competing candidates.<sup>385</sup> No candidate won a majority, which required Congress to choose the president. However, Congress was deadlocked and eventually chose the head of the Senate as interim president until a new election to be held in 1980 (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 47). The democratic quality is disputed. AF, BMR, BR, LIED and CGV classify the regime as democratic, RoW, LIED and PRC as an autocracy or namely an electoral autocracy. According to our coding rules the regime was semidemocratic. This classification

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<sup>383</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hugo-Banzer-Suarez>

<sup>384</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Bolivian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Bolivian_general_election)

<sup>385</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Bolivian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Bolivian_general_election)

acknowledges the progress made towards democracy while also recognizing the limitations and challenges that remained, namely the persistent deficits in the electoral process.

11/01/1979 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Facing a severe economic crisis, President Guevara asked for an unconstitutional extension of his presidential term. He had no congressional support for this. A group of military generals led by Natusch launched a violent coup against Guevara. The population reacted with a general strike. On 11/16/1979, popular opposition to his coup coupled with a lack of support in the military prompted the military to force General Natusch's resignation. However, negotiations between the military and the congress ended in the compromise stepping down on condition that Congress must name a different interim president to oversee the transition and the appointment of Tejada as acting civilian president. Congress chose the president of the Chamber of Deputies. New elections were held as scheduled in June 1980.

07/17[&18]/1980 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: When the general elections results favored the leftists, a military group pressured President Lidia Gueiler to install (her cousin) General García Meza as Commander of the Army. On 07/18/1980, right wing elements of the army allied with the drug trade led by General Garcia Meza seized power in a violent coup (aka Cocaine Coup). Power was consolidated in a Junta of Commanders around General Meza (Wagner 1991, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 47).<sup>386</sup> Many of the officers involved had been part of the Hugo Banzer dictatorship.<sup>387</sup> When portions of the citizenry resisted, as they had done in the failed putsch of November 1979, it resulted in dozens of deaths. Many were tortured. Allegedly, the Argentine Army unit Batallón de Inteligencia 601 participated in the coup.<sup>388</sup> Having suffered significant damage to its reputation due to the excesses of the 1980–82 dictatorship, the military confronted two choices: either call for fresh elections or acknowledge the results from 1980. However, it became increasingly apparent that the nation was on the brink of descending into civil war before new elections could take place. Given these circumstances, the military declared in September 1982 that, to avoid the cost of new elections and prevent further unrest, it would reconvene the legislature elected in 1980 and accept whoever it selected as the president.<sup>389</sup>

10/05/1982 End Military Autocracy/Start Democracy: Congress reconvened on 09/23 and reconfirmed the 1980 election results. Hernán Siles became president (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 16, Wagner 1991, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 47). Although Siles had difficulties

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<sup>386</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Junta\\_of\\_Commanders\\_of\\_the\\_Armed\\_Forces\\_1980\\_\(Bolivia\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Junta_of_Commanders_of_the_Armed_Forces_1980_(Bolivia))

<sup>387</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luis\\_Garc%C3%ADa\\_Meza](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luis_Garc%C3%ADa_Meza)

<sup>388</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luis\\_Garc%C3%ADa\\_Meza](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luis_Garc%C3%ADa_Meza)

<sup>389</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hern%C3%A1n\\_Siles\\_Zuazo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hern%C3%A1n_Siles_Zuazo)

controlling the overall situation and the various political and institutional actors, he did not resort to extra-constitutional means, but respected the hard-won democratic standards.<sup>390</sup> Due to social protests and economic mismanagement, president Hernán Siles Zuazo called an early election, which took place on 07/14/1985. In the second round of voting, Paz Estenssoro's Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR) obtained most of the votes.<sup>391</sup> In line with other datasets like BMR, BR, GWF, HTW, MCM, PRC we code this regime period as democratic. However, Bolivia is in this period a borderline case between a democracy and a semidemocracy. Under Paz Estenssoro the political and civil liberties were restricted to gain control over the economic situation, Labor Unions were repressed. When protests arose citizens were subjected to a curfew, and travel across the country was limited. Raids were conducted on universities and opposition gatherings, and numerous union leaders were abducted, subsequently being transported to prison camps in the Amazon until the strikes were halted.<sup>392</sup>

10/12/2014 End Democracy/Start Semidemocracy: In 2014, during Morales' second presidential term in office, he began to speak openly of 'communitarian socialism' as the ideology that he desired for Bolivia's future.<sup>393</sup> At the same time, the Bolivian legislature (dominated by the incumbent party MAS) brought forward "a dubious legal reinterpretation" of Law No. 381 (promulgated in May 2013), that allowed Morales to run for a third term in 2014 and even ratified a ruling that paved the way for him to run for a fourth term in office (Sanchez-Sibony 2021:128). The legislature dominated by incumbent MAS party also issued laws to control and repress civil society (Sanchez-Sibony 2021: 129). Under Morales' presidential reign, electoral coercion on the local level was reported (Sanchez-Sibony 2021:124). On 11/10/2019 the 2019 Bolivian political crisis occurred after 21 days of civil protests following the disputed 2019 Bolivian general election in which incumbent President Evo Morales was initially declared the winner.<sup>394</sup> However, an audit by the Organization of American States (OAS), concluded that there were significant irregularities during the electoral process. 10/18/2020 was the final proposed date for the elections. Observers from the OAS, UNIORE and the UN reported that there were no fraudulent actions in the 2020 elections.<sup>395</sup> On 10/18/2020 presidential elections were held. Luis Arce (Movement Towards Socialism) won 55.1% of votes cast against 28.8% for Carlos Mesa (Civic Community), 14.0% for Luis

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<sup>390</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hern%C3%A1n\\_Siles\\_Zuazo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hern%C3%A1n_Siles_Zuazo)

<sup>391</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Bolivia\\_\(1982%E2%80%93present\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Bolivia_(1982%E2%80%93present)).

<sup>392</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/V%C3%ADctor\\_Paz\\_Estenssoro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/V%C3%ADctor_Paz_Estenssoro)

<sup>393</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014\\_Bolivian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014_Bolivian_general_election)

<sup>394</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019\\_Bolivian\\_political\\_crisis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019_Bolivian_political_crisis)

<sup>395</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019\\_Bolivian\\_political\\_crisis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019_Bolivian_political_crisis)

Fernando Camacho (Creemos), 1.5% for Chi Hyun Chung (Front for Victory) and 0.5% for Feliciano Mamami (National Action Party of Bolivia). Turnout was 88.4%. No irregularities were reported.<sup>396</sup> Nevertheless, independent, and investigative journalists face harassment, and the judiciary is highly politicized and hampered by corruption.<sup>397</sup>

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Alexander 1982, Centellas 2008, Corbett 1972, Gamarra 1997, Gamarra 2008, Klein 1969, Macmillan 2022a, Malloy 1971, Sanchez-Sibony 2021, Times 1943, Wagner 1991)

## **Bosnia and Herzegovina**

01/01/1900 Occupation Regime [by Austrian-Hungarian Empire, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 03/03/1878]: In 1878, the Occupation by the Austrian-Hungarian Empire<sup>398</sup> began and until World War I the country was annexed into the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.<sup>399</sup> The Congress of Berlin, that aimed for the reorganization of the Balkan Peninsula after the Russo-Turkish war<sup>400</sup>, approved the occupation of Bosnia Vilayet, a first-level administrative division of the Ottoman Empire, mostly comprising the territory of the present-day state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>401</sup> By article 25 of the Treaty of Berlin (07/13/1878), Bosnia and Herzegovina remained under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire, but Austria-Hungary was granted the authority to occupy the province of vilayet of Bosnia and Herzegovina indefinitely, taking on its military defense and civil administration. The campaign to establish Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina lasted from 07/29/1878 to 10/20/1878 and resulted in Austro-Hungarian victory.<sup>402</sup>

10/06/1908 End Occupation Regime [by Austria, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Part of other Country [Austria, Constitutional Monarchy]: The Annexation Crisis, erupted after the Austro-Hungarian announcement of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina on 10/06/1908. On 02/20/1909 Austria-Hungary and the Ottomans came to an agreement concerning the annexation and the Ottomans accepted the takeover in exchange for a financial settlement. In

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<sup>396</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bolivia/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>397</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bolivia/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>398</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bosnia-and-Herzegovina>

<sup>399</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bosnia\\_and\\_Herzegovina](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bosnia_and_Herzegovina)

<sup>400</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austro-Hungarian\\_rule\\_in\\_Bosnia\\_and\\_Herzegovina](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austro-Hungarian_rule_in_Bosnia_and_Herzegovina)

<sup>401</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bosnia\\_vilayet](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bosnia_vilayet)

<sup>402</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austro-Hungarian\\_campaign\\_in\\_Bosnia\\_and\\_Herzegovina\\_in\\_1878](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austro-Hungarian_campaign_in_Bosnia_and_Herzegovina_in_1878)



1910 the first constitution was proclaimed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, that led to relaxation of earlier laws, elections and the formation of a parliament.<sup>403</sup> The Diet of Bosnia and Herzegovina was a representative assembly with competence over the Austro-Hungarian Condominium of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The parliament had certain legislative authority, but its resolutions were subject to approval by the Austro-Hungarian government.<sup>404</sup>

01/12/1918 End Part of other Country [Austria, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Part of other Country [Yugoslavia, Constitutional Monarchy]: On this date, following World War I, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Kingdom of Yugoslavia), with Bosnia and Herzegovina being a part of it, was declared.<sup>405</sup>

04/04/1941 End Part of other Country [Yugoslavia, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: On this date, Yugoslavia was invaded by Germany's Hitler Regime.<sup>406</sup>

11/11/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Part of other Country [Yugoslavia, Communist Ideocracy]: On this date the first elections after World War Two took place. Josef Broz Tito from the People's Front got 85% of the votes. On 11/29/1945 the Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia (later Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) was proclaimed. Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of its six republics.<sup>407</sup> On 09/14/1991 the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina voted in multi-party elections for the first time since 1990 (under universal suffrage). The governing coalition of Bosnia and Herzegovina collapsed after the parliament of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo passed a 'memorandum on sovereignty' on 10/15/1991 that was opposed by Bosnian Serb members. After the walkout of Bosnian Serb representatives, the memorandum was adopted.<sup>408</sup>

A referendum on the independence at the beginning of 1992 followed. It was boycotted by many Serbs but ended with the majority of votes for independence. A conflict ensued, leading to Bosnian Serbs declaring the Republic of Srpska on 01/09/1992 within Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>409</sup> The claim was only partially recognized by the Bosnian government.

03/03/1992 End Part of other country [Yugoslavia, Communist Ideocracy]/Start No Central Authority: On this date Bosnia-Hercegovina declared its independence. However, due to the outbreak of the civil war on 04/06/1992, no political regime was able to rule the whole country.

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<sup>403</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bosnian\\_Crisis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bosnian_Crisis)

<sup>404</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diet\\_of\\_Bosnia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diet_of_Bosnia)

<sup>405</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Yugoslavia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Yugoslavia)

<sup>406</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Bosnia\\_and\\_Herzegovina#Kingdom\\_of\\_Yugoslavia\\_\(1918-41\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Bosnia_and_Herzegovina#Kingdom_of_Yugoslavia_(1918-41))

<sup>407</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist\\_Federal\\_Republic\\_of\\_Yugoslavia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Federal_Republic_of_Yugoslavia)

<sup>408</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republika\\_Srpska\\_\(1992%E2%80%931995\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republika_Srpska_(1992%E2%80%931995))

<sup>409</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republika\\_Srpska](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republika_Srpska)

Supported by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and his idea of creating a Great Serbia, Bosnian Serbs forces started to attack Non-Serbian villages and people, including killing, raping and destroying their property, including a four-year siege of the capital Sarajevo.<sup>410</sup>

12/14/1995 End No Central Authority/Start Electoral Autocracy [as (de facto) Protectorate by Croatia and Serbia]: The Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) ended the 1992-95 Bosnian War. The war parties agreed on a highly decentralized parliamentary republic. Bosnia and Herzegovina was divided into two autonomous zones. The two entities were the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska. Special status was granted to the border region encompassing the town of Brčko, designating it as a distinct district. Although the various parts of the country are under a common central government, its authority is restricted to very limited powers.<sup>411</sup> On 09/14/1996, the first general elections were held since 1990. However, the parties involved in the DPA (the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, along with its two constituent entities – the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska) had failed to establish the necessary prerequisites for elections. Consequently, given these challenges, the elections were destined to validate the actual ethnic-based division of the country, which indeed materialized.<sup>412</sup> Moreover, the DPA made Bosnia and Herzegovina into an unacknowledged protectorate, characterized by elements of hegemony from neighboring Croatia and Serbia as co-signatories to the Agreement, wherein significant authority is vested in the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>413</sup> The Office of the High Representative (OHR), established by the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA), functioned as the highest political authority in the country and the chief executive officer for the international civilian presence. High Representatives were traditionally appointed from European Union countries, with their principal deputies hailing from the United States. The Principal Deputy High Representative's responsibilities included serving as the International Supervisor for Brčko, representing international interests in the Brčko District. The substantial powers and veto authority of the High Representative in Bosnian politics led to comparisons with a viceroy, highlighting the significant influence of this role.<sup>414</sup> Bosnian politics are generally assumed to be defined by corrupt patronage networks, certain foreign powers wield outsized influence as well as limited opportunities for political participation by citizens from other communities other

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<sup>410</sup> <https://sfi.usc.edu/collections/bosnia-herzegovina>

<sup>411</sup> <https://www.bmz.de/en/countries/bosnia-and-herzegovina>

<sup>412</sup> <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/balkans/bosnia-and-herzegovina/elections-bosnia-and-herzegovina>

<sup>413</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Bosnia\\_and\\_Herzegovina#Dayton\\_Agreement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Bosnia_and_Herzegovina#Dayton_Agreement)

<sup>414</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/High\\_Representative\\_for\\_Bosnia\\_and\\_Herzegovina](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/High_Representative_for_Bosnia_and_Herzegovina)

than Bosnian, Serb, and Croat communities. The political sphere is moreover characterized by severe partisan gridlock.<sup>415</sup> As such, elections in Bosnia cannot be described as free nor fair. International observers raised concerns surrounding the elections on 10/07/2018, about the “integrity of the elections, including about a high number of ballots disqualified by the Central Electoral Commission (CIK)”.<sup>416</sup> The assessment of the electoral regime differs significantly in different data sets. BMR considers the regime as democratic, LIED and RoW as an electoral democracy. HTW, MCM and CGV classify the regime as non-democratic. GWF until the end of their observation period classifies the country as foreign-occupied. The general elections in 2022 were found to be competitive, however international observers reported media bias and the opposition claimed the election was marred by irregularities. After evidence came to light of voting fraud, the CIK ordered a recount. While Dodik won the presidency, illegally printed ballots were discovered and paired with the large number of disqualified ballots, the electoral integrity is questionable. Campaigns often used divisive and ethnically charged speech and candidates continue to be limited ethnically to Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats. According to Freedom House, the judiciary is formally independent, however lacks power and is generally ineffective, while being subject to political pressures and interference.<sup>417</sup> Electoral autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Kasapović 2010a)

## **Botswana**

01/01/1900 (de facto) Colonial Regime [Start: 03/31/1885]: On 01/27/1884 Botswana (or Bechuanaland) was divided into two political entities divided by the Molopo River.<sup>418</sup> The northern part was declared a protectorate in 1884, as the Bechuanaland Protectorate, while the southern part, called British Bechuanaland, became a crown colony. In 1895, the latter was annexed into and administrated by Cape Colony (Morton/Ramsay 2018). The British governed Bechuanaland protectorate through the Office of the High Commissioner and its administrative headquarters were outside the territory (Morton/Ramsay 2018). Local administration was headed and executed by a Resident Commissioner who had less authority than a colonial

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<sup>415</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bosnia-and-herzegovina/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>416</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bosnia-and-herzegovina/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>417</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bosnia-and-herzegovina/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>418</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British\\_Bechuanaland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Bechuanaland)

governor (Morton/Ramsay 2018).<sup>419</sup> There was regular consultation between the British colonial officials and the local chiefs of the tribes who maintained self-governance and who wielded the ability to shape and mold policy in alignment with their personal objectives and there existed collaboration between the colonial administrators and the indigenous population (Makgala 2010). The first elections held under universal suffrage took place in 1965, prior to independence 18 months later.<sup>420</sup> Seretse Khama and the BDP won 80% of the vote and 28/31 seats in this competitive election before independence (Sillery 1974: 158-59).

09/30/1966 End (de facto) Colonial Regime/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, Botswana became independent. The prime minister was replaced by a president elected by the legislature (renamed the National Assembly) and vested with executive powers (Morton/Ramsay 2018).<sup>421</sup> Among researchers it is disputed whether Botswana is democratic or autocratic. For instance, Mokopakgosi and Molomo (2000: 7) (2000, 7) call Botswana a “defacto one-party state”. GWF classifies the regime as a party autocracy due to indications of an imbalanced environment despite contested elections, and due to the effective constraints on competition imposed by both formal and informal political regulations in Botswana (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 47-48). In addition, it is argued that the BDP has almost monopolized appointments to the civil service (Mokopakgosi/Molomo 2000). For over five decades since gaining independence, the BDP has consistently maintained a majority of no less than two-thirds of the seats in the Assembly (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 48). GWF therefore classifies Botswana as a party autocracy. In the same line MCM addresses Botswana as a multiparty autocracy. However, HTW as well as LIED classify Botswana as a democracy. According to our standards, the truth lies in the middle and Botswana is classified as a semidemocracy. The elections were always declared as free, but not entirely fair, by international observers. In addition to deficits in the electoral process, deficits in the guarantee of political and civil rights can be traced. These include constraints on freedom of press and expression.<sup>422</sup> By 2019, the ongoing internal political conflicts and the dominance of personality-based leadership attributes remain obstacles to the formation of a cohesive opposition. In 2021, President Masisi appointed a commission to address electoral irregularities and to establish reforms.<sup>423</sup>

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

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<sup>419</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bechuanaland\\_Protectorate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bechuanaland_Protectorate)

<sup>420</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections\\_in\\_Botswana](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_in_Botswana)

<sup>421</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Botswana\\_2016?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Botswana_2016?lang=en)

<sup>422</sup> <https://bti-project.org/de/reports/country-report/BWA;>

<https://www.state.gov/reports/2022-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/botswana/>

<sup>423</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/botswana/freedom-world/2022>

Additional sources (Baumhögger 1999, Emminghaus 2002, Lea/Rowe 2001, Makgala 2010, Mokopakgosi/Molomo 2000, Morton/Ramsay 2018, Robinson 1992, Sillery 1974)

## **Brazil**

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [Start: 11/15/1889]: On 09/07/1822 Brazil became independent. On 08/29/1825 the independence was recognized by Portugal. On 11/15/1889 the Federal Republic of Brazil was proclaimed. In 1891, male suffrage was guaranteed in the Brazilian constitution excluding beggars, women, illiterates, lowest ranking soldiers and members of monastic orders.<sup>424</sup> An oligarchy, which controlled elections and selectively appointed the Brazilian presidency, held sway over the First Brazilian Republic.<sup>425</sup> The presidency alternated between politicians from the states of Minas Gerais and São Paulo in each election, following a system referred to as 'coffee and milk politics.'<sup>426</sup> The established tradition was disrupted in 1929 when the sitting President Washington Luís, hailing from São Paulo, chose Júlio Prestes, another individual from the same state, as his successor. This departure from the norm involved not exchanging the position with a politician from Minas Gerais.<sup>427</sup>

10/24/1930 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, the Brazilian Revolution started in which President Washington Luís was deposed and a military junta took control. The junta consisted of General Augusto Tasso Fragoso, Admiral Isaías de Noronha, and General João de Deus Mena Barreto).<sup>428</sup> Fragoso, Barreto, and Noronha “declared themselves a ‘pacifying junta’ with a ‘moderating power’”.<sup>429</sup> Getulio Dornelles Vargas, who spearheaded the revolution, communicated on 10/24 that the junta members would be ‘accepted as collaborators and not directors,’ that they ‘joined the revolution at the time when its success was assured’.<sup>430</sup>

11/03/1930 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, the junta handed power over peacefully to Vargas as a provisional president. Although the leader of the revolution, the appointment of Vargas was the result of a consultation process

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<sup>424</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>425</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian\\_military\\_junta\\_of\\_1930](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian_military_junta_of_1930)

<sup>426</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian\\_military\\_junta\\_of\\_1930](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian_military_junta_of_1930)

<sup>427</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian\\_military\\_junta\\_of\\_1930](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian_military_junta_of_1930)

<sup>428</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian\\_military\\_junta\\_of\\_1930](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian_military_junta_of_1930);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian\\_Revolution\\_of\\_1930](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian_Revolution_of_1930)

<sup>429</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian\\_military\\_junta\\_of\\_1930](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian_military_junta_of_1930)

<sup>430</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian\\_military\\_junta\\_of\\_1930](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian_military_junta_of_1930)

between the junta and the revolutionaries. At the core of these revolutionaries were the states Minas Gerais, Rio Grande do Sul and Paraíba (known as Liberal Alliance) along with their leading chief military officers and politicians. Some junta-appointed ministers were allowed to retain their posts, such as junta member Noronha.<sup>431</sup> Although Vargas dissolved the legislature, abrogated the 1891 constitution, and granted himself almost dictatorial powers, he was not able to pacify the Liberal Alliance and therefore prevent another revolution 1932 (known as Constitutional Revolution). In spite of its military defeat Vargas had to grant concessions. The most important being the election of a constitutional assembly (Fausto 1986: 811, 827-28, Bethell 2008: 3, 17-18, Casey et al. 2020: 3).<sup>432</sup> In this first period of Vargas fifteen-year rule, he neither had unlimited authority or a life-long term like in a personalist autocracy, but he was not a figurehead president chosen and guided by the military junta either. Therefore, the only possible classification is as a non-electoral transitional (multiparty) regime.

07/16/1934 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, the new constitution was promulgated and on 07/17/1934 the constitutional assembly elected the former provisional president Getúlio Vargas as president for a four-year term. Therefore Vargas “governed as president alongside a democratically elected legislature” until 1937.<sup>433</sup> However, the suffrage was still restricted, for example for women and illiterates.<sup>434</sup>

Besides the restricted suffrage, Vargas held such sway over the political landscape that a significant portion of the elected deputies tended to heed his guidance, even in the absence of more rudimentary forms of electoral coercion, which nonetheless persisted to some degree. (Loewenstein 1942: 20-21). The following period is characterized by the constitution of 1934, the first one, which was crafted anew by directly elected deputies in a multi-party electoral process.<sup>435</sup> and contributed substantially to the democratization of Brazil. But from the beginning Vargas was a huge critic, causing the constitution and constitutional reality to diverge.<sup>436</sup> Furthermore, a constitutional amendment was passed by the parliament (the former constituent assembly), which gave Vargas “quasi-dictatorial powers by way of “legal” authorization” (Loewenstein 1942: 29). Therefore, Brazil has to be classified as an electoral autocracy. In 1935 a militant communist uprising of 1935 led by Luís Carlos Prestes and leftist

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<sup>431</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian\\_Revolution\\_of\\_1930](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian_Revolution_of_1930)

<sup>432</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitutionalist\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitutionalist_Revolution)

<sup>433</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vargas\\_Era](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vargas_Era)

<sup>434</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian\\_Constitution\\_of\\_1934](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian_Constitution_of_1934)

<sup>435</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Constitution\\_of\\_Brazil](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Constitution_of_Brazil)

<sup>436</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian\\_Constitution\\_of\\_1934](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian_Constitution_of_1934)

low-rank military tried to overthrow Getúlio Vargas's government on behalf of the National Liberation Alliance but failed.<sup>437</sup>

11/10/1937 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Right-Wing [Semi-Fascist] Autocracy: On this date in a self-coup President Getúlio Vargas overthrew backed by the military the electoral regime. Following the coup, Brazil witnessed the establishment of a semi-fascist, authoritarian state, fashioned after the political models seen in European fascist countries (Putnam 1941, Casey et al. 2020)<sup>438</sup>. During the Estado Novo, state autonomy ceased to exist as appointed federal officials took the place of governors, and patronage emanated from the president downwards. The dissolution of all political parties until 1944 further restricted opportunities for opposition organization.<sup>439</sup> Press censorship was enforced by the government, with propaganda being centrally coordinated by the Department of Press and Propaganda (DIP). While Vargas ruled before and after 11/10/1937 there are many indicators that a regime change must be coded. One noteworthy sign is that the time span between 1930 and 1937 in Brazil is referred to as the Second Brazilian Republic, while the subsequent portion of the Vargas Era, spanning from 1937 to 1946, is identified as the Third Brazilian Republic or Estado Novo.<sup>440</sup> Unlike Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy there was no regime party in Brazil in this period and the regime did not hold elections. Hence, this non-electoral regime comes close to a personalist autocracy.

10/29/1945 End Right-Wing [Semi-Fascist] Autocracy/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy: Growing political movements and democratic demonstrations forced Vargas to abolish censorship in 1945, release numerous political prisoners, and allow for the reformation of political parties, including the Brazilian Communist Party.<sup>441</sup> Under military pressure, Vargas resigned from office (Bethell 2008: 71-72, 83-84, Casey et al. 2020: 3).<sup>442</sup>

12/02/1945 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date presidential elections took place, which were won by Eurico Gaspar Dutra of the Social Democratic Party (PSD), whilst the PSD also won a majority of seats in both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.<sup>443</sup> On 09/18/1946 the fifth constitution was adapted, underpinning the country's return to democratic rule. On 10/03/1950 general elections were held. Getúlio Vargas, former autocratic president, and now candidate of the Brazilian Labour Party won.<sup>444</sup> Vargas

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<sup>437</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian\\_communist\\_uprising\\_of\\_1935](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian_communist_uprising_of_1935)

<sup>438</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1937\\_Brazilian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1937_Brazilian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>439</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/brazil/16.htm>

<sup>440</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vargas\\_Era#New\\_State\\_\(Estado\\_Novo\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vargas_Era#New_State_(Estado_Novo))

<sup>441</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1945\\_Brazilian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1945_Brazilian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>442</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Get%C3%BAlio\\_Vargas#Fall\\_from\\_power](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Get%C3%BAlio_Vargas#Fall_from_power)

<sup>443</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1945\\_Brazilian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1945_Brazilian_general_election)

<sup>444</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1950\\_Brazilian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1950_Brazilian_general_election)

attained the presidency through a direct popular vote, marking the first and only instance in his political career (Skidmore 1988: 81). The election was considered free and secret. He assumed office on 01/31/1951.<sup>445</sup> Much of the opposition, originally stemming from the protest against the Vargas dictatorship, experienced a sense of humiliation and anger as the former dictator regained power through the electoral process – a mechanism they had strived to reinstate. Unable to hinder his formal assumption of office through lawful channels, they were not inclined to embrace Vargas' invitations for involvement in his government during 1951 and 1952 (Skidmore 1988: 122-127). The military was suspicious about Vargas' presidency as well and demanded strict compliance with the constitution. But only a minor part of the military officers wanted to remove him immediately from all political activities. But still the military remained the ultimate authority in the Brazilian political system (Skidmore 1988: 100-108). However, in 1954 Brazil's democracy was on the brink of a breakdown. On 08/05/1954 there was an assassination attempt on journalist Carlos Lacerda, a staunch opponent of Getúlio Vargas, carried out by intimates of Vargas, without his knowledge. Afterwards a legal investigation into the assassination took place immediately. However, protests against Vargas formed in politics, the military and civil society. The military gave Vargas an ultimatum to resign. He refused to end his presidency early but agreed to take a leave of absence. On 08/24/1954 Vargas committed suicide (Skidmore 1988: 136-143). Since Café Filho, his vice president, assumed the office, the event is not classified as a breakdown of democracy. On 10/03/1955 presidential elections were held. Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira of the Social Democratic Party won.<sup>446</sup> Between 11/08/1955 and 11/11/1955 Carlos Coimbra da Luz became acting president, due to health issues of Café Filho. Luz was the next in line of the constitutional succession.<sup>447</sup> After recovering, that he had been removed from power on a temporary basis for health reasons, he tried to reassume presidential power but due to military pressure the congress and the supreme court denied it.<sup>448</sup> On 11/11/1954 the minister of defense feared acting president Luz was part of a civilian-military plot to block the president-elect from assuming office. The Minister deposed of Luz and placed Ramos as acting president.<sup>449</sup> On 01/31/1956 de Oliveira took office.<sup>450</sup> On 10/03/1960 the last free and fair presidential election until 1989 were held. Jânio da Silva Quadros of the National Labour Party won and took office on

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<sup>445</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1955\\_Brazilian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1955_Brazilian_presidential_election)

<sup>446</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1955\\_Brazilian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1955_Brazilian_presidential_election)

<sup>447</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos\\_Luz](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos_Luz)

<sup>448</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caf%C3%A9\\_Filho](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caf%C3%A9_Filho)

<sup>449</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos\\_Luz](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos_Luz)

<sup>450</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juscelino\\_Kubitschek](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juscelino_Kubitschek)



01/31/1961.<sup>451</sup> We classify that period as semidemocracy, because free and fair presidential elections were held and respected, but the military as non-elected state actor played a crucial role during this period. Only LIED classifies this period as exclusive democracy, AF, BR, GWF and MCM as democracy. However, according to our classification Brazil was in this period as semidemocracy due to the veto power of the military.

04/01[-03]/1964 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup backed by right wing elements of the society ousted the elected government of President João Goulart because they feared his move to socialize large corporations and established a military junta to rule (McCann 1998, Skidmore 1988). The regime was marked by significant political repression, including censorship, suppression of political dissent, and widespread human rights abuses (Skidmore 1988). The most infamous of all Institutional Acts, was issued by dictator Artur da Costa e Silva, president at the time on 12/13/1968. With this act, the congress was de facto dissolved and civil rights cancelled. However, during the regime period, the degree of autocratization of the regime varied. From 1985 on, a scheduled vote of the electoral college, a soft-line military government reluctantly accepted the transfer of the presidency to a moderate civilian supported by the opposition party. Subsequently, a competitive congressional election took place in 1986, with the political opposition achieving a sweeping victory (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 17).<sup>452</sup>

01/15/1985 End Military Autocracy/Start Democracy: The political transition on this date marked a pivotal moment in the return to democracy. This transition was characterized by the election of Tancredo Neves, a civilian, by an electoral college. Neves was chosen over a candidate endorsed by the military, signaling a significant shift from military dictatorship to civilian rule. However, Neves tragically passed away before his inauguration on 04/21/1985. In accordance with constitutional protocol, José Sarney, the vice president-elect, assumed the presidency. Notably, Sarney had been a member of the party that supported the military regime but had joined Neves and the opposition in the period leading up to the transition (Skidmore 1988:250-260, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 48, Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 17). On 11/15/1986, Brazil conducted parliamentary elections, marking the commencement of a period characterized by competitive electoral processes. Subsequent to these elections, the country's political landscape has been marked by significant polarization. Additionally, this period has been characterized by elevated levels of violent crime and persistent economic marginalization of minority groups. Furthermore, the issue of endemic corruption remains a critical challenge

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<sup>451</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960\\_Brazilian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960_Brazilian_presidential_election)

<sup>452</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1964\\_Brazilian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1964_Brazilian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

within the Brazilian political regime.<sup>453</sup> Brazil operates as a federal republic governed under a presidential system. The public elects the president for a four-year term and he can be reelected for a consecutive second term. The National Congress, which is bicameral, consists of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies.<sup>454</sup> On 10/02/2022 general elections were held. The election concluded with a runoff in late October, resulting in Lula da Silva of the Workers' Party securing 50.9 percent of the vote compared to Bolsonaro's Liberal Party 49.1 percent. During the concurrent legislative polls, the Liberal Party secured the position of the largest party in both houses of the National Congress. Parties aligned with the non-ideological center constituted, at the same time, the largest group in the lower house. The strongly divided campaign was tainted by the spread of misinformation, forceful rhetoric, instances of harassment, and incidents of political violence.<sup>455</sup> Brazil functions as a democratic nation with competitive elections, fostering a politically polarized yet vibrant public dialogue. However, independent journalists and civil society activists encounter risks of harassment and violent attacks. Political violence remains prevalent, and the government faces challenges in addressing crime, disproportionate violence against minorities, and economic exclusion. Corruption continues to be endemic at the highest levels of government, with a recent decline in transparency exacerbating public disillusionment. Persistent societal discrimination and violence against LGBT+ individuals further compound the country's challenges.<sup>456</sup> Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Ames 2001, Arceneaux 2001b, Arceneaux 2001a, Cameron 1994, Domínguez 2002, Loewenstein 1942, Mainwaring 1986, Mainwaring 1995, McCann 1998, Philip 1984, Skidmore 1988, Stepan 1978, Wallerstein 1980)

## **British Virgin Islands**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 1672]: The Dutch established a permanent settlement on the main island (Tortola) by 1648, and by 1672 it was captured by the English and annexed to the British-administered Leeward Islands. The planters were granted civil government in 1773, with an elected House of Assembly, a partly

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<sup>453</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/brazil/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>454</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/brazil/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>455</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/brazil/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>456</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/brazil/freedom-world/2024>

elected Legislative Council, and constitutional courts.<sup>457</sup> The islands prosperity grew until the middle of the nineteenth century, when a combination of the abolition of slavery and agricultural demand in the British Empire changed.<sup>458</sup> In 1867 the constitution was surrendered and a legislature was appointed, an arrangement that lasted until 1902, when sole legislative authority was vested in the governor-in-council. In 1950 a partly elected and partly nominated Legislative Council was reinstated. In 1960 the islands gained separate colony status as crown colony. In 1967 the islands became more autonomous and were given a ministerial form of government with H. Lavity Stoutt as first chief minister.<sup>459</sup>

02/26/2002 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Democracy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: The British Overseas Territory Act of 2002 changed the status of the colony to that of overseas territory and granted British citizenship to its people. A new constitution promulgated in 2007 brought greater self-government to the islands.<sup>460</sup> The constitution provides for a unicameral House of Assembly (legislature) based upon representative democracy and a multi-party system. The head of state is the British monarch, who is represented in the territory by the governor. The politics of the British Virgin Islands takes place in the framework of a parliamentary representative democratic dependency with universal suffrage, whereby the Premier is the head of government, and of a multi-party system.<sup>461</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Brunei**

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate by United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start 09/17/1888]: The Sultanate of Brunei was a powerful state in the early 16th century. This power vanished over time. On 09/17/1888 Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo became a British Protectorates by treaty (Paxton 1980). However, they retained significant authority over their internal governance. (Horton 1986). Article I of the treaty provided that: “The State of Brunei shall continue to be governed and administered by the Sultan [...] and his successors as an independent State, under the protection of Great Britain” (Crawford 2006).

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<sup>457</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/British-Virgin-Islands/Government-and-society>

<sup>458</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British\\_Virgin\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Virgin_Islands)

<sup>459</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/British-Virgin-Islands/Government-and-society>

<sup>460</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/British-Virgin-Islands/Government-and-society>

<sup>461</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_the\\_British\\_Virgin\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_the_British_Virgin_Islands)

01/01/1906 End Absolute Monarchy [as protectorate by United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]/Start Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]: From 1906 on Britain effectively established indirect rule in Brunei (Heath-Brown 2015). Administration in Brunei was established through the Anglo-Brunei Treaty of 1905-1906, by which consent was given to receive a British officer, titled Resident. The Resident's advice was to be followed on all matters in Brunei, except those concerning the Muslim religion (Horton 1986: 353-354). Therefore, despite being categorized as a Protected State, Brunei did not possess true independence after 1906 (Crawford 2006). Therefore, the regime in this period is coded as a colonial regime.

12/22/1941 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]: Japanese forces entered Brunei on this date, shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor (Heath-Brown 2015: 238).

09/02/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Democracy]: The British Military Administration (BMA) took over the governance of Brunei in 1945 after Japan surrendered (Heath-Brown 2015: 238).

09/29/1959 End Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: Britain granted Brunei internal autonomy in 1959. On 09/29/1959 a new constitution was promulgated with the Sultan as Supreme Head of State. When the British transferred power in 1959, it was predominantly handed over to the sultan rather than the people (Heath-Brown 2015: 238, Horton 1986: 372-372).<sup>462</sup> This period is to be coded as Protectorate because Britain retained responsibility for defense and foreign affairs (Horton 1986) and thus, Brunei was semi-autonomous.

01/01/1984 Continuation Absolute Monarchy [as independent country]: On 01/01/1984, the protectorate of the United Kingdom) ended. Brunei operates as an absolute monarchy, with executive power vested in the sultan. At the national level, there are no elected representatives, and the freedoms of press and assembly are noticeably restricted.<sup>463</sup>

Absolute Monarchy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Grotz 2004)

## **Bukhara**

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<sup>462</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Brunei\\_2006?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Brunei_2006?lang=en)

<sup>463</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/brunei/freedom-world/2022>

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of Russian Empire, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 05/21/1868]: The Emirate of Bukhara encompassed territory that is now part of contemporary Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan. The Russian military invaded Bukhara in 1868 resulting in the Emirate becoming a Russian Protectorate.<sup>464</sup> After 1900, the emirate retained some level of autonomy in their internal matters. Nevertheless, the emirate remained under the authority of the Russian governor general in Tashkent, acting on behalf of Tsar Nicholas II. The Russian Empire exercised direct control over significant areas in Central Asia, permitting the emirate to govern a substantial portion of their traditional territories independently.<sup>465</sup> From 11/07/1917, when the Russian Soviet Republic was proclaimed<sup>466</sup>, the Khanate enjoyed a higher degree of independence. While Soviet power was consolidated in Turkestan in 1917-1918, the regimes in Bukhara and Khiva were openly hostile towards the Bolsheviks. In the following time the Slavic and European troops controlling Tashkent worked to remove the emir of Bukhara in 1920 (Becker 2004: 206, 211).

10/08/1920 End Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of RSFSR, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Part of other Country [RSFSR, Communist Ideocracy]: On this date the Bukharan People's Soviet Republic was proclaimed.<sup>467</sup>

12/28/1922 End Part of other Country [RSFSR, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Part of other Country [USSR, Communist Ideocracy]: With the establishment of the USSR, the Bukharan People's Soviet Republic became a part of the Soviet Union.<sup>468</sup> Between 08/19/1924 and 02/17/1924, the Republic was referred to as the Bukharan Socialist Soviet Republic (Bukharan SSR). In 1924, during the establishment of new national borders, the Bukharan SSR willingly voted to dissolve itself and merge into the newly formed Uzbek SSR.

For the time after 08/19/1924 see **Uzbekistan**

## **Bulgaria**

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of Ottoman Empire, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 07/13/1878]: On 07/13/1878, the Treaty of Berlin was signed and set up the autonomous

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<sup>464</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Uzbekistan/Russian-and-Soviet-rule>

<sup>465</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Uzbekistan#Entering\\_the\\_twentieth\\_century](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Uzbekistan#Entering_the_twentieth_century)

<sup>466</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian\\_Soviet\\_Federative\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_Soviet_Federative_Socialist_Republic)

<sup>467</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bukharan\\_People%27s\\_Soviet\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bukharan_People%27s_Soviet_Republic)

<sup>468</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soviet\\_Union#Treaty\\_on\\_the\\_Creation\\_of\\_the\\_USSR](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soviet_Union#Treaty_on_the_Creation_of_the_USSR)

state, the Principality of Bulgaria.<sup>469</sup> Thereby, Bulgaria, as we know it today, became de facto independent from the Ottoman Empire. However, the Ottoman Empire still controlled the foreign policy of Bulgaria. The first prime minister was Todor Stoyanov Burmov, chosen on 07/17/1879.<sup>470</sup>

10/05/1908<sup>471</sup> End Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of Ottoman Empire, Absolute Monarchy]/Start Constitutional Monarchy [as independent country]: Bulgaria became independent from the Ottoman Empire de jure and a kingdom. The Russian Revolution of 1917 also had a great effect in Bulgaria, spreading anti-monarchist sentiments. Hence, Tsar Ferdinand agreed to abdicate in favor of his son Boris III, who assumed the throne on 10/3/1918. In the elections on 03/28/1920, the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BANU) obtained most votes and Stamboliyski established the inaugural truly democratic government in Bulgaria.<sup>472</sup> In a coup d'état Aleksandar Tsankov became prime minister on 06/09/1923.<sup>473</sup> Boris III was the monarch at this time but the prime minister was in charge. Furthermore, elections were held in November 1923 which legitimated Tsankov's government.<sup>474</sup>

05/19/1934 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Military Autocracy: In a coup d'état the Zveno and the Military Union with the help of the Bulgarian Army overthrew the Tsankov government.<sup>475</sup> In 1930, Zveno was established as a Bulgarian political organization by politicians, intellectuals, and officers from the Bulgarian Army.<sup>476</sup> Zveno was a palingenetic nationalist movement. It primarily consisted of radical civilians who had grown disenchanted with a government hindered by military control. The new regime dissolved all parties and political organizations like trade unions.<sup>477</sup> All their property got confiscated and severe sentences were provided for attempting to renew a party in any form or to establish a new party. Tsar Boris was reduced to the status of a puppet tsar as a result of the coup.<sup>478</sup> The new government introduced a corporatist economy, similar to that of Benito Mussolini's Italy.<sup>479</sup> Zveno supported an Integral Yugoslavia that included Bulgaria as well as Albania within it.<sup>480</sup>

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<sup>469</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Bulgaria\\_\(1878%E2%80%931946\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Bulgaria_(1878%E2%80%931946))

<sup>470</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bulgaria/Treaties-of-San-Stefano-and-Berlin>

<sup>471</sup> 09/22/1908 old calendar

<sup>472</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Bulgaria\\_\(1878%E2%80%931946\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Bulgaria_(1878%E2%80%931946))

<sup>473</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aleksandar\\_Tsankov](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aleksandar_Tsankov)

<sup>474</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aleksandar\\_Tsankov](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aleksandar_Tsankov);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/November\\_1923\\_Bulgarian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/November_1923_Bulgarian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>475</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1934\\_Bulgarian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1934_Bulgarian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat);

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Zveno-Group>

<sup>476</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Zveno-Group>

<sup>477</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zveno>

<sup>478</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boris\\_III\\_of\\_Bulgaria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boris_III_of_Bulgaria)

<sup>479</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zveno>

<sup>480</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zveno>

01/22/1935 End Military Autocracy/Start Constitutional Monarchy: On this date, exploiting rumors of the group's alleged intention to establish a republic, King Boris III, whose influence had dwindled, garnered support among military officers, initially backers of the Zveno government. Consequently, he ousted Georgiev and his administration.<sup>481</sup> After the coup the the political process was overseen by the Tsar, yet a version of parliamentary rule was reintroduced, albeit without the reinstatement of political parties.<sup>482</sup>

09/09/1944 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Communist Ideocracy: The Fatherland Front made up of Social Democrats, the Agrarian Union, Zveno (a nationalist group of officers), and the Communists seized the government immediately after the Soviet invasion. The communists did not dominate the coalition numerically but were better organized and more disciplined. They secured the Interior and Justice Ministries in the new government, which enabled them to repress opponents. Thousands were executed and sent to concentration camps during the first year. The Interior Ministry also gave the communists control of local government and the 1945 elections. While the initial prime minister belonged to the Social Democrat party, the communists proved more adept at influencing events, leading to an unequivocal communist dominance in the regime by the conclusion of 1945 (Van Dyke 1947:358-360, 364-369, Curtis 1992, Brunnbauer 2008:52, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 48-49). In 1945, universal suffrage including women and men serving in the army was instituted by the government of the Fatherland front.<sup>483</sup> Long-time dictator Zhikov, was deposed in a coup d'état by reform communists in November 1989. National Roundtable Talks held from January through March 1990 initiated a number of political reforms, including agreements on a new constitution and electoral rules (Curtis 1992, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 48-49).

06/10/1990 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Democracy: On this date elections for the constitutional assembly were held. The reformed communist party, known as the Bulgarian Socialist Party, emerged victorious in competitive elections held in June 1990. (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 17).<sup>484</sup> On 08/01/1990, the National Assembly, still controlled by the BSP (renamed communist party), chose Zhelev, leader of the opposition UDF, as president after the communist leader Mladenov resigned. Zhelev was a compromise candidate; a non-partisan prime minister was chosen in November 1990 to replace the BSP prime minister. This marks the end of the communist regime before new elections were held in 1991 and won by the UDF, completing the transition (Curtis 1992, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 48-49).

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<sup>481</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Zveno-Group>

<sup>482</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boris\\_III\\_of\\_Bulgaria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boris_III_of_Bulgaria)

<sup>483</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>484</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Bulgaria2018.pdf>

Bulgaria's democratic electoral system features multiple parties vying for power, resulting in several shifts between rival parties in recent decades. However, the nation grapples with persistent challenges, including political corruption and organized crime. The political discourse is tainted by hate speech, particularly targeting minority groups and foreigners, predominantly emanating from smaller right-wing parties. Although the media landscape remains diverse, there is a growing concern about ownership concentration, leading news outlets to align coverage with the interests of their proprietors. Journalists, at times, encounter threats or violence while performing their duties. Discrimination against ethnic minorities, notably the Roma community, persists. Despite funding limitations and other hurdles, civil society groups have been active and exert influence in Bulgarian society.<sup>485</sup> In 2007 Bulgaria became part of the European Union. The Economist Intelligence Unit rated Bulgaria a “flawed democracy” in 2020.<sup>486</sup> Comparative regime data sets, namely BMR, CGV, LIED, MCM, PRC and RoW consistently classify the regime period from 1990 onwards as democratic. However, since there are serious flaws of the democracy, we classify it like LIED and RoW as the subtype of an electoral democracy. Between 07/09/2020 and 04/16/2021 mass anti-government protests took place because of allegations of corruption surrounding the prosecutorial office and several politicians, demanding for the resignation of Geshev and prime minister Borisov.<sup>487</sup> The protests ended on 04/16/2016, when the formal resignation of the 3rd Borisov government had been accepted by the new parliament.<sup>488</sup> From 05/12/2021 to 12/13/2021 two interim governments were established after no party was able to form a government after the elections in April and July 2021. They were headed by Radev as interim president. General elections for the National Assembly were held in Bulgaria on 11/14/2021, coinciding with the presidential elections. They were the country’s third parliamentary elections in 2021. A second round of the presidential elections were held on 11/21/2021 as no candidate was able to receive a majority of the vote in the first round.<sup>489</sup> The third round of polling election resulted in the consolidation of a coalition government under Prime Minister Kiril Petkov. Presidential candidate Radev, who had appointed two provisional governments during that year, won re-election in November with 65.8 % of the vote.<sup>490</sup> After further parliamentary elections in 2022 and 2023 in which coalition negotiations and the approval of a new government failed, the Bulgarian people prepare to go

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<sup>485</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bulgaria/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>486</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bulgaria#History>

<sup>487</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bulgaria/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>488</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020%E2%80%932021\\_Bulgarian\\_protests](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020%E2%80%932021_Bulgarian_protests)

<sup>489</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021\\_Bulgarian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021_Bulgarian_general_election)

<sup>490</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bulgaria/freedom-world/2022>



to what will be their 6th snap election since 2021<sup>491</sup>, with turnout rates dropping (in 2022 to a record low at 39%).<sup>492</sup> Bulgaria's election process is generally described as professional and impartial, although some flaws have been reported in past elections and since the end of communist rule in 1990, there have been multiple peaceful transfers of power between rival parties through elections. However, one weakness concerns the independence of media, which is substantially dependent on funding and thus pressured to run government-friendly material.<sup>493</sup> Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Brunnbauer 2008, Crampton 2005, Curtis 1992, Dellin 1957, Elklit 1994, Fish/Brooks 2000, Poppetrov 2001, Riedel 2010, Todorov 2010, Van Dyke 1947)

## **Burkina Faso**

[Formerly known as Upper Volta]

01/01/1900 Start Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 09/05/1896]: The French gained power over the territory of today's Burkina Faso, by taking the city of Ouagadougou on 09/05/1896<sup>494</sup> and made Burkina Faso a protectorate.<sup>495</sup> While the country has been de facto a colony already before, including our start date of 01/01/1900. On 03/01/1919 the country became officially a colony of France. In 1919, the colony of Upper Volta was established from regions that were formerly territories within the colonies of Upper Senegal and Niger, as well as the Côte d'Ivoire.<sup>496</sup> On 09/05/1932 the colony was dismantled and being split between the French colonies of Ivory Coast, French Sudan and Niger. Hence, the colonial status continued. However, the territory of Burkina Faso as such was dissolved.<sup>497</sup> On 09/04/1947, the colony was re-established as a French territory with its previous boundaries.<sup>498</sup> In 1957, universal suffrage was introduced (LIED). On 12/11/1958 Burkina Faso attained self-governance as the Republic of Upper Volta. However, it was still governed by a French high commissioner until independence. On 04/19/1959 after a constitutional referendum, parliamentary elections were held. The constitution established a presidential

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<sup>491</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2024\\_Bulgarian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2024_Bulgarian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>492</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022\\_Bulgarian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022_Bulgarian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>493</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/bulgaria/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>494</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline\\_of\\_Ouagadougou](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_Ouagadougou)

<sup>495</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burkina\\_Faso#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burkina_Faso#History)

<sup>496</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Upper\\_Volta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Upper_Volta)

<sup>497</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Upper\\_Volta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Upper_Volta)

<sup>498</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Upper\\_Volta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Upper_Volta)

system. The first political parties were banned in the first few months of 1960 (Grotz 1999: 123).

08/05/1960 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start One-party (Personalist) Autocracy: On this date, independence was reached under a single party rule by the Voltaic Democratic Union-African Democratic Rally. Opposition parties were banned shortly before independence (Collier 1982:109, Englebert 1996:34-35). In December 1960, Maurice Yaméogo, the newly elected president of UDV/RDA, hindered the participation of opposition parties in the municipal elections and detained several opposition politicians (Englebert 1996:44, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 49). As a result, the parliamentary and presidential elections in 1965, which reaffirmed Yaméogo and the UDV-RDA, lacked competitiveness (Grotz 1999: 123). Yaméogo also purged the UDV-RDA of his enemies.<sup>499</sup>

01/03/1966 End One-party (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: In the chaos of a nationwide strike, the military forced Yameogo to step down or face a civil war. General Lamizana took over afterward. In response to a general strike and upon the unions' request, the military, under the leadership of Chief of Staff Lieutenant Colonel Lamizana, chose not to employ force against unarmed demonstrators. Instead, they intervened by suspending the constitution and establishing a new governing entity known as the Superior Council of the Armed Forces, composed of officers holding ranks above captain (Confidential 1968:5, Englebert 1996:46). Later on, the composition of the regime was expanded to encompass civilian members as well (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 49). Following Lamizana's declaration that the military intended to establish only an interim regime, a liberalization of the Voltaian political system commenced four years later (Grotz 1999: 123-124). As a result, political parties were allowed again in November 1969 (Grotz 1999: 124).

06/14/1970 End Military Autocracy/ Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date a referendum on a new constitution was held. The constitution sought to establish a semipresidential system. On 12/20/1970 the first competitive parliamentary elections since independence were held. The victory of the UDV-RDA led to a two-third majority in the National Assembly (Grotz 1999: 124). Gerard Kango Ouedraogo became prime minister between 1971 and 1974.<sup>500</sup> But Lamizana stayed president without a popular mandate. Presidential election did not take place, because the power struggle between the speaker of parliament and the prime minister escalated in light of the planned presidential elections and led to Lamizana's self-coup (Grotz 1999: 124). Therefore, we classify this period as electoral autocracy.

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<sup>499</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maurice\\_Yam%C3%A9ogo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maurice_Yam%C3%A9ogo)

<sup>500</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/G%C3%A9rard\\_Kango\\_Ou%C3%A9draogo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/G%C3%A9rard_Kango_Ou%C3%A9draogo)

02/08/1974 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy: On this date a bloodless military coup took place, which was essentially a self-coup by President Lamizana against the government of Gerard Kango Ouedraogo. Lamizana dissolved the National assembly, suspended the constitution, and established a new government compromising himself as prime minister and 11 military officers and 4 civilians.<sup>501</sup> In contrast to the coup in 1966, this one did not rest on a broad social consensus (Grotz 1999: 124). On 06/14/1976, the people of Burkina Faso ratified a new constitution that marked the beginning of a four-year transition period towards full civilian governance. President Sangoulé Lamizana, a military officer, maintained his position as the leader of military or mixed civil-military governments. Following conflicts surrounding the 1976 constitution, a new constitution was drafted and ratified in 1977.<sup>502</sup> Part of it was the legalization of political parties.<sup>503</sup>

04/30/1978 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/ Start Semidemocracy: On this date parliamentary elections were held. The Voltaic Democratic Union-African Democratic Rally won the most seats, in total 28 out of 57. The new constitution restricted the number of allowed parties in parliament to three. Meaning only the three largest parties were allowed to participate in the assembly.<sup>504</sup> On 05/14/1978 presidential elections were held. They were the first multi-party presidential elections in the country's history. Because no candidate received more than 50% of the vote, a second round was held on 05/28/1978.<sup>505</sup> Sangoulé Lamizana was elected with 56% of the votes.<sup>506</sup> This election is widely regarded as one of the most democratic ever conducted in West Africa.<sup>507</sup> But still not only did the constitution restrict political competition, due to the number of allowed parties, but also the military continued to play an important role. Since independence the system has displayed a recurring pattern of authoritarian systems alternating with efforts to implement democratic governance (Grotz 1999: 123).

11/25/1980 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: With the support of labor and civil groups Colonel Zerbo overthrew recently elected president Lamizana. Zerbo established the Comité Militaire de Redressement pour le Progrès National. All key posts were granted to militaries (Englebert 1996:51-52). The 1966-80 regime is considered different from the earlier

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<sup>501</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1974\\_Upper\\_Voltan\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1974_Upper_Voltan_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>502</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burkina\\_Faso#Lamizana's\\_rule\\_and\\_multiple\\_coups;](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burkina_Faso#Lamizana's_rule_and_multiple_coups;)  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sangoul%C3%A9\\_Lamizana](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sangoul%C3%A9_Lamizana)

<sup>503</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/upper-voltaburkina-faso-1960-present/>

<sup>504</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1978\\_Upper\\_Voltan\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1978_Upper_Voltan_parliamentary_election)

<sup>505</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1978\\_Upper\\_Voltan\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1978_Upper_Voltan_presidential_election)

<sup>506</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/upper-voltaburkina-faso-1960-present/>

<sup>507</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sangoul%C3%A9\\_Lamizana](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sangoul%C3%A9_Lamizana)

period because civilians were excluded from the ruling group. The period from 1980-82 is considered by GWF as a different regime because Lamizana's civilian coalition partners were excluded from the ruling group (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 49).

11/07/1982 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A group of non-commissioned officers led by Colonel Some seized power after accusing Colonel Zerbo that he was turning the military into an agent of terror. Afterwards the Provisional People's Salvation Council junta was formed and Ouedraogo became the head of the junta (Englebert 1996: 53-54). The new government is treated as a different regime from Zerbo's because of a change in the rank of the group from which leaders could be chosen.

08/04/1983 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: The army led by Thomas Sankara and Blaise Compaoré launched a coup against the regime of Major Jean-Baptiste Ouédraogo. Sankara created a Conseil National de la Revolution (CNR), a governing body consisting mostly of populist junior officers. Under Sankara the country was renamed from the colonial name of Upper Volta to Burkina Faso.<sup>508</sup> 10/15/1987 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: General Blaise Compaore launched a coup against Sankara. Sankara was killed by soldiers linked to Compaore. A few of Sankara's military allies were executed (Wilkins 1989:375). The government of Compaore is treated as a new regime because Compaore changed the identity of the groups that could influence policy and from which officials could be chosen. Leaders of the small parties that had collaborated with Sankara fled to exile, were repressed or merged into the new ruling single party, Organization for Popular Democracy – Labour Movement (ODP/MT), along with new parties representing some of the same political formations that had been excluded by Sankara after dominating politics in the sixties and seventies (Englebert 1996: 61-65). The CDRs were dissolved in early 1988. In short, the post-1987 regime included a much wider array of political actors but excluded some of those who had been important to Sankara's support base. In result its leftism had been muted. By 1990, the ruling FP included seven parties besides ODP/MT and most unions, which had been excluded by Sankara (Englebert 1996:65, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 49-50).

12/01/1991 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: Compaoré implemented modest democratic changes in 1990. With the introduction of the new constitution in 1991, elections were held in December of that year.<sup>509</sup> These elections marked the first in the country since 1978, yet opposition parties boycotted them. The outcome resulted in the incumbent President Blaise Compaoré securing a victory as the sole candidate, despite a low voter turnout of only

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<sup>508</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas\\_Sankara](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Sankara)

<sup>509</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burkina\\_Faso#1987\\_coup\\_d'etat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burkina_Faso#1987_coup_d'etat)

27.3%.<sup>510</sup> In 1998, Compaoré achieved a resounding victory in the elections.<sup>511</sup> Again, the 1998 presidential elections were boycotted by the major opposition parties.<sup>512</sup> Presidential elections were regularly held in 2005 and 2010.<sup>513</sup> In 2005 he ran the third time as candidate, although the constitution only allowed two terms. The Constitutional Court backed him and ruled that the constitutional amendment could not be applied retroactively. He won with 80% of the votes, but this time the opposition took part in the elections. One of the main political issues was the freedom of the press.<sup>514</sup> The presidential elections in 2010 were characterized by numerous allegations of fraud. Seven candidates registered, but Compaoré won again with 80% of the votes.<sup>515</sup>

10/31/2014 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Wide-spread protests against constitutional changes that would have allowed President Compaoré to extend his term in office resulted in a military coup. Initially, Compaoré resigned and the military under Lieutenant Colonel Yacouba Isaac Zida (former leader of the presidential guard) took power. On 11/01/2014, the armed forces collectively supported Zida to assume leadership on an interim basis, leading the country towards the 2015 presidential election.<sup>516</sup>

11/17/2014 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime: On this date, the military was pressured to install a civilian interim president. The civilian, Michel Kafando, was chosen to replace Zida as transitional head of state.

09/16/2015 End Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, the plans for transition were halted by members of the Regiment of Presidential Security (RSP), a military unit loyal to former president Compaoré, seized power, arresting acting president Kafando and prime-minister Zida. The RSP successfully took control of Ouagadougou and declared the formation of a new junta, led by General Gilbert Diendéré, tasked with overseeing the transition to new elections.<sup>517</sup> The junta failed to consolidate its authority across the country, and faced protests as well as intense pressure from regional leaders, and eventually from the regular army, to restore the transitional government. Protests and international pressure resulted in the release of Kafando and Zida and the restoration of civilian rule.<sup>518</sup>

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<sup>510</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991\\_Burkinab%C3%A9\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991_Burkinab%C3%A9_presidential_election)

<sup>511</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burkina\\_Faso#1987\\_coup\\_d'%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burkina_Faso#1987_coup_d'%C3%A9tat)

<sup>512</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1998\\_Burkinab%C3%A9\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1998_Burkinab%C3%A9_presidential_election)

<sup>513</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections\\_in\\_Burkina\\_Faso#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_in_Burkina_Faso#)

<sup>514</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005\\_Burkinab%C3%A9\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_Burkinab%C3%A9_presidential_election)

<sup>515</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010\\_Burkinab%C3%A9\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010_Burkinab%C3%A9_presidential_election)

<sup>516</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yacouba\\_Isaac\\_Zida](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yacouba_Isaac_Zida)

<sup>517</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015\\_Burkina\\_Faso\\_coup\\_attempt](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015_Burkina_Faso_coup_attempt)

<sup>518</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015\\_Burkina\\_Faso\\_coup\\_attempt](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015_Burkina_Faso_coup_attempt)

09/23/2015 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime Only a week after the coup the junta was replaced by Michel Kafando who continued to govern on an interim basis leading a 25-member technocratic government and a National Transitional Council with Zida as his prime minister indicating dominating military influence of the planned transition (Lansford 2021: 232). The period between October 2014 and September 2015 is marked by two coups and two periods of political uprisings.

11/29/2015 End Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start Democracy: Roch Marc Christian Kaboré won the presidential election with 53.5 percent of the vote, defeating 13 other candidates (Lansford 2021: 232).<sup>519</sup> These elections, deemed the "freest and fairest" in the country's history, were conducted under universal suffrage.<sup>520</sup> Despite challenges such as extreme poverty, terrorism, and corruption, civil society and the media stood as strong proponents of democracy and the safeguarding of civil liberties. While the judiciary was formally independent, it remained fragile and prone to influence from the executive branch.<sup>521</sup>

01/24/2022 End Democracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, democratically elected President Kaboré was arrested by military soldiers. Lieutenant-Colonel Paul-Henri Sandaogo Damiba was appointed as Interim President and on 02/2022 declared president by the Constitutional Council. The military junta approved a military-led transition for three years.<sup>522</sup>

09/30/2022 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a coup d'état removed Interim President Paul-Henri Sandaogo Damiba over his alleged inability to deal with the country's Islamist insurgency. Captain Ibrahim Traoré took over as interim leader. Headed by Traoré, the army dissolved the interim parliament and suspended the constitution.<sup>523</sup> The event is coded as a regime change because the coup was launched by a different group in the military than the coup in January 2022. In September 2023 the military junta postponed elections intended for July 2024 indefinitely, citing security reasons.<sup>524</sup>

Military Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Collier 1982, Robinson 1992)

Burma: see Myanmar

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<sup>519</sup> <https://africanarguments.org/2015/12/how-burkina-faso-ensured-its-freest-and-fairest-ever-elections/>

<sup>520</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Burkina\\_Faso\\_2012](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Burkina_Faso_2012)

<sup>521</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/burkina-faso/freedom-world/2019>

<sup>522</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/January\\_2022\\_Burkina\\_Faso\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/January_2022_Burkina_Faso_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>523</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/September\\_2022\\_Burkina\\_Faso\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/September_2022_Burkina_Faso_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>524</sup> <https://africacenter.org/spotlight/2024-elections/burkinafaso/>

## **Burundi**

[Ruanda-Urundi was a territory that was comprised of the later countries Ruanda and Burundi]

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 02/26/1885]: Ruanda and Urundi were two separate kingdoms in the Great Lakes region. The Burundi Kingdom was founded in 1680 under the leadership of the royal clan. On 02/26/1885 at the Berlin Conference, Burundi was defined as part of Germany's sphere.<sup>525</sup> In 1899, Germany established Ruanda-Urundi as part of the German East Africa protectorate (Cornwell/de Beer 1999: 84). While it was in name a protectorate according to our coding rules it was a colony.

06/01/1916 End Colonial Regime [of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Belgium, Occupation Regime]: During World War I Ruanda-Urundi was occupied by Belgian forces, who established military rule in 1916 (Cornwell/de Beer 1999: 84).

07/20/1922 End Occupation Regime [by Belgium, Semidemocracy]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [of Belgium as International Mandate]: From this date on, Ruanda-Urundi was administrated as a trust territory by Belgium under a League of Nations mandate. In 1946 Burundi became a UN trust territory (Cornwell/de Beer 1999: 84). We code this period as a de facto as colony. In was not before 1961 that Belgium granted Ruanda-Urundi internal autonomy and agreed on legislative elections to be held after substantial pressure from the UN, accompanied by a promise that the Belgians would prepare the territory for independence (Cornwell/de Beer 1999: 85).<sup>526</sup> On 08/17/1961, prior to independence, the Belgian administration of the UN Trust territory introduced universal suffrage to women. This right was confirmed at independence.<sup>527</sup>

12/21/1961 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [of Belgium as International Mandate, Democracy]/Start Absolute Monarchy [under internal autonomy]: Because Burundi was granted internal self-governance along with elections and the promise of independence from the international side, this period is coded as quasi-independent. On 07/01/1962 the Kingdom of Burundi restored its complete independence as a constitutional monarchy, where executive power was vested in the mwami, while legislative authority was granted to the parliament.<sup>528</sup> While the monarchy falls formally in the category constitutional, the monarchy selected and removed governments without parliamentary consultation, expanded its authority through

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<sup>525</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin\\_Conference](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin_Conference)

<sup>526</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruanda-Urundi>

<sup>527</sup> [https://data.ipu.org/node/28/data-on-women?chamber\\_id=13353](https://data.ipu.org/node/28/data-on-women?chamber_id=13353)

<sup>528</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Burundi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Burundi)

various means, and appointed family members to crucial positions. Governments were structured to maintain a balance between Tutsis and Hutus (Lemarchand 1966:420-423, Lansford 2012e:205, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 50). Hence, it is classified as an absolute autocracy in this dataset.

07/08/1966 End of Absolute Monarchy/Start Military (Personalist) Autocracy: A military coup led by Captain Michel Micombero reduced the powers of the monarch. King Mwambutsa was replaced with his youngest son and coup leader Micombero became prime minister. In November 1966, a second coup led by Tutsi military officers, headed by Prime Minister Micombero, led to the official shift from a monarchy to a republic. Micombero assumed control, and the government became predominantly influenced by Tutsi officers and politicians. During this time, Hutus were systematically removed from the officer corps, as well as from the bureaucracy and political sphere, through purges carried out in 1966, 1969, and 1972 (Lemarchand 1974a:75, Lemarchand 1974b:87, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 50-51). On 11/28/1966 General Michel Micombero overthrew the monarchy and ousted king Ntare V. He appointed himself president of the new republic.<sup>529</sup> The National Revolutionary Council (NRC) headed by Michel Micombero took control of the government on 29/11/1966. The NRC confirmed the status of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as the country's only legal political party on November 30, 1966. Under Micombero's rule an ideology known as "democratic centralism" was implemented, consolidating control over all national institutions and media, effectively establishing a military dictatorship.<sup>530</sup> From 1967 until 1981 there were no elections. Since the center of the rule was the NRC and not UPRONA the regime is classified as a military autocracy.

09/03/1987 End Military (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Bagaza was overthrown by Major Buyoya and a military junta was established to rule the country. Buyoya's government is considered a new regime because he initially dissolved the Tutsi ruling party and established an all-military ruling group of 31 officers, thus changing the identity of the group able to influence policy (Maher 2004:946, Lansford 2012e:205, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 51). In 1988, under the authoritarian regime of President Buyoya, a commission dedicated to the study of "national unity" was established, ensuring equal representation from both Hutu and Tutsi groups. The commission's findings led to the creation of a "Charter on National Unity," which received approval through a national referendum in 1991. Following this, a Constitutional Commission was convened to draft a new constitution, which was subsequently

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<sup>529</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Burundi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Burundi)

<sup>530</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michel\\_Micombero](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michel_Micombero)



endorsed in a 1992 referendum, thereby laying the groundwork for the national elections held in 1993 (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 18). On 06/29/1993 there were legislative elections.

06/01/1993 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date the first multiparty presidential elections took place. They were rated as free and fair by international observers and all candidates accepted the results.<sup>531</sup> Melchior Ndadaye, leader of the Hutu-dominated Front for Democracy (FRODEBU) defeated (Tutsi) incumbent President Pierre Buyoya. The election marked a turning point for Burundi, signifying the conclusion of the Tutsi-dominated state supported by the military since 1966 since Ndadaye was a Hutu (Maher 2004:946, Lansford 2012e:206, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 51). Ndadaye was the country's first Hutu head of state, leading a pro-Hutu government.<sup>532</sup> He became president on 07/10/1993. Despite his efforts to bridge the ethnic divide, his reforms faced opposition from soldiers in the Tutsi-dominated army.<sup>533</sup> The reasons for classifying this period as semidemocracy only become apparent when viewed together with the period from 10/27/1993 onwards, as both periods are connected and were only interrupted by six days of military rule.

10/21/1993 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, Ndadaye along with several other government leaders were killed by rebelling Tutsi-dominated military forces who went onto establish the Committee of Public Salvation junta which lasted for only six days. Ngeze was established as head of state by the junta.<sup>534</sup>

10/27/1993 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: Due to public unrest and international opposition Ngeze stepped down with the rest of the junta, on this date, and passed power to the next highest-ranking civilian official who had survived the coup – Sylvie Kinigi, a Tutsi.<sup>535</sup> He became acting civilian prime minister and served from 10/27/1993 to 02/05/1994.<sup>536</sup> Kinigi's government was comprising of 15 of the 22 ministers before of the coup. However, the period was characterized by a civil war with ongoing violence between Hutu rebels and the Tutsi majority army, which led to human rights abuses. In early 1994, Cyprien Ntaryamira, a Hutu, was elected president by the parliament after a modification of Article 85 to allow this indirect election. The parliament opposition, however, argued that this amendment was not in line with the constitution. Therefore, the matter was brought before the Constitutional Court, who ruled in favor of the opposition. Subsequently Kingi dismissed all

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<sup>531</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Melchior\\_Ndadaye#Leader\\_of\\_FRODEBU](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Melchior_Ndadaye#Leader_of_FRODEBU)

<sup>532</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burundi>

<sup>533</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Melchior\\_Ndadaye#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Melchior_Ndadaye#)

<sup>534</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993\\_Burundian\\_coup\\_attempt#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993_Burundian_coup_attempt#)

<sup>535</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993\\_Burundian\\_coup\\_attempt#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993_Burundian_coup_attempt#)

<sup>536</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sylvie\\_Kinigi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sylvie_Kinigi)

Tutsi judges, the Hutu judges resigned. This led to violence in the capital. Consequently, Kingi reached a compromise with the opposition. Ntaryamira, was sworn in on 02/05/1994 as president and the ethnic Tutsi Anatole Kanyenkiko assumed the prime minister office.<sup>537</sup> However, both Ntaryamira and Juvénal Habyarimana, the president of Rwanda, also a Hutu, died together when their plane was shot down in April 1994. This event led to an increase in the number of refugees fleeing to Rwanda. Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, a Hutu and the Speaker of Parliament, assumed the presidency in October 1994. A coalition government, comprising 12 out of the 13 parties, was formed. Kanyenkiko resigned, but remained in power until a new executive was confirmed. The outgoing prime minister and the new president maintained good working relations.<sup>538</sup> This period is a borderline case between a semidemocracy and an electoral autocracy. However, even if there were some serious deficits in the institutional limitations of the executive, these were mostly contained. Furthermore, the constitutional line of succession was respected, even during this turbulent period. This justifies the classification as semidemocracy.

07/25/1996 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: With support from the populace and the military, on this date Buyoya overthrew the civilian government in a military coup d'état. It was justified by its lack of progress in stopping ethnic killings. In 1996, Hutu rebels killed over three hundred Tutsis, after which the third Hutu president, Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, disappeared before a military takeover. Pierre Buyoya, a Tutsi, became the head of the new military government. He had already been in power from 1987 to 1992 and was now named interim president (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 74, Economist 1996:42, Maher 2004:948, Lansford 2012e:206, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 51). It was the fourth such takeover of the Burundian government since the country's independence in 1962, and the second to result in Buyoya taking power. In the weeks immediately following the coup, more than 6,000 people were killed in the country.<sup>539</sup> Economic sanctions were also imposed by the international community because of the nature of Buyoya's return to power but were eased as Buyoya created an ethnically inclusive government. Buyoya established a new partnership in 06/1998 with the National Assembly, which was under the influence of the Hutu-supported Front for Democracy in Burundi (FRODEBU). Subsequently, this move played a role in facilitating the emergence of the Arusha Accords in 2000. These Accords brought out a system of ethnic power-sharing, ultimately leading to the resolution of the Civil War in 2005.<sup>540</sup>

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<sup>537</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sylvie\\_Kinigi#Prime\\_Minister\\_of\\_Burundi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sylvie_Kinigi#Prime_Minister_of_Burundi)

<sup>538</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sylvestre\\_Ntibantunganya](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sylvestre_Ntibantunganya)

<sup>539</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1996\\_Burundian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1996_Burundian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>540</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre\\_Buyoya](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre_Buyoya)

11/01/2001 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date a transitional government under President Pierre Buyoya was formally inaugurated. Out of 26 cabinet portfolios, the Hutu groups got 14 and the Tutsi groups 12 ministries.<sup>541</sup> On 04/30/2003 another interim transitional government was established, following the implementation of the Arusha Peace Accord. In accordance with the agreement, President Buyoya transferred power to his Hutu Vice President.

07/04/2005 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date president Domitien Ndayizeye, who was the leader of the FRODEBU party, oversaw a competitive parliamentary election as mandated by the Peace Accord. The election resulted in a victory for the National Council for the Defense of Democracy – Forces for the Defense of Democracy (CND-FDD) party (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 51). The 2005 parliamentary elections were largely peaceful and deemed as generally fair, transparent and free by observers.<sup>542</sup> During the Burundian Civil War, the CNDD–FDD was the most significant rebel group active and became a major political party.<sup>543</sup> On 08/19/2005 indirect presidential elections were held. The National Assembly and Senate members were responsible for selecting the new president, who would serve a five-year term.<sup>544</sup> Pierre Nkurunziza, the only candidate representing the CNDD-FDD party, secured a resounding victory with a vote of 151-9.<sup>545</sup> Before the second post-war presidential elections were conducted on 06/28/2010, 250 opposition figures were arrested after the FNL had led a boycott of presidential and legislative balloting. Despite that, the communal elections in May 2010 were deemed free and fair by international observers, but there was no real competition. Due to further boycotts by the opposition, there was only one candidate in the presidential elections, which were different from 2005 direct. The elections were won by incumbent Nkurunziza (CNDD–FDD) with 91.6% of the vote who held office since 2005 and thus was elected for another term (Lansford 2021: 242). Although constitutional regulations limit a president’s time in office to two terms, Nkurunziza was nominated again by the CNDD-FDD for a third term in 2015 which led to popular uprising and an attempted coup (Lansford 2021: 242). Again, a variety of parties boycotted the polling. Presidential elections took place on 07/21/2015, and Nkurunziza was re-elected for a third term. International observers described the elections as unfair and tainted

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<sup>541</sup> <https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/implementation/powersharing-transitional-government-2003-14>

<sup>542</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005\\_Burundian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_Burundian_parliamentary_election)

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Council\\_for\\_the\\_Defense\\_of\\_Democracy\\_%E2%80%93\\_Forces\\_for\\_the\\_Defense\\_of\\_Democracy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Council_for_the_Defense_of_Democracy_%E2%80%93_Forces_for_the_Defense_of_Democracy)

<sup>544</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005\\_Burundian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_Burundian_presidential_election)

<sup>545</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005\\_Burundian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_Burundian_presidential_election)

(Lansford 2021:242). Ahead of the 2020 presidential elections, Nkurunziza endorsed Ndayishimiye as his successor, who was elected president with 71.5% of the vote in balloting on 05/20/2020 and was inaugurated on 06/18/2020 after the sudden early passing of Nkurunziza (Lansford 2021: 242).<sup>546</sup> The elections were deemed unfair. There were reports of irregularities on election day.<sup>547</sup> Despite his military background, there is no reason to believe that this period could be a military autocracy. One of the major traits of electoral politics in Burundi is the prevalence of ongoing incumbency which hinders oppositional parties from developing strong institutions and means to compete with their opponents. Thus, the incumbent party retains control over governance, the elections process and even public opinion (Palmans 2012). Electoral autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Basedau 1999, Kirschke 2007)

## **Cambodia**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 10/17/1887]: On 08/11/1863 the French established a protectorate in Cambodia (Thomson 1945). A treaty was signed between the Cambodian King Norodom and the French under which the Cambodian monarchy was allowed to remain, but power was largely vested in a resident general. France also retained Cambodia's foreign and trade relations as well as military protection.<sup>548</sup> At the same time Siam (modern Thailand) renounced sovereignty over Cambodia and officially 108ontrive108d the French protectorate in Cambodia.<sup>549</sup> On 10/17/1887 Cambodia became a colony as part of the newly created French Indochinese Federation under a governor-general (Tully 2005).<sup>550</sup> The Resident General assumed all powers by the King to collect taxes, issue decrees, and even appoint royal officials and choose crown princes. Therefore, from that time on, all powers were vested in the governor general and colonial bureaucracy.<sup>551</sup>

03/13/1945 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]: By agreement with Japan, the French Vichy government allowed Japanese troops to transit through French Indochina and to station troops in Northern Vietnam.

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<sup>546</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89variste\\_Ndayishimiye](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89variste_Ndayishimiye)

<sup>547</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020\\_Burundian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020_Burundian_general_election)

<sup>548</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_protectorate\\_of\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_protectorate_of_Cambodia)

<sup>549</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_protectorate\\_of\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_protectorate_of_Cambodia)

<sup>550</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Indochina](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Indochina)

<sup>551</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_protectorate\\_of\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_protectorate_of_Cambodia)

In August 1941, however, Japanese troops occupied the French protectorate of Cambodia and established a garrison. The Japanese authorities allowed the French colonial officials to remain at their administrative posts.<sup>552</sup> On 03/09/1945, the Japanese staged a coup de force against the French (Tully 2005). On 03/13 King Norodom Sihanouk proclaimed an independent Kingdom of Kampuchea and served as prime minister.<sup>553</sup>

08/14/1945 Stop Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: The Japanese occupation ended with the official surrender of Japan in August 1945 and a new government was established with Son Ngoc Thanh acting as prime minister.<sup>554</sup>

10/16/1945 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]: On this date the French re-established colonial rule in Cambodia shortly after Japanese surrender in 1945 and Thanh was put under house arrest.<sup>555</sup> In 1946, France allowed the Cambodians to form political parties and to hold elections for a Consultative Assembly that would advise the monarch on drafting the country's constitution. Pre-independence Consultative Assembly elections were held in September 1946 in which the Democrats won 50 of 67 seats. In the December 1947 elections for the National Assembly, the Democrats won a large majority again.<sup>556</sup>

11/08/1947 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of France, Democracy]: On this date Cambodia was declared a French associated state by the Franco-Khmer treaty. It granted Cambodia control over most internal matters and of most administrative functions while France retained a significant control over the judicial system, finances and customs and moreover, Cambodia was obliged to co-ordinate foreign policy matters with the High Council of the French Union (Tully 2005).<sup>557</sup> The period is considered as a borderline case between a colony and a protectorate.

11/09/1953 Continuation Absolute Monarchy [as independent country]: After a long struggle by Sihanouk, on 08/17/1953 France granted Cambodia full sovereignty and on 11/09/1953 the last French troops left Cambodian soil after 90 years of colonial rule (Tully 2005). According

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<sup>552</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese\\_occupation\\_of\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_occupation_of_Cambodia)

<sup>553</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese\\_occupation\\_of\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_occupation_of_Cambodia);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_protectorate\\_of\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_protectorate_of_Cambodia)

<sup>554</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese\\_occupation\\_of\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_occupation_of_Cambodia);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_protectorate\\_of\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_protectorate_of_Cambodia)

<sup>555</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese\\_occupation\\_of\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_occupation_of_Cambodia);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_protectorate\\_of\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_protectorate_of_Cambodia)

<sup>556</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_protectorate\\_of\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_protectorate_of_Cambodia)

<sup>557</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_protectorate\\_of\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_protectorate_of_Cambodia)

to the constitution Cambodia was supposed to be a constitutional monarchy. However, King Sihanouk suspended the constitution, dissolved the assembly, assumed the post of PM, and declared martial law before independence (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 51). Sihanouk came from the traditional royal family but had been chosen by the French over other potential royal claimant (Seekins 1987, Lansford 2012g:216). Control of residual matters affecting sovereignty, such as finances and foreign affairs were transferred completely to the Cambodian state in 1954.<sup>558</sup> In 1955, universal suffrage was introduced.<sup>559</sup>

03/18/1970 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Military Autocracy: A new civil-military ruling coalition was established following a coup orchestrated by Prime Minister General Lon Nol and Prince Sirik Matak (Seekins 1990, Lansford 2012f:215, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 51). The monarchy was abolished in October 1970 (Seekins 1990, Lansford 2012f:216). On 03/11/1972, Nol took advantage of a crisis to remove Heng from the presidency and assumed it himself, further consolidating his executive power in the nation.

09/03[-09/17]/1972 End Military Autocracy/Start One-Party Autocracy: On this date the Khmer Republic conducted general elections, marking the first electoral process following the 1970 coup. The National Assembly elections were held on 09/03 featuring contestation between the Social Republican Party and Pracheachon (though the latter only fielded 10 candidates). The Republican Party and the Democratic Party boycotted the elections due to their objections to the new electoral law. The Social Republican Party emerged victorious, securing all 126 seats in the National Assembly with 99.1% of valid votes. Subsequently, the Senate elections took place on 09/17, resulting in the Social Republican Party winning all 32 seats.<sup>560</sup> On 04/01/1975 Nol resigned and fled Cambodia as the Khmer rebels laid siege to Phnom Penh. His regime persisted with a series of short-lived military leaders but at this point the rebels had already taken control of the capital.

04/17/1975 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Communist Ideocracy: The government surrendered on this date to the insurgency of the Khmer Rouge (Communist Party of Kampuchea, CPK). The Cambodian state was officially renamed Democratic Kampuchea. Norodom Sihanouk remained a figurehead head of government until 04/02/1976.<sup>561</sup> Between 1975 and 1978, around two million Cambodians died by execution, forced labor and famine under the rule of a very radical Communist regime (Chandler/Kiernan/Boua 1988). The government formally capitulated to the Khmer Rouge insurgency, leading to the establishment

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<sup>558</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_protectorate\\_of\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_protectorate_of_Cambodia)

<sup>559</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>560</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1972\\_Cambodian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1972_Cambodian_general_election)

<sup>561</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic\\_Kampuchea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Kampuchea)

of a new governing body (Seekins 1990, Lansford 2012f:216, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 51-52). In January 1976 a new constitution of Democratic Kampuchea was promulgated by the CPK. The Kampuchean People's Representative Assembly (KPRI) was supposed to be elected in direct general elections. The KPRI was to appoint a State Praesidium for a period of five years. The direct elections for the KPRI never took place. Rather, the Central Committee of the CPK appointed members of the KPRI and the State Praesidium. Pol Pot became prime minister of Democratic Kampuchea. Both the administrative and legal bodies were destroyed or at least restructured. Society, as defined by the constitution, consisted of workers, peasants, and all other working people of Kampuchea. Ideological aim of the Khmer Rouge and Pol Pot was to form the country into a nation of peasants.<sup>562</sup> From 12/25/1978, the armed forces of Vietnam invaded Cambodia. This was the first and only extended war between two communist regimes.

01/07/1979 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Communist Ideocracy: On this date, Phnom Penh was captured by Vietnamese troops and Cambodian exiles. A more moderate communist regime took over. This is the only takeover from one variant of a communist ideocracy to another. However, due to intervention of China, the United Kingdom, the United States and the ASEAN countries the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) was not recognized by the United Nations. Samrim was installed as leader of the Communist regime. Even though the country was also occupied by Vietnamese troops (Seekins 1990) the regime period is coded as a variant of a communist ideocracy. During this period, the UN seat for Kampuchea was occupied by a coalition government of "Democratic Kampuchea" led by the Khmer Rouge (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 52). On 04/29-30/1989 started to implement constitutional changes, for example the renaming of the People's Republic of Kampuchea into State of Cambodia (SOC) and laws on economic liberalization were passed.<sup>563</sup> On 10/15/1991, Civil war peace accords established by UN and regional nations interest forced the step down of Hun Sen as premier and the ascension of Sinaouk to the executive. The Cambodian People's Party (CPP) dropped its commitment to communism and became more of a conservative-authoritarian party.<sup>564</sup> The Paris Peace Agreements were signed on 10/23/1991.

05/23/1992 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional Regime [as International Mandate]: With the Paris Peace Agreements, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) was formed. It took responsibility for the administration. Its

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<sup>562</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic\\_Kampuchea#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Kampuchea#)

<sup>563</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People%27s\\_Republic\\_of\\_Kampuchea#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People%27s_Republic_of_Kampuchea#)

<sup>564</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cambodian\\_People%27s\\_Party#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cambodian_People%27s_Party#History)

aim was to restore peace and civil government, conduct free and fair elections and disarm Cambodia's fighting factions.<sup>565</sup> During this period the so called Supreme National Council embodied Cambodian sovereignty and represented the state internally and externally for this transition period. It was headed by Sihanouk and was composed of six members of the SOC and five of the resistance factions (Brown 1992: 91-93).

05/23/1993 End Non-electoral Transitional Regime [as International Mandate]/Start (Monarchical) Electoral Autocracy: On this date the first post-war general elections were held, which lasted until 05/28/1993. Vote counting started a day later. The elections were organized and supervised by UNTAC.<sup>566</sup> The election resulted in a hung parliament, with FUNCINPEC, led by Sihanouk's son Ranariddh, emerging as the winning party. To maintain stability, a power-sharing agreement was reached, appointing both Ranariddh and Hun Sen of the Cambodian People's Party as interim co-Prime Ministers. This decision was made after the CPP threatened to secede part of the country if full power was transferred to FUNCINPEC.<sup>567</sup> On 09/24/1993, a new constitution was promulgated, which reinstated the monarchy and Norodom Sihanouk returned as king.<sup>568</sup> After his reinstatement as king he formalized the power-sharing arrangement and appointed both co-Prime Ministers.<sup>569</sup> In the following years a power-struggle between the agenda of the king and the two Prime Ministers emerged. But it became evident that the power of the king to assert influence over national affairs shrank. Furthermore, the government faced resistance and a failed coup attempt in 1994. As tensions between the co-Prime Ministers and their parties FUNCINPEC and CPP increased, King Norodom Sihanouk tried to mediate.<sup>570</sup> This setup aligns well with the concept of a parliamentary monarchy, where the monarch serves more as a symbol of unity and continuity, while the elected parliament and its leaders handle the actual governance of the country.

07/06/1997 End (Monarchical) Electoral Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: A disagreement between the two co-heads of state devolved into an armed conflict. President Norodom Ranariddh, the second son of King Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia and the royalist faction were ousted because of their alleged involvement with the

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<sup>565</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_Nations\\_Transitional\\_Authority\\_in\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Transitional_Authority_in_Cambodia)

<sup>566</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993\\_Cambodian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993_Cambodian_general_election)

<sup>567</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cambodia#Modern\\_Cambodia\\_\(1993%E2%80%93present\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cambodia#Modern_Cambodia_(1993%E2%80%93present));

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993\\_Cambodian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993_Cambodian_general_election)

<sup>568</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Cambodia\\_2008?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Cambodia_2008?lang=en);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constituent\\_Assembly\\_of\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constituent_Assembly_of_Cambodia)

<sup>569</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/FUNCINPEC#1993\\_elections](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/FUNCINPEC#1993_elections)

<sup>570</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norodom\\_Sihanouk#Second\\_reign](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norodom_Sihanouk#Second_reign)



Khmer rebels and Hun Sen, a former military commander, stepped up as sole executive leader.<sup>571</sup>

07/26/1998 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, general elections were held, which were contested by the opposition. The claim of irregularities was supported by international observers.<sup>572</sup> During election day in 2003 voters in rural areas were intimidated by the CPP. The media landscape was dominated by the CPP.<sup>573</sup> The general elections on 07/28/2008 also fell short of international standards.<sup>574</sup> Elections in this period are generally considered to have been controversial with the CPP gradually increasing its power and majority in the National Assembly in order to rule without coalition, while the chances of opposition groups are step by step diminished. In early 2006, the CPP strengthened its grip on power by pushing through an amendment to the constitution via Parliament. This amendment allowed for a 50% plus one majority in the National Assembly to form a government, rather than the previous requirement of a two-thirds majority. This move aimed to decrease the party's dependency on FUNCINPEC or any other coalition partner in the future.<sup>575</sup> During the Senate elections on 01/29/2012, the CPP claimed 46 seats, whereas the SRP obtained 11 seats out of the 61-member chamber. The election faced criticism from monitoring groups due to a perceived lack of transparency. In a contentious vote on 07/28/2013, the CPP secured a diminished majority with 68 seats, while the Cambodian National Rescue Party (CNRP), a merger of the HRP and the SRP, gained 26 seats, totaling 55. Subsequently, Hun Sen was re-elected as the prime minister on 09/23 (Lansford 2021:253). Severe deficits in the electoral process and competition persisted during the whole period, therefore we classify this period as electoral autocracy in line with MCM, LIED, HTW and GWF, which all contest this period either (limited) multiparty or party-based autocracy.

11/16/2017 End Electoral Autocracy/Start One-Party Autocracy: Prior to legislative elections in 2018, the opposition party CNRP was dissolved on November 11/16/2017, and elected officials as well as members of parliament and locally elected figures either lost their positions or were banned from politics on the pretext of an alleged coup (Lansford 2021:253). During the elections on 07/29/2018, the incumbent CPP won all seats in the National Assembly with 77.5% of the vote in the absence of any opposition. The elections have been criticized by international observers and opposition groups and described as deeply flawed and neither free

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<sup>571</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1997\\_Cambodian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1997_Cambodian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>572</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1998\\_Cambodian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1998_Cambodian_general_election)

<sup>573</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2003\\_Cambodian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2003_Cambodian_general_election)

<sup>574</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2008\\_Cambodian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2008_Cambodian_general_election)

<sup>575</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections\\_in\\_Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_in_Cambodia)

nor fair.<sup>576</sup> Communal elections were held on 06/05/2022 in which members on 17 parties contested. In the absence of any opposition, Hun Sen was subsequently re-elected for another five-year and frequently uses the police and armed forces as means to coerce and squash the (Lansford 2012f:253).<sup>577</sup> There is an assumption that Hun Sen himself has been consolidating power, increasingly centralizing authority, and individuals outside of his close circle exert minimal influence on policymaking.<sup>578</sup> However, following the election, there was a notable pattern of ongoing arrests of opposition supporters.<sup>579</sup> The regime in Cambodia in the period under review, that is beginning with the crackdown on the opposition in November 2017, meets the coding rules as a de-facto one-party rule. Although general elections were held in 2018, there was no competition allowed since the opposition party CNRP was permitted and thus voters had no real choice. Even though communal elections were recently conducted with a variety of parties contesting, this diversity does not reflect in the general elections on the national level. Government in Cambodia since 2018 is led by only one party whose representatives occupy all seats in the National Assembly and hold on executive power in governance through the position of prime minister Hun Sen (who himself rules for nearly 24 years by 2022). In 2023 the CPP won almost all parliament seats in an uncompetitive election process heavily bolstered by the instrumentalization of the media. Nepotism is prevalent, Hun Manet succeeding his father as the new prime minister in August 2023 and multiple cabinet members being the children of ex-ministers.<sup>580</sup> The CPP thus rules as a sole party and dominating all spheres of governance and the political process, while holding tight on the power they have gradually consolidated over the past decades.

One-party autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Chandler/Kiernan/Boua 1988, Kiernan 2004, Kiernan 2008, Thomson 1945, Tully 2005)

## **Cameroon**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 07/14/1884]:  
From 07/14/1884, Cameroon was a protectorate of Germany. Regarding the form of rule, we

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<sup>576</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/cambodia/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>577</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/cambodia/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>578</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/cambodia/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>579</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022\\_Cambodian\\_communal\\_elections](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022_Cambodian_communal_elections)

<sup>580</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/cambodia/freedom-world/2024>

classify it as a case of a colony because Germany controlled the internal affairs of Cameroon. Germany set up an administration for the colony first in the capital Buea and later in Youndé and subjugated local rulers. From 01/01/1901 the country was named Cameroon.

08/06/1914 End Colonial Regime [of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Semidemocracy, France, Semidemocracy, Belgium, Semidemocracy]: During World War I, the Kamerun campaign took place in the German colony of Kamerun in Africa. British, French, and Belgian forces invaded the colony from August 1914 to March 1916, with additional skirmishes in British Nigeria. By spring 1916, the majority of German troops and the civil administration fled to the neutral colony of Spanish Guinea. Ultimately, the campaign ended in Germany's defeat and the partitioning of its former colony between France and Britain.<sup>581</sup>

07/20/1922 End of Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Semidemocracy, France, Semidemocracy, Belgium, Semidemocracy]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate]: Cameroon was under a League of Nations mandate until 12/13/1946 and afterwards a United Nations trust territory. Regarding the de facto form of rule, we classify this regime as a subcase of a colony under an international mandate.

01/01/1960 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate, United Nations trust territories]/Start Electoral Autocracy: French Cameroon became independent as Republic of Cameroon. Independence started under a system that was formally democratic (Lansford 2021: 260). Universal suffrage was granted by the constitution of 1960.<sup>582</sup> On 05/05/1960 Ahmadou Ahidjo became president.<sup>583</sup> However, one of the largest anti-colonial parties, the UPC, was outlawed both before and after independence, and repression was extensive. On 10/01/1961 after unification with southern part of British Cameroon the Federal Republic of Cameroon was established with Ahidjo as president and John Ngu Foncha, prime minister of the former British region, as vice president (Lansford 2021: 260). Ahidjo's strategy of cooptation of the remaining opposition parties changed gradually into forced merger and the arrest of peaceful opposition leaders by June 1962 (LeVine 1971:103-105, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 52).

09/01/1966 End Electoral Autocracy/Start One-Party (Personalist) Autocracy: On this date, the Cameroonian National Union (Union nationale camérounaise, UNC) was formed through a merger of the Cameroon Union (Union Camerounaise) and the Kamerun National Democratic Party, the major political parties, respectively, of the state of west Cameroon and the state of

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<sup>581</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kamerun\\_campaign](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kamerun_campaign)

<sup>582</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_Cameroon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Cameroon);  
<https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Cameroon2018.pdf>

<sup>583</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Cameroon#Independence\\_and\\_the\\_Ahidjo\\_era\\_\(1960-1982\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Cameroon#Independence_and_the_Ahidjo_era_(1960-1982))

east Cameroon, and four smaller parties.<sup>584</sup> On 08/22/1983, a power struggle between former president Ahidjo, who remained leader of the sole party, and President Biya, who had succeeded him as president the previous year, ended in Ahidjo's resignation and exile. While the coalition that supported Ahidjo and from which officials were drawn was multi-regional and multi-ethnic, while Biya narrowed the group with political influence and concentrated power in his own ethnic group (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 52).<sup>585</sup> While different from GWF the narrowing down of the ruling group does not mark a regime change according to the coding rules of this dataset the subtype changes on this date to one-party (Personalist) autocracy. In 1985 the UNC was renamed the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement. In 1990 opposition parties were legalized.

03/01/1992 End One-Party (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy: On this date, the first multiparty elections were held, which were won by Biya.<sup>586</sup> However, these elections were criticized by European and US observers for alleged manipulation of the presidential balloting (Lansford 2021: 262). Biya also won all subsequent presidential elections in 1997, 2004 and 2011, amid persistent claims of widespread fraud in all cases (Turner 2022: 255). Biya won the 2018 presidential election with 71.3% of the vote. The election was marred by violence and low voter turnout (Turner 2022: 256) and described as a "farce" (O'Donnell/Gramer 2018). According to Freedom House, military tribunals wield authority over civilians in instances of civil unrest or organized armed violence, and several intelligence agencies operate without being held accountable.<sup>587</sup> Routine practices include torture, ill-treatment of detainees, and the common occurrence of indefinite administrative or pretrial detention. In fact, military troops are recurrently deployed to stop opposition supporters from protesting against Biya.<sup>588</sup> While 1992 does not mark a regime change according to the coding rules of GWF because it was before and after a personalist regime by Biya the multiparty elections 1992 constitute a regime change according to the coding rules of this dataset. While there is a strong personalist element in the rule of Biya the coding rules of a personalist regime of this dataset are not fulfilled.

Electoral (personalist) autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cameroon\\_People%27s\\_Democratic\\_Movement#Cameroonian\\_National\\_Union](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cameroon_People%27s_Democratic_Movement#Cameroonian_National_Union)

<sup>585</sup> <https://cameroonpostline.com/how-an-idyllic-ahidjo-biya-transfer-of-power-turned-sour>

<sup>586</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul\\_Biya](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_Biya)

<sup>587</sup> <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4a6452c8c.html>

<sup>588</sup> [https://www.voanews.com/a/africa\\_cameroon-deploys-military-thwart-opposition-protesters/6195960.html](https://www.voanews.com/a/africa_cameroon-deploys-military-thwart-opposition-protesters/6195960.html)

Additional sources (Mehler 1999a, Wache 1991)

## Canada

01/01/1900 (Monarchical) (Male) Semidemocracy [Start: 07/01/1867]: On 07/01/1867 Canada became a federated country<sup>589</sup>, a self-governing polity within the British Empire. In 1920, Canada enacted suffrage for federal elections for male and female citizens, with exceptions for Chinese Canadians and Aboriginal Canadians. We code this regime period as a semidemocracy because of the restricted suffrage. On 12/06/1921 the first national legislative election with (almost) universal suffrage took place.<sup>590</sup> For provincial elections, female suffrage was established between 1916 (Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan) and 1940 (Quebec). Chinese Canadians, regardless of gender, were given suffrage in 1947, while Aboriginal Canadians were not allowed to vote until 1960, regardless of gender.<sup>591</sup> In 1876, Canada implemented the Indian Act to control and assimilate Indigenous peoples. It required Indigenous individuals to give up their Indian status through enfranchisement to vote in federal elections, often leading to cultural isolation and loss of Treaty rights. The government also forcibly revoked Indian Status in the 1920s and 1930s, advancing assimilation. Enfranchisement thus became a coercive tool for assimilating Indigenous populations.<sup>592</sup> For this reasons Canada is a borderline case between a democracy and a semidemocracy until 1960.

03/31/1960 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: On this day, amendments were made to Section 14(2) of the Canada Elections Act, allowing status Indians to exercise their right to vote in federal elections without risking the loss of their Indian status.<sup>593</sup> On 12/11/1931 the Statute of Westminster gave Canada a higher sovereignty from the United Kingdom. Canada is a strong bicameral parliamentary democracy with regular elections and a multi-party system. Elections are free and fair and constitutional rights are guaranteed, with strong independent institutions to enforce them. In 2022 initiatives to make voting more accessible and improving on equal rights for LGBTQ+ people. Furthermore, despite ongoing discrimination and enduring economic, social, and political challenges for Black, Indigenous, and other marginalized Canadians, the federal government has recognized these issues and implemented certain

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<sup>589</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Canada](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Canada);

[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Canada\\_2011?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Canada_2011?lang=en)

<sup>590</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1921\\_Canadian\\_federal\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1921_Canadian_federal_election)

<sup>591</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>592</sup> <https://humanrights.ca/story/the-chaotic-story-of-the-right-to-vote-in-canada>

<sup>593</sup> <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/indigenous-suffrage>

measures to address them.<sup>594</sup> Political rights and civil liberties are respected in Canada, and freedoms of speech, expression and religion among others are guaranteed.<sup>595</sup> A monarch remains the ceremonial head of state, thereby making Canada a parliamentary democracy embedded in a constitutional monarchy. Justin Trudeau has served as the prime minister of Canada since 04/11/2015. Trudeau called for snap elections in 08/2021 with the subsequent vote taking place on 09/20/2021. The center-left Liberal Party upheld its minority government. On 03/2022, the NDP and the Liberals announced a 'supply and confidence agreement', enabling the Liberals to govern with the parliamentary support of the NDP until 2025.<sup>596</sup> (Monarchical) Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Cape Colony**

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [as (de facto) Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 12/01/1872]: The Cape Colony (Cape of Good Hope) was a British Crown Colony (part of the British Empire) from 1806 to 1910 (Gwaindepi/Fourie 2020). However, the Cape Colony was granted self-governance (responsible government) in 1872 under Prime Minister John Molteno, after it was granted a constitution with an elected parliament (Oliver/Anthony 2005).<sup>597</sup> Responsible government did not mean self-governance in the sense of full internal autonomy (Burman 1981). However, in a comparative perspective it makes sense to classify the country de facto as a semi-sovereign protectorate and not a colony. Voting rights were not limited to race but were based on property. This distinguished the Cape Colony from Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State (Trapido 1964).<sup>598</sup> Nevertheless, the right to vote was severely restricted, which is why the regime is also classified as an electoral oligarchy.

05/31/1910 End Electoral Oligarchy [because of end of sovereign statehood]: On this date the province of Cape Colony was joined with three other provinces (Natal, the Orange Free State and Transvaal) under a single administration as the Union of South Africa with the status as a self-governing colony (Leacock 1910).

Additional sources (Saunders/Smith 1999)

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<sup>594</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/canada/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>595</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/canada/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>596</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/canada/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>597</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cape\\_Colony](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cape_Colony)

<sup>598</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franchise\\_and\\_Ballot\\_Act](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franchise_and_Ballot_Act);

<https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/index.php/site/q/03lv01538/04lv01646/05lv01703.htm>

## Cape Verde

[Officially known since 2013 as Cabo Verde]

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 1462]: Around 1462 Portugal colonized Cape Verde and the islands were administrated by a Portuguese governor. However, the islands were uninhabited at that time (Lansford 2021: 282). The decline in the slave trade in the 19<sup>th</sup> century resulted in an economic crisis. With few natural resources and inadequate sustainable investment from the Portuguese, the citizens grew increasingly discontented with the colonial masters, who refused to provide the local authorities with more autonomy. The dissatisfaction accumulated in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Consequently in 1951, Portugal changed Cape Verde's status from a colony to an overseas province in an attempt to blunt growing nationalism.<sup>599</sup>

12/30/1974 End Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Non-electoral Transitional Regime]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime [as Protectorate of Portugal, Non-electoral Transitional Regime]: An agreement signed with Portuguese authorities on this date provided for a transitional government prior to independence on 07/05/1975.

06/30/1975 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start One-Party Autocracy [as Protectorate of Portugal, Democracy]: A 56-member National People's Assembly was elected on 06/30/1975, but only the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) participated (Lansford 2021: 282). The PAIGC was the sole legal party at the time, with voters being asked to approve or reject a PAIGC list of 56 members for the parliament.<sup>600</sup>

07/05/1975 Continuation One-Party Autocracy [as independent country]: On this date independence was attained as the Republic of Cape Verde (Lansford 2021: 282). Afterwards the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) established its one-party political system under universal suffrage.<sup>601</sup> In February 1990, the National Council of the ruling Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV) officially supported a transition to multiparty rule. On 09/28/1990 The government implemented a constitutional revision that concluded one-party rule and instituted a multi-party semi-presidential system (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 19).<sup>602</sup>

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<sup>599</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cape\\_Verde](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cape_Verde)

<sup>600</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1975\\_Cape\\_Verdean\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1975_Cape_Verdean_parliamentary_election)

<sup>601</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Cape\\_Verde](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Cape_Verde)

<sup>602</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cape\\_Verde#Independence\\_\(1975\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cape_Verde#Independence_(1975))

02/17/1991 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Democracy: On this date competitive elections were held (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 19).<sup>603</sup> According to Freedom House Cabo Verde maintains stability as a democracy with competitive elections, featuring periodic transfers of power between rival parties. While civil liberties are generally safeguarded, the court system faces challenges due to overload, impacting access to justice, and crime remains a notable concern. Ongoing issues include persistent inequalities for women and migrant workers.<sup>604</sup> However, the system is characterized as a semi-parliamentary democracy that holds multi-party, competitive elections. The judiciary is independent from the executive and legislative branch. The constitution, last revised in 1992, provides the basis of government and guarantees civil liberties and political rights.<sup>605</sup> In 2022 Cape Verde declared a state of social and economic emergency due to the effects of the war in the Ukraine and of COVID-19 on food and other essential supplies. Notably, however, this did not lead to restrictions to civil liberties or political rights.<sup>606</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Clemente-Kersten 1999b)

## **Cayman Islands**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy as a dependency of Jamaica] [Start: 07/28/1670]: Because of the Treaty of Madrid, signed on 07/28/1670<sup>607</sup>, England formally assumed control of the Cayman Islands, along with Jamaica.<sup>608</sup> The Cayman Islands were initially declared a dependency of Jamaica in 1863, resembling a parish with appointed justices of the peace and elected vestrymen in their Legislature. From 1750 to 1898, the Chief Magistrate, appointed by the Jamaican governor, served as the administering official. In 1898, the Governor of Jamaica began appointing a Commissioner for the Islands.<sup>609</sup>

01/03/1958 Continuation (de facto) Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]: The dependency status officially ended in 1959 with the formation of the Federation of the West

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<sup>603</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991\\_Cape\\_Verdean\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991_Cape_Verdean_presidential_election)

<sup>604</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/cabo-verde/freedom-world/2022>; <https://www.britannica.com/place/Cabo-Verde/Trade#ref54911>

<sup>605</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Cape\\_Verde](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Cape_Verde)

<sup>606</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/cabo-verde/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>607</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_Madrid\\_\(1670\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Madrid_(1670))

<sup>608</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cayman\\_Islands#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cayman_Islands#History)

<sup>609</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Cayman\\_Islands#Dependency\\_of\\_Jamaica](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Cayman_Islands#Dependency_of_Jamaica)



Indies, although the Governor of Jamaica retained authority over the Cayman Islands. From 1959, the day-to-day affairs were overseen by the Administrator, serving on behalf of the Governor.<sup>610</sup> On 08/12/1958 women's suffrage was introduced.<sup>611</sup>

08/06/1962 Continuation Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]: On this date, Jamaica achieved independence from the United Kingdom. After Jamaica gained independence in 1962, the Cayman Islands returned to direct British rule.<sup>612</sup>

08/08/1972 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Democracy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: In 1972, a significant level of internal autonomy was conferred through the adoption of a new constitution.<sup>613</sup> The constitution provided autonomy on most domestic issues.<sup>614</sup> In 1994, the constitution underwent revision, incorporating a bill of rights and introducing amendments to the regulations governing the Legislative Assembly, among various other modifications.<sup>615</sup> Additional modifications were added in 2001 and 2009, officially incorporating various elements of human rights legislation.<sup>616</sup> The UN Special Committee designates the Cayman Islands as one of the 16 non-self-governing territories. The existing Constitution of 2009 established a 19-seat Parliament, elected every four years by the people, which oversees domestic affairs. Seven elected Members of Parliament become government Ministers in a Cabinet led by the Governor, while the Premier is appointed by the Governor. The Governor, appointed by the King of the United Kingdom on the advice of the British Government, represents the monarch and holds extensive legislative and executive powers as outlined in the constitution.<sup>617</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## Central African Republic

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 07/13/1894]: From 07/13/1894 France seized and colonized Ubangi-Shari (Haut-Oubangui).<sup>618</sup> On 07/01/1904, the territories of Haut-Chari and Haut-Oubangui were united to form Oubangui-Chari.<sup>619</sup> On

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<sup>610</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Cayman\\_Islands#Dependency\\_of\\_Jamaica](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Cayman_Islands#Dependency_of_Jamaica)

<sup>611</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage\\_in\\_the\\_Cayman\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage_in_the_Cayman_Islands)

<sup>612</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cayman\\_Islands#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cayman_Islands#History)

<sup>613</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cayman\\_Islands#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cayman_Islands#History)

<sup>614</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Cayman-Islands/Government-and-society#ref54767>

<sup>615</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Cayman-Islands/Government-and-society#ref54767>

<sup>616</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cayman\\_Islands#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cayman_Islands#History)

<sup>617</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cayman\\_Islands#Government](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cayman_Islands#Government)

<sup>618</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central\\_African\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central_African_Republic)

<sup>619</sup> <https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haut-Oubangui>

02/11/1906 the territory merged into Oubangui-Chari-Tchad. In 1920 French Equatorial Africa was established and Ubangi-Shari was administered from Brazzaville. The Constitution of the French Republic of 10/27/1946 granted French citizenship to inhabitants and established local assemblies consisting of French colonists and several African inhabitants.<sup>620</sup> In 1957 universal suffrage was introduced (LIED).

12/01/1958 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy [as Protectorate of France, Democracy]: On this date, the Central African Republic was proclaimed an autonomous republic following a referendum on 09/28/1958.<sup>621</sup> In the territorial assembly election in Ubangi-Shari pre-independence on 03/31/1957 the Movement for the Social Evolution of Black Africa (Mouvement de l'Évolution Sociale de l'Afrique Noir – MESAN) led and founded by Barthélemy Boganda won all seats (Collier 1982:109, Decalo 1989:205).<sup>622</sup> Self-government under Barthélemy Boganda, who served as the country's first prime minister and his nephew David Dacko, who became the republic's first president in 1960 (Lansford 2021: 286). . The first steps of the new government were to draft a constitution. It borrowed many parts from the French constitution and was democratic in nature. The constitution was approved by the assembly on 02/16/1959. Parliamentary elections were scheduled for 04/05/1959, but the newly created electoral law basically hindered independents and opposition parties to participate. Therefore, MESAN was unopposed.<sup>623</sup> After its leader's (Boganda) death in 1959, the party split and Dacko became leader of MESAN (Mehler 1999b: 205)

08/13/1960 End Electoral Autocracy [as Protectorate of France, Democracy]/Start One-Party (Personalist) Autocracy: After two years of autonomy the Central African Republic became independent under the rule of the faction of MESAN led by Dacko. President Dacko established a political monopoly, suppressed the other faction of MESAN, jailed its leaders and banned all other parties in 1962 (Lansford 2021: 286, Collier 1982:109, Decalo 1989:205, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 52-53). Hence, the country was a one-party autocracy. In the presidential elections on 01/05/1964 Dacko was the sole candidate for MESAN and received officially 99.97% of the vote. Regarding to GWF, the rule of Dacko is classified as personalist. While it is according to the coding of this dataset a one-party autocracy it belongs to the subset of one-party (personalist) autocracies. Corruption, poor economic performance and rebellion plagued the country.

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<sup>620</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central\\_African\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central_African_Republic)

<sup>621</sup> <https://www.encyclopedia.com/places/africa/central-african-republic-political-geography/central-african-republic>

<sup>622</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1957\\_Ubangi-Shari\\_Territorial\\_Assembly\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1957_Ubangi-Shari_Territorial_Assembly_election)

<sup>623</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barth%C3%A9lemy\\_Boganda#Internal\\_autonomy\\_and\\_MESAN\\_government](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barth%C3%A9lemy_Boganda#Internal_autonomy_and_MESAN_government)

12/31/1965[-01/01/1966] End One-party (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Personalist Autocracy: On this date, a military coup (Saint-Sylvestre coup d'état) staged by Colonel Jean-Bédél Bokassa, Chief of Staff and Commander of the Army, ousted Dacko, a cousin of Bokassa (Decalo 1989:207, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 52-53). After the coup on 12/31/1965 Bokassa declared himself president, prime minister, and head of the sole political party, MESAN (Decalo 1989:207-211, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 53). He established a new governing body known as the Revolutionary Council, nullified the existing constitution, and disbanded the parliament.<sup>624</sup> On 03/04/1972 Bokassa declared himself president for life.<sup>625</sup> On 12/04/1977 Bokassa coronated himself emperor and the country was renamed in Central African Empire. There is a consensus among historians and political scientists that Bokassa's rule was kleptocratic. He is estimated to have stolen billions of dollars from the Central African Republic during his reign. He used this money to fund his lavish lifestyle, including his coronation as emperor and his construction of a lavish palace. He also used the money to buy expensive gifts for himself and his family (Tittley 1997).

09/20/1979 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date Bokassa was overthrown by a coup by armed forces of exiles led by Dacko and backed by the French military invasion known as "Operation Barracuda"(Decalo 1989: 234-235). After the coup, Dacko was reinstated as president (Decalo 1989:234-238, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 53). On 03/15/1981, Dacko was reelected president of the Republic in a multiparty presidential election. By 09/21/1981, "Operation Barracuda" was over, and Dacko signed a provisional constitutional act (Colpus Dataset Case Narrative, 2021:233). The 1981 presidential elections witnessed irregularities, sparking demands for annulment from opposition parties. This outcry resulted in civil unrest and the subsequent delay of legislative elections. The suspension of political parties and widespread dissatisfaction then served as the pretext for a bloodless coup d'état (Mehler 1999b: 206). Therefore, we classify this period as electoral autocracy.

09/01/1981 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: General Kolingba ousted President Dacko in a bloodless coup and a "Military Committee for National Recover" (French: Comite Militaire pour le Redressement National, CMRN) was established and led by Kolingba (Decalo 1989:240-241, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 53). Subsequently, the CMRN suspended the Constitution and restricted political party engagement.<sup>626</sup>

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<sup>624</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-B%C3%A9del\\_Bokassa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-B%C3%A9del_Bokassa)

<sup>625</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-B%C3%A9del\\_Bokassa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-B%C3%A9del_Bokassa)

<sup>626</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1981\\_Central\\_African\\_Republic\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1981_Central_African_Republic_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

11/21/1986 End Military Autocracy/Start One-Party Autocracy: On this date, a constitutional referendum was held in the Central African Republic, turning the country into a one-party state with the Central African Democratic Rally as the only legal party. Moreover, term limits of the presidency were removed, making Kolingba the automatically elected president. The referendum was approved by 92.22% of voters with a 87.6% turnout.<sup>627</sup> Subsequently, in 1987 and 1988, partially unrestricted parliamentary elections took place; however, Kolingba prevented his two prominent political rivals, Abel Goumba and Ange-Félix Patassé, from participating.<sup>628</sup> Under Kolingba's leadership, the government remained under his direct authority, and he retained complete control over both the executive and legislative branches of the nation's governance.<sup>629</sup>

10/25/1992 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, the Central African Republic conducted general elections to select a President and National Assembly, marking the first instance of multi-party democracy since its restoration in 1991. Notably, the incumbent President, André Kolingba, finished last in the elections. However, the Supreme Court nullified the election outcomes due to extensive irregularities. Consequently, new elections were held the following year.<sup>630</sup> The international community pressed for competitive elections and change as well (Mehler 1999b: 206). Because of the severe irregularities during these elections which led to the annulment, we classify this period as electoral autocracy.

09/19/1993 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, the second round of multiparty presidential elections were held, Kolingba was defeated and subsequently resigned from his position. The first round of the elections took place on 08/22/1992 (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 53).<sup>631</sup> Patassé took office on 10/22/1993. This marked the first peaceful power transfer since independence.<sup>632</sup> He was reelected in 1999.<sup>633</sup> There were ongoing defects which led to political instability and severely constrained democracy in the Central African Republic. Although the elections were free and fair, because of the support of the UN, the electoral process was controlled by the government.<sup>634</sup> The political and civil liberties were violated. These included: violation of the right of physical integrity, restrictions

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<sup>627</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1986\\_Central\\_African\\_constitutional\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1986_Central_African_constitutional_referendum)

<sup>628</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central\\_African\\_Republic#Central\\_African\\_Republic\\_under\\_Kolingba](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central_African_Republic#Central_African_Republic_under_Kolingba)

<sup>629</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Central-African-Republic/Authoritarian-rule-under-Kolingba>

<sup>630</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992\\_Central\\_African\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992_Central_African_general_election)

<sup>631</sup> <https://africanelections.tripod.com/cf.html>

<sup>632</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993\\_Central\\_African\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993_Central_African_general_election)

<sup>633</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1999\\_Central\\_African\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1999_Central_African_presidential_election)

<sup>634</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ange-F%C3%A9lix\\_Patass%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ange-F%C3%A9lix_Patass%C3%A9);

<https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2000/af/731.htm>

of freedom of press and freedom of assembly. Furthermore, the judicial independence was restricted.<sup>635</sup>

03/15/2003 End Semidemocracy/Start Military (Personalist) Autocracy: General François Bozizé and a militia from Chad invaded the country and seized the capital. Bozizé rose to become a high-ranking army officer in the 1970s, under the rule of Bokassa.<sup>636</sup> Patasse was out of the country at the time and no efforts were made to restore him to power. Bozizé seized effective power (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 53).<sup>637</sup> Following his assumption of power, Bozizé implemented a curfew and suspended the constitution. On 03/16/2003, just a day after seizing control, François Bozizé declared himself president of the Central African Republic. This move prompted France to deploy troops to safeguard foreign citizens, marking their first intervention in four years. Post-coup, Bozizé established a new faction within the Central African Armed Forces, known as the Republican Guard, comprised of individuals who supported his coup. This unit perpetrated numerous atrocities against civilians in the capital.<sup>638</sup> Following Bozizé's seizure of power, the Central African Republic Bush War erupted with the uprising led by Michel Djotodia's Union of Democratic Forces for Unity (UFDR). This conflict swiftly intensified, culminating in significant hostilities throughout 2004. In December 2004, a constitution endorsing a semi-presidential system and imposing a two-term limit was ratified through a referendum. Concurrently, on 12/30/2004, Bozizé emerged as one of five contenders cleared to participate in the forthcoming presidential election set for early 2005. Subsequently, on 01/04/2005, Bozizé declared that three initially sidelined candidates would also be permitted to enter the race, although former president Patassé was not among either faction.<sup>639</sup>

03/13/2005 End Military (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, general elections took place, which were won by Bozizé.<sup>640</sup> The National Assembly authorized Bozizé to rule by decree for three months, from 01/01 to 03/31/2006.<sup>641</sup> In 2008, Bozizé opened a so-called "Inclusive Political Dialogue" with his rebel foes.<sup>642</sup> In the first round of the presidential election on 01/23/2011, President Bozizé was re-elected with 64% of the votes cast. In addition, 26 of the 35 deputies elected in the first round of legislative elections belonged to

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<sup>635</sup> <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2000/af/731.htm>

<sup>636</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fran%C3%A7ois\\_Boziz%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fran%C3%A7ois_Boziz%C3%A9)

<sup>637</sup> <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news/2003/03/17/rebel-leader-seizes-power-suspends-constitution>

<sup>638</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2003\\_Central\\_African\\_Republic\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2003_Central_African_Republic_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>639</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fran%C3%A7ois\\_Boziz%C3%A9#2003\\_Coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat\\_and\\_Presidency](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fran%C3%A7ois_Boziz%C3%A9#2003_Coup_d%27%C3%A9tat_and_Presidency)

<sup>640</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005\\_Central\\_African\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_Central_African_general_election)

<sup>641</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fran%C3%A7ois\\_Boziz%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fran%C3%A7ois_Boziz%C3%A9)

<sup>642</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-car-rebels-bozize-idUKBRE9010J120130102>

his party, the “Kwa Na Kwa” (Work Just Work - KNK), including President Bozizé himself and several family members. The opposition quickly denounced irregularities and demanded the cancellation of the election. The European Union, in a document released in March 2011, observed numerous irregularities and determined that the election held on 01/23/2011, raised doubts regarding its fairness and equity, which are fundamental to democratic elections. The period leading up to the election was characterized by intimidation, arrests, and constraints on the freedom of movement of those opposing the regime.<sup>643</sup> Until January 2013, his son held position of defense minister.<sup>644</sup> After dismissing his son, Bozizé took over the defense ministry himself.<sup>645</sup>

03/24/2013 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, the Muslim rebel coalition Séléka marched into Bangui and overthrew president Bozizé. Séléka launched a transition phase with Michel Djotodia as president but failed to stop the fighting in the country.<sup>646</sup> On 01/20/2014, the National Transitional Council chose Bangui mayor Catherine Samba Panza as interim president, following Djotodia’s resignation on 01/10/2014.

03/30/2016 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, the former prime minister Faustin-Archange Touadéra was elected president. He was re-elected on 03/14/2020, but the opposition contested the election due to alleged fraud and irregularities. However, the Constitutional Court rejected the appeals and confirmed his presidency, despite significant electoral flaws. Fighting between armed militant groups and the Central African Armed Forces (FACA) continued throughout 2022, and the state authority outside the capital remains weak.<sup>647</sup> Touadéra sought to extend his presidency to a third term to which end he announced a constitutional reform in 2022. In this time, the court was marred by interference by a Russian diplomat, calling on the court chief to help Touadéra. Judicial independence is further hampered by corruption and various other factors including unpaid salaries. Touadéra secured a third term in a referendum with 61% turnout. However, the opposition widely claims that the voting procedure was marred by irregularities and accused the electoral institutions of not acting independently.<sup>648</sup>

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<sup>643</sup> <https://www.fidh.org/en/region/Africa/central-african-republic/CENTRAL-AFRICAN-REPUBLIC-2010-2011>

<sup>644</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-car-rebels-bozize-idUKBRE9010J120130102/>

<sup>645</sup> <https://www.voanews.com/a/car-president-sacks-defense-minister/1576975.html>

<sup>646</sup> <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/central-african-republic/dix-ans-apres-le-coup-detat-la-republique>

<sup>647</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/central-african-republic/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>648</sup> <https://www.france24.com/en/africa/20230807-central-african-republic-approves-new-constitution-possible-third-term-for-touadera>

Electoral autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Collier 1982, Kirschke 2007)

## **Chad**

09/05/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 09/05/1900]: The Military Territory of the Lands and Protectorates of Chad was established on 09/05/1900 as a protectorate claimed by France (Paxton 1986). In July 1908, the occupied territory was incorporated as a French possession in Middle Africa and administered as a part of French Equatorial Africa together with three other French colonies to the south – Oubangui-Chari, Middle Congo (present-day Congo-Brazzaville), and Gabon (Paxton 1986). French Equatorial Africa was put under the direction of a governor general stationed in Brazzaville. The governor general had wide-ranging control over the federation, including authority of external and internal security, economic and financial affairs, and all communications with the French minister of the colonies. During this period, Chad was not ruled by civilians, nor did it have separate colonial status.<sup>649</sup> On 03/01/1920 Chad became a separate colony when governance was transferred from military to civilian rule. Administration remained in the hands of the governor general in Brazzaville while lieutenant governors were expected to follow his orders.<sup>650</sup> In the framework of Overseas Reform Act passed by the French National Assembly in 1956, electoral reforms were made which expanded the pool of eligible voters and thus conceded a larger measure of autonomy.<sup>651</sup> In 1957, the Chadian Territorial Assembly elections were held. They were contested by a variety of Chadian parties and resulted in the establishment of the first African government in Chad under Gabriel Lisette. Although Chad received its first African government, Lisette himself was of African descent, who became a French colonial administrator and posted to Chad in 1946.<sup>652</sup> Lisette's coalition government was questioned by factions representing traditional rulers. He was deserted by a motion of no confidence prior to

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<sup>649</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Chad](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Chad)

<sup>650</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Chad](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Chad)

<sup>651</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Loi-cadre\\_Defferre#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Loi-cadre_Defferre#)

<sup>652</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabriel\\_Lisette](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabriel_Lisette)

independence.<sup>653</sup> Chad remained part of French Equatorial Africa (EAF) until a constitutional referendum was held in 1958, across the French Union. The constitution that saw Chad becoming an autonomous republic within the French Union, was widely supported by Chad's political groups, and approved by 98.29% of voters.

11/28/1958 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date French Equatorial Africa was terminated as a result of a referendum.<sup>654</sup> Also in 1958 universal suffrage was introduced.<sup>655</sup>

05/31/1959 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, parliamentary elections were held. The result was a victory for the Chadian Progressive Party (Parti Progressiste Tchadien, PPT).<sup>656</sup> The PPT was a regional branch of the African Democratic Rally (RDA). François Tombalbaye was elected prime minister in March 1959. Swiftly, he reshaped the political system into a hierarchical, top-down structure centered around the president (Römer 1999: 221), which became formalized after independence. For example he initiated a campaign to assimilate members of the opposition into the PPT (Decalo 1980: 498-499, Collier 1990). On 08/11/1960 the country was granted independence with the PPT's leader, François Tombalbaye, an ethnic Sara, as its first president.<sup>657</sup>

04/14/1962 End Electoral Autocracy/Start One-Party Autocracy: Tombalbaye launched a purge of the ruling PPT party a week before independence to remove potential rivals and their followers. (Decalo 1980: 498-499, Collier 1990). The constitution, enacted on 04/14/1962,<sup>658</sup> established a single-party state with Tombalbaye's Parti Progressiste du Tchad – Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (PPP-RDA; Chadian Progressive Party – African Democratic Rally) as the only legal party. Other political parties were dissolved. The Bureau Politique National (BPN) emerged as Chad's paramount political body. Despite its equal representation of Muslims and southerners, the BPN was notably controlled by the President (Römer 1999: 221). In order to garner support, Tombalbaye introduced direct presidential elections in 1969 and transformed the PPP-RDA into the Mouvement National pour la Révolution Culturelle et Sociale (MNRCS) in 1973 (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 53).

04/13/1975 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: President Tombalbaye was overthrown in a military coup and subsequently assassinated. Following his removal, a military

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<sup>653</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabriel\\_Lisette](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabriel_Lisette)

<sup>654</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Chad#Territorial\\_assembly\\_under\\_France](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Chad#Territorial_assembly_under_France)

<sup>655</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>656</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1959\\_Chadian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1959_Chadian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>657</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Chad](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Chad)

<sup>658</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/72-chad-1960-present/>



junta known as the Conseil Supérieur Militaire, led by former chief of staff Felix Malloum, assumed power (Römer 1999: 222, Collier 1990, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 53-54).<sup>659</sup> Malloum's inability to effectively handle the Front de libération nationale du Tchad (FROLINAT) led him to believe that his best option was to incorporate some of the rebels into his administration. In 1978, he formed an alliance with the rebel leader Hissène Habré, who assumed the role of prime minister within the government.<sup>660</sup>

03/23/1979 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: Nigeria intervened in the civil conflict in Chad and arranged a new peace agreement. The agreement stipulated Malloum's resignation, which was carried out, and Goukouni Oueddei assumed power in a transitional regime. Rebel forces seized control of the capital (Collier 1990, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 54). On 04/29/1979 the Transitional Government of National Unity (GUNT), a peace-making body made up of four or more armed factions moved to remove Oueddei as its interim head and installed Shawa in his place. On 08/22/1979, there happened to be further peacemaking troubles and conflict led to the GUNT replacing Shawa with Oueddei as its interim leader. Oueddei proved to be an ineffective leader and peacemaker and on 06/07/1982 Habré-led FAN rebels drove him out of power. (Ali 1984:29, Byrnes 1988, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 54).

06/19/1982 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Personalist Autocracy: Habré resumed his fight against the Chadian government and Armed Forces of the North (FAN) won control of the capital N'Djamena.<sup>661</sup> On this date Habré formed a state council as new national government, further, on 10/21/1982 he nominated a new government and proclaimed himself president.<sup>662</sup> Following intense fighting in 1983-1984, Habré's FAN emerged victorious, with assistance from French troops.<sup>663</sup> Having become the country's new president, Habré created on 06/24/1984 a one-party dictatorship ruled by his National Union for Independence and Revolution (UNIR).<sup>664</sup> On 06/26 during the foundation congress, the delegates elected by acclamation President Hissène Habré chairman of the movement and proceeded to form, on Habré's proposals, a Central Committee composed of 80 members. It was ultimately Habré's personal leadership and authority that characterized this autocratic regime.

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<sup>659</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chad\\_under\\_F%C3%A9lix\\_Malloum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chad_under_F%C3%A9lix_Malloum)

<sup>660</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Chad#Military\\_rule\\_\(1975%E2%80%931978\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Chad#Military_rule_(1975%E2%80%931978))

<sup>661</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hiss%C3%A8ne\\_Habr%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hiss%C3%A8ne_Habr%C3%A9);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armed\\_Forces\\_of\\_the\\_North](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armed_Forces_of_the_North)

<sup>662</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/FROLINAT>

<sup>663</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Chad/Independence>

<sup>664</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hiss%C3%A8ne\\_Habr%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hiss%C3%A8ne_Habr%C3%A9)

12/02/1990 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Military [Rebel] (Transitional) Autocracy: On this date, the Patriotic Salvation Movement led by former Habré regime official Idriss Déby, a military officer and politician, seized the capital, forcing Habré to flee and Déby ascended to power.<sup>665</sup> Déby was a member of the Bidayat clan of the Zaghawa ethnic group. He was purged by Habré after being suspected of plotting a coup, and was forced into exile in Libya.<sup>666</sup> Déby held the positions of president and commander in chief of the armed forces under the transitional national charter adopted at the conclusion of the CNS on 04/06/1993. The transitional period was extended to 1996. A constitutional referendum was conducted on 03/31/1996 (Lansford 2021:300).<sup>667</sup>

06/02/1996 End Start Military [Rebel] (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, presidential elections were held. Although allegations of fraud were brought forward by the opposition, in the first round of the presidential election in June 1996, international observers were satisfied with the results and turnout of the election. Déby won presidential elections again in 2001, in elections described as relatively free and fair. However, observers emphasized on alleged progovernment bias of the national electoral commission. In elections marked by previous restrictions of political liberties. Issues of de facto control by the MPS over the electoral commission and bias in the vote registration process were raised by the opposition (Lansford 2021:300).<sup>668</sup> After term constraints were eliminated, Déby won the presidential elections again in 2006, 2011, 2016, and in 2021.<sup>669</sup> The whole political process in Chad from 12/18/2005 to 01/10/2010 was overshadowed by the second Chadian Civil war. Many rebel leaders were former allies of Déby, who turned against him after he decided to change the constitution to allow him to run for re-election.<sup>670</sup> In April 2011, Déby was reelected with 89 percent of the vote, in an election that was boycotted by the three main opposition candidates.<sup>671</sup> The electoral process was assessed as not free by Freedom House.<sup>672</sup>

04/20/2021 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Déby was assassinated by rebels from Northern Chad. The Chadian army subsequently dissolved the parliament and formed a military junta, the Transitional Military Council (TMC) led by Mahamat Idriss Déby, which

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<sup>665</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hiss%C3%A8ne\\_Habr%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hiss%C3%A8ne_Habr%C3%A9)

<sup>666</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Idriss\\_D%C3%A9by](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Idriss_D%C3%A9by)

<sup>667</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Chad\\_2018?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Chad_2018?lang=en)

<sup>668</sup> <https://www.africa-confidential.com/home/issue/id/132>

<sup>669</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Idriss\\_D%C3%A9by](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Idriss_D%C3%A9by)

<sup>670</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chadian\\_Civil\\_War\\_\(2005%E2%80%932010\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chadian_Civil_War_(2005%E2%80%932010))

<sup>671</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Idriss\\_D%C3%A9by](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Idriss_D%C3%A9by)

<sup>672</sup> <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4dd21a4bc.html>

declared that it would take charge of the government.<sup>673</sup> On 04/27/2021 the military junta announced the formation of a transitional government headed by the civilian politician Albert Pahimi Padacké as prime minister.<sup>674</sup> With Déby's son hereditary succession of power of the presidential office at the same time maintaining as the position of the head of armed forces and 13 other military generals assuming power through the TMC and elections routinely delayed, we code the regime as a military autocracy and not as a non-electoral transitional regime. In June 2021 an 18-month extension of the transition was declared.<sup>675</sup> The regime has also, for instance, been characterized by Freedom House as a military regime.<sup>676</sup>

Military Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Brody 2006, Byrnes 1988, Collelo 1988, Collier 1990, Confidential 2004, Reyna 2003, Römer 1999)

## Chile

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [Start: 02/12/1818]: On 02/12/1818, Chile declared its independence from Spain. From 1888 suffrage was introduced for men of any race over 21 who could read.<sup>677</sup> LIED classifies the regime period as an exclusive democracy, RoW as electoral autocracy and PRC as a semidemocracy. It was, however, not a full parliamentary democracy, seeing as the head of the executive was not elected by the legislature. Nevertheless, real power lay with the Congress while the president's role was rather ceremonial. The widely adopted laissez-faire policy led to a gap between political elite and citizens. The electoral system can be classified as clientelist and corrupt and was marked by bribery and intimidation.<sup>678</sup> Before the 1925 Constitution in Chile, the electoral system was governed by the Constitution of 1833. This earlier constitution was very restrictive in terms of suffrage. Voting rights were limited to men who met certain property or income requirements, effectively excluding a large portion of the population, particularly those from lower socio-economic backgrounds. This system favored the interests of the landed elite and wealthier citizens, limiting political participation to a small,

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<sup>673</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transitional\\_Military\\_Council\\_\(Chad\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transitional_Military_Council_(Chad));  
<https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/1/101085/BREAKING-Chad-president-assassinated-by-militants-from-North>

<sup>674</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transitional\\_Military\\_Council\\_\(Chad\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transitional_Military_Council_(Chad))

<sup>675</sup> <https://www.france24.com/fr/afrique/20220820-au-tchad-ouverture-du-dialogue-national-inclusif-pour-sortir-de-l-impasse-politique>

<sup>676</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/chad>

<sup>677</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>678</sup> [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Chile](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Chile)

privileged segment of society.<sup>679</sup> The 1925 Constitution of Chile, which replaced the 1833 Constitution, marked a significant step towards modernizing the Chilean state and its political system. However, it maintained certain requirements for voting. The right to vote was granted only to male citizens who were literate, at least 21 years old (or 18 if married) and met certain residency requirements.<sup>680</sup> According to the data of Vanhanen the percentage of the population who participated in elections lay between 3.8 and 4.4 percentage of the population in this period. It wasn't until later reforms in the 20th century that these restrictions were gradually lifted, paving the way for broader suffrage in Chile. Under the presidency of Juan Luis Sanfuentes (1915-1920) repressed strikes and opposition movements. The presidential elections of 1915 itself were contested for electoral fraud.<sup>681</sup> The problem of electoral fraud and political corruption had already been a problem under the presidency of Ramón Barros Luco.<sup>682</sup> On 12/23/1920, the reformist Arturo Alessandri became president. Political dissonance grew stronger as Congress repeatedly blocked his appeals. The conflict paralyzed Chile politically.<sup>683</sup> 09/03/1924, military officers protested against the political class as well as low salaries. This is known as the “rattling of the sabers” incident. This led to the establishment of the September Junta.<sup>684</sup> Alessandri went into exile.<sup>685</sup>

09/11/1924 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup by right-wing military against president Arturo Alessandri took place. The following military regime is also known as the September Junta.<sup>686</sup>

01/23/1925 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military movement of young officers, wrestled power from the previous September Junta. They had worried about the conservative restoration of Chilean society. The group organized a new junta, also known as the January Junta, which acted as an interim government. The Junta recalled President Alessandri back to his post. It lasted until Alessandri's resumption of power on 03/20/1925.<sup>687</sup> Alessandri's return to power does not mark the beginning of a new regime but rather the continuation of the military autocracy seeing as power was handed to him by the junta and this had been the objective of the coup. Alessandri promulgated a new constitution which

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<sup>679</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_Chile](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Chile);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chilean\\_Constitution\\_of\\_1833](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chilean_Constitution_of_1833)

<sup>680</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Chile\\_1925](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Chile_1925)

<sup>681</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juan\\_Luis\\_Sanfuentes](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juan_Luis_Sanfuentes)

<sup>682</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ram%C3%B3n\\_Barros\\_Luco](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ram%C3%B3n_Barros_Luco)

<sup>683</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arturo\\_Alessandri](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arturo_Alessandri)

<sup>684</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruido\\_de\\_sables](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruido_de_sables)

<sup>685</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Chile#Parliamentary\\_era\\_\(1891%E2%80%931925\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Chile#Parliamentary_era_(1891%E2%80%931925))

<sup>686</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government\\_Junta\\_of\\_Chile\\_\(1924\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_Junta_of_Chile_(1924))

<sup>687</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government\\_Junta\\_of\\_Chile\\_\(1925\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_Junta_of_Chile_(1925))

was approved by a plebiscite on 03/30/1925.<sup>688</sup> The constitution officially put an end to the parliamentary system and reestablished presidential power (Nohlen 2005).

10/01/1925 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime: On this date, Alessandri resigned from the presidency. His vice-president, the civilian Luis Barros Borgoño, took over as acting president of an interim government.<sup>689</sup>

10/22/1925 End Non-electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: On this date, the first direct presidential elections took place in Chile. They were the first elections to be held under the new 1925 constitution.<sup>690</sup> Under the 1925 constitution, direct secret suffrage had been extended. Nevertheless, women were still not able to vote (Nohlen 2005). Therefore, this period is categorized as a semidemocracy. Emiliano Figueroa won the elections with 72% of the vote.<sup>691</sup> He made General Carlos Ibañez del Campo his Minister of the Interior. The latter was exerting more and more control over Figueroa who decided to resign in order to avoid becoming Ibañez's puppet. According to the constitution Ibañez became vice-president, as Minister of the Interior, and announced the next elections.<sup>692</sup>

05/22/1927 End (Male) Semidemocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, presidential elections were held following the resignation of President Emiliano Figueroa. The result was a victory for Interior Minister Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, who ran as an independent and received 98% of the vote.<sup>693</sup> Ibáñez began to exercise dictatorial powers, using rule by decree (decretos con fuerza de ley), suspending parliamentary elections, instead naming politicians to the Senate and Chamber of Deputies himself. Political opponents were arrested and exiled, including his former ally Marmaduke Grove. His popularity, however, was helped by massive loans by American banks, which helped to promote a high rate of growth in the country. He constructed massive public works and increased public spending. He also created the Carabineros de Chile (police force) by unifying the previously disorganized police forces. Another significant achievement of Ibáñez's first administration was the signing of the 1929 Treaty of Lima, in which Chile agreed to return the Tacna Province to Peru, which had been seized during the War of the Pacific. His popularity lasted until after the 1929 collapse of Wall Street. At that point all loans were halted and called. Without the influx of foreign currency, Chile was heavily affected by the Great Depression. Ibáñez's large public spending did nothing to alleviate the

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<sup>688</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arturo\\_Alessandri#Second\\_administration](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arturo_Alessandri#Second_administration)

<sup>689</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luis\\_Barros\\_Borgo%C3%B1o](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luis_Barros_Borgo%C3%B1o)

<sup>690</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1925\\_Chilean\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1925_Chilean_presidential_election)

<sup>691</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1925\\_Chilean\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1925_Chilean_presidential_election)

<sup>692</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos\\_Ib%C3%A1%C3%B1ez\\_del\\_Campo#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos_Ib%C3%A1%C3%B1ez_del_Campo#)

<sup>693</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1927\\_Chilean\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1927_Chilean_presidential_election)

situation, and his opponents, primarily the exiled Grove and Alessandri, began to plan a comeback. After a great wave of public unrest, Ibáñez left the country for exile, on 07/26/1931, after delegating his office to the president of the senate, Pedro Opazo, who in turn resigned in favor of the interior minister, Juan Esteban Montero.<sup>694</sup>

07/26/1931 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime: When the Ibanez administration collapsed on this date and Ibanez himself went into exile, President of the Senate Pedro Opazo became acting vice-president and head of the interim government. The next day, he resigned and passed power to Juan Esteban Montero, former Minister of the interior.<sup>695</sup>

10/04/1931 End Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: On this date, Montero was officially elected president with 64% of the vote.<sup>696</sup>

06/04/1932 End (Male) Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup took place in Santiago, where a coalition consisting of young socialists led by Eugenio Matte, air force personnel led by Colonel Marmaduke Grove, and army personnel loyal to former president Carlos Ibáñez del Campo under Carlos Dávila seized control of the Air Force base of El Bosque. Their demand was for President Montero to step down from office and as a result he resigned.<sup>697</sup> On the same night, the revolutionaries who had emerged victorious established a Government Junta, consisting of retired General Arturo Puga, Eugenio Matte, and Carlos Davila, with Colonel Grove serving as their Minister of Defense.<sup>698</sup>

09/13/1932 End Military Autocrcay/Start Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime: On 09/13/1932, Davila resigned after having lost public support. He handed power to General Bartolomé Blanche.<sup>699</sup> In fear of a military uprising, the latter again transferred power to the president of the supreme court, Abraham Oyanedel Urrutia.<sup>700</sup>

10/30/1932 End Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: Multiparty elections took place on this date and Abraham Oyanedel Urrutia handed over the president's office to the elected Arturo Alessandri Palma.<sup>701</sup> These elections marked the

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<sup>694</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos\\_Ib%C3%A1%C3%B1ez\\_del\\_Campo#First\\_presidency](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos_Ib%C3%A1%C3%B1ez_del_Campo#First_presidency)

<sup>695</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pedro\\_Opazo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pedro_Opazo)

<sup>696</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1931\\_Chilean\\_presidential\\_election#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1931_Chilean_presidential_election#)

<sup>697</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist\\_Republic\\_of\\_Chile;](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Republic_of_Chile;)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juan\\_Esteban\\_Montero#Presidency](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juan_Esteban_Montero#Presidency)

<sup>698</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist\\_Republic\\_of\\_Chile;](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Republic_of_Chile;)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juan\\_Esteban\\_Montero#Presidency](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juan_Esteban_Montero#Presidency)

<sup>699</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government\\_Junta\\_of\\_Chile\\_\(1932\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_Junta_of_Chile_(1932))

<sup>700</sup> [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bartolomeo\\_Blanche\\_Espejo](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bartolomeo_Blanche_Espejo)

<sup>701</sup> [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abraham\\_Oyanedel\\_Urrutia](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abraham_Oyanedel_Urrutia)

beginning of a period of consistently competitive elections. All existing parties were allowed to run in the elections between 1932 and 1973 (Keech 2004, Remmer 1984). Nevertheless, almost all presidents between 1932 and 1973 made use of emergency powers, notably also Alessandri. This limits the quality of the democracy (Keech 2004). The factors mentioned above as well as the fact that women were still not able to vote justify the classification of this period as a semidemocracy. From 01/08/1949 on, universal suffrage for men and women aged 21 and above and able to read and write was granted. However, only from 1970 on men and women aged 18 and older could vote whether or not they could read.<sup>702</sup> According to UNESCO, approximately 19.9 percent of the total population was illiterate in 1952, thereby excluding nearly a fifth of the population from participating in voting (Educational 1957). Due to the exclusion of illiterates from voting between 1949 and 1970, and the significant portion of the population denied access to elections as a result, Chile cannot be regarded as a democracy during that period.

04/09/1970 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: On this date the first presidential elections under real universal suffrage took place.<sup>703</sup>

09/11/1973 End Democracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup ousted the elected government led by Salvador Allende (Drake 1997, Valenzuela 1978, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 54). Allende died during an assault on the presidential palace, and a junta was composed of four high-ranking military officers. These were General Augusto Pinochet (Army), Admiral José Toribio Merino (Navy), General Gustavo Leigh (Air Force), and General César Mendoza (police).<sup>704</sup> The Christian Democratic, National, and Radical Democracy parties were placed in a state of "indefinite recess," while the Communists, Socialists, and Radicals were banned. In 1977, all parties were dissolved.<sup>705</sup> General Leigh, initially opposed to the consolidation of the legislative and executive branches under Pinochet, eventually faced dismissal from the regime in 1978. Air Force General Fernando Matthei replaced Leigh as a junta member.<sup>706</sup> Following a referendum that approved a new constitution, Pinochet took over as President on 03/11/1981. The junta remained as a legislative body under the presidency of Admiral Merino (Huneus 1998).<sup>707</sup> The junta engaged in a campaign against

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<sup>702</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>703</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970\\_Chilean\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970_Chilean_presidential_election)

<sup>704</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Chile/The-military-dictatorship-from-1973>;  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government\\_Junta\\_of\\_Chile\\_\(1973\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_Junta_of_Chile_(1973))

<sup>705</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Chile/The-military-dictatorship-from-1973>;  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1973\\_Chilean\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1973_Chilean_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>706</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government\\_Junta\\_of\\_Chile\\_\(1973\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_Junta_of_Chile_(1973))

<sup>707</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government\\_Junta\\_of\\_Chile\\_\(1973\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_Junta_of_Chile_(1973))

political opponents, leftists, and their family members. The Rettig Commission reported that 2.279 people disappeared and were killed for political reasons or by political violence, and 27.000 were incarcerated, often without trials.<sup>708</sup>

12/14/1989 End Military Autocracy/Start Democracy: In a plebiscite on 10/05/1988, 54.7 percent had rejected a further eight-year term for General Pinochet. Free and fair elections on 12/14/1989 marked a transition to democracy (Angell/Pollack 1990:2, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 54).<sup>709</sup> Augusto Pinochet ceded the presidency on 03/11/1990 after a coalition of Parties for Democracy (the Concertacion de los Partidos por la Democracia) won the election (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 20). Patricio Aylwin Azócar took over the presidency (Lansford 2021: 311). Since then, Chile is a stable democracy with regular free and fair elections.<sup>710</sup> Since 2021 parts of southern Chile have been subject to a state of emergency due to conflicts between government forces and indigenous activists. A new progressive constitution was drafted by Chiles constitutional convention yet rejected by a majority in a national plebiscite.<sup>711</sup> In Chiles presidential regime, the president is both the head of state and of government. A multi-party system allows competitive elections. Institutions that regulate executive power such as the judiciary are independent and stable.

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (1978, Angell 1993, Barros 2002, Ensalaco 1995, Faundez 1997, García Méndez 1985, Huneus 1981, Huneus 1998, Pearce 1996, Remmer 1984, Remmer 1989, Siavelis 2008, Sigmund 1977, Spooner 1994, Spooner 2011, Thiery 2000, Valenzuela 1978, Valenzuela 1999, Weeks 2003)

## China

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [Start: 04/xx/1636]: China became sovereign in 1600 BC. In April 1636, Hong Taiji, leader of the Manchu, proclaimed the establishment of the Qing dynasty, marking the beginning of their rule.<sup>712</sup> In 1909 for the first time some kind of Chinese parliamentary elections took place, however, not in the modern sense. They were indirect election to an imperial Advisory Council, a preparatory body of the parliament created under

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<sup>708</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government\\_Junta\\_of\\_Chile\\_\(1973\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_Junta_of_Chile_(1973))

<sup>709</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1989\\_Chilean\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1989_Chilean_general_election)

<sup>710</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/chile/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>711</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/chile/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>712</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_China#Qing\\_dynasty\\_\(1636%E2%80%931912\);](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_China#Qing_dynasty_(1636%E2%80%931912);)  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline\\_of\\_the\\_Qing\\_dynasty](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_the_Qing_dynasty)



the constitutional reform bought by the late Qing dynasty. Even if participation was extremely restricted, it is seen by some sources as the first popular election in Chinese history.<sup>713</sup> The monarchy was dynastic and absolute until 11/03/1911.

11/03/1911 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Constitutional Monarchy: On this date, the Qing dynasty issued the ‘Doctrine of Nineteen Articles’, which limited the emperor’s absolute power and established a system of ministerial responsibility inspired by the British system from the imperial era. The doctrine expanded the power of the congress.<sup>714</sup> On 02/12/1912, empress Longyu signed an abdication decree on behalf of the Xuantong Emperor. This alteration marked the transition to a constitutional monarchy.<sup>715</sup>

01/01/1912 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Military Autocracy: Only about three months later, on this date, Sun Yat-sen announced the establishment of the Republic of China in Nanking, and he was inaugurated as the Provisional President of the Republic. During February 1912, the Qing dynasty was toppled, and authority was transferred to Yuan Shih-kai, who served as both the president of the council of ministers and an official. The newly established regime granted Yuan Shih-kai substantial powers as president. Yuan was the leader of the Beiyang Army and used its power to gain more control. Therefore, this regime was known as the Beiyang government.<sup>716</sup> While the constitution nominally placed the government and the state under civilian control, the Beiyang generals effectively wielded authority over them. Therefore, we code this regime as a military autocracy.<sup>717</sup>

01/01/1913 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Oligarchy: From December 1912 to January 1913, elections were conducted for the national assembly, resulting in a significant victory for the Kuomintang (KMT), also known as the “Chinese Nationalist Party”.<sup>718</sup> The national assembly was the first elected legislature in the Republic of China. As voters chose electors, it was an indirect poll. It was a bicameral assembly; the senate was elected by provincial assemblies and representatives were directly elected.<sup>719</sup> The president was tasked with selecting the 64 members who would represent Tibet, Outer Mongolia, and Overseas Chinese. Notably, this process involved the participation of over 300 civic groups, making it the most competitive nationwide elections in Chinese history.<sup>720</sup> Eligible to cast a vote were only adult males over

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<sup>713</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1909\\_Chinese\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1909_Chinese_parliamentary_election)

<sup>714</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nineteen\\_Articles](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nineteen_Articles)

<sup>715</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monarchy\\_of\\_China](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monarchy_of_China)

<sup>716</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic\\_of\\_China\\_\(1912%E2%80%931949\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_China_(1912%E2%80%931949))

<sup>717</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beiyang\\_government](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beiyang_government)

<sup>718</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yuan\\_Shikai](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yuan_Shikai);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1912\\_Chinese\\_National\\_Assembly\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1912_Chinese_National_Assembly_election)

<sup>719</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Assembly\\_\(Beiyang\\_government\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Assembly_(Beiyang_government))

<sup>720</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1918\\_Chinese\\_National\\_Assembly\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1918_Chinese_National_Assembly_election)

21 years of age who owned property, paid taxes, were educated and could prove a two-year residency in a particular county. About 4-6% of the population were able to register for elections.<sup>721</sup> Although the subnational elections in 1912 exhibited some degree of competitiveness, suffrage was extremely restricted, and the prevalence of vote buying was significant. Only about one per cent of the population could vote. Furthermore, the regime resorted to repressive measures against political opponents. (Young 1983: 208-13, 222-24, 226, 231, 237-38, Sheridan 1983, Casey et al. 2020: 3-4). Less than one percent of the population voted in the indirect poll.

07/12/1913 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Personalist Autocracy: On this date, Jianxi, as the first of many southern provinces, declared independence. These events occurred within the frame of the “Second Revolution”. This was a revolt of the Southern Provinces as well as the Kuomintang against Yuan Shikai who had started to ignore the National Assembly’s decisions soon after the elections. Additionally, Yuan Shikai assassinated Song Jiaoren, the leader of the Kuomintang, and arranged the assassination of several other Kuomintang politicians. When the Kuomintang started voicing their outrage over the power abuse of Yuan Shikai, he decided to use military action against them.<sup>722</sup> Yuan Shikai outlawed the Kuomintang and expelled them from the National Assembly.<sup>723</sup> On 01/10/1914, Yuan Shikai disbanded the National Assembly after it had lost its quorum due to the expulsion of the Kuomintang.<sup>724</sup> The second revolution had failed. Yuan Shikai’s Beiyang Army had beaten the revolt. The revolution cemented Yuan’s power. To give his government seeming legitimacy, he promulgated the constitutional compact which gave him unlimited control over the Chinese army, finances, foreign policy and the rights of China’s citizens.<sup>725</sup> Furthermore, it made him de facto president for life.<sup>726</sup> On 12/12/1915 Yuan Shi-kai declared himself the emperor.<sup>727</sup> One day earlier, the National Assembly had unanimously voted for his ascending to the throne.<sup>728</sup> By declaring himself emperor, he tried to restore the Qing dynasty that had ended 1912.<sup>729</sup> This event does not mark an actual transformation towards a monarchy but rather a conferral of titles and extension of absolute power typical for personalist autocracies. Generally, the Republican period in Chinese history,

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<sup>721</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1912\\_Chinese\\_National\\_Assembly\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1912_Chinese_National_Assembly_election)

<sup>722</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second\\_Revolution\\_\(Republic\\_of\\_China\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Revolution_(Republic_of_China))

<sup>723</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Assembly\\_\(Beiyang\\_government\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Assembly_(Beiyang_government))

<sup>724</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Assembly\\_\(Beiyang\\_government\);](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Assembly_(Beiyang_government);)  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yuan\\_Shikai](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yuan_Shikai)

<sup>725</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second\\_Revolution\\_\(Republic\\_of\\_China\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Revolution_(Republic_of_China))

<sup>726</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/china/20.htm>

<sup>727</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Empire\\_of\\_China\\_\(1915%E2%80%931916\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Empire_of_China_(1915%E2%80%931916))

<sup>728</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Empire\\_of\\_China\\_\(1915%E2%80%931916\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Empire_of_China_(1915%E2%80%931916))

<sup>729</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qing\\_dynasty](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qing_dynasty)

spanning from 1912 to 1949, marked an interim phase between the Qing dynasty and the emergence of the Communist People's Republic of China (Elleman/Paine 2019).<sup>730</sup> On 12/25/1915 the so-called National Protection War or the Anti-Monarchy War began. In the Yunnan Province, independence had been declared and military operations were launched against the new emperor's army. The Guizhou and Guangxi provinces followed with a declaration of independence.<sup>731</sup> : On 03/22/1916, Yuan formally abdicated as emperor and restored the republic. However, he remained president, which was met with much resistance.<sup>732</sup> On 06/06/1916, Yuan passed away. The National Protection War ended on 07/14/1916.<sup>733</sup> 07/14/1916 End Personalist Autocracy/Start No Central Authority: Following Yuan's ousting and subsequent demise, the central government swiftly lost its grip on the provinces, resulting in the absence of an effective central authority (Young 1983: 253-54, Sheridan 1983: 284, 287-91, 296-303, 307-9, Nathan 1983: 256, 266, Casey et al. 2020: 4). The so-called Warlord Era began.<sup>734</sup> The control of the country was subsequently divided between military cliques and regional factions, resulting in a period of warlordism. The key actors in the highly fragmented political landscape were mainly the Zhili clique, led by Cao Kun after 1919, and the Fengtian clique, both former members of the Beiyang army. Cao Kun was promised the vice-presidency by Duan Qirui during the 1918 national assembly elections, but the office remained vacant. As a result, Cao Kun experienced a sense of betrayal by Duan and engaged in battle, emerging victorious in 1920.<sup>735</sup> The first Zhili-Fengtian war broke out in 1922 and resulted in Zhili dominance.<sup>736</sup> During this period, the KMT tried to build a rival national government in Canton, led by Sun. He succeeded in taking the city with the help of the Soviets and agreed to build a coalition with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), building a revolutionary base. Sun's goal was to unify China through a military campaign.<sup>737</sup> In 1918, new assembly elections were initiated. Seventeen provinces provided responses, while five southern provinces opted for a boycott. Delegates for Tibet, Xinjiang, and Qinghai were appointed by Beijing. The voting process witnessed the open buying and selling of votes, with prices constantly fluctuating, and widespread instances of fraud and abuse.<sup>738</sup> This assembly, however, only came together until

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<sup>730</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/china/20.htm>; <https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-China/The-early-republican-period>

<sup>731</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Protection\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Protection_War)

<sup>732</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yuan\\_Shikai](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yuan_Shikai)

<sup>733</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Protection\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Protection_War)

<sup>734</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic\\_of\\_China\\_\(1912%E2%80%931949\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_China_(1912%E2%80%931949))

<sup>735</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cao\\_Kun](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cao_Kun)

<sup>736</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Warlord\\_Era](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Warlord_Era)

<sup>737</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic\\_of\\_China\\_\(1912%E2%80%931949\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_China_(1912%E2%80%931949))

<sup>738</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Assembly\\_\(Beiyang\\_government\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Assembly_(Beiyang_government))

August 1920. In 1922, after the Zhili-Ahnui War and the victory of the Zhili clique led by Cao Kun, Li Yuanhong was appointed to the presidency in Beijing by the military leadership.<sup>739</sup> Yuanhong then summoned back the 1913 assembly, excluding the 1919 'extraordinary' additions, citing the same pretext that its three-year term had not been completed.<sup>740</sup> An alternative approach to code this period would be to code different political regimes on specific territories for China in this period.

10/05/1923 End No Central Authority/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, Cao Kun, a former general of the Beiyang Army and the leader of the Zhili clique, was elected president by the National Assembly. Subsequently, the constitution, which was hastily drafted by the assembly, was promulgated by Cao Kun in 1923.<sup>741</sup> Just as Li Yuanhong's takeover of the presidency was orchestrated, so was Yuanhong's eviction from office. The military successes of the Zhili clique led Cao Kun to aspire to become president, which led to the ouster of Li Yuanhong, but also brought disunity to the Zhili clique and led to the reunion of the enemies of the Zhili clique.<sup>742743</sup> In September of 1924, the Second Zhili-Fengtian War started, between the Fengtian and the Zhili clique. It ended with the Beijing Coup.<sup>744</sup> Cao Kun's term in office thus occurred in the turmoil of the War Lord Era. Hence, the Republic of China was still contested by different military cliques and a military-dominated culture characterized the political regime.<sup>745</sup> Therefore, the regime can only be classified as a military autocracy, since there were no popular multi-party/multi-candidate elections for president, the parliament, which had emerged from the 1913 elections and had been repeatedly reinstated, had questionable legitimacy, plus Cao Kun had a military background and had just won the preceding Zhili-Anui War as the leader of the Zhili-Clique. The regime classification as a military autocracy is further supported by the fact that AF also classifies it as a military autocracy.

10/23/1924 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, the Beijing Coup occurred.<sup>746</sup> The coup took place at a pivotal juncture in the Second Zhili-Fengtian War, enabling the pro-Japanese Fengtian clique to overcome the previously dominant Zhili clique.<sup>747</sup> Feng Yuxiang put Huang Fu into the president's position.<sup>748</sup> On 11/24/1924 Duan Qirui was

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<sup>739</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zhili\\_clique](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zhili_clique) [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Li\\_Yuanhong](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Li_Yuanhong)

<sup>740</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Assembly\\_\(Beiyang\\_government\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Assembly_(Beiyang_government))

<sup>741</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1923\\_Chinese\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1923_Chinese_presidential_election); [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cao\\_Kun](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cao_Kun)

<sup>742</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Li\\_Yuanhong](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Li_Yuanhong)

<sup>743</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zhili\\_clique](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zhili_clique)

<sup>744</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second\\_Zhili%E2%80%93Fengtian\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Zhili%E2%80%93Fengtian_War)

<sup>745</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Warlord\\_Era](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Warlord_Era)

<sup>746</sup> <https://omniatlas.com/maps/asia-pacific/19241023/>

<sup>747</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1924\\_in\\_China](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1924_in_China)

<sup>748</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Feng\\_Yuxiang#Rise](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Feng_Yuxiang#Rise); [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Huang\\_Fu](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Huang_Fu)

named the new Chief Executive of the nation by Zhang Zuolin, the leader of the Fengtian clique, who shared power with the leader of the coup Feng Yuxiang.<sup>749</sup> His government was reluctantly accepted by the Zhili and perceived as a neutral choice as Duan had no army of his own. In addition, the renaming of the President's title from 'President' to 'Chief Executive' further weakened the office politically. Duan contacted Sun Yat-sen, with the goal of renegotiating a national reunification. Sun died in 1925, which cut off the negotiations. Thereafter, Duan's government was extremely dependent on Feng Yuxiang and Zhang Zuolin. Duan was forced out of office in April 1926.<sup>750</sup> The reason was the Anti-Fengtian War – the last major civil war within the Republic of China.<sup>751</sup> The regime has to be classified as military autocracy because it exhibits essentially the same features as the previous regime, just under another clique. The only difference is that Duan Qirui itself did not have a military background but was dependent on the Fengtian clique and can therefore be seen as a figurehead president chosen by the military elite.

04/20/1926 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-Electoral Transitional Regime: After the Anti-Fengtian War, Duan Qirui was succeeded by multiple presidents who came from different political cliques and parties, but none of them held office for long.<sup>752</sup> The period was marked by the Northern Expedition, “a military campaign launched by the National Revolutionary Army (NRA) of the Kuomintang (KMT) against the Beiyang government and other regional warlords in 1926. The purpose of the campaign was to reunify China, which had become fragmented.”<sup>753</sup> The political situation was therefore very unstable. And it was only toward the end of the Northern Expedition that a national government could be installed.<sup>754</sup>

10/10/1928 End Non-Electoral Transitional Regime/Start (Non-electoral) One-Party Autocracy: On 10/10/1928, Chiang launched himself as the leader of the Nanjing Government. Between 1928 to 1949 during the Republican Era the Nationalist Party aka Kuomintang (KMT) was the sole party in a non-electoral regime.<sup>755</sup> The early achievements of the Nationalist Party were largely attributed to the assistance and counsel provided by the USSR, as well as their close cooperation with the Chinese communists from 1924 to 1927. Following the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925, leadership of the party gradually shifted to Chiang Kai Shek, who successfully brought the majority of China under its authority by curtailing or eliminating the regional

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<sup>749</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zhang\\_Zuolin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zhang_Zuolin)

<sup>750</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duan\\_Qirui](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duan_Qirui)

<sup>751</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-Fengtian\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-Fengtian_War)

<sup>752</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_presidents\\_of\\_China](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_presidents_of_China)

<sup>753</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern\\_Expedition](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Expedition)

<sup>754</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/China/The-Northern-Expedition>

<sup>755</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kuomintang>

warlords' autonomy between 1926 and 1928.<sup>756</sup> He led the “Northern Expedition” and fought against the Beiyang government. They succeeded in 1928, when the KMT had most of China under its control.<sup>757</sup> Subsequently, the so-called Nanjing decade began and lasted until 1937. Moreover, after his victory, Chiang expelled any Communists from the KMT.<sup>758</sup> This period was characterized by conflicts, between 08/01/1927 and 12/07/1949 the Chinese Civil war raged, with some interruptions.<sup>759</sup> The struggle ensued between the government led by the Kuomintang in the Republic of China and the forces of the Chinese Communist Party, culminating in the establishment of Communist control over mainland China.<sup>760</sup> Moreover, between 07/07/1937 and 09/02/1945 the Second Sino-Japanese War took place, starting with the invasion of Japan.<sup>761</sup> In 1947 male suffrage was introduced.<sup>762</sup>

01/21/1949 End (Non-electoral) One-Party Autocracy/Start Communist Ideocracy: On this day, Chiang Kai Shek gave power as a peacemaking concession to the communist rebels. Power was handed over to his vice president Li Tsung Jen. One day later Beijing fell to the Communist ending de facto the power of the old regime. On 10/01/1949 the People's Republic of China (PRC) was declared by Mao Se Tung (Shinn/Worden 1988, Leung 2002: xxix). The Communist Revolutionaries led by Mao Se Tung had defeated the last strongholds of the Republic forces and had established a transitional government placing Mao at its head. Since then, the Chinese Communist Party is ruling China as a one-party autocracy. In 1953, universal suffrage was officially granted under the 1947 Constitution of the Republic of China when the First National Assembly (disbanded 2005) elections were held in 1947. But women were not explicitly enfranchised until 1953 thanks to the first Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China. The general populace can only vote for local elections.<sup>763</sup> Local people's congresses are directly elected, operating under the control of the CCP. People's congresses at higher levels, including the National People's Congress (NPC), the national legislature, are elected indirectly by the people's congress at the immediately lower level.<sup>764</sup> From 1978 to 1982, China transformed its economy with reforms such as industrial liberalization, and the establishment of Special Economic Zones. These changes aimed to attract private and foreign investment and experiment with market-driven policies. These reforms laid the foundation for China's rapid

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<sup>756</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Nationalist-Party-Chinese-political-party>

<sup>757</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern\\_Expedition](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Expedition)

<sup>758</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic\\_of\\_China\\_\(1912%E2%80%931949\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_China_(1912%E2%80%931949))

<sup>759</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nanjing\\_decade](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nanjing_decade)

<sup>760</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese\\_Civil\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_Civil_War)

<sup>761</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second\\_Sino-Japanese\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Sino-Japanese_War)

<sup>762</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage)

<sup>763</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>764</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections\\_in\\_China](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_in_China)

economic growth. Between 1982 and 1989, China implemented more economic reforms to modernize its economy. These included decollectivization in agriculture, industrial liberalization, and the introduction of market-based price determination. From 1989 to 1991, China experienced a shift in its economic policies (Bramall 2008: 330). In spring 1989, a series of protest erupted in the country. These reached their climax on the night of June 3-4 at Tiananmen Square in Beijing. By spring 1989, an increasing desire for political and economic reform was evident among society, especially among university students, prompted by a decade of significant economic growth and openness, exposing many Chinese to foreign ideas and lifestyles. What began as a mourning gathering for the death of reformist Communist Party leader Hu Yaobang turned into demands for political change, freedom of speech, and an end to corruption. Thousands occupied Tiananmen Square, leading the government to declare martial law and send in the military. On the night of 06/03/1989 to 06/04/1989, troops used tanks and live ammunition to disperse protesters, resulting in numerous casualties.<sup>765</sup> As a result, there was a pause in the Gilley policy of opening-up as the government prioritized stability. Additionally, there were cuts in government spending, and the transition to market socialism was halted temporarily (Bramall 2008: 330). In recent years, the regime under the leadership of CCP general secretary Xi Jinping has significantly tightened control over every facet of life and governance. This control extends over the state bureaucracy, media, and civil society. Xi Jinping's consolidation of power represents a level of centralization not witnessed in China for many years. After years of crackdowns on political dissent, independent NGOs, and human rights advocates, civil society has been greatly weakened.<sup>766</sup>

Communist Ideocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Bader 2011, Baum 1994, Gilley/Holbig 2010, Guo 2000, Hoffmann 1978, Landry 2008, Lin 2006, Saxonberg 2013)

## **Cook Islands**

01/01/1900 (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]: The Cook Islands derive their name from Captain James Cook, who explored the islands in 1773 and 1777. However, the first European to reach the islands was the Spanish navigator Alvaro de Mendaña in 1595. The Cook Islands aligned with the United Kingdom in

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<sup>765</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/event/Tiananmen-Square-incident>

<sup>766</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/china/freedom-world/2024>

1890, primarily due to concerns among British residents that France might occupy the islands, similar to its control over Tahiti.<sup>767</sup> Following some encouragement from New Zealand, leaders of the largest islands submitted a request for annexation, a process that was carried out in 1901.<sup>768</sup>

10/09/1900 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]/Start Part of Other Country [United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]: On the 8th and 9th of October 1900, seven documents of cession concerning Rarotonga and other islands were signed by their chiefs and residents. Simultaneously, a British proclamation acknowledged the cessions, officially declaring these islands as integral parts of Her Britannic Majesty's. Despite the inhabitants considering themselves British subjects, the Crown's title was uncertain, leading to the formal annexation of the island through a Proclamation dated 10/09/1900.<sup>769</sup>

06/11/1901 Continuation Part of Other Country [United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy as Part of Colony of New Zealand]: In 1901, through an Order in Council under the United Kingdom's Colonial Boundaries Act of 1895, the islands were incorporated into the Colony of New Zealand. This boundary adjustment took effect on 06/11/1901, establishing a formal relationship between the Cook Islands and New Zealand that has persisted since that time.<sup>770</sup>

09/26/1907 Continuation Part of Other Country [New Zealand, (Monarchical) Democracy]: On this date, New Zealand was granted nominal independence shifting into a dominion status (Yates 2014). Upon the implementation of the British Nationality and New Zealand Citizenship Act 1948 on 01/01/1949, Cook Islanders who held British subject status were automatically conferred New Zealand citizenship. The islands retained their status as a New Zealand dependent territory until the decision by the New Zealand Government to bestow upon them the status of self-governance.<sup>771</sup>

08/04/1965 End Part of Other Country [New Zealand, (Monarchical) Democracy]/Start Democracy [as Protectorate of New Zealand, (Monarchical) Democracy]: In 1962, New Zealand presented the Cook Islands legislature with four choices for their future: independence, self-government, integration into New Zealand, or integration into a broader Polynesian federation. The legislature opted for self-government.<sup>772</sup> A constitution was officially proclaimed on 08/04/1965.<sup>773</sup> After the elections in 1965, the Cook Islands evolved into a self-

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<sup>767</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Cook\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Cook_Islands)

<sup>768</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Cook-Islands/History>

<sup>769</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Cook\\_Islands#British\\_protectorate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Cook_Islands#British_protectorate)

<sup>770</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Cook\\_Islands#British\\_protectorate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Cook_Islands#British_protectorate)

<sup>771</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cook\\_Islands#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cook_Islands#History)

<sup>772</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Cook\\_Islands#Recent\\_history](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Cook_Islands#Recent_history)

<sup>773</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cook\\_Islands#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cook_Islands#History)



governing territory in a free association with New Zealand. This arrangement granted the Cook Islands political independence while officially maintaining New Zealand sovereignty over them. The United Nations endorsed this political transition.<sup>774</sup> The Cook Islands operate as a representative democracy with a parliamentary system, maintaining an associated state relationship with New Zealand. Executive authority is wielded by the government, led by the Prime Minister. Legislative power is shared between the government and the Cook Islands Parliament. Despite being officially unicameral, the country effectively has two legislative bodies, with the House of Ariki serving as a de facto upper house. The political landscape features a multi-party system, and the judiciary operates independently of both the executive and legislative branches. The head of state is the monarch of New Zealand, which means de facto the monarch of the United Kingdom, represented in the Cook Islands by the King's Representative.<sup>775</sup>

(Monarchical) Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Colombia**

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [Start: 08/08/1886]: On 07/20/1810 Colombia, the former Vice Royalty of New-Grenada, declared independence from Spain. On 12/17/1819 Colombia merged with Venezuela, Panama, and Ecuador into the Republic of Colombia. Simón Bolívar became the first President of Colombia. On 11/19/1831 Gran Colombia dissolved creating a pact of Colombia with Panama as the Republic of New Granada. The constitution of 1853 introduced universal, direct, and secret suffrage (Jaramillo Pérez/Franco-Cuervo 2005: 299). On 05/22/1858 the Republic of New Granada was replaced to the Granadine Confederation under the 1858 constitution. On 05/08/1863 the Granadine Confederation was replaced to the United States of Colombia under the constitutional change of 1864. On 08/08/1886 Colombia was established in the current form as a republic. In 1886 the constitution was reformed to allow universal suffrage for municipal councils and departmental assemblies only. However, states and provinces had a lot of leeway when it came to implementation. Therefore, it seems that many still had literacy requirements. For presidential elections the indirect census suffrage (literacy and socioeconomic restrictions) was reintroduced (Engerman/Sokoloff 2005: 913, Jaramillo Pérez/Franco-Cuervo 2005: 299). In 1904 Rafael Reyes was elected president. His

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<sup>774</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Cook\\_Islands#Recent\\_history](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Cook_Islands#Recent_history)

<sup>775</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cook\\_Islands#Politics\\_and\\_foreign\\_relations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cook_Islands#Politics_and_foreign_relations)

policies embodied a paradoxical mix of political reconciliation and authoritarianism.<sup>776</sup> He incorporated Liberals in the government, while at the same time strengthening the executive and therefore, centralizing power.<sup>777</sup> On 06/15/1910 indirect presidential elections were held. The result was a victory for Carlos Eugenio Restrepo of the Republican Union.<sup>778</sup> In 1936 universal male suffrage was introduced.<sup>779</sup> While RoW classifies the regime before the elections of 1910 as a closed (non-electoral) autocracy and LIED as a one-party autocracy according to our classification the regime is an electoral oligarchy. While there were presidential elections most of the population had no voting rights.

05/01/1938 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: The so-called Liberal Republic or Reformist Phase already started with the 1930s and as a result López Pumarejo (1934-1938) reintroduced universal male suffrage in 1936. The Conservative Period ended in 1930 with free elections and a peaceful takeover (Bushnell 1993: 181-182).<sup>780</sup> The presidential elections on 05/01/1938 were therefore the first elections since the amendment of the 1886 constitution with universal male suffrage. Eduardo Santos of the Liberal Party stood uncontested in the elections. The Conservative Party boycotted the elections and claimed “that they could not count on a fair election” (Bushnell 1993: 192). But they were also unable to nominate a candidate. In the presidential election 1942 López Pumarejo was reelected for his second term. The Conservative participated in the elections (Bushnell 1993: 192-193). Overall, the period was characterized by great social reforms, but also by economic crisis due to World War II and a split in the Liberal Party. In 1944 Lopez survived an attempted coup, but his political power diminished. Therefore, he resigned in 1946. The interim president Lleras Camargo tried to form a national union by appointing a cabinet consisting of Liberals and Conservatives. The nomination of Gabriel Turbay (Liberal Party) as candidate for the 1946 presidential elections led Jorge Eliécer Gaitán to run as independent candidate, thus splitting the Liberal Party. Gaitán enjoyed widespread support and resembled a populist (Bushnell 1993: 196-199).<sup>781</sup> Due to the split in the Liberal vote, Mariano Ospina Pérez a Conservative won the elections on 05/05/1946.<sup>782</sup> With the assassination of Gaitán on 04/09/1948 prior to the 1949 presidential elections, which he had probably won, a ten-year civil war broke out.<sup>783</sup>

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<sup>776</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/colombia/18.htm>

<sup>777</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/colombia/18.htm>

<sup>778</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1910\\_Colombian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1910_Colombian_presidential_election)

<sup>779</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>780</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/colombia/20.htm>; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage)

<sup>781</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/colombia/20.htm>

<sup>782</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946\\_Colombian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946_Colombian_presidential_election); <https://www.britannica.com/place/Colombia/La-Violencia-dictatorship-and-democratic-restoration>

<sup>783</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/La\\_Violencia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/La_Violencia)

11/09/1949 End (Male) Semidemocracy /Start Electoral Autocracy. The incumbent Conservative president, elected into office, shuttered Congress shortly after a Liberal majority secured their seats. Declaring a state of siege, he imposed press censorship following a violent campaign that claimed the lives of numerous Liberal partisans. In retaliation, the Liberals opted to boycott the presidential election scheduled for 11/27/1949, resulting in the election of another Conservative president. (Fluharty 1957, Henderson 1985:138-140, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 54). Laureano Gómez took office on 08/07/1950. He assumed extensive powers and restricted civil liberties in an effort to address the escalating violence and the potential return of power to the Liberals. Pro-labor laws enacted in the 1930s were nullified through executive decree, independent labor unions were dismantled, uncontested congressional elections were conducted, press censorship was enforced, executive control extended to the courts, and freedom of worship faced challenges as mobs targeted Protestant chapels. Gómez directed his repressive measures primarily against the Liberal opposition, labeling them as communist.<sup>784</sup> In 1953 a neofascist constitution was drafted, which would have enhanced the presidential powers even further.<sup>785</sup>

06/13/1953 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A military coup led by General Rojas Pinilla against the conservative civilian government of Laureano Gómez. The reason was that the military was angry over the removal of several military officers. Pinilla established a government led by himself (Martz 1962:166-167, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 54). In 1954 during the military autocracy of Pinilla women's suffrage was introduced.<sup>786</sup>

05/10/1958 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: Following the coup, the two main parties, the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party came on 05/10/1958 to an agreement on holding office for alternating periods of four years. The agreement, known as the National Front, was approved in a 1957 referendum<sup>787</sup> (Martz 1962:267, Hartlyn 1988:60-65, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 54). Presidential elections were held in Colombia on 05/04/1958. They were the first presidential elections since 1949. The 1970 elections raised allegations of electoral fraud from supporters of former dictator Rojas, who ran as a third-party candidate (Lansford 2021: 339-340). The National Front restricted electoral participation to the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party, with each party allocated 50% of the seats in both houses, whilst the Presidency alternated between the two parties.<sup>788</sup> As a result, the main contest

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<sup>784</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/colombia/22.htm>

<sup>785</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/colombia/22.htm>

<sup>786</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage\\_in\\_Colombia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage_in_Colombia)

<sup>787</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1958\\_Colombian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1958_Colombian_presidential_election)

<sup>788</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1958\\_Colombian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1958_Colombian_presidential_election)

in parliamentary elections was between factions within each party and only Conservative candidates ran for the presidency.<sup>789</sup> The regime is classified as semidemocratic due to the severe restrictions on competition.

04/21/1974 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: General elections were held in Colombia to elect the President, Senate and Chamber of Representatives. They were the first elections after the end of the National Front agreement.<sup>790</sup> Corruption remains a substantial problem in Colombia. The 'parapolitics' scandal, which linked many politicians to illegal paramilitary groups, resulted in the investigation, arrest, or conviction of more than 90 legislators by the close of the 2006-10 Congress. The 2014 legislative elections were defined by accusations of fraud, vote buying, and connections with criminals. Concerns of vote buying and other violations in both the first and second rounds also emerged in the 2018 elections.<sup>791</sup> The most recent parliamentary elections were held on 03/13/2022. The elections were described as generally peaceful and calm, however, candidates have raised concerns about voting irregularities during the legislative elections in March. However, officials attribute these issues to clerical errors and assert that there is no possibility of electoral fraud.<sup>792</sup> During the elections in June 2022, Gustavo Petro, an opposition candidate and former left-wing guerrilla member, emerged victorious, assuming the presidency. He went on to form a government characterized by a broad left-wing coalition, marking the inauguration of Colombia's first leftist administration since the reinstatement of competitive democracy.<sup>793</sup> Despite the Colombian constitution guaranteeing a broad array of civil liberties and political rights, the state faces challenges in enforcing them due to widespread organized crime and politically motivated violence, which at times lead to significant human rights abuses (McColm 1990). Left-wing guerrillas and right-paramilitary groups challenge the state's monopoly on violence, often impeding the freedom, independence, and effectiveness of the press and judiciary (Puddington et al. 2012). Nonetheless, Colombia has a history of multiple changes in government and peaceful transitions of power, although the particularly violent and tumultuous period between the 1990s and the early 2010s places it as a borderline case between a semi-democracy and democracy (Puddington et al. 2012).<sup>794</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 regime continued.

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<sup>789</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970\\_Colombian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970_Colombian_general_election)

<sup>790</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1974\\_Colombian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1974_Colombian_general_election)

<sup>791</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/colombia/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>792</sup> <https://www.dw.com/en/colombia-heads-to-the-polls-in-historic-election/a-61966789>

<sup>793</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/colombia>

<sup>794</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_presidents\\_of\\_Colombia#Republic\\_of\\_Colombia\\_\(1886%E2%80%93present\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_presidents_of_Colombia#Republic_of_Colombia_(1886%E2%80%93present))

Additional sources (Archer/Shugart 1997, Bejarano/Pizarro 2005, Cepeda Ulloa 2008, Fluharty 1957, Hartlyn 1988, Henderson 1985, Martz 1962, Peeler 1985, Whitehead 2001, Wilde 1978)

## Comoros

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 04/26/1886]: On 04/26/1886 under the rule of Sultan Mardjani Abdou Cheikh, Mwali was placed under the protection of the French. In the same year, Sultan Said Ali of Bambao, one of the sultanates on Ngazidja, also sought French protection, leveraging it to assert his claim over the entire island. Subsequently, the Sultanates were entirely abolished when Mardjani and his ministers signed a treaty, accepting a French protectorate and thereby supplanting the authority of the other sultanates (Walker 2019, Walker 2022).

04/09/1908 End Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of France, Semidemocracy]/Start Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy]: On this date, France declared the Comoros a single territory (Mayotte and Dependencies) and attached it to the colony of Madagascar.<sup>795</sup> In 1909, Sultan Said Muhamed of Ndzwani relinquished his position in favor of French governance. Three years later, in 1912, the colony and protectorates were dissolved, leading to the islands becoming a province of the Madagascar colony.<sup>796</sup> The three islands (Ngazidja, Ndzuwani, Mohéli) which were proclaimed protectorates of France, were annexed by France in 1912 and joined with Mayotte and Dependencies in 1912. With neighboring Mayotte, they were administratively attached to Madagascar in 1914 (Turner 2005) and placed under the administration of the governor general of Madagascar.<sup>797</sup> The four islands were separated in 1947, when Comoros became a French overseas territory with a higher level of administrative autonomy and the entitlement to vote for one senator and one deputy to represent them in the French legislature in Paris. (Ciment 2007). This period is coded as colonial rule. Under colonial rule, universal suffrage for Comorians aged 21 and older was implemented through the Loi Cadre of 1956. This was first applied in the elections for the Territorial Assembly (Assemblée Territoriale) in 1957 (Thibaut 1999a: 246). On 12/01/1961 after the Comorian people chose to remain in the French Union by referendum, they were granted internal self-governance in 1961.

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<sup>795</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Said\\_Ali\\_bin\\_Said\\_Omar\\_of\\_Grande\\_Comore](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Said_Ali_bin_Said_Omar_of_Grande_Comore)

<sup>796</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comoros>

<sup>797</sup> <https://2009-2017.state.gov/outofdate/bgn/comoros/26153.htm>

There was a chamber of Deputies, which in turn elected a territorial president (Ciment 2007, Gaspart 1979, Turner 2005). In referendums held on each island on 12/22/1974, the three western islands voted for independence, while Mayotte voted to remain French (Ciment 2007, Gaspart 1979, Turner 2005). It is unclear to what extent the Comoros were able to determine their own internal affairs during this period. Due to the unclear factual situation, the Comoros were classified as a colony until independence.

07/06/1975 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, the Comorian parliament passed a resolution asserting independence. Ahmed Abdallah, leader of the Comoros Democratic Union, who had been elected in 1972 as president of the government council and Chief Minister of the Comoros, in turn, declared the establishment of the Comorian State and assumed the role of its inaugural president. The French government officially acknowledged the newly formed state.<sup>798</sup> Upon gaining independence, there were five prominent political parties: OUDZIMA, UMMA, the Comoro People's Democratic Rally, the Comoro National Liberation Movement, and the Socialist Objective Party.<sup>799</sup> As it is quite common for a former colonial regime, the Comoros had a well-structured system of government, but it was built on an extremely shallow foundation. Organized political groups and written political communications systems are virtually non-existent, suggesting a population that lacks experience and inclination towards participatory politics. (Ostheimer 1973: 497). Therefore, we code this very short regime period as a semidemocracy.

08/03/1975 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: President Ahmed Abdallah was overthrown by Bob Denard, a French mercenary working for Said Jaffar leading a group of six opposition parties.<sup>800</sup> Jaffar seated himself at the head of the National Council of the Revolution. Said Mohamed Jaffar, who emerged as the leader following the coup, was not a military officer himself. Instead, he was a political figure and a member of the United National Front. However, there was a strong involvement of military figures and mercenaries in its establishment and governance. Since the regime started by a military coup and there was a junta the regime is coded as a military autocracy.

01/02/1976 End Military Autocracy/Start Military [Rebel] Autocracy: On this date the Revolutionary Council of State headed by Ali Soilih, a Comorian socialist revolutionary, was established to govern the country. Soilih obtained significant authority under the provisions of a newly established constitution and was endorsed in a referendum with 95 percent of the vote

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<sup>798</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comoros#European\\_contact\\_and\\_French\\_colonisation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comoros#European_contact_and_French_colonisation);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed\\_Abdallah](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed_Abdallah)

<sup>799</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_the\\_Comoros](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_the_Comoros)

<sup>800</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Comoros/Government-and-society>

on 10/28/1977.<sup>801</sup> He implemented socialist economic policies.<sup>802</sup> Soilih founded the 'Moissy,' a revolutionary youth militia trained under the guidance of Tanzanian military advisors. The Moissy represented a Comorian adaptation of Mao Zedong's Red Guards.<sup>803</sup> According to Encyclopedia Britannica Soilih “attempted to convert the country into a secular, socialist republic.”<sup>804</sup> Due to the short period of time it remains unclear if the regime clearly would have been communist. Therefore, we classify it as a military (rebel) autocracy.

05/13/1978 End Military [Rebel] Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Abdallah, who had been residing in exile in Paris, France, was the figurehead of a coup orchestrated by mercenary Bob Denard on 05/13/1978. Initially, Said Atthoumani assumed the position of "Chairman of the Politico-Military Directorate" for a brief period, after which Abdallah and Mohamed Ahmed took on the roles of "Co-Chairmen of the Politico-Military Directorate." On 07/22, their titles were modified to "Co-Chairmen of the Directorate," and on 10/03, Abdallah became the sole chairman. However, Abdallah held little actual power and was essentially a puppet leader, while the true ruler of Comoros was Denard, who served as the commander of the Presidential Guard.<sup>805</sup>

11/27/1989 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime: On this date President Ahmed Abdallah was assassinated. Denard is widely believed to have had Abdallah assassinated after Abdallah attempted to dismiss him as the commander of the Presidential Guard. During Denard's 1999 trial in Paris for Abdallah's murder, he claimed that Abdallah was actually killed by Abdallah Jaffar during a coup led by Said Mohamed Djohar, the half-brother of Ali Soilih. However, Denard was acquitted due to a lack of evidence, as the judge deemed the prosecution's case against Denard as circumstantial. The day after the assassination, Djohar took control of the country. Denard tried to prevent Djohar from assuming the presidency, but France, deployed military forces to peacefully remove Denard and his mercenaries from Comoros.<sup>806</sup> “An interim government led by Chief of the Supreme Court Mohammed Djohar orchestrated competitive elections in March 1990 (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 20).

03/04/1990 End Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, presidential elections were held, followed by a second round on 03/11. Originally

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<sup>801</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/comoros-1975-present/>

<sup>802</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali\\_Soilih](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_Soilih)

<sup>803</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali\\_Soilih](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_Soilih)

<sup>804</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Comoros/Government-and-society>

<sup>805</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed\\_Abdallah#Second\\_presidency](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed_Abdallah#Second_presidency)

<sup>806</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed\\_Abdallah#Assassination](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed_Abdallah#Assassination)

scheduled for January, the elections were delayed, leading to protests.<sup>807</sup> Elections were initially held on 02/18 but were invalidated due to severe fraud (Thibaut 1999a: 244-245). Despite Mohamed Taki Abdoukarim from the opposition National Union for Democracy in the Comoros receiving the most votes in the first round, the incumbent President Said Mohamed Djohar of the Comorian Union for Progress emerged as the winner with 55% of the vote in the second round. These elections marked the first multi-party elections in the Comoros since gaining independence.<sup>808</sup> A National Constitutional Conference was established in beginning of 1992. More than 20 parties participated. The constitution was approved on 06/07/1992 via referendum. On 11/22 and 11/29/1992 parliamentary elections were held. They were considered free and fair, although irregularities led to the repetition of the election in five constituencies (Thibaut 1999a: 245). The two major parties, Union for Progress and the National Union for Democracy in the Comoros, boycotted the elections, since the government had refused to update voting lists and to end the detention of major political figures.<sup>809</sup> On 06/18/1993 Djohar dissolved the parliament and called for new elections. The parliamentary elections on 12/12 and 12/20/ 1993 were characterized by organizational irregularities. Nearly all opposition parties boycotted the second round. Overall, this period was marked by unstable political conditions (Thibaut 1999a: 245).

09/28/1995 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional Regime: Bob Denard struck a fourth time, this time overthrowing the regime of President Said Djohar. Djohar was imprisoned by Denard and his band of mercenaries for several days.<sup>810</sup>

Within a week of the coup, on 10/05/1995 a French military intervention averted the breakdown of the constitutional order(Thibaut 1999a) and forced the removal of Abdoukarim, the interim president installed by Denard. Prime Minister El-Yachroutu became acting president from 10/05/1995 until the return of Djohar on 01/26/1996.<sup>811</sup> Djohar spent the meantime until his return in January 1996 in exile in Réunion (Thibaut 1999a). We classify the whole period, including the coup attempt by Denard as Non-electoral Transitional Regime, because Denard was not part of the military. His allegiance was not bound to one state, it rather shifted during his lifetime several times. During his coup attempt the constitutional order did not collapse. Therefore, we do not classify the coup period separately as military autocracy or no central authority.

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<sup>807</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990\\_Comorian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990_Comorian_presidential_election)

<sup>808</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990\\_Comorian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990_Comorian_presidential_election)

<sup>809</sup> [http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2069\\_92.htm](http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2069_92.htm)

<sup>810</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Said\\_Mohamed\\_Djohar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Said_Mohamed_Djohar)

<sup>811</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Comoros#1989%E2%80%931996](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Comoros#1989%E2%80%931996)



03/06/1996 End Non-electoral Transitional Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date presidential elections took place, followed by a second round on 03/16. Mohamed Taki Abdoukarim emerged as the victor, despite having come in second during the 1990 elections, where he had secured the highest number of votes in the first round. Abdoukarim had previously served as the acting President in October 1995, following a failed coup led by Bob Denard (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 74-75).<sup>812</sup> Soon after his inauguration he began to restructure the political system towards Islamic authoritarianism. On 04/12/1996 he dissolved the Federal Assembly. A committee was supposed to draft a new constitution. The opposition boycotted the committee (Thibaut 1999a). Ratified through a referendum on 10/20/1996, the reform narrowed party eligibility to those winning a minimum of two seats on each island in parliamentary elections. Furthermore, it strengthened the President's influence in various areas, including government formation, the appointment of governors, and the removal of restrictions on re-election(Thibaut 1999a). On 11/06/1998 after the death of Abdoukarim, he was succeeded by Interim President Tadjidine Ben Said Massoude.

04/30/1999 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Prime Minister Massoude decided to delay mandatory elections and was subsequently ousted in a military coup. General Assoumani chaired the government afterwards. On 12/23/2001 a new constitution was approved by referendum, creating the Union of Comoros.<sup>813</sup>

03/10/2002 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: The initial presidential elections held under the new constitution took place on two dates, namely 03/10 and 04/14/2002. In the primary election held on 03/10 on Grande Comore Island, Azali Assoumani emerged as the top candidate out of a pool of nine contenders, securing 39.81% of the total votes. Mahamoud Mradabi and Saïd Ali Kemal also qualified for the second round by obtaining 15.69% and 10.68% of the votes, respectively. However, Mradabi and Kemal claimed that there were irregularities during the primary and opted to boycott the subsequent poll on 04/14. Consequently, Azali Assoumani secured around 80% of the votes as the only candidate, thereby winning the election.<sup>814</sup> First legislative (parliamentary) elections under the new constitution were held on 04/18/2004.<sup>815</sup> On 11/07/2010 presidential elections were held. Dhoinine was elected with 61 percent of the vote on 12/26 in the candidate run-off. The opposition alleged fraud and called for protests. International observers described the polls as 'generally free and fair' but also cited irregularities in the balloting. Several high-level were involved in substantial

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<sup>812</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1996\\_Comorian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1996_Comorian_presidential_election)

<sup>813</sup> <https://www.rulers.org/rulc3.html#comoros>

<sup>814</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006\\_Comorian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006_Comorian_presidential_election)

<sup>815</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2004\\_Comorian\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2004_Comorian_legislative_election)

corruption scandals leading to a cabinet reshuffle in 2013 (Lansford 2021:354). Protests broke out after the first round of the 2015 parliamentary elections and eight protesters were shot by police during the uprising. President Azali was re-elected in 2019 in elections not considered as free nor fair and was boycotted by the opposition. Moreover, international election monitors (including from the AU) reported that the contest was defined significant irregularities. Additionally, journalists continue to face harassment, intimidation, and arbitrary arrests.<sup>816</sup> He won a fourth term in the January 2024 elections, which saw a turnout of 16% amid an opposition boycott.<sup>817</sup>

Electoral autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

### **Congo-Brazzaville**

[Officially known as the Republic of the Congo]

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 08/01/1886]: On 08/01/1886 the republic of the Congo became the Colony of Gabon and Congo. On 04/30/1891 it became the colony of French Congo (Middle Congo and Gabon). On 01/15/1910 Middle Congo, Gabon, and Oubangui-Chari-Tchad (from 1916 Oubangui-Chari and Chad) form French Equatorial Africa (AEF). From 01/30/1934 to 12/31/1937, the region is within unitary AEF colony. On 11/28/1958 autonomy was gained as Republic of the Congo.

08/15/1960 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy: Under the leadership of Youlou, the UDDIA government gained independence, winning 84% of seats with 58% of the vote in the last pre-independence election. However, gerrymandering and other manipulations and repressions carried out by the pre-independence Youlou government resulted in de facto single-party rule (Byers/Bourgoin 2003, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 55).<sup>818</sup>

08/15/1963 End Electoral Autocracy/Start One-Party Autocracy: The small army, led by mostly French officers and NCOs, withdrew support from the government and transferred power to Massamba-Debat, who had been the president of the National Assembly before President Youlou forced him to resign (Decalo 1976: 140, 147-148).

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<sup>816</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/comoros/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>817</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-68002934>

<sup>818</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5RepCongo2018.pdf>

08/04/1968 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: President Massamba-Debat was overthrown in a short-lived coup. Poignet was sworn in as an interim president for one day before Massamba-Debat was allowed to return to power.

09/04/1968 End Military Autocracy/Start Communist Ideocracy: The civilian president Alphonse Massamba-Debat resigned. Prime Minister Alfred Raoul served as acting head of state until 12/31/1968, when the CNR formally became the country's supreme authority and Captain Marien Ngouabi, as head of the CNR, assumed the presidency, leaving control in the hands of Ngouabi, who had gradually taken control of the government and defeated paramilitary forces loyal to the president during the preceding two months (Decalo 1976: 152-155).<sup>819</sup> Upon assuming office, President Ngouabi renamed the nation as the People's Republic of the Congo, proclaiming it as Africa's inaugural Marxist–Leninist state. Additionally, he established the Congolese Workers' Party (Parti Congolais du Travail, PCT) as the exclusive legal political entity in the country.<sup>820</sup>

02/25/1991 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime: The National Conference declared its sovereignty, which Sassou-Nguesso accepted, but faced demonstrations and widespread popular opposition. Eventually, Sassou-Nguesso and the PCT agreed to a National Conference where the opposition had control. The Conference selected Andre Milongo, a former World Bank official, to lead the interim government that would oversee the transition to democracy (Clark 1994: 50-53, Clark 1997a: 68, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 55, Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 21-22).

07/19/1992 End Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: The transition was completed with the victory of one of the opposition parties in the multi-party legislative and presidential elections held in June and July 1992 (Clark 1994: 50-53, Clark 1997a: 68, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 55, Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 22). “The Pan-African Union for Social Democracy (UPADS) - led by Pascal Lissouba, who won the presidential election - won a plurality of seats.<sup>821</sup> He formed a government in coalition with the PCT. The third political force (Mouvement Congolais pour la Démocratie et le Développement Intégral, MCDDI) formed a oppositional coalition (Union for Democratic Renewal, URD) under the leadership of Bernard Kolélas (Fleischhacker 1999a).<sup>822</sup> Even with organizational challenges and delays, the transition process led to what seemed like a peaceful transfer of

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<sup>819</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1968\\_Republic\\_of\\_the\\_Congo\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1968_Republic_of_the_Congo_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>820</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marien\\_Ngouabi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marien_Ngouabi)

<sup>821</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992\\_Republic\\_of\\_the\\_Congo\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992_Republic_of_the_Congo_parliamentary_election)

<sup>822</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992\\_Republic\\_of\\_the\\_Congo\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992_Republic_of_the_Congo_parliamentary_election); [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Union\\_for\\_Democratic\\_Renewal\\_\(Republic\\_of\\_the\\_Congo\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Union_for_Democratic_Renewal_(Republic_of_the_Congo))

power. However, shortly after the installation of the new government, its fresh institutions became gridlocked due to conflicting elite interests (Fleischhacker 1999a). Essentially the political sphere was a tripolar system, consisting of MCDDI with the URD, UPADS and PCT. These parties were fundamentally opposed, and each aimed for supremacy. Because of a conflict about minister posts, the PCT joined the URD and therefore formed an anti-government coalition, which nominated its own Prime Minister. This conflict resulted in the dissolution of the National Assembly and new parliamentary elections in June 1993. The military was forced to intervene, to force the parties to build a national unity government in the meantime (Fleischhacker 1999a). On 05/02 and 06/03/ 1993 parliamentary elections were held. The first round resulted in a victory for the UPADS and Pascal Lissouba. The opposition boycotted the second round and raised allegations of electoral fraud. The first Brazzaville-Congolese Civil War, which lasted from 11/02/1993 till 01/30/1994, broke out because of these unresolved claims of fraud.<sup>823</sup> The groundwork for a peaceful resolution was later established through the selective conduct of new elections, designed to rectify the shortcomings of the 1993 elections (Fleischhacker 1999a). Due to the severe deficits in the electoral process, which even resulted in violence, we classify this period as electoral autocracy.

10/14/1997 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime:: Insurgents led by former president Sassou-Nguesso, who represented northern ethnic groups, succeeded in overthrowing a civilian government headed by Pascal Lissouba, with the backing of southern ethnic groups (French 1997, Bazenguissa-Ganga 1998, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 55). The militias launched a civil war against the regime. Shortly thereafter Nguesso declared himself president. Although Lissouba fled and Nguesso consolidated, fighting persisted for several years. Sassou-Nguesso named a new, broadly representative transitional government but abolished the position of prime minister and initially reserved the defense portfolio for himself (Lansford 2021: 377). From 01/05 to 01/14/1998, the government organized the National Forum for Reconciliation, Unity, Democracy, and the Reconstruction of the Congo. Over 1,400 participants attended the forum, although a majority of them were affiliated with parties or organizations associated with the FDU. The forum approved a "flexible" three-year transition plan towards democracy, which involved the drafting of a new constitution and conducting a national constitutional referendum. Subsequently, presidential and legislative elections were set to take place after this transition period (Lansford 2021:377). On 12/25/1999 peace agreements were signed under the auspices of President Omar Bongo of

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<sup>823</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic\\_of\\_the\\_Congo\\_Civil\\_War\\_\(1993%E2%80%931994\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_the_Congo_Civil_War_(1993%E2%80%931994))

Gabon, ending the civil war, leaving 8.000-10.000 dead, around 800.000 displaced persons and a devastated country.<sup>824</sup> Some areas of the country were still under militia control, in January 2001 the government announced a “non-exclusive national dialogue” on a draft constitution, the peace plan, and national reconstruction. A constitutional draft was prepared and approved by the National Transition Council in September. The new basic law, which retained a strong presidency and a bicameral parliament, was endorsed by 84 percent of the voters in a public referendum on 01/20/2002 (Lansford 2021: 378). We classify this period as non-electoral transitional (multiparty) regime because the government of Sassou-Nguesso and the National Transition Council, which replaced an elected legislature, were formed without an electoral process. This period only ended with the presidential elections in 2002.

03/10/2002 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: Presidential elections on this date mark the end of the transition period. Sassou-Nguesso, was elected for a seven-year term in the first presidential elections after the second civil war with low opposition participation. He gained 89.4 percent of the vote. Parliamentary elections were held on 05/26 and 06/20/2002 during which the president’s PCT and the allied FDU won 83 seats, while indirect elections for the 66-seat Senate on 07/11 produced an even greater majority for the government (Lansford 2021:378). Serious irregularities were reported by the EU Election Observation Mission but did not impact the result.<sup>825</sup> Sassou-Nguesso was re-elected in 2009, 2016 and 2021, although he exhausted the two-term limit imposed by the previous constitution. However, a new constitution passed by referendum in 2015 allowed him to stand for re-election. Sassou-Nguesso now holds office for nearly 40 years based on repression of opposition. The recent elections on 03/21/2021 saw a boycott from an opposition group, voter intimidation and shutdown of the internet.<sup>826</sup>

Electoral autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Bernault 1996, Decalo 1998)

Cote D'Ivoire: see Ivory Coast

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<sup>824</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic\\_of\\_the\\_Congo\\_Civil\\_War\\_\(1997%E2%80%931999\)#:~:text=The%20elections%20concluded%20with%20Pan,PCT\)%20Sassou%20Nguesso%20running%20third](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_the_Congo_Civil_War_(1997%E2%80%931999)#:~:text=The%20elections%20concluded%20with%20Pan,PCT)%20Sassou%20Nguesso%20running%20third)

<sup>825</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2002\\_Republic\\_of\\_the\\_Congo\\_presidential\\_election#:~:text=Elected%20President&text=Sassou%20Nguesso%2C%20standing%20as%20the,a%20field%20of%20minor%20challengers.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2002_Republic_of_the_Congo_presidential_election#:~:text=Elected%20President&text=Sassou%20Nguesso%2C%20standing%20as%20the,a%20field%20of%20minor%20challengers.)

<sup>826</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/republic-congo/freedom-world/2022>

## **Congo-Kinshasa**

[Officially known as the Democratic Republic of Congo; formerly known as Zaire (1971 to 1997)]

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [Start: 02/26/1885]: On 02/26/1885, the Berlin Conference recognized the sovereignty and independence of the International Association of the Congo (Willoughby/Fenwick 1974, Oppenheim/Roxburgh 1920). Later in the same year, Belgian King Léopold II became head of the Congo Free State as sovereign and declared it neutral (Willoughby/Fenwick 1974). Since in this period Congo-Kinshasa was directly ruled by Belgian King Léopold II in an absolutist manner we classify it as an absolutist monarchy and not a colony of Belgium. Since the whole territory was treated as a personal property it is an extreme case of an absolutist monarchy.<sup>827</sup>

11/15/1908 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Colonial Regime [of Belgium, Constitutional Monarchy]: On this date, the Congo Free State was annexed by Belgium and became the Belgian Congo (Willoughby/Fenwick 1974). The Congo Free State was merged by cession into Belgium and thus lost its status as a sovereign and independent member of the Family of Nations (Oppenheim/Roxburgh 1920). In 1957, universal suffrage was introduced (LIED). The Belgo-Congolese Round Table Conference held in January 1960 decided on a provisional constitution the Loi Fondamentale. It implemented a federalist parliamentary system led by a strong dual executive, but it faltered in adequately delineating the roles of the President and Prime Minister (Schmidt/Stroux 1999).<sup>828</sup> On 05/22/1960, in order to create a government to rule the country following independence as the Republic of the Congo, general elections were held. The formal electoral campaign commenced on 05/11, overshadowed by chaos and acts of violence. Competing parties utilized tactics ranging from intimidation and sabotage of opponents' headquarters to outright murder. Such coercion was particularly rampant in regions heavily influenced by militant factions aligned with various parties.<sup>829</sup> The Mouvement National Congolais – Lumumba (MNC-L) won the majority of seats in Parliament. Patrice Émery Lumumba was confirmed as Prime Minister. Additionally, a senate was set up. The two chambers elected Joseph Kasa-Vubu as President.<sup>830</sup> This duality led to conflict between the conservative Kasa-Vubu and the leftist Prime Minister Lumumba.<sup>831</sup>

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<sup>827</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo\\_Free\\_State](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo_Free_State)

<sup>828</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960\\_Belgian\\_Congo\\_general\\_election#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960_Belgian_Congo_general_election#)

<sup>829</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960\\_Belgian\\_Congo\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960_Belgian_Congo_general_election)

<sup>830</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960\\_Belgian\\_Congo\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960_Belgian_Congo_general_election)

<sup>831</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph\\_Kasa-Vubu](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Kasa-Vubu)

06/30/1960 End Colonial Regime [of Belgium, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy [as independent country]: On this date, the Belgian Congo gained independence as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Crawford 2006: 56-57). The coalition government led by Lumumba, which was elected in May of the same year, assumed power.<sup>832</sup> Joseph Kasa-Vubu became president. Lumumba was the leader of the Congolese National Movement (MNC), Kasa-Vubu represented Abako (Alliance des Ba-Kongo). On 07/05/1960, soldiers began to mutiny against their white commanders. The insurrection spread across the country. This marked the beginning of the so-called Congo Crisis.<sup>833</sup> On 07/11/1960, the wealthy Katanga province declared its independence from the Republic of the Congo, followed in August by South Kasai province.<sup>834</sup> Shortly after Belgium's departure from Congo, the government collapsed. On 07/15/1960, UN troops arrived in the country. The UN sent a mission to the Congo in order to fill the power vacuum. It took over administrative prerogatives in the Congo between 1960 and 1964 (Wilde 2001). Patrice Lumumba appealed for Soviet support. This led to a political split within the government. On 09/05/1960, Kasa-Vubu announced to the public that he had unilaterally dismissed Lumumba. The latter was not able to gather support for a dismissal of Kasa-Vubu, initiating a constitutional deadlock.<sup>835</sup>

09/14/1960 End Electoral Autocracy [as International Mandate]/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a bloodless military coup led by Colonel Joseph Mobutu ousted Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba to overcome the political deadlock (Lemarchand 1993, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 55). He initially replaced both Lumumba and Kasa-Vubu with a College of Commissioners-General. Lumumba was put under house arrest and Kasa-Vubu resumed office in February 1961.<sup>836</sup> Over the ensuing five-year period, Kasa-Vubu presided over a series of ineffectual administrations.<sup>837</sup> Lumumba escaped house arrest and fled to Stanleyville where he hoped to rally support. He was captured on 12/01/1960.<sup>838</sup>

02/09/1961 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: The Soviets proposed a resolution to the UN Security Council demanding Lumumba's immediate release. The resolution failed on 12/14/1960. Lumumba was tortured and ultimately handed over to Katangese forces by whom he was executed near Élisabethville on 01/17/1961.<sup>839</sup> Due to an

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<sup>832</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patrice\\_Lumumba](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patrice_Lumumba)

<sup>833</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo\\_Crisis#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo_Crisis#)

<sup>834</sup> <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1961-1968/congo-decolonization>

<sup>835</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo\\_Crisis#Political\\_disintegration](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo_Crisis#Political_disintegration)

<sup>836</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo\\_Crisis#Killing\\_of\\_Lumumba](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo_Crisis#Killing_of_Lumumba)

<sup>837</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph\\_Kasa-Vubu](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Kasa-Vubu)

<sup>838</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo\\_Crisis#Killing\\_of\\_Lumumba](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo_Crisis#Killing_of_Lumumba)

<sup>839</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo\\_Crisis#Killing\\_of\\_Lumumba](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo_Crisis#Killing_of_Lumumba)

escalation of the situation in the Southern Provinces, the United Nations occupied South Kasai in April 1962. On 10/05/1962, government troops arrived in Bakwanga after a coup and helped end the South Kasai secession. On 12/24/1962, UN troops and the Katangese Gendarmerie clashed in Élisabethville. After a month of fighting, Tshombe surrendered on 01/17/1963 marking the end of the Katangese secession.<sup>840</sup> An attempt at political reconciliation followed the end of the Katangese secession. Negotiations culminated in the Luluabourg Constitution which elevated the powers of the president and ended the joint consultations between the president and the prime minister. Additionally, it increased the autonomy of the newly defined 21 provinces.<sup>841</sup> At the same time, political opposition was forming from exile in the neighboring Congo – Brazzaville. On 10/03/1963, the Comité National de Libération (CNL) was founded by Christophe Gbenye and Gaston Soumialot, both exiled Lumumbists.<sup>842</sup> This marked the beginning of the Simba Rebellion. Soumialot's army invaded South Kivu in late 1963 and took Uvira on 05/15/1964 with Fizi following shortly after. Additionally, Gbenye's forces were taking over in the North and a third rebel group, independent of Gbenye and Soumialot, was revolting in Northern Katanga. By late 1964, the rebels had taken control of most of the North-Eastern territory.<sup>843</sup> They founded a rival socialist state named People's Republic of the Congo with a government in Stanleyville. Gbenye became President of the new State which was supported among others by China, the Soviet Union, Cuba and Tanzania.<sup>844</sup> Parallely, the new Luluabourg Constitution was approved in a constitutional referendum which ended on 07/10/1964. As a consequence, the country's name was changed to Democratic Republic of the Congo.<sup>845</sup> Kasa-Vubu appointed Tshombe as interim prime minister. The parliament was dissolved, and new elections were scheduled for 03/10/1965.<sup>846</sup> The rebels began to face local resistance and by the end of August 1964 they were losing territory to the Armée Nationale Congolaise (ANC). Tshombe engaged several mercenaries which were backed by the CIA. As a last attempt at remaining in control, the rebels held the remaining white population of Stanleyville hostage in November 1964. Within the framework of Operation Dragon Rouge, Belgian paratroops landed in Stanleyville on 11/24/1964 and quickly retrieved the hostages. Nevertheless, around 70 hostages and 1000 Congolese civilians were

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<sup>840</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo\\_Crisis#United\\_Nations\\_escalation\\_and\\_the\\_end\\_of\\_the\\_Katangese\\_secession](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo_Crisis#United_Nations_escalation_and_the_end_of_the_Katangese_secession)

<sup>841</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luluabourg\\_Constitution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luluabourg_Constitution)

<sup>842</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Simba\\_rebellion#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Simba_rebellion#)

<sup>843</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Simba\\_rebellion#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Simba_rebellion#)

<sup>844</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo\\_Crisis#Kwilu\\_and\\_Simba\\_rebellions](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo_Crisis#Kwilu_and_Simba_rebellions)

<sup>845</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo\\_Crisis#Attempted\\_political\\_reconciliation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo_Crisis#Attempted_political_reconciliation)

<sup>846</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo\\_Crisis#Attempted\\_political\\_reconciliation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo_Crisis#Attempted_political_reconciliation)



killed during the operation. While the aim of the paratroopers was not to drive the rebels out of Stanleyville, the intervention broke the last stronghold of the rebels. The leaders of the Simba Rebellion went into exile. Belgium was accused of neocolonialism in light of the intervention. Tshombe lost the support of Kasa-Vubu and Mobutu and was dismissed in October 1965.<sup>847</sup> Meanwhile elections had been held between 03/18/1965 and 04/30/1965.<sup>848</sup> Tshombe's party, the Convention Nationale Congolaise (CONACO) won the majority of the seats but many of the members soon formed the Front Démocratique Congolais (FDC). This put the government and parliament in a political deadlock.<sup>849</sup> The regime in this period is classified as an electoral autocracy, as it is a continuation of the post-independence period. President Kasa-Vubu, legitimized by elections, held office with various unstable governments until 1965.

11/24/1965 End Electoral Autocracy /Start Military Autocracy: On this date, commander of the armed forces Major General Joseph-Désiré Mobutu, who named himself Mobutu Sese Seko, dissolved the civilian regime and proclaimed himself president of the Second Republic (Lansford 2021: 361). The bloodless coup was an attempt to overcome the political deadlock which had established itself after the 1965 elections. Mobutu installed a "régime d'exception" amounting to a state of emergency, declaring that democracy would return after five years.<sup>850</sup> Following the coup in 1965, the regime established by Mobutu Sese Seko in the Democratic Republic of Congo (then Zaire) was not characterized by a traditional military junta where power is shared among several high-ranking military officers. Instead, Mobutu, as the major general of the armed forces, centralized power around himself and maintained direct control over the government. Mobutu's regime was from the coup on more of a personalist autocracy rather than a collective military rule.

05/20/1967 End Military Autocracy/Start Personalist Autocracy: On this date, General Mobutu Sese Seko founded the Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR).<sup>851</sup> From the moment of its foundation, it was established as the de facto sole political party. Between 06/04/1967 and 06/16/1967, a constitutional referendum was held to adopt a new constitution proposed by Mobutu which was approved by 97.8% of voters.<sup>852</sup> It included the centralization of all power onto the president, the abolition of the limit on presidential terms and limited the number of political parties to two.<sup>853</sup> The MPR was the only party allowed to nominate candidates in

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<sup>847</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo\\_Crisis#Suppression\\_and\\_Belgian\\_and\\_American\\_intervention](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo_Crisis#Suppression_and_Belgian_and_American_intervention)

<sup>848</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1965\\_Democratic\\_Republic\\_of\\_the\\_Congo\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1965_Democratic_Republic_of_the_Congo_general_election)

<sup>849</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo\\_Crisis#Second\\_Mobutu\\_coup\\_d'%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo_Crisis#Second_Mobutu_coup_d'%C3%A9tat)

<sup>850</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo\\_Crisis#Second\\_Mobutu\\_coup\\_d'%C3%A9tatia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congo_Crisis#Second_Mobutu_coup_d'%C3%A9tatia)

<sup>851</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Popular\\_Movement\\_of\\_the\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Popular_Movement_of_the_Revolution)

<sup>852</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1967\\_Democratic\\_Republic\\_of\\_the\\_Congo\\_constitutional\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1967_Democratic_Republic_of_the_Congo_constitutional_referendum)

<sup>853</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaire#Constitutional\\_changes](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaire#Constitutional_changes)

presidential and parliamentary elections held in November 1970. The party had no real ideology other than support for Mobutu. As such, it disappeared in short order when Mobutu was overthrown by Laurent-Désiré Kabila in 1997, during the First Congo War.<sup>854</sup> This is why this period is coded as a personalist rather than a one-party autocracy. Mobutu dominated Zaire's political life and claimed the title "father of the nation". He adopted a policy of "authenticité" which aimed at a "Zaireanization" of the country and required all Zairians to adopt "authentic names". Mobutu renamed himself as Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu Wa Za Banga which translates roughly to "the all-conquering warrior who goes from triumph to triumph."<sup>855</sup> In 1971, Mobutu changed the name of the country to Republic of Zaire, Zaire being the original name of the Congo River which had changed over time and translation into English.<sup>856</sup> The new constitution of Zaire was promulgated on 08/15/1974. It solidified Mobutu's dictatorial control over the country and codified the MPR as the only legal party in the country. Mobutism was made state ideology and state power was defined as an extension of Mobutu's power.<sup>857</sup> The late 1970s were marked by invasions and battles with communist Katangese guerilla forces. While Zaire remained a one-party state during the 1980s, opposition was beginning to become more active.<sup>858</sup> It has to be noted that we only code regimes as personalist autocracies if the ruler has (almost) no constraints. This means "unlimited authority" in terms of Polity5. Until the 1990s, there is no doubt that this was the case during Mobutu's rule. However, Mobutu faced popular unrest and discontent in the population in 1990 that led him to announce an end to the one-party system and promise the introduction of a multi-party system which, however, was suspended for a substantial period. Upset in the population led to a confrontation at the University of Lubumbashi on 05/11/1990, during which more than 50 student protesters were reportedly killed (Knutsen/Nygård 2015, Lansford 2021: 361-362). Within a year, Zaire saw the rise of over 100 parties, split into three main groups: the Mobutu bloc, led by the MPR; the anti-Mobutu bloc, led by UDPS, UFERI, and PDSC; and various smaller parties without clear stances. The anti-Mobutu coalition pushed for a National Conference, forming the Union Sacrée in July 1991. The Conference, led by Archbishop Laurent Monsengwo, became the battleground between Mobutu's camp and the opposition. Etienne Tshisekedi of UDPS becoming Prime Minister in August 1992 marked a step toward democratization. A transitional

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<sup>854</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mobutu\\_Sese\\_Seko#Second\\_coup\\_and\\_consolidation\\_of\\_power](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mobutu_Sese_Seko#Second_coup_and_consolidation_of_power);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Popular\\_Movement\\_of\\_the\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Popular_Movement_of_the_Revolution)

<sup>855</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaire#Mobutu>

<sup>856</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaire#Etymology>

<sup>857</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_Zaire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Zaire)

<sup>858</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaire#Growing\\_conflict](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaire#Growing_conflict)

constitution was adopted, limiting the President's powers and reinforcing human rights. However, Mobutu dismissed Tshisekedi's government illegally in December 1992, maintaining control through a mix of reforms and repression. In 1993, political deadlock led to duplicated institutions. Eventually, negotiations merged the Parliaments into the HCR-PT, dominated by pro-Mobutu forces. An interim constitution in April 1994 allowed Mobutu to remain in power. With French support, Kengo wa Dondo became Prime Minister in June 1994 as a compromise candidate (Schmidt/Stroux 1999). These last years of Mobutu's presidency can therefore no longer be clearly classified as personalist, and yet no reclassification is possible. There were still no multi-party or multi-candidate elections, Mobutu retained power despite the onset of transformative processes and could ultimately only be deposed by force in the course of the First Congo War. On 10/29/1996, Kinshasa declared a state of emergency in North and South Kivu as theretofore sporadic firefights between Rwandan and Zairean regular forces escalated into intense cross-border shelling (Lansford 2021: 363). Starting from the eastern region of Zaire, rebels, with assistance from foreign government forces led by President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda and Rwandan Minister of Defense Paul Kagame, initiated an attack with the aim of ousting Mobutu from power. They joined forces with local individuals who opposed Mobutu, rallying behind Laurent-Désiré Kabila, and together they advanced westward toward Kinshasa. The rebellion gained momentum and received support from Burundi and Angola, eventually evolving into the First Congo War.<sup>859</sup> .

05/17/1997 End Personalist Autocracy/ Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime:  
On 05/23/1997, Zaire was renamed the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Kabila took the presidential oath of office on 05/17/1997, his forces known as the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL), proclaimed victory against Mobutu on 05/29/1997. He announced that there would be a delay of two years before elections, stating that it would require at least that amount of time for him to establish order.<sup>860</sup> Therefore, he promised a referendum on a new constitution by the end of 1998 and new legislative and presidential elections by April 1999. Throughout his tenure, Kabila wielded both executive and legislative authority through the Alliance of Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire coalition<sup>861</sup>. On 08/02/1998, a rebellion broke out among the Banyamulenge community in Goma.<sup>862</sup> A cease-fire agreement was signed in July 1999, but renewed fighting quickly broke

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<sup>859</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mobutu\\_Sese\\_Seko#Second\\_coup\\_and\\_consolidation\\_of\\_power](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mobutu_Sese_Seko#Second_coup_and_consolidation_of_power)

<sup>860</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Laurent-D%C3%A9sir%C3%A9\\_Kabila#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Laurent-D%C3%A9sir%C3%A9_Kabila#)

<sup>861</sup> <https://www.refworld.org/reference/annualreport/freehou/1999/en/95272>

<sup>862</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second\\_Congo\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Congo_War)

out between the RCD factions. Kabila was shot on 01/16/2001 and on 01/24/2001 Kabila's son, Major General Joseph Kabila, former chief of staff, was selected by the transitional legislature installed by Laurent Kabila in August 2000 to succeed his father (Lansford 2021: 364). UN peacekeepers (MONUSCO) were deployed by the UNSC. On 04/07/2003, Joseph Kabila was sworn in as transitional president.<sup>863</sup> By June 2003 all foreign armies except those of Rwanda had pulled out of Congo. A transitional government was set up until after the election. On 05/05/2005, the transitional legislature approved the draft of a new constitution (Lansford 2021: 365).

07/30/2006 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, the first round of presidential elections as well as the parliamentary elections took place. These were the first in 41 years after the overthrow of Mobuto. The elections themselves were relatively peaceful, however, chaos regarding the results led to armed clashes.<sup>864</sup> On 10/29/2006, run-off presidential elections were held after no candidate had been able to secure a majority in the first round.<sup>865</sup> International Observers described the elections as generally "free and fair" (Lansford 2021: 365). Joseph Kabila emerged victorious from the run-off election, but these results were rejected by Bemba. The Supreme Court declared the result to be rightful on 11/27/2006.<sup>866</sup> There were deficits not only in the electoral process but also in the guarantee of political and civil liberties during the first term of Kabila.<sup>867</sup>

11/28/2011 End Semidemocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, general elections were held amid widespread violence (Lansford 2021: 365). International Observers raised concerns about the transparency of the elections.<sup>868</sup> Election laws were changed by the government to prevent a facultative run-off which should have taken place on 02/26/2012. According to the constitution, no more than two presidential terms were allowed. Elections for Kabila's successor were originally scheduled for 11/27/2016. When Kabila announced that a national census was needed to determine the number of voters before an election could be held, violent protests broke out on 09/19/2016. On 12/23/2016, an agreement was reached between Kabila and the opposition according to which Kabila would leave office before the end of 2017 and

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transitional\\_Government\\_of\\_the\\_Democratic\\_Republic\\_of\\_the\\_Congo#:~:text=On%20July%2017%202003%2C%20the,swearing%20allegiance%20to%20President%20Joseph](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transitional_Government_of_the_Democratic_Republic_of_the_Congo#:~:text=On%20July%2017%202003%2C%20the,swearing%20allegiance%20to%20President%20Joseph)

<sup>864</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006\\_Democratic\\_Republic\\_of\\_the\\_Congo\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006_Democratic_Republic_of_the_Congo_general_election)

<sup>865</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006\\_Democratic\\_Republic\\_of\\_the\\_Congo\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006_Democratic_Republic_of_the_Congo_general_election)

<sup>866</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006\\_Democratic\\_Republic\\_of\\_the\\_Congo\\_general\\_election#Supreme\\_Court\\_decision](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006_Democratic_Republic_of_the_Congo_general_election#Supreme_Court_decision)

<sup>867</sup> <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2007/100475.htm>

<sup>868</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011\\_Democratic\\_Republic\\_of\\_the\\_Congo\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_Democratic_Republic_of_the_Congo_general_election)

would not alter the constitution. The opposition would appoint the prime minister and the implementation of the deal would be overseen by opposition-leader Étienne Tshisekedi. On 12/30/2018, elections finally took place. Officially, Félix Tshisekedi won the election with 38.56% of the vote. However, Martin Fayulu claimed the results to be fraudulent. The Catholic Church, the SADC and the African Union agreed, that they believed Fayulu to be the winner of the election. According to a large-scale investigation by the Financial Times and Radio France Internationale, a revision of 86% of the votes revealed a win for Fayulu at 59.4%. Fayulu subsequently filed a court case with the Constitutional Court on 01/12/2019. On 01/19/2019, the court rejected Fayulu's claim. Tshisekedi was inaugurated on 01/24/2019.<sup>869</sup> He gradually managed to oust the last Kabila supporters from the government. General elections in December 2023 were won by incumbent Tshisekedi. Election observers claimed the procedure to be marred by irregularities and procedural problems and the EU observation mission was cancelled due to security risks. According to Reuters, the EU long-distance observation mission was met by raising numerous problems that hampered their efforts and transparency.<sup>870</sup> Repression, manipulation, corruption, and violence remain prevalent.<sup>871</sup> Electoral autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Clark 1997b, Crawford 2006, Decalo 1990b, Fleischhacker 1999a, Ikambana 2007, Lansford 2021, Lemarchand 1993, Leslie 1993, Meditz/Merrill 1993, Oppenheim/Roxburgh 1920, Reyntjens 2009, Schmidt/Stroux 1999, Wilde 2001, Wrong 2000, Willoughby/Fenwick 1974, Zagel 2010)

## Costa Rica

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [Start: 02/16/1902]: On 09/15/1821 Costa Rica declared independence from Spain and on 11/15/1838 Costa Rica achieved independence from Federal Republic of Central America.<sup>872</sup> The 1901-1902 Costa Rican general election occurred under growing political tensions. The authoritarian government of Rafael Yglesias was in direct confrontation with the opposition and had re-elected himself as single candidate in the previous election by a questionable constitutional reform. The liberal Republican Party represented the

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<sup>869</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2018\\_Democratic\\_Republic\\_of\\_the\\_Congo\\_general\\_election#Constitutional\\_Court\\_appeal](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2018_Democratic_Republic_of_the_Congo_general_election#Constitutional_Court_appeal)

<sup>870</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/eu-cancels-congo-election-observation-mission-2023-11-29/>

<sup>871</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/democratic-republic-congo/freedom-world/2024>

<sup>872</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5CostaRica2018.pdf>

staunchest opposition, and the country was on the edge of civil war. However, Yglesias managed to negotiate with the moderate branch of the Republicans for a peaceful power exchange.<sup>873</sup> The next general elections were held on 04/01/1906. During this period, elections in Costa Rica were conducted indirectly. Initially, only male citizens who met certain criteria, such as income and literacy, were eligible to vote, resulting in approximately 60% of the male population being able to participate. These first-round voters selected Electors who had additional requirements, including property ownership or higher education, indicating a predominantly middle to high-class composition. The Electors then elected the President, members of Congress, and municipal authorities. However, this system allowed for pressure to be exerted on Electors to change their intended candidate. In one instance, after the initial round of voting, Fernández and Soto endorsed Zuñiga as the preferred option against González. In response, Ibarra, citing reasons of "public order," implemented martial law and exiled Fernández, Soto, and Zuñiga, who found themselves in New York. Eventually, after González was declared the president, they were permitted to return, although Zuñiga retired from politics.<sup>874</sup> The 1910 Costa Rican general election was held during the presidency of Cleto González Víquez on 04/07. This was the last time that indirect elections were held in Costa Rica as for the next one in 1913 the direct vote was implemented. Liberal lawyer Ricardo Jiménez Oreámuno was elected for the first time (he will be re-elected two more times, the only person in Costa Rica's history who has been democratically elected three times). Jiménez was very popular in part because of his struggles against the United Fruit Company's abusive operations in the country. Jiménez was proclaimed candidate in the Teatro Variedades during the first Republican National Convention, Costa Rica's first primary election. Jiménez won easily over the other candidate, former president Rafael Yglesias who ruled an authoritarian, though short-lived, regime.<sup>875</sup>

05/08/1914 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: On the 12/07/1913 general elections were held (women were not allowed to vote), the first elections since 1844.<sup>876</sup> They were also the first elections to have universal male suffrage, after economic and educational requirements were eliminated.<sup>877</sup> The congress selected Alfredo González as president.<sup>878</sup>

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<sup>873</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1901%E2%80%931902\\_Costa\\_Rican\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1901%E2%80%931902_Costa_Rican_general_election)

<sup>874</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1906\\_Costa\\_Rican\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1906_Costa_Rican_general_election)

<sup>875</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1909%E2%80%931910\\_Costa\\_Rican\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1909%E2%80%931910_Costa_Rican_general_election)

<sup>876</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alfredo\\_Gonz%C3%A1lez\\_Flores](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alfredo_Gonz%C3%A1lez_Flores)

<sup>877</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1913\\_Costa\\_Rican\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1913_Costa_Rican_general_election)

<sup>878</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1913\\_Costa\\_Rican\\_general\\_election#cite\\_note-2](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1913_Costa_Rican_general_election#cite_note-2)

01/27/1917 End (Male) Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: The minister of war Federico Tinoco Granados organized with his brother the army commander José Joaquín Tinoco a military coup against González and took over power (McIlwraith 1917).<sup>879</sup> He was ruling Costa Rica in a violent way; to legitimize himself, elections were held in which oppositional candidates could not be voted for.<sup>880</sup> On 08/12/1919, following the assassination of his brother, Tinoco sought refuge in exile, and an interim government organized elections that marked a significant shift towards the restoration of democracy (Lentz 1999: 108, Lehoucq/Molina Jiménez 2002: 89-90, Casey et al. 2020: 4).

07/17/1919 End Military Autocracy/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: On this date, Costa Rica held general elections. Julio Acosta García from the Constitutional Party emerged as the winner in the presidential election, and his party secured a victory in the parliamentary election with 74.9% of the vote.<sup>881</sup> General elections took place in 1923, 1928, 1932, 1936, 1940, 1944 and 1948. Although elections were held regularly suffrage was restricted. Women, Afro-descendants and illiterates obtained the right to vote only in 1948. After losing the popular election on 04/25/1948, candidate Rafael Ángel Calderón supporters sparked a constitutional crisis by refusing to validate the presidential election of Otilio Ulate Blanco.

03/12/1948 End Semidemocracy/Start No Central Authority: On this date a civil war ensued, which removed Picado from effective power, although technically he completed his term abroad.<sup>882</sup>

04/24/1948 End No Central Authority/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date the civil war ended and Picado aided in forming the provisional government after the war of which Herrera was appointed to the position of acting president.<sup>883</sup>

05/08/1948 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Military Autocracy: Figueres and the military junta, called the Founding Council, took control after Herrera's term expired and the various factions of the civil war had been defeated or capitulated (Mauceri 1989: 205-206). The constitution of 11/07/1949 granted women the right to vote.<sup>884</sup>

11/08/1949 End Military Autocracy/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: On this date, Figueres, who had assumed the role of interim president, transferred authority to Ulate, who had been elected in February 1948 but had not been acknowledged as the victor by the sitting president at the

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<sup>879</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1917\\_Costa\\_Rican\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1917_Costa_Rican_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>880</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dictatorship\\_of\\_the\\_Tinoco\\_brothers](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dictatorship_of_the_Tinoco_brothers);  
<https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5CostaRica2018.pdf>

<sup>881</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1919\\_Costa\\_Rican\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1919_Costa_Rican_general_election)

<sup>882</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Costa\\_Rican\\_civil\\_war](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Costa_Rican_civil_war)

<sup>883</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Costa\\_Rican\\_civil\\_war](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Costa_Rican_civil_war)

<sup>884</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernarda\\_V%C3%A1squez\\_M%C3%A9ndez](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernarda_V%C3%A1squez_M%C3%A9ndez)

time (Cerdas 1990:390, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 56). This handover is coded as a return to (male) semidemocracy.

07/26/1953 Continuation Semidemocracy: The elections on 07/26/1953 were the first in which women could vote.<sup>885</sup> However, in the elections of 1953 the losing sides in the civil war, mostly the Republicans (Calderón supporters) and the Communists, were unable to participate as the Republicans' party was disbanded and the Communist Party was constitutionally outlawed. For these reasons the regime is still classified as a semidemocracy.

02/02/1958 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: On this date free and fair general elections took place.<sup>886</sup> Since then, Costa Rica has a long-standing record of stable democracy, with a multi-party political structure and frequent changes of power through trustworthy elections. Freedom of expression and association are well-protected, and the rule of law is generally upheld, despite occasional corruption scandals implicating presidents. However, the country continues to struggle with certain issues such as discrimination against Indigenous people, as well as land disputes involving Indigenous communities.<sup>887</sup> In April 2022 free and fair elections were held in which Rodrigo Chaves of the Social Democratic Progress Party (PPSD) was elected.<sup>888</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Peeler 1985, Schultz 2000, Seligson/Muller 1987, Zovatto 2005)

## Croatia

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Hungary, Constitutional Monarchy [Start: 01/01/1527]: The Duchy of Croatia was formed in 626 and transformed in 925 into the kingdom of Croatia under King Tomislav. On 01/01/1527 Croatia became part of the Austrian-Hungarian Habsburg Monarchy. From 1868 (until 10/29/1918) Croatia was part of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, a nominally autonomous kingdom within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was from then on associated with the Kingdom of Hungary within the dual Austro-Hungarian state. However, the Kingdom of Dalmatia remained a crown land in the Austrian part of the Empire.<sup>889</sup>

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<sup>885</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1953\\_Costa\\_Rican\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1953_Costa_Rican_general_election); <https://ticotimes.net/2023/03/07/when-women-won-the-right-to-vote>

<sup>886</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1958\\_Costa\\_Rican\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1958_Costa_Rican_general_election)

<sup>887</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/costa-rica/freedom-world/2022>;  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Costa\\_Rica\\_2020?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Costa_Rica_2020?lang=en)

<sup>888</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/costa-rica/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>889</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Croatia\\_\(Habsburg\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Croatia_(Habsburg))



Although Croatia had been provided with extensive internal autonomy with 'national features,' in practice, Croatian influence over crucial matters such as taxation and military affairs was limited and impeded by Hungary.<sup>890</sup> The Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia is a borderline case between a protectorate and a de facto part of the Hungarian Half of the Habsburg Empire. Since the kingdom had not much control over its internal affairs, we code it as a de facto part of the Hungarian Half of the Habsburg Empire.

10/29/1918 End Part of Other Country [Hungary, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date Croatia seceded from the Austrian-Hungarian Habsburg Monarchy and became part of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs.<sup>891</sup> It was the first incarnation of a Yugoslav state founded on the Pan-Slavic ideology.<sup>892</sup> Already on 10/5-8 a non-elected People's Council was formed with a Central Committee and Presidency which governed the country.

12/01/1918 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Part of Other Country [Yugoslavia, Constitutional Monarchy]: The state of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs joined the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Montenegro to form together the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. On 10/03/1929 the name of the country was changed by King Alexander I to Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

04/10/1941 End Part of Other Country [Yugoslavia, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy: On this date the formally independent State of Croatia emerged. During its entire existence, the country was governed as a fascist one-party state by the Ustaša. It was a puppet regime of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy with limited sovereignty.<sup>893</sup> Hence, this was a borderline case between an occupation regime and a sovereign regime. The case is somehow similar to the puppet states of the USSR after World War II, which are usually classified as independent in comparative research.

03/07/1945 End Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy/Start Part of Other Country [Yugoslavia, Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime]: On this date, the Provisional Government of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia formed through the merger of the Yugoslav government-in-exile and the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia. Before the temporary government was formed, there were several meetings between Tito and Ivan Šubašić, the pre-war prime minister of Yugoslavia in London. On 11/11/1945, the first Yugoslav elections after World War II took place and winner was Josip Broz Tito with the People's Front. On

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<sup>890</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Croatia-Slavonia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Croatia-Slavonia)

<sup>891</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State\\_of\\_Slovenes,\\_Croats\\_and\\_Serbs](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State_of_Slovenes,_Croats_and_Serbs)

<sup>892</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State\\_of\\_Slovenes,\\_Croats\\_and\\_Serbs](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State_of_Slovenes,_Croats_and_Serbs)

<sup>893</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Independent\\_State\\_of\\_Croatia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Independent_State_of_Croatia)

11/29/1945 the Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia (later Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), with Croatia being one of the six constituent republics was proclaimed<sup>894</sup> In 1990 universal suffrage was introduced (LIED).

05/19/1991 End Part of Other Country [Yugoslavia, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, the people of Croatia voted for independence.<sup>895</sup> Franjo Tudman became Croatia's first president. On 06/25/1991 the parliament declared Croatia's independence from Yugoslavia. In 1991 the Croatian war of independence started; After the Declaration of Independence tensions between Croatian forces loyal to the government and the Serbian-controlled Yugoslav People's Army, supported by local Serb forces in Croatia escalated. The war cost the lives of over 20.000 people and ended 1995 in Croatian victory.<sup>896</sup> On 06/15/1997 the second presidential elections were held since independence. Franjo Tudman was reelected to a second five-year term.<sup>897</sup> The election were considered deeply flawed. The free and fair participation of opposition parties was restricted under Trudman and the Croatian Democratic Union.<sup>898</sup> The media was also restricted.<sup>899</sup> Classification of the electoral regime is mixed. RoW and HTW classify it as an electoral autocracy/multiparty autocracy, BMR as a non-democracy, AF as a personalist regime, PRC as a semidemocracy, CGC, GWF and MCM as a democracy. We classify it as a semidemocracy, because elections were held and results respected, nonetheless the opposition could not participate under fair conditions. Therefore, in combination with the media restriction, deficits in the electoral process and deficits in political and civil liberties, justify the classification. When Tadjman became ill in November 1999, the Supreme Court appointed an interim president to preside over the government until multiparty elections could be held in February 2000. On this date, Franjo Tudman's death was officially declared.<sup>900</sup>

01/03/2000 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: On this date, parliamentary elections led to the defeat of Tudman's HDZ and the formation of a government under Ivica Račan, the leader of the Social Democratic Party (former League of Communist of Croatia).<sup>901</sup> Presidential elections completed in February (first round on 01/24, a second round on 02/07 February) also resulted in the victory of opposition leader, Stjepan Mesic. General elections are routinely held

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<sup>894</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist\\_Federal\\_Republic\\_of\\_Yugoslavia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Federal_Republic_of_Yugoslavia)

<sup>895</sup> <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/HRV?cHash=17c2f8e8c5e9727cbe44e703cc448a30>

<sup>896</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Croatian\\_War\\_of\\_Independence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Croatian_War_of_Independence);

<https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Croatia2018.pdf>

<sup>897</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1997\\_Croatian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1997_Croatian_presidential_election)

<sup>898</sup> <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/1999/323.htm>

<sup>899</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tu%C4%91manism#Domestic>

<sup>900</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franjo\\_Tudman](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franjo_Tudman)

<sup>901</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000\\_Croatian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000_Croatian_parliamentary_election)

for various government levels (national, county, municipality/city, European). Universal suffrage is ensured, and the voting process is both free and confidential. Numerous parties and independent lists compete for public office, and election results are uncontested by parties.<sup>902</sup> Croatia is a parliamentary republic with a unicameral system. Although civil liberties and political rights are guaranteed, corruption remains an issue. The head of state is the president, while the prime minister is head of government. In parliament eight seats are set for ethnic minorities, for example ethnic Serbs, in addition three parliamentary seats are reserved for citizens in the diaspora. Diverse representation in this way is supposed to be guaranteed, yet ethnic minorities in Croatia experience discrimination. Media operates generally free but declining freedom of the press due to threats against journalists remains a problem.<sup>903</sup> Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Kasapović 2010b, Osterberg-Kaufmann 2011, Zadošek/Maršić 2010)

## **Cuba**

01/01/1900 Occupation Regime [by USA, Semidemocracy] [Start: 01/01/1899]: During colonial rule by Spain for over 200 years, it was briefly occupied by Britain in the 18th century.<sup>904</sup> The Republic of Cuba in Arms was created by Cuban revolutionaries who sought the independence of Cuba, occupied at that time by Spain. It was constituted on 04/10/1869, naming Carlos Manuel de Céspedes as its first president.<sup>905</sup> The Constituent Assembly of La Yaya, held on 10/10/1897, designated Bartolomé Masó as the new president of the revolutionary government, taking office on 10/30/1897. On 04/24/1898, Bartolomé proclaimed the document known as the Sebastopol Manifesto, where he stressed the slogan of independence or death to counteract the intrigues of the autonomist tendency. On 11/09/1898, the pro-independence government was dissolved by handing over its powers to the Assembly of Representatives of the Cuban Revolution gathered in Santa Cruz del Sur.<sup>906</sup> In 1898 the USA and Spain signed the Treaty of Paris ending the War. Under this treaty, coming into effect on 04/11/1899, Spain ceded Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines to the USA.<sup>907</sup>

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<sup>902</sup> <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/HRV?cHash=17c2f8e8c5e9727cbe44e703cc448a30>

<sup>903</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/croatia/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>904</sup> <https://www.rulers.org/rulc4.html#cuba>

<sup>905</sup> <https://www.rulers.org/rulc4.html#cuba>; [https://www.ecured.cu/Rep%C3%BAblica\\_de\\_Cuba\\_en\\_Armas](https://www.ecured.cu/Rep%C3%BAblica_de_Cuba_en_Armas)

<sup>906</sup> [https://www.ecured.cu/Rep%C3%BAblica\\_de\\_Cuba\\_en\\_Armas](https://www.ecured.cu/Rep%C3%BAblica_de_Cuba_en_Armas)

<sup>907</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_Paris\\_\(1898\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Paris_(1898)); <https://www.rulers.org/rulc4.html#cuba>

However, on 01/01/1899 the first occupation of Cuba by the USA took place.<sup>908</sup> Municipal elections were held in Cuba on 06/16/1900. The elections were held under the auspices of the US military government with a system of restricted suffrage.<sup>909</sup>

05/20/1902 End Occupation Regime [by USA, Semidemocracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy [as independent country]: On this date, the Republic of Cuba emerged as an independent state (Lansford, 2021: 412). However, based on the Platt Amendment, the USA retained the right to intervene in Cuban affairs and to supervise its finances and foreign relations (Suter/Nohlen 2005).<sup>910</sup> It is a borderline case between a protectorate and a sovereign state. This continued until most of the Platt Amendments were repealed by the Cuban-American Treaty of Relations in 1934 (Lansford 2021: 412).<sup>911</sup> The Constitution of 1901 implemented a representative democratic system, founded on the separation of powers and universal suffrage for men aged 21 and above. Nevertheless, the democratic system and elections as a form of self-governance struggled to solidify. The Cuban political landscape continued to be marked by personalism and corruption, especially evident in the local oligarchy involved in the sugar trade and foreign companies. These entities, through military coups and dictatorships, collectively wielded control over the political, social, and economic sectors (Suter/Nohlen 2005: 195). Tomas Estrada Palma assumed office unopposed in 1902, as the electoral commission was filled with his supporters, and his primary rival withdrew from the candidacy (Aguilar 1993: 36, 39-40, Lentz 1999: 112, Suchlicki 2001: 33, Casey et al. 2020: 4). In 1904 the first parliamentary elections took place, two parties – the Republicans and the National Liberals – contested. The elections were described as a farce. Both factions aimed to secure victory through el copo, which refers to fraudulent tactics designed to prevent minority representation (Hugh 1971: 472). Some candidates achieved more votes than were cast. The Liberals lost the elections and deadlocked the legislative by nonattendance. In 1905 presidential elections were held. Tomas Estrada emerged as victor (Hugh 1971: 472-473). Again allegations of electoral fraud were raised.<sup>912</sup> On 09/28/1906, after Estrada Palma appealed to the U.S. for intervention against a revolt led by the Liberal Party, but Washington declined, leading to his resignation (though the U.S. did ultimately intervene and remained until 1909) (Maurer 2013: 64, Aguilar 1993: 41, Lentz 1999: 112, Suchlicki 2001: 36, Casey et al. 2020: 4).

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<sup>908</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_States\\_Military\\_Government\\_in\\_Cuba](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Military_Government_in_Cuba)

<sup>909</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1900\\_Cuban\\_local\\_elections](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1900_Cuban_local_elections)

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic\\_of\\_Cuba\\_\(1902%E2%80%931959\)#US\\_occupation,\\_1906%E2%80%931909](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_Cuba_(1902%E2%80%931959)#US_occupation,_1906%E2%80%931909)

<sup>911</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Platt\\_Amendment#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Platt_Amendment#)

<sup>912</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1905\\_Cuban\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1905_Cuban_general_election)

09/29/1906 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by USA, Semidemocracy]: General elections were held in Cuba on 12/01/1905 and were won by Tomás Estrada Palma who became the country's first president.<sup>913</sup> Palma faced severe allegations of vote rigging leading to rebellions and the collapse of the regime. The USA subsequently exercised its right to intervene in Cuban affairs based on the Cuban American Treaty of Relations of 1903 by sending military troops establishing a U.S. provisional government on 09/29/1906 in Cuba.<sup>914</sup> The provisional government would last until a new government was inaugurated based on free elections.<sup>915</sup>

11/14/1908 End Occupation Regime [by the USA, Semidemocracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy: José Miguel Gómez won the presidential election running under the Liberal Coalition banner on 11/11/1908.<sup>916</sup> Following the election of Gómez, U.S. officials judged the situation in Cuba as sufficiently stable to withdraw the military troops, a process that was completed in February 1909.<sup>917</sup> However, the U.S. continued intervening in Cuban affairs.<sup>918</sup> As before 1906 this is a borderline case between a protectorate and a sovereign state. From 01/28/1909 Cuba was clearly sovereign. Jose Miguel Gomez, the candidate of the Liberal Party, was elected as the U.S. started preparing to withdraw from its second occupation of Cuba. He assumed office on 01/28/1909. The Miguel Gomez administration violated democratic institutions and engaged in repression. Conservative Party politicians continued to rule after Gomez stepped down in 1913. The 1916 election was marred by fraud. In 1924, incumbent president Zayas backed General Gerardo Machado who won the election. In 1927, Machado pushed through the Constitutional Assembly the extension of presidential terms to six years and an invitation to accept a new term in power. In 1928, Congress passed an Emergency Law prohibiting opposition nominations of presidential candidates. Machado was reelected on 11/01/1928 unopposed (Aguilar 1993: 42-46, 50-51, Perez 1993: 60, Casey et al. 2020: 4-5). While most regime datasets covering this period agree that it was autocratic, BMR coded the period from 1909 to 1916 as democratic.

08/12/1933 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Military coup led by senior officers ousted President Gerardo Machado (Aguilar 1993: 53, Perez 1993: 66-67, Lentz 1999: 114). The first leader of the post-Machado government was Carlos M. Cespedes.

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<sup>913</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1905\\_Cuban\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1905_Cuban_general_election)

<sup>914</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provisional\\_Government\\_of\\_Cuba](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provisional_Government_of_Cuba)

<sup>915</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provisional\\_Government\\_of\\_Cuba](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provisional_Government_of_Cuba)

<sup>916</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1908\\_Cuban\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1908_Cuban_general_election)

<sup>917</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provisional\\_Government\\_of\\_Cuba](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provisional_Government_of_Cuba)

<sup>918</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic\\_of\\_Cuba\\_\(1902%E2%80%931959\)#Machado\\_era](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_Cuba_(1902%E2%80%931959)#Machado_era)

09/04[-05]/1933 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: The military coup led by Sergeant Fulgencio Batista, by unofficial sergeants, corporals and other soldiers which was aided by student activists in the Directorio Estudiantil Universitario deposed Carlos Manuel de Céspedes y Quesada as president, installing a new government led by a five-man coalition, known as the Pentarchy of 1933.<sup>919</sup> After only five days, the Pentarchy gave way to the formal presidency of Ramón Grau.<sup>920</sup> The new government incorporated three political factions: Antonio Guiteras represented the revolutionary left wing, Batista was the head of the traditionalist right wing, and Grau was the bridge between the two and representative of the national reform wing.<sup>921</sup> During the 100-day government of Grau on 02/01/1934, Cuban women received the vote.<sup>922</sup> Batista became the head of the armed forces. From mid-September 1933 until 1940, Batista and his fellow officers did not rule directly and instead appointed and removed several formal heads of government (Aguilar 1993: 54-55, Perez 1993: 66-77, Casey et al. 2020: 5). On 11/18/1934, the junta named Carlos Mendieta President of Cuba.<sup>923</sup>

07/14/1940 End Military Autocracy/Start Democracy: On this date, Fulgencio Batista, who ran for the People's Socialist Coalition won the presidential election. The following period is a borderline case between democracy and electoral autocracy. In almost all datasets including BMR, GWF, Polity5 and PCR covering the regime period is considered to be democratic. The only exception is RoW who classifies the regime as an electoral autocracy.<sup>924</sup> The 1940 constitution instituted a comprehensive system of checks and balances, securing the judiciary's autonomy. It also entrenched a broad array of civil and individual rights. Given the absence of prior constitutional models and expertise in safeguarding social rights, the architects of the 1940 Constitution turned to the Constitution of the Second Spanish Republic (1931) and the Weimar Constitution of Germany for guidance.<sup>925</sup> The classification as a democracy makes sense because four years later, in the 1944 presidential elections on 10/10/1944, opposition candidate Ramón Grau won the presidential election for the Auténtico-Republican Alliance banner. Hence, there was an alternation in power through elections in this period and no systematic electoral fraud (Perez 1993: 79, Domínguez 1998: 115, Casey et al. 2020: 5).

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<sup>919</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cuban\\_Revolution\\_of\\_1933](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cuban_Revolution_of_1933)

<sup>920</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cuban\\_Revolution\\_of\\_1933](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cuban_Revolution_of_1933)

<sup>921</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/One\\_Hundred\\_Days\\_Government](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/One_Hundred_Days_Government)

<sup>922</sup> <https://cubanstudiesinstitute.us/this-day-in-cuban-history/february-3-1934-article-38-of-a-new-constitution-extended-the-suffrage-to-cuban-women/>

<sup>923</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos\\_Mendieta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos_Mendieta); [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos\\_Hevia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos_Hevia)

<sup>924</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1940\\_Constitution\\_of\\_Cuba](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1940_Constitution_of_Cuba)

03/10/1952 End Democracy/Start Military Autocracy: Retired General Fulgencio Batista ran for president again in 1952. Faced with impending defeat in the presidential elections just three months before they were scheduled, Batista seized power in a military coup led by junior officers. He ousted the outgoing president, Socarras, and the coup resulted in Batista's return to the presidency (Suchlicki 2001, Gott 2005:146, Lansford 2021:412, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 56). According to our coding rules it is a military autocracy. However, the classification of the regime is disputed. CGV classify it as a military regime from 1952 to 1958.

01/11/1954 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, presidential elections took place, which were not free and fair. They were won by Batista. The main opposition candidate, Ramón Grau, withdrew his candidacy before election day.<sup>926</sup>

01/01/1959 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Communist (Military) Ideocracy: On this date, Batista fled the country, and Castro and his insurgent forces took Havana. In the aftermath, Castro and his ruling group installed a communist regime (Domínguez 1998:130-131, Lansford 2021:412, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 56). Initially, Castro's 26<sup>th</sup> of July Movement Underground and leaders of the anti-Batista political opposition formed an interim government. Judge Manuel Urrutia became president, and José Miró Cardona became prime minister. On 02/16/1959, Castro became prime minister of the revolutionary government, replacing Miró Cardona. On 07/16/1959 Castro forced President Manuel Urrutia to resign, and Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado, linked with the Cuban Communist Party (PCC) became president.<sup>927</sup> Subsequently, Castro institutionalized communist rule and formed alliances with the Soviet Bloc and the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM).

11/02/1976 Continuation as Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy: On this date, the first parliamentary elections since the Cuban Revolution took place. In our dataset this is coded as a change in subtype from a communist military Ideocracy to a communist one-party ideocracy. On 07/31/2006, Raúl Castro was named acting head of state and elected president on 02/24/2008. He was succeeded by Miguel Díaz-Canel on 10/10/2019. Despite this leadership change, Cuba's regime type has not changed. The government continues to outlaw political pluralism, suppresses dissidents, and restricts basic liberties. The only elections with multiple candidates are those for municipal assemblies, but campaigning is prohibited. A new constitution was enacted on 04/10/2019 and identifies the PCC as the only legal political party.<sup>928</sup> Raúl Castro Ruz retired in 2021 during a party congress and was succeeded by Miguel

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<sup>926</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1954\\_Cuban\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1954_Cuban_general_election)

<sup>927</sup> <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/post-revolution-cuba/>

<sup>928</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/cuba/freedom-world/2022;>  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Cuba\\_2019?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Cuba_2019?lang=en)

Díaz-Canel Bermúdez. Elections in March 2023 saw record low turnout rates at 75%<sup>929</sup> and incumbent president Miguel Díaz-Canel was reelected unanimously by the National Assembly. The Assembly continued to pass laws that limit civil liberties and political rights in 2023.<sup>930</sup> Communist [One-Party] Ideocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Domínguez 2003, Gelius 2013, Hoffmann 2009, Horowitz/Suchlicki 2003, Lievesley 2004, Mesa-Lago 1993, Saxonberg 2013)

## **Curaçao**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Netherlands, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 07/29/1634]: Curaçao was originally inhabited by Arawak people who migrated from the South American mainland. European explorers first arrived on the island in 1499, and it was subsequently settled by the Spanish. Later on 07/29/1634,<sup>931</sup> the Dutch invaded the island, took control of Curaçao and transformed it into a significant trading hub for the Dutch West India Company.<sup>932</sup> Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, Curaçao faced multiple assaults by the British, with notable attacks occurring in 1800, 1804, and during the period from 1807 to 1815. After the Napoleonic wars concluded in 1815, stable Dutch governance was reinstated, and the island became part of the colony of Curaçao and Dependencies.<sup>933</sup> On 03/27/1949 the first elections under universal suffrage took place.<sup>934</sup>

12/15/1954 End Colonial Regime [of Netherlands, Democracy]/Start Democracy [as Part of Netherland Antilles as Protectorate of Netherlands, Democracy]: In 1954, Curaçao, along with other Dutch Caribbean colonies, was united to create the Netherlands Antilles.<sup>935</sup> The political system of the Netherlands Antilles was based on a parliamentary representative democracy. The Prime Minister served as the head of government, and the country had a multi-party system. The government held executive authority, while legislative power was shared between the government and parliament. The judiciary operated independently of the executive and legislative branches. The Netherlands Antilles had significant autonomy in most areas, with the

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<sup>929</sup> <https://apnews.com/article/cuba-elections-national-assembly-voter-turnout-b36c16e04f1177d9d1ec555c492e6faa>

<sup>930</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/cuba/freedom-world/2024>

<sup>931</sup> <https://www.curacaohistory.com/1634-the-conquest-of-curacao>

<sup>932</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Curacao>

<sup>933</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cura%C3%A7ao#Dutch\\_colonial\\_rule](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cura%C3%A7ao#Dutch_colonial_rule)

<sup>934</sup> <https://www.curacaohistory.com/1949-universal-suffrage>

<sup>935</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cura%C3%A7ao#Dutch\\_colonial\\_rule](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cura%C3%A7ao#Dutch_colonial_rule)



exceptions being defense, foreign affairs, and the Supreme Court.<sup>936</sup> Growing dissatisfaction with Curaçao's perceived subservient position in its relationship with the Netherlands, persistent racial discrimination, and an increase in joblessness due to layoffs in the oil sector, culminated in a series of riots in 1969.<sup>937</sup>

10/10/2010 Continuation Democracy [as Protectorate of Netherlands, Democracy]: On this date, Curaçao gained autonomy like Aruba. Unlike the Netherlands, Curaçao is not in the EU, so it doesn't have to follow EU law or use the euro. However, as overseas territories (OCT or LGA in Dutch) linked to the Netherlands, these islands can access European funds. Also, residents in the Caribbean part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands have Dutch and European citizenship.<sup>938</sup> Curaçao, as a component of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, operates under a system of parliamentary representative democracy. The monarch of the Netherlands serves as the head of state, represented on the island by a governor, while the Prime Minister of Curaçao fulfills the role of the head of government. The government holds executive authority, and legislative power is shared between the government and the parliament. Curaçao enjoys substantial autonomy in most areas, with specific exceptions defined in the "Kingdom affairs" section of the Charter for the Kingdom of the Netherlands.<sup>939</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## Cyprus

01/01/1900 (de facto) Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy as Protectorate] [Start: 06/04/1878]: Since 06/04/1878 by the Cyprus Convention, Cyprus was a British Protectorate, given to Britain by the Ottoman Empire.<sup>940</sup> Initially hopeful for prosperity, democracy, and national liberation, the Cypriots embraced British rule in anticipation of gradual improvements. However, their optimism waned as they encountered disappointments. The British burdened them with high taxes to compensate the Sultan for conceding Cyprus to them. Furthermore, the Cypriot people were denied the opportunity to participate in the island's administration, as all authority was concentrated in the hands of the High Commissioner and

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<sup>936</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_the\\_Netherlands\\_Antilles](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_the_Netherlands_Antilles)

<sup>937</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cura%C3%A7ao#Dutch\\_colonial\\_rule](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cura%C3%A7ao#Dutch_colonial_rule)

<sup>938</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Cura%C3%A7ao#Autonomous\\_status](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Cura%C3%A7ao#Autonomous_status)

<sup>939</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cura%C3%A7ao#Government>

<sup>940</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyprus\\_Convention](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyprus_Convention)

London.<sup>941</sup> On 11/11/1914 Cyprus was annexed by the British and put under a military administration status.<sup>942</sup> With this action Cyprus became officially a part of the British colonial empire. On 03/10/1925, Britain declared Cyprus as the Crown colony of British Cyprus, establishing an undemocratic constitution for the island.<sup>943</sup>

08/16/1960 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Democracy: On this date British rule ended with the signing of the Zurich agreements. The Republic of Cyprus became independent. Already prior to independence the legislative elections of 07/31/1960 took place, which are considered to be free and fair founding elections. The elections introduced universal suffrage.<sup>944</sup> The 1960 constitution established a myriad of civil and political liberties taking into account the representation of the Turkish- and Greek-Cyprian ethnic communities. It also promulgated a robust system of checks and balances.<sup>945</sup>

12/21/1963 End Democracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date an armed conflict was triggered.<sup>946</sup> Constitutional amendment proposed by President Makarios was not accepted by the Turkish-Cypriots. This led to fighting from 1963-1964. UN peacekeepers intervened. Greek and Turkish parties collapsed, and ethnic fighting went on. The Cypriot Turks set up a separate community in Northern Cyprus. The crisis led to the discontinuation of Turkish Cypriot involvement in administration, coupled with assertions of its loss of legitimacy. In certain regions, Greek Cypriots obstructed the movement and access of Turkish Cypriots to government premises, while others voluntarily withdrew under the guidance of the Turkish Cypriot administration. Consequently, Turkish Cypriots began residing in enclaves. Makarios unilaterally restructured the republic, resulting in the division of Nicosia by the Green Line, established by in 1964 deployed United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).<sup>947</sup> On 12/28/1967 the Turkish-Cypriot community declared the establishment of the Turkish-

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<sup>941</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Cyprus\\_\(1878%E2%80%93present\)#Protectorate\\_of\\_Cyprus\\_\(1878%E2%88%921914\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Cyprus_(1878%E2%80%93present)#Protectorate_of_Cyprus_(1878%E2%88%921914))

<sup>942</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Cyprus\\_\(1878–present\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Cyprus_(1878–present))

<sup>943</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/europerussiacentral-asia-region/british-cyprus-1914-1960/#:~:text=Cyprus%20was%20proclaimed%20a%20British,Cyprus%20on%20November%2030%2C%201926;>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Cyprus\\_\(1878%E2%80%93present\)#Protectorate\\_of\\_Cyprus\\_\(1878%E2%88%921914\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Cyprus_(1878%E2%80%93present)#Protectorate_of_Cyprus_(1878%E2%88%921914))

<sup>944</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960\\_Cypriot\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960_Cypriot_legislative_election);

[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Cyprus\\_2013?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Cyprus_2013?lang=en)

<sup>945</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Cyprus\\_2013](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Cyprus_2013)

<sup>946</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cypriot\\_intercommunal\\_violence#Crisis\\_of\\_1963%E2%80%931964](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cypriot_intercommunal_violence#Crisis_of_1963%E2%80%931964)

<sup>947</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyprus#Independence\\_and\\_inter-communal\\_violence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyprus#Independence_and_inter-communal_violence)

Cypriot Provisional Administration.<sup>948</sup> On 02/25/1968 presidential elections took place and President Makarios III was reelected. On 07/05/1970 free and fair multi-party elections were conducted, yet the Turkish-Cypriot community abstained from participating in the legislative election, leaving the 15 designated seats for the Turkish community uncontested.<sup>949</sup>

07/15/1974 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: The military regime in Greece engineered a coup against Markarios III in an effort to solidify their position in Cyprus in the face of Turkish Invasion threats, tensions with the Markarios regime, and ethnic unrest. The nationalist Nikolas Sampson was installed in the wake of the military coup as president. In response to the coup, on 07/20/1974 Turkey invaded the island taking control of the north and dividing Cyprus along what became known as the Green Line, However, the military regime that had appointed Sampson collapsed on 07/23 July and he handed over power to Glafkos Klerides.<sup>950</sup> Due to the very short period of the military regime it is not included in the country-year dataset.

07/23/1974 End Military Autocracy/Start Democracy: The military regime led by Sampson came to an end, resulting in the restoration of democracy in the southern part of the island. Meanwhile, Turkish-Cypriots established a de facto government in the northern region. On 11/15/1985 Denktash, the leader of the Turkish Cypriot National Unity Party (UPB), proclaimed the statehood of the Turkish region of Cyprus. The formal declaration of independence set the stage for the enactment of a new democratic constitution in the same year (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 23). The Republic of Cyprus operates as a democracy with de jure sovereignty encompassing the entire island. However, in practice, the government exercises control solely over the southern, predominantly Greek-speaking part of the island. The northern region is governed by the self-declared Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), a recognition acknowledged solely by Turkey.<sup>951</sup> Cyprus is a presidential democracy with a unicameral system, consisting of the House of Representatives. The president serves as head of government and head of state.

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Schober 2010, Solsten 1991)

## Cyprus, Northern

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<sup>948</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern\\_Cyprus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Cyprus)

<sup>949</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970\\_Cypriot\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970_Cypriot_legislative_election)

<sup>950</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1974\\_Cypriot\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1974_Cypriot_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>951</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/cyprus/freedom-world/2023>

07/23/1974 Start Democracy: On this date, Turkish-Cypriots established a de facto government in the northern region of Cyprus. On 06/20/1976, Northern Cyprus conducted general elections. Rauf Denktaş, representing the National Unity Party, was elected as president. Additionally, the National Unity Party secured 30 out of the 40 seats in the National Council. On 11/15/1985 Denktash, the head of the Turkish Cypriot National Unity Party (UPB), proclaimed the establishment of statehood for the Turkish sector of Cyprus. This formal declaration of independence set the stage for the enactment of a new democratic constitution in 1985 (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 23). Since the Turkish invasion of 1974, Cyprus has remained divided, with the northern third declared as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) by its Turkish Cypriot inhabitants. The United Nations deems this declaration legally invalid and urges the withdrawal of Turkish troops that intervened in support of the Turkish Cypriot minority. Despite its unilateral declaration of independence in 1983, the government of Northern Cyprus has received diplomatic recognition only from Turkey and lacks recognition from the international community.<sup>952</sup> From 1975 to 2005, Rauf Denktaş served as president, actively seeking international recognition for Northern Cyprus as a fervent nationalist. However, this stance became a significant hindrance to reconciliation efforts, particularly when the Republic of Cyprus joined the European Union. In 1993, Northern Cyprus underwent multi-party parliamentary elections that ousted the long-ruling National Unity Party in favor of a coalition between the Democratic Party and the Republican Turkish Party (CTP). Despite this change, a new coalition formed in August 1996 between the National Unity Party and the Democratic Party, remaining in power for the next eight years. In 2003, the CTP and DP established a new government, appointing CTP leader Mehmet Ali Talat as the new Prime Minister.<sup>953</sup> In 2004, the Annan Plan received the support of two-thirds of Turkish Cypriots in a referendum but was rejected by nearly three-quarters of Greek Cypriots. The plan aimed to establish the United Cyprus Republic, but the Greek Cypriot rejection meant only they could enjoy EU membership benefits. Despite this, attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots have begun to shift internationally. The Republic of Cyprus government continues to uphold embargoes on the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) despite the vote outcome. In October 2020, Ersin Tatar, representing the National Unity Party (UBP), became the 5th president of the TRNC, winning against the incumbent president Mustafa Akıncı in the presidential elections.<sup>954</sup>

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<sup>952</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Northern\\_Cyprus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Northern_Cyprus)

<sup>953</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Northern\\_Cyprus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Northern_Cyprus)

<sup>954</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Northern\\_Cyprus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Northern_Cyprus)

According to Freedom House, civil liberties are generally maintained, and the multiparty political system is largely democratic, although it has faced increasing interference from the Turkish government. Ongoing issues include corruption, discrimination against minority communities, and human trafficking.<sup>955</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Czechoslovakia**

01/01/1900 Part of other country [Austria, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 08/11/1804]: The territory of today's Czech Republic was under control of the Austrian Half of the Habsburg Empire.<sup>956</sup> Both countries have a long common history. For the first time united from 1253 until 1276 under the reign of Ottakar II of Bohemia. They later joined again, with the inheritance of rule over the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary in 1526 under Ferdinand I of Austria, under the Habsburg dynasty. In addition to Vienna, Prague also became Habsburg capital and residency. As conflicts between Protestants and Catholics culminated in 1618, the Roman Catholic forces of the Austrian empire defeated the Protestants at the 'Battle of the White Mountain' on 11/08/1620, and emperor Ferdinand II of Austria was able to reassert Habsburg authority over the territory. The country lost its status as a kingdom and was henceforth subjected to the absolutist rule of the Habsburgs.<sup>957</sup> On 08/11/1804, following the founding of the Austrian Empire, the territory was subordinated to it.<sup>958</sup>

10/28/1918 End Part of other country [Austria, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date the Czechoslovak National Council in Prague declared the independence of Czechoslovakia.

06/05/1919 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Democracy: Due to the postponement of the national parliamentary elections from 1919 to 1920, the municipal elections of 07/15/1919 were de facto the founding elections of Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak Constitution adopted on 02/29/1920 guaranteed the universal vote for every citizen including women to every electable body.<sup>959</sup> However, already the municipal elections of 1919 and the parliamentary elections of 1920 guaranteed these rights. The parliament (National Assembly) had the authority for legislative proposals and was entrusted with

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<sup>955</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/northern-cyprus>

<sup>956</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Czech\\_Lands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Czech_Lands)

<sup>957</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bohemia>

<sup>958</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austrian\\_Empire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austrian_Empire)

<sup>959</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

supervisory control over both the executive and judiciary branches. National minorities were ensured special safeguards; in regions where they constituted 20% of the population, individuals from minority communities were granted unrestricted rights to use their language in everyday activities, schools, and dealings with authorities.<sup>960</sup>

03/16/1939 End Democracy/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing Autocracy and Hungary, Military Autocracy]: On 03/14/1939, the remaining portion (referred to as the "rump") of Czechoslovakia was dismantled with the establishment of the Slovak State. The next day, Hungary occupied and took over the remainder of Carpathian Ruthenia. Then, on the following day, the German Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was declared.<sup>961</sup>

04/03/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Germany and Hungary, Occupation Regime]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: Following World War II, the pre-war Czechoslovakia was restored, except for Subcarpathian Ruthenia, which was taken over by the USSR and merged with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.<sup>962</sup> However, Czechoslovakia fell under the Soviet sphere of influence, a factor that heavily influenced any plans or strategies for post-war reconstruction.<sup>963</sup> The Third Republic came into being in April 1945 with the creation of the Košice Programme. In Košice, the formation of the new National Front government took place, rooted in discussions dating back to 1943. Beneš retained the presidency, while Zdeněk Fierlinger assumed the role of prime minister, with Klement Gottwald serving as deputy prime minister. The National Front coalition was characterized by the predominance of three socialist parties—KSCĚ, Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, and Czechoslovak National Social Party. The Slovak Popular Party was prohibited due to collaborationist associations with the Nazis<sup>964</sup> The government moved back to Prague after its liberation on 05/10.

05/26/1946 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, mostly free and fair parliamentary elections were held. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia emerged as the largest party, winning 114 of the 300 seats. Following the elections, Communist leader Klement Gottwald formed a coalition government. However, the Communists gradually tightened their grip on the country. In the course of the rule, the Communists' reprisals against other parties increased. Despite holding only a minority of portfolios, the communists managed to assume control over crucial ministries such as

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<sup>960</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First\\_Czechoslovak\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Czechoslovak_Republic)

<sup>961</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Czechoslovakia#Munich\\_Agreement,\\_and\\_Two-Step\\_German\\_Occupation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Czechoslovakia#Munich_Agreement,_and_Two-Step_German_Occupation)

<sup>962</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Czechoslovakia#Communist\\_Czechoslovakia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Czechoslovakia#Communist_Czechoslovakia)

<sup>963</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third\\_Czechoslovak\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third_Czechoslovak_Republic)

<sup>964</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third\\_Czechoslovak\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third_Czechoslovak_Republic)

information, internal trade, finance, and interior (which encompassed the police apparatus). Utilizing these ministries, they suppressed non-communist opposition, positioned party members in influential roles, and established a firm foundation for a takeover endeavor. Their efforts were further amplified through media and police channels. The announcement of the reactionary plot, initially declared by Gottwald during the KSČ Central Committee meeting in November 1947, was propagated nationwide through the communist press.<sup>965</sup> 02/25/1948 End Semidemocracy/Start Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy: In a situation of increasingly extreme communist tactics, the 12 non-communist ministers resigned. Communist party took over complete power. The following elections were controlled and won by the communists (Kohut 1989). On 08/20/1968 Soviet leaders grew suspicious of Dubcek's reforms and openings in the Czech political system and decided to invade and remove him from power. Svoboda was appointed as an interim president in the aftermath of Dubcek's removal. However, this is not classified as a regime change but the prevention of a possible regime change initiated by Dubcek (Kohut 1989).

12/09/1989 End Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On 12/04/1989 the communist regime leadership resigned in response to massive protests, general strikes and internal discord. This led to the dissolution of the Communist Party and the first government not dominated by Communists (Velvet Revolution). The conservative leadership of the Czech Communist Party abdicated, leaving a rump group to negotiate the transfer of power. The first “government of national understanding” was dominated by leaders of the two main opposition movements: the Civic Forum that had emerged in the Czech lands and its Slovak counterpart, Public Against Violence (Bernhard 1993: 324-325, Friedheim 1993: 483).

06/08[+09]/1990 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Democracy: After the general election in June 1990, the majority of key positions in the national government were occupied by Civic Forum leaders, while Public Against Violence dominated in the Slovak regions. These divisions eventually resulted in the split into two separate countries (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 24). The failure to address the Czech-Slovak conflict in 1992 led to a constitutional deadlock, undermining the federation's functionality. Despite this, political parties in both the Czech lands and Slovakia were free to organize and participate in the political arena. The establishment of a 12-member Constitutional Court in early 1992 marked a significant milestone in establishing a system of checks and balances among the

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<sup>965</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third\\_Czechoslovak\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Third_Czechoslovak_Republic)

executive, legislative, and judicial branches. In 1992, three years following the conclusion of the 1989 velvet revolution that terminated 41 years of Communist rule, Czech and Slovak leaders initiated concrete measures to dissolve the 74-year-old Czecho-Slovakian federation. The results of free and fair elections held in June accelerated the dissolution process, culminating in the federation's dissolution by 01/01/1993 (McColm 1993).

Additional sources (Bernhard 1993, Bradley 2000, Braghiroli 2007, Coakley 1986, Gawdiak 1987, Friedheim 1993, Heimann 2009, Kohut 1989, McDermott/Stibbe 2006, Paul 1983, Saxonberg 2001, Zinner 1963)

## **Czech Republic**

01/01/1993 Start Democracy [as Czech Republic]: After the dissolution of Czechoslovakia<sup>966</sup>, on this date, the Czech Republic became independent. The Czech Republic is a parliamentary democracy where political freedoms and civil liberties are generally upheld. Nevertheless, the nation has encountered various corruption scandals and political conflicts in recent times, which have impeded regular legislative processes. The emergence of illiberal rhetoric and the growing influence of influential business entities in the political landscape have become more apparent.<sup>967</sup> Women possess the right to vote in the Czech Republic since its creation.<sup>968</sup> In January 2023, presidential elections took place in the Czech Republic, leading to the victory of Petr Pavel. Miloš Zeman, the incumbent president, was unable to run due to term limits. The election campaign was characterized as divisive by the media. The election result was seen as a show of support for the West amid the War in Ukraine and is anticipated to enhance Czech relations with the European Union and the United States.<sup>969</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Lebeda 2010)

## **Denmark**

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<sup>966</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dissolution\\_of\\_Czechoslovakia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dissolution_of_Czechoslovakia)

<sup>967</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/czech-republic/freedom-world/2022>;  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Czech\\_Republic\\_2013?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Czech_Republic_2013?lang=en)

<sup>968</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/czech-republic/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>969</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023\\_Czech\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023_Czech_presidential_election)



01/01/1900 Constitutional Monarchy [Start: 06/05/1849]: The King granted limited voting rights in 1834 but only to property owners and with limited power. When King Frederik VII succeeded to the throne in January 1848, he was met by demands for a constitution and end to absolutism. Following these demands, first proper voting rights came in 06/05/1849, as the June Constitution of 1848 was signed by Frederick VII,<sup>970</sup> to "men over 30 of good reputation".<sup>971</sup> But in the subsequent years the rules were changed a number of times, and it was not until the change of the constitution in 1915 that all men and women living within the kingdom had influence on all chambers.<sup>972</sup>

07/24/1901 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start (Monarchical) (Male) Semidemocracy: Denmark effectively started operating as a parliamentary democracy with the cabinet Deutzer. In Danish, the establishment of the new cabinet is denoted as 'systemskiftet,' translating to the shift of government<sup>973</sup> Except for the Easter Crisis of 1920, no Danish government since 1901 has been established against the vote of a majority of the members of parliament.<sup>974</sup> Women gained the right to vote in 1915.

05/07/1915 End (Monarchical) (Male) Semidemocracy/Start (Monarchical) Democracy: On this date women could vote for the first time in parliamentary elections.<sup>975</sup> During this time, Denmark implemented significant social and labor-market reforms, laying the foundation for the contemporary welfare state.<sup>976</sup> The constitution of 1849, which remained in effect with some amendments during that era, enshrined a range of civil and political liberties (Faerkel 1982).

04/09/1940 End (Monarchical) Democracy/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: On this date Operation Weserübung was conducted, which led to the occupation of Denmark by Germany. Following this, the Danish government and king continued to operate in a de facto protectorate until 08/29/1943, when Germany took direct military control over Denmark. The occupation persisted until the Allies victory on 05/05/1945.<sup>977</sup>

05/05/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start (Monarchical) Democracy: Denmark returned operating as a parliamentary representative

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_Denmark#Drafting\\_and\\_signing\\_of\\_the\\_first\\_constitution\\_\(1849\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Denmark#Drafting_and_signing_of_the_first_constitution_(1849))

<sup>971</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>972</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>973</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deuntzer\\_Cabinet](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deuntzer_Cabinet); [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monarchy\\_of\\_Denmark](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monarchy_of_Denmark)

<sup>974</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deuntzer\\_Cabinet](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deuntzer_Cabinet)

<sup>975</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women\\_in\\_Denmark](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women_in_Denmark);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1915\\_Danish\\_Folketing\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1915_Danish_Folketing_election)

<sup>976</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Denmark#Constitutional\\_monarchy\\_\(1849%E2%80%93present\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Denmark#Constitutional_monarchy_(1849%E2%80%93present))

<sup>977</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Denmark\\_in\\_World\\_War\\_II](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Denmark_in_World_War_II)

democracy with a ceremonial monarch. The nation state is decentralized and unitary, with Queen Margrethe II serving as the head of state.<sup>978</sup> In 1953 the constitution was substantially revised. The new constitution reduced the national legislature to one chamber, the Folketing. All members were to be selected based on proportional representation.<sup>979</sup> Danish elections are widely recognized for being free and fair. They are conducted in an open and transparent manner, ensuring that all political parties have a fair chance to compete. Denmark consistently has one of the highest voter turnouts in the world. This reflects a strong democratic culture where citizens are actively engaged in the political process. Danish politics is characterized by a multi-party system with no single party holding an absolute majority in the Folketing since the early 20th century. This necessitates negotiations and compromise among various parties (Nannestad 2009). Civil liberties are a high priority in Denmark. For example, freedom of religion and freedom of assembly are upheld.<sup>980</sup> Denmark is known for high levels of transparency and accountability in its political institutions. This is reflected in the public's satisfaction with these institutions and the country's regular ranking as one of the least corrupt in the world. These attributes indicate a high quality of democracy in Denmark, characterized by stable governance, strong institutions, and a culture of consensus and cooperation. The Danish judiciary operates independently.<sup>981</sup> However, the system's complexity, with multiple parties and the need for coalition-building, can sometimes slow down decision-making processes. Despite these challenges, Denmark's democratic system is widely regarded as robust and effective. LIED and Row classify the regime in their highest categories polyarchy respectively liberal democracy. On 11/01/2022 in the Kingdom of Denmark general elections were held. Due to a national holiday, in the Faroe Islands the elections were held on the previous day. Danish citizens over the age of 18 and reside in Denmark may vote. In line with the Danish democratic tradition, these elections were deemed free and fair.<sup>982</sup>

(Monarchical) Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Djibouti**

[Formerly known as French Somaliland]

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<sup>978</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Denmark](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Denmark)

<sup>979</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Denmark/Postwar-Denmark-1945-c-1990>;  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Denmark\\_1953?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Denmark_1953?lang=en)

<sup>980</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/denmark/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>981</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/denmark/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>982</sup> <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/6/e/541356.pdf>

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 03/25/1885]: In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, France declared a protectorate and colony over the region at the Horn of Africa, which comprised Djibouti and its immediate hinterland, naming it French Somaliland (Lea/Rowe 2001, Roberts 1986). From 1862 until 1894, the land to the north of the Gulf of Tadjoura was called Obock and ruled by Somali and Afar Sultans.<sup>983</sup> French Somaliland was formally established after the Issa and Afar rulers each signed a treaty with the French.<sup>984</sup> On 03/11/1862, a treaty was signed in Paris by Afar Sultan Raieta Dini Ahmet, relinquishing the territory of Obock and later, that treaty was used by the French to colonize the south of the Bay of Tadjoura: On 03/25/1885 the French signed a treaty with the Gadabuursi, a northern Somali clan, effectively making them a protectorate of France.<sup>985</sup> On 03/26/1885 the French signed another treaty with the Issa making the latter a protectorate under the French.<sup>986</sup> Lagarde was appointed French colonial governor of Obock Territory in Africa, a position he held from 1884 to 1899.<sup>987</sup> In 1894, he established a permanent French administration in the city of Djibouti.<sup>988</sup> Later, the administrative capital of the colony was moved from Obock to Djibouti to enhance trading from East Africa and Somalia (Lea/Rowe 2001). This period is coded as colonial rule because first, the Afar ruler ceded the territory of Obock to France and then the French claimed the southern regions that were under control of the Issa, despite the existence of a protectorate agreement. In 1946, the international status of French Somaliland was changed to an overseas territory within the French Union. It received its own legislature and representation in the French parliament.<sup>989</sup>

06/23/1957 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy [as Protectorate of France, Democracy]: A decree implementing the Loi Cadre (enabling law) dated 06/23/1956 marked the inception of the first territorial assembly and self-governance for French Somaliland. The executive council of ministers, consisting of eight elected assembly members, was entrusted with responsibilities for domestic affairs (Lea/Rowe 2001). The loi cadre granted equal voting rights to all residents and scrapped the dual college system and enabled the creation of political parties.<sup>990</sup> The territory's first elections under a system of proportional representation were held at the same day a year later. On 06/23/1957 the territorial assembly

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<sup>983</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Territory\\_of\\_the\\_Afars\\_and\\_the\\_Issas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Territory_of_the_Afars_and_the_Issas)

<sup>984</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Somaliland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Somaliland)

<sup>985</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Somaliland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Somaliland)

<sup>986</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Somaliland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Somaliland)

<sup>987</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%A9once\\_Lagarde](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%A9once_Lagarde)

<sup>988</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Djibouti](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Djibouti)

<sup>989</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13232162>

<sup>990</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1957\\_French\\_Somaliland\\_Territorial\\_Assembly\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1957_French_Somaliland_Territorial_Assembly_election)

was elected while the Republican Union won all 30 seats (Lea/Rowe 2001).<sup>991</sup> In 1958, a referendum was held in the territory to decide whether to join the Somali Republic or to remain with France. The referendum turned out in favour of a continued association with France, However, there were allegations of vote rigging.<sup>992</sup> In 1946 universal suffrage was introduced.<sup>993</sup> In 1966 France denied French Somaliland independence as recommended by the UN. Another plebiscite on the relationship with France was held, which was also defined by substantial vote rigging by French authorities.<sup>994</sup> On 05/07/1967, French Somaliland was renamed French Territory of the Afaras and Issas. The position the Senior French representative changed to that of High Commissioner and “the Executive Council was renamed the Council of Government and the number of members was reduced to nine” (Lea/Rowe 2001).

06/27/1977 End Electoral Autocracy [as Protectorate of France, Democracy]/Start One-Party Autocracy [as de-facto independent country]: On 05/08/1977, a third plebiscite on the territory’s future took place. A landslide of the electorate supported disengagement from France marking Djibouti's independence.<sup>995</sup> With independence the French Territory of the Afaras and Issas was renamed Republic of Djibouti. Prior to independence, elections for the national assembly were held on 05/08/1977. They were boycotted by the Djibouti Liberation Movement, the National Union for Independence and the Popular Liberation Movement, resulting in the People's Rally for independence winning all 65 seats.<sup>996</sup> Hassan Gouled became the first president appointed by the parliament (Lea/Rowe 2001: 133).<sup>997</sup> On 06/12/1981 the country became also de-jure a one-party autocracy. Gouled declared his party, the People's Rally for Progress (Rassemblement populaire pour leprogrès, RPP) the sole authorized one. Leaders of the opposition party PDD were arrested and later released. In national assembly polls, 65 RPP candidates were elected unopposed. As RPP candidate, Gouled was elected without opposition for a six-year term as president on 06/12/1981, receiving 84.58% of the vote. A new government was formed, but in composition similar to the previous one (Lea/Rowe 2001: 133). Gouled was re-elected as President in 1987 being the sole candidate, which was his third term in office, despite constitutional limits of presidential tenure to two terms. The decision was made on the ground that he had initially been appointed by the Chamber of Deputies rather than having been popularly elected (Lansford 2021: 457). The rebel organisation Front for the Restoration of

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<sup>991</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1957\\_French\\_Somaliland\\_Territorial\\_Assembly\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1957_French_Somaliland_Territorial_Assembly_election)

<sup>992</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Territory\\_of\\_the\\_Afars\\_and\\_the\\_Issas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Territory_of_the_Afars_and_the_Issas)

<sup>993</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>994</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Territory\\_of\\_the\\_Afars\\_and\\_the\\_Issas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Territory_of_the_Afars_and_the_Issas)

<sup>995</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Territory\\_of\\_the\\_Afars\\_and\\_the\\_Issas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Territory_of_the_Afars_and_the_Issas)

<sup>996</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970\\_Cambodian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970_Cambodian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>997</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hassan\\_Gouled\\_Aptidon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hassan_Gouled_Aptidon)

Unity and Democracy (FRUD) was formed by the merger of three Afar groups in April 1991 (Lea/Rowe 2001: 134). They demanded for greater political participation of Afar and launched a guerrilla struggle against the government in late October.<sup>998</sup>

12/18/1992 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy: A national referendum was held on 09/04/1992, that saw the introduction of multiparty politics, although another separate vote supported that the number of legal parties should be limited to four. Opposition members boycotted the legislative balloting of 12/18/1992, resulting in the contestation of only two political parties and the RPP won again all 65 seats. Gouled defeated for other candidates and thus was re-elected for a fourth term in May 1993 (Lansford 2021:457-458).<sup>999</sup> In February 1999, Gouled announced that he would refrain from contesting for another term and the RPP chose his nephew Guelleh as its presidential candidate. With only one opponent who was Ahmed-Idriss Moussa, Guelleh won 74% of the presidential vote on 04/09/1999. A few months later, Idriss was arrested for publishing a critical article about the government (Lansford 2021:458). In September 2002 President Guelleh announced the establishment of a full multiparty system. The elections were contested between two coalitions, compromised of several parties (Lansford 2021:458).<sup>1000</sup> The ruling Union for a Presidential Majority won all 65 seats in balloting for the Chamber of Deputies on 01/10/2003, under allegations of significant vote rigging.<sup>1001</sup> Guelleh was re-elected unopposed in 2005. The UMP again won all 65 seats in assembly elections on 02/08/2008, with opposition parties boycotting the polls on grounds that it was undemocratic (Lansford 2021:458). Guelleh was re-elected in 2011, 2016 and secured his 5th presidential term in 2021 in elections marked by substantial irregularities.<sup>1002</sup> The UMP won 57 seats in legislative balloting on 02/23/2018 and 58/65 in 2023. A coalition of the UDJ and PDD won seven seats, while the CDU secured one (Lansford 2021:458). Although Djibouti technically operates under a multiparty political system, the ruling Union for a Presidential Majority (UMP) employs authoritarian tactics to uphold its dominant position. The opposition faces significant constraints on its operations, with journalists and activists routinely subjected to harassment or arrest for voicing criticism against Guelleh or the UMP.<sup>1003</sup> Djibouti in this period is a borderline case between an electoral

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<sup>998</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hassan\\_Gouled\\_Aptidon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hassan_Gouled_Aptidon)

<sup>999</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2003\\_Djiboutian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2003_Djiboutian_parliamentary_election);  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Djibouti\\_2010?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Djibouti_2010?lang=en)

<sup>1000</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2003\\_Djiboutian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2003_Djiboutian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1001</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005\\_Djiboutian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_Djiboutian_presidential_election)

<sup>1002</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021\\_Djiboutian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021_Djiboutian_presidential_election)

<sup>1003</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/djibouti>

autocracy and a one-party autocracy. The name of the ruling party, Union for a Presidential Majority, shows the highly personalized character of the political regime.

Electoral (personalist) autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Thibaut 1999b)

## **Dominica**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 02/10/1763]: Following the ending of the Seven Years' war, sealed by the Treaty of Paris on 02/10/1763, the island became British possession.<sup>1004</sup> From 1833 until 1940 Dominica was part of the Leeward Islands, from 01/01/1940 until 01/01/1960 part of the Windward Islands.<sup>1005</sup> In 1951 universal suffrage was introduced (LIED). From 01/02/1958 until 05/31/1962 it was also part of the Federation of the West Indies. On 01/07/1966 preceding internal self-autonomy general elections were held. The result was a victory for the Dominica Labour Party, which won 10 of the 11 seats.

03/01/1967 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Democracy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: On this date, Dominica reached internal self-autonomy (Young 1976).<sup>1006</sup> General elections were held in Dominica on 01/07/1966.

11/03/1978 Continuation Democracy [as independent country]: On 11/03/1978, his date, independence from the United Kingdom was gained. Dominica is a parliamentary democracy with a unicameral system, the House of Assembly. The Dominica Labor Party (DLP) has governed the country since 2000. While the nation is dedicated to democratic governance, and civil liberties are generally respected, certain concerns endure. These include the effective administration of elections, the efficiency of the judiciary, and government corruption, particularly in connection to the country's Citizenship by Investment (CBI) program.<sup>1007</sup> On 12/06/2022 snap general elections took place.<sup>1008</sup> With a voter turnout of just 31.6 percent, the turnout reached a historic low. The boycott by the two leading opposition parties, the United Worker's Party, and the Dominica Freedom Party, along with the Alternative Peoples' Party could have been one reason for the low voter turnout. They boycotted the election in December

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<sup>1004</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_Paris\\_\(1763\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Paris_(1763))

<sup>1005</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominica>

<sup>1006</sup> <https://www.rulers.org/ruld.html#dominica>

<sup>1007</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/dominica/freedom-world/2022;>  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Dominica\\_2014?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Dominica_2014?lang=en)

<sup>1008</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022\\_Dominican\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022_Dominican_general_election)

due to electoral reforms that had not been implemented. The DPL won 19 out of the 21 directly elected seats in the House of Assembly. Apart from the boycott, election observers deemed the election peaceful and orderly.<sup>1009</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Catón 2005)

## **Dominican Republic**

01/01/1900 Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime [Start: 02/27/1844]: Haiti was briefly unified with Haiti under Haitian rule from 1822 to 1844. On 02/27/1844 the Dominican Republic gained independence from Haiti. In 1880 male suffrage was introduced.<sup>1010</sup> The call for free presidential elections arose soon after independence. Due to the ongoing threat by Haiti the enthusiasm for an electoral process was not shared by all high-ranking officials. The first constitution was passed in 1844 and was remarkably liberal (Hartlyn 2001: 23-24). It advocates for presidentialism, the separation of powers, and comprehensive "checks and balances." (Hartlyn 2001: 24). A second constitution in 1854 was even more liberal, although often disregarded (Hartlyn 2001: 24). In the Battle of Monte Cristi against Spanish occupation, the Dominican sovereignty was restored on 06/15/1865.<sup>1011</sup> After Spanish troops departed, authority in the country was divided between militias and local caudillos.<sup>1012</sup> During this period, a continuous clash persisted between the primary factions within the oligarchies, namely the Rojos (Conservatives) and the Azules (Liberals), both characterized by a prominent emphasis on personalist leadership (Franco 2005: 239). Stability was brought back through the presidency of Ulises Heureaux that lasted between 09/01/1882 to 09/01/1884 and 01/06/1887 to 02/27/1889, as well as 04/30/1889 to 07/26/1899 even though Heureaux ruled the island through an "iron-fisted rule".<sup>1013</sup> The assassination of Heureaux in 1899 led to six years of instability, in this time there were four revolutions and six different presidents.<sup>1014</sup> Vice-President Felipe Horacio Vásquez led a rebellion against the government of President Juan Isidro Jimenez beginning on 04/26/1902. On 05/02/1902 Vice-President Felipe Horacio

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<sup>1009</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/dominica/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>1010</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#Dates\\_by\\_country](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#Dates_by_country)

<sup>1011</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Dominican\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Dominican_Republic)

<sup>1012</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Dominican\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Dominican_Republic)

<sup>1013</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulises\\_Heureaux](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulises_Heureaux);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Dominican\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Dominican_Republic)

<sup>1014</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Dominican\\_Republic#cite\\_note-42](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Dominican_Republic#cite_note-42)

Vásquez's forces entered Santo Domingo, and President Jimenez was overthrown.<sup>1015</sup> On 2/5/1902, Vice President Felipe Horacio Vásquez was appointed as President of a Provisional government.<sup>1016</sup>

03/23/1903 End Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, General Alejandro Wos y Gil initiated a coup d'état, leading to the resignation of President Felipe Horacio Vásquez on 04/23/1903. Following these events, General Wos y Gil secured his position as the sole candidate, being elected on 06/20/1903. His inauguration as president took place on 08/01/1903.<sup>1017</sup> Although General Wos y Gil was elected, we code the regime as a military autocracy because there was no other candidate or opposition and his presidency started with a military intervention.

11/25/1903 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a rebellion led by General Carlos Morales on 11/24-25/1903 ended the presidency of Wos y Gil. On 12/06/1903 General Morales established a provisional government. U.S troops were deployed in support of the government. A Jimenista rebellion was suppressed by government troops in March 1904. A peace agreement was reached and signed by the political factions in June 1904.<sup>1018</sup>

06/19/1904 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: After the peace agreement General Morales was elected president in May 1904, and he was inaugurated as president on 06/19/1904.<sup>1019</sup> In 1905 administration of customs was transferred to the USA. As per the conditions of this arrangement, a Receiver-General, designated by the U.S. president, retained 55% of the overall revenues to settle claims from foreign entities, while allocating the remaining 45% to the Dominican government. In 1906, Morales stepped down from office, leading to the presidency of Ramón Cáceres, who was part of the Horacista faction. Cáceres managed to quell a rebellion led by General Desiderio Arias, which resulted in political stability and a resurgence of economic prosperity. In November 1907 a constituent assembly convened and approved a new constitution in February 1908. Ramón Arturo Cáceres Vásquez won the presidency through an electoral college vote on 05/30/1908 and was officially inaugurated as president on

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<sup>1015</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/dominican-republic-1902-present/>

<sup>1016</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/dominican-republic-1902-present/>

<sup>1017</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/dominican-republic-1902-present/>

<sup>1018</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/dominican-republic-1902-present/>

<sup>1019</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/dominican-republic-1902-present/>



07/01/1908.<sup>1020</sup> This was supported by new US-investments in the sugar sector. Cáceres was assassinated in 1911, an event in which Morales and Arias bore some level of indirect responsibility. This event threw the republic back into a state of turmoil.<sup>1021</sup>

12/01/1911 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: In the ensuing power vacuum, General Alfredo Victoria seized control, prompting Congress to elect his uncle, Eladio Victoria, as interim president on 12/05/1911. Allegations of bribery tainted the general's influence, casting doubt on his uncle's legitimacy upon assuming office on 02/27/1912. Former president Horacio Vásquez returned from exile to lead his supporters in a popular uprising against the new government, joining forces with General Desiderio Arias, sparking civil conflict by December.<sup>1022</sup> A bloody civil war lasted from 12/01/1911 to 11/01/1912. The USA escalated the situation by warning that they might shift their official recognition to the insurgents and relinquish the entire 45% of customs revenue to them unless President Victoria resigned. Consequently, on 11/26, Victoria stepped down from his position. American representatives engaged with the rebel leader Vásquez, leading to the appointment of Archbishop of Santo Domingo Adolfo Alejandro Nouel as interim president on 11/30.<sup>1023</sup>

11/30/1912 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime: Nouel was assigned the responsibility of organizing open elections, yet Arias promptly challenged the authority of the government. Within a span of four months, Nouel stepped down from his position, and Congress subsequently chose Senator José Bordas as provisional president.<sup>1024</sup> On 04/14/1913 Bordas was elected and assumed the provisional presidency. He was a politician independent of the parties. His singular focus was on maintaining his presidency.<sup>1025</sup>

10/25/1914 End Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: On this date, general elections, resulting in the election of Juan Isidro Jimenes Pereyra as president were conducted. He secured victory over his rivals Horacio Vásquez and Luis Felipe Vidal. The presidential selection followed a two-phase system, where voters initially chose an

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<sup>1020</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/dominican-republic-1902-present/>

<sup>1021</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Dominican\\_Republic#Restoration:\\_Second\\_Republic\\_1865%E2%80%931916](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Dominican_Republic#Restoration:_Second_Republic_1865%E2%80%931916)

<sup>1022</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominican\\_Civil\\_War\\_\(1911%E2%80%931912\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominican_Civil_War_(1911%E2%80%931912))

<sup>1023</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominican\\_Civil\\_War\\_\(1911%E2%80%931912\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominican_Civil_War_(1911%E2%80%931912))

<sup>1024</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominican\\_Civil\\_War\\_\(1911%E2%80%931912\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominican_Civil_War_(1911%E2%80%931912))

<sup>1025</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominican\\_Civil\\_War\\_\(1911%E2%80%931912\);](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominican_Civil_War_(1911%E2%80%931912);)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9\\_Bordas\\_Valdez](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9_Bordas_Valdez)

electoral college that subsequently carried out the president's election.<sup>1026</sup> The elections were considered to be “comparatively fair” (Hartlyn 2001: 37). Universal male suffrage had been established in 1865, but women were only granted the right to vote in 1942 (Franco 2005: 243). Besides the restricted suffrage, a non-elected actor, namely the United States, continued to interfere in internal affairs of the state and therefore, restricting the exercise of power by elected state actors (Hartlyn 2001: 37). We classify the period as semidemocracy, because it is hard to detect severe deficits in the electoral process or the use of power by the executive. Nonetheless, it is clear that this period cannot be considered a democracy, because of the restricted suffrage and the interference of the United States.

11/29/1916 End (Male) Semidemocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by USA, Semidemocracy]: When the elections set for 12/03 appeared to be incapable of producing a candidate approved by the U.S. Government, Washington took steps to substitute the existing Dominican government with direct rule by the U.S. military. This decision was announced by U.S. Naval Captain Harry Knapp on 11/29. Knapp justified the U.S. actions by referring to breaches of the 1907 treaty.<sup>1027</sup>

03/15/1924 End Occupation Regime [by USA, Semidemocracy]/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: General elections were held in the Dominican Republic on this date. Horacio Vásquez of the Progressive National Alliance won the presidential election, whilst his party won the parliamentary elections and the Constitutional Assembly election.<sup>1028</sup> The last US troops left the Dominican Republic in September 1924.<sup>1029</sup> When in office, Vasquez pushed through changes which made it more difficult for the opposition to mobilize and modified the constitution four times, extending his term in office (Hartlyn 1998: 90-91, Casey et al. 2020: 5).

02/23/1930 End Semidemocracy/Start Personalist Autocracy: Through a military coup supported by Brigadier General Rafael Trujillo president Horacio Vásquez was deposed. Trujillo installed himself as regime leader (Pons 1990: 509, Hartlyn 1998: 85, Casey et al. 2020: 5, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 56). 08/02/1931 the Dominican Party was founded. It was an outgrowth of the Patriotic Coalition of Citizens that supported Trujillo's run for president. Soon afterward, it was proclaimed to be the only legal party. All adult citizens of the Dominican Republic were required to be members of the party. The party had no real ideology other than support for Trujillo. While there were several presidents in this regime period Rafael

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<sup>1026</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1914\\_Dominican\\_Republic\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1914_Dominican_Republic_general_election)

<sup>1027</sup> <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/wwi/108649.htm>; [https://rulers.org/ruld.html#dominican\\_republic](https://rulers.org/ruld.html#dominican_republic)

<sup>1028</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1924\\_Dominican\\_Republic\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1924_Dominican_Republic_general_election)

<sup>1029</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominican\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominican_Republic)

Trujillo remained the power center as the leader of his personalist party.<sup>1030</sup> From 08/16/1930 until 08/16/1938 and from 05/18/1942 until 08/16/1952 Rafael Trujillo was president of the Dominican Republic.<sup>1031</sup> Dominican women won the right to vote through a constitutional reform of 1942.<sup>1032</sup> During the interim periods Trujillo began to install figurehead-presidents for instance Jacinto Bienvenido Peynado to pacify foreign dissatisfaction with his authoritarian regime, without relinquishing his actual power.<sup>1033</sup> In the presidential elections 1952 Héctor Trujillo, brother of Rafael Trujillo, was the only candidate. The Dominican Party won every seat in the Congressional elections.<sup>1034</sup> Trujillo controller both the military and the secret service, enriched himself and his family through state monopolies over the largest companies, eliminated political opponents, and awarded offices to family and loyalists.<sup>1035</sup> Moreover, the personality cult of the Trujillo era was very significant. This cult also extended to the family members.<sup>1036</sup> Taken together, the regime must therefore be classified as a personalist autocracy, even though Trujillo was not president for the entire period. Trujillo formed the center of power through the party presidency and as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Trujillo was assassinated on 05/30/1961, nonetheless his regime remained until 11/19/1961 when the military uprising carried out by members of the Dominican Military Aviation ‘Rebellion of the Pilots’ expelled the Trujillo Clan from the island.<sup>1037</sup>

11/19/1961 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: Joaquin Balaguer, serving as a nominal president, took on substantial governing authority.<sup>1038</sup> From 01/01/1962 on he was required, by OAS determination, to share his power with a seven-member Council of state including members of the opposition. On 01/04/1962 the sanctions by OAS were lifted.<sup>1039</sup>

01/16/1962 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Military Autocracy: A military coup ousted in response to political riots Balaguer, Trujillo's designated successor. A six member military junta was established in the aftermath to oversee competitive elections (Wiarda 1975: 263).

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<sup>1030</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominican\\_Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominican_Party)

<sup>1031</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rafael\\_Trujillo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rafael_Trujillo)

<sup>1032</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women\\_in\\_the\\_Dominican\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women_in_the_Dominican_Republic)

<sup>1033</sup> [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rafael\\_Le%C3%B3nidas\\_Trujillo\\_Molina](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rafael_Le%C3%B3nidas_Trujillo_Molina)

<sup>1034</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1952\\_Dominican\\_Republic\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1952_Dominican_Republic_general_election)

<sup>1035</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/dominican-republic/11.htm>; <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Rafael-Trujillo>

<sup>1036</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rafael\\_Trujillo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rafael_Trujillo)

<sup>1037</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rebellion\\_of\\_the\\_Pilots](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rebellion_of_the_Pilots)

<sup>1038</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Dominican\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Dominican_Republic)

<sup>1039</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Dominican\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Dominican_Republic)

12/20/1962 End Military Autocracy/Start Democracy: On this date, the first free elections in the country's history took place and were won by the opposition (Hartlyn 1998:103).<sup>1040</sup>

09/25/1963 End Democracy/Start Military Autocracy: Colonel Elías Wessin overthrew the elected President Bosch out of fears that his economic, cultural and military policies were too extreme and installed a three-member military junta led by De Santos (Atkins/Wilson 1998:130, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 57).<sup>1041</sup>

04/24/1965 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A coalition consisting of a military faction and civilian supporters of Bosch, the deposed civilian president, successfully toppled the government of Wessin. Armed forces were present on both sides of the confrontation. The insurgents managed to overcome the military faction aligned with the triumvirate and established a temporary governing body (Wiarda/Kryzanek 1992: 42-43, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 57).

04/25/1965 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date military and civilian forces loyal to Juan Bosch seized the control from the military junta.<sup>1042</sup>

04/28/1965 End Military Autocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by USA, Democracy]: During this period U.S. military and government exerted significant influence and control over the country's internal affairs, effectively establishing provisional governments that were either directed or heavily influenced by the United States. Molina was pushed out of office by forces loyal to Cabral and the junta which overthrew Bosch. This was accomplished in part because of the US-led invasion of the country. Pedro Bartolomé was made the provisional president from 05/01 to 07 of the loyalist occupation government (Campillo/Jolio 1986: 251-255, Yates 2014). He was also a member of the Revolutionary Committee, which ruled the country for about few hours on 04/25/1965.<sup>1043</sup> On 09/03/1965 Héctor García-Godoy assumed the role of provisional president during this uncertain and tumultuous period, with ongoing shifts in power and political dynamics.<sup>1044</sup>

06/01/1966 End Occupation Regime [by USA, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy: On 06/01/1966 an election of Balaguer took place during the U.S. occupation (Campillo/Jolio 1986: 251-255, Yates 2014). Although multiparty elections were held regularly between June

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<sup>1040</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1962\\_Dominican\\_Republic\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1962_Dominican_Republic_general_election)

<sup>1041</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5DominicanRepublic2018.pdf>

<sup>1042</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominican\\_Civil\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominican_Civil_War)

<sup>1043</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pedro\\_Bartolom%C3%A9\\_Benoit](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pedro_Bartolom%C3%A9_Benoit)

<sup>1044</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/H%C3%A9ctor\\_Garc%C3%ADa-Godoy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/H%C3%A9ctor_Garc%C3%ADa-Godoy)

1966 and May 1978, this period is considered authoritarian because elections were unfair and civil liberties unprotected (Hartlyn 1998: 108-109, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 57).<sup>1045</sup> 05/16/1978 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: General presidential and parliamentary elections were held, which were considered free and fair. The elections were won by the opposition and after the elections Guzmán took over the presidency. This was first time in the country's history that a government had peacefully surrendered power to the opposition after an election (Campillo/Jolio 1986: 289-295, Hartlyn 1998). But “[w]ith the 1978 elections a period of very problematic elections began (five elections up to 1994)” (Franco 2005: 241). The Central Electoral Authority (JCE), the main institution for organization of the electoral process, had aggregated extensive powers since 1923, despite being subordinated to the executive (Franco 2005: 241). Another powerful institution was the military. Although remaining under civilian control, the military constantly threatened to interfere in politics, as civilian control was only exercised via personal relationships and splits within the officer corps. In May 1982 presidential elections were held and Jorge Blanco of the PRD emerged victorious. Despite initial hopes, the new administration was not less personalist and more institutionalist than the previous one. During Blanco’s administration full-scale protests because of the economic situation emerged. Those protests were suppressed by the armed forces leading to several deaths. Additional problems during Blanco’s time in office clientelism and the largesse of the executive. In the 1986 presidential elections Balaguer emerged as victor (Hartlyn 2001: 48-49). In 1990 Balaguer won again, but the elections were tainted by irregularities and accusations of fraud (Hartlyn 2001: 50). Despite suspicions and controversies, there was optimism that with international assistance to the Electoral Board, the 1994 elections in the Dominican Republic would be conducted fairly, bringing an end to a prolonged series of contested elections (Hartlyn 2001: 50). But Joaquin Balaguer engaged in electoral malpractice in 1994 to preserve his position and obstruct the triumph of populist candidate Jose Francisco Pena Gomez (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 76). Groups from within the country but also from the outside voiced their dissatisfaction, which led to so called agreement ‘Pact of Democracy’ between the three main political parties. The content of this was the appointment of a Electoral Board and other constitutional amendments (Hartlyn 2001: 51). Balaguer agreed to hold new elections in 1996 in which he would not run again.<sup>1046</sup> Before the second round on June 30, President Balaguer joined with the leaders of several small right-wing groups in endorsing

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<sup>1045</sup> <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/display/document/obo-9780199766581/obo-9780199766581-0071.xml>

<sup>1046</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joaqu%C3%ADn\\_Balaguer](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joaqu%C3%ADn_Balaguer)

Fernández, who won over Peña Gómez and was installed as Balaguer's successor on August 16. For the first time in thirty years, Balaguer was not one of the candidates (Lansford 2021: 469, Llanos/Marsteintredet 2010: 184). Presidential and legislative elections are held regularly every four years. Election-related violence remains a problem.<sup>1047</sup> Corruption remains a serious, systemic problem at all levels of the government, judiciary, and security forces, as well as in the private sector. Reports indicate that politicians routinely accept bribes.<sup>1048</sup> Court decisions are not free from political influence. Political and civil rights are generally respected, only minor instances occur. However, safeguarding the right to physical integrity and other human rights remains problematic.<sup>1049</sup> AF, GWF and MCM classify the period since 1978 as democratic, LIED and HTW also classify it as democratic with an interruption between 1994 and 1996. This period is coded as multiparty autocracy. We classify the whole period since 1978 as semidemocracy, because there were constant deficits in the electoral process or the restriction of the executive or the guarantee of political and civil rights. The democratic quality fluctuated. General elections in 2016 and 2020 were found to be credible by independent observers, however procedural deficits and unequal access to media-coverage financing that caused an uneven playing field. The Organization of American States (OAS) issued a series of major electoral reform recommendations. Corruption, extrajudicial killings, election-based violence and voting irregularities persisted, however court rulings in 2019 for instance continually improved public liberties and media freedom.<sup>1050</sup> In 2022 former president Danilo Medina was under investigation for administrative corruption, showcasing the prevailing extent of the problem.<sup>1051</sup> On 19/05/24 general elections were held, in which incumbent Luis Abinader won a second term in the first round with 58% of the vote, with turnout estimated at around 70%.<sup>1052</sup>

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Crassweller 1966, Derby 2009, Franco 2005, Haggerty 1989, Moya Pons 1998, Turits 2004, Wiarda 1968, Yates 2014)

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<sup>1047</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/dominican-republic-1902-present/>

<sup>1048</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/dominican-republic/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1049</sup> <https://www.state.gov/reports/2022-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/dominican-republic>

<sup>1050</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/dominican-republic/freedom-world/2020>

<sup>1051</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/dominican-republic/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>1052</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/dominican-republic-voters-head-polls-incumbent-abinader-favorite-2024-05-19/>

## East Timor

[Also known as Timor-Leste]

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start 08/18/1860]: The first Portuguese settlers arrived in Timor-Leste in the mid-1500s. The Spanish arrived soon after, in 1522. The Dutch took possession of the western portion of the island in 1613. The British governed the island in 1812–1815. The Dutch and the Portuguese fought for supremacy over Timor, and Portuguese sovereignty over the island's eastern half was settled by the “Treaty of Demarcation and Exchange Some Portuguese Possessions and Dutch in the archipelago of Solor and Timor” that was ratified on 08/18/1860.<sup>1053</sup> Timor became a Portuguese colony thereafter and remained under colonial rule until 1975 (Olsson 2009).

12/17/1941 End Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Right-wing Autocracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]: During World War II Australia aimed to prevent Japanese expansion by deploying troops to the island and East Timor was occupied by Dutch and Australian forces in the Battle of Timor. On 05/09/1942, Portuguese Timor was it was invaded by Japanese forces (Olsson 2009).

09/05/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Right-wing Autocracy]: After World War II, Timor-Leste was returned to Portugal when on this date, the Japanese commanding officer entered into negotiations with Portuguese Governor Manuel Ferreira de Carvalho, leading to the restoration of power to the governor and placing the Japanese forces under Portuguese jurisdiction (Olsson 2009).<sup>1054</sup> Timor was subsequently annexed as an overseas province of Portugal, forcing it back under colonial rule.<sup>1055</sup> In 1953 universal suffrage was introduced (LIED). In 1960, Timor was recognized as a non-self-governing territory by the UN with the right to self-determination (Strating 2014: 476). On 04/25/1974 the Estado Novo regime in Portugal was overthrown (see Portugal) and the new government had the goal of decolonization (Olsson 2009).<sup>1056</sup> Timorese political parties were legalized in April 1974 resulting in a dispute between major players, the Timor Democratic Union and Fretilin. A brief civil war emerged, in which members of the colonial police and Timorese soldiers of the Portuguese Army participated as well.<sup>1057</sup> Despite

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<sup>1053</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_Lisbon\\_\(1859\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Lisbon_(1859))

<sup>1054</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Timor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Timor)

<sup>1055</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portuguese\\_Timor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portuguese_Timor)

<sup>1056</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portuguese\\_Timor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portuguese_Timor)

<sup>1057</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portuguese\\_Timor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portuguese_Timor)

the brief civil war, the Portuguese colonial authority still existed, and thus this period is coded as colonial rule.

12/07/1975 End Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Democracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Indonesia, Military Autocracy]: Following the civil war, Fretilin declared East Timor's independence on 11/28/1975. However, a few weeks after the proclamation, Indonesia invaded East Timor on 06/12/1975 (Strating, 2014: 477).

07/17/1976 End Occupation Regime [by Indonesia, Military Autocracy]/Start Part of Other Country [Indonesia, Military Autocracy]: On this date Timor was annexed by Indonesia as the Timor Timur province which was not recognized by the UN nor any other country, except for Australia (Olsson 2009). An estimated number of 180,000 deaths was reported for the 24-year period that Indonesia ruled East Timor.<sup>1058</sup>

10/25/1999 End Part of Other Country [Indonesia, Military Autocracy]/Start Occupation Regime [as International Mandate]: On this date, Timor came under UN administration (Olsson 2009). The Australian-led military intervention, called 'International Forces in East Timor' (INTERFET), was deployed on 09/20, after consultations of conflict parties including Indonesia. Indonesian civilian administration and military troops were withdrawn from the island with the last troops leaving on 10/31 (Olsson 2009). The UNTAET mission's scale surpassed previous UN peacekeeping endeavors. UNTAET wielded considerable authority during this time. Tensions arose between the objectives of establishing effective governance and rapidly preparing the territory for democratic self-rule. Governance was highly centralized, with limited focus on enhancing local capacity.<sup>1059</sup>

08/30[-31]/2001 End [de-facto] Occupation Regime [under International Mandate]/Start Democracy [under International Mandate]: On this date pre-independence elections to the constituent assembly were held in East Timor on 08/30-31/2001 under UN administration. The result was a victory for Fretilin, which won 55 of the 88 seats. Following the election, the Constituent Assembly nominated a transitional Council of Minister.<sup>1060</sup> A new constitution was promulgated in March 2002 and Presidential elections were held in April 2002, again under UN administration, which were won by Gusmão who became the first President of East Timor.<sup>1061</sup> With the 2002 constitution, universal suffrage was established.<sup>1062</sup> On 05/20/2002, the

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<sup>1058</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East\\_Timor\\_independence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_Timor_independence)

<sup>1059</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_East\\_Timor#:~:text=East%20Timor%20became%20formally%20independent,UN%20on%2027%20September%202002.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_East_Timor#:~:text=East%20Timor%20became%20formally%20independent,UN%20on%2027%20September%202002.)

<sup>1060</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2001\\_East\\_Timorese\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2001_East_Timorese_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1061</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2001\\_East\\_Timorese\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2001_East_Timorese_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1062</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/East\\_Timor\\_2002](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/East_Timor_2002)



Democratic Republic of East Timor became formally independent. On 06/30/2007 the first post-independence parliamentary elections were held. Fourteen parties contested in the election which were conducted based on proportional representation with party lists.<sup>1063</sup> The 2022 elections were, according to the Bertelsmann Transformation Index (BTI) and Freedom House, fair and free with a strong intuitional basis,<sup>1064</sup> however legal and procedural transparency is still undermined by ambiguities and would benefit from reforms.<sup>1065</sup> Over the past years since independence, Timor-Leste has held free and fair elections and undergone several peaceful transfers of power. Therefore, this period is coded as democracy. According to Freedom House, however, several weaknesses remain concerning the stability of democratic institutions and disputes among the major personalities from the independence struggle still exist in the political domain.<sup>1066</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Ecuador**

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [Start: 03/13/1830]: On 05/24/1822 Gran Colombia (and Ecuador as part of it) declared its independence from Spain. On 03/13/1830 the Republic of Ecuador became independent after the dissolution of Gran Colombia. Instability characterized much of the rule of the first president, Juan José Flores, fueled by conflict between liberals from Guayaquil and Quito-based conservatives - a schism that endured for more than a century (Macmillan 2022b). In the constitution of 1861 property requirements for voting were abolished but were replaced by literacy requirements, which lasted until 1978 (Kellam 2013: 29, Engerman/Sokoloff 2005: 912). In the 1892 presidential election Luis Cordero Crespo was elected. Because of an international political scandal, he had to resign in 1895. His vice-president Vicente Lucio Salazar became acting president between 04/16/1895 and 09/04/1895.<sup>1067</sup> In 1895 the Liberal Revolution took place in Ecuador. It was a period of radical social and political upheaval.<sup>1068</sup> On 06/05/1895 Eloy Alfaro deposed President Vicente Lucio Salazar and declared himself dictator. His presidency was legitimized only in the aftermath on 01/17/1897 by a constituent convent which named him constitutional president. He stayed

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<sup>1063</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007\\_East\\_Timorese\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007_East_Timorese_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1064</sup> <https://bti-project.org/de/reports/country-dashboard/TLS>

<sup>1065</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/timor-leste/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>1066</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/timor-leste/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1067</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luis\\_Cordero\\_Crespo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luis_Cordero_Crespo); [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vicente\\_Lucio\\_Salazar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vicente_Lucio_Salazar)

<sup>1068</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal\\_Revolution\\_of\\_1895](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_Revolution_of_1895)

in office until 09/01/1901 (Maier 1971: 481-482).<sup>1069</sup> In 1901 presidential elections were held and Leónidas Plaza emerged as winner and assumed office 09/01/1901.<sup>1070</sup> The elections in 1905 saw Lizardo García emerge as winner.<sup>1071</sup> His presidency lasted only until 01/15/1906.<sup>1072</sup> For a second time Alfaro overthrew the elected government and assumed office.<sup>1073</sup>

01/16/1906 End Electoral Oligarchy/ Start Non-electoral Transitional Regime: After the overthrow of the elected government of Lizardo García, Alfaro convened a constituent assembly, to draft a new constitution and elect him. For the second time he used this method, to gain legitimacy (Maier 1971: 481 - 482).<sup>1074</sup>

01/01/1908 End Non-electoral Transitional Regime/Start Electoral Oligarchy: On this date Alfaro was elected by the constituent convent. “It is interesting to note that [...] the constitution called for direct popular election of the president yet [...] [he] preferred to have the convention delegates elect him. The question here arises whether presidents elected under such circumstances can be considered constitutional presidents since their accession originally was not in accordance with constitutional provisions” (Maier 1971: 481-482). On 08/12/1912 following Alfaro’s refusal to relinquish power to his successor, an armed uprising ensued, resulting in Alfaro’s overthrow (Stornaiolo 1999: 179-84, Casey et al. 2020: 5). Overall Alfaro’s presidencies are often praised for the implementation of liberal principles like freedom of speech and religion and secularization. However, he and the Liberal Revolution did not succeed in eradicating the influence of oligarchic elites (Farrington 2012: 19-20).<sup>1075</sup> Presidential elections were held regularly afterwards. The literacy requirements for voting remained applicable until 1978 (Kellam 2013: 29).

07/09/1925 (Electoral) End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military Autocracy: In July 1925, a group of junior officers, which called itself the Military League, carried out a military coup that overthrew President Gonzalo Córdova and assumed control of the government. The so called July Revolution was aligned against the plutocracy governing the nation.<sup>1076</sup> After an initial military junta, it was extended for six years – until 1931 -, with two provisional government juntas.<sup>1077</sup> In 1926, the junta officially transferred power to Isidro Ayora (Mora 1991: 690, Deas 1986: 663-68, Casey et al. 2020: 5). In 1930 women’s suffrage was granted. In article

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<sup>1069</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eloy\\_Alfaro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eloy_Alfaro)

<sup>1070</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1901\\_Ecuadorian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1901_Ecuadorian_presidential_election)

<sup>1071</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1905\\_Ecuadorian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1905_Ecuadorian_presidential_election)

<sup>1072</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lizardo\\_Garc%C3%ADa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lizardo_Garc%C3%ADa)

<sup>1073</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eloy\\_Alfaro#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eloy_Alfaro#)

<sup>1074</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eloy\\_Alfaro#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eloy_Alfaro#)

<sup>1075</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eloy\\_Alfaro#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eloy_Alfaro#)

<sup>1076</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/July\\_Revolution\\_\(Ecuador\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/July_Revolution_(Ecuador))

<sup>1077</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/July\\_Revolution\\_\(Ecuador\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/July_Revolution_(Ecuador))

13 of the constitution, it was established that every Ecuadorian citizen could vote who was an individual, whether male or female, aged 21 years or older, and proficient in reading and writing<sup>1078</sup> In August 1931 Ayora handed over power to Colonel Luis Larrea Alba. While there were considerable civic elements in this regime period this non-electoral regime is classified as a military autocracy.

10/15/1931 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime: On this day, Alba was replaced by Alfredo Baquerizo Moreno, who then initiated a call for general elections (Mora 1991: 693-94).<sup>1079</sup>

12/14[-12/15]/1933 End Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, after a period of considerable political instability Jose Maria Velasco of the Conservative Party won presidential elections. He assumed the presidency in September 1934 (Mora 1991: 694, Casey et al. 2020: 6).<sup>1080</sup> He had won with an overwhelming majority. This presidency was the first of his five periods overall, it lasted only eleven months. He was ousted by the military when he attempted to seize dictatorial powers by dissolving Congress and imprisoning his legislative adversaries(Rudolph 1991: 30).

08/21/1935 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: In August 1935, Velasco was ousted from power in a military coup (Mora 1991: 695, Casey et al. 2020: 6).<sup>1081</sup> On 09/26/1936, Antonio Pons was appointed as the interim president. However, instead of organizing elections, he relinquished power back to the armed forces. Subsequently, the junta installed Federico Paez as the dictator, and his regime was marked by extensive repression (Mora 1991: 695-96, Casey et al. 2020: 6).

10/23/1937 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: General Alberto Enrriquez Gallo led a military coup that overthrew Federico Paez. Following the coup, Enrriquez assumed power (Mora 1991: 696-97, Casey et al. 2020: 6).

08/10/1938 End Military Autocracy/Start Personalist Autocracy: On this date Enrriquez established a Constituent Assembly and handed power over. The Constituent Assembly selected Aurelio Mosquera as president, but he dissolved the assembly and declared himself dictator, implementing a harsh campaign of repression (Mora 1991: 696-97, Casey et al. 2020: 6). Mosquera was elected head of the Ecuadorian Radical Liberal Party. He was also vice president of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate.<sup>1082</sup> After dissolving the National

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<sup>1078</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage\\_in\\_Ecuador](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage_in_Ecuador)

<sup>1079</sup> [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alfredo\\_Baquerizo\\_Moreno](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alfredo_Baquerizo_Moreno)

<sup>1080</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1933\\_Ecuadorian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1933_Ecuadorian_presidential_election)

<sup>1081</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9\\_Mar%C3%ADa\\_Velasco\\_Ibarra](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9_Mar%C3%ADa_Velasco_Ibarra)

<sup>1082</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aurelio\\_Mosquera](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aurelio_Mosquera)

Assembly, Mosquera did convene an extraordinary Congress with two chambers in February 1939. However, this new Congress was formed under conditions that favored his regime, and he strategically placed conservatives in key positions. This Congress functioned within the framework of the older 1906 Constitution, which had been reestablished by Mosquera, sidelining the more progressive constitution that was supposed to be in effect at the time. So while a parliamentary body did exist, it operated under the influence and control of Mosquera's government, suggesting a lack of genuine legislative independence. Specific details on the mechanics of how the members were selected or appointed are not clear from the historical sources. However, it was clearly not a democratic election. His economic policies favored the liberal bourgeoisie and involved personal interests, such as the exemption of import duties for foreign companies in which he had personal stakes. This suggests a governance style that favored a particular class and his own interests, which is a characteristic often seen in personalist autocracies.<sup>1083</sup> He arrested some socialist and anarcho-syndicalist members of parliament, subdued an attempted coup, and removed five generals from their positions. Moreover, he placed conservatives in strategic positions, controlled municipal autonomy, and reorganized secular schools and universities, arguing that the student movement was politicized.<sup>1084</sup>

11/17/1939 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional Regime: After Mosquera's sudden death in November 1939, Carlos Arroyo del Rio, the president of the Senate, took over power (Mora 1991: 696-97, Casey et al. 2020: 6).

01/10[-01/11]/1940 End Start Non-electoral Transitional Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On these dates presidential elections took place. Arroyo employed widespread fraud to win the presidential election (Mora 1991: 696-97, Casey et al. 2020: 6). It was believed that Velasco had actually won the elections. During his presidency, Arroyo ruled through repression. The 1941 war with Peru became Arroyo's undoing. Ecuador was not prepared for the Peruvian invasion. Military mistakes were made upon the decisions of Arroyo, leaving the Ecuador's southern and eastern provinces nearly unprotected. The Protocol of Peace was signed in January 1942 between the two nations. This ended Peru's occupation. The Rio Protocol was ratified shortly afterwards (Rudolph 1991: 30-31).

05/31/1944 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: A popular uprising supported by the Ecuadorian Democratic Alliance and by junior officers occurred on 05/28/1944. The so called Glorious May Revolution led to the resignation of Carlos

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<sup>1083</sup> [https://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/m/mosquera\\_narvaez.htm](https://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/m/mosquera_narvaez.htm)

<sup>1084</sup> [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aurelio\\_Mosquera\\_Narv%C3%A1ez](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aurelio_Mosquera_Narv%C3%A1ez)

Arroyo on 05/31/1944. The Ecuadorian Democratic Alliance consisted of a wide array of Ecuadorian politicians of different political backgrounds (Fitch 1977a:19, Becker 2000: 1-3, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 57, Mora 1991: 699, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014a, Casey et al. 2020: 6).<sup>1085</sup> Although the military was involved it was not “a traditional military or palace coup which has seemingly plagued much of Latin American history” (Becker 2003: 1). The aim was rather to ensure a civilian rule under Velasco (Becker 2003: 1-2). Velasco returned to Ecuador at the head of a multiparty coalition – the Ecuadorian Democratic Alliance. The military transferred power to the Democratic Alliance, which subsequently appointed Velasco as the president of the republic, garnering popular acclaim.<sup>1086</sup> In August 1944 a constituent assembly convened and began to work on a new constitution. It took seven months to complete it (Becker 2000: 6). Velasco vocally expressed his opposition to the new constitution and began to repress and persecute former supporters (Becker 2000: 9-10). The regime is to be classified as non-electoral transitional (Multiparty) regime because no elections took place, Velasco was given the presidency by popular acclamation and the military, although involved in the popular uprisings, did not established a military junta but instead handed power directly to a civilian alliance.

03/30/1946 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Personalist Autocracy: On this date Velasco declared himself dictator and suspended the 1945 constitution. More and more of his former left-wing supporters became alienated from him. The Socialists and Communists left the government. Velasco forced the Communist Party underground. His group of supporters now only included conservatives; there was nothing left of the public acclaim that had brought Velasco into office. He convened a new Constituent Assembly to draft a much more conservative constitution. Leftists refused to take part in this process (Becker 2000: 10). Although very short-lived, this period has to be classified as personalist autocracy: Because Velasco seemed unwilling to accept institutional restrictions, forced the opposition underground through persecution and formed a constitution in his favor.

08/23/1947 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime: Velasco was ousted in a coup orchestrated by the Minister of Defense, but the remainder of the military declined to back him. As a result, they reinstated the President’s constitutional successor as an interim leader, who successfully restored the country to constitutional order, and subsequently, a civilian was elected by Congress to complete the President’s term in office

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<sup>1085</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Ecuador\\_\(1925%E2%80%931944\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Ecuador_(1925%E2%80%931944))

<sup>1086</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Ecuador\\_\(1925%E2%80%931944\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Ecuador_(1925%E2%80%931944))

(Fitch 1977a:39, Becker 2000:5, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 57).<sup>1087</sup> On 09/03/1947 Mancheno was ousted by a counter-revolutionary faction in the armed forces. Mariano was appointed as acting president from 09/02/1947 to 09/16/1947.<sup>1088</sup> On 09/16/1947 Carlos Julio Arosemena Tola was elected as president by parliament until 08/31/1948. Under his rule presidential elections were prepared.<sup>1089</sup>

06/06/1948 End Non-electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date presidential elections, for the first time, supervised by the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, were held. The elections were won by Galo Plaza of the National Democratic Civic Movement.<sup>1090</sup>

07/11/1963 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Concerns over Ecuador's relationship with the United States and Monroy's vocal support of the Cuban Castro regime led to the armed force move against him. Between 1963 and 1966 Ecuador was governed by a military junta consisting of Admiral Ramón Castro Jijón, General Marcos Gándara Enríquez, General Luis Cabrera Sevilla and General Guillermo Freire Posso (Fitch 1977a:61-63, Schodt 1987:82, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 57).

03/30/1966 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime: On 03/29/1966 facing an economic crisis, protests from students, union groups gained popular support and forced the junta to hand power over to a civilian administration headed by Yerovi (Maier 1971: 506, Fitch 1977a: 171f), who oversaw competitive presidential elections in 1968 (Fitch 1977a:175, Freeman 1981, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 57). Despite that Ecuador granted women suffrage in 1929, which was earlier than most independent countries in Latin America (except for Uruguay, which granted women suffrage in 1917), differences between men's and women's suffrage in Ecuador were only removed in 1967 with the establishment of a new constitution (before 1967 women's vote was optional, while that of men was compulsory; since 1967 it is compulsory for both sexes).<sup>1091</sup>

06/02/1968 End Non-electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start Democracy: On this date general elections were held in Ecuador. The presidential election was won by José María Velasco of the National Velasquista Federation, who received 32.8% of the vote.<sup>1092</sup> To monitor the elections the Organization of American States (OAS) dispatched three observers from

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<sup>1087</sup> <https://www.onwar.com/data/ecuador1947.html>

<sup>1088</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mariano\\_Su%C3%A1rez](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mariano_Su%C3%A1rez)

<sup>1089</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos\\_Julio\\_Arosemena\\_Tola](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos_Julio_Arosemena_Tola)

<sup>1090</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1948\\_Ecuadorian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1948_Ecuadorian_presidential_election)

<sup>1091</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage); <https://constitutionnet.org/country/constitutional-history-ecuador>

<sup>1092</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1968\\_Ecuadorian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1968_Ecuadorian_general_election)

05/27/1968 to 06/12/1968.<sup>1093</sup> They attested “the absolute impartiality of the authorities and the irreproachable conduct of the Armed Forces and the Police. (...) [T]he Electoral Supreme Court and the Provincial Courts complied with the laws and regulations in force. (...) [T]he entire population participated in the events of June 2 with great civic spirit” (Plaza 1968: 7-8). The prospects for Velasco's fifth presidency were poor: a lack of a majority in Congress, the failure to forge a coalition, a stalemate in the legislature, a high turnover of cabinet ministers and the looming fiscal crisis (Rudolph 1991: 40). AF classifies this period as personalist autocracy, BR as civilian dictatorship, MCM as multiparty autocracy, GWF and REIGN as democracy and LIED as exclusive democracy. In line with POLITY detecting for example substantial limitations in executive authority, for this period, we classify this period as democracy, because we could not detect severe flaws, which would lead to a classification as semidemocracy or electoral autocracy.

06/22/1970 End Democracy/Start Personalist Autocracy: President Jose Maria Velasco suspended the constitution, dissolved the parliament and declared himself a civilian dictator. After the self-coup he ruled by decree supported by the military and arrested the opposition (Fitch 1977a:175-176, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 57). Velasco's crucial ally was his nephew and Minister of Defense, General Jorge Acosta Velasco, who consistently reorganized the high command to ensure the presence of Velasquistas in key positions.<sup>1094</sup> Since the National Velasquista Federation was started in 1952 as an electoral vehicle and barely existed apart from election periods it cannot be regarded as a check on his personalist power. Regarding this regime our coding is in line with GWF and REIGN. However, like GWF and REIGN and different from AF we would not consider the whole period from the election on 06/02/1968 as a personalist autocracy. The regime change took place with the autogolpe in 1970.

02/15/1972 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, General Guillermo Rodríguez Lara, the commander of the army, led a coup which overthrew Velasco and suspended the elections. Lara ruled apart from a junta as president in the aftermath. The reason for the coup was that military leaders feared that the upcoming presidential election could seat an unstable, populist candidate at the head of government.

01/11/1976 End Military Autocracy/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy: On this date, a new military junta led by Burbano as chairman took power from Lara and worked to transition the country to civilian rule (Fitch 1977a:179, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 58).

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<sup>1093</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/ecuador-1905-present/>

<sup>1094</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Ecuador\\_\(1960%E2%80%931990\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Ecuador_(1960%E2%80%931990))

04/29/1979 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Democracy: On this date, the second round of presidential elections and parliamentary elections were held. Both were considered free and fair (Schodt 1987:131, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 58). The capability for citizens to alter their government through elections was evident, with the 1998 campaign suggesting a shift away from the perceived national reluctance towards electoral mechanisms for resolving political disputes. Constitutional assurances regarding freedom of expression, religion, and the formation of political parties were generally upheld. However, the judiciary, often weakened by pervasive corruption within the political framework, was overseen by a supreme court that, until 1997, had been appointed by the legislature, thus susceptible to political manipulation (Karatnycky 2000).

01/21/2000 End Democracy/Start Military [Rebel] Autocracy: President Jamil Mahuad was ousted by a coalition of Indigenous activists, led by CONAIE, the primary organization representing Indigenous peoples in Ecuador, and dissatisfied military officials, amid widespread protests against his harsh economic policies. Mahuad was compelled to flee the country. A temporary "junta of national salvation" was established by CONAIE and their military allies. However, this governance structure lasted less than 24 hours (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 76).<sup>1095</sup> While we agree with MCM that there was a military takeover at this date according to our observation it only lasted one day.<sup>1096</sup>

01/22/2000 End Military [Rebel] Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: The leadership of the Ecuadorian military caused the dissolution of the junta. On 01/22/2000 the National Congress elected Gustavo Noboa as president.<sup>1097</sup> Noboa took the oath of office as President in the Ministry of Defense, and Mahuad reluctantly went into exile. Although the failure of the junior officers' coup in support of constitutional succession garnered national and international attention, there is no doubt that the armed forces' involuntary and unconstitutional removal of Mahuad constituted a military coup d'état (Fitch 2005: 45). Therefore, while the procedure was in principle in accordance with the constitution the regime is classified in our dataset as a semidemocracy. The reason is that the elected president Mahuad was forced out of office by a non-elected actor, namely the military. Therefore, it is an actor who exercises power outside the constitutional order and limits the exercise of power of constitutional and elected bodies. MCM classifies the period as a military autocracy and CGV as a civilian autocracy, AF classifies the regime as personalist. BMR notes a non-democratic period from 2000 to 2002. Other datasets

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<sup>1095</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000\\_Ecuadorian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000_Ecuadorian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1096</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000\\_Ecuadorian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000_Ecuadorian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1097</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gustavo\\_Noboa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gustavo_Noboa)



like GWF, HTW, LIED and RoW overlook the deficits of the period and classify the period as democratic.

11/24/2002 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: On 11/24/2002, Lucio Gutiérrez Borbúa, a retired colonel who had taken part in the removal of Mahuad (an event commemorated in the full title of his small group, the Patriotic Society Party of January 21 – PSP), won in the second round of the presidential election by defeating Alvaro Noboa Pontón, who ran as the leader of the Institutional Renewal Party of National Action – PRIA. The first-round presidential election took place on 10/15/2006, with 13 initial candidates. It resulted in a runoff between Alvaro Noboa Pontón of the PRIAN, a right-of-center populist millionaire, and Rafael Correa Delgado, an economist, former finance minister, and leader of the left-wing bloc called the Country Alliance – AP (Lansford 2021). In 2009 power was centralized in the executive under Correa. The 2008 Constitution, drafted by a pro-Correa majority, maintained and even enhanced the significant powers already held by the executive branch as per the 1998 Constitution. Under this new constitution, the president gained the authority to call national referenda, a power utilized by Correa in 2011 to legitimize changes that impacted the judicial branch and media, all done under executive direction. An essential tool at the president's disposal is the ability to partially veto or modify laws passed by the unicameral National Assembly. In such cases, the original legislation can only be restored with the approval of a two-thirds majority vote. Correa exploited this provision to alter laws as he pleased, even those proposed by his own legislative majority. The 2008 Constitution introduces additional presidential powers, most notably lifting the ban on consecutive re-election of the president, previously in place in the 1998 Constitution. This change allowed Correa to serve multiple terms as president, running again in 2009 and subsequently in 2013. The 2008 document also grants Correa the power to dissolve the National Assembly and call for new elections, although he has not exercised this authority yet.<sup>1098</sup> However, he has occasionally used the threat of doing so to prevent resistance from lawmakers. Members of the legislative majority belonging to Correa's party, the Alianza País (AP), understand that their electoral prospects heavily rely on their 'charismatic leader. As a result, they rarely deviate from official party lines or defy orders from above (Conaghan 2016). Elections are largely considered free and fair by international observers.<sup>1099</sup> Ecuador possesses a strong and independent judiciary at higher levels, contributing to a functioning system of

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<sup>1098</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Ecuador\\_2021?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Ecuador_2021?lang=en)

<sup>1099</sup> <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/ECU>

checks and balances. However, the lower-level judiciary struggles with prosecuting drug trafficking organizations.<sup>1100</sup>

23/07/2023 End Democracy/Start Semidemocracy: After president Guillermo Lasso Mendoza was impeached in May 2023, he invoked a constitutional clause that allowed him to trigger early elections by dissolving the legislature. The election period was marred by heavy violence, spreading fear among voters and forcing candidates to limit campaigning. Mayor Augustin Inriago Quijano was killed in July and shortly after on August 9th presidential candidate Fernando Villavicencio Valencia was assassinated. Daniel Noboa Azín won in runoff elections in October. Violence in the electoral period spiked to the extent that Freedom House declined Ecuador's status to partly free. Violence spilled over to media representatives and journalists are further restricted. Freedom House reports attest to self-censorship due to pressure from criminal groups and fear of violence that led to journalists leaving the country.<sup>1101</sup> While turnout remained high at 82%<sup>1102</sup> this period cannot be classified as a full democracy due to the effects of high violence including obstacles to the electoral process, fear in voters and restrictive effects on media freedom.

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Conaghan 1994, Fitch 1977b, Hudson 1991, Isaacs 1993, Levitt 2007, Rudolph 1991, Sonntag 2001)

## **Egypt**

01/01/1900 Constitutional Monarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 09/13/1882]: Egypt was until the end of the First World War officially a province of the Ottoman Empire. In 1882 British troops occupied the Ottoman Egypt in the aftermath of the 'Urabi revolt' that escalated on 06/11/1882 with the bombing of Alexandria<sup>1103</sup> and ended with the battle of Tel el-Kebir on 09/13/1882 that ultimately restored British power over the territory.<sup>1104</sup> However, from this date onwards it was semi-officially a virtually independent state with its own monarchy, armed forces, and territorial possessions in Sudan. For practical purposes it was a puppet state of the United Kingdom. The literature also speaks of a "veiled

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<sup>1100</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/ecuador/freedom-world/2024>

<sup>1101</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/ecuador/freedom-world/2024>

<sup>1102</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023\\_Ecuadorian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023_Ecuadorian_general_election)

<sup>1103</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urabi\\_revolt](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urabi_revolt)

<sup>1104</sup> <https://the-past.com/feature/all-sir-garnet/>

protectorate” established by Britain during that time.<sup>1105</sup> After 1879, Egypt was subject to the control of the British advisers in its commercial matters (Willoughby/Fenwick 1974). Britain had posted a British agent and consul general in Egypt (Crawford 2006:287, McIlwraith 1917). From 12/18/1914 on Britain established a formal protectorate by treaty over Egypt (Crawford 2006:287). A British high commissioner replaced the British agent and consul general (Crawford 2006:287). Khedive Abbas II of Egypt was removed from power by the British because of his pro-Ottoman positions. He was replaced by his uncle Hussein Kamel, who declared Egypt’s independence from the Ottoman Empire and proclaimed himself as Sultan (Crawford 2006:287, McIlwraith 1917). Since the United Kingdom heavily interfered in domestic affairs this is a borderline case between a protectorate and a (de-facto) colony.<sup>1106</sup>

02/28/1922 Continuation Constitutional Monarchy [as independent country]: Egypt became independent from Britain as the Kingdom of Egypt officially as of 03/15/1922. However, four matters were still reserved to the British government’s discretion: defense, the security of imperial communications, the protection of foreign interests and of minorities, and the administration of the Sudan (Ibrahim 1973). Beyond these British prerogatives and the constant intervention of the British High Commissioner in “Egyptian affairs” after independence (Roberts 1986), Egypt nevertheless retained complete jurisdiction and had her own Ministry of Foreign Affairs and diplomatic envoys in the majority of countries globally (O’Rourke 1936). This rules out that Britain maintained a protectorate over Egypt in the post-independence period. Egypt became formally a constitutional monarchy. In 1923 male suffrage was introduced (LIED). Sultan Ahmad Fu’ad (a son of Isma’il), who had succeeded in 1917, took the title of King of Egypt (Roberts 1986). However, he “violated the constitution the same year it was adopted and suspended it in 1930” (Vatikiotis 1961:23, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 58). Therefore, this period is coded as constitutional monarchy. In 1936, Egypt received a greater autonomy concerning its own diplomatic affairs and assumed control over its own military. Egypt also became a Member of the League of Nations (Roberts 1986).

07/23/1952 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Military Autocracy: A military coup by the Free Officers, an organization of junior and mid-level officers, led by Major General Mohamed Naguib and Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser, assumed power on this date (Haddad 1973: 11-12, 21-22, Perlmutter 1974:49).<sup>1107</sup> They established the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) made up of members of the Free Officers’ executive committee to rule (Haddad 1973: 11-12,

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<sup>1105</sup> <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/first-world-war/a-global-view/the-middle-east/egypt/>

<sup>1106</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sultanate\\_of\\_Egypt](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sultanate_of_Egypt)

<sup>1107</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohamed\\_Naguib](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohamed_Naguib)

21-22, Brooker 1995: 148, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 58). The most notable economic manifestations of Arab Socialism was the land reforms in 1952 and the nationalization of major industries and the banking systems in the country.<sup>1108</sup> Naguib called for a return to civil rule early on, but was thwarted by other forces in the RCC. Naguib's tenure as president came to end in November 1954 due to disagreements with other members of the Free Officers, particularly with Nasser, who forced him to resign and succeeded him as president.<sup>1109</sup> The Liberation Rally was a short-lived political organization created after the Egyptian revolution of 1952 to organize popular support for the government. Formed around a month after all other parties were outlawed, it supported pan-Arabism, Arab socialism, and British withdrawal from the Suez Canal. The Rally was dissolved in 1957 and replaced by the National Union.<sup>1110</sup> Because the regime was ruled by a junta the period is classified as a military autocracy. The one-party autocracy can be seen as a continuation of the ruling military group which gained power through the coup in 1952.

07/24/1956 End Military Autocracy/Start One-Party (Personalist) Autocracy: On this date the RCC dissolved itself.<sup>1111</sup> Its dissolution marked the end of the initial phase of military rule and the beginning of Nasser's personal rule, which continued to be characterized by a strong military influence in the government. The coup also led to the independence of Sudan. In 1956 female suffrage was additionally introduced.<sup>1112</sup> Under Gamal Abdel Nasser there was a single-party rule.<sup>1113</sup> The National Union and later the Arab Socialist Union were based on the principles of Nasserism and Arab socialism.<sup>1114</sup> While ASU remained the sole legal party in the parliamentary elections on 10/28/1976, as in previous elections, these elections were unique in having three distinct political factions of the party compete against each other (the right-wing Socialist Liberal Organisation, the centrist Arab Socialist Organisation and the left-wing National Progressive Unionist Party). Between 02/22/1958 and 09/28/1961 Egypt was united with Syria as United Arab Republic. Egypt continued until 1971 to name itself as the United Arab Republic. The UAR soon turned into a state dominated by Egypt. Hence, the UAR is coded under the cowcode of Egypt in this period. The period is classified as a one-party autocracy. However, the regime had strong military features because of the military character

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<sup>1108</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egyptian\\_Revolutionary\\_Command\\_Council](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egyptian_Revolutionary_Command_Council)

<sup>1109</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohamed\\_Naguib](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohamed_Naguib)

<sup>1110</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberation\\_Rally](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberation_Rally)

<sup>1111</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egyptian\\_Revolutionary\\_Command\\_Council](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egyptian_Revolutionary_Command_Council)

<sup>1112</sup> <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/12317569/>

<sup>1113</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Democratic\\_Party\\_](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Democratic_Party_);

<https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/1/101085/BREAKING-Chad-president-assassinated-by-militants-from-North>

<sup>1114</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab\\_Socialist\\_Union\\_\(Egypt\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_Socialist_Union_(Egypt))

of Nasser's rise to power by coup d'état as well as his strict military allegiance. On 10/02/1978 End Military Autocracy/Start One-Party Autocracy: Nasser's successor Anwar Sadat announced the founding of the National Democratic Party, on 07/09/1978. It was then officially approved on 10/02/1978. While Sadat had introduced several reforms to instate a multi-party, democratic electoral system, there was a de facto one-party rule. A new state organ known as the Political Parties Committee (PPC) was created which was able to suspend other parties' activities under law 40. PCC was chaired by NDP.<sup>1115</sup> All parties emerged from the ruling party. Consequently, the regime is viewed as a de facto one-party autocracy.<sup>1116</sup> This is underlined by the fact that in the presidential elections there was only one candidate from the NDP and no competition. Since its creation in 1978, the NDP held no less than three-quarters of the seats in the parliament. The party's ideology intentionally stayed ambiguous and open to interpretation.<sup>1117</sup> Even though the first multi-party parliamentary elections in Egypt since 1952 took place on 06/07/1979<sup>1118</sup>, the NDP wielded uncontested power in state politics and is usually considered a de facto single party regime.<sup>1119</sup> The parliament was restricted to the role of rubber-stamping presidential authority because it is confined by presidential powers beyond its control.<sup>1120</sup> This period represents a borderline case between a military autocracy and a one-party autocracy because Sadat (the founder of the NDP)<sup>1121</sup> as well as his successor Hosni Mubarak were military officers.<sup>1122</sup> Anwar Sadat was a senior member of the "Free Officers" who overthrew the King in the 1952 coup d'état during the Egyptian Revolution which led to Nasser's accession to power.<sup>1123</sup> Until Mubarak's deposition in 2011 Egypt had operated under a "state of emergency" for all but five months since 1967, allowing the president to outlaw demonstrations, hold detainees indefinitely without trial, and issue law by decree.<sup>1124</sup>

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<sup>1115</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Democratic\\_Party\\_](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Democratic_Party_);  
<https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/1/101085/BREAKING-Chad-president-assassinated-by-militants-from-North>

<sup>1116</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Egyptian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Egyptian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1117</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Democratic\\_Party\\_](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Democratic_Party_);  
<https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/1/101085/BREAKING-Chad-president-assassinated-by-militants-from-North>

<sup>1118</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Egyptian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Egyptian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1119</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Democratic\\_Party\\_](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Democratic_Party_);  
<https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/1/101085/BREAKING-Chad-president-assassinated-by-militants-from-North>

<sup>1120</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Democratic\\_Party\\_](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Democratic_Party_)

<sup>1121</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anwar\\_Sadat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anwar_Sadat)

<sup>1122</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hosni\\_Mubarak](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hosni_Mubarak)

<sup>1123</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anwar\\_Sadat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anwar_Sadat)

<sup>1124</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Democratic\\_Party\\_](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Democratic_Party_);  
<https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/1/101085/BREAKING-Chad-president-assassinated-by-militants-from-North>

09/07/2005 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Electoral [Dominant Party] Autocracy: The first multi-candidate presidential elections in the history of Egypt were held on 09/07/2005.<sup>1125</sup> All Egyptians over the age of 18 were required to vote but only around 40% of the population were registered as voters. Parties were allowed to propose presidential candidates which were subsequently reviewed by the Presidential Election Commission. In 2005, only around one third of the initially presented candidates were allowed to run in the elections. Monitoring was carried out by Egyptian Judges, international oversight, however, was not allowed.<sup>1126</sup>

02/11/2011 End Electoral [Dominant Party] Autocracy/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy: After two weeks of mass protests (Egyptian revolution) President Mubarak's resigned, entrusting the Supreme Council of Egyptian Armed Forces with the leadership of the country. The military junta was headed by Field Marshal Mohamed Hussein Tantawi who served as the Minister of Defense under Mubarak.<sup>1127</sup>

05/23[&24]/2012 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: First mostly free and fair democratic presidential election of Egypt's history, which were won by Mohamed Morsi of the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>1128</sup> However, from the start of Morsi's presidency there were severe restrictions to democracy. Shortly after taking office, in 11/2012, a temporary constitutional declaration was released, providing him with unlimited powers and the authority to legislate without judicial oversight (Kirkpatrick/Sheikh 2012). The aim of this was to avoid judicial control by the judges of the Mubarak era. Independent press agencies called this process an Islamist coup. Morsi revoked this decree during the protests in 2012. A new constitution was passed by referendum.<sup>1129</sup> Restrictions on political and civil rights in regard to the freedom of association, speech, and press remained.<sup>1130</sup>

07/03/2013 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A military coup led by General Abdul Fatah al-Sisi ousted President Mohamed Morsi. The constitution of 2012 was suspended, and Adly Mansour was declared interim President. The independence of the judiciary was weakened, and the military's role strengthened (Lenze Jr. 2016).<sup>1131</sup> The interim phase is defined by substantial unrest and instability leading to sectarian attacks against minority groups and wide-spread repression and arrests of the opposition and extremist groups by the military. On 05/28/2014 former Military General Al-Sisi was elected President receiving 97% of votes.

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<sup>1125</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005\\_Egyptian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_Egyptian_presidential_election)

<sup>1126</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005\\_Egyptian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_Egyptian_presidential_election)

<sup>1127</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supreme\\_Council\\_of\\_the\\_Armed\\_Forces](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supreme_Council_of_the_Armed_Forces)

<sup>1128</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-18571580>

<sup>1129</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohamed\\_Morsi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohamed_Morsi)

<sup>1130</sup> <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2012/nea/204357.htm>

<sup>1131</sup> <https://carnegieendowment.org/sada/75353>

Transparency and fairness of the presidential election was criticized. The 2019 constitutional amendments extended the military's scope of action into civilian-defined area. Thereby, the EAF can de jure intervene against the executive leader at any given time, as their veto power over the presidential authority is anchored in the new constitution.<sup>1132</sup> Decision-making today is in the hands of former army leaders who left the military establishment and entered civilian sphere. Significant political opposition is nearly non-existent, as expressing dissent can result in criminal prosecution and imprisonment. Civil liberties, such as press freedom and freedom of assembly, are closely restricted.<sup>1133</sup> Although there is no formal junta, the military wields significant power over civilian governance and public life. New legislation in early 2024 has further entrenched the military's authority, allowing for the deployment of military personnel in civilian facilities and expanding their role in controlling markets and public order. The political environment under Sisi has been marked by severe restrictions on political opposition, media freedom, and civil liberties. Elections in December 2023 were uncompetitive with no opposition and marked by intimidation and arrests. Incumbent president Al-Sisi won his 6th consecutive term with a reported 89.6% of the vote. The regime continues to highly restrict political rights, civil liberties and media freedom<sup>1134</sup> and its crackdown on political opponents and dissidents.<sup>1135</sup>

Military Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Albrecht 2005, Blaydes 2011, Breivik Andersen 2011, Brooker 1995, Brown 1997, Brownlee 2007, Crawford 2006, Haddad 1973, Hinnebusch 1988, Kirkpatrick/Sheikh 2012, Lenze Jr. 2016, McIlwraith 1917, Oppenheim/Roxburgh 1920, O'Rourke 1936, Ottaway 2015, Perlmutter 1974, Richter 2007, Roberts 1986, Rutherford 2008, Tripp/Owen 1989, Willoughby/Fenwick 1974, Vatikiotis 1961)

## **El Salvador**

[Formerly known as Salvador]

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [Start: 09/15/1821]: On 09/15/1821, El Salvador became independent as a part of Central America Criollos in Guatemala City composed the Act of Independence of Central America. On 01/05/1822, the government of Central America voted

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<sup>1132</sup> <https://timep.org/reports-briefings/timep-brief-2019-constitutional-amendments/>

<sup>1133</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/egypt>; [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Egypt\\_2019?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Egypt_2019?lang=en)

<sup>1134</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/egypt/freedom-world/2024>

<sup>1135</sup> <https://bti-project.org/de/reports/country-dashboard/EGY>

for the annexation of Central America and Central America became a province of the First Mexican Empire.<sup>1136</sup> On 07/01/1823 the Congress of Central America declared independence from Mexico. On 02/02/1841 the Federal Republic of Central America dissolved, and El Salvador became an independent nation. In 1883 universal male suffrage was introduced. However, even with universal male suffrage, the elections held minimal political importance, with electoral competition confined to a small oligarchy (Krennerich 2005: 270). This oligarchy consisted of wealthy landowners, especially owners of coffee plantations. They are often referred to as Fourteen Families. The Coffee Growers Association has often been described as ‘invisible government’.<sup>1137</sup> Therefore, the oligarchy's dominant position remained unchallenged by government actions. The direct and indirect ties of the presidents during that time with influential families in the country also played a crucial role. In broad terms, the system persisted without modification, as it proved effective for the limited portion of Salvadorans who profited from it – specifically, the economic elite, high-ranking government officials, and the military High Command.<sup>1138</sup> The percentage of voters of the total population is according to Vanhanen between 3,0 and 5,0% (Vanhanen 2019). The combination of the quantitative and qualitative indicators justifies the classification of the regime as an electoral oligarchy, despite the universal male suffrage.

12/02/1931 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military Autocracy: A military coup by junior officers ousted the elected president Arturo Araujo. The military junta “Civic Directory” ruled from 12/02/1931 to 12/04/1931 before General Hernández Martínez, who had been vice president, defense Minister, and commander of the armed forces, assumed the presidency (White 1973:99, Haggerty 1990, Stanley 1996:48-50, 63-64, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 58).<sup>1139</sup> Presidential elections were held on 01/13-15/1935, with General Hernández Martínez as the only candidate. The legislative elections in 1932 were cancelled by the President, and the results of the elections in 1936 were never published.<sup>1140</sup> From 1933 to 1945, the National Party of the Fatherland (PNPP) was the sole legal party in El Salvador. While de forma El Salvador was a one-party autocracy, it was de facto a subtype of a military autocracy. The whole purpose of the party was to support the regime of General Hernández Martínez, who founded the party

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<sup>1136</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Federal\\_Republic\\_of\\_Central\\_America#Independence\\_1821%E2%80%931822](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Federal_Republic_of_Central_America#Independence_1821%E2%80%931822);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Central\\_America](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Central_America)

<sup>1137</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/el-salvador/6.htm>

<sup>1138</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/el-salvador/6.htm>

<sup>1139</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1931\\_Salvadoran\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1931_Salvadoran_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1140</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections\\_in\\_El\\_Salvador#1931\\_2](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_in_El_Salvador#1931_2)



and was its leader.<sup>1141</sup> Women obtained suffrage in 1939 with restrictions requiring literacy and a higher age.

05/09/1944 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime: Following intense street protests, President General Hernandez Martinez resigned.<sup>1142</sup> On the same day, General Andrés Ignacio Menéndez assumed the role of the provisional president. He declared amnesty for everyone who was part of the unrest, and thus began a national transition to democracy. Since the regime did not start with a military coup it is classified as a non-electoral transitional regime and not as a military autocracy.

10/21/1944 End Non-Electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start Military Autocracy: Provisional President Andrés Ignacio Menéndez was overthrown by General Osmín Aguirre.<sup>1143</sup> In early 1945, Aguirre transferred power to Salvador Castaneda Castro, a military officer, from the Social Democratic Unification Party. In presidential elections on 01/14-16/1945 military officer Castaneda Castro was elected. However, the elections were not free and fair and no oppositional candidates took part in the election. They were namely boycotted by five candidates who withdrew after accusing Osmín Aguirre y Salinas of unfair practices to ensure victory for his favored candidate.<sup>1144</sup> Even so there were presidential elections in 1945 the period after is classified as a continuation of the military autocracy starting on 10/21/1944.

12/14/1948 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A coup orchestrated by junior officers compelled the retirement of all officers ranked above Lieutenant Colonel, effectively dismantling the Hernandez Martinez faction. This event led to the establishment of a Revolutionary Governing Council, selected by the remaining officer corps in its entirety (White 1973:105, Baloyra 1982:17, Stanley 1996:67). The regime following 1948 is distinguished from its predecessor by the shift in leadership ranks within the regime (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 58). A junta headed by Major Oscar Osorio was installed. In 1950 all restrictions were lifted allowing women to vote, but women obtained the right to stand for elections only in 1961.<sup>1145</sup>

09/16/1950 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: Under the terms of the constitution of 1950, which had emerged from the revolution of 1948, Osorio was elected president. He stood as candidate of the Revolutionary Party of Democratic Unification. The

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<sup>1141</sup> <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/el-salvadorans-bring-down-dictator-1944>

<sup>1142</sup> <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/el-salvadorans-bring-down-dictator-1944>

<sup>1143</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osm%C3%ADn\\_Aguirre\\_y\\_Salinas#Presidency](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osm%C3%ADn_Aguirre_y_Salinas#Presidency)

<sup>1144</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1945\\_Salvadoran\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1945_Salvadoran_presidential_election)

<sup>1145</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

only opposition candidate was Colonel José Menéndez Ascencio.<sup>1146</sup> Under Osoria some democratic improvements were made, but at the same time, he instituted regulations that placed the country under a suspension of both individual and collective rights, referred to as the Law on Defense of the Constitutional Order.<sup>1147</sup> Based on it, he began to suppress labor leaders and students in 1952 until the end of his term.<sup>1148</sup> In 1952, 1954 and 1958 parliamentary elections were held. The Revolutionary Party of Democratic Unification was the only party to contest because the opposition claimed the elections were fraudulent. Presidential elections were held on 03/04/1956. Beforehand several opposition candidates had been barred from contesting, allowing their candidate José María Lemus to win with 95%.<sup>1149</sup> He held the presidency until 10/26/1960.<sup>1150</sup> Due to the unfair conditions in electoral competition and process, the period is classified as an electoral autocracy.

10/26/1960 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Lemus, facing student uprisings and political failures was overthrown by the military who feared a loss of stability and revolution. The ranking military representative was Lieutenant Colonel Julio Adalberto Rivera. Also, the civilian professor Castillo gained great influence.<sup>1151</sup>

01/25/1961 End Military Autocracy/Start Military [One-Party] Autocracy: The Junta of Government led by Castillo was overthrown by junior officers and sectors of the military who felt the regime was too far to the left. The Civic-Military Directory was established with Portillo as its head.<sup>1152</sup> Between 1962 and 1979, the National Conciliation Party (PCN), closely aligned with the Salvadoran military, governed the nation, effectively establishing a one-party state. While opposition parties did exist during this period, they had little practical influence or power.<sup>1153</sup> On 07/01/1962, Julio Adalberto Rivera Carballo, a military officer and member of the Civic-Military Directory, was elected president.<sup>1154</sup>

10/25/1979 End Military [One-Party] Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Violence between right-wing death squads and left-wing revolutionaries reached a destabilizing level and a new

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<sup>1146</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%93scar\\_Osorio](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%93scar_Osorio)

<sup>1147</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%93scar\\_Osorio](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%93scar_Osorio)

<sup>1148</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%93scar\\_Osorio](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%93scar_Osorio)

<sup>1149</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolutionary\\_Party\\_of\\_Democratic\\_Unification;](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolutionary_Party_of_Democratic_Unification;)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1952\\_Salvadoran\\_legislative\\_election;](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1952_Salvadoran_legislative_election;)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1954\\_Salvadoran\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1954_Salvadoran_legislative_election)

<sup>1150</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9\\_Mar%C3%ADa\\_Lemus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9_Mar%C3%ADa_Lemus)

<sup>1151</sup> <https://www.onwar.com/data/elsalvador1960.html>

<sup>1152</sup> [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/An%C3%ADbal\\_Portillo](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/An%C3%ADbal_Portillo)

<sup>1153</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military\\_dictatorship\\_in\\_El\\_Salvador](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_dictatorship_in_El_Salvador)

<sup>1154</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julio\\_Adalberto\\_Rivera\\_Carballo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julio_Adalberto_Rivera_Carballo)

military and civilian junta took over to defeat the insurgencies. The military established the Revolutionary Government Junta of El Salvador as the government.<sup>1155</sup>

03/28/1982 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: In 1982, military and economic elites agreed to the election of a constituent assembly, where the right-wing ARENA party was prominent. The major parties' negotiations led to the Apaneca Pact, forming a Political Commission to draft a new constitution in 1983. This constitution facilitated relatively free elections in 1984, won by moderate Christian Democrat Jose Napoleon Duarte (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 26).<sup>1156</sup> However, the left was excluded from the elections and a civilian president deemed satisfactory to both the military and Washington got to power. Even though the allowed opposition secured victory in the presidential election in 05/1984, Geddes, Wright, and Frantz categorize the 1982-94 regime as "indirect military rule"(Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 58-59). Different from GWF the regime is coded in this dataset as a semidemocracy. This coding is in line with the classification of the period from the regional experts Scott Mainwaring and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán in their dataset for Latin American regimes (Mainwaring/Pérez-Liñán 2013a). However, the case is on the borderline to an electoral autocracy, since candidates to the left of the Christian Democrats were excluded from participating in the elections.

03/20/1994 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: On this date, El Salvador's ruling faction permitted a genuinely competitive presidential election under universal suffrage, wherein leftist parties participated for the first time.<sup>1157</sup> This marked a transition to democracy (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 59). In the 01/18/2009 legislative elections, ARENA suffered a setback, losing two seats and its overall advantage to the FMLN. However, a late arrangement with the PCN allowed ARENA to maintain control of the assembly's presidency. Meanwhile, the appointment of Rodrigo ÁVILA, a congressman and former national police chief, as the party's candidate in the March presidential election caused internal tensions, with certain members alleging campaign fraud (Lansford 2021:507).

01/05/2021 End Democracy/Start Semidemocracy: The Bukele administration consistently disrupted the legislature's policymaking process until securing a supermajority in the legislative session that began on 05/2021. Since then, both the government and legislators from the ruling party regularly block opposition lawmakers from accessing crucial information, such as draft legislation, hindering substantial discussions on proposed laws.<sup>1158</sup> Bukele dismissed several

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<sup>1155</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Salvadoran\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Salvadoran_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1156</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/El\\_Salvador\\_2014?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/El_Salvador_2014?lang=en)

<sup>1157</sup> <https://www.ifes.org/publications/election-observation-el-salvador-march-20-april-24-1994>

<sup>1158</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/el-salvador/freedom-world/2022>

judges of the highest court as well as the attorney general who was leading corruption charges. Checks and balances through media are hardly present internally and reports on the state of affairs rely mostly on investigative international media sources according to the BTI.<sup>1159</sup> On 03/27/2022, President Bukele's government declared an unconstitutional state of exception which led to the arbitrary arrest of civilians and limited the freedom of assembly rights.<sup>1160</sup> Bukele has since 2021 taken steps limiting oppositional chances. This included structural changes in municipalities that favored the ruling party and strongly reduced the number of elected offices.<sup>1161</sup> In the February 2024 elections president Bukele won another term despite being over the constitutional term limit. Prior to the election, Bukele replaced all judges in the constitutional chamber of the supreme court and attorney general with loyalists. For months later, they ruled Bukele could seek re-election despite the constitutional term limit.<sup>1162</sup> He won a sweeping 85% of the vote and his party secured a supermajority in congress with 54 out of 60 seats. Multiple irregularities and shortcomings were reported including ballot duplication and other issues in the hand-counted procedure. According to Reuters, observation organization noticed that Bukele's party took intimidating attitudes towards opposition while trying to hinder the press and observation missions.<sup>1163</sup> Events leading up to and after the election suggest an increasingly authoritarian trend.

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Equatorial Guinea**

[Formerly (during colonial rule) known as Spanish Guinea]

06/27/1900 Colonial Regime [of Spain, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 03/11/1778]: The Spanish colony in the Guinea region was established in 1778, by the "Treaty of El Pardo", signed on 03/11/1778,<sup>1164</sup> between the Spanish and the Portuguese Empire.<sup>1165</sup> In 1926 Río Muni, Fernando Póo, and Annobón were united as Spanish Guinea. On 06/30/1959 Spanish Guinea became an oversea province of Spain.<sup>1166</sup> In 1963 universal suffrage was introduced.

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<sup>1159</sup> <https://bti-project.org/de/reports/country-dashboard/SLV>

<sup>1160</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/el-salvador/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>1161</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/el-salvador/freedom-world/2024>

<sup>1162</sup> <https://bti-project.org/de/reports/country-report/SLV>

<sup>1163</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/el-salvador-opposition-requests-repeat-election-congress-after-irregularities-2024-02-19/>

<sup>1164</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_El\\_Pardo\\_\(1778\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_El_Pardo_(1778))

<sup>1165</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spanish\\_Guinea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spanish_Guinea)

<sup>1166</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/spanish-guinea-1950-1968/>

Equatorial Guinea effectively was a one-party state under the Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea since 1987. Elections were not considered to be free or fair.<sup>1167</sup> On 12/20/1966, the UN General Assembly urged Spain to conduct elections in Equatorial Guinea. Subsequently, a constitutional conference convened on 10/30/1967 at the Palace of Santa Cruz in Madrid to deliberate on Equatorial Guinea's independence. Leading the Equatorial Guinea delegation was Federico Ngomo Nandong, the President of the General Assembly. Other delegation members included Enrique Gori (Vice-President of the General Assembly), Antonio Ndong, Bonifacio Ondó Edu (Chairman of the Governing Council), and Francisco Macias Nguema (Vice-President of the Governing Council). The Constitutional Conference concluded on 06/22/1968, proposing a constitution that established a federal republic with two autonomous provinces.<sup>1168</sup> 10/12/1968 End Colonial Regime [of Spain, Right-wing (Corporatist) Autocracy]/Start Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy: On this date the Republic of Equatorial Guinea achieved full independence (Lansford 2021:509).<sup>1169</sup> Shortly before Francisco Macías Nguema was elected in the last free and fair elections until 1993.<sup>1170</sup> President Macías promptly abolished the 1968 Constitution under his regime, swiftly suppressing opposition and consolidating absolute power through a period of terror. The ruthless internal repression carried out by the Macías administration resulted in the disappearance of two-thirds of the members of the 1968 National Assembly by the end of his tenure. This oppressive atmosphere led to the mass exodus of one-third of the population, including almost all individuals from skilled and educated strata (Fleischhacker 1999b). Since after independence Nguema ruled the country undemocratically from the start the regime is classified as an electoral autocracy. While the regime had a strong personalist character from the start it has to be taken into account that Nguema's rule was legitimized by relatively free presidential elections.<sup>1171</sup>

01/01/1970 End Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Personalist Autocracy: In 1970 Nguema formed the United National Workers' Party as a vehicle for his power and issued a decree suppressing all existing political parties in the country. We count this as a self-coup. On 07/14/1972 Nguema "consolidated power by establishing an extreme cult of personality, a one-party state ruled by his United National Workers' Party and declaring himself president for life

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<sup>1167</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>1168</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/spanish-guinea-1950-1968/>

<sup>1169</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5EquatorialGuinea2018.pdf>

<sup>1170</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1968\\_Spanish\\_Guinean\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1968_Spanish_Guinean_general_election)

<sup>1171</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1968\\_Spanish\\_Guinean\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1968_Spanish_Guinean_general_election)

on this date, which was then ratified by a referendum the following year”.<sup>1172</sup> In a reign of terror approximately 80,000 out of 300,000 citizens were reportedly killed.<sup>1173</sup> On 06/29/1973 a constitutional referendum installed a one-party system under the ‘United National Workers’ Party’ and was accepted by 99% of the voters.<sup>1174</sup> Macías Nguema proceeded to institute a totalitarian regime supported by three key pillars: the United National Workers’ Party, the Juventud en Marcha con Macías (JMM; English: Youth on the March with Macías) militia/youth group, and the Esangui clan of Río Muni. The tools of repression in the country, including the military and the presidential bodyguard, were under the complete control of Macías Nguema's relatives and members of his clan.<sup>1175</sup> The regime is a borderline case between a one-party autocracy and a personalist autocracy. However, because Nguema was declared president for life no other party member had a chance to obtain the leadership.

08/03/1979 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: After Nguema began to execute members of his own family and ruling circle, his nephew and military commander Teodoro Obiang overthrew him on this date. He established himself as the chairman of a military junta.<sup>1176</sup> After the coup the only political party United National Worker’s Party had been banned. Later that year, he appointed himself president. Nevertheless, the so called Supreme Military Council ruled Equatorial Guinea until the adoption of a new constitution, which was passed in a referendum in 1982.<sup>1177</sup> Nguema was sentenced to death for the crime of genocide against the Bubi people and other crimes committed.<sup>1178</sup>

08/15/1982 End Military Autocracy/Start Personalist Autocracy: On that day the new constitution, which had been drafted with the help of the United Nations, was passed through a popular referendum. 95,8% voted in favor of the new constitution. Through the referendum, Teodoro Obiang officially became president for a seven-year term.<sup>1179</sup> Equatorial Guinea nominally returned to a civilian rule.<sup>1180</sup> Although the constitution entailed provisions for human rights, democratic principles and a free-market economy, it also granted Obiang widespread powers. These encompassed unilateral powers, granting control over aspects like

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<sup>1172</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francisco\\_Mac%C3%ADas\\_Nguema#Early\\_career](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francisco_Mac%C3%ADas_Nguema#Early_career;);  
<https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/people-global-african-history/francisco-macias-nguema-1924-1979/>

<sup>1173</sup> <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/GNQ>

<sup>1174</sup> <https://africanelections.tripod.com/gq.html>

<sup>1175</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francisco\\_Mac%C3%ADas\\_Nguema](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francisco_Mac%C3%ADas_Nguema)

<sup>1176</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francisco\\_Mac%C3%ADas\\_Nguema](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francisco_Mac%C3%ADas_Nguema)

<sup>1177</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supreme\\_Military\\_Council\\_\(Equatorial\\_Guinea\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supreme_Military_Council_(Equatorial_Guinea))

<sup>1178</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Equatorial\\_Guinea\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Equatorial_Guinea_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1179</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1982\\_Equatorial\\_Guinea\\_constitution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1982_Equatorial_Guinea_constitution)

<sup>1180</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teodoro\\_Obiang\\_Nguema\\_Mbasogo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teodoro_Obiang_Nguema_Mbasogo)

cabinet appointments and the authority to govern through decrees.<sup>1181</sup> It was only in 1987 that Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea (PDGE) was founded by President Teodoro Obiang. It stayed the only political organization until 1991. The main purpose of the party was to support Obiang.<sup>1182</sup> In the parliamentary elections in 1988, therefore, only the PDGE presented candidates, specifically a “single list of 60 candidates for the 60 seats.”<sup>1183</sup> Obiang was reelected as president in 1989, and analogous to the parliamentary elections, he was the only candidate.<sup>1184</sup> Like his uncle Teodoro Obiang established a cult of personality.<sup>1185</sup> In 1991, another constitutional referendum took place, leading to the first parliamentary multi-party elections in 1993.<sup>1186</sup> The regime classification is disputed. HTW classifies it as one-party regime, REIGN as personal regime, and MCM as well as AF classify it as a military regime. We classify it as personalist autocracy because, Teodoro Obiang Mbasogo was de facto the sole ruler of the regime. His powers were far-reaching and were not really limited by other institutions or challenged in any way by other candidates. The PDGE was a regime-party with no political aspirations or vision of its own.

11/21/1993 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy: On this date the first parliamentary first multi-party elections were held in Equatorial Guinea since the pre-independence elections of 1968. Although seven parties were allowed to run in the election, the ruling PDGE maintained its grip on power, winning 68 of the 80 seats in the enlarged Chamber of People’s Representatives. They were described as not free and fair.<sup>1187</sup> The government imposed a ban on unauthorized demonstrations and included no opposition members in the new cabinet (Lansford 2012f: 510). Obiang was re-elected in 1996 and 2002 with 98 percent of the vote in elections condemned as fraudulent by international observers. In 2002, for instance, at least one voting district was recorded as giving Obiang 103 percent of the vote. He was re-elected for a fourth term in 2009 with 97% of the vote, again amid accusations of voter fraud and intimidation beating opposition leader Plácido Micó Abogo.<sup>1188</sup> The cult of personality still exists. Obiang gave himself various titles. For example, “gentleman of the great island of Bioko, Annobón and Río Muni”, he made comments about his God-like power and his special

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<sup>1181</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1982\\_Equatorial\\_Guinea\\_constitution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1982_Equatorial_Guinea_constitution)

<sup>1182</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic\\_Party\\_of\\_Equatorial\\_Guinea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Party_of_Equatorial_Guinea)

<sup>1183</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1988\\_Equatorial\\_Guinean\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1988_Equatorial_Guinean_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1184</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teodoro\\_Obiang\\_Nguema\\_Mbasogo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teodoro_Obiang_Nguema_Mbasogo)

<sup>1185</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_cults\\_of\\_personality](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_cults_of_personality)

<sup>1186</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991\\_Equatorial\\_Guinean\\_constitutional\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991_Equatorial_Guinean_constitutional_referendum);

[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Equatorial\\_Guinea\\_2012?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Equatorial_Guinea_2012?lang=en)

<sup>1187</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993\\_Equatorial\\_Guinean\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993_Equatorial_Guinean_legislative_election)

<sup>1188</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teodoro\\_Obiang\\_Nguema\\_Mbasogo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teodoro_Obiang_Nguema_Mbasogo)

relationship and contact with God, and he also likes to call himself El Jefe.<sup>1189</sup> In November 2022, Obiang secured re-election in the 2022 Equatorial Guinean general election with 99.7% of the vote, amidst allegations of fraud raised by the opposition.<sup>1190</sup>

Electoral (Personalist) autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Wood 2004)

## **Eritrea**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Italy, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 01/01/1890]: Eritrea started to be a colony on 01/01/1890. Ethiopia was integrated into the Ethiopian Empire, while Massawa, the port city was Ottoman territory since 1577 and transferred to Egypt in 1865. The Italians occupied Ethiopia in 1869, after the Suez Canal opened and settled in Eritrea. In 1885, they took control over Massawa leading to a dispute with Ethiopians, who also claimed authority over the port city (Jerven/Strangio/Weisdorf 2021). After three years, the Ethiopians retreated and officially relinquished their claims in Eritrea to Italy in the 1889 Treaty of Ucciali (Jerven/Strangio/Weisdorf 2021). Eritrea was declared an Italian colony on 01/01/1890 and called Italian Eritrea (Jerven/Strangio/Weisdorf 2021). After the war of 1935-36, Italy occupied Ethiopia and established a unified government for the whole of Italian East Africa that consisted of the Eritrea Governorate, the Ethiopian region of Tigre and Somalia and based in Addis Ababa (Crowder 1984). Therefore, the regime in this period is coded as a colonial regime.

03/27/1941 End Colonial Regime [of Italy, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Democracy]: Italy's defeat in the Battle of Keren led to British occupation of Eritrea after Ethiopian independence. Britain placed Italian Eritrea (along with Italian Somalia, and British Somaliland) under British military administration (Crowder 1984). This period is coded as occupation (by United Kingdom) because Italy formally ceded its claim over the colonies (including Eritrea) by the Treaty of Peace with Italy, signed on 02/10/1947 between Italy and the powers of World War II, which came into effect on 09/15/1947. The military administrations were later gradually replaced by civilian ones, however, there was no agreement amongst the Allies concerning the future status of Eritrea (Crowder 1984, Kibreab 2005). In the meantime, the Eritreans demanded self-determination. A United Nations (UN) commission was dispatched to the former colony in 02/1950. The UN General Assembly on

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<sup>1189</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_cults\\_of\\_personality](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_cults_of_personality)

<sup>1190</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Equatorial\\_Guinea#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Equatorial_Guinea#History)



12/02/1950 decided on a termination of the British military administration of Eritrea by 09/15/1952. The British military administration held Legislative Assembly elections on 03/25+26/1952, for a representative Assembly of 68 members. A draft constitution put forward by the UN commissioner on 07/10. On 09/11/1952, Emperor Haile Selassie ratified the constitution. The Representative Assembly subsequently became the Eritrean Assembly.<sup>1191</sup> This period is not coded as international mandate because the authority of the British military administration to lead a provisional government was not based on a UN resolution, but the UN had a rather supervising role. Furthermore, the BMA in Eritrea formally ended on 09/15/1952. 09/11/1952 End Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Electoral Oligarchy [as Protectorate of Ethiopia, Absolute Monarchy]: On this date, an UN General Assembly Resolution went into effect by which Eritrea was established as an autonomous entity within the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown (Crawford 2006:555). Under this agreement, the Ethiopian government received authority over matters of defense, currency and external affairs (Crowder 1984). Before the establishment of the autonomous unit, the first Eritrean elections were held in March 1952, overseen by the British administration. The Eritrean Representative Assembly opened on 04/28/1952. They got a draft of the Eritrean Constitution on 05/03, and by 05/14, they all agreed on the first part about joining Ethiopia. Over the next two months, they talked about each part of the Constitution. On 07/10, they all agreed on the Constitution with some changes (Information 1996). The elections of 1952 had been limited to direct voting solely in Asmara and Massawa. In other regions, a complex system of indirect elections was employed, with constituencies arbitrarily defined. Determining the desires of the Eritrean populace was hindered, if not made impossible, by the absence of comprehensive records on political factions. Consequently, these factions could make exaggerated claims about their influence. Both the four-power commission and the UN Commission for Eritrea struggled to gauge the strength of these factions and, by extension, the will of the people. Moreover, the situation was complicated by a lack of political awareness among the populace and deep-seated ethnic and religious divisions (Tiruneh 1981). Ato Tedla Bairu was elected as Chief Executive by the assembly on 09/13/1952.<sup>1192</sup> According to the constitution of 1952 (Article 20) the right to vote was limited to males of Eritrean descent over twenty-one, who had maintained residency in Eritrea for at least one year.<sup>1193</sup> Eritreans of mixed ethnicity were denied the right to vote. Moreover, economic, and educational policies disadvantaged ethnic Eritrean people and the

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<sup>1191</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Eritrea#British\\_administration\\_and\\_federalisation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Eritrea#British_administration_and_federalisation)

<sup>1192</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/ethiopiaeritrea-1950-1993/>

<sup>1193</sup> <https://snitna.com/docs/Eritrean-Constitution-1950.pdf>

freedom of the press was severely diminished.<sup>1194</sup> In July 1955, Emperor Haile Selassie made Ato Tedla Bairu step down from his position as Chief Executive. Then, in August 1955, the Emperor chose Asfeha Woldemichael as the new Chief Executive and Idris Mohammed Adem as the President of the Eritrean Assembly.<sup>1195</sup> There is no record of further elections during the period under review. The 1952 elections mentioned here are strictly speaking outside the period but are worth mentioning to justify the classification. For these elections there is no record of the percentage of the population that participated. Therefore, we classify this period as electoral oligarchy. Other typologies lack an independent classification of Eritrea in this period; only LIED provides one and classifies a multiparty autocracy without elected executive.

11/14/1962 End Electoral Oligarchy [as Protectorate of Ethiopia, Absolute Monarchy]/Start Part of Other Country [Ethiopia, Absolute Monarchy]: The UN had planned a popular plebiscite after ten years, where Eritrean people could choose between complete union with Ethiopia or complete independence (Tseggai 1976). However, in 1962, Ethiopia took a step further when Emperor Haile Selassie unilaterally abrogated the federation agreement without reaction of the United Nations (Crawford 2006: 625). The Eritrean assembly was dissolved, and Eritrea became an Ethiopian province, ruled by a governor-general from Addis Ababa (Crowder 1984). From the early 1980s, the struggle for independence was dominated by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF, informally known as Shabia).

05/29/1991 End Part of Other Country [Ethiopia, Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime]/Start One-Party (Personalist) Autocracy [as (de facto) independent country]: Briefly after the communist regime broke down in Ethiopia and Mengistu fled the country, the Eritrean province achieved de facto independence.<sup>1196</sup> Eritrea was from that date on under the control of Isaias Afwerki and the EPLF, an armed Marxist-Leninist organization that dominated the struggle for independence of Eritrea (Lansford 2012g: 446)(GWF handbook). On 05/24/1993 Eritrea's de jure (legal) independence was formally declared, following an UN-monitored referendum in which the Eritrean people overwhelmingly voted for independence. In 1994, the EPLF transformed into the People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ) and became the ruling, and sole legal political party of Eritrea. The former secretary-general of the EPLF, Afewerki, has ruled the country as president since independence without ever having been confirmed in his office by a popular vote".<sup>1197</sup> While no elections have been held the regime is

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<sup>1194</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Federation\\_of\\_Ethiopia\\_and\\_Eritrea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Federation_of_Ethiopia_and_Eritrea)

<sup>1195</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/ethiopiaeritrea-1950-1993/>

<sup>1196</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eritrea\\_Province](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eritrea_Province)

<sup>1197</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage); <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/ERI>

coded rather as a one-party autocracy than a pure (almost institutionless) personalist autocracy. While there have been elements of a Marxist-Leninist ideology the regime cannot be classified as a communist ideocracy.<sup>1198</sup>

One-party (personalist) autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Ogbazghi 2011)

## **Eswatini**

[Formerly known as Swaziland (until 2018)]

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of Transvaal Republic] [Start: 12/10/1894]: On 07/24/1890, Swaziland was placed under a triumvirate administration, representing the interests of the British, the Dutch republics, and the Swazi people. On 12/10/1894,<sup>1199</sup> a convention was established, placing Swaziland under the protection of the South African Republic.<sup>1200</sup> In 1899, the Second Boer War broke out, in which Swaziland was indirectly involved. During this time, the colonists evacuated Swaziland, leaving it in the power of the King, Ngwane V of Swaziland.<sup>1201</sup>

05/31/1902 End Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of Transvaal Republic]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy, as part of Transvaal Republic]: When the British won the Second Boer War, the Treaty of Vereeniging between the Empire and the Transvaal Republic and Orange Free State was signed on 05/31/1902. With this Treaty, Transvaal became part of the British Empire.<sup>1202</sup> With that, “[t]he Governor of the Transvaal was granted all His Majesty’s powers and jurisdiction within Swaziland” (Mashasha 1974). Swaziland became a British “High Commission Territory”.<sup>1203</sup> On 10/01/1904, Lord Milner issued the Swaziland Administration Proclamation, which stated that the laws of the Transvaal were declared in force in Swaziland, and it was administered as if it was a district of the Transvaal (Mashasha 1974).

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<sup>1198</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Eritrea\\_1997?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Eritrea_1997?lang=en); <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/ERI>

<sup>1199</sup> <https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Swaziland.html>

<sup>1200</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eswatini#Swazi\\_settlers\\_\(18th\\_and\\_19th\\_centuries\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eswatini#Swazi_settlers_(18th_and_19th_centuries))

<sup>1201</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Eswatini#Anglo-Boer\\_War\\_\(1899%E2%80%931902\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Eswatini#Anglo-Boer_War_(1899%E2%80%931902))

<sup>1202</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South\\_African\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_African_Republic)

<sup>1203</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eswatini>

12/01/1906 Continuation (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]: On 12/01/1906, Swaziland was disannexed from Transvaal and became a separate British protectorate (Mashasha 1974). After becoming a British Protectorate, the Swazi state changed its character of a traditional monarchical authority. The Swazi Ngwenyama became a 'Paramount Chief' because the British would not allow another authority to usurp theirs (Woods 2017). Contrary to the direct rule of the monarch, the nation was predominantly overseen by a resident commissioner. This commissioner governed in accordance with decrees issued by the British High Commissioner to South Africa. The formulation of these decrees involved close consultation with the resident commissioners, who, in turn, sought informal and formal advice from White settler interests and the Swazi king.<sup>1204</sup> In 1921 the European Advisory Council, consisting solely of elected white settlers, was established. Its task was to give advice to the Commissioner on affairs, that were not related to Swazis. After the Commissioner changed the authority of the Swazi King in 1944, objections arose, leading to the granting of more autonomy to the Paramount Chief in 1952.<sup>1205</sup> In 1964, preparations for Swaziland's independence began. King Sobhuza II founded his own party, the Imbokodvo National Movement (INM).

04/25/1967 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy as Protectorate]/Start Absolute Monarchy [with internal self-governance]: The royal party, the INM won all seats in the parliament in the elections of 04/19&20/1967 with almost 80 per cent of the vote. Universal suffrage was also introduced in 1967.<sup>1206</sup> On 04/25/1967, the country was granted internal self-governance. While Swaziland had a parliament and initially held multiparty elections, the royal family's policy decisions and appointments were not constrained by the parliament from the start (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 96). Hence, the country is coded as an (de facto) absolutist monarchy. In 1972, the opposition secured victories in three constituencies. In reaction, the king declared a state of emergency, dissolved parliament, disbanded all political parties, and governed by decree from 1973 to 1978 (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 96) Hence, Swaziland was a borderline case between a constitutional and a de facto absolute monarchy and a clear case of an absolute monarchy afterwards. In 1978 the new constitution banned parties and introduced nomination and indirect election procedures to insure royal control over future parliaments. On 08/22/1982 King Sobhuza II died and as he did not name an heir, the Queen Mother became the Executive

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<sup>1204</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Eswatini#Swaziland\\_Protectorate\\_\(1906%E2%80%931968\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Eswatini#Swaziland_Protectorate_(1906%E2%80%931968))

<sup>1205</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Eswatini#Swaziland\\_Protectorate\\_\(1906%E2%80%931968\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Eswatini#Swaziland_Protectorate_(1906%E2%80%931968))

<sup>1206</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

Authority.<sup>1207</sup> She was replaced by Ntombi as Queen contrary to the King's wishes on 08/10/1983. The new constitution of 07/26/2005 allowed direct, non-partisan election of most of the assembly, but the king could still appointed ten of 65 MPs, 20 of 30 Senators, and the government (Baloro 1994: 21-29, Daniel/Vilane 1986: 57, Levin/MacMillan 2003: 1094-95, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 96).<sup>1208</sup> In line with FH we observe that the “king exercises ultimate authority over all branches of the national government and effectively controls local governance through his influence over traditional chiefs”.<sup>1209</sup> Hence, the country is still classified as a (de facto) absolute monarchy.

Ruling (absolute) monarchy as 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Keltie 2014a)

## **Estonia**

01/01/1900 Part of other country [Russia, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 09/10/1721]: Estonia had become a part of the Russian Empire after Russia's defeat of Sweden in the Great Northern War in 1720. With the Peace Treaty of Nystad, concluded on 09/10/1721, King Frederick I of Sweden formally recognized the transfer of Estonia, Livonia, Ingria and Southeast Finland to Russia in exchange for two million silver thaler, while Russia returned the bulk of Finland to Swedish rule.<sup>1210</sup> Under Russian rule, the German elites thrived. They controlled the Lutheran church, the legal system, education and local and town governments. During the 1905 Russian Revolution, the first Estonian voices demanding freedom of press and assembly, universal franchise and national autonomy were heard.<sup>1211</sup> After the Russian February Revolution, the autonomous Estonian Governorate was formed in April 1917. This was a response to the Estonians' demand for autonomy. In the spring of 1917, the Estonian Land People's Association (“Eesti Maarahva Liit”, EML) was formed around Jaan Hünerson to represent the wealthier part of the Estonian small farmers. The EML positioned itself against radical land reform. On 03/15/1917 universal suffrage declared by the Russian Provisional Government (in control of

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<sup>1207</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Swaziland2018.pdf>

<sup>1208</sup> <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/en/national-practice/constitution-2005-2;>

<https://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2841.html>; <https://africanelections.tripod.com/sz.html>

<sup>1209</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/eswatini>;

[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Swaziland\\_2005?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Swaziland_2005?lang=en)

<sup>1210</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_Nystad](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Nystad)

<sup>1211</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Estonia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Estonia)

the then governorate of Estonia). In the parliamentary elections in July 1917, the EML became the strongest party. After the mixture of coup and mass rebellion led by the Communists in St. Petersburg on 11/04/1917, the Estonians did not recognize the new Communist government. The Communists then forcibly dissolved the Estonian parliament and called new elections.

11/05/1917 End Part of other country [Russia, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Part of other country [Russia, Constitutional Monarchy]: On this date the Estonian Bolshevik leader Jaan Anvelt took over power by means of a coup d'état against the elected Maapäev (Russian official).<sup>1212</sup> On 02/3-4/1918 elections to the Estonian Constituent Assembly, which were organized by the Bolsheviks, were held on 02/3-4/1918 with universal suffrage. Despite the Communists' threats, the Bolsheviks only achieved 37 per cent of the votes and parties advocating Estonian national independence achieved almost two-thirds of the vote. Therefore, the Communists promptly dissolved the assembly and proclaimed the elections null and void.<sup>1213</sup> The Estonian Constituent Assembly was never convened, therefore, the regime period can neither be classified as independent nor as electoral.<sup>1214</sup>

02/25/1918 Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]: To put pressure on the new Bolshevik regime of Soviet Russia to sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the Germans landed on the mainland of Estonia on 02/18/1918. On 02/25/1918 Tallinn was occupied.<sup>1215</sup> Estonia became part of the German Ober Ost (military administration) until the end of World War I in November 1918.<sup>1216</sup> On 02/19/1918, between Russian retreat and German occupation, the "Salvation Committee" declared Estonian independence. The members of the Salvation Committee were Konstantin Päts, Jüri Vilms and Konstantin Konik.<sup>1217</sup>

11/11[-14]/1918 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: Between these dates, after the German Revolution, the representatives of Germany formally handed over political power in Estonia to the national government. However, the departure of German troops left a void and the Russian Bolshevik troops moved in. The Estonian War of Independence followed. Estonian Bolshevik leader Jaan Anvelt took over power in Narva. The Commune of the Working People of Estonia was an unacknowledged government asserting control over the Bolshevik-occupied regions of the

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<sup>1212</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jaan\\_Anvelt](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jaan_Anvelt)

<sup>1213</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Estonian\\_Provincial\\_Assembly](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Estonian_Provincial_Assembly);  
[https://dbpedia.org/page/1918\\_Estonian\\_Constituent\\_Assembly\\_election](https://dbpedia.org/page/1918_Estonian_Constituent_Assembly_election)

<sup>1214</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1918\\_Estonian\\_Constituent\\_Assembly\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1918_Estonian_Constituent_Assembly_election)

<sup>1215</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German\\_occupation\\_of\\_Estonia\\_during\\_World\\_War\\_I](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_occupation_of_Estonia_during_World_War_I)

<sup>1216</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German\\_occupation\\_of\\_Estonia\\_during\\_World\\_War\\_I](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_occupation_of_Estonia_during_World_War_I)

<sup>1217</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Estonian\\_Salvation\\_Committee](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Estonian_Salvation_Committee)

Republic of Estonia during the Estonian War of Independence and the Russian Civil War.<sup>1218</sup> The regime instituted a reign of terror from November 1918 to January 1919. However, we code here the non-electoral transitional regime with three provisional governments all led by Konstantin Päts.

04/05[-07]/1919 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Democracy: New elections for the Constituent Assembly were held in this period.<sup>1219</sup> On 02/02/1920 a peace treaty (Treaty of Tartu) was signed between the Republic of Estonia and the Russian SFSR. This marked the end of the Estonian War of Independence. On 06/15/1920, the first Estonian constitution was adopted. In the 1930s an anticommunist antiparliamentary movement named Vaps emerged.<sup>1220</sup> The distribution of power in the constitution ratified on 06/15/1920 adhered to the principles outlined by Montesquieu, with authority divided among the judiciary, executive, and legislature.<sup>1221</sup> Estonia's enactment of the cultural autonomy law for ethnic minorities in 1925 was widely regarded as one of the most progressive in the world during that period.<sup>1222</sup>

01/24/1934 End Democracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: After an October 1933 constitutional referendum organized by Vaps, Konstantin Pats took over as acting president in January 1934, and with the help of General Lohan Laidoner, Pats declared a state of emergency to prevent opposition candidate General Andres Larka from winning the upcoming election and initiated a wave of repression against opposition figures (Taylor 2018: 38-39, 44, 48, 63-64, Casey et al. 2020: 7).

06/16/1940 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by USSR, Communist Ideocracy]: Facing the imminent threat of a Soviet invasion, Estonia yielded to Soviet demands, and shortly thereafter, the Red Army took control of Estonia (Taylor 2018: 60, 88-89, Casey et al. 2020: 7).

08/09/1940 End Occupation Regime [by USSR, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Part of other country [USSR, Communist Ideocracy]: The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic formed under the occupation regime became a member of the USSR. Especially in the early days of the annexation the regime was similar to the occupation regime before. On 03/03/1991 an

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<sup>1218</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commune\\_of\\_the\\_Working\\_People\\_of\\_Estonia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commune_of_the_Working_People_of_Estonia)

<sup>1219</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1918\\_Estonian\\_Constituent\\_Assembly\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1918_Estonian_Constituent_Assembly_election)

<sup>1220</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Estonia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Estonia)

<sup>1221</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_Estonia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Estonia)

<sup>1222</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Estonia#Independence>

independence referendum in the Estonian SSR (alongside a similar referendum in the Latvian SSR) was approved by 78.4% of voters with an 82.9% turnout.<sup>1223</sup>

08/20/1991 End Part of other country [USSR, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date independence was restored by the Estonian Supreme Council.<sup>1224</sup> In August 1991, an agreement was brokered between the radical and moderate factions of the independence movement, resulting in the formation of a Constitutional Assembly and the attainment of complete independence for Estonia from the Soviet Union (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 26).

09/20/1992 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Democracy: On this date the first parliamentary elections after regaining independence from the USSR took place. They are considered to be free and fair.<sup>1225</sup> Estonia is a parliamentary democracy with a unicameral parliament. Citizens who are 18 and older have the right to vote. On 03/05/2023 parliamentary elections were held.<sup>1226</sup> The political landscape in Estonia is free and competitive. Estonia is well known for its advanced e-governance services as well as its high level of government transparency. Freedom of religion, freedom of assembly and freedom of association are guaranteed.<sup>1227</sup> Democratic institutions in Estonia are independent and stable and political rights and liberties are respected. Ongoing challenges are posed by the fact that around 5% of the population are considered “stateless” and are excluded from elections. In recent years, right-wing forces have started to become louder. Corruption and discrimination against Russians and LGBT+ people among other are persistent issues. New challenges arose from the wave of Ukrainian refugees (around 60.000) and Russian immigrants (around 300.000) caused by the Russian invasion of Ukraine. In September 2022 Estonia closed its borders to most Russian citizens.<sup>1228</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Hiden/Salmon 1991, Iwaskiw 1995, Laur et al. 2000, McHale 1983, Parming 1975, Siaroff 1999, Sikk 2010)

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<sup>1223</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991\\_Estonian\\_independence\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991_Estonian_independence_referendum)

<sup>1224</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991\\_Estonian\\_independence\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991_Estonian_independence_referendum)

<sup>1225</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992\\_Estonian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992_Estonian_parliamentary_election);  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Estonia\\_2015?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Estonia_2015?lang=en);  
<https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Estonia2018.pdf>

<sup>1226</sup> [https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/f/f/551179\\_0.pdf](https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/f/f/551179_0.pdf)

<sup>1227</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/estonia/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>1228</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/estonia/freedom-world/2023>



## **Ethiopia**

[The Ethiopian Empire was also known by the exonym Abyssinia]

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [as independent country] [Start: 10/26/1900]: During the Convention of Addis Abeba on 10/26/1896, Italy recognized the independence of the Ethiopian Empire; known as Abyssinia (Willoughby/Fenwick 1974). On 11/03/1889, Menelik II was crowned following his capture of the Ethiopian throne in battle against Menelik of Shewa, a vassal state at the time, marking the beginning of a new dynasty. Menelik brought together the territories that now comprise Ethiopia (Haile-Selassie 1997: 27-29, 34, Turner 1991, Mockler 2002: 89-90, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 59). In a Treaty between Great Britain, France and Italy on 12/13/1906, the then colonial powers agreed to refrain from any intervention in Abyssinian affairs and to respect the respective interests of the contracting powers in those territories bordering on Abyssinia (Willoughby/Fenwick 1974). From 12/12/1913 until 09/27/1916 Lij Iyasu was empress of Ethiopia. Then he was removed from power.<sup>1229</sup> After Iyasu was removed, Zewditu became Empress of Ethiopia. Yet, Täfäri Mäkonnän was ruling because Zewditu was not allowed to exercise power herself.<sup>1230</sup> On 04/02/1930 Mäkonnän was crowned himself as Emperor Haile Selassie I. Selassie endeavored to modernize the nation by implementing a range of political and social changes. These included the enactment of the 1931 constitution, the first written constitution for the country, and the elimination of slavery.<sup>1231</sup>

10/03/1935 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Occupation Regime [by Italy, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: During the Second Italo-Ethiopian War, Ethiopia was occupied by Italian forces and Emperor Haile Selassie and his family were forced to flee into exile. A few days later, the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa came under Italian control (Roberts 1986). On 06/01/1936 Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia are united into Italian East Africa and reorganized as a federation of six provinces.

05/09/1936 End Occupation Regime [by Italy, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Colonial Regime [of Italy, Right-wing Autocracy]: Ethiopia was annexed by Italy and together with Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia was united into Italian East Africa (AOI) under a unified government in Addis Ababa.<sup>1232</sup>

05/05/1941 End Colonial Regime [of Italy, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Absolute Monarchy [as independent country]: After Italy declared war on Britain and France on

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<sup>1229</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lij\\_Iyasu](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lij_Iyasu)

<sup>1230</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zewditu>

<sup>1231</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haile\\_Selassie](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haile_Selassie)

<sup>1232</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Italian\\_East\\_Africa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Italian_East_Africa)

06/19/1940, allied forces led by Britain invaded Italian East Africa (Eritrea, Ethiopia and Italian Somaliland). Addis Ababa was liberated by allies and on 05/05/1941 Haile Selassie re-entered Addis Ababa and returns to the throne (Roberts 1986). The last Italian forces surrendered in November 1941. With the withdrawal of the Italian Army and the return of the emperor Ethiopia was again a ruling (absolute) monarchy. The previous regime count of the ruling monarchy is proceeded. In 1955 universal suffrage was introduced.<sup>1233</sup>

09/12/1974 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Communist Ideocracy: Facing popular unrest since February 1974 in the course of inflation, famine and discontent, Emperor Selassie was overthrown by the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Police and Territorial Army, commonly known as the Derg (aka Dergue) (Abate 1983: 32, Haile-Selassie 1997: 121, 127, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 59-60). The Derg became the ruling junta under Andom's rule.<sup>1234</sup> Between February and September 1974, the Dergue eliminated power holders of the old regime; the removal of the emperor completed the transition from monarchy to a new form of autocracy. When the crown prince, who had been offered the throne, refused to return to Ethiopia, the Dergue proclaimed itself acting head of state and changed its name to the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) on 09/13/1974 (Haile-Selassie 1997: 128). The Dergue originally included three elected representatives from each unit of the armed forces; members ranged from ordinary soldiers to colonels (Erlich 1983: 473-475, Clapham 1985: 260, Haile-Selassie 1997: 147-148). In March 1975 the Derg established Ethiopia as a Marxist-Leninist state with itself as the vanguard movement in a provisional government. While Ethiopia became not earlier than in 1987 the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) under a new communist constitution, the regime is classified as communist from the start. In 1975, for instance, the regime asserted control over all land, assigning parcels of up to 25 acres (10 hectares) to individual peasants who worked the land themselves.<sup>1235</sup> From September 1974 until June 1991 the Ethiopian Civil War was fought between the regime and Ethiopian-Eritrean anti-government rebels. It left at least 1.4 million people dead.<sup>1236</sup>

05/18/1991 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, Mengistu fled the country after the regime was defeated by insurgents from several different regions. Kidan took over the Junta (Haile-Selassie 1997: 284-328). The remaining officials declared a ceasefire and EPRDF forces began entering Addis Ababa on 05/27/1991 (Haile-Selassie 1997: 284-328, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 60). Kidan surrendered the Derg

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<sup>1233</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>1234</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Derg>

<sup>1235</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Ethiopia/Socialist-Ethiopia-1974-91>

<sup>1236</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethiopian\\_Civil\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethiopian_Civil_War)

government to the EPRDF. Meles Zenawi assumed power as interim revolutionary president. The EPRDF immediately disbanded the Workers' Party of Ethiopia and shortly afterward arrested almost all of the most prominent Derg (Haile-Selassie 1997: 284-328, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 60).

06/05/1994 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date the first ever multi-party elections in the country for a Constituent Assembly were held.<sup>1237</sup> Parliamentary elections were held in May 1995. The EPRDF and its affiliated parties won a majority of 471 out of the 547 seats. Although the initial efforts of the new administration showed some success in reshaping the economy, doubts lingered regarding its dedication to political pluralism (Meier 1999: 374).<sup>1238</sup> Opposition leaders as well as journalists stayed in prison or were in exile abroad. The exclusion of important opposition groups occurred on the federal and the regional level (Meier 1999: 374). General elections were held in 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2015. The quality of the elections fluctuated. However, deficits always existed to varying degrees. In the general elections 2000 for example severe deficits and incidents in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Region (SNNPR) occurred. These included ballot stuffing and voter intimidation.<sup>1239</sup> In regard to the general election in 2010, the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor stated in the Human Rights Report: While the limited number of international observers permitted to monitor the elections acknowledged the competent handling of technical aspects of the voting process, some also observed the absence of a conducive environment for free and fair elections prior to the election day. Various laws, regulations, and procedures introduced since the 2005 national elections were seen to favor the EPRDF (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front) throughout the electoral process. Additionally, reported human rights violations during the year encompassed unlawful killings, torture, beatings, and mistreatment of detainees and opposition supporters by security forces.<sup>1240</sup> Harassment and detention of opposition figures occurred also during the general elections in 2015.<sup>1241</sup> On 02/15/2018 Hailemariam announced his decision to step down following days of demonstrations and protests. Hailemariam also resigned as the chair of the EPRDF. ABIY Ahmed (OPDO) was selected as EPRDF chair on 03/27 and sworn in as prime minister on April 2 (Lansford 2021: 541). The dissolution of the EPRDF occurred on 12/01/2019. Three member-parties of the EPRDF merged into the Prosperity Party. The 2021

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<sup>1237</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Ethiopia\\_1994?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Ethiopia_1994?lang=en)

<sup>1238</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1995\\_Ethiopian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1995_Ethiopian_general_election)

<sup>1239</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000\\_Ethiopian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000_Ethiopian_general_election)

<sup>1240</sup> <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2010/af/154346.htm>

<sup>1241</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015\\_Ethiopian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015_Ethiopian_general_election)

Ethiopian general election to elect members of the House of Peoples' Representatives was held on 06/21/2021 and 09/30/2021. Regional elections were also held on those dates. It was the first multi-party election in Ethiopia since the 2005 election.<sup>1242</sup> The Prosperity Party won with an overwhelming majority. Abiy Ahmed was confirmed as prime minister for a five-year term on 10/04/2021 by the House of People's Representatives. African Union characterized the election overall as positive and an improvement compared with previous elections, but also pointed to the need for further democratic improvements.<sup>1243</sup> The Human Rights Report by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor stated Conducted amid a backdrop of instability marked by interethnic and intercommunal violence, the elections unfolded within an electoral process that was deemed neither free nor fair for all citizens. However, observers generally concluded that the results reflected the will of the majority of citizens.<sup>1244</sup> Because of the continuation of severe deficits in the electoral process and competition with different degree, we classify this period as electoral autocracy.

Electoral autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Abink 2009, Erlich 1983, Haile-Selassie 1997, Halliday/Molyneux 1983, Henze 1985, Henze 2000, Henze 2007, Hess 1970, Keller 1988, Kinfe 1994, Perham 1947, Tiruneh 1993)

## **Falkland Islands**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start 01/02/1833]: At various times, the islands have had French, British, Spanish, and Argentine settlements. Britain reasserted its rule on 01/02/1833,<sup>1245</sup> but Argentina maintains its claim to the islands. In 1840, the Falklands became a Crown colony and Scottish settlers subsequently established an official pastoral community. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Falklands served an important role in Britain's territorial claims to subantarctic islands and a section of Antarctica.<sup>1246</sup>

04/02/1982 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Argentina, Military Autocracy]: On this date, Argentina's military forces invaded the islands. This act started the Falkland Islands War, which ended two months later with the

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<sup>1242</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021\\_Ethiopian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021_Ethiopian_general_election)

<sup>1243</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021\\_Ethiopian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021_Ethiopian_general_election)

<sup>1244</sup> <https://www.state.gov/reports/2022-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/ethiopia>

<sup>1245</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reassertion\\_of\\_British\\_sovereignty\\_over\\_the\\_Falkland\\_Islands\\_\(1833\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reassertion_of_British_sovereignty_over_the_Falkland_Islands_(1833))

<sup>1246</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Falkland\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Falkland_Islands)

surrender of the Argentine forces at Stanley to British troops who had forcibly reoccupied the islands.<sup>1247</sup>

06/14/1982 End Occupation Regime [by Argentina, Military Autocracy]/Start Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]: British administration was restored at the end of the Falklands War. And as a result to the 1981 'British Dependent Territory Act', the status was changed from Crown Colony to Dependent Territory. The islanders had full British citizenship restored in 1983. Their quality of life improved through investments made by the UK after the war and by economic liberalization that had been stalled for fear of angering Argentina.

04/18/1985 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Democracy [of United Kingdom as Protectorate]: On this date, a new constitution was enacted, promoting self-government which has continued to devolve power to the islanders.<sup>1248</sup> The politics of the Falkland Islands takes place in a framework of a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary representative democratic dependency as set out by the constitution. In 2002 the remaining British Dependent Territories were renamed as British Overseas Territories. In 01/2009 a new constitution came into effect that strengthened the Falklands' local democratic government and reserved for the islanders their right to determine the territory's political status. Executive power is exercised on behalf of the King by an appointed Governor. Legislative power is vested in both the government and the Legislative Assembly. The judiciary is independent of the executive and the legislature. The military defence and foreign policy of the islands is the responsibility of the United Kingdom. No political parties exist on the islands currently and so Members stand as independents, however the governmental and legal proceedings very closely resemble British standards.<sup>1249</sup> In a 2013 sovereignty referendum, almost all Falklanders voted in favour of remaining a UK overseas territory.<sup>1250</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Faroe Islands**

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Denmark, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 01/14/1814]: On 01/14/1814,<sup>1251</sup> with the dissolution of the Denmark-Norway union, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland were incorporated into Denmark as a result of the Peace of Kiel. In

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<sup>1247</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Falkland-Islands/History>

<sup>1248</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Falklands\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Falklands_War)

<sup>1249</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_the\\_Falkland\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_the_Falkland_Islands)

<sup>1250</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Falkland-Islands/History>

<sup>1251</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_Kiel](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Kiel)

1816, the Faroese parliament, known as the Løgting, was officially dissolved, and a Danish judicial system was introduced to replace it. The use of Danish as the primary language was promoted, while Faroese was discouraged. In 1849, Denmark adopted a new constitution, which was extended to the Faroe Islands in 1850, granting them two seats in the Danish parliament, called the Rigsdag. However, in 1852, the Faroese successfully reinstated the Løgting as a county council with an advisory role, with many people aspiring for eventual independence. While Faroese was standardized as a written language in 1890, it was not permitted for use in public schools until 1938 and in the church (Fólkakirkjan) until 1939.<sup>1252</sup>

04/12/1940 End Part of Other Country [Denmark, Democracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Democracy]: In World War II, Nazi Germany invaded and occupied Denmark. In response to this, the British conducted a preemptive invasion and occupation of the Faroe Islands, which was called Operation Valentine, with the aim of preventing a potential German invasion. The Løgting acquired legislative authority during this time, while Danish prefect Carl Aage Hilbert continued to hold executive control. Although there were certain efforts to proclaim full independence at this juncture, the United Kingdom had made a commitment not to intervene in the internal matters of the Faroe Islands or take action without the consent of a liberated Denmark. The wartime self-government experience played a pivotal role in preparing the path for the formal autonomy achieved in 1948.<sup>1253</sup>

05/13/1945 End Occupation Regime [United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Part of Other Country [Denmark, Democracy]: After the liberation of Denmark and the conclusion of World War II, the British occupation came to an end.<sup>1254</sup> The final British troops departed in September 1945. Until 1948, the Faroe Islands held the official designation of a Danish amt (county). In 1946, a referendum on complete independence took place, garnering majority support. However, the Danish Government and king did not acknowledge this outcome because only two-thirds of the population participated in the referendum. Consequently, the Danish king dissolved the Faroese government.<sup>1255</sup>

03/23/1948 End Part of Other Country [Denmark, Democracy]/Start Democracy [as Protectorate of Denmark, Democracy]: Responding to the increasing movements advocating for self-government and independence, Denmark ultimately conferred home-rule upon the Faroe Islands in 1948, providing a significant level of local autonomy.<sup>1256</sup> Executive authority

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<sup>1252</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Faroe\\_Islands#1600s\\_onwards](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Faroe_Islands#1600s_onwards)

<sup>1253</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Faroe\\_Islands#World\\_War\\_II](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Faroe_Islands#World_War_II)

<sup>1254</sup> <https://www.royalmarineshistory.com/post/operation-valentine-occupation-of-the-faroe-islands>

<sup>1255</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Faroe\\_Islands#Post-World\\_War\\_II:\\_Home\\_Rule](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Faroe_Islands#Post-World_War_II:_Home_Rule)

<sup>1256</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Faroe\\_Islands#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Faroe_Islands#History)

in local government matters is vested in the Faroese government. The leader of the government, known as the Løgmaður ("Chief Justice"), serves as both the Prime Minister and the head of the Faroese Government. Elections take place under universal suffrage at both municipal and national levels, also choosing two members for the Folketing. Up until 2007, there were seven electoral districts, but they were eliminated on 25 October of that year in favor of a single nationwide district.<sup>1257</sup><sup>1258</sup> The judiciary in the Faroe Islands maintains independence from both the executive and legislative branches and falls under the jurisdiction of Denmark.<sup>1259</sup> Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Fiji**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 10/10/1874]: The Kingdom of Fiji, with Ratu Seru Epenisa Cakobau as King, existed from 1871.<sup>1260</sup> It became the largest British crown colony in the Pacific in 1874, after the Fijians ceded their country to Britain (McIntyre 1999). Because this phase is clearly marked by British annexation of the islands, this period is coded as colonial rule. In 1963 universal suffrage was introduced.<sup>1261</sup> A new constitution in 1963 provided for a majority-elected Legislative Council and Chinese, Rotumans and other Pacific Islanders were enfranchised for the first time (Lal 2008). On 07/25/1965 the London conference at Marlborough House initiated steps towards greater autonomy in internal affairs, especially regarding the introduction of responsible government for Fiji.

08/10/1966 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: The first pre-independence general elections in Fiji were held on 09/26/1966 & 10/08/1966, in which two political parties (the Federation and the Alliance) contested. The elections resulted in a victory for the Alliance.<sup>1262</sup> On 09/01/1967, a ministerial style of government was established with Kamsese Mara as Chief Minister (Lal 2008). There were also strong monarchic elements in the regime form of Fiji. Mara was the hereditary Paramount Chief of the Lau Island.<sup>1263</sup> On 11/03/1969 all parties agreed that Fiji should become a fully sovereign independent state with the Queen as Head of State as a

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<sup>1257</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Faroe\\_Islands#Government\\_and\\_politics](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Faroe_Islands#Government_and_politics)

<sup>1258</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women\\_in\\_the\\_Faroe\\_Islands#Parliamentary\\_appointments\\_and\\_elections](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women_in_the_Faroe_Islands#Parliamentary_appointments_and_elections)

<sup>1259</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_the\\_Faroe\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_the_Faroe_Islands)

<sup>1260</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Fiji](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Fiji)

<sup>1261</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>1262</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1966\\_Fijian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1966_Fijian_general_election)

<sup>1263</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kamisese\\_Mara](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kamisese_Mara)

Dominion in the British Commonwealth (McIntyre 1999). Because the rather complicated electoral system applied in the elections of 1966 cannot be considered democratic because voters were mostly forced to vote along ethnic lines the regime is classified as an electoral autocracy. On 10/10/1970 Fiji attained independence as the Dominion of Fiji. The legislative council was replaced with a bicameral parliament, with a senate dominated by Fijian chiefs and a popularly elected house of representatives.<sup>1264</sup>

04/15[-29]/1972 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Democracy: Between these dates general elections were held in Fiji. Different from the electoral system of the elections in 1966 the new rules can be considered democratic. Post-independence politics was initially dominated by the Alliance Party of Kamisese Mara. The 1977 election, however, saw the Indian-led opposition win a majority but fail to form a government, leading to the Fiji Constitutional Crisis of 1977. A significant change occurred in April 1987 when a coalition led by Timoci Bavadra, supported by the Indo-Fijian community, won the general election and formed the first majority Indian government, with Bavadra as Prime Minister.<sup>1265</sup> Fiji's political framework facilitated the protection of minority rights, ensuring the preservation of civil and political liberties, and establishing an independent judiciary, further reinforced by the presence of an ombudsman (Gastil 1987).

05/14/1987 End Democracy/Start Military Autocracy: Ethnic unrest and concerns of racial discrimination was cited by Rabuka for his coup against the Bavadra government. Favley, the governor-general and Queen took power and granted Rabuka temporary amnesty and some authority in the aftermath. On 09/28/1987, when the Supreme Court declared the coup illegal and the Queen's new governor-general appointee attempted to assert executive power, Rabuka launched another coup, abolishing the monarchy and declaring himself president of the Fiji Republic. In 1987, the Labour Party-National Federation Party coalition won the general elections, ending the Alliance party's post-independence rule. However, a military coup led by Major-General Sitiveni Ligamamada Rabuka soon overthrew this government, initially seeking to restore the defeated Mara government and strengthen indigenous Fijian political power. After facing resistance, Rabuka led a second coup, declaring Fiji a republic and establishing a Military Administration, thus severing ties with the British monarchy (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 77). After the first coup in 1987, the need for constitutional reform in Fiji became a key issue, leading to a second coup that year and the establishment of Fiji as a republic. Despite this,

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<sup>1264</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colony\\_of\\_Fiji](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colony_of_Fiji); <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Fiji2018.pdf>

<sup>1265</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modern\\_history\\_of\\_Fiji](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modern_history_of_Fiji)



pressures for democratic transition persisted, resulting in a new constitution in 1990 and subsequent elections in 1992 (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 27).<sup>1266</sup>

05/30/1992 End Military Autocracy/Start Democracy: On this date, free and fair democratic elections took place. The 1999 election saw a peaceful transition of power. During that period civil liberties were safeguarded. The constitutional amendments in March 1999 lead to an end of the longstanding monopoly on power that had been guaranteed to indigenous Fijians for a decade (Karatnycky 2000).

05/19/2000 End Democracy/Start Military [Rebel] Autocracy: On this date, ethnic Fijian nationalist George Speight citing racial cleavages attacked the elected government with rebel soldiers from the Fiji's Counter Revolutionary Warfare Unit. The Indo-Fijian Prime Minister, Mahendra Chaudhry and a number of other members of parliament were taken hostage by Speight and his gunmen. Speight claimed to have seized power on behalf of ethnic Fijians, and purported to have revoked the 1997 constitution and appointed himself interim president and opposition MP Timoci Silatolu as interim Prime Minister.<sup>1267</sup>

05/29/2000 End Military [Rebel] Autocracy/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy: On this date, Military Forces Commander Commodore Frank Bainimarama manifested the removal of the elected government by an interim regime headed by Josefa Iloilo against the background of the ongoing hostage situation. De facto power lay in this time by the military. On 07/09, following prolonged negotiations, Speigh and the military signed the Muanikau Accord. All key demands of Speigh had been met. However, on 07/26 Speight and others were arrested at a military checkpoint following threats to President Josefa Iloilo.<sup>1268</sup> In 2001, Iloilo persuaded the military to allow a return to democracy.<sup>1269</sup> The Constitution of Fiji was restored by a High Court decision on 11/15/2000, following the failure of the political upheaval in which the government had been deposed and the constitution suspended in May that year.<sup>1270</sup>

08/25/2001 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, an election to restore democracy, that can be considered as free and fair, was held.<sup>1271</sup> In 2001, Qarase, representing the United Fiji Party, assumed the role of prime minister. Despite the constitution's requirement for cabinet representation for parties holding more than 10 percent

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<sup>1266</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1987\\_Fijian\\_coups\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1987_Fijian_coups_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1267</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000\\_Fijian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000_Fijian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George\\_Speight](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Speight)

<sup>1268</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George\\_Speight](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Speight)

<sup>1269</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Josefa\\_Iloilo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Josefa_Iloilo);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000\\_Fijian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000_Fijian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1270</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2001\\_Fijian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2001_Fijian_general_election)

<sup>1271</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2001\\_Fijian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2001_Fijian_general_election)

of seats, Qarase declined to include Labour Party members in his cabinet, persisting in this decision despite a supreme court ruling and negotiations. The government exercises significant control over the media and restricts freedom of speech. The Television Act grants authorities influence over programming content, while the Press Correction Act allows for the arrest of individuals publishing "malicious" material and mandates corrections for allegedly false or distorted articles. Political, economic, and social discussions often revolve around ethnic divisions, with entrenched racial discrimination prevailing. A prominent divide exists between indigenous Fijians, who hold significant influence in government and the armed forces, and Indo-Fijians, who wield considerable economic power. Indigenous Fijians receive preferential treatment in various areas, including education, housing, and land acquisition, while certain job opportunities remain exclusive to them. Throughout this period, Freedom House classifies Fiji as partly free (Piano/Puddington/Rosenberg 2006).

12/05/2006 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date Bainimarama spearheaded Fiji's fourth coup, deposed the civilian government, and assumed the role of acting president. President Iloilo, despite reservations, yielded to the persuasion of military leaders, leading to the dissolution of parliament. He appointed Bainimarama as acting prime minister and validated the establishment of an interim government comprising military officers and cooperative civilians. In return, Bainimarama reinstated Iloilo as president. on 01/05/2007 (Lansford 2021: 552).

09/17/2014 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, elections under a new constitution, which were planned for 2009, took place.<sup>1272</sup> Of the seven parties contesting the election, three won seats (Lansford 2021: 553). International observers deemed the election to be "credible," but they did note some issues such as the restrictive media environment which limited the ability of Fijian journalists to scrutinize the claims of candidates and parties, the short timeframe for the election, and a complex voting system. Despite this, leaders of several opposition parties disputed the result, alleging ballot tampering.<sup>1273</sup> The ruling party often intervenes in opposition activities, the judiciary is susceptible to political influence, and instances of military and police brutality pose a significant challenge.<sup>1274</sup> General elections took place on 12/14/2022, to elect 55 members of Parliament. Controversial electoral amendments were passed prior to the elections, including one restricting voter registration to birth names and another granting extensive powers to the elections supervisor, sparking criticism from

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<sup>1272</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Fiji\\_2013?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Fiji_2013?lang=en)

<sup>1273</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014\\_Fijian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014_Fijian_general_election)

<sup>1274</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/fiji>

opposition parties and legal organizations. Following the elections, FijiFirst secured a plurality with 26 seats, while the People's Alliance (PA) won 21 seats and the National Federation Party (NFP) secured five. Negotiations to form a government ensued, with FijiFirst and the PA-NFP coalition vying for the support of the kingmaker party, SODELPA. Eventually, on 12/20, SODELPA's management board voted to form a coalition government with the PA-NFP coalition, ending FijiFirst's eight-year rule and Prime Minister Bainimarama's 16-year tenure. Despite this decision, the first parliamentary session, scheduled for 12/21, was delayed, leading SODELPA's management board to reaffirm their decision to form a government with the PA-NFP coalition on 12/23.<sup>1275</sup>

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Hartmann 2001)

## **Finland**

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Russia, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 09/17/1809]: Finland became part of the Russian Empire after the Finnish War of 1808-1809. The Romanov Emperor of Russia became also the Grand Duke of Finland, represented by a governor-general in Finland.<sup>1276</sup> As an autonomous Grand Principality in the Russian Empire, Finland achieved universal suffrage in 1906, becoming the second country in the world to adopt universal suffrage. The Finnish parliamentary election of 1907 was the first time when women were elected (19 of 200 MPs). Despite that the Grand Duke of Finland was the emperor of Russia Finland was a borderline case between being a part of the Russian Empire and a semi-autonomous protectorate.

12/06/1917 End Part of Other Country [Russia, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Democracy: Independence from Russian Empire declared. Free and fair elections for a parliament were already held on 10/1&2/1917.<sup>1277</sup> Between 01/27 and 05/15/1918 a civil war was fought out. On 01/03/1918 independence was recognized by the highest Soviet executive body. After becoming independent in 1917, Finland continued its universal suffrage.<sup>1278</sup> All datasets like BMR, LIED and RoW consider Finland immediately from the date of its independence as

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<sup>1275</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022\\_Fijian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022_Fijian_general_election)

<sup>1276</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grand\\_Duchy\\_of\\_Finland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grand_Duchy_of_Finland)

<sup>1277</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1917\\_Finnish\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1917_Finnish_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1278</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

democratic.<sup>1279</sup> Finland is a parliamentary representative democracy with a unicameral system.<sup>1280</sup> Legislative power is vested in the parliament (Eduskunta) and while the president, elected for six-year terms, is the chief executive, he shares his power with the Council of State.<sup>1281</sup> The Finnish political regime is characterized by fair and free elections within the framework of a competitive multi-party system. The constitution guarantees an independent judiciary. Civil liberties are guaranteed by the constitution and upheld in practice, Freedom House giving them a perfect score in their 2023 report.<sup>1282</sup> The universal suffrage applies to citizens aged 18 and older.<sup>1283</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Alapuro/Allardt 1978, Anckar/Anckar 2010, Arter 1985, Arter 1999, Auffermann 2009, Coakley 1986, Endemann 1999, Karvonen 2000, Nousiainen 2001, Siaroff 1999)

## France

01/01/1900 (Male) Semidemocracy [Start: 02/08/1871]: From 987 the Kingdom of France appears on the map. From 09/21/1792 until 05/18/1804 France was for the first time a republic (French First Republic). Until. From 04/06/1814 until 02/24/1848 France was a constitutional monarchy.<sup>1284</sup> In 1848 universal male suffrage was introduced, with the exception of the military who obtained the right to vote in 1945. Louis-Napoléon orchestrated a coup d'état in 1851, overthrowing the republic and declaring himself Emperor Napoleon III, thus establishing the Second French Empire. This Bonapartist regime lasted from 01/14/1852, to 10/27/1870. Following the collapse of the Second French Empire during the Franco-Prussian War, France adopted the democratic regime known as the French Third Republic on 09/04/1870.<sup>1285</sup> The regime is classified from 02/08/1871, the date of the first parliamentary elections in this period as a semidemocracy, because women had no right vote.<sup>1286</sup>

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<sup>1279</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Finland\\_2011?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Finland_2011?lang=en)

<sup>1280</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Finland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Finland)

<sup>1281</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Finland/Labour-and-taxation#ref26132>

<sup>1282</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/finland/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>1283</sup> [https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/f/e/539006\\_0.pdf](https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/f/e/539006_0.pdf)

<sup>1284</sup> <https://rulers.org/rulf.html#france>

<sup>1285</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Third\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Third_Republic)

<sup>1286</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Second\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Second_Republic)

06/23/1940 End (Male) Semidemocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: The area that was under military occupation during World War II, referred to as the "occupied zone" encompassed the northern and western regions of France, including the two restricted areas. On the other hand, the southern region of France, excluding the western portion of Aquitaine along the Atlantic coast, was designated as the "free zone" (French: zone libre), where the Vichy regime continued to hold power as a separate state, albeit under significant German influence.<sup>1287</sup> Vichy France, also known as the "French State" (État français), took over after the French Third Republic disintegrated due to defeat.<sup>1288</sup> On 11/11/1942 in response to the Allied landings in French North Africa on 11/08/1942 the Vichy government was severely curtailed, but formally remained in existence.<sup>1289</sup> In Vichy, General Pétain formed an authoritarian government that was not elected, and which reversed several liberal policies while implementing strict economic supervision.<sup>1290</sup> Vichy France as a collaboration regime was a borderline case between occupation and a protectorate status. However, the majority of the country (55 percent including the capital Paris) was occupied. Hence, the whole of France is coded as occupied in this period.

08/25/1944 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Democracy: The occupation ended effectively with the liberation of Paris on this date. On 04/21/1944 full universal suffrage, including women as voters was introduced.<sup>1291</sup> So France is coded as a democracy from this date on. Since 1946, the Fourth Republic has faced challenges including a lack of political consensus, a weak executive branch, and a recurring pattern of rapidly forming and collapsing governments. Due to the absence of a party or coalition capable of securing a parliamentary majority, prime ministers have been cautious about implementing unpopular reforms to avoid jeopardizing their political standing.<sup>1292</sup> The year 1956 was a pivotal one in French history, marked by a series of events that brought the country to the brink of a democratic breakdown, setting the stage for the establishment of the Fifth Republic in 1958.<sup>1293</sup> The most significant factor was the Algerian War of Independence. Algeria, a French colony since 1830, began its fight for independence in 1954. By 1956, the conflict had intensified, demanding significant attention and resources from France. The political framework of the

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<sup>1287</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German\\_military\\_administration\\_in\\_occupied\\_France\\_during\\_World\\_War\\_II#Occupation\\_zones](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_military_administration_in_occupied_France_during_World_War_II#Occupation_zones)

<sup>1288</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German\\_military\\_administration\\_in\\_occupied\\_France\\_during\\_World\\_War\\_II](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_military_administration_in_occupied_France_during_World_War_II)

<sup>1289</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German\\_military\\_administration\\_in\\_occupied\\_France\\_during\\_World\\_War\\_II](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_military_administration_in_occupied_France_during_World_War_II)

<sup>1290</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vichy\\_France](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vichy_France)

<sup>1291</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>1292</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Fifth\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Fifth_Republic)

<sup>1293</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5France2018.pdf>

Fourth Republic, with its fragmented parliamentary system, proved ineffective in dealing with the crisis. The government struggled to maintain a stable majority, leading to frequent changes in leadership and an inability to form a cohesive policy on Algeria. As 1956 drew to a close, the public sentiment was increasingly in favor of a stronger government that could effectively handle the crisis. A new constitution was introduced with a stronger executive branch to stabilize the nation.<sup>1294</sup> France is a semi-presidential democracy with a bicameral system, consisting of the National Assembly and the Senate. Civil liberties are particularly important and protected in the political system of France. Nevertheless, events in recent years (terrorist attacks, the pandemic) have led to government cutbacks on civil liberties. Elections in France are deemed free and fair. Political parties operate independently, and the government acts transparently.<sup>1295</sup> The right to vote applies to citizens aged 18 and older.<sup>1296</sup> On 06/12/2022 and 06/19/2022 legislative elections were held.<sup>1297</sup> They were deemed to be free and fair. During the parliamentary elections in June 2022, Ensemble! secured 245 lower-house seats, but it fell short of achieving an absolute majority. The New Ecological and Social People's Union (NUPES), a left-wing coalition consisting of four parties, earned 131 seats. The far-right FN experienced a significant advancement by winning 89 seats, a notable increase from the 8 seats it secured in 2017.<sup>1298</sup>

Democracy as of 01/07/2023 continued.

Additional sources (Elgie 1999, Hanson 2006, Huber 1998, Kempf 2004, Kempf 2009, Knapp/Wright 2005, MacRae 1967, Nohlen 2010, Rioux/Rogers 1989, Skach 2005, Stepan/Suleiman 1995, Suleiman 1994)

## French Guiana

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 07/31/1667]: The initial French presence in Guiana dates back to 1503, but it wasn't until 1643 that the French established a lasting settlement when colonists founded Cayenne. The Treaty of Breda awarded the territory to France on 07/31/1667.<sup>1299</sup> Over time, Guiana evolved into a slave-based society,

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<sup>1294</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/France\\_2008?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/France_2008?lang=en)

<sup>1295</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/france/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>1296</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections\\_in\\_France](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_in_France)

<sup>1297</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022\\_French\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022_French_presidential_election)

<sup>1298</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/france/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>1299</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/French-Guiana/Government-and-society#ref2490>

with a substantial influx of African slaves working on extensive sugar and other plantations, leading to population growth. During World War II, when France fell to German forces, French Guiana became part of Vichy France. However, it officially joined the Free France movement on 03/16/1943.<sup>1300</sup>

03/16/1943 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Part of Other Country [France, Democracy]: On this date, French Guiana became a department of France. In 1974 regional status was given to French Guiana.<sup>1301</sup> French Guiana, being an integral part of France, holds a unique position as part of the European Union. It operates under the leadership of the President of the French Republic as its head of state and the Prime Minister of France as its head of government. The French government and its agencies have jurisdiction over various national matters, including defense and external relations. French Guiana is represented in the French National Assembly by two deputies. One deputy represents the municipalities of Cayenne and Macouria, while the other represents the remaining regions of French Guiana. Additionally, French Guiana sends two senators to the French Senate.<sup>1302</sup>

Part of other country [France, Democracy] as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **French Polynesia**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start 03/16/1888]: In 1842, France established a protectorate over Tahiti and later engaged in a war with Tahiti from 1844 to 1847. Subsequently, in 1847, the British and French signed the Jarnac Convention, which stipulated that the kingdoms of Raiatea, Huahine, and Bora Bora were to remain independent from both powers. It also prohibited any single chief from ruling over the entire archipelago. However, France later violated this agreement, and in 1888, after a series of native resistances and conflicts known as the Leewards War lasting until 1897, the islands were annexed and became a French colony. French Governor Théodore Lacascade officially annexed all of the Leeward Islands on 03/16/1888 via proclamation. The “Proclamation de Gouverneur aux habitant des Îles sous le Vent à l'occasion de l'annexion de ces îles à la France” was done without documents of cession from the former sovereign government of the islands.<sup>1303</sup> During the 1880s, France asserted its control over the Tuamotu Archipelago, previously under the Pōmare Dynasty,

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<sup>1300</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Guiana#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Guiana#History)

<sup>1301</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/French-Guiana/Government-and-society#ref2490>

<sup>1302</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Guiana#Politics](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Guiana#Politics)

<sup>1303</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Annexation\\_of\\_the\\_Leeward\\_Islands\\_by\\_France](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Annexation_of_the_Leeward_Islands_by_France)

although it was not formally annexed. Furthermore, after declaring a protectorate over Tahuata in 1842, the French considered the entire Marquesas Islands as part of their territory.<sup>1304</sup>

10/27/1946 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Part of other country [France, Democracy]: In 1946, French citizenship was extended to Polynesians, and the islands' designation was altered to become an overseas territory. Subsequently, in 1957, the name of the islands was officially modified to Polynésie Française, which translates to French Polynesia. In 1977, a degree of internal autonomy was conferred upon French Polynesia, and this autonomy was expanded in 1984. Ultimately, in 2003, French Polynesia attained the status of a complete overseas collectivity within France.<sup>1305</sup>

Part of other country [France, Democracy] as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Gabon**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 08/01/1886]: Gabon became part of French Congo on 08/01/1886, which was a French colony comprising the present-day area of the Republic of the Congo, parts of Gabon, and the Central African Republic. In 1910, Gabon was declared a territory of French Equatorial Africa (AEF).<sup>1306</sup> Between 06/30/1934 and 12/31/1937 the region was part of French Equatorial Africa. In World War II, the Free French Forces, backed by British naval and air forces, launched an invasion of Gabon. Their objective was to topple the pro-Vichy France colonial administration and unite French territories in support of the Allied cause.<sup>1307</sup> In the so-called Battle of Gabon, the administration was defeated and surrendered on 11/12/1940.<sup>1308</sup>

11/28/1958 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy[as Protectorate of France, Democracy]: On this date, Gabon became an autonomous republic within the French Community.<sup>1309</sup> Already in March 1957 territorial elections had been held under universal suffrage. Although originally finishing second the BDG had gained a parliamentary majority because of bribes, which had led deputies of the UDSG to switch parties. On 05/21/1957 M'ba was appointed vice-president of the government council under the control of the French governor.<sup>1310</sup> After constitutional referendum in September 1958, which had

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<sup>1304</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Polynesia#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Polynesia#History)

<sup>1305</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Polynesia#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Polynesia#History)

<sup>1306</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabon>

<sup>1307</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabon>

<sup>1308</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Gabon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Gabon)

<sup>1309</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabon>

<sup>1310</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%A9on\\_M%27ba#Rise\\_to\\_power](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%A9on_M%27ba#Rise_to_power)



granted the autonomous status, the assembly voted to establish a legislature in December 1958 and then proclaimed the constitution on 02/19/1959. On 02/27/1959 M'ba became Prime Minister. M'ba had previously detained an opposition leader and coerced certain opposition deputies to change their party affiliations. The BDG (Gabonese Democratic Bloc) benefited from gerrymandering and a multimember district, plurality electoral system, securing a robust majority in the June 1960 election (Bernault 1996: 294-97, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 60). 08/17/1960 Continuation Electoral Autocracy [as independent country]: On this date Gabon gained independence, with M'ba, who had previously served as Prime Minister, as president (Fleischhacker 1999c: 387). In 11/1960, he detained eight internal party opponents (Bernault 1996: 294-97, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 60). The dissolution of the National Assembly followed on 11/17/1960. Furthermore, he declared a state of emergency.<sup>1311</sup>

02/12/1961 End Electoral Autocracy/Start One-party Autocracy: The first general elections after independence were held in Gabon on 02/12/1961 to elect a President and the National Assembly. It was the first time a president had been elected, with Prime Minister Léon M'ba of the Gabonese Democratic Bloc being the only candidate and was elected unopposed. In the National Assembly election the Gabonese Democratic Bloc and the Gabonese Democratic and Social Union put forward a joint list of candidates unopposed under the name "National Union".<sup>1312</sup> The newly drafted constitution by the president, provided him with widespread power (Fleischhacker 1999c: 387-388). On 02/17/1964 After M'ba dissolved the legislature, an opposition leader and military officers deposed him and established an interim government.<sup>1313</sup>

04/12/1964 End One-party Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: M'ba's party Gabon Democratic Bloc (BDG) had gained a majority in the 1964 legislative elections during which M'ba is believed to have bribed voters with banknotes, and which showed serious electoral irregularities. The Gabonese Democratic and Social Union (UDSG) practically disappeared from the political scene, as many of its leaders had been jailed because of the coup and the UDSG was formally outlawed (Lansford 2021: 582).<sup>1314</sup>

03/19/1967 End Electoral Autocracy/Start One-Party Autocracy: In the 1967 general elections, the BDG was the sole party in contention, resulting in M'ba's reelection as President. Following M'ba's death later that year, Omar Bongo assumed the presidency. On 03/12/1968, the Gabonese Democratic Party succeeded the BDG, becoming the exclusive legal party. The PDG

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<sup>1311</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%A9on\\_M%27ba#Rise\\_to\\_power](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%A9on_M%27ba#Rise_to_power)

<sup>1312</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1961\\_Gabonese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1961_Gabonese_general_election)

<sup>1313</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1964\\_Gabonese\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1964_Gabonese_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1314</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1964\\_Gabonese\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1964_Gabonese_parliamentary_election)

and Bongo secured re-election in one-party elections in 1973, 1980, and 1985. Constitutional amendments in May 1990 reinstated the multi-party system.<sup>1315</sup>

09/16/1990 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy: On this date, parliamentary elections were held, the first multiparty elections since 1967. Results from 32 of the 120 constituencies were annulled after public protests claiming fraud by the ruling Gabonese Democratic Party and the second round was postponed. Re-runs were held on 10/21/1990, with a second round on 10/28/1990. Thirteen parties and 553 candidates contested the election, with the Gabonese Democratic party retaining control of the National Assembly by winning 63 of the 120 seats.<sup>1316</sup> Although Gabon holds multiparty elections, the PDG dominates the multiparty system and President Ali Bongo maintains political dominance through patronage and repression.<sup>1317</sup> After the death of his father Bongo, in 2009, Ali Bongo Ondimba his son won the 2009 Gabonese presidential election and was reelected in 2016, in elections marred by numerous irregularities, arrests, human rights violations and post-election protests and violence.<sup>1318</sup> In February 2021, President Bongo's Gabonese Democratic Party (PDG) won 45 of the Senate's 52 elected seats. Presidential term limits were abolished in 2003.<sup>1319</sup> The PDG maintains dominance in the ostensibly multiparty system. Opposition parties remain divided, and the government has impeded their activities by withholding permits for public gatherings, apprehending participants in their mostly peaceful protests, and imprisoning their leaders<sup>1320</sup>

30/08/2023 End Electoral (personalist) Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: After sweeping restrictions were imposed by the government during the August general elections in which internet access was blocked, a curfew was imposed and media outlets suspended, a coup d'etat was declared by senior military officers shortly after the incumbent was announced victor. Brice Oligui Nguema was declared transitional president with virtually no constraints on power. In September 2023 he appointed a new prime minister and in October a new transitional parliament. The military retain firm control over government activities.<sup>1321</sup>

Military autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

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<sup>1315</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabonese\\_Democratic\\_Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabonese_Democratic_Party)

<sup>1316</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990\\_Gabonese\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990_Gabonese_legislative_election);  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Gabon\\_2011?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Gabon_2011?lang=en)

<sup>1317</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/gabon>

<sup>1318</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali\\_Bongo\\_Ondimba](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_Bongo_Ondimba)

<sup>1319</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/gabon/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1320</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/gabon/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1321</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/gabon/freedom-world/2024>

## [The] Gambia

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]: From 1821 to 1965, The Gambia Colony and Protectorate constituted the British colonial administration of the Gambia, within the context of the British Empire during the New Imperialism era. The colony encompassed the immediate vicinity of Bathurst (now Banjul), while the protectorate comprised the inland territory along the Gambia River, officially designated in 1894.<sup>1322</sup> Influenced by the British since 1588, Gambia wasn't formally recognized as a distinct colony until 1888. It adopted the characteristic traits of British colonial governance, attained internal self-government in 1963, and gained full independence within the Commonwealth on 02/18/1965. Initially operating under a parliamentary system (with the British monarch as the head of state), Gambia transitioned to a republican form of government following a referendum in 1970 (Lansford 2021: 592). In 1960 universal suffrage was introduced.

02/18/1965 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Semidemocracy: The People's Progressive Party (PPP) won the pre-independence parliamentary elections in 1962 with 18 out of 32 elected seats.<sup>1323</sup> The PPP, led by Dawda Jawara, led the country into independence on this date.<sup>1324</sup> Dawda became prime minister. The prime minister office existed between 1961 and 1970.<sup>1325</sup> In a referendum on 04/24/1970 the office of the president of the republic of The Gambia was created and The Gambia became a republic.<sup>1326</sup> Dawda held the presidency between 1970 and 1994.<sup>1327</sup> Until 1994 the PPP was the predominant political party. Nonetheless, competitive, multiparty elections were held regularly (1966, 1972, 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992). The elections have been considered free and relatively fair (Bendel 1999: 411, Wiseman 1996: 917).<sup>1328</sup> The government led by Jawara refrained from employing repressive tactics against its opposition. Instead, it adeptly utilized state resources to preserve its predominant status. While the existence of opposition parties was permitted, with their participation in elections unimpeded, the People's Progressive Party (PPP) managed to sustain an inequitable competitive environment. This was achieved through the exclusive control over

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<sup>1322</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gambia\\_Colony\\_and\\_Protectorate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gambia_Colony_and_Protectorate)

<sup>1323</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1962\\_Gambian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1962_Gambian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1324</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People%27s\\_Progressive\\_Party\\_\(The\\_Gambia\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/People%27s_Progressive_Party_(The_Gambia))

<sup>1325</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prime\\_Minister\\_of\\_the\\_Gambia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prime_Minister_of_the_Gambia)

<sup>1326</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President\\_of\\_the\\_Gambia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President_of_the_Gambia),  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970\\_Gambian\\_republic\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970_Gambian_republic_referendum)

<sup>1327</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dawda\\_Jawara](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dawda_Jawara)

<sup>1328</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Dawda-Kairaba-Jawara>

patronage and the strategic allocation of state resources, a practice that continued for approximately three decades. (Hughes/Perfect 2008: 1-lvii, Lansford 2012h: 509, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 60-61). Furthermore, the limitations on the exercise of executive power were sometimes blurred and supported through the majority in parliament held by the PPP. Therefore, allegations of judicial inefficiency and control have been raised (Edie 2000: 168-173). Therefore, although praised as one of the few competitive, multiparty political systems, the “democracy was certainly not without flaws” (Wiseman 1996: 917). After an unsuccessful coup attempt on 07/30/1981, the Gambia and Senegal founded the Senegambia Confederation on 02/01/1982 to promote cooperation but the confederation was dissolved on 09/30/1989.<sup>1329</sup> The classification of this period is contested. GWF, MCM, REIGN and AF (only until 1971) classify it as party-based autocracy, MCM as multiparty autocracy and AF until 1971 as single party autocracy. BR classifies it as civilian dictatorship, but HTW, LIED and AF (starting in 1972) as (electoral) democracy. We classify this period as semidemocracy, because, although there were flaws in the electoral competition, the opposition parties were not prevented from participating.

07/22/1994 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, the government of President Dawada Kairaba Jawara and his PPP was overthrown in a bloodless coup by junior military officers led by then-lieutenant Yahya Jammeh and his Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC). Two years later, Jammeh staged controlled elections in which he and his newly-formed party, the Alliance for Patriotic Re-orientation and Construction, won (Saine 1996: 97). Jammeh and the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council junta justified their coup stating the disturbing level of corruption and lack of democracy was harming the country.<sup>1330</sup>

01/02/1997 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: Legislative elections, planned for 12/11/1996, were postponed until January. The decision came after weeks of UDP-orchestrated anti-government demonstrations. Subsequently, in balloting on 01/02/1997, President Jammeh’s APRC captured 33 of the 45 contested seats (the president is empowered to name 4 additional legislators), giving the party the two-thirds majority necessary to pass legislation and make constitutional changes unimpeded (Lansford 2021: 593). The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) reported that the electorate had been “cowed by repression,” making free and fair elections impossible (Lansford 2021: 593). The ban of political parties from the Jawara era (PPP, NCP and GPP) was enforced during the military rule

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<sup>1329</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Senegambia\\_Confederation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Senegambia_Confederation)

<sup>1330</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Gambia\\_2018?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Gambia_2018?lang=en)

and only lifted in 2001 (Edie 2000: 168).<sup>1331</sup> Presidential elections under Jammeh took place in 2001, 2006, 2011 and 2016. Following the 2001 election, the immediate post-election period witnessed a surge in authoritarianism and violence against political adversaries (Saine 2008: 63). And also, the presidential elections in 2006 fell short of international standards. These included vote rigging, voter intimidation and biased media reports (Saine 2008: 68-69). Jammeh was defeated by Barrow from the opposition in presidential elections on 12/01/2016, and acknowledged the result at first, then refused to accept the defeat a few days later and ordered new balloting, prompting wide-spread criticism (Lansford 2021: 593). From 12/2015 to 01/28/2017 Gambia was named Islamic Republic of The Gambia. Jammeh refused to step down and on 01/18/2017, the Gambian assembly voted in favor of an extension of his term in office for 90 days to prepare new elections. ECOWAS launched a military intervention into the country under the name “Operation Restore Democracy” with 7,000 troops. Forces entered the country on 01/19/2017 at the request of Barrow, who was sworn in that day as the new President at the Gambian embassy in Dakar, Senegal (Lansford 2021: 593).<sup>1332</sup> Jammeh subsequently stepped down and left the country. In legislative elections on 04/06/2017, the UDP won a majority with 31 seats, followed by the APRC, the GDC, and the National Reconciliation Party (NRP), with 5 seats each; the People’s Democratic Organization for Independence and Socialism (PDOIS), 4; the PPP, 2; and 1 independent” (Lansford 2021: 594). Since the end of Jammeh's 22-year rule in 2017, Gambians have experienced increased freedom from undue influences on their political decisions. However, reports of abuses such as the politicized distribution of money and goods to favor the ruling party persisted leading up to the 2021 election.<sup>1333</sup> On 12/04/2021, presidential elections took place in the Gambia. Incumbent President Adama Barrow of the National People's Party emerged victorious with 53% of the vote, prevailing over five other candidates.<sup>1334</sup> As of August 2022, ECOWAS forces remain in the country on the request of incumbent president Barrow, assisting and training domestic security forces.

Electoral Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## Georgia

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<sup>1331</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_the\\_Gambia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_the_Gambia)

<sup>1332</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ECOWAS\\_military\\_intervention\\_in\\_the\\_Gambia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ECOWAS_military_intervention_in_the_Gambia)

<sup>1333</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/gambia/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1334</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ECOWAS\\_military\\_intervention\\_in\\_the\\_Gambia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ECOWAS_military_intervention_in_the_Gambia)

01/01/1900 (de facto) Colonial Regime [of Russia, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 09/12/1801]: In 1008, the Kingdom of Georgia was established. When Russian rule began in the early nineteenth century, Georgia was still ruled by royal families of various Georgian states. However, these were deposed by Russia and the country was under the rule of the Russian Empire, after the decree of incorporation of the Kingdom into the Russian Empire, was confirmed by Tsar Alexander I on 09/12/1801.<sup>1335</sup>

05/26/1918 End Part of Other Country [of Russia, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime: Georgia was reestablished as the Democratic Republic of Georgia (DRG). Universal suffrage was introduced in 1919.

02/14[-16]/1919 End Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime/Start Democracy: On this date, the first democratic elections were held. Five women were elected in total (for Menshevik party) to take part in national legislature numbering 130 MPs.<sup>1336</sup> The DRG was originally under the protection of the German Empire, but following Germany's defeat in World War I, British troops were deployed to the country to prevent a potential Bolshevik invasion. However, the British had to withdraw in 1920 due to the Treaty of Moscow, which stipulated that Russia would recognize Georgia's independence on the condition that the DRG refrained from allowing any forces that were hostile to Russia's interests to operate within its borders.<sup>1337</sup> Georgia enacted a constitution, established state institutions, and implemented antidiscrimination laws safeguarding the rights of ethnic and religious minorities. Furthermore, it actively promoted women's rights, adopted a multi-party governmental system, and fostered political discourse, thereby contributing to the advancement of political thought and the cultivation of a culture of debate.<sup>1338</sup>

02/25/1921 End Democracy/Start Part of other Country [Russia, Communist Ideocracy]: Following a one-week offensive by the Red Army, Tbilisi was captured by the Bolsheviks on 02/25/1921. Georgian Bolsheviks assumed control of the country and declared the establishment of the Georgian SSR. On 03/12/1922, the Georgian SSR became part of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (TSFSR), along with the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijan SSR. Although there were some minor skirmishes between Bolshevik troops and the Georgian Army in Western Georgia, the government of the Georgian Democratic

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<sup>1335</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgia\\_within\\_the\\_Russian\\_Empire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgia_within_the_Russian_Empire)

<sup>1336</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>1337</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic\\_Republic\\_of\\_Georgia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Republic_of_Georgia)

<sup>1338</sup> <https://archive.ge/en/sakartelos-pirveli-demokratiuli-respublika>

Republic was eventually forced into exile by March 1921. One year later, on 03/02/1922, the first constitution of Soviet Georgia was ratified.<sup>1339</sup>

12/30/1922 Continuation as Part of other Country [USSR, Communist Ideocracy]: On this date, the TSFSR was incorporated into the USSR. On 12/05/1936, the TSFSR was dissolved, and the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic was established.<sup>1340</sup>

04/09/1991 End Part of other Country [USSR, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy [as independent country]: On 05/26/1991 presidential elections were held. Zviad Gamsakhurdia and the Round Table-Free Georgia party emerged as victors.<sup>1341</sup> On 9/16/1991, the arrest of key opposition leaders and the suppression of demonstrators in 9/1991 mark the pivotal moment when the government of Zvia Gamsakhurdia transitioned from a relatively democratic state to an autocratic regime (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 61).<sup>1342</sup> In a Human Rights Watch report it was noted, that Gamsakhurdia has accumulated nearly dictatorial powers (Denber 1992). Between 12/21/1991 and 01/06/1992, there was a violent overthrow of the civilian government by oppositional militia forces that stormed the capital and forced Gamsakhurdia to flee. (Zurcher 2007: 126-27, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 61).<sup>1343</sup>

01/02/1992 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date a Military Council under the leadership of Tengiz Kitovani, Jaba Ioseliani and Tengiz Sigua was established. The full composition of the Council was never made public. The Parliament was dissolved, and the Constitution abolished Gamsakhurdia went into exile.<sup>1344</sup>

03/10/1992 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional Regime: On this date the Military Council replaced itself by the State Council under the leadership of Eduard Shevardnadze, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union. He was appointed as the Speaker of the Georgian Parliament, which made him de facto president.<sup>1345</sup> There was no electoral legitimacy, therefore, we classify this period as transitional.

10/11/1992 End Non-electoral Transitional Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date general elections were. The Parliament and the Chairman of Parliament (as de facto head of state) were elected. Shevardnadze was the only candidate for the office as Chairman of

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<sup>1339</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgian\\_Soviet\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgian_Soviet_Socialist_Republic)

<sup>1340</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgian\\_Soviet\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgian_Soviet_Socialist_Republic)

<sup>1341</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991\\_Georgian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991_Georgian_presidential_election)

<sup>1342</sup> <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1991-09-18-mn-2258-story.html>;

<https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/georgia/politics-gamsakhurdia.htm>

<sup>1343</sup> <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/georgia/politics-gamsakhurdia.htm>;

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991%E2%80%931992\\_Georgian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991%E2%80%931992_Georgian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat#)

<sup>1344</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991%E2%80%931992\\_Georgian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991%E2%80%931992_Georgian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat#)

<sup>1345</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991%E2%80%931992\\_Georgian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat#After\\_the\\_Coup](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991%E2%80%931992_Georgian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat#After_the_Coup);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military\\_Council\\_\(Georgia\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_Council_(Georgia)); [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eduard\\_Shevardnadze#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eduard_Shevardnadze#)

Parliament.<sup>1346</sup> Presidential elections were not held again until 1995.<sup>1347</sup> In the aftermath, the OSCE concluded that the parliamentary and presidential elections generally transpired without violence or significant mishaps.<sup>1348</sup> Some opposition members were arrested, but nonetheless the opposition was able to compete. Although media coverage was not evenly distributed, a broad public discussion took place.<sup>1349</sup> Shevardnadze was able to secure a second term in the presidential elections 2000. Election observer Mission reported irregularities like ballot stuffing and non-transparent vote counting. Furthermore, the media coverage was not balanced and favored Shevardnadze and his Party Union Citizens of Georgia.<sup>1350</sup> Shevardnadze was confident that he could secure electoral victories or manipulate the results if deemed necessary to ensure his triumph (Kandelaki 2006). As for Shevardnadze's political powers as president, they are often referred to as superpresidentialism (Devdariani 2011). At the same time, civil liberties were generally permitted and respected. Overall, especially after 2001 Shevardnadze "entertained the idea of 'managed democracy'" (Kandelaki 2006, Chin/Wright/Carter 2021). On 11/23/2003, mostly peaceful opposition protesters took to the presidential palace and forced Shevardnadze to step down after sham elections. The speaker of the house Burjanadze was appointed acting president in the wake of the revolt. Protests ultimately led to Shevardnadze's resignation and the transfer of power to an opposition interim president. Subsequently, fair presidential elections were conducted in January 2004, and they were won by a leader who had previously been part of the opposition against Shevardnadze (Jones 2009: 314-37, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 61).<sup>1351</sup> Overall this period is a borderline case between a semidemocracy and an electoral autocracy. We classify this period as electoral autocracy, because the quality of elections was very volatile, and Shevardnadze was even missing an official electoral mandate the first three years.

03/28/2004 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, parliamentary elections were held in Georgia, which were won by the National Movement-Democrats.<sup>1352</sup> A preliminary report by an election observation mission from the Organization for Security and Development in Europe praised the democratic character of the elections. Nevertheless, it was

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<sup>1346</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992\\_Georgian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992_Georgian_general_election)

<sup>1347</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eduard\\_Shevardnadze#President\\_of\\_Georgia\\_\(1995%E2%80%932003\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eduard_Shevardnadze#President_of_Georgia_(1995%E2%80%932003));  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1995\\_Georgian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1995_Georgian_presidential_election)

<sup>1348</sup> <https://www.oscepa.org/en/documents/election-observation/election-observation-statements/georgia/statements-11/2073-1995-parliamentary-and-presidential/file>

<sup>1349</sup> <https://www.oscepa.org/en/documents/election-observation/election-observation-statements/georgia/statements-11/2073-1995-parliamentary-and-presidential/file>

<sup>1350</sup> <https://www.csce.gov/publications/report-presidential-election-georgia/>

<sup>1351</sup> <https://tinyurl.com/3nds2nh>; <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-georgia/>

<sup>1352</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2004\\_Georgian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2004_Georgian_parliamentary_election)



highlighted that events in the post-election period, such as irregularities during result tabulation, questionable voter turnout, mishandling of certain complaints, and the selective annulment of election results, presented a challenge to the integrity of election outcomes in specific districts.<sup>1353</sup> On 01/05/2008, Saakashvili secured victory in the 2008 presidential election with 53.47% of the votes, in an election lauded in the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) election observation mission report as “the first genuinely competitive post-independence presidential election”, which “was in essence consistent with most OSCE and Council of Europe commitments and standards for democratic elections”. However, the mission also underscored “revealed significant challenges which need to be addressed urgently”.<sup>1354</sup> On 10/01/2012, parliamentary elections were held. According to Tonino Picula, an electoral observer from the OSCE, their monitors observed an escalating political polarization within the country. They expressed specific apprehension regarding the State Audit Office's utilization of extensive discretionary powers to scrutinize the legality of individual or party expenditures. The office was noted for making dubious decisions and imposing severe penalties without clear or transparent guidelines. The fines imposed were deemed disproportionate and seemed to be applied selectively, primarily targeting one political entity.<sup>1355</sup> On 10/08/2016 parliamentary elections were held. International observers from the OSCE, NATO, Council of Europe and European Parliament said the elections "were competitive, well-administered and fundamental freedoms were generally respected".<sup>1356</sup> However, there were also more critical voices.<sup>1357</sup> The country's political landscape, policy decisions, and media environment are influenced by oligarchs, leading to a compromise in the rule of law due to politicization. The protection of civil liberties is inconsistently maintained.<sup>1358</sup> Georgia submitted its application for EU membership on 03/03/2022, shortly after the commencement of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine. On 12/14/2023, the European Council awarded Georgia the status of EU Candidate.<sup>1359</sup>

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Slider 1995, Devdariani 2011, Hale 2005, Kuchinka-Lančava/Grotz 2001)

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<sup>1353</sup> <https://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/georgia/57860>

<sup>1354</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2008\\_Georgian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2008_Georgian_presidential_election)

<sup>1355</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012\\_Georgian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012_Georgian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1356</sup> <https://sg.news.yahoo.com/ruling-party-set-win-georgia-vote-early-results-024041570.html>

<sup>1357</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020\\_Georgian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020_Georgian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1358</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/georgia/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1359</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgia\\_\(country\)#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgia_(country)#History)

## Germany

01/01/1900 Constitutional Monarchy [Start: 01/18/1871]: The German Empire (also referred to as Imperial Germany) was founded on 01/18/1871. On this date, The southern German states, with the exception of Austria, Switzerland, and Liechtenstein, joined the North German Confederation, and the new constitution took effect on 04/16. This constitution established the title of German Emperor for Wilhelm I, who was the King of Prussia from the House of Hohenzollern. Otto von Bismarck, serving as the Minister President of Prussia, assumed the role of Chancellor, becoming the head of government. The regime initially adopted universal male suffrage, which was considered one of the more progressive electoral systems of that era.<sup>1360</sup>

11/09/1918 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, the Emperor abdicated. Germany became a republic.

01/19/1919 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Democracy: On this date, federal elections, the first in the newly established Weimar Republic, were held. The elections to the national assembly were free and fair. The Weimar Constitution established universal suffrage in 1919 with a minimum voting age of 20.<sup>1361</sup> Furthermore the constitution established an extensive set of civil and political liberties as well as judicial independence.<sup>1362</sup> The elections were the first to include women suffrage.<sup>1363</sup>

01/30/1933 End Democracy/Start Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy: On this date, Adolf Hitler was appointed chancellor by President Paul Hindenburg. The Nazi era began. This was a result of the election victory the year before: In 1932, the NSDAP (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei), led by Adolf Hitler, secured a plurality in competitive elections. Following a fire that engulfed the Reichstag, the new regime swiftly enacted enabling laws, leading to the dismantling of civil liberties. This move declared a "permanent" state of emergency and shortly thereafter resulted in the prohibition of opposition. The regime promptly initiated the establishment and growth of significant paramilitary organizations such as the SA (Sturmabteilung) and the SS (Schutzstaffel), which carried out an extensive campaign of political repression (Shirer 1960: 267-72, Benz 2006: 16, 20-22, 26, 50-58, Berman 2019: 250, Casey et al. 2020: 7). The Nazi regime was based on the belief in the superiority of the

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<sup>1360</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>1361</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>1362</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Weimar\\_Constitution#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Weimar_Constitution#)

<sup>1363</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1919\\_German\\_federal\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1919_German_federal_election)

Aryan race and the inferiority of other races, especially Jews. The Nazis believed that the Jews were a threat to Germany and that they needed to be eliminated. The Nazi regime also persecuted other groups, such as Roma, homosexuals, and political opponents.

For the time between 05/08/1945 and 10/03/1990 see Germany, West and Germany, East

10/03/1990 Continuation Democracy of Germany, West: On this date, Germany was reunified. The East German Länder became part of the Federal Republic of Germany. However, the regime is not coded as a new regime since the democratic regime spell started on 08/14/1949 in Germany, West continued.<sup>1364</sup> Germany is a parliamentary democracy with a bicameral system consisting of the Bundestag and the Bundesrat. Germany's political landscape is influenced by its totalitarian past, with constitutional protections implemented to prevent authoritarianism. Although stability has characterized the nation since the mid-20th century, recent years have witnessed growing political tensions, largely driven by a notable influx of asylum seekers and the surging popularity of right-wing populist movements.<sup>1365</sup> The head of government is the federal chancellor, which is elected by the Bundestag. The head of state is the largely ceremonial president. On 09/26/2021 federal elections were held. The coalition government composed of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Green Party, and the liberal Free Democratic Party (FDP) is led by Olaf Scholz of the SPD as chancellor. The elections were deemed free and fair. German politics has historically been dominated by the SPD and CDU-CSU, although other parties have also gained support in recent years. To be represented in parliament, a party must receive 5 percent of the vote or at least a minimum of three direct mandates. Political parties are in general able to operate freely, and the political landscape is characterized by various competing parties. All citizens over the age of 18 may vote or stand for election.<sup>1366</sup> Civil liberties and political right are generally guaranteed.

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Germany, West**

[Officially known as the Federal Republic of Germany]

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<sup>1364</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/German\\_Federal\\_Republic\\_2014?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/German_Federal_Republic_2014?lang=en)

<sup>1365</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/germany/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>1366</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/germany/freedom-world/2023>

05/08/1945 End Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by USA, Democracy, United Kingdom, Democracy, France, Democracy]: On this date, the Nazi regime ended with an unconditional surrender (Shirer 1960, Casey et al. 2020: 7). On 06/05/1945, the Allies issued a unilateral declaration that proclaimed their supreme authority over German territory.<sup>1367</sup> The four powers asserted joint authority and sovereignty through the Allied Control Council (ACC). Germany east of the Oder-Neisse line was assigned to Poland. The four occupying powers wielded government authority in their respective zones and carried out different policies toward the population and local governments. In practice, the Soviet Union began implementing elements of a Marxist political-economic system in its zone, which led to growing tensions with the other Allies.<sup>1368</sup> Therefore, beginning on 05/08/1945 a occupation regime of United States, France, United Kingdom is coded for Germany, West and an occupation regime of USSR is coded for Germany, East. Alternative approaches would be to code all four occupation regimes separately or conversely code one occupation regime for the whole of Germany. The American and British zones merged as of 01/01/1947, forming the Bizone, which later included the French zone, becoming the Trizone. This cooperation among the Western Allies contrasted with the increasing estrangement with the Soviet Union, culminating in the Berlin Blockade from June 1948 to May 1949.<sup>1369</sup>

08/14/1949 End Occupation Regime [of France, Democracy, United Kingdom, Democracy, and USA, Democracy]/Start Democracy: On this date, free and fair founding elections were followed by an uninterrupted series of free elections. On 10/03/1990, the Länder constituting East Germany became part of the Federal Republic of Germany. From this date on, Germany West is referred to as Germany in the dataset. However, the democratic regime spell started on 08/14/1949 continued.

Additional sources (Bessel 2003, Beyme 2004, Lepsius 1978, Lindner/Schultze 2010, Todd 2002, Wendt 2000)

## **Germany, East**

[Officially known as the German Democratic Republic (GDR)]

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<sup>1367</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allied-occupied\\_Germany](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allied-occupied_Germany)

<sup>1368</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allied-occupied\\_Germany](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allied-occupied_Germany)

<sup>1369</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allied-occupied\\_Germany](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allied-occupied_Germany)

05/08/1945 End Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy/Start Occupation Regime [of USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]: The period was a transformative era, beginning with the end of World War II. This marked the cessation of the fascist autocracy under Adolf Hitler and the commencement of an occupation regime by the Allied Powers—namely the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom, and France. In the Soviet-occupied zone, the immediate post-war period was characterized by significant reforms including land redistribution, nationalization of key industries, and the establishment of a new political order. The Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAD) encouraged the formation of antifascist blocs and political parties, albeit steering towards a communist agenda. A pivotal moment was the forced merger in April 1946 of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) into the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), laying the groundwork for a single-party state (Fulbrook 2008).

10/07/1949 End Occupation Regime [by USSR, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy: On this date, a separate East German state under leadership of the communist party, the SED, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was established. On 10/15/1950 non-competitive legislative elections were held, and the communist-dominated National Front of the German Democratic Republic (Nationale Front der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik – NFDDR) won 99 percent of the vote.<sup>1370</sup> The period from 1945 to 1954 was heavily influenced by the Soviet Union, which had a significant impact on the political and social systems of East Germany. The country was part of the Eastern Bloc and adhered to communist ideology. The SED made the teaching of Marxism–Leninism and the Russian language compulsory in schools.<sup>1371</sup> The SED maintained strict control over the government, economy, and society. The regime was characterized by a lack of political freedoms, with the Stasi (state security service) playing a crucial role in surveillance and suppression of dissent. The economy was centrally planned and state-controlled, focusing on industrialization and collectivization. Private enterprise was limited, and most of the industry and agriculture were state-owned. Cultural and educational policies were aimed at promoting socialist ideals. The regime-controlled media and restricted access to Western influences. Although declared fully sovereign in 1954, the GDR's sovereignty was limited, as the Soviet Union had significant influence over its policies and decision-making processes. East Germany was a member of the Warsaw Pact and Comecon, aligning its foreign policy with Soviet interests. Especially the USSR would not allow for a

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<sup>1370</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/europerussiacentral-asia-region/east-germany-1949-1990/>

<sup>1371</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist\\_Unity\\_Party\\_of\\_Germany](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Unity_Party_of_Germany)

regime change (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 61, Gallagher 1987). The GDR was a de facto one-party state. Other institutional popular front parties were permitted to exist only in alliance with the SED (Kupferberg 2002).

03/18/1990 End Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy/Start Democracy: The communist party (SED) lost in competitive election which were forced on the regime by mass demonstrations (Pfaff 2006: 242). The communist regime following the elections met the criteria for a democracy. However, the GDR was dissolved on 10/03/1990 and the territory became part of Germany, which is institutionally a continuation of Germany, West enlarged by the territory of Germany, East. See **Germany**.

Additional sources (Kocka 1999, Fulbrook 2009)

## **Ghana**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]: In 1821, the British government formed the British Gold Coast colony on the territory of Ghana, after having taken over the remaining interests of other European countries. They purchased and incorporated the Danish Gold Coast in 1850 and the Dutch Gold Coast, including Fort Elmina, in 1872.<sup>1372</sup> Ghana officially became a British Crown Colony in 1843. The territory of what constitutes today's Ghana consisted of four separate British colonial territories: Gold Coast, Ashanti, the Northern Territories, and British Togoland.<sup>1373</sup> Elections were regularly held for the Legislative Council since 1925, however the Council did not have complete control over the legislation, and the voting franchise was limited to residents of urban areas meeting property requirements and the councils of chiefs. On 02/08/1951 universal suffrage was granted for the 1951 legislative election. It was the first election to be held in Africa under universal suffrage.<sup>1374</sup> On 04/29/1954, a new constitution was approved. It established an African cabinet as well as an African legislature which was chosen by direct election (as opposed to election by tribal leaders).<sup>1375</sup> In May 1956, Prime Minister Nkrumah and his government delivered a proposal for independence to which the British Government agreed, with the condition that a majority in favor of independence won the upcoming elections. On 07/17/1956, pre-independence general

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<sup>1372</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gold\\_Coast\\_\(British\\_colony\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gold_Coast_(British_colony))

<sup>1373</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ghana>

<sup>1374</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>1375</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1956\\_Gold\\_Coast\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1956_Gold_Coast_general_election)

elections in the Gold Coast followed. Nkrumah's CPP emerged with a majority of 71 of 104 seats. Consequently, the British Government agreed to grant independence.<sup>1376</sup>

03/06/1957 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy: By consolidation of the former British colony of the Gold Coast, Ashanti, the Northern Territories and the former UN Trust Territory of British Togoland, Ghana became an independent dominion within the Commonwealth of Nations on this date, initially with Queen Elisabeth II as head of State<sup>1377</sup>. It was the first colony in West Africa to achieve sovereignty. Republican Status within the Commonwealth was proclaimed on 07/01/1960 (Lansford 2021: 626). On 04/27/1960, a referendum, which concentrated power in the presidency, as well as the first presidential elections took place. The elections were won by Nkrumah but do not fulfil the criteria of being free and fair (Pinkney 1972: 15-16, Finer 1975: 501, McLaughlin/Owusu-Ansah 1995, Brooker 1995: 103-10)(GWF-codebook).<sup>1378</sup> Subsequently, Nkrumah consolidated his power. From 1960 to 1964, the Convention People's Party (CPP) rose to power, establishing a de facto one-party dictatorship that neighboring states began to view with growing apprehension (Lansford 2021: 626) was gradually established. The first in a series of attempted assassinations on Nkrumah occurred at Kulugungu in August 1962. This incident led to his increased seclusion from public life and contributed to the development of a burgeoning personality cult.<sup>1379</sup>

01/31/1964 End Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Personalist Autocracy: During this event, a constitutional referendum was conducted. The proposed amendments formally converted the country into a one-party state and expanded the authority of President Kwame Nkrumah, appointing him as president for life. The reported outcome, with an unlikely 99.91% of voters supporting the amendments, raised allegations of an "clearly rigged" referendum.<sup>1380</sup> It is somehow problematic to code a regime change in 1964 since obviously the regime led by Nkrumah did not change but transform. Nevertheless, coding as Personalist Autocracy begins on 01/31/1964 with the official referendum transforming the State legally into a one-party system de facto in a personalist autocracy. According to our classification rule the appointment of a president for life is a sufficient characteristic to classify a regime as personalist autocracy. In addition, there are complementary characteristics of a personalist autocracy. Such as the fact, that the CPP was co-founded by Nkrumah or the cult of personality which was expressed mainly

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<sup>1376</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1956\\_Gold\\_Coast\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1956_Gold_Coast_general_election)

<sup>1377</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1956\\_Gold\\_Coast\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1956_Gold_Coast_general_election)

<sup>1378</sup> <https://africanelections.tripod.com/gh.html>

<sup>1379</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Kwame-Nkrumah>

<sup>1380</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1964\\_Ghanaian\\_constitutional\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1964_Ghanaian_constitutional_referendum)

through his own ideology called Nkrumaism.<sup>1381</sup> On 06/09/1965, the first parliamentary elections since 1956 took place.<sup>1382</sup> In accordance with the 1964 referendum, the CPP was the only legal party and therefore the only party able to take part in the elections.<sup>1383</sup>

02/24/1966 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup led by Colonel Kotoka and Major Afrifa overthrew Nkrumah. It handed power to dismissed Major General Ankrah and established the National Liberation Council, a group of four military and four police officers as the ruling group (Pinkney 1972: 2, 70, 121, Bebler 1973: 36-40, Brooker 1995: 111-12, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 61-62). Political parties were banned until 05/01/1969 (Krennerich 1999: 423).

08/29/1969 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, there was a “competitive election after the military agreed to return to the barracks” (Bebler 1973: 54-55, Dowse 1975: 24, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 62).<sup>1384</sup> The Progress Party won the majority of the seats. Their leader Kofi Abrefa Busia became Prime Minister.<sup>1385</sup> Since the constitution of 1969 established a unicameral parliamentary system, there were no presidential elections. The president was supposed to be elected by an electoral college, until 08/31/1970 a provisional presidential commission exercised the presidential functions. Afterwards Edward Akufo Addo took over the presidency (Krennerich 1999: 424).<sup>1386</sup> These years are generally considered as a move towards democracy. The aim of Busia and his government was the restoration of democratic rule and economic prosperity. The failure in the latter led to the fall of Busia in particular. Attempts to silence and manage criticism were ineffective and in no means of autocratic nature. But privileges of office were nonetheless abused by parliamentarians and ministers, resulting in patronage and nepotism (LeVine 1987, Owusu 1972, Austin 1970). Between 1970 and 1971 AF, BR, GWF, LIED and MCM classify Ghana as a democracy. We classify this period as semidemocratic, acknowledging the steps to reverse the autocratic system of Nkrumah.

01/13/1972 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup, orchestrated by Lieutenant Colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong, ousted the democratically elected President, Edward Akufo-Addo, and subsequently, Acheampong assumed the role of chairman of the National Redemption Council. By 1975, this council transitioned into the

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<sup>1381</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Convention\\_People%27s\\_Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Convention_People%27s_Party); <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nkrumaism>

<sup>1382</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_general\\_elections\\_in\\_Ghana#cite\\_note-independence-15](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_general_elections_in_Ghana#cite_note-independence-15)

<sup>1383</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1965\\_Ghanaian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1965_Ghanaian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1384</sup> <https://africanelections.tripod.com/gh.html>

<sup>1385</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1969\\_Ghanaian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1969_Ghanaian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1386</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1969\\_Ghanaian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1969_Ghanaian_parliamentary_election); [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward\\_Akufo-Addo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward_Akufo-Addo)



Supreme Military Council, a seven-member body that included the leaders of the military services, police, border guards, and the defense chief (Bebler 1973: 56-60, Bennett 1975: 308, Lansford 2012h: 539) (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 62).<sup>1387</sup> In November 1978, during a strike by junior civil servants, the regime declared a state of emergency and terminated the employment of over 1,000 public workers. Under the mounting pressure, Akuffo eventually conceded by declaring the lifting of the ban on political parties on 01/01/1979 and the organization of free elections.<sup>1388</sup>

05/15/1979 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: After Rawlings was sentenced to be executed, members of the armed forces sympathetic to him freed him and completed the coup. Jerry Rawlings became chairman of a 15-member Armed Forces Revolutionary Council which governed the country until the elections. Rawlings established and became the Chairman Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), primarily composed of junior officers. During his 112-day rule with the AFRC, he orchestrated the execution by firing squad of eight military officers, among them Generals Kotei, Joy Amedume, Roger Felli, and Utuka. Notably, three former Ghanaian heads of state—Acheampong, Akuffo, and Akwasi Afrifa—also faced the same fate. These executions were pivotal events in Ghana's history, a nation that had previously experienced limited instances of political violence.<sup>1389</sup> Due to the short period of its survival this regime does not appear in the country-year dataset even if it is rather important in the context of the history of Ghana.

06/18/1979 End Military Autocracy/Start Democracy: Date of the parliamentary elections and first round of the presidential election. On 07/09/1979 a second round of competitive presidential elections took place (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 62).<sup>1390</sup> Both the parliamentary and presidential elections are considered by most datasets and most researchers as free and fair and the following – short – regime period as democratic. The presidential election in 1979 was won by Hilla Limann. On 10/24/1979 the inauguration of the Third Republic took place.

12/31/1981 End Democracy/Start Military (Personalist) Autocracy: On this particular date, a military coup orchestrated by Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings unfolded, toppling Limann from power. Subsequent to the coup, the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC), led by Rawlings and comprising a coalition of military and civilian supporters, assumed control of the country (McLaughlin/Owusu-Ansah 1995) (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 62,

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<sup>1387</sup> <https://www.modernghana.com/news/844453/13-january-1972-remembering-the-1972-coup-in-ghana.html>  
<sup>1388</sup>

[https://photius.com/countries/ghana/national\\_security/ghana\\_national\\_security\\_the\\_akuffo\\_coup\\_197~150.html](https://photius.com/countries/ghana/national_security/ghana_national_security_the_akuffo_coup_197~150.html)

<sup>1389</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jerry\\_Rawlings](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jerry_Rawlings)

<sup>1390</sup> <https://africanelections.tripod.com/gh.html>

Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 79).<sup>1391</sup> The regime is a borderline case between a military and a personalist autocracy.

12/29/1992 End Military (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy: The authoritarian PNDC government, led by Jerry Rawlings, established a Constitutional Advisory Committee in 1991 to formulate proposals for a new constitution. After additional amendments in a Consultative Assembly, the constitution received approval through a popular referendum in April 1992. Subsequently, presidential and parliamentary elections were held in November and December. These elections resulted in the victory of Rawlings and his National Democratic Congress (NDC), with the party assuming office in January 1993 (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 29).<sup>1392</sup> While due to the victory of Rawlings the regime elite was more or less the same, the legitimization of the regime was different, hence, a regime change is coded.

12/28/2000 End Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Democracy: The ruling NDC was defeated in the second round of a closely contested presidential election.<sup>1393</sup> (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 62). After the 2000 general election, John Kufuor of the New Patriotic Party served as Ghana's president from 01/07/2001. He was re-elected in 2004, marking the first peaceful transfer of power under the fourth republic. In 2008, Nana Akufo-Addo of the ruling party lost a close election to John Atta Mills of the National Democratic Congress. Mills passed away, and Vice President John Mahama succeeded him on 07/24/2012. Mahama became president after the 2012 general election, solidifying Ghana's status as a stable democracy. In 2016, Nana Akufo-Addo won the presidency and was re-elected in 2020 after a tightly contested election.<sup>1394</sup> While the nation has a fairly commendable history of protecting civil liberties, issues such as discrimination against women and LGBT+ individuals endure. Judicial independence and the rule of law exhibit certain vulnerabilities, corruption poses challenges to governmental effectiveness, and the rise of political violence is becoming a growing concern.<sup>1395</sup> Increasing threats and violence against journalists may lead to self-censorship and inhibit liberties of speech and expression. LGBT+ rights are repressed by the government and discrimination against women remains an issue.<sup>1396</sup> However, Ghana holds fair and free, multi-party, regular elections. Ghana is a presidential democracy, where both the

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<sup>1391</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jerry-J-Rawlings>

<sup>1392</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Ghana\\_1996?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Ghana_1996?lang=en)

<sup>1393</sup> <https://africanelections.tripod.com/gh.html>

<sup>1394</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ghana#History>

<sup>1395</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/ghana/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1396</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/ghana/freedom-world/2023>

parliament and the president are directly elected.<sup>1397</sup> From this time onwards, the regime is consistently coded as a democracy in all data sets (BMR, GWF, HTW, LIED, MCM, RoW). Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Berry 1994, Jeffries 1989, Krennerich 1999, Pinkney 1972, Pinkney 1997, Zagel 2010)

## **Gibraltar**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 04/14/1713]: During the War of the Spanish Succession, Gibraltar was captured by Anglo-Dutch from Spain in 1704. The territory was then ceded to Great Britain in perpetuity under the Treaty of Utrecht, signed on 04/14/1713.<sup>1398</sup> It became an important base for the Royal Navy, particularly during the Napoleonic Wars and World War II. In the 1950s, Franco renewed Spain's claim to sovereignty over Gibraltar.

09/10/1967 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Democracy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: On this date Gibraltarians voted overwhelmingly to remain under British sovereignty, with democratic local institutions and with the United Kingdom retaining its present responsibilities.<sup>1399</sup> The referendum led to the passing of the Gibraltar Constitution Order in 1969.<sup>1400</sup> As a result of the British Nationality Act 1981, Gibraltarians were made British Overseas Territories citizens. Under its current constitution from 2006, Gibraltar has almost complete internal self-governance through a parliament. The head of state is the British monarch King Charles III, who is represented by the Governor of Gibraltar. The governor enacts day-to-day matters on the advice of the parliament but is responsible to the British government in respect of defense, foreign policy, internal security and general good governance. Gibraltar is not a member of the Commonwealth of Nations in its own right and is represented by the United Kingdom.<sup>1401</sup> Gibraltar conducts regular free and fair elections under universal suffrage with peaceful transitions in government.<sup>1402</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

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<sup>1397</sup> <https://democracyinafrica.org/democracy-monitor/ghana/>

<sup>1398</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peace\\_of\\_Utrecht](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peace_of_Utrecht)

<sup>1399</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/11/gibraltar-votes-to-remain-with-britain-archive-1967>

<sup>1400</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gibraltar>

<sup>1401</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gibraltar>

<sup>1402</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections\\_in\\_Gibraltar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_in_Gibraltar)

**Great Britain:** see United Kingdom

## Greece

01/01/1900 Constitutional Monarchy [Start: 09/12/1829]: Greece only became independent after a war from 02/21/1821 to 09/12/1829 after more than four hundred years of belonging to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>1403</sup> The country was at this point far more strongly and directly influenced by Byzantine Ottoman traditions than by the democratic ideas of antiquity. On 02/03/1830 the independence of Greece was recognised by the London Protocol as Kingdom of Greece. After the revolution of 09/03/1843, the Greek Constitution of 1844 with the electoral law of 03/18/1844 introduced universal male suffrage with secret ballot.<sup>1404</sup> On 03/30/1863 (greg.) Prince Wilhelm was elected king of Greece and was coronated as George I<sup>1405</sup>. He ruled until his murder on 03/18/1913. In the time from 07/19 to 08/28/1909 Dimitrios Rallis<sup>1406</sup> was deposed as prime minister as a result of a military coup. During the coup Eleftherios Venizelos arrived in Greece and became prime minister from 10/19/1910 until 03/10/1915. The regime type is coded as a ruling monarchy throughout the period even though the military coup led to the change of prime ministers.<sup>1407</sup> From 12/19/1920 Constantine I was king of Greece<sup>1408</sup> until he was forced to abdicate in a coup d'état on 09/27/1922. He was replaced by King George II of Greece.<sup>1409</sup>

12/16/1923 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Electoral Autocracy: The elections on this date were boycotted by the entire monarchist camp. They cannot be classified as democratic, since the monarchists could not in fact expect fair electoral conditions (Polyzoides 1924), because the The Revolutionary Government had enacted an electoral law that significantly favored the Venizelist Liberal Party and other parties opposed to the monarchy.<sup>1410</sup> Venizélos returned to Greece on 01/04/1924 and took over the government a week later. In the referendum on

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<sup>1403</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek\\_War\\_of\\_Independence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek_War_of_Independence)

<sup>1404</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

<sup>1405</sup> [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georg\\_I.\\_\(Griechenland\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georg_I._(Griechenland))

<sup>1406</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dimitrios\\_Rallis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dimitrios_Rallis)

<sup>1407</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_prime\\_ministers\\_of\\_Greece](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_prime_ministers_of_Greece);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eleftherios\\_Venizelos](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eleftherios_Venizelos);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_prime\\_ministers\\_of\\_Greece](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_prime_ministers_of_Greece)

<sup>1408</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constantine\\_I\\_of\\_Greece](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constantine_I_of_Greece)

<sup>1409</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George\\_II\\_of\\_Greece](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_II_of_Greece)

<sup>1410</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leonardopoulos%E2%80%93Gargalidis\\_coup\\_attempt](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leonardopoulos%E2%80%93Gargalidis_coup_attempt)

04/13/1924, 70 per cent of those who voted were in favor of Greece being a republic and no longer a monarchy.

06/25/1925 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: General Theodoros Pangalos became prime minister and president after organizing a coup.<sup>1411</sup>

08/24/1926 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime: Georgios Kondylis overthrew Pangalos' government ending the ephemeral dictatorship.

11/07/1926 End Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: On this date parliamentary elections were held.<sup>1412</sup> In 1927 a constitution was adopted which introduced a senate that together with the parliament elected the president with a 5-year tenure (Pantelis/Koutsoubinas/Gerapetritis 2010).<sup>1413</sup> The elections in this period were competitive. However, female suffrage was not given.

10/10/1935 End (Male) Semidemocracy/Start Constitutional Monarchy: In a coup d'état Georgios Kondylis restored the monarchic rule by carrying out a rigged plebiscite. King George II returned to power.<sup>1414</sup> On 04/13/1936 General Ioannis Metaxas was appointed by King George II as prime minister.<sup>1415</sup>

08/04/1936 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Right-wing [Semi-Fascist] Autocracy: In a self-coup General Ioannis Metaxas dismantled the parliament and promoted a more fascist and nationalist rule. Due to lack of popular approval the rule was dependent on King George II.<sup>1416</sup> Metaxas suspended the constitution and repressed opposition" (Clogg 2013: 106-7, 115, 117-18, Casey et al. 2020: 7). On 01/21/1941 Metaxas died.<sup>1417</sup> Lacking a popular base, after Metaxas' death in January 1941 the regime hinged entirely on the King.<sup>1418</sup> Approximately one-third of historians categorize the regime as "fascist", while the remaining two-thirds describe it as "authoritarian", "quasi-fascist", "radical conservative", and other similar terms.<sup>1419</sup> While the Metaxas government and its official doctrines are frequently labeled as fascist, from an academic perspective, it is generally regarded as a conventional totalitarian-conservative dictatorship, comparable to Francisco Franco's Spain or António de Oliveira Salazar's

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<sup>1411</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1925\\_Greek\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1925_Greek_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodoros\\_Pangalos\\_\(general\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodoros_Pangalos_(general)).

<sup>1412</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1926\\_Greek\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1926_Greek_legislative_election)

<sup>1413</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgios\\_Kondylis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgios_Kondylis)

<sup>1414</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Greece#Restoration\\_of\\_Monarchy\\_and\\_the\\_4th\\_of\\_August\\_Regime](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Greece#Restoration_of_Monarchy_and_the_4th_of_August_Regime)

<sup>1415</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ioannis-Metaxas>

<sup>1416</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/4th\\_of\\_August\\_Regime](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/4th_of_August_Regime)

<sup>1417</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ioannis-Metaxas>

<sup>1418</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/4th\\_of\\_August\\_Regime](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/4th_of_August_Regime)

<sup>1419</sup> <https://metaxas-project.com/was-the-4th-of-august-regime-really-fascist/>

Portugal.<sup>1420</sup> However, the regime did not have the strong corporatist and expansionist elements that were central to fascist regimes like those in Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy. It also lacked the mass mobilization and paramilitary organizations typically associated with fascism.

06/01/1941 End Right-wing [Semi-Fascist] Autocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by Italy, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy, Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy, and Bulgaria, Constitutional Monarchy]: Since this date of all Greece was under occupation of Italy, Germany, and Bulgaria (Clogg 2013: 118-21, Casey et al. 2020: 7).<sup>1421</sup>

03/31/1946 End Occupation Regime [by Italy, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy, Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy, and Bulgaria]/Start Semidemocracy: On this date parliamentary elections took place. The outcome led to a triumph for the United Alignment of Nationalists, a coalition comprising the People's Party, the National Liberal Party, and the Reform Party. A main aim of the new government was the proclamation of a plebiscite for the restoration of the Greek monarchy, which took place on 09/01/1946.<sup>1422</sup> Right before the election a communist band attacked a police station in Litchoro, which started three years of civil war in Greece. According to MCM the “two kings that ruled during this time assembled governments and seemed to have meaningful executive power that actually affected politics in the country (MCM codebook: 21). Therefore, the country in the view of MCM is a ruling monarchy not a democracy. However, GWF, CGV and BMR classify the regime as democratic. While we agree that the kings still held political power, the gravitation center of the political regime was the elected government. Hence, we classify the regime like PRC and AF as a semidemocracy. The monarchs interfered in politics. For instance, King Paul decided to dissolve Parliament in 10/1952 and appointed a caretaker government to set up new elections. This was an endeavor to secure a majority government to alleviate the nation's severe economic situation (NELDA). In 1965 king Constantine II dismissed Papandreou, causing a constitutional crisis known as the “Apostasia of 1965”.<sup>1423</sup> Until 11/16/1952 the semidemocracy had the additional severe restriction that only men could vote. From then on women could also vote in national elections.<sup>1424</sup>

04/21/1967 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A group of colonels, the Holy Bond of Greek Officers (IDEA), led by Colonel Papadopoulos overthrew the caretaker government a month before scheduled elections which Georgios Papandreou's Centre Union was favoured to

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<sup>1420</sup> <https://www.populismstudies.org/Vocabulary/metaxism/>

<sup>1421</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Axis\\_occupation\\_of\\_Greece](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Axis_occupation_of_Greece)

<sup>1422</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946\\_Greek\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946_Greek_legislative_election)

<sup>1423</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek\\_junta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek_junta)

<sup>1424</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#cite\\_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#cite_note-centralasiainstitute.org-37)

win. The coup plotters perceived them as leftist opponents. The right-wing junta installed Kollias as acting prime minister and junta (Feit 1973: 118-122, Brown 1974: 217, Veremis 1985: 30-32, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 62).<sup>1425</sup> On 11/23/1973 frightened by the social unrest in the country and papadopoulos' liberalization campaign, General Ioannides overthrew him and his appointed prime minister. Ioannides appointed General Gizikis as junta head.

07/23/1974 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime: On this date, the military transferred power to Constantine Karamanlis in preparation for competitive elections and transition to democracy” (Veremis 1985: 41, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 62).

11/17/1974 End Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime/Start Democracy: Free and fair parliamentary elections were held on this date.<sup>1426</sup> Since then Greece is a parliamentary democracy with a unicameral parliament. The political landscape is characterized by competitive and freely operating parties. There are persistent problems concerning migrants, discrimination against minorities and corruption. The Greek judiciary is generally independent. However, there are still occasional problems with corruption. Although there is gender equality by law, woman still face discrimination, especially in the workplace. Universal suffrage applies to Greek citizens from the age of 17 and older.<sup>1427</sup> On 06/25/2023 snap parliamentary elections were held. The elections were necessary because no coalition government was formed after the elections on 05/21/2023.

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Campbell/Sherrard 1968, Clogg 1986, Grothusen 1980, Kallis 2007, Kofas 1983, Koumoulides 1977, Mavrokordatos 1983, Pantelis/Koutsoubinas/Gerapetritis 2010, Richter 1990, Serafetinidis 1978, Woodhouse 1998, Zervakis/Auernheimer 2009, Zink 2000)

## **Greenland**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Denmark, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 05/16/1774]: In the 18<sup>th</sup> century Denmark slowly began to recolonize Greenland in hopes of relocating the lost Norse settlement on the Greenlandic West Coast. From 1734 to 1774, several settlements were created by the General Trade Company (GTC) along the West Coast of Greenland. On

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<sup>1425</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek\\_junta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek_junta)

<sup>1426</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1974\\_Greek\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1974_Greek_legislative_election);  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Greece\\_2008?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Greece_2008?lang=en)

<sup>1427</sup> <https://www.ypes.gr/en/information-for-the-voters/>

05/16/1774, the GTC was replaced with the Royal Greenland Trade Department (KGH), a Danish State enterprise which had been given authority by the crown to administer Greenlandic trade and settlements.<sup>1428</sup> Due to Denmark's intervention in the Napoleonic Wars on France's behalf, Denmark-Norway was split up in accordance with the Treaty of Kiel of 1814.<sup>1429</sup> Greenland remained under Danish control. In 1857, the KGH set up local councils (parsissaet). They were democratically elected but could only decide on minor local issues. All other matters remained under the jurisdiction of the KGH.<sup>1430</sup> These local councils were dissolved in 1911 when the Danish Ministry of the Interior took over colonial administration of Greenland from the KGH.<sup>1431</sup> Norway regained independence in 1905 and claimed Greenland as Erik the Red's territory as it had been in its possession prior to 1815. A Norwegian meteorologist occupied Eastern Greenland in 1931 which was then supported by the Norwegian Government. In 1933, the International Court of Justice ruled in favor of Denmark.<sup>1432</sup>

04/09/1940 End Colonial Regime [of Denmark, Democracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime: On this date, Nazi-Germany invaded Denmark. Denmark was subjected to German control and Greenland was left to fend for itself. According to a 1920 declaration, the United States was not willing to accept third party sovereignty in Greenland. Nevertheless, the United Kingdom and Canada were seeking control over the territory. On 05/03/1940, the Danish Ambassador to the United States of America, Henrik Kauffmann, consulted with the Greenlandic local advisory parliament (landsraed). He declared that there was no other option than to act as a sovereign nation. On 04/13/1940, he had taken counsel with the Greenlandic Sheriffs who had declared a self-governing State. They agreed to keep him as their representative in the United States. While the Danish Government continued to send orders to Greenland, these were largely ignored.<sup>1433</sup>

05/20/1940 Continuation as Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime [as Protectorate of United States, Democracy]: On this date, the USCGC Comanche coast guard vessel arrived in Ivigtut after the new government had asked for protection from the United States under threat from Canada and Norwegian forces present in Canada. The vessel had been sent alongside the USCGC Campbell with supplies and a consular team to establish diplomatic relations. All parties concerned were mainly interested in the cryolite which was being mined in Ivigtut and

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<sup>1428</sup> <https://pilersuisoq.gl/da/voreshistorie/>; <https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Greenland.html>

<sup>1429</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Greenland#Danish\\_recolonization](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Greenland#Danish_recolonization)

<sup>1430</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parsissaet>

<sup>1431</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parsissaet#Parsissaet\\_dissolved](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parsissaet#Parsissaet_dissolved)

<sup>1432</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Greenland#Strategic\\_importance](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Greenland#Strategic_importance)

<sup>1433</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greenland\\_in\\_World\\_War\\_II#Neutrality](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greenland_in_World_War_II#Neutrality)



was a major component of aluminum production. The United States established a provisional consulate in Godthaab. As the United States could not officially send US soldiers to protect the mines, they supplied weapons and training to Greenlanders instead. The United Kingdom and Canada still pressed for the establishment of an airfield at Cape Farewell. Therefore, the US and the Greenland Government agreed to formalize the United States protectorate of Greenland. Two air- and one naval base were set up. On 04/09/1941, Kauffmann signed an agreement with the US secretary of State Cordell Hull, formally allowing the United States to station armed forces in Greenland and declaring a formal protectorate status.<sup>1434</sup> He did this against the will of the Danish government. 1942 marked the beginning of the North Atlantic Weather War. Germany and the Allies were in a constant struggle for the monopoly on weather data as this was important for military strategizing.<sup>1435</sup> Formally Greenland was directed by governors of Noth and South Greenland. These administrations were elected indirectly from local councils, which had little to say.<sup>1436</sup> Women suffrage was only introduced in 1948.<sup>1437</sup>

05/05/1945 End Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime [as Protectorate of the United States, Democracy]/Start Colonial Regime [of Denmark, Democracy]: On this date, Denmark was liberated from German occupation. Eske Brun and the Greenland administration surrendered their powers back to the Danish Crown.<sup>1438</sup> Nevertheless, American military presence remained. In the 1951 agreement, the Thule-Airbase was made permanent.<sup>1439</sup>

05/25/1953 End Colonial Regime [of Denmark, Democracy]/Start Part of Other Country [Denmark, Democracy]: On this date, the new Danish constitution was ratified, which incorporated Greenland into Denmark as a Danish province with the name of County of Greenland.<sup>1440</sup>

05/01/1979 End Part of Other Country [Denmark, Democracy]/Start Democracy [as Protectorate of Denmark, Democracy]: On this date, Greenlandic home-rule came into effect<sup>1441</sup>, after a referendum on the autonomy of Greenland from Denmark was held in January of the same year.<sup>1442</sup> Consequently, the Greenlandic Parliament was established. Multiparty

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<sup>1434</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greenland\\_in\\_World\\_War\\_II#Neutrality](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greenland_in_World_War_II#Neutrality)

<sup>1435</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North\\_Atlantic\\_weather\\_war](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_Atlantic_weather_war)

<sup>1436</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South\\_Greenland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Greenland); [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North\\_Greenland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_Greenland);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Administrative\\_divisions\\_of\\_Greenland#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Administrative_divisions_of_Greenland#History)

<sup>1437</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>1438</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greenland\\_in\\_World\\_War\\_II#Aftermath](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greenland_in_World_War_II#Aftermath)

<sup>1439</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Greenland#Cold\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Greenland#Cold_War)

<sup>1440</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_Denmark](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Denmark);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greenlandic\\_independence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greenlandic_independence)

<sup>1441</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greenlandic\\_independence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greenlandic_independence)

<sup>1442</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Greenlandic\\_home\\_rule\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Greenlandic_home_rule_referendum)

elections were held on 04/04/1979. Due to the first-past-the-post system in many constituencies, the seat turnout was especially high for the leftwing separatist Siumut. Consequently, Jonathan Motzfeldt of the Siumut became the first head of the autonomous government.<sup>1443</sup> Greenland was granted sovereignty in matters such as education, health, fisheries and environment. However, as Greenland was considered an autonomous constituent country of the Kingdom of Denmark, Denmark still held control over several policy areas such as foreign relations.<sup>1444</sup> On 02/23/1982, a majority of Greenlanders voted to leave the EEC which it had entered as a county of Denmark in 1973. The Greenland Treaty was signed in 1985 which gave Greenland the status of Overseas Country and Territory of the European Union.<sup>1445</sup> The main reason for Greenlanders wanting to remain outside of the European Union was disagreement over the Common Fisheries Policy. Nevertheless, due to the special relationship with Denmark and the European Union, Greenlandic nationals are EU citizens and can thus move freely within the European Union.<sup>1446</sup> The political system functions as a parliamentary representative multi-party democracy with a certain degree of dependency of the Kingdom of Denmark. While the powers of the Danish monarch have, for the most part, become purely ceremonial and representative,<sup>1447</sup> it does hold power over policies and decisions affecting the region.<sup>1448</sup> The prime minister is the head of government which exercises both executive and legislative power. The parliament (Inatsisartut) also yields legislative power. Greenlandic judiciary is independent of the other branches.<sup>1449</sup>

Democracy [as Protectorate of Denmark, Democracy] as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Grenada**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start 11/25/1783]: Discovered by Columbus during his third expedition in 1498, Grenada experienced a succession of French and British rule until 11/25/ 1783, when the Treaty of Versailles, commonly referred to as the “Peace of Paris,” formally acknowledged British authority.<sup>1450</sup> It continued as a British colony until 1958 when it became part of the abortive Federation of the West Indies. From 1833

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<sup>1443</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Greenlandic\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Greenlandic_general_election)

<sup>1444</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Greenlandic\\_home\\_rule\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Greenlandic_home_rule_referendum)

<sup>1445</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Greenland#Home\\_rule](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Greenland#Home_rule)

<sup>1446</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greenland\\_and\\_the\\_European\\_Union](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greenland_and_the_European_Union)

<sup>1447</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greenland#Politics>

<sup>1448</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Greenland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Greenland)

<sup>1449</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Greenlandi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Greenlandi)

<sup>1450</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peace\\_of\\_Paris\\_\(1783\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peace_of_Paris_(1783))

to 01/01/1960, Grenada was part of the Windward Islands (Barbados [to 1885], Dominica [from 1940], Grenada, St. Lucia [from 1838], St. Vincent, Tobago [to 1889]). On 10/10/1951, general elections were held in Grenada. They were the first held with universal suffrage.<sup>1451</sup>

03/03/1967 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Democracy [as associated state of the United Kingdom]: On this date, the West Indies Act was adopted, granting Grenada full autonomy over its internal affairs. On 02/07/1974, Grenada gained full independence from the United Kingdom.<sup>1452</sup> According to Freedom House, the judiciary was independent, elections were ostensibly competitive and civil liberties were mostly upheld (Gastil 1978).

03/13/1979 End Democracy/Start Communist Ideocracy: The Marxist-Leninist New Jewel Movement (NJM), under the leadership of Maurice Bishop, disputed the results of the recent election, which were said to grant Eric Gairy the prime ministership and as a result, he launched a violent revolt to oust the regime (Lansford 2021: 647). The NJM suspended the constitution and proclaimed the formation of the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) on 03/13/1979 with Maurice Bishop as prime minister.<sup>1453</sup> The PRG implemented a number of socialist policies, including nationalizing businesses, expanding social welfare programs, and promoting education and healthcare. The PRG also established close ties with Cuba and the Soviet Union.

10/19/1983 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Hudson Austin and the military wing of the party launched a coup against Bishop because of the recent infighting. Austin had him executed and then became chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council.<sup>1454</sup>

10/25/1983 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime: On 10/25/1983, United States forces, along with a coalition of six Caribbean nations, invaded Grenada, ousted the leaders of the ruling party, and installed an interim government led by Nicholas Braithwaite. The interim government reinstated the pre-1979 revolution constitution, and on 03/12/1984, it conducted democratic elections, marking the first such elections since 1976 (Baukhage/Hillebrands 2005, Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 29).

12/03/1984 End Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime/Start Democracy: On this date, a general election took place (Baukhage/Hillebrands 2005).<sup>1455</sup> The result was a victory for the New National Party (NNP), which won 14 of the 15 seats.<sup>1456</sup> Since democracy was restored,

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<sup>1451</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1951\\_Grenadian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1951_Grenadian_general_election)

<sup>1452</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Grenada#Last\\_colonial\\_years:\\_1900%E2%80%931974](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Grenada#Last_colonial_years:_1900%E2%80%931974);  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Grenada\\_1992?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Grenada_1992?lang=en)

<sup>1453</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New\\_Jewel\\_Movement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Jewel_Movement)

<sup>1454</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New\\_Jewel\\_Movement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Jewel_Movement)

<sup>1455</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1984\\_Grenadian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1984_Grenadian_general_election)

<sup>1456</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1984\\_Grenadian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1984_Grenadian_general_election)

power has rotated several times, but the NNP won most of the elections. Grenada is a bicameral parliamentary democracy with competitive elections. Civil liberties such as freedom of speech, expression, religion etc. are safeguarded by the constitution.<sup>1457</sup> Democratic institutions such as the judiciary are independent and generally strong. However, challenges to the democratic quality of Grenada are posed by corruption and unequal treatment of and frequent violence against LGBT+ people and women. In 2022 the New National Party was accused of misusing funds for diplomatic passports while in government. While the media is generally free, seditious libel remains criminalized and several lawsuits against media by politicians contributes to self-censorship.

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Guadeloupe**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 06/28/1635]: Caribs successfully resisted Spanish forces and settlers in 1515, 1520, and 1523. In 1626, a Frenchman named Pierre Bélain, sieur d'Esnambuc, ousted the Spanish who had settled on the coast and established a trading company. On 06/28/1635, Frenchmen Léonard de L'Olive and Jean Duplessis d'Ossoville founded a colony. The introduction of the slave trade in 1644 provided labor for sugar, coffee, and other plantations, leading to the establishment of slavery. In 1674, Guadeloupe shifted from chartered companies to French crown rule, becoming a dependency of Martinique until 1775. The British occupied Guadeloupe in 1759 but returned it to France in 1763. In 1794, the British briefly reoccupied Guadeloupe, later reclaimed by French revolutionary official Victor Hugues, who abolished slavery and executed numerous white planters. The British occupied Guadeloupe again in 1810, and after some changes in its status, it was returned to France in 1816. The most significant 19th-century development in the region was the complete abolition of slavery in 1848.<sup>1458</sup>

03/19/1946 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Part of Other Country [France, Democracy]: On this date, Guadeloupe was designated as a French département.<sup>1459</sup> An independence movement gained momentum during the 1970s, leading to France's decision to designate Guadeloupe as a French region in 1974. In 2000, Guadeloupe was given increased autonomy. In 2003, through a referendum, Saint-Martin and Saint Barthélemy voted to break

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<sup>1457</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Grenada](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Grenada)

<sup>1458</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Guadeloupe/History>

<sup>1459</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Guadeloupe/History>; <https://www.culture.gouv.fr/Regions/Dac-Guadeloupe/La-Direction-des-Affaires-Culturelles-DAC-de-Guadeloupe/La-Guadeloupe-en-bref>

away from Guadeloupe's administrative jurisdiction, and this separation was fully implemented by 2007.<sup>1460</sup> Alongside Martinique, La Réunion, Mayotte, and French Guiana, Guadeloupe is part of the overseas departments, constituting a unique entity that serves as both a region and a department. Additionally, it holds the status of an outermost region within the European Union. The residents of Guadeloupe are French citizens enjoying complete political and legal rights.<sup>1461</sup> Part of Other Country [France, Democracy] as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## Guam

01/01/1900 (de facto) Colonial Regime [of USA, Semidemocracy] [Start: 12/23/1898]: Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan, serving the King of Spain, became the initial European to reach Guam on 03/06/1521, as part of his global circumnavigation expedition. Despite Magellan's exploration, it wasn't until 01/26/1565, that Guam was officially claimed by Spain. The onset of Spanish colonization occurred on 06/15/1668 marking the establishment of the inaugural Catholic church.<sup>1462</sup> Following nearly four centuries under the rule of the Kingdom of Spain, Guam came under United States occupation in the aftermath of Spain's defeat in the 1898 Spanish American War, as stipulated in the Treaty of Paris of 1898. On 12/23/1898, Executive Order 108-A issued by the 25th President, William McKinley, transferred control of Guam to the United States Navy.<sup>1463</sup>

12/08/1941 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [of USA, Democracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]: On this date, Japan initiated an attack and invasion of Guam concurrently with the assault on Pearl Harbor.<sup>1464</sup> Guam was renamed Ōmiya-jima (Great Shrine Island) by the Japanese during their occupation, which endured for approximately 31 months. Throughout this time, the native people of Guam experienced forced labor, separation of families, imprisonment, executions, concentration camps, and forced prostitution.<sup>1465</sup>

08/10/1944 End Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [of USA, Democracy]: From 06/21 to 08/10, the United States reclaimed and engaged in the Battle of Guam in 1944, aiming to regain control of the island. Following World War II, the Guam Organic Act of 1950 officially designated Guam as an unincorporated organized territory of the United States. This act outlined the framework for the island's civilian

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<sup>1460</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guadeloupe#History>

<sup>1461</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guadeloupe#Governance>

<sup>1462</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guam#Spanish\\_era](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guam#Spanish_era)

<sup>1463</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guam#American\\_era](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guam#American_era)

<sup>1464</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Guam#World\\_War\\_II](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Guam#World_War_II)

<sup>1465</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guam#World\\_War\\_II](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guam#World_War_II)

government and conferred U.S. citizenship upon its residents. Initially, the Governor of Guam was federally appointed, a practice that continued until 1968 when the Guam Elective Governor Act introduced the popular election of the governorship. It is important to note that, since Guam is not a U.S. state, residents there who are U.S. citizens do not have the right to vote for the president, and their congressional representative holds a non-voting status.<sup>1466</sup> (de facto) Colonial Regime [of USA, Democracy] as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Guatemala**

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [Start: 09/15/1821]: On 09/15/1821, Guatemala, a former colony of Spain, became part of the Federal Republic of Central America, which declared independence from Spain. On 04/17/1839, Guatemala declared its independence from the Federal Republic of Central America. From 02/08/1898 to 04/15/1920 Manuel José Estrada Cabrera was the President of Guatemala, using brutal methods and effectively controlling general elections to assert his authority. On 04/15/1920, Dictator Manuel Estrada Cabrera (1898-1920) was declared mentally unfit to rule by the National Assembly. The background was the formation of a new political party, the so-called Unionist Party, which had organized large scale demonstrations. Between 04/08 and 04/14/1920 the 'Tragic Week' took place. Cabrera refused to leave office and triggered civil uprisings under the leadership of the Unionist Party. Important for the downfall of Cabrera was also the missing support of the United States and the United Fruit Company, which saw their interests better protected in a new president. On 04/15/1920 he surrendered, and Carlos Herrera y Luna assumed the role of interim president until 09/15/1920 and was elected on 08/27/1920 (Cardoso 1986: 220-21, Dunkerley 1990: 212, Casey et al. 2020: 7).<sup>1467</sup> Despite the popular uprising the change in the presidency does not display a regime change. The coalition which had been responsible for the ousting of Cabrera was very heterogenous and pursued different goals. Therefore, Herrera was not only tasked with safeguarding the interests of the economically and politically influential coffee elite in the nation, but he also faced intense pressure to meet exaggerated social, economic, and political expectations from university students and urban workers (Kit 1993: 34). Nearly the whole Guatemalan elite was at that point dependent on the coffee industry, therefore, the decline in coffee prices led to a serious economic and political crisis. Despite Herreras good intention

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<sup>1466</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guam#History>

<sup>1467</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manuel\\_Estrada\\_Cabrera](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manuel_Estrada_Cabrera); [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos\\_Herrera](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos_Herrera); [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tragic\\_Week\\_\(Guatemala\)#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tragic_Week_(Guatemala)#)

to pursue a politic style which would adhere individual liberties, press freedom and liberal principles in general, he was not able to overcome the economic and the incrementing political crisis (Kit 1993). Universal male suffrage was only granted in 1945. Before then illiterates were excluded and therefore a huge part of the indigenous population (Kellam 2013: 28-29). During the rule of Cabrera (1904, 1910, 1916) voters made only 5.0 percentage of the whole population up. In 1920 the percentage rose to 20,6 percentage (Vanhanen 2019). We classify this period as an electoral oligarchy because of the restricted suffrage and the clearly identifiable oligarchic class made up off the coffee elite.

12/05/1921 End (Electoral) Civilian Oligarch/Start Military Autocracy: On this date the military under the leadership of General Jose Maria Orellana took over in a coup and forced the resignation of Herrera. Orellana and the two military officers José María Lima and Miguel Larrave formed a military junta. On 12/06/1921 the National Assembly accepted the resignation of the former president. The National Assembly was dismissed, because the Junta claimed that Cabrera had been removed unconstitutional and therefore, the Assembly and all legislation passed in this period had to be unconstitutional too. The old Assembly of the Cabrera period was reinstated. This Assembly then named Orellana the First Designate and on 12/11/1921 he assumed executive responsibilities (Kit 1993: 59-61). On 02/22/1922 presidential elections were held. Orellana won against Jorge Ubico. The military controlled the elections and silenced any opposition.<sup>1468</sup> During General José María Orellana's presidency in Guatemala, political parties were banned. This move was part of his broader efforts to consolidate power and control the political landscape of the country. In 1926 Orellana was succeeded by General Lazaro Chacon. On 12/05/1926, general elections were held in Guatemala. The presidential election resulted in a victory for General Lázaro Chacón, who received 88.6% of the vote. Whilst the elections were rigged, the Progressive Liberal Party did manage to win some seats in the Congress.<sup>1469</sup> After Lazaro Chacon suffered a stroke in 1930, he was succeeded by cabinet member Baudilio Palma.

12/16[&17]/1930 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup led by General Orellana Contreras and Luis Leonardo forced Palma to resign after a short battle inside the Presidential Palace. During the fight, that lasted no more than an hour, Mauro de León died. The Liberal Progresista party placed General Roderico Anzueto in the key position of Chief of Police. Once in power, Orellana Contreras reformed the Cabinet and worked on restructuring the Guatemalan military bases. However, given the large investments

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<sup>1468</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1922\\_Guatemalan\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1922_Guatemalan_presidential_election)

<sup>1469</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1926\\_Guatemalan\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1926_Guatemalan_general_election)

that American companies had in Guatemala -especially the United Fruit Company, the United States Secretary of State Henry Stimson publicly denounced Orellana as an unconstitutional leader and demanded his removal. Realizing that the Americans would not recognize his government, Orellana resigned on 12/29. Stimson sent Ambassador Shelton Whitehouse to tell Orellana Contreras that his country would not be dealing with the new Guatemalan president whatsoever. Whitehouse pressed the National Assembly to force Orellana Contreras to resign, taking advantage of Orellana's lack of political experience, and the American government needed a stable regime in Guatemala (Dunkerley 1990: 213, Casey et al. 2020: 8).<sup>1470</sup>

02/09/1931 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On 02/14/1931, yielding to pressure from the USA, coup leader Orellana relinquished power, paving the way for General Jorge Ubico to successfully coerce opposition candidates into refraining from participating in the 02/1931 elections, where he secured victory unopposed. Throughout his term, Ubico systematically obstructed opposition involvement, seldom convened cabinet meetings, reduced Congress to a symbolic role, and maintained a substantial secret police force to quell dissent (Dunkerley 1990: 213-15, Yashar 1997: 42-49, Streeter 2000: 10-12, Casey et al. 2020: 8). The Liberal Party and Progressives nominated Ubico as the only candidate, leading to his election with 305,841 votes. Upon taking office, Ubico promised a "march toward civilization" and adopted dictatorial powers, establishing an autocratic regime. John Gunther in 1941 highlighted Ubico's complete control over Guatemala. Ubico militarized key institutions and placed military officers in significant government roles, frequently conducting national tours with a military and official entourage to underscore his authority.<sup>1471</sup>

07/01/1944 End Military Autocracy/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy: In June 1944, student protests sparked a political shift, leading to Ubico's resignation once junior officers and the middle class showed their support (Dunkerley 1990: 218, Streeter 2000: 12, Casey et al. 2020: 8). A junta composed of military officers Francisco Javier Arana, Jacobo Árbenz and Jorge Toriello took power, and quickly announced presidential elections.

12/17[-19]/1944 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On these dates largely free and fair presidential elections were held.<sup>1472</sup> The following ten years until 1954 are known as the Guatemalan Revolution.<sup>1473</sup> Women could vote from 1945 on, but only if literate.<sup>1474</sup> Universal female suffrage was only granted in 1965 (Rodriguez-Saenz 2008: 314). The

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<sup>1470</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baudilio\\_Palma#Coup\\_d'%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baudilio_Palma#Coup_d'%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1471</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jorge\\_Ubico](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jorge_Ubico)

<sup>1472</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1944\\_Guatemalan\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1944_Guatemalan_presidential_election)

<sup>1473</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guatemalan\\_Revolution#October\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guatemalan_Revolution#October_Revolution)

<sup>1474</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)



regime is despite democratic defects usually classified as democratic (GWF, MCM, PRC, BMR). We classify it as semidemocracy, because there was no universal adult suffrage, regardless of literacy.

06/27/1954 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, fearful of communism in the Western hemisphere the CIA in league with anti-Arbenz rebel leader Armas overthrew the democracy (Dunkerley 1992: 300, Gibson 1989: 172, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 62).

06/29/1954 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: The CIA aided other opposition military leaders to oust the Diaz junta and helped to install the Monzon junta. In 1956 universal male suffrage was introduced (LIED). Carlos Castillo Armas was assassinated in 1957, and elections were held immediately afterwards by a military junta. However, these elections were so fraudulent that popular outcry forced a fresh ballot.<sup>1475</sup>

10/24/1957 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Rioting following a contested election resulted in a military coup. On this date a group of 80 military officers marched into the presidential palace and replaced provisional president Luis Arturo González López with a three-person junta led by army Colonel Óscar Mendoza.<sup>1476</sup>

02/02/1958 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: Congress selected the candidate who secured the most votes in the January 1958 election as president, a contest from which left-leaning candidates were barred. Despite the exclusion of several parties with significant public backing, rendering the election neither free nor fair, a candidate opposed by the military emerged victorious (Dunkerley 1988: 439, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 62-63).

03/30/1963 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Colonel Enrique Peralta orchestrated a military coup that installed a ruling military junta under his leadership (Dunkerley 1988: 443) (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 63). After coming to power, Peralta suspended the Constitution, dissolved the Congress, and banned the Communist Party (PGT) (Weaver 1969).<sup>1477</sup> Voting restrictions were lifted in 1965. Illiterates could vote from then on.<sup>1478</sup>

05/10/1966 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral (Military) Autocracy: Following the March 1966 presidential election, Mendez Montenegro was appointed president by Congress in accordance with the constitution, due to the absence of a majority victor in the election. The left and various other parties were barred from participation. Montenegro, a civilian centrist, secured the highest number of votes against a candidate backed by the military. To be sworn

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<sup>1475</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Miguel\\_Yd%C3%ADgoras\\_Fuentes](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Miguel_Yd%C3%ADgoras_Fuentes)

<sup>1476</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luis\\_Arturo\\_Gonz%C3%A1lez\\_L%C3%B3pez](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luis_Arturo_Gonz%C3%A1lez_L%C3%B3pez)

<sup>1477</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enrique\\_Peralta\\_Azurdia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enrique_Peralta_Azurdia)

<sup>1478</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

in, he was compelled to concede control over military "own" affairs and key policy domains to the military. (Calvert 1985: 83, Dunkerley 1988: 459, Johnson 1971: 35, Weaver 1970: 68, 78). Beginning in November 1966 a state of siege further curtailed constitutional rights (Dunkerley 1988: 457, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 63). On 03/01/1970 Colonel Arana, candidate of the military, MLN and PID, won in a presidential election in which the left and some other parties were prohibited from running (Berger 1986: 563, Dunkerley 1988: 459, Johnson 1971: 41, Montenegro Rios 2002: 122-23, 133). From this election until 1985, only military officers were permitted to win elections, so this regime is coded as a different from the previous one in which civilians shared top policy making positions with the military” (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 63). Different from GWF, which coded the presidential election of 1970 as a regime change, we view it as a continuation of the military subtype of an electoral autocracy, with more or less the same ruling elite.

03/23/1982 End Electoral (Military) Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Garcia towards the end of his term was seen as threatening to the popular will and the military establishment. In March 1982, a CIA-backed coup led by General Efraim Rios Montt Rios deposed incumbent General Romeo Lucas, effectively negating the victory of Ángel Aníbal Guevara, the hand-picked successor of Garcia and candidate of the Popular Democratic Front, in fraudulent presidential elections held on 03/07/1982. Montt established a short lived junta before ruling on his own (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 80).<sup>1479</sup>

08/08/1983 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Victores and his group of dissident armed forces believed that religious extremism had taken over the government. He removed Montt and took the military presidency for himself. In 1984, the military government declared elections for an 88-member Constituent Assembly, tasked with formulating a new constitution and electoral law. The constitution was officially unveiled in 06/1985 (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 30).<sup>1480</sup>

11/03/1985 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral (Military) Autocracy: On this date the first round of presidential elections were held. The second round of a fair, semi-competitive presidential election in which non-leftist parties were allowed to run was won by the Christian Democrats (Anderson 1988: 61). The military-maintained authority over its own matters and possessed veto power over significant policy domains. It persisted in excluding left-leaning parties from participating in elections and retained veto authority in certain policy

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<sup>1479</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1982\\_Guatemalan\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1982_Guatemalan_general_election)

<sup>1480</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Guatemala\\_1993?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Guatemala_1993?lang=en)

arenas(Dunkerley 1988: 498-99, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 63-64). Hence, the regime is classified as a military subtype of an electoral autocracy.

11/12/1995 End Electoral (Military) Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, fair and competitive general elections in which the left was for the first time allowed to participate marked the end of military rule (Jonas 2000: 21-22, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 64).<sup>1481</sup> General elections were held on 09/11/2011 in order to elect the president, vice president, members of congress, members of parliament and mayors and counselors for all municipalities.<sup>1482</sup> Observers from the non-profit electoral watchdog, Mirador Electoral, reported 65 incidents of voting irregularities, including illegal campaigning in Guatemala's capital, as well as attempted vote buying in several sites across the country.<sup>1483</sup> The elections commenced on 06/16 in 2019, and during the August 2019 runoff, Alejandro Giammattei from the Vamos party secured 58 percent of the vote, triumphing over former first lady Sandra Torres of the center-left National Unity for Hope party (UNE). Although the results were deemed credible, electoral observers from the Organization of American States (OAS) highlighted irregularities, including disruptions, ballot burning, voter intimidation, and instances of violence. Giammattei assumed office in January 2020.<sup>1484</sup> General elections were held on 06/25/2023, covering various positions including the president, vice president, all seats in Congress, members of the Central American Parliament, and mayors and councils for all municipalities. Incumbent president Alejandro Giammattei could not run for reelection due to constitutional limits. As no presidential candidate secured over 50 percent of the vote in the first round, a runoff was held on 08/20/2023, between Congressman Bernardo Arévalo and former first lady Sandra Torres. Arévalo won with nearly 61 percent of the vote. The ruling Vamos party gained the most seats in Congress. On 12/08/2023, the Attorney General's office reported "irregularities" in the election and requested annulment of the results. However, the Constitutional Court upheld the election results on 12/14, ordering Arévalo's inauguration. Challenges in Congress caused delays, but Arévalo was eventually inaugurated on 01/15.<sup>1485</sup> Government functioning is significantly hampered by organized crime and corruption. Serious issues such as violence and criminal extortion schemes prevail, with victims having limited avenues for seeking justice.<sup>1486</sup> In all regime datasets – BMR, GWF, LIED, MCM, RoW –

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<sup>1481</sup> <http://tinyurl.com/8chamu2>

<sup>1482</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011\\_Guatemalan\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_Guatemalan_general_election)

<sup>1483</sup> <https://insightcrime.org/news/brief/guatemala-elections-hit-by-fraud-ballot-burning/>

<sup>1484</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/guatemala>

<sup>1485</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023\\_Guatemalan\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023_Guatemalan_general_election)

<sup>1486</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/guatemala/freedom-world/2022>

Guatemala is classified as a democracy. RoW classify it as an electoral democracy. However, according to our data it is rather a semidemocracy than a democracy.

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional sources (Bendel/Krennerich 2005, Cameron 1994, Villagrán de León 1993)

## Guinea

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 12/17/1891]: Guinea became on 12/17/1891 a colony of France and was since 06/16/1895 part of French West Africa.<sup>1487</sup>

10/02/1958 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start One-Party Autocracy: Post-World War II colonial policy led to increasing political activity by indigenous groups, and in 1947 the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) was founded. Under the leadership of Ahmed Sékou Toure, the PDG pushed for independence, and, following rejection of membership in the French Community in a referendum held on 09/28/1958, Guinea became the first of France's African colonies to achieve complete independence. Since the PDG already held 58 of the 60 seats in the Territorial Assembly, Sékou Touré automatically became president upon establishment of the republic on 10/02/1958 (Lansford 2021: 660). Soon after independence the opposition merged with the PDG and there was no more legal opposition. As leader of the PDG, Touré was the only candidate for president of the republic. He was elected unopposed to four seven-year terms. Independence was achieved under the single-party rule of the PDG. While the PDG initially won a fair election before independence, the opposition later merged with the PDG. The regime is deemed authoritarian due to the government's swift suppression of opposition activities following independence (Finer 1975: 495-96, Brooker 1995: 117-18, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 64).<sup>1488</sup> In 1958 universal suffrage was introduced.<sup>1489</sup> On 01/01/1979 Guinea was named People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea and on 05/25/1984 Republic of Guinea.

04/03/1984 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, after Toure's death a military coup led by Lieutenant Colonel Lansana Conté and other middle ranking officers toppled the PDG regime. A 25-member Military Committee of National Restoration (CMRN) under the leadership of Conté was set up. He became president of the Republic

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<sup>1487</sup> <https://www.webguinee.net/bibliotheque/economie/vdubois/independence-movement-in-guinea/chapter01-guinea-introduction.html>

<sup>1488</sup> <http://tinyurl.com/446xmvk>

<sup>1489</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

(Lansford 2012h: 569).<sup>1490</sup> A national referendum regarding a new constitution was held on 12/23/1990 (Brüne 1999: 448).

01/16/1991 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: Dissolution of the Junta (CMRN) which was replaced by the Transitional Committee for National Recovery (CTRN) to prepare elections. The new constitution was promulgated on 12/23/1991, it was a further step in the direction of civilian rule. Furthermore, it provided for a unicameral legislative and a civilian president. In 1992 political parties were legalized, but legislative elections were indefinitely postponed (Brüne 1999: 448).<sup>1491</sup>

12/19/1993 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: First multi-party presidential election since independence. Beforehand, Conté had resigned from the army to run as a civilian in line with the constitution in the presidential elections. Conté, who ran for the newly formed the Unity and Progress Party (Parti de l'Unité et du Progrès, PUP), won 51.7 per cent of the vote. The elections are not considered to be fair and the rule of Conté remained authoritarian. Especially the neutrality of the electoral commission was questioned. National Assembly election took place on 06/11/1995 and municipal elections in late June. The PUP won the majority of seats in both elections. In total 21 parties competed. The inaugural session was held on 08/30/1995 and attended by members of all elected parties, despite raised allegations of electoral fraud (Brüne 1999: 448).<sup>1492</sup> Conté's government narrowly survived a coup attempt on 02/02/1996 that stemmed from an army mutiny over payment of salaries. On 12/14/1998 a presidential election was held. Conté was re-elected.<sup>1493</sup> The presidential elections in 12/1998, once again clouded by serious fraud allegations, occurred amid heightened political tension and were marked by incidents of repression (Brüne 1999: 449). The next presidential election was held on 12/21/2003 and Conté was re-elected again and began his third and last term in office.<sup>1494</sup>

12/22[&23]/2008 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: President Conté died on 12/22/2008. After his death a military coup by junior officers led by Captain Camara established a military junta, the Comite National pour le Developement et la Democratie (National Council for Democracy and Development) to rule (Lansford 2012h: 570, Lansford 2021: 662,

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<sup>1490</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lansana\\_Cont%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lansana_Cont%C3%A9); <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-guinea/#history>

<sup>1491</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military\\_Committee\\_of\\_National\\_Restoration](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_Committee_of_National_Restoration); <https://www.britannica.com/place/Guinea/Government-and-society#ref517229>

<sup>1492</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unity\\_and\\_Progress\\_Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unity_and_Progress_Party); [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lansana\\_Cont%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lansana_Cont%C3%A9)

<sup>1493</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lansana\\_Cont%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lansana_Cont%C3%A9)

<sup>1494</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lansana\\_Cont%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lansana_Cont%C3%A9)

Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 64-65).<sup>1495</sup> In December 2009 President Camara was shot and General Konate took over as president while Camara was in Morocco for medical treatment.

01/16/2010 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime: On this date, based on an agreement between Sékouba Konaté<sup>1496</sup>, Camara, and the opposition power was turned over to a transitional government led by the opposition until elections (Burgis 2010: 1, Lansford 2012h: 570, Lansford 2021: 662, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 64-65).

11/07/2010 End Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, the second round of competitive presidential election completed the transition to democracy. Condé was declared the winner with 52.5 percent of the vote in what was internationally hailed as the country's first free and fair election since independence (Brüne 1999, Lansford 2021: 663).<sup>1497</sup> Although the constitution enshrined respect for freedom of assembly, it was often suppressed in practice. Given the high illiteracy rate, the majority of the population relied on radio for information, with limited access to the internet, primarily in urban areas. However, certain radio stations faced repression by the state. The judicial system exhibited a modest level of independence starting from 2010. Legislative elections, initially slated for 12/29/2011, were repeatedly postponed.<sup>1498</sup>

09/28/2013 End Semidemocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, legislative elections were held. Several irregularities have been cited by observers. Presidential balloting was held on 10/11/2015. Condé was re-elected with 57.9 percent of the vote (Lansford 2021: 663). The seven opposition parties called for a postponement citing alleged irregularities in the electoral roll, but their pleas were rejected.<sup>1499</sup> Constitutional changes in 2020 allowed Condé to seek two additional terms. He was re-elected in the 2020 Guinean presidential elections (Lansford 2021: 663). During the last year of the second term and his third term, Condé cracked down on protests and on opposition candidates, some of whom died in prison.<sup>1500</sup>

09/05/2021 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Condé was captured by the country's armed forces in a coup d'état after gunfire in the capital, Conakry. Special forces commander Mamady Doumbouya released a broadcast on state television announcing the dissolution of the constitution and government.<sup>1501</sup> On 05/11/2023, a minimum of 7 individuals were fatally shot during anti-government protests in various cities across Guinea. The

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<sup>1495</sup> <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-guinea/#history>

<sup>1496</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C3%A9kouba\\_Konat%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C3%A9kouba_Konat%C3%A9)

<sup>1497</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alpha\\_Cond%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alpha_Cond%C3%A9)

<sup>1498</sup> [https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Freedom\\_in\\_the\\_World\\_2013\\_complete\\_book.pdf](https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Freedom_in_the_World_2013_complete_book.pdf)

<sup>1499</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015\\_Guinean\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015_Guinean_presidential_election)

<sup>1500</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alpha\\_Cond%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alpha_Cond%C3%A9)

<sup>1501</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revoluci%C3%B3n\\_Libertadora](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revoluci%C3%B3n_Libertadora)

demonstrators, part of the anti-government movement, engaged in peaceful protests, urging authorities to terminate military governance and facilitate a transition to democracy in the country.<sup>1502</sup>

Military Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Guinea-Bissau**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Constitutional Monarchy]: In 1446, Portuguese mariner Nuno Tristão first discovered the territory later known as Portuguese Guinea. In 1879 Guinea Bissau was separated from Cape Verde as Portuguese Guinea [Colony]. However, it was not until 1905 that the borders of the territory were officially determined. Initially, the region suffered from slave trade exploitation, which led to hostility among the indigenous people and uprisings in the early 20th century. The military eventually pacified the area, and in 1952, it was formally established as an Overseas Province of Portugal. In 1956, a dissatisfied group of Cape Verdeans, led by Amílcar Cabral, Luís de Almeida Cabral, Aristides Pereira, and Rafael Barbosa, formed the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC). Their attempts to negotiate with the Portuguese government failed, prompting the PAIGC to initiate an armed struggle in 1963, with support from Warsaw Pact nations. By the early 1970s, the PAIGC claimed control over two-thirds of the mainland territory. On 01/20/1973, Amílcar Cabral was assassinated in Conakry, Guinea, allegedly by dissidents within the PAIGC but with suspected involvement from the Portuguese military. Six months later, Pereira and Cabral's brother, Luís, were confirmed as the new leaders of the party during a PAIGC congress (Lansford 2021: 670-671). On 09/24/1973 Guinea-Bissau declared its independence from Portugal.

09/10/1974 End Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Non-electoral Transitional Regime]/Start One-Party Autocracy: On this date, the country became independent from Portugal under the PAIGC, led by Luis Cabral, which had led the fight for independence (Piette 2005: 526, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 65). The PAIGC was the constitutionally exclusive political force in society and the state, the PAIGC maintained control through a single-party system. The Regional Councils' elections in December 1976, which lacked competitiveness, secured the PAIGC's ongoing dominance by obtaining approval for the proposed candidate list.(Clemente-

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<sup>1502</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guinea#History>

Kersten 1999c: 461) In 1977 universal suffrage was introduced.<sup>1503</sup> Vieira took on the role of the commander in chief of the armed forces in Guinea-Bissau. After the accidental death of his predecessor, Francisco Mendes, in July, Vieira assumed the position of prime minister in Guinea-Bissau in August 1978.<sup>1504</sup> The newly approved constitution in November 1980, enhanced the authority of the President by abolishing the position of Prime Minister (Clemente-Kersten 1999c: 662), therefore, eliminating Vieira's office.

11/14/1980 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date a military coup led by Prime Minister and General João Bernardo Vieira took place. Allegations of ethnic domination and repression in the highest level of government was cited as the reason for Vieira's coup. Vieira maintained the single party but replaced the National Assembly and State Council. He announced the creation of the a predominantly military nine-man Revolutionary Council, which exercised after the coup all executive and legislative powers in the country.<sup>1505</sup> Following the coup, Cape Verde abandoned its plans for unification, leading to a significant departure of Cape Verdeans from the party (Forrest 1987: 103-5, Piette 2005: 526, Lansford 2012h: 579, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 65).

05/06/1984 End Military Autocracy/Start One-Party Autocracy: A newly approved constitution reinstated a civilian government, and the Revolutionary Council was replaced by a civilian State Council. The post of Prime Minister was abrogated again. The elections for the Regional Council held in 1984 affirmed the PAIGC party lists (Clemente-Kersten 1999c: 462). The opposition against the regime grew after the execution of two regime critics and the arrest of 52 supporters. Influenced by various organizations, such as the Democratic Front (FD) led by Aristide Menezes, the country lifted the ban on political parties and further institutional barriers in 1991. Furthermore, freedom of press and union choice were admitted. International pressure and the breakdown of the Eastern Europe communist regimes led to economic liberalization. In December 1991 the post of Prime Minister was reinstated. Parliamentary elections were supposed to be conducted in 1992, but Vieira postponed them twice until 1994 (Clemente-Kersten 1999c: 462).<sup>1506</sup>

07/03/1994 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, the first multi-party elections since independence took place. In the presidential election, the result was a victory for incumbent João Bernardo Vieira of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and

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<sup>1503</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>1504</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Guinea-Bissau/Independence>

<sup>1505</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1980\\_Guinea-Bissau\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1980_Guinea-Bissau_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1506</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jo%C3%A3o\\_Bernardo\\_Vieira](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jo%C3%A3o_Bernardo_Vieira);  
[https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Guinea\\_Bissau\\_1996?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Guinea_Bissau_1996?lang=en)



Cape Verde (PAIGC). Vieira, despite being an army major, did not rely on the military to retain his power. Surprisingly, his actions, such as dismissing the chief of staff and confronting smaller dissident groups, indicated that the military was not consistently supportive of his authority. In 1991, Vieira voluntarily resigned from his military position and ran for presidential elections. Furthermore, during this period, the legislature saw the representation of multiple political parties (Magaloni/Chu/Min 2013: 22). His opponent in the first multiparty presidential election Kumba Ialá did not accept the results immediately. He raised concerns regarding organizational shortcomings, which raised doubt about the rightfulness of Vieira's victory. The UN Election Observer Commission declared the elections as free and fair. Thereafter Ialá resigned as opposition leader. Although improvements towards democracy had been made, there were still shortcomings, such as the conservation of power by former leaders. The opposition had just started to organize and was therefore still immature and missing political tradition but was represented in parliament and was therefore able to increase political activity. The allocation and concentration of power stayed essentially the same (Clemente-Kersten 1999c: 462-663, Ferreira 2004: 46). The transition from the one-party autocracy to a democracy has to be seen as process, rather than a decision made by the regime elites. As evident in Guinea-Bissau, this transition is marked by the coexistence of elements from various political systems, where the Constitution may stipulate respect for diverse rights and freedoms. Nonetheless, the authority retains an authoritarian nature, exhibiting behaviors typical of a dictatorship (Jaló 2023: 5). We classify the regime as semidemocracy, because the electoral process did not show severe deficits, which would justify a classification as electoral autocracy. At the same time, Guinea-Bissau had not completed the transition to democracy. The classification is disputed. AF and LIED classify the regime between 1994 and 1997 as electoral democracy. GWF classifies it as personal, BR as military dictatorship and HTW as well as MCM as multiparty autocracy. In 1997, Guinea-Bissau became a member of the West African Economic Monetary Union and the Franc Zone. However, the resulting fiscal instability, partly influenced by these decisions, contributed to political unrest. The situation reached a critical point in 1998 when President Vieira dismissed military chief of staff Brigadier (later General) Ansumane Mané. In response, Mané led a rebellion fueled by widespread frustration and opposition to Vieira's rule. Numerous cease-fires were attempted but repeatedly broken, leading to the intervention of troops from Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal, and France. With each round of

fighting, Vieira found himself increasingly isolated in Bissau. In May 1999, he was compelled to surrender and subsequently went into exile in Portugal.<sup>1507</sup>

11/28/1999[-01/16/2000] End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: On 11/28/1999, general elections took place in Guinea-Bissau, followed by a second round for the presidential election on 01/16/2000. The opposition leader, Kumba Ialá of the Party for Social Renewal (PRS), won the the presidential election, defeating Malam Bacai Sanhá of the ruling African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde. The PRS also achieved success in the National People's Assembly election, securing 38 out of 102 seats. Notably, this marked the first time since the country's independence in the 1970s that an opposition party had won an election.<sup>1508</sup> The elections were deemed free and fair by international observers.<sup>1509</sup>

11/16/2002 End Democracy/Start Personalist Autocracy: On this date the elected President, Kumba Ialá, leader of the Social Renewal Party (PRS), dissolved parliament, and repeatedly postponed new elections.<sup>1510</sup> He ruled by decree, engaged in the harassment of the opposition, and ordered the arrest of opposition leaders (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 65, Piette 2005: 532-33, Lansford 2012h: 579).<sup>1511</sup> Since, the parliament was dissolved and, hence, there was no control of the executive this period has to be classified in line with GWF and AF as a personalist autocracy.

09/14/2003 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy: When Ialá moved to stall elections and failed to pay certain army factions, Chief of Staff and Defense Minister General Veríssimo Correia Seabra overthrew him and installed himself at the head of a junta that oversaw a transition to democracy (Lansford 2012h: 579).<sup>1512</sup> Henrique Rosa was appointed to lead the interim government and assumed the presidency on 10/28/2003. Meanwhile, Seabra maintained his position as the chairman of the National Transition Council.<sup>1513</sup>

03/28/2004 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date fair legislative elections were held, and fair presidential elections in June-July 2005 completed the transition the following year (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014b: 65). In March 2005, Kumba Ialá expressed his intention to participate in the upcoming elections scheduled for June, despite being barred from politics in 2003, along with Vieira who had recently returned from exile in

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<sup>1507</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Guinea-Bissau/Independence>

<sup>1508</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1999%E2%80%932000\\_Guinea-Bissau\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1999%E2%80%932000_Guinea-Bissau_general_election)

<sup>1509</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Guinea-Bissau/Independence>

<sup>1510</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kumba\\_Ial%C3%A1](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kumba_Ial%C3%A1)

<sup>1511</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2010/guinea-bissau>

<sup>1512</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ver%C3%ADssimo\\_Correia\\_Seabra](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ver%C3%ADssimo_Correia_Seabra); <http://tinyurl.com/3naxznw>

<sup>1513</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ver%C3%ADssimo\\_Correia\\_Seabra](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ver%C3%ADssimo_Correia_Seabra)

April. However, both candidates were granted permission to run in April. In the following month, Ialá declared himself as the current president and briefly occupied the presidential building. Despite his defeat in the initial round of voting, Ialá eventually supported Vieira, who won in the second round of elections held in July. While allegations of fraud were raised by opposition supporters, international observers declared the elections to be free and fair.<sup>1514</sup> Generally human rights were respected, but some deficits remained. These concerned, for example, freedom of speech or women's rights. Another deficit concerned the independence of the judiciary.<sup>1515</sup> Growing conflict between the military elite and President Vieira's administration, driven in part by ethnic tensions, led to increased domestic instability. In November 2008, Vieira survived an attack by mutinous soldiers, described as an attempted coup.

03/02/2009 End Semidemocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime: On this date, Vieira was assassinated by soldiers who believed he was responsible for the death of the chief of the armed forces, General Batista Tagme Na Waie, who had been killed in an explosion just hours earlier. The military denied any intention to seize power. According to the constitutional provisions, Raimundo Perreira, the parliamentary leader, was sworn in as interim president until elections could be held. Eventually, elections were scheduled for 06/28/2009.<sup>1516</sup>

06/28/2009 End Non-electoral Transitional [Party] Regime/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, Malam Bacai Sanhá of the PAIGC won the presidential elections, defeating Kumba Ialá, the presidential candidate of the PRS. The elections were characterized as free and fair by international observers.<sup>1517</sup> The judiciary remained not fully independent, journalists were not able to work completely freely, and women still do not enjoy the same rights.<sup>1518</sup> Therefore, deficits in the institutional constraints on the executive and deficits in the guarantee of political and civil liberties remained. On 01/09/2012, President Sanhá passed away due to complications from diabetes. Consequently, Pereira was once again appointed as the interim president. On 03/18/2012 presidential elections were held.<sup>1519</sup>

04/12/2012 End Semidemocracy/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy: On this date a military coup led by Army Vice Chief of Staff General Mamadu Ture Kuruma was staged before the second round of a presidential election between Carlos Gomes Júnior and Kumba

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<sup>1514</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Guinea-Bissau/Independence>

<sup>1515</sup> <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78739.htm>

<sup>1516</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Guinea-Bissau/Independence>

<sup>1517</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2009\\_Guinea-Bissau\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2009_Guinea-Bissau_presidential_election)

<sup>1518</sup> <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2010/af/154351.htm>

<sup>1519</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Guinea-Bissau](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Guinea-Bissau)

Ialá.<sup>1520</sup> After the coup, the leading candidates were arrested and the election was cancelled.<sup>1521</sup> After facing international condemnation and sanctions against the junta's leaders, an agreement was signed on 04/15/2012. This agreement resulted in the selection of Manuel Serifo Nhamadjo, the third-place candidate in the election, as the interim president.<sup>1522</sup> While the regime de jure was led by Nhamadjo it is classified to the coding rules as a military transitional regime.

04/13/2014 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: The general elections in Guinea-Bissau took place on 04/13/2014, and a second round was conducted for the presidential elections on 05/18 due to no candidate securing a majority in the initial round.<sup>1523</sup> Presidential elections took place in Guinea-Bissau on 11/24/2019. Since no candidate secured a majority of the vote, a second round was conducted on 12/29. The incumbent president, José Mário Vaz, concluded in fourth place during the initial voting round, consequently not advancing to the runoff. Umaro Sissoco Embaló emerged as the winner in the second round with 54% of the vote.<sup>1524</sup> The 2019 parliamentary elections received commendation from the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU) for being peaceful and well-organized. An observation mission from the African Union (AU) considered the elections to be free and fair, although it acknowledged some shortcomings in the process.<sup>1525</sup> Despite initially promising to accept the results, President Jose Mario Vaz's campaign manager accused his rivals of fraud.<sup>1526</sup> Furthermore, deficits in the guarantee of political and civil liberties persist. These include violence and discrimination against women as well as a lack of judicial freedom and due process.<sup>1527</sup> On 06/04/2023, snap parliamentary elections took place. President Umaro Sissoco Embaló dissolved the parliament on 05/16/2022, citing allegations of corruption and "unresolvable" conflicts between the National People's Assembly and other branches of government. The outcome saw the opposition coalition, Inclusive Alliance Platform – Terra Ranka, led by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, securing victory with 54 out of the 102 seats.<sup>1528</sup>

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<sup>1520</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012\\_Guinea-Bissau\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012_Guinea-Bissau_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plaek\\_Phibunsongkhram#1957\\_coup\\_and\\_exile](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plaek_Phibunsongkhram#1957_coup_and_exile);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mamadou\\_Ture\\_Kuruma](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mamadou_Ture_Kuruma)

<sup>1521</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012\\_Guinea-Bissau\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012_Guinea-Bissau_presidential_election)

<sup>1522</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012\\_Guinea-Bissau\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012_Guinea-Bissau_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1523</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014\\_Guinea-Bissau\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014_Guinea-Bissau_general_election)

<sup>1524</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019\\_Guinea-Bissau\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019_Guinea-Bissau_presidential_election)

<sup>1525</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/guinea-bissau/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1526</sup> <https://www.dw.com/en/guinea-bissau-election-polls-close-amid-fraud-claims/a-51396435>

<sup>1527</sup> <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2015/af/252691.htm>

<sup>1528</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023\\_Guinea-Bissau\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023_Guinea-Bissau_parliamentary_election)

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Guyana**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 07/21/1831]: The Dutch were the first Europeans to settle on the territory starting in the early 17th century, when they founded the colonies of Essequibo and Berbice, adding Demerara in the mid-18th century. In 1796, Great Britain took over these three colonies during hostilities with the French, who had occupied the Netherlands. Britain returned control to the Batavian Republic in 1802 but captured the colonies a year later during the Napoleonic Wars. The colonies were officially ceded to the United Kingdom in 1815 and consolidated into a single colony on 07/21/1831.<sup>1529</sup> In 1953 universal suffrage was introduced.<sup>1530</sup> In 1957, when the UK introduced elected members, the legislature advocated for a more representative government. This led to a constitutional conference convened by the UK in 1960, resulting in a new constitution that granted full internal self-government.<sup>1531</sup>

08/21/1961 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: On this date, the new constitution which installed internal self-government came into force. The UK still had power over defense and external affairs. A bicameral legislative system was established by the constitution. While the British governor remained the official head of State, the prime minister held the most executive power.<sup>1532</sup> In the elections held on 08/21/1961 the PPP again gained the majority. Even though the People's Progressive Party (PPP) had secured only 1.6% more of the vote than the new People's National Congress, it managed to win nearly double the number of seats. This discrepancy led to widespread protests led by the PNC, a general strike, and intense inter-racial violence.<sup>1533</sup> The governor declared a state of emergency and the UK sent troops. The UK held further constitutional conferences in 1962 and 1963, to settle terms for independence, but ethnic divisions prevented the leaders of Guyana's three political parties from being able to reach consensus among themselves on the terms of a constitution; they then asked the UK to settle the matter".<sup>1534</sup> The proposal of the British colonial secretary to create a unicameral assembly

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<sup>1529</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British\\_Guiana](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Guiana)

<sup>1530</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>1531</sup> [http://www.caribbeanelections.com/education/independence/gy\\_independence.asp](http://www.caribbeanelections.com/education/independence/gy_independence.asp)

<sup>1532</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_Guyana](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Guyana)

<sup>1533</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1961\\_British\\_Guiana\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1961_British_Guiana_general_election)

<sup>1534</sup> [http://www.caribbeanelections.com/education/independence/gy\\_independence.asp](http://www.caribbeanelections.com/education/independence/gy_independence.asp)

with proportional representation was adopted in 1964. Cheddi Jagan, the then Premier of British Guiana had expressed support and encouragement for the Cuban Revolution. Therefore, he was believed to be a communist, especially by the USA. Amongst other measures, the CIA helped fund an 80-day strike which was later held against Jagan's ability to govern British Guiana.<sup>1535</sup> On 12/07/1964, the first elections under the new constitution took place. A new coalition government headed by the People's National Congress (PNC) won the election. Cheddi Jagan was removed from office by the governor after refusing to step down.<sup>1536</sup> Forbes Burnham became Prime Minister on 12/14/1964. He severed diplomatic ties with Cuba. During the first year of his rule, the situation in British Guiana stabilized.<sup>1537</sup> However, after assuming power, he consolidated the PNC's control by taking charge of the electoral system. The PNC-dominated national assembly shifted the elections commission's authority to a government department headed by a deputy loyal to the PNC, ultimately placing it under Burnham's power (Trefs 2005: 355). At a constitutional conference in London, the date for independence was set for 05/26/1966.

05/26/1966 Continuation Electoral Autocracy [as independent country]: On 05/26/1966, Guyana became fully independent.<sup>1538</sup> After its success in the elections on 12/16/1968, the PNC was able to rule without a coalition.<sup>1539</sup> However, Burnham is said to have committed large scale election fraud.<sup>1540</sup> On 02/23/1970 Guyana became a republic, however, it remained a cooperative republic within the Commonwealth.<sup>1541</sup> In the 1970s, authoritarianism of Burnham's government increased. Election fraud became more obvious. In 1974, Burnham declared that all "organs of the State would be considered agencies of the ruling PNC and subject to its control". Nevertheless, oppositional groups were tolerated within certain limits.<sup>1542</sup> On 07/10/1978, a constitutional referendum was held which suspended the elections and kept the current Assembly in power. Burnham's government announced that around 98% of the 70% voter turnout were in favor. Sceptics estimate voter turnout somewhere between 10%-14%.<sup>1543</sup> The Jonestown Massacre on 11/19/1978 brought the government of Guyana to international attention which began to weaken it.<sup>1544</sup> After a year filled with political violence

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<sup>1535</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cheddi\\_Jagan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cheddi_Jagan)

<sup>1536</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1964\\_British\\_Guiana\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1964_British_Guiana_general_election)

<sup>1537</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Guyana#Independence\\_and\\_the\\_Burnham\\_era](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Guyana#Independence_and_the_Burnham_era)

<sup>1538</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Guyana2018.pdf>

<sup>1539</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1968\\_Guyanese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1968_Guyanese_general_election)

<sup>1540</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1968\\_Guyanese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1968_Guyanese_general_election)

<sup>1541</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Guyana/Independence>

<sup>1542</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Guyana#Independence\\_and\\_the\\_Burnham\\_era](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Guyana#Independence_and_the_Burnham_era)

<sup>1543</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1978\\_Guyanese\\_constitutional\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1978_Guyanese_constitutional_referendum)

<sup>1544</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Guyana#The\\_Jonestown\\_massacre](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Guyana#The_Jonestown_massacre)

in 1979, a new constitution was established in 1980.<sup>1545</sup> The elections held on 12/15/1980, which yielded a victorious PNC, were once again claimed to have been fraudulent. Burnham died unexpectedly on 08/06/1985. Power transition to the vice-president Desmond Hoyte went smoothly.<sup>1546</sup>

10/05/1992 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Democracy: On October 1992, after a period of political and economic liberalization, the ruling party's leaders conducted competitive elections. These elections saw the end of the twenty-eight-year reign of the People's National Congress (PNC) and marked a victory for the Progressive People's Party (PPP), predominantly supported by the East Indian (Indo-Guyanese) majority (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 31). These elections were the first since 1964 to be internationally recognized as free and fair.<sup>1547</sup> Guyana operates as a parliamentary democracy with a vibrant press and a resilient civil society. Nevertheless, the elections conducted in 2020 were tainted by attempted fraud perpetrated by the then-incumbent government.<sup>1548</sup> In November 2022, the National Assembly passed a Bill for a constitutional reform commission, with the purpose of boosting minority rights and improving the electoral framework.<sup>1549</sup> Elections are competitive and multi-party. The judiciary is independent from executive and legislative branches of government.<sup>1550</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

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<sup>1545</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Guyana\\_2016?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Guyana_2016?lang=en)

<sup>1546</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Guyana#Burnham's\\_last\\_years](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Guyana#Burnham's_last_years)

<sup>1547</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Guyana#Hoyte\\_to\\_present](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Guyana#Hoyte_to_present)

<sup>1548</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/guyana/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1549</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/guyana/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>1550</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Guyana](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Guyana)

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