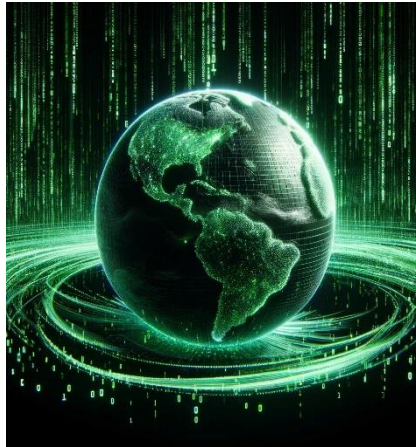


# **Varieties of Political Regimes (Va-PoReg)**



## **Country Reports H-Q**

Principal investigator: Steffen Kailitz

Contact: [steffen.kailitz@mailbox.tu-dresden.de](mailto:steffen.kailitz@mailbox.tu-dresden.de)

Hannah Arendt Institute for Totalitarianism Studies, Dresden

Research assistance (at various points in time):

Natalia Bachmann, Maximilian von Boehm-Bezing, Naomi Braun, Tobias Genswein, Dora Gergis, Nicole Husemann, Luisa Meier, Katharina Mette, Ines Meyer, Jakob Ochsenkühn, Priscilla Pirschle, Paula Schrank, Johannes Wichert, Malina Witzenrath

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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 country report documents. In each case, the history of political regimes in the named territory from 1900 to the most recent cut-off date (currently 07/01/2023) 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 07/01/2023. Please note that regime periods which begin 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 protectorate, this always refers to the country that is a protectorate. If after colony a regime type is mentioned in brackets, this refers to the colonizing country if it is mentioned first.

## Acronyms for datasets

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

## Haiti

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [Start: 01/01/1804]: On 01/01/1804 Haiti, once France's richest colony, gained independence from France as the first Caribbean State and became an elective monarchy after that.<sup>1</sup> On 09/22/1804, the Generals of the Haitian Revolution Army proclaimed Jean-Jacques Dessalines as emperor, and on October 6th, he conducted his coronation ceremony, adopting the name Jacques I.<sup>2</sup> The constitution outlined the succession process for the throne, stipulating that the crown would be elective and granting the reigning emperor the authority to designate his successor.<sup>3</sup> Since, the monarchy was not rooted in an aristocracy it resembled more a personalist autocracy. In 1806 Jacques I. was assassinated and a split between northern and southern Haiti took place. In 1844 the Dominican Republic seceded from Haiti. The crisis of the 1865 to 1868 civil war led to the formation of two political parties, the National and the Liberal Parties, and marked a transition toward a modern party-based regime. On 10/26/1879, Lysius Salomon was elected president, and the National Party controlled the government for nearly a decade (Stieber 2020). Florvil Hyppolite was president from 1889 until 1896. Following Hyppolite, the political landscape in Haiti grew even more precarious, with governments notably brief in their tenure (Greene 2001). During the 20th century the mulattos, despite constituting less than 10% of the population, managed to establish themselves as the dominant elite by leveraging both their education and skin color. The black military elite after the revolution harbored resentment toward being excluded from the circles of the mulattos. Black rural farmers voiced their demands for land reforms and resorted to taking up arms. They voiced their dissatisfaction with the dominance of mulatto individuals and called for the election of a black president, hoping for greater consideration of their concerns. One method employed to address these grievances during the 19th century was the "politique de doublure," wherein the mulatto elite installed a black figurehead president, at times even an individual lacking literacy. From 1847 to 1915, a majority of presidents were of dark complexion (Ulloa 2005: 374). From 1896 to 1902 Tirésias Simon Sam was president.<sup>4</sup> He was a member of the National Party and was instituted by parliament.<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, starting in 1879, the presidencies concluded through coercion or the imminent prospect thereof (Greene 2001). During this period, the military

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19548810>

<sup>2</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First\\_Empire\\_of\\_Haiti](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Empire_of_Haiti)

<sup>3</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First\\_Empire\\_of\\_Haiti](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Empire_of_Haiti)

<sup>4</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haiti#History>

<sup>5</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tir%C3%A9sias\\_Simon\\_Sam](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tir%C3%A9sias_Simon_Sam)

exerted significant influence. According to Sheller, Haiti struggled to achieve the "subordination of the military to civil control" (Sheller 2000). The military was the ultimate arbiter of Haitian politics (O'Neill 1993). Between 1867 and 1950, the president was elected indirectly through an absolute majority vote by a joint session of both parliamentary chambers. From 1816 to 1918 the chamber of deputies also elected the senate indirectly. Before 1950, voting rights were exclusively granted to men and were subject to specific property and income requirements (Ulloa 2005: 378-379). While the president was elected by a parliament there are no traces of popular elections of the parliament itself. Vanhanen records values of 0 and 0.2 for the years 1896 and 1902 respectively, whereby the latter is his own estimate (Vanhanen 2019). Therefore, we classify this period as an electoral oligarchy. Simon Sam abdicated on 05/12/1902 and Pierre Boisrond-Canal became provisional president.<sup>6</sup> In 1902, a civil war erupted between the government of Boisrond-Canal and General Pierre Nord Alexis against rebel groups led by Anténor Firmin.

12/17/1902 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military (Personalist) Autocracy: General Nord Alexis prevailed and became president on 12/17/1902 by leading troops into the country's Chamber of Deputies and forcing legislators to declare him president.<sup>7</sup> This method of assuming power, relying on military force and the suppression of legislative authority, is indicative of a military autocracy. Once in power, Alexis' regime was characterized by centralized control, with decisions and authority largely emanating from the military leadership rather than civilian political structures.

12/02/1908 End Military (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Military (Personalist) Autocracy: On this date, Pierre Nord Alexis was ousted by a rebellion led by General F. Antoine Simon (Nicholls 1986: 312). Antoine Simon was unanimously elected president of the republic by the Haitian Congress on 12/17/1908.<sup>8</sup>

08/07/1911 End Military (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Military (Personalist) Autocracy: On this day, Cincinnatus Leconte orchestrated a military coup against General Antoine Simon, seizing control (Lentz 1999: 218, Casey et al. 2020: 8). Leconte assumed the presidency of Haiti with a unanimous vote from Congress on August 14, serving a seven-year term. During his tenure, he implemented discriminatory measures against the local Syrian population, who were Christian migrants from Ottoman Syria, compounding the persecution faced by this

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<sup>6</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tir%C3%A9sias\\_Simon\\_Sam](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tir%C3%A9sias_Simon_Sam)

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance/en/document/massacres-perpetrated-20th-century-haiti.html>; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre\\_Nord\\_Alexis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre_Nord_Alexis)

<sup>8</sup> <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1908/12/18/105016384.pdf>

already marginalized minority group. Despite being elected to a seven-year term, Leconte's time in office was short lived. On 08/08/1912, a violent explosion destroyed the National Palace, killing the president and several hundred soldiers.<sup>9</sup> Following the death of Leconte, Haiti went through a series of transitional governments. Tancredi Auguste was chosen by the National Assembly to succeed Leconte and continued the policies of his predecessor, but his presidency was short-lived due to his death in May 1913. After Auguste's death Michel Oreste was elected by the National Assembly. His term was also brief as he faced several rebellions and ultimately resigned in January 1914 due to political unrest. General Oreste Zamor led one of the rebellions against Oreste and assumed power after Oreste's resignation. His term was plagued by political instability.

10/29/1914 End Military (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Military (Personalist) Autocracy: On this date, the junta was ousted by another group of officers (Lentz 1999: 218, Casey et al. 2020: 8).

11/07/1914 End Military (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Military (Personalist) Autocracy: On this date, Joseph Davilmar Theodore took control through a coup and subsequently secured the presidency for a seven-year term (Lentz 1999: 219).

07/28/1915 End Military (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by United States of America, Semidemocracy]: On this date, the USA invaded and occupied Haiti, motivated by American business interests. During the occupation, the United States of America installed wealthy and pro-American Haitians in positions of power and ruled as a military regime through martial law led by Marines and the Gendarmerie. A new constitution was approved on 06/12/1918 and allowed foreigners to control Haitian land. Due to efforts to oppose the rewriting of the constitution, Haiti remained without a legislative branch until 1929.<sup>10</sup> Stenio Joseph Vincent, who served as mayor of Port-au-Prince, was elected president in 1930 amid the U.S. occupation (Nicholls 1986: 311, 317, Nicholls 1998: 157, Casey et al. 2020: 8). Those elections were one of the few fair presidential elections in the country's history (Ulloa 2005: 375).

08/15/1934 End Occupation Regime [by United States of America, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date the last contingent of U.S. troops departed but it maintained direct fiscal control until 1941.<sup>11</sup> Under President Vincent's leadership, the government suppressed opposition, and he implemented a new constitution that granted extensive powers

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<sup>9</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cincinnatus\\_Leconte](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cincinnatus_Leconte)

<sup>10</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_States\\_occupation\\_of\\_Haiti](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_occupation_of_Haiti)

<sup>11</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_States\\_occupation\\_of\\_Haiti](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_occupation_of_Haiti)

to the president (Lentz 1999: 219-20, Nicholls 1990: 550, Casey et al. 2020: 9). For example, the new constitution granted the right to dissolve the legislature and reshuffle the judiciary (Greene 2001: 284). On 05/15/1941 Vincent resigned following the elections held in May 1941 (Nicholls 1990: 550, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 65-66, Casey et al. 2020: 9) and transferred power to Èlie Lescot. On 06/05/1941 He was confirmed by the elected assembly and began to suppress the opposition immediately (Smith 2009: 43, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 65-66). Overall, he grew more authoritarian. He asserted the role of military commander in chief, oppressed the populace, imposed press censorship, and coerced Congress into bestowing upon him considerable powers to manage the budget and appoint legislators without the need for elections (Greene 2001: 284).

01/11/1945 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy: Populist and ethnic-inspired popular uprising led to President Èlie Lescot's resignation. Lescot and his cabinet fled into exile.<sup>12</sup> Colonel Lavaud, his lieutenant Antoine Levelt, and American Ambassador Orme Wilson Jr administered executive power through a junta, the Conseil Exécutif Militaire (CEM).<sup>13</sup>

05/12/1946 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, the interim military government oversaw elections (Nohlen 1993: 389, Smith 2009: 80-81, 89, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 65-66). The electoral process of 1946, often heralded as “the Revolution of 1946,” was, in essence, a consequence of governance that was marked by incompetence, dishonesty, and repression. Dumarsais Estimé emerged victorious in these elections, securing his win with the support of the military (Greene 2001: 285). In 01/1950, elections resulted in the formation of a lower house in the National Assembly entirely obedient to the president (Smith 2009:144). On 04/03/1950, President Estimé pushed through a constitutional revision that barred reelection, which was unanimously approved in the Chamber of Deputies but rejected in the Senate. On 05/08/1950, Estimé dissolved the cabinet and the Senate in violation of the constitution and declared a new Cabinet the next day, causing tensions within the army high command (Smith 2009:146). The strength of his political opponents, open ethnic conflict, and an attempt to extend his term in office floundered the Estimé regime. In 1950, the principle of universal suffrage was established; however, the integrity of the following elections was still compromised by widespread ballot manipulation.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89lie\\_Lescot](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89lie_Lescot)

<sup>13</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franck\\_Lavaud](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franck_Lavaud)

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Haiti/Government-and-society>

05/10/1950 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy. On this date, Estimé signed a resignation letter, and the military junta, which had overseen Lescot's removal, once again assumed its role as the transition government (Nohlen 1993, Smith 2009: 147, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 66).

10/08/1950 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Electoral (Military) Autocracy: On this date, Paul Magloire was elected president, becoming the first military president since 1915. However, Magloire was the only candidate and elected unopposed with 99 per cent of the vote running under the Peasant Worker Movement banner (Smith 2009, Ulloa 2005).<sup>15</sup> The election was army-monitored and Magloire enjoyed official backing from the army, church, elite, and the American embassy. It was the first election with universal male suffrage.<sup>16</sup> During his presidency, Magloire used state-sanctioned violence, such as the threat of force against opponents, to consolidate his power. He reinstated the secret police, targeted dissidents regardless of political beliefs and effectively controlled the army (Smith 2009: 153-154). In January 1955, Magloire manipulated the Deputies' election to ensure the defeat of Daniel Fignolé, a well-liked political figure, former leader of the MOP, and labor organizer in Port-au-Prince, by a significant margin. Subsequently, Magloire incarcerated Fignolé and shut down Haiti Democratique, a newspaper established by Fignolé. Furthermore, schools nationwide were shuttered as potential hubs of dissent, and the Faculty of Medicine was disbanded.<sup>17</sup>

12/12/1956 End Electoral (Military) Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, popular unrests forced President Magloire to resign and flee. The Colpus Dataset codes here a protest rather than a coup because the popular strike, not the military, hindered Magloire's continued rule. Instead, the army enabled the constitutional succession to Justice Pierre-Louis (Chin/Wright/Carter 2021:31). In accordance with the constitution, the head of the Supreme Court, Pierre-Louis, who agreed on competitive elections, was inaugurated on a provisional basis (Hall 2012: 272, 2009: 171-72). On 02/07/1957 a general strike forced Pierre-Louis out of the provisional presidency and Franck Sylvain was appointed interim president by the Parliament.<sup>18</sup>

04/02/1957 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Military Autocracy: Rioting and violence following an election Sylvain allegedly forced the chief of the army,

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<sup>15</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1950\\_Haitian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1950_Haitian_general_election)

<sup>16</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul\\_Magloire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_Magloire)

<sup>17</sup> <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/haitians-strike-and-overthrow-dictator-1956>

<sup>18</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franck\\_Sylvain](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franck_Sylvain)



Léon Cantave, to demand Sylvain's resignation "on the grounds that he was an accessory to civil unrest" (Smith 2009:176). The army installed a civilian government, the Conseil Exécutif Gouvernement (CEG) comprised of thirteen representatives of the six principal candidates, entrusted with electoral preparation (Smith 2009). Consequently, Haiti was without a government or a unified military (Smith 2009). On 05/18/1957 a bloody battle forced Cantave to oust the CEG and declare martial law.

05/25/1957 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, violence forced Cantave to resign and Daniel Fignolé became provisional president. Due to his political popularity, he was seen as the sole candidate possessing sufficient influence to stabilize the deteriorating situation (Smith 2009: 179).

06/12/1957 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, Fignolé, who had previously attempted to weaken the military, was kidnapped by army officers, and forced to resign and flee. Haiti was from then on ruled again by a military junta, the Conseil Militaire de Gouvernement (CMG), headed by Kébreau (Smith 2009). New elections were announced for September 1957.

09/22/1957 End Military Autocracy/Start Personalist Autocracy: On this date, the junta supervised an unfair election in which their favored candidate, François Duvalier, was elected. (Nohlen 1993: 389, Smith 2009: 177-83, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 66). This were the last presidential elections until Duvalier's son Jean-Claude Duvalier fled Haiti. Both Duvalier governments banned or severely restricted opposition political parties. In 1964 François Duvalier declared himself President for Life and remained in power until he died in April 1971. Jean-Claude Duvalier was chosen by his father as successor and inherited the title President for Life in 1971. He ruled until 1986. While the political regime was clearly a personalist autocracy from 1964 to 1986 the classification for the years 1957 to 1964 is much harder. However, Haiti is also coded from 1957 to 1986 as a personalist autocracy. The National Unity Party which became the sole party in Haiti was just a vehicle to support the presidency of the Duvaliers (Ferguson 1987, Ferguson 1993). In a presidential referendum on 04/30/1961 François Duvalier was the only candidate. The official count was all votes in favor of Duvalier and none against.

02/07/1986 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, Jean-Claude Duvalier fled because of popular uprising and was replaced by an interim government (Nicholls 1998: 165-66).<sup>19</sup> The formation was supposed to be an interim transitional

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<sup>19</sup> <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-haiti/>

government, the Conseil National de Gouvernement, made up of two civilians and three officers, led by Lieutenant General Namphy. This government is not treated as a continuation of the previous regime because it authorized legal proceedings against Duvalier allies and banned them from holding office for ten years (Payne/Sutton 1993: 80-84), thus changing the rules for choosing leaders. The first attempted election in November 1987 was cancelled because of violence.

01/17/1988 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral (Military) Autocracy: On this date, Leslie Manigat was elected. The military dominated the elections, manipulating them to ensure the emergence of a winner deemed acceptable to the military (Payne/Sutton 1993: 89, Nicholls 1998: 169, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 66).

06/20/1988 End Electoral (Military) Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, General Henri Namphy overthrew Leslie Manigat, who was elected in a presidential election controlled by the military, and declared himself president.<sup>20</sup> The reason was that Manigat had tried to dismiss Namphy (Payne/Sutton 1993: 89, Nicholls 1998: 169, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 66-67).<sup>21</sup>

09/18/1988 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup by junior officers and non-commissioned officers ousted the government led by General Namphy and high ranking officers (Nohlen 1993: 390, Payne/Sutton 1993: 90).<sup>22</sup> The coup brought General Matthieu Prosper Avril to power. During the Duvalier regime, Avril held the role of a trusted member of François Duvalier's Presidential Guard and served as an adviser to Jean-Claude Duvalier.<sup>23</sup>

03/10/1990 End Military Autocracy/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy: A popular uprising forced General Prosper Avril to flee. After mass public protests. The military transferred power to the army chief of staff, General Hérard Abraham, on 03/10/1990, to oversee a democratic transition (Nohlen 1993: 390, Payne/Sutton 1993: 92-94, Hall 2012: 272).

12/16/1990 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, elections were conducted by a provisional civilian government, resulting in a victory for populist leader Jean-Claude Aristide, who secured 67 percent of the vote in the first round and

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<sup>20</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henri\\_Namphy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henri_Namphy)

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<http://www.cidh.org/countryrep/haiti88eng/chap.2e.htm#E.%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20THE%20COUP%20D'ETAT%20OF%20JUNE%2020,%201988>

<sup>22</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/September\\_1988\\_Haitian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/September_1988_Haitian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>23</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prosper\\_Avril](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prosper_Avril)

assumed office in 02/1991. (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 33). The elections were monitored by the United Nations Observer Group for the Verification of the Elections in Haiti (ONUVEH) and the Organization of American States (OAS), and are regarded as free and fair (Ulloa 2005). Due to the continued high influence of the military and a weak judiciary, Freedom House classifies Haiti only as partly free in 1991.<sup>24</sup> Despite the clear indicator that the election was mostly free and fair only GWF categorizes the regime period as democratic, LIED and HTW classify it as a multiparty autocracy, RoW as an electoral autocracy and BR as a civilian autocracy. According to our classification the regime is a semidemocracy.

09/30/1991 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A military coup led by Brigadier General Raoul Cedras overthrew Aristide. Cedras ruled as executive through the military junta but had puppet presidents (Nohlen 1993: 390, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 67, Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 80).<sup>25</sup>

10/19/1994 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: The military regime led by Cedras was ousted by a foreign intervention (Operation Uphold Democracy, 09/19/1994-03/31/1995) which oversaw the return of the previously elected president (Ulloa 2005: 377).<sup>26</sup> The operation was effectively authorized by the 07/31/1994 United Nations Security Council Resolution 940.<sup>27</sup> Jean-Bertrand Aristide was restored to power (Malone 2008: 133, Hall 2012: 272, Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 67).<sup>28</sup>

12/17/1995 End Semidemocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date presidential election were held. René Préval assumed the presidency. Parliamentary elections were held on 04/06/1997.<sup>29</sup> The parliamentary elections faced controversy after the initial round and were ultimately canceled. This initiated a new political crisis (Ulloa 2005: 377). On 01/12/1999 the legislature refused to confirm his third nominee for prime minister, amid accusations of vote rigging in legislative elections when elected President Rene Preval dismissed the Chamber of Deputies and all but nine members of the Senate. He began to rule by decree (Erikson 2004, Wucker 2004: 45, Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 34, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 67). Parliamentary elections were held on 05/21/2000 and 07/09/2000. They were overall deeply flawed. International observation missions characterized them as not free and fair and

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<sup>24</sup> [https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Freedom\\_in\\_the\\_World\\_1990-1991\\_complete\\_book.pdf](https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Freedom_in_the_World_1990-1991_complete_book.pdf)

<sup>25</sup> <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-haiti/>

<sup>26</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation\\_Uphold\\_Democracy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Uphold_Democracy)

<sup>27</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation\\_Uphold\\_Democracy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Uphold_Democracy)

<sup>28</sup> [https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/uphold\\_democracy.htm](https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/uphold_democracy.htm)

<sup>29</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1995\\_Haitian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1995_Haitian_general_election);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1997\\_Haitian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1997_Haitian_parliamentary_election)

questioned tabulation method (Ulloa 2005: 377).<sup>30</sup> Presidential elections were held on 11/26/2000. They were boycotted by the opposition due to the experience of the spring parliamentary elections. Jean Bertrand Aristide won with over 90%.<sup>31</sup> The opposition proclaimed its own president. The Organization of American States mediated the negotiations between both sides (Ulloa 2005: 377-378).

02/29/2004 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: Aristide fled in response to an armed rebellion led by the National Revolutionary Front for the Liberation and Reconstruction of Haiti, a rebel group formed of a former police chief and criminal gang leaders (Erikson 2005: 86, Hall 2012: 272). By 02/25/2004, the rebel group controlled nearly the entire north of Haiti and forced Aristide to resign on 02/29/2004. After Aristide's departure, Prime Minister Gérard Latortue and President Boniface Alexandre, Chief of Justice of the Supreme Court in Haiti, formed an interim government.<sup>32</sup>

02/07/2006 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, general elections were held to elect the replacements for the interim government of Gérard Latortue, which had been put in place after the 2004 Haiti rebellion. Following four delays, presidential and legislative elections took place on 02/07/2006. Former president Préval secured victory in the presidential race, narrowly evading a runoff with 51.2 percent of the vote in the initial round. However, the legitimacy of the outcome was questioned due to the Electoral Council (CEP) excluding approximately 85,000 blank ballots from the tally, a decision met with strong opposition criticism based on dubious legal grounds. Préval's inauguration was postponed until 05/14 due to inconclusive legislative results, which necessitated a runoff poll on 04/21, with only 15–20 percent of eligible voters reportedly participating (Lansford 2021: 690). Jovenel Moïse of the Haitian Tet Kale Party (PHTK), the handpicked successor of then President Michel Martelly, won the 2015 presidential election, but the results were nullified due to extensive fraud. Moïse went on to win a repeat election in 2016, taking 55.6 percent of the vote. Elections for a portion of the Senate and the runoff elections for the remaining seats in the Chamber of Deputies were held in 2016 along with the repeat presidential election, and the contests were marred by low voter turnout and fraud.<sup>33</sup>

07/07/2021 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: The first half of the year was dominated by protests and political disputes over the expiration

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<sup>30</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000\\_Haitian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000_Haitian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>31</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000\\_Haitian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000_Haitian_presidential_election)

<sup>32</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2004\\_Haitian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2004_Haitian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>33</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/haiti/freedom-world/2022>

of President Jovenel Moïse's term, his plans to hold a referendum on constitutional reforms, and the continued postponement of overdue elections. On 07/07/2021, President Moïse was assassinated by a group of heavily armed men who entered his residence, and the resulting succession crisis was exacerbated by the lack of a sitting Parliament, as the terms of most lawmakers had expired in 2020.<sup>34</sup> Joseph assumed political control of the government. At that time, Joseph stated that he was in control of the country. The legal succession to the presidency was unclear. Meanwhile, eight out of ten sitting members of Haiti's Senate chose the Senate speaker Joseph Lambert as the interim President on 07/09. On 07/19, Joseph announced that he will stand down as prime minister in Favor of Henry.<sup>35</sup> General elections were scheduled to be held in Haiti on 11/07/2021 to elect the president and Parliament, alongside a constitutional referendum. However, in September 2021 they were postponed following the dismissal of the members of the Provisional Electoral Council by acting Prime Minister Ariel Henry.<sup>36</sup> On 12/12/2022, Henry signed an agreement with representatives of the civil society, political parties, and the business sector to hold elections in 2023 and install an elected government in 2024.<sup>37</sup> However, no general elections were held in 2023 either, which means that no elections have been held in the country since 2016. On 03/11/2024 Henry announced that he will resign and that his government will hand over power after a transitional council (The High Transition Council) has been appointed.<sup>38</sup> Without a functioning government, lawlessness, crime, and violence are widespread, and, paired with increasing food shortages present an acute humanitarian crisis.<sup>39</sup>

Non-electoral transitional (multiparty) regime as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Ferguson 1988, Mattarollo 2002, Shamsie 2004, Rotberg/Clague 1971)

## Hejaz

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Ottoman Empire, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 02/22/1517]: Because the Hejaz was home to two holy cities, it was governed by various empires throughout its history. During the Rashidun Caliphate, with Medina as its capital from 632 to

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<sup>34</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/haiti/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>35</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ariel\\_Henry](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ariel_Henry)

<sup>36</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Next\\_Haitian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Next_Haitian_general_election)

<sup>37</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/haiti/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>38</sup> <https://edition.cnn.com/2024/03/11/americas/haiti-pm-ariel-henry-resigns-gang-violence-intl-hnk/index.html>

<sup>39</sup> <https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/03/1147871>

656 CE, the Hejaz was at the heart of the empire. In later times, the region came under the control of local powers such as Egypt in 1258 and the Ottoman Empire in 1517.<sup>40</sup> As a result of the Ottoman-Mamluk war between 1526 and 02/22/1517, the Hejaz as a province was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire.<sup>41</sup>

06/27/1916 End Part of Other Country [Ottoman Empire, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Absolute Monarchy (Kingdom of Hejaz): On this date, during World War I, the Hashemite Kingdom declared itself an independent kingdom, with support from the British Empire, to be independent from the Ottoman Empire. The Hashemite Kingdom of Hejaz was then governed by the Hashemite Dynasty.<sup>42</sup>

01/08/1926 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Part of Other Country [Kingdom of Hejaz and Nejd]: After the Kingdom of Hejaz fell to Abdul Aziz's forces on 12/19/1925, he declared himself king of Hejaz on 01/08/1926 and combined the territories of the Kingdom of Hejaz and the Sultanate of Nejd, which he elevated to the status of a kingdom on 01/29/1927.<sup>43</sup> On 05/20/1927, the Treaty of Jeddah was signed, in which Great Britain recognized the independence of the Kingdoms of Hijaz and Najd, both ruled by the monarchy established through conquest by Adb al Aziz al Saud over the previous 25 years (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 91).

09/23/1932 Continuation Absolute Monarchy [unified as Saudi Arabia]:

## **Honduras**

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [Start 09/15/1821]: On 09/15/1821, Honduras gained independence from Spain and became part of the First Mexican Empire before joining the Federal Republic of Central America. On 11/15/1838, Honduras declared independence from the Federal Republic of Central America, adopting a new constitution in January 1839. Since then, Honduras replaced the constitution on several occasions (1839, 1848, 1865, 1873, 1880, 1894, 1906, 1924, 1936, 1957, 1965, and 1982) with corresponding electoral laws (Somoza 2005). The 1894 constitution introduced secret, direct, and male suffrage.<sup>44</sup> As one of the first countries in Central and South America, Honduras extended suffrage to illiterates in 1894

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<sup>40</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hejaz#Subsequent\\_history](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hejaz#Subsequent_history)

<sup>41</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman%E2%80%93Mamluk\\_War\\_\(1516%E2%80%931517\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman%E2%80%93Mamluk_War_(1516%E2%80%931517))

<sup>42</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Hejaz](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Hejaz)

<sup>43</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sultanate\\_of\\_Nejd](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sultanate_of_Nejd)

<sup>44</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#Dates\\_by\\_country](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#Dates_by_country)

(Kellam 2013: 29). Voting for men has always been compulsory, and the military personnel has been disenfranchised since 1895. Between 1876 and 1878, liberal reforms were introduced with the goal of reducing the traditional oligarchic dominance held by landholders, the clergy, and the military. These reforms included the implementation of the separation of church and state, as outlined in the 1879 constitution (Somoza 2005: 400). Elections have been held since independence in 1839, although somewhat irregular and presidential terms varied with the different constitutions. On 02/27/1902, the National Party (Partido Nacional - PN) was established by General Manuel Bonilla.<sup>45</sup> In October 1902, general elections were held. The presidential elections were won by Bonilla. However, President Terencio Sierra declined to surrender governance to General Bonilla, leading Congress to elect Juan Angel Arias as president.<sup>46</sup> According to Vanhanen in 1898 10.4 and in 1903 12.2 percentage of the total population voted (Vanhanen 2019). Although suffrage was extended to illiterates, military personnel was excluded, elections were held only irregularly, a traditional oligarchy was evident, and the proportion of voters was less than 15 percent of the population. Therefore, we classify this period as an electoral oligarchy. In the initial decades of the 20th century, American corporations like the United Fruit Company, the Standard Fruit Company, and the Cuyamel Fruit Company held sway over Honduras' economy. They set up vast banana plantations along the northern coast, swiftly turning bananas into the nation's chief export. In exchange for sizable land concessions from conservative politicians, these companies gained significant influence.<sup>47</sup> The interests of these American companies were of great importance for the behavior of the USA in relation to Honduras.

04/13/1903 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military (Personalist) Autocracy: On this date, Following a coup, General Manuel Bonilla took control and suppressed any political opposition (Stokes 1950: 47, Haggerty/Millet 1995: 19, Euraque 1996: chap. 3, Lentz 1999: 2020-21, Casey et al. 2020: 9). The regime is classified according to our coding rules as a military autocracy because Manuel Bonilla gained power through a military operation. Despite winning a plurality vote in the presidential elections on 03/01/1902, Bonilla failed to meet the absolute majority requirement specified by the constitution. Consequently, the congress appointed Juan Ángel Arias Boquí as president and General Máximo Betancourt Rosales as vice president. After seizing power, Bonilla summoned congress and coerced them to overturn the election results, declaring him president and Miguel R. Dávila vice president.

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<sup>45</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/honduras-1902-present/>

<sup>46</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1902\\_Honduran\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1902_Honduran_general_election)

<sup>47</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Honduras\\_\(1838%E2%80%931932\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Honduras_(1838%E2%80%931932))

They assumed office on 05/17/1903. Subsequently, Bonilla called for a constituent assembly, which annulled the 1894 constitution and reinstated parts of the 1880 constitution, leading to a six-year presidential term. This new constitution took effect on 01/01/1906.<sup>48</sup> During his presidency, Bonilla imprisoned the former president, Policarpo Bonilla, and suppressed the political opposition of the liberals while organizing conservatives into a single political party (Merrill 1995).

03/25/1907 End Military (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Military (Transitional)Autocracy: On this date, Bonilla was ousted by a Liberal rebellion led by General Dionisio Gutierrez and supported by Nicaragua. On the same day, a cabinet (Consejo de Ministros) assumed office composed of Miguel Ouelí Bustillo, Máximo B. Rosales, and J. Ignacio Castro (Somoza 2005). The government junta appointed vice-President Miguel Dávila as provisional president on 04/18/1907.<sup>49</sup> (Stokes 1950: 47-48, Haggerty/Millet 1995: 20, Lentz 1999: 221, Casey et al. 2020: 9). Dávila summoned a constituent assembly to reiterate the constitution of 1894 and called for elections.

03/01/1908 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Electoral Oligarchy: Dávila was elected president in March by an unclear election process.<sup>50</sup> Somoza does not record an election for 1908, but only in 1902 and 1911 (Somoza 2005: 407). Vanhanen does record an election in 1908, in which 0 percentage of the population participated (Vanhanen 2019). On an unknown date in 1908, opponents of Dávila, most likely backed by Guatemala and El Salvador, entered Honduras, which in turn was supported by Nicaragua. There was a real threat of war. Due to the threat of US intervention, however, the case was submitted to the newly established Central American Court. The case still pending, the revolt collapsed and order and peace was restored to Honduras for a short while (Haggerty/Millet 1993).

03/28/1911 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military (Transitional)Autocracy: On this date, a revolt spearheaded by General Manuel Bonilla prompted the United States to pressure Dávila into resigning (Stokes 1950: 48-49, Haggerty/Millet 1995: 22, Euraque 1996: chap. 1, Casey et al. 2020: 9). The US led mediations between Bonilla and Dávila between 02/21/1911 and 03/15/1911. It was agreed that Francisco Bertrand would be appointed as provisional

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<sup>48</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Honduras\\_\(1838%E2%80%931932\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Honduras_(1838%E2%80%931932))

<sup>49</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/honduras-1902-present/> The chronology of events by Casey et al. is somehow different and not completely in line with our observations.

<sup>50</sup> The actual date is also unknown: <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/honduras-1902-present/>; [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elecciones\\_generales\\_de\\_Honduras\\_de\\_1908](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elecciones_generales_de_Honduras_de_1908)



president and that general elections were to be held.<sup>51</sup> Bertrand acted as provisional president between 03/28/1911 and 01/21/1912 (Somoza 2005).

10/29[-31]/1911 End Military (Transitional)Autocracy/Start Electoral Oligarchy: General elections took place on this date. The presidential elections were won by Bonilla, who was the only candidate (Somoza 2005). The elections are categorized as "non-competitive." Bonilla passed away barely a year into his presidency. Following his demise, Vice President Francisco Bertrand assumed the presidency and emerged victorious in the 1916 elections (Stokes 1950: 49-50, Haggerty/Millet 1995: 22, Euraque 1996: chap. 1, Casey et al. 2020: 9).<sup>52</sup> Bertrand was the only candidate in the elections and took office on 01/02/1916 (Somoza 2005). It soon became clear that Bertrand would not allow free and fair elections in 1920. On 09/09/1919, after Bertrand started planning to manipulate the forthcoming elections, General Rafael Lopez Gutierrez initiated arrangements for his ousting (Stokes 1950: 50-51, Haggerty/Millet 1995: 24, Euraque 1996: chap. 3, Casey et al. 2020: 9). On 09/09/1919, Bertrand resigned and left the country, after the United States of America threatened an invasion if he would not accept their offer to mediate the dispute with General López Gutiérrez (Merrill 1995). With the help of the US, Francisco Bográn was installed as the head of an interim government with the promise to hold free elections.<sup>53</sup> On 02/01/1920, Following Bertrand's removal from power, General Rafael Lopez Gutierrez orchestrated the subsequent elections and assumed office in October 1920 (Stokes 1950: 51, Haggerty/Millet 1995: 24, Euraque 1996: chap. 3, Casey et al. 2020: 9). From 1920 to 1921, Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador made an unsuccessful attempt to reintroduce the CAF. The corresponding constitution from 09/21/1921 introduced women's suffrage but was never implemented (Smith 2008). During this time, the United States defended its interests and those of its companies in Honduras to a great extent and interfered in Honduran politics (Somoza 2005: 400).<sup>54</sup> The fruit companies wielded significant influence over the political decision-making process, a sway that was amplified by the absence or fragility of the national oligarchy and the populace's exclusion from political and economic engagement (Somoza 2005: 400). During this turbulent period there were no fair elections (Somoza 2005: 400). The available sources

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<sup>51</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1911\\_Honduran\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1911_Honduran_general_election)

<sup>52</sup> The elections were wrongly dated to 1912 by Casey et al.

<sup>53</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Honduras#Honduras\\_in\\_the\\_twentieth\\_century](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Honduras#Honduras_in_the_twentieth_century)

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Honduras\\_\(1838%E2%80%931932\)#Expanded\\_role\\_of\\_the\\_United\\_States\\_\(1907%E2%80%931919\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Honduras_(1838%E2%80%931932)#Expanded_role_of_the_United_States_(1907%E2%80%931919)); <https://countrystudies.us/honduras/16.htm>

on electoral restrictions are inadequate. It is not entirely clear whether the electoral restrictions for military personnel of the 1894 constitution were lifted with the constitution of 1904. In general, it can be stated for the beginning of the 20th century and the Central and South American states that universal male suffrage was often only guaranteed de jure (Negretto/Visconti 2018: 30-32). According to Vanhanen between 10.0 and 12.9 percentage of the population participated in the elections. Therefore, we classify the regime in this period as an electoral oligarchy.

10/03/1924 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Semidemocracy: Under pressure from the United States, the regime conducted moderately competitive elections from 10/27-10/29/1923. With inconclusive outcomes and the legislature unable to achieve a quorum to declare a victor, Lopez Gutierrez declared in January 1924 his intention to retain office. This decision prompted the defeated candidate, General Tiburcio Carias, to initiate an armed uprising, leading to U.S. intervention. Amid the conflict, Lopez Gutierrez passed away. A cease-fire brokered by the United States installed General Vicente Tosta as interim president (Stokes 1950: 53, Haggerty/Millet 1995: 25-26, Morris 2018: 8, Casey et al. 2020: 9-10). Interim president Tosta adhered to the stipulation of not seeking the presidency, and following the withdrawal of opposition candidates from the race, Miguel Paz Barahona emerged victorious in the presidential election on 12/28/1924 (Stokes 1950: 53-54, Haggerty/Millet 1995: 25-26, Morris 2018: 8, Casey et al. 2020: 10). On 02/01/1929, In an unexpected turn of events, opposition contender Vicente Mejia Colindres secured victory in the 1928 elections, prompting Paz Barahona to consent to stepping down from office (Stokes 1950: 54-55, Haggerty/Millet 1995: 27-28, Casey et al. 2020: 10).

11/26/1933 End Semidemocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: General Carías emerged victorious in a legitimate election held in October 1932. However, he upheld the state of siege initiated by his predecessor and expanded his political dominance across the nation by appointing local political and military figures. Initially, Carías employed patronage and control over state resources to sway opposition politicians. From 1935 onwards, there was a noticeable escalation in arrests and suppression of dissenting voices (Dodd 2005: 62-71, Haggerty/Millet 1993, Leonard 1998: 96, MacCameron 1983: 17, Stokes 1950: 219-26, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 67). In 1935 the Communist Party of Honduras was outlawed.

04/15/1936 End Electoral Autocracy/Start One-Party Autocracy: The constitution prohibited an immediate reelection of President Carías so he called a constituent assembly to propose a

new constitution. The constitution was amended on 04/15/1936.<sup>55</sup> The major constitutional changes included the elimination of the prohibition of immediate reelection as well as a prolonged term in office of six rather than four years. The constitution also established that the incumbent president would remain in office until 1943.<sup>56</sup> Other constitutional changes included restoring the death penalty, reducing legislative powers, and denying women citizenship and voting rights (Merrill 1995). On 12/12/1939, a proposal presented to the congress which would prolong Carías' presidency until 1949 was adopted.<sup>57</sup> By the conclusion of the 1930s, the National Party of Honduras (PNH) stood as the sole organized and operational political party in the country.<sup>58</sup> Leaders of other political parties had been imprisoned or had fled to exile. In the 1940s, antigovernment protests and uprisings emerged. In July 1944, antigovernment protestors were killed by the military. Following pressure from the United States of America, Carías announced free elections for October 1948 when his current term in office expired (Merrill 1995). Opposition parties were allowed to return.<sup>59</sup> Following a boycott of the elections by the PLH due to restricted campaigning and their accusation of election fraud to be committed by the PNH, Carías' choice for president, Gálvez won the elections on 10/10/1948 unopposed.<sup>60</sup>

10/10/1954 End One-Party Autocracy/Start (Electoral) Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, relatively free elections were held and Villeda Morales of the PLH won a plurality of the votes, but an absolute majority was required. During this time, president Gálvez left the country, and, in line with the constitution, Vice President Julio Lozano Díaz assumed office on 11/16/1954 as provisional president. The congress vote was boycotted by the PNH and MNR, the two major conservative parties. Thus, it fell to the supreme court to select a president, but because the court was primarily composed of appointees by Carías, the PLH declined to comply with this course of action (Leonard 2011: 143). The constitution allowed the incumbent president to assume dictatorial powers as chief of state if a new president was not elected by congress within eight weeks. This deadline passed on 12/04/1954, and on 12/05/1954, Julio Lozano Díaz proclaimed himself president, dissolving the congress and claiming dictatorial powers. Subsequently, Lozano appointed a

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<sup>55</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/honduras-1902-present/>

<sup>56</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Honduras#Honduras\\_in\\_the\\_twentieth\\_century](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Honduras#Honduras_in_the_twentieth_century)

<sup>57</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1939\\_Honduran\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1939_Honduran_presidential_election)

<sup>58</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Honduras#Honduras\\_in\\_the\\_twentieth\\_century](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Honduras#Honduras_in_the_twentieth_century)

<sup>59</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Honduras#End\\_of\\_Carías's\\_regime](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Honduras#End_of_Carías's_regime)

<sup>60</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1948\\_Honduran\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1948_Honduran_general_election)

council of state, led by a PLH member but comprising representatives from all three major parties, to temporarily replace the congress until a constituent assembly could be chosen to draft a new constitution (Merrill 1995). Chin/Wright/Carter (2021: 125) categorize this event as an autogolpe due to Lozano's actions falling partially within constitutional bounds, whereas in standard procedures, the president should have been one of the presidential candidates. Universal suffrage was decreed in November 1955 and ratified in the 1957 constitution (Smith 2008). On 10/07/1956, constituent assembly elections were held. Before the elections, President Lozano Díaz formed his party, the National Union Party (PUN). The elections were allegedly rigged, as the PUN winning all 56 congressional seats (Leonard 2011). While for a period between 12/05/1954 and 10/07/1956 there was no legislative assembly, formally the conditions for an electoral autocracy are not fulfilled in this period. However, because the procedure was more or less in line with the constitution, we classify this period still as an electoral autocracy. This phase between 12/05/1954 and 10/07/1956 does not fit any other regime type criteria than Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime.

10/21/1956 End (Electoral) Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, the armed forces, under the leadership of the commanders from the army and air force academies, along with Major Roberto Gálvez, the son of the former president, removed Lozano Díaz from power and established a military junta to govern the nation.<sup>61</sup>

The subsequent military junta consisted of a military triumvirate comprising General Roque Jacinto Rodríguez Herrera (Director of the "Francisco Morazán" Military Academy), Roberto Gálvez Barnes (an engineer who served as Minister during Lozano's government), and Héctor Caraccioli Moncada (chief of the Honduran Armed Forces).<sup>62</sup> After the junta took power, they annulled the fraudulent constituent elections held on 10/07/1956, established a new cabinet and declared martial law against armed partisans of Lozano (Chin/Wright/Carter 2021). The coup represented a pivotal moment in Honduran history. It marked the first instance where the armed forces operated as an institution rather than merely serving as a tool for a political party or a single leader (Merrill 1995: 36). On 07/07/1957, the ruling junta ousted Rodríguez. López Arellano became chairman. The classification of this event depends on the regime leader at the time. In agreement with Chin/Wright/Carter (2021), we consider Rodríguez to be the nominal executive, not the regime leader. Therefore, this constitutes a coup by a faction

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<sup>61</sup> <https://onwar.com/data/honduras1956b.html>

<sup>62</sup> [https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Honduran\\_military\\_junta\\_of\\_1956-1957](https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Honduran_military_junta_of_1956-1957)

of the junta, rather than a regime change. This period was falsely described as a military coup that installed an interim government to oversee a democratic transition in the GWF dataset.

12/21/1957 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: The military allowed relatively free popular elections on 10/07/1957 for a constituent assembly, resulting in a majority victory for the PLH under a system of proportional representation. On 11/14/1957, the military junta and the liberal party decided against the initially planned direct presidential elections, opting for Ramón Villeda Morales to assume the presidency. During this period, Villeda was the only candidate widely supported by the military and civil society. Thus, Villeda was appointed by a democratically elected body, despite the unfulfilled promise of direct elections. His six-year term as president commenced on 12/21/1957 (Leonard 2011, Chin/Wright/Carter 2021).

He exerted significant influence over politics in the ensuing era. Nevertheless, the nation struggled to solidify democratic institutions (MCM codebook, S. 22). For instance, the low Polity score of -1 corroborates our coding of these years as a semidemocracy.<sup>63</sup> MCM coded the country as a multiparty autocracy, PRC as semidemocracy, GWF, LIED, BR, BMR as democracy. The classification by RoW as a closed autocracy seems to be a sheer misclassification since elections took place in this period.

10/03/1963 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Military coup led by Air Force Colonel and commander of the armed forces López Arellano ousted the elected government of Villeda Morales days before the presidential election and established a military junta because they feared Villeda would enact leftist reforms after re-election. On the same day, General Oswaldo López Arellano declared himself president, dissolved the congress, suspended the constitution, and cancelled the planned elections (Haggerty/Millet 1993, Morris 1984: 39, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 67). As a result, the military emerged as the predominant political force in Honduras, yet it relied on civilian allies for support. From 1963 to 1971, General of the Air Force Oswaldo López governed the country in partnership with Ricardo Zúniga Agustín, the leader of the National Party (Ruhl 1996: 36).

03/28/1971 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date free and fair elections under the auspices of a pact for power sharing between the PN and PL took place. Under the agreement, the seats were divided equally between both parties, disregarding the electoral results (Morris 1984: 43, Anderson 1988: 134, Somoza 2005, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 67). Ramón Ernesto Cruz Uclés, a non-military, was elected as president. It is true that the

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<sup>63</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/hon2.htm>

regime period was “sandwiched by military regimes on either side” and not free of military influence (MCM, S. 23). However, precisely the fact that there was a military coup against Ucles shows that he was not just a puppet president of the military.

12/04/1972 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup, led by General López Arellano, ousted elected president Cruz Ucles and López Arellano ruled as a military dictator (Morris 1984: 44, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 67-68). The ensuing government adopted a populist stance and implemented various socio-economic reforms aimed at modernizing the nation through proactive state involvement. One of the most contentious initiatives introduced was an agrarian reform program.<sup>64</sup> On 04/22/1975, López Arellano was deposed for his corruption scandal involving an American fruit company. This internal military coup was led by Melgar Castro, who announced his cabinet on 04/23/1975, but ruled de facto alone as a military dictator. Under this regime, military hard-liners gradually regained control, bringing an end to the era of military reformism (Ruhl 1996: 37). On 08/07/1978, right-wing elements in the military charged that his corruption and repression cost him control over the country, ousted Melgar Castro, and replaced his government with a three-member junta led by General Policarpo Paz García.

04/20/1980 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, the military regime permitted the election of a constituent assembly. On 07/25/1980, the constituent assembly held presidential elections. As no candidate received an absolute majority, Paz García remained in office (Somoza 2005). Since the military still played a major role in politics and held veto power the regime is classified as a semidemocracy.

11/29/1981 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: Competitive elections ended military rule. The election was won by the party not endorsed by the military, and the newly elected president assumed office in January 1982, finalizing the transition to democracy (Pearson 1982: 439, Anderson 1988: 155, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 67-68). A new constitution was approved in 1982 and the PLH government of Roberto Suazo assumed power. In a regularly scheduled election, opposition candidate Rafael Leonardo Callejas of the National Party captured 42 percent of the vote to 27 percent for of the ruling Liberal Party candidate Jose Azcona Hoyo. However, the PLH interpreted election law in such a way that it allowed for multiple candidates from one party. Taken conjointly, the results of all the candidates from the PLH outweighed Callejas score. Therefore, Azcona, the PLH candidate with the most

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<https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100114713;jsessionid=FC581B2B49BA8746EC9BA6E72CBB1966>

votes, assumed presidency.<sup>65</sup> The transfer of power was peaceful and strongly supported by the military. Elections in 1990, 1993 and 1998 went smoothly. Civilian control over the military was established. In the 2001 elections the PNH triumphed over the PLH. On 11/27/2005, Zelaya (PLH) won the presidential elections with a margin of only 4%.<sup>66</sup> 2009 marked the beginning of the Honduran constitutional crisis surrounding Zelaya's plans to execute a referendum concerning the establishment of a constituent assembly tasked with the drafting of a new constitution. This move was deemed unconstitutional by many and led to the 2009 coup.<sup>67</sup>

06/28/2009 End Democracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, following orders from the Honduran Supreme Court, the army ousted President Manuel Zelaya and sent him into exile.<sup>68</sup> Zelaya had attempted to schedule a non-binding poll on holding a referendum on convening a constituent assembly to rewrite the constitution. He refused to comply with court orders to cease, and the Honduran Supreme Court issued a secret warrant for his arrest dated 06/26/2009. Two days later, Honduran soldiers stormed the president's house in the middle of the night and detained him, forestalling the poll. Instead of bringing him to trial, the army put him on a military airplane and flew him to Costa Rica. Later that day, after the reading of a resignation letter of disputed authenticity, the Honduran Congress voted to remove Zelaya from office, and appointed Speaker of Congress Roberto Micheletti, his constitutional successor, to replace him. On 11/05/2009 the Micheletti administration formed a so-called unity government without the participation of Zelaya and his supporters, prompting Zelaya to threaten to pull out of the reconciliation agreement and boycott the upcoming presidential election. On 11/25/2009 the Supreme Court ruled that Zelaya could not legally return to office (Lansford 2021: 701-702).

11/26/2009 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, parliamentary and presidential polling took place amid greatly heightened security, as some 30,000 police and military personnel were ordered to patrol the streets and oversee the electoral process. In the presidential election, the PN's Lobo won 56.6 percent of the vote, easily defeating the PL's Elvin Santos, who had served as vice president under Zelaya. Santos garnered 38.1 percent on turnout of slightly less than 50 percent of the electorate. In concurrent parliamentary elections, the PN won 71 seats of the total 128

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<sup>65</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Honduras#1980s](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Honduras#1980s)

<sup>66</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Honduras#2000s](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Honduras#2000s)

<sup>67</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Honduran\\_fourth\\_ballot\\_box\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Honduran_fourth_ballot_box_referendum)

<sup>68</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2009\\_Honduran\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2009_Honduran_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

contested seats in congress. The PL secured the second-highest number of seats with 45. On 12/02/2009, the outgoing congress voted against reinstating Zelaya as president (Lansford 2021: 701). The election results were rejected by many national and internationally actors.<sup>69</sup> General elections were held in Honduras on 11/24/2013. The elections took place at a time of rapidly declining human rights.<sup>70</sup> Voters went to the polls to elect a new President, the 128 members of the National Congress, 298 Mayors and vice-mayors and their respective councilors and 20 representatives to the Central American Parliament. Honduran elections have historically been marred by fraud, and polls leading up to the elections found that 59% of Hondurans believe the elections would be fraudulent. However, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) has stated that these would be the most clean and fair elections in Honduras's history, and both the traditionally dominant parties – the National and Liberal parties – agree. The newly formed Libre Party and Anti-Corruption Party feared that there would be fraud, a position backed by the Carter Center. Anti-Corruption Party candidate Salvador Nasralla publicly denounced attempts at vote-buying by the National Party across the country.<sup>71</sup> In 2014, the Hernández government abolished five ministries at the cabinet level and established seven overarching ministries as a cost-cutting measure. Critics contend that this restructuring centralized power excessively.<sup>72</sup> On 11/26/2017, following that, President Juan Orlando Hernández was re-elected with the Supreme Electoral Council (TSE) declaring in December—three weeks post the actual election—that he had garnered 42.95 percent of the vote, compared to opposition candidate Salvador Nasralla's 41.42 percent. The Organization of American States (OAS) highlighted several concerns regarding the electoral procedure, describing it as "marked by irregularities and deficiencies, with notably low technical standards and integrity," and called for fresh elections to be conducted.<sup>73</sup> Overall the quality of the elections fluctuated, but never reached the stage of (semi-)democratic elections. In addition, there were also measures that substantially increased the power of the executive.

11/28/2021 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: In November 2021, Xiomara Castro of the Libre Party secured the presidency with 51.1 percent of the vote, marking the end of 12 years of National Party control of the office. Castro, the country's inaugural female president, was elected amidst a historically high voter turnout. The EU election mission to Honduras noted that, despite several lingering challenges, the electoral system reforms

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<sup>69</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2009\\_Honduran\\_general\\_election#Reactions](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2009_Honduran_general_election#Reactions)

<sup>70</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2013\\_Honduran\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2013_Honduran_general_election)

<sup>71</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2013\\_Honduran\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2013_Honduran_general_election)

<sup>72</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/honduras/freedom-world/2021>

<sup>73</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/honduras/freedom-world/2018>



implemented in May 2021 had enhanced transparency and bolstered confidence in the election outcomes.<sup>74</sup>

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Bendel 1995, Benítez 2009, Oettler/Peetz 2010, Peetz 2009)

## **Hong Kong**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 08/29/1842]: The Qin dynasty brought the Hong Kong area under Chinese rule in 214 BCE, following their conquest of the indigenous Baiyue people. After the Qin dynasty collapsed, the region became part of the Nanyue kingdom, a precursor to Vietnam, until it was recaptured by China during the Han conquest. During the Mongol conquest in the 13th century, the Southern Song court briefly resided in modern-day Kowloon City before its ultimate defeat in the 1279 Battle of Yamen by the Yuan Dynasty. By the end of the Yuan dynasty, seven prominent families had settled in the area, with migration continuing during the Ming dynasty. In 1839, the Daoguang Emperor refused to legalize and tax opium, leading to the First Opium War after imperial commissioner Lin Zexu destroyed opium stockpiles and halted foreign trade. The Qing surrendered Hong Kong Island to Britain in the Convention of Chuenpi, but dissatisfaction led to further hostilities until the formal cession of Hong Kong Island to the United Kingdom in the 1842 Treaty of Nanking.<sup>75</sup>

12/25/1941 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]: On this date, the Imperial Japanese occupation of Hong Kong commenced, when Sir Mark Young, the Governor of Hong Kong, capitulated the British Crown colony to the Empire of Japan. This surrender followed 18 days of intense combat against Japanese invading forces. Lasting for three years and eight months, the occupation persisted until Japan's surrender at the conclusion of World War II.<sup>76</sup>

08/14/1945 Continuation Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, (Monarchical) Democracy]: On this date, following Japan's announcement of unconditional surrender, the British assembled a naval task force destined for Hong Kong. Rear-Admiral Cecil Harcourt declared a military administration, appointing himself as its leader, on 09/01. Upon his reinstatement as

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<sup>74</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/honduras/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>75</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hong\\_Kong#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hong_Kong#History)

<sup>76</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese\\_occupation\\_of\\_Hong\\_Kong](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_occupation_of_Hong_Kong)

governor in May 1946, Young initiated political reform, referred to as the "Young Plan," aiming to counter the Chinese government's efforts to reclaim Hong Kong by granting local residents a greater role in the territory through expanded political representation.<sup>77</sup> The terms outlined in the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration established the conditions for the transfer of Hong Kong, with China consenting to uphold the existing governmental and economic frameworks under the "one country, two systems" principle for a span of 50 years.

07/01/1997 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, (Monarchical) Democracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional Regime [as Protectorate of China, Communist Ideocracy]: On this date, the transfer of Hong Kong from the United Kingdom to the People's Republic of China occurred at midnight. This marked the conclusion of 156 years of British governance in the territory. Hong Kong was designated as a special administrative region (SAR) of China for a duration of 50 years, allowing it to maintain distinct economic and governmental structures separate from those of mainland China during this period.<sup>78</sup> The Legislative Council established by Patten, with plans for partial universal suffrage, was replaced by an entirely unelected provisional legislature by the People's Republic of China (PRC).<sup>79</sup> The Provisional Legislative Council (PLC) served as Hong Kong's interim legislature from 1997 to 1998. Initially founded in Guangzhou and later relocated to Shenzhen in 1996 (with offices in Hong Kong), it moved to Hong Kong upon the handover to temporarily replace the Legislative Council.<sup>80</sup>

05/24/1998 End Non-electoral Transitional Regime [as Protectorate of China, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy [as Protectorate of China, Communist Ideocracy]: On this date, the 1998 Hong Kong Legislative Council election took place, which was the first since the establishment of the HKSAR in 1997. It replaced the Beijing-controlled Provisional Legislative Council (PLC), which was boycotted by the pro-democracy camp. The election returned 20 members from directly elected geographical constituencies, 10 from the Election Committee constituency, and 30 from functional constituencies, with 10 uncontested. The pro-Beijing Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong (DAB) capitalized on Beijing's proportional representation system, gaining more seats than the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party secured 13 seats, becoming the largest party, while the Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood also won seats. The Beijing-controlled PLC lost all its

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<sup>77</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British\\_Hong\\_Kong#Restoration\\_of\\_British\\_rule](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Hong_Kong#Restoration_of_British_rule)

<sup>78</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Handover\\_of\\_Hong\\_Kong](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Handover_of_Hong_Kong)

<sup>79</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy\\_in\\_Hong\\_Kong#Post-1997](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy_in_Hong_Kong#Post-1997)

<sup>80</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provisional\\_Legislative\\_Council](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provisional_Legislative_Council)

seats.<sup>81</sup> Hong Kong operates under a hybrid regime that does not fully represent its population. Members of the Legislative Council elected by functional constituencies, comprising professional and special interest groups, are answerable to these limited corporate electorates rather than the broader public. This electoral system has ensured a pro-establishment majority in the legislature since sovereignty was transferred. Similarly, the chief executive is chosen by establishment politicians and corporate members of the Election Committee, rather than through direct election. While universal suffrage for the chief executive and all Legislative Council elections are stipulated goals of Basic Law Articles 45 and 68, the legislature is only partially directly elected, and the executive continues to be nominated by an unrepresentative body. Calls for direct elections for these positions have been repeatedly made to the government.<sup>82</sup> The pan-democratic camp proposed a referendum in 2004 to gauge support for universal suffrage, but the idea faced resistance from the government and Beijing officials, citing concerns about breaching the Basic Law. In 2005 the government proposed a "district council model" for electing the chief executive and legislature, facing criticism from pan-democrats for not fully embracing universal suffrage. Pan-democrats proposed their own blueprint for political reform in 2007, advocating for equal and universal suffrage, but faced challenges in gaining support. Despite efforts for electoral reform, progress has been slow, with mainland officials emphasizing other priorities over democracy in Hong Kong. Various protests and controversies, including the 2014 Umbrella Movement and the 2019 extradition bill protests, highlighted ongoing tensions and concerns about Hong Kong's political future. In 2021 The National People's Congress passed a decision to overhaul Hong Kong's electoral system, seen as further limiting democratic freedoms and increasing Beijing's control over the region. Debate continues about Hong Kong's political future post-2047.<sup>83</sup>

Electoral Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Hungary**

[Until 10/30/1918 Hungary refers to the Hungarian half of the Habsburg Empire]

01/01/1900 Constitutional Monarchy [Start: 12/25/1000]: The Principality of Hungary was formed in 895. The Kingdom of Hungary was founded by Stephen I of Hungary in 1000, who

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<sup>81</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1998\\_Hong\\_Kong\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1998_Hong_Kong_legislative_election)

<sup>82</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hong\\_Kong#Political\\_reforms\\_and\\_sociopolitical\\_issues](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hong_Kong#Political_reforms_and_sociopolitical_issues)

<sup>83</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy\\_in\\_Hong\\_Kong#Post-1997](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy_in_Hong_Kong#Post-1997)

received his crown from the Pope on Christmas day in 1000 (12/25/1000).<sup>84</sup> The Kingdom of Hungary was a diverse, multiethnic state from its establishment, encompassing present-day Hungary, Slovakia, Transylvania, and other regions of Romania, Carpathian Ruthenia (currently part of Ukraine), Vojvodina (present-day Serbia), the territory of Burgenland (now part of Austria), Međimurje (currently part of Croatia), Prekmurje (now part of Slovenia), and a handful of villages that are now situated in Poland.<sup>85</sup>

10/30/1918 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, Count Mihaly Karolyi and his Independence Party, in conjunction with the Radical Party and Social Democrats, formed a National Council that assumed control. Following King Karl's abdication on 11/16, Hungary was proclaimed a republic (Molnár 2001: 250-51, Casey et al. 2020: 10). On 11/03/1918 independence was finally gained.<sup>86</sup>

03/21/1919 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Communist Ideocracy: Following public outcry over Karolyi's decision to cede substantial territory to the Entente powers, Karolyi stepped down and transferred authority to the Social Democrats, who had clandestinely aligned with the Communist Party. On this day, they proclaimed the establishment of the Socialist Federative Republic of Councils in Hungary (commonly known as the Hungarian Soviet Republic) (Molnár 2001: 252-53, Casey et al. 2020: 10).<sup>87</sup> Sándor Garbai and Béla Kun were leading the country until Romania and Czechia invaded Hungary. The two leaders fled (Balogh 1976, Grotz/Hubai 2010).

08/08/1919 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: A Romanian intervention ousted the Hungarian Soviet Republic in August 1919 and departed in November (Molnár 2001: 261, 264-68, Berman 2019: 310-311). On 02/08, Kun escaped Hungary and headed towards the Austrian border, eventually arriving in the Russian SFSR. In Budapest, a socialist government led by Gyula Peidl was established with support from the Allied council, but its time in power was brief.<sup>88</sup> The cabinet, comprising four of Kun's previous government commissioners, swiftly shifted allegiance to the Social Democrats, who retained key ministerial positions, such as Defense and Foreign Affairs. During its inaugural session on 02/08/1919, it formally dissolved the Hungarian Soviet Republic and reinstated the Hungarian People's Republic. Additionally, the people's courts were dissolved, and former political detainees were freed from incarceration. The release of these opponents bolstered the

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<sup>84</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Hungary\\_\(1000%E2%80%931301\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Hungary_(1000%E2%80%931301))

<sup>85</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Hungary](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Hungary)

<sup>86</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First\\_Hungarian\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Hungarian_Republic)

<sup>87</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hungarian\\_Soviet\\_Republic#Coup\\_d'%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hungarian_Soviet_Republic#Coup_d'%C3%A9tat)

<sup>88</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hungarian%E2%80%93Romanian\\_War#Romanian\\_occupation\\_of\\_Budapest](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hungarian%E2%80%93Romanian_War#Romanian_occupation_of_Budapest)

ranks of the counterrevolutionaries. Consequently, the country operated without a head of state or head of government.<sup>89</sup>

11/16/1919 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Military (Semi-Fascist) Autocracy: After the Romanian departure, Admiral Miklos Horthy and his army entered Budapest on 11/16/1919 (Molnár 2001: 261, 264-68, Berman 2019: 310-311, Casey et al. 2020: 10). Men could vote from the age of 24 while women only gained the right to vote from the age of 30. There were also educational and economic criteria set for both genders, but all criteria were higher for women.<sup>90</sup> Horthy was crowned regent on 03/01/1920. The regime swiftly launched an extensive campaign of political repression known as the "white terror," resulting in the execution of thousands of suspected leftists, along with members of political opposition groups and Jewish individuals (Molnár 2001: 261, 264-68, Berman 2019: 310-311, Casey et al. 2020: 10). During Horthy's tenure, Hungary was defined by its conservative, nationalist, and staunchly anti-communist disposition. The administration relied on a fragile coalition of conservatives and right-wing factions.<sup>91</sup> As per Istvan Deak, from 1919 to 1944, Hungary existed as a right-leaning nation molded from a legacy of counter-revolution. Despite its formal designation as a kingdom, Hungary functioned as a kingdom devoid of royalty. Amid extensive civil unrest that hindered the selection of a new monarch, the decision was made to officially appoint Horthy as the Regent of Hungary. The lack of elections for the executive was a key feature of the Horthy regime. It meant that Horthy was not accountable to the people, and that he could rule without any checks or balances. Formally, Horthy was elected by the National Assembly in 1920. However, this election was held under duress, and it is widely considered to be illegitimate. Since the regime came into being by a military coup and was led by a military officer backed by a network of high-ranking military officers who shared a common goal of maintaining the Horthy regime and promoting Hungarian nationalism the regime is classified as a military [semi-fascist] autocracy.

10/15/1944 End Military (Semi-Fascist) Autocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist)Autocracy]: As an ally of Nazi Germany and a combatant on the eastern front against the Soviet Union, Hungary sought an armistice from Moscow after Soviet troops entered the country on 10/15/1944. Subsequently, German forces occupying Hungary

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<sup>89</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gyula\\_Peidl](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gyula_Peidl)

<sup>90</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>91</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Hungary\\_\(1920%E2%80%931946\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Hungary_(1920%E2%80%931946))

removed Horthy from power. Ultimately, Hungarian and German forces were defeated by the Soviet Red Army by 04/04/1945 (Molnár 2001: 281, 290-91, 294, Casey et al. 2020: 10).

04/04/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: After 1945 both men and women gained universal suffrage from the age of 20.<sup>92</sup>

05/14/1947 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Communist Ideocracy: On 02/25/1947 the arrest of the secretary general of the Smallholders' Party and a number of other opposition activists marked an important step in the gradual takeover of the Communists. The Communists forced the arrest and recall of over 50 of MPs of the Smallholders' Party, robbing the party of its democratically won majority.<sup>93</sup> On 05/14/1947 a communist de facto coup against Ferenc Nagy (Smallholders Party) while he travelled to Switzerland finalized the takeover. Despite intimidation and fraud, the communists won only a plurality (22%) of the vote in 1947 but were able to control the succeeding government through a coalition with allies in other parties (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 68). The disorganization and repression of the Smallholders' Party, which had been the largest, was completed in 1947, and the Social Democrats, the other authentic large party, were forced to merge with the communists in June 1948 (Rakosi 1952, Nyssonen 2001: 892, Wittenberg 2006: 56-57, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 68).<sup>94</sup> On 07/15/1956 the Soviets forced the communist party to remove Rakosi to put Hungary back on the Soviet line. Gero was promoted to replace him. In October/November 1956 a popular uprising against the Gero and Soviet-backed regime began with the aim of overthrowing the government. The revolt regime was crushed. On 04/11/1956 Nagy was deposed as premier and later as party secretary. Kadar replaced him. During roundtable negotiations in 1989, the government and moderate opposition figures reached an agreement to conduct elections (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 35). Despite legalizing other parties, relinquishing its constitutional role in governing the country, and implementing several significant reforms throughout 1989, the communist party did not truly lose its grip on power until the elections of 1990 (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 68).

04/08/1990 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Democracy: Free and fair parliamentary elections which were won by an opposition party (Racz 1991: 112).<sup>95</sup> The elections were won by the

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<sup>92</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>93</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferenc\\_Nagy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferenc_Nagy)

<sup>94</sup> <http://tinyurl.com/8kochv1>

<sup>95</sup> <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-hungary/>

center-right Hungarian Democratic Forum (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 35). This period was characterized by multiple competitive elections with changes of government, peaceful transitions of power and an independent judiciary. Furthermore, civil liberties were effectively upheld.<sup>96</sup>

04/11/2010 End Democracy/Start Semidemocracy: In balloting for the assembly on 04/08/2018, the FiDeSz-MPSz- KDNP coalition came first with 133 seats (Lansford 2021: 711). The OSCE recognized that the elections were largely well managed but pointed out an "overlap between state and ruling party resources." They also highlighted issues such as opaque campaign financing, media bias, and the presence of "intimidating and xenophobic rhetoric," which impeded voters' ability to make informed decisions. Although there was no evidence of electoral fraud capable of influencing the election results, some irregularities were reported. The OSCE also noted that the strict adherence to formal regulations by the National Election Commission (Ihonybere) effectively restricted access to legal recourse.<sup>97</sup> As per FH, the state of "national governance" in Hungary exhibits autocratic inclinations, accompanied by a growing disregard for the rights of marginalized communities. While elections are technically free, fairness is compromised, exacerbated by alterations to the electoral laws that disproportionately disadvantage opposition parties (Bogaards 2018).<sup>98</sup> FH characterizes Hungary as a "hybrid regime," situated in the ambiguous territory between democracies and autocracies, often referred to as the "gray zone."<sup>99</sup> However, it has to be stated that one has to take a global comparative perspective. It does, for instance, not make much sense to locate Hungary in the semidemocratic "gray zone" and at the same time classify other ambiguous cases as Guatemala as cases of full democracy.

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Bánkuti/Halmaj/Scheppele 2012, Saxonberg 2001)

## **Iceland**

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Denmark, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 06/06/1523]: All of the Nordic states, including Iceland, were united in one alliance between 1397 and

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<sup>96</sup> [https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-03/FIW\\_2010\\_Complete\\_Book\\_Scan.pdf](https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-03/FIW_2010_Complete_Book_Scan.pdf)

<sup>97</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/hungary/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>98</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/hungary/nations-transit/2022>

<sup>99</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/hungary/nations-transit/2023>

1523 under the Kalmar Union, but on its dissolution on 06/06/1523<sup>100</sup>, Iceland fell under Danish rule. In 1661 Frederick III introduced an absolute monarchy in Denmark and Norway, and in the following year his absolutism was acknowledged in Iceland.<sup>101</sup> In 1874, Iceland was granted a constitution and a form of limited self-governance by Denmark. This development marked a significant step in Iceland's journey towards greater autonomy.<sup>102</sup> A small share of men was given the right to vote in the 1844 Althing elections. A small share of women was granted the right to vote in local elections in 1882. Women's suffrage was proposed in the Althing in 1911, ratified by the Althing in 1913, and enacted on 06/19/1915 by the Danish king but only granted the vote to women over 40, and did not grant the right to vote to servants.

12/01/1918 End Part of Other Country [Denmark, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Democracy: On this date, through the Danish-Icelandic Act of Union Iceland became sovereign and independent from Denmark as the Kingdom of Iceland but retained a personal union with the King of Denmark. However, the monarch only had a ceremonial role. All voting restrictions were lifted in 1920 after Iceland became an independent state.<sup>103</sup> During this time Iceland conducted multiple competitive elections under universal suffrage.<sup>104</sup>

05/10/1940 End Democracy/Start Occupation Regime [by Allied Powers]: Following unsuccessful attempts to convince the Icelandic government to align with the Allies, the British launched an invasion on the morning of 05/10/1940.<sup>105</sup> The Allied powers occupied Denmark, whose monarch remained the Icelandic head of state.

07/07/1941 End Occupation Regime [by Allied Powers]/Start Democracy: Iceland extended an invitation for the US Military to come ashore because US troops were reluctant to invade a neutral country. The transition from British to US troops is regarded as crossing the line from an occupied country to, at the very least, a semi-sovereign country. On this date the defense of Iceland was transferred from Britain to the United States, which was still a neutral country until five months later.<sup>106</sup> On 06/17/1944 The Kingdom of Iceland became a Republic.<sup>107</sup> Iceland has a parliamentary system of government with a unicameral parliament. The political

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<sup>100</sup> <https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2023/06/on-this-day-in-1523-gustav-vasa-elected-king-happy-500-sweden/>

<sup>101</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Iceland/Iceland-under-foreign-rule>

<sup>102</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Icelandic\\_independence\\_movement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Icelandic_independence_movement)

<sup>103</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Iceland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Iceland)

<sup>104</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_elections\\_in\\_Iceland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_elections_in_Iceland)

<sup>105</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allied\\_occupation\\_of\\_Iceland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allied_occupation_of_Iceland);  
<https://www.icelandicroots.com/post/2014/11/11/the-occupation-of-iceland-during-world-war-ii>

<sup>106</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iceland\\_in\\_World\\_War\\_II](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iceland_in_World_War_II)

<sup>107</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Iceland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Iceland)



landscape is characterized by a freely operating multi-party system. Adult Icelandic citizens have the right to vote. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly are guaranteed by the constitution. As well as religious freedom, which is provided and upheld in everyday life. Gender equality is a high priority in the political sphere in Iceland. For example, the proportion of women in the Icelandic parliament is almost 48 percent. The judiciary operates generally independent.<sup>108</sup> On 09/25/2021 parliamentary elections were held.<sup>109</sup> Although the elections were generally considered free and fair, procedural irregularities occurred.<sup>110</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Qualitative Sources: (Jahn/Eythórsson 2009, Kristinsson 1999)

## **India**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 11/01/1858]: The British East India Company, established in 1600 as a trading company attained wide-ranging control over large areas of the Indian subcontinent. The Company was charged with governing and administering India and its rule in India lasted effectively from the 1757 (Battle of Plassey) until 1858 (Lowe 2015). Following the 1857 Indian Rebellion, the British Crown assumed direct colonial rule of India (called British Raj) by annexing the whole subcontinent. The transfer of administrative authority was effectively entrenched in the Act for the Good Government of India of 1858, which was introduced and passed by the British Parliament (Singh/Murari 2022). The act transferred the Government of India from the Company to the Crown by establishing the positions of British Viceroy and Governor General. Both were responsible of administering the government and were regarded as representatives of the British sovereign (Singh/Murari 2022). Pre-independence elections were held in British India in December 1945 until January 1946 to elect members of the Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. The Indian National Congress emerged as the largest party, winning 59 of the 102 elected seats.<sup>111</sup> The Interim Government of India, also known as the Provisional Government of India, formed on 09/02/1946 from the

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<sup>108</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/iceland/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>109</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021\\_Icelandic\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021_Icelandic_parliamentary_election)

<sup>110</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/iceland/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>111</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1945\\_Indian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1945_Indian_general_election)

newly elected Constituent Assembly of India. It had the task of assisting the transition of British India to independence. The Viceroy's Executive Council became the executive branch of the interim government. Originally headed by the Viceroy of India, it was transformed into a council of ministers, with the powers of a prime minister bestowed on the vice-president of the Council, a position held by the Congress leader Jawaharlal Nehru.<sup>112</sup>

08/15/1947 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Semidemocracy: India attained independence as a Dominion within the Commonwealth on this date (Lansford 2021: 727). The British sovereign remained to be the head of state (Crawford 2006, Kumarasingham 2013). The latter was represented in each capital by a governor general appointed on the advice of the local prime minister (Kumarasingham 2013). However, the role of governor general became almost entirely ceremonial. Power was exercised on a day-to-day basis by the Indian cabinet and two native governors-general.<sup>113</sup> Jawahar Lal Nehru, leader of the politically dominant Indian National Congress (INC), served as India's first prime minister (Lansford 2021: 727). On 11/26/1949 India adopted its first constitution and became a democratic republic on 01/26/1950.<sup>114</sup> The functions of the governor general were transferred to and performed by the president of India.<sup>115</sup> Universal suffrage was introduced in 1950 irrespective of race or gender or religion.<sup>116</sup>

10/25/1951 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: The first parliamentary elections after independence were held between 10/25/1951 and 02/21/1952. The Indian National Congress (INC) won a landslide victory, winning 364 of the 489 seats and 45% of the total votes polled and Jawaharlal Nehru became the first democratically elected Prime Minister of the country.<sup>117</sup> Despite universal suffrage and constitutional assurances of "justice, liberty, and equality in opportunity,"<sup>118</sup> the persistence of the caste system renders the Indian democracy a borderline case of semidemocracy. This system is accompanied by numerous abuses of civil and personal freedoms, particularly affecting the lower castes and, most of all, the Dalit community.<sup>119</sup> Thus, despite nominally having access to the political process and despite state efforts to ameliorate the living conditions of the Dalit, they continue to encounter a variety of political disadvantages that impede their access to political power and participation(Saeed

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<sup>112</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interim\\_Government\\_of\\_India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interim_Government_of_India)

<sup>113</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Governor-General\\_of\\_India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Governor-General_of_India)

<sup>114</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1951%E2%80%9352\\_Indian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1951%E2%80%9352_Indian_general_election)

<sup>115</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Governor-General\\_of\\_India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Governor-General_of_India)

<sup>116</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>117</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1951%E2%80%9352\\_Indian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1951%E2%80%9352_Indian_general_election)

<sup>118</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_India)

<sup>119</sup> <https://www.hrw.org/legacy/campaigns/caste/presskit.htm>

2007).<sup>120</sup> However, the caste system predominantly persists in rural areas, gradually diminishing in significance in urban environments.<sup>121</sup>

06/25/1975 End Democracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, a state of emergency was declared which limited democratic rights: political opponents were imprisoned, the press was censored, and the practice of forced sterilization was enforced upon the impoverished as a form of birth control. This period was also known as the Reign of Terror. Within the Congress, Indira Gandhi outmaneuvered her rivals, and the party split in 1969 - into the Congress (O) (comprising the old-guard known as the "Syndicate") and her Congress (R). On 06/12/1975, Justice Jagmohanlal Sinha of the Allahabad High Court found the prime minister guilty on the charge of misuse of government machinery for her election campaign. The court declared her election null and void and unseated her from her seat in the Lok Sabha. The court also banned her from contesting any election for an additional six years. Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer, on 06/24/1975, upheld the High Court judgement and ordered all privileges Gandhi received as an MP be stopped, and that she be debarred from voting (Paul 1996: 51-55).<sup>122</sup> The Emergency was a direct reaction to this verdict and comes extremely close to an autogolpe.

03/23/1977 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Democracy: On this date the Emergency that limited democratic rights in India ended. The NDA won legislative balloting from 04/07 to 05/12/2014, with 336 seats, with the BJP securing an absolute majority of 282 seats. BJP leader Narendra Modi was named prime minister on 05/20 and formed a coalition government with other parties in the NDA (Lansford 2021: 729). The elections were considered generally free and fair, though some violations of campaign rules were reported. However, the government led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has since 2014, increasingly adopted discriminatory policies against the Muslim minority (Ding/Slater 2021).<sup>123</sup> During this era, the caste system remained a significant societal and political concern, contributing to the characterization of this period as a borderline case between democracy and semidemocracy<sup>124</sup>.

05/19/2019 End Democracy/Start Semidemocracy: The most recent Lok Sabha elections were held between April and May 2019. The ruling BJP won 303 seats, giving its National Democratic Alliance coalition a stable majority of 353 seats. The decline of democratic

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<sup>120</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dalit#Prevention\\_of\\_Atrocities\\_Act](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dalit#Prevention_of_Atrocities_Act)

<sup>121</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caste\\_system\\_in\\_India#Apartheid\\_and\\_discrimination](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caste_system_in_India#Apartheid_and_discrimination)

<sup>122</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Emergency\\_\(India\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Emergency_(India))

<sup>123</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/india/freedom-world/2021>

<sup>124</sup> For further information see information about the Indian caste system between 10/25/1951 – 06/25/1975.

quality continued and according to our classification the regime crossed the threshold from democracy to semidemocracy. This includes deficits in the institutional restrictions on the executive regarding the judiciary and the general centralization of power. Furthermore, civil rights are being increasingly restricted.<sup>125</sup> In 2021 FH downgraded India from free to partially free and stated: “Modi and his party are tragically driving India itself toward authoritarianism.”<sup>126</sup>

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Heller 2000, Kohli 1992, Kohli/Bardhan 1988, Lijphart 1996, Rudolph/Rudolph 1967, Varshney 1998)

## **Indonesia**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Netherlands, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 08/19/1816]: On 08/19/1816 the French and British interregnum in the Dutch East Indies ended and the Netherlands regained full control over the area.<sup>127</sup> Starting in 1816 the Dutch East Indies was a Dutch colony consisting of what is now Indonesia (Ricklefs 2001). Since 1918, there was a People’s Council, an advisory body whose membership was partly nominated and partly elected based on a small racially delineated franchise. However, the Governor-General retained the power to defy the decisions by the Council (Feith 1962). In 1937, restricted suffrage for Europeans was introduced.<sup>128</sup>

03/08/1942 End Colonial Regime [of Netherlands, Occupation Regime]/Start Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]: After Germany invaded the Netherlands, they ceded their European territory to Germany on 05/14/1940, and on 09/27/1940, Germany, Hungary, Italy and Japan signed a treaty outlining ‘spheres of influence’ whereas the Dutch East Indies fell into Japan's sphere (Ricklefs 2001).<sup>129</sup>

08/17/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional Regime: On this date, the Japanese occupation ended with Japanese surrender in the Pacific and two days later Sukarno, born Koesno Sosrodihardjo, and Mohammad Hatta declared Indonesian independence on the morning of this day (Ricklefs 2001). The following

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<sup>125</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narendra\\_Modi#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narendra_Modi#)

<sup>126</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2021/democracy-under-siege>

<sup>127</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_and\\_British\\_interregnum\\_in\\_the\\_Dutch\\_East\\_Indies#cite\\_note-7](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_and_British_interregnum_in_the_Dutch_East_Indies#cite_note-7)

<sup>128</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>129</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese\\_occupation\\_of\\_the\\_Dutch\\_East\\_Indies](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_occupation_of_the_Dutch_East_Indies)

day, the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) elected Sukarno as President, and Hatta as Vice-president.<sup>130</sup> Universal suffrage was granted for all citizens.<sup>131</sup> The initial elections were slated for January 1946; however, due to the ongoing Indonesian National Revolution, they could not proceed as scheduled.<sup>132</sup> By late August 1946, a central Republican administration had been formed in Jakarta, which adopted a constitution prepared by the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence during the Japanese occupation.<sup>133</sup> The Dutch accused Sukarno and Hatta of collaborating with the Japanese, and denounced the Republic as a creation of Japanese fascism.<sup>134</sup> The nationalist government was captured by the Dutch but had to be freed due to pressure from the United Nations.<sup>135</sup> De facto Dutch forces re-occupied most of Indonesia's territory and committed a variety of war crimes which led to four years of guerrilla struggle. On 12/20/1948 Dutch invasion forces overthrew the elected government. Sukarno took over as a dictator to combat the invasion.<sup>136</sup> On 12/27/1949, Indonesia attained de facto independence as the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, comprising the Republic of Indonesia (covering parts of Java and Sumatra) and various states and autonomous territories that had been established since 1946.<sup>137</sup> However, the Dutch part of New Guinea was excluded.<sup>138</sup> On 12/20/1949 the cabinet was sworn in, and seven days later, it officially received sovereignty transferred by both the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia (Feith 1962). On 08/17/1950, the Republic of the United States of Indonesia was dissolved, and the unitary state inaugurated as the Republic of Indonesia (Feith 1962). The cabinet and president were not elected by Indonesian people and no legislative elections took place before 1955. Therefore, this period is coded as transitional. At independence, Sukarno was unelected president. The unelected first parliament included representatives of the Dutch-created states, members of the revolutionary committee, and members appointed by Sukarno based on estimates of the various parties' strength. The first parliamentary election was not held until September 1955 (Liddle 1978: 173-74, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 68-69).

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<sup>130</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesian\\_National\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesian_National_Revolution)

<sup>131</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>132</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1955\\_Indonesian\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1955_Indonesian_legislative_election)

<sup>133</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesian\\_National\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesian_National_Revolution)

<sup>134</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesian\\_National\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesian_National_Revolution)

<sup>135</sup> <https://ehne.fr/en/encyclopedia/themes/europe-europeans-and-world/europeans-and-decolonisations/decolonization-dutch-east-indiesindonesia>

<sup>136</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dutch\\_East\\_Indies#World\\_War\\_II\\_and\\_independence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dutch_East_Indies#World_War_II_and_independence)

<sup>137</sup> <https://www.rulers.org/ruli.html#indonesia>

<sup>138</sup> <https://ehne.fr/en/encyclopedia/themes/europe-europeans-and-world/europeans-and-decolonisations/decolonization-dutch-east-indiesindonesia>

09/29/1955 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: On this date legislative elections took place. This was the first national election since the conclusion of the Indonesian National Revolution. The outcome was inconclusive as none of the parties received a clear mandate to govern.<sup>139</sup> The parliament (People's Representative Council) convened on 03/04/1956. During his opening speech, President Sukarno advocated for an Indonesian-style democracy, and in the subsequent years, he further elaborated on his vision of a novel governmental system known as "konsepsi".<sup>140</sup> Sukarno's preference for a "guided democracy" was inspired by his observations in the Chinese People's Republic. This model diverged from the Western liberal democratic model, leaning more towards a system where democratic and autocratic elements were mixed. The period in question is marked by divergent assessments concerning its classification. It is acknowledged that between 1950 and either 1957 or 1959, this phase exhibited characteristics of a democracy (Liddle 1992).<sup>141</sup> BR classifies it as civilian dictatorship starting in 1950, GWF as a personal autocracy between 1950 and 1966, AF as a democracy between 1955 and 1956 and as a personalist rule before and after, LIED codes a multiparty autocracy between 1955 and 1959 and a non-electoral autocracy before and thereafter. We argue that this specific regime period starts in 1955 because there were no elections prior to that. President Sukarno survived an attempted assassination on 11/30/1956. Afterwards he declared a state-of-siege in North Sumatra on 12/25/1956 and South Sumatra on 12/28/1956. A military council headed by Lieutenant Colonel Sumual took control of East Indonesia 03/02/1957.<sup>142</sup>

03/14/1957 End Semidemocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, President Sukarno declared a national state-of-emergency. In May 1957 he established by martial law a National Council, which he chaired. It was a non-political body on the basis of functional groups. It was supposed to give advice to the cabinet, as a counterweight to the political sphere.<sup>143</sup> The fragmentation in the parliament, combined with Sukarno's growing influence and his vision for a "guided democracy", set the stage for a political regime where democratic elections coexisted with strong executive control and diminishing parliamentary power.<sup>144</sup> We classify

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<sup>139</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1955\\_Indonesian\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1955_Indonesian_legislative_election)

<sup>140</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1955\\_Indonesian\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1955_Indonesian_legislative_election)

<sup>141</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal\\_democracy\\_period\\_in\\_Indonesia#Government\\_and\\_politics](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_democracy_period_in_Indonesia#Government_and_politics);  
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sukarno#ref6967>

<sup>142</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/asiapacific-region/indonesia-1949-present/>

<sup>143</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guided\\_Democracy\\_in\\_Indonesia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guided_Democracy_in_Indonesia)

<sup>144</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/House\\_of\\_Representatives\\_\(Indonesia,\\_1956%E2%80%931959\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/House_of_Representatives_(Indonesia,_1956%E2%80%931959))

the period as semidemocracy because these elections were free and fair. At the same time, the steadily declining democratic principles must be taken into account.

07/05/1959 End Semidemocracy/Start Personalist Autocracy: On this date Sukarno launched a self-coup which granted him dictatorial powers. He established a political regime called Guided Democracy. Following the declaration of martial law and the implementation of this system, Indonesia reverted to presidentialism, resulting in Sukarno reassuming the position of president.<sup>145</sup> What makes the regime in this period hard to classify is that it was a party regime but without elections. Since the regime started with a self-coup, no elections and parties played a neglectable role the regime period it is classified as a personalist autocracy (by Sukarno).<sup>146</sup> Political power was concentrated in the hands of Sukarto. The parliament provided no check on his power because he appointed all members of the parliament. Although representatives from various political parties, including the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), were included in the parliament, they lacked real power or influence. Their appointment was mainly symbolic and intended to give the appearance of broad political support. Our categorization as a personalist autocracy is especially underpinned by the fact that Sukarno was made president for life by the parliament in 1963. Sukarno's ideological writings on Manipol-USDEK and NASAKOM were made compulsory subjects in Indonesian schools and universities.<sup>147</sup> However, there were also semi-ideocratic elements of Sukarnos rule. The Encyclopaedia Britannica characterized the ideology of Guided Democracy as a “neo-Marxist, crypto-communist ideology”.<sup>148</sup> Similarly J. M. Van Der Kroef argued that “Sukarno's own ideological exhortations steadily seemed to merge with Marxist-Leninist doctrine” (Van Der Kroef 1972: 277). However, Sukarno's “guided democracy” rested on precarious foundations, as it faced an inherent conflict between its two main support pillars, namely, the military and the communists.<sup>149</sup> On 10/01/1965 in a coup attempt, in which the communist party was involved, six Indonesian army generals were killed (Van Der Kroef 1972). On 11/01/1965, Major General Suharto, commander of the military's strategic reserve command, took control of the army. The army subsequently led a nationwide violent anti-communist purge.<sup>150</sup> In this period there was a power struggle between Sukarno and the military. Sukarno refused to outlaw the PKI despite military pressure, and he was able to

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<sup>145</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guided\\_Democracy\\_in\\_Indonesia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guided_Democracy_in_Indonesia)

<sup>146</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sukarno>

<sup>147</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sukarno#President\\_for\\_life\\_and\\_Cult\\_of\\_personality](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sukarno#President_for_life_and_Cult_of_personality)

<sup>148</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sukarno>

<sup>149</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sukarno#President\\_for\\_life\\_and\\_Cult\\_of\\_personality](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sukarno#President_for_life_and_Cult_of_personality)

<sup>150</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suharto>

appoint ministers and top military officers opposed by the army high command before (Crouch 1988: 158-78). Commencing in January 1966, university students-initiated protests Sukarno, calling for the dissolution of the PKI and urging the government to address escalating inflation.<sup>151</sup>

03/12/1966 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: General Suharto forced Sukarno to step down from his executive post. Sukarno retained a ceremonial position, but Suharto led the country from then on as a dictator. The March 1966 coup resulted in the transfer of day-to-day executive power to Suharto, the arrest of more than fifteen ministers, the purge of left-leaning bureaucrats, officers, and PNI party leaders, and the symbolically important outlawing of the PKI. Thus, we code it as the point at which Sukarno lost control, though he retained the formal title president until March 1967 (Crouch 1988: 188-202, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 69). On 01/10/1967 Sukarno was stripped of his president-for-life title by parliament and arrested at home. On the same day, the parliament named Suharto acting president. A policy of “De-Sukarnoization” followed.<sup>152</sup>

05/21/1998 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: A financial crisis and mass protests brought Suharto military regime to the brink. When he moved to repress the movement his security agencies refused his orders. Suharto resigned and fled, leaving his vice president Habibie in charge. Habibie initiated liberalization but did not initially signal his intention to step down. A consultative assembly dominated by authoritarian incumbents made further liberalizing moves and electoral laws were finalized in early 1999.<sup>153</sup>

06/07/1999 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: On this date a parliamentary election took place. In October 1999, President Habibie's "accountability speech" was rebuffed by the legislature, marking the conclusion of his political tenure. Subsequently, Abdurrahman Wahid was elected president by the legislature in November, thereby finalizing the transition (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 36). A parliamentary election characterized by fairness and competitiveness resulted in a victory for the opposition. Subsequently, in October 1999, the predominantly elected legislature elected a new president from the opposition (Thompson 1999: 1). Suharto's resignation following mass protests is not considered the regime's end, as he passed power to his longstanding ally, Habibie, with no significant alterations in either the cabinet or military

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<sup>151</sup> <http://soekarnotheclaimer99.blogspot.com/2011/02/>

<sup>152</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/De-Sukarnoization>

<sup>153</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fall\\_of\\_Suharto](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fall_of_Suharto)



command under Habibie's leadership (Kingsbury 2003: 162, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 69). On 07/23/2001 Ethnic cleavages and threats to dissolve the legislature fueled the opposition and armed forces to act and depose Wahid. Sukanoputri was voted as acting president. Until 2004 38 seats in the People's Consultative Assembly were reserved for the appointment of military. Challenges such as systemic corruption, discrimination, and violence against minority communities, conflicts in the Papua region, and the politicized application of defamation and blasphemy laws persisted.<sup>154</sup> Although voters and candidates typically operate without undue interference, the military continues to exert influence, with former commanders assuming prominent and expanding roles in politics. Nonetheless, the period is characterized by revisions in the constitution and legislative bodies that laid the foundations for later democratic elections. This included the progressive reduction and eventual elimination in 2004 of guaranteed seats for military representation in parliament (Dagg 2007). The regime is a borderline case between a semidemocracy and a democracy.

06/05/2004 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: On this date, the first direct general elections were held in Indonesia, after a constitutional amendment in 2002 stripped the People's Consultative Assembly of the power to elect the president and vice-president, continuing Indonesia's path of democratization. Political bodies such as the parliament were fundamentally reformed, its size reduced, and its members largely voted directly. Elections were considered free and fair (Vaughn 2005), and the institution in charge of managing the election was found to be impartial and effective (Dagg 2007). The Democratic Party, led by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who served in Megawati's Cabinet as Security Minister before becoming a presidential candidate, won in the second election round. In 2009, Yudhoyono secured a second term until the 2014 elections, where he yielded the presidency to the new election winner Joko Widodo. However, during Yudhoyono's presidency corruption and charges of nepotism continued, showcased by a list of fourteen relatives as presidential candidates in 2014. The 2014 elections were characterized by the race between front-runners Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto, the former son-in-law of the previous autocrat Suharto who threatened democratic backsliding by proposing returning to the 1945 constitution and framing direct election as unsuitable (Mietzner 2014: 114-115). Joko Widodo went on to be elected for two presidential terms in free, fair and competitive elections with high turn-out rates. The general elections on 02/14/2024 have tarnished Widodo's reputation. Prabowo Subianto, an ex-general and son-in-law to Suharto, who is accused of severe human rights

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<sup>154</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/indonesia/freedom-world/2022>

abuses before 1999, has won the election, which his opponents claim was marred by irregularities and nepotism. ANFREL's interim report notes the unfair use of state resources during the campaign. Widodo's backing of Subianto is underscored by the fact that his running mate and now vice president is Widodo's son, Joko Widodo. Indonesia's highest court has rejected an appeal for re-elections by Subianto's opponents.<sup>155</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Alatas 1997, Chua 2004, Crouch 1979, Frederick/Worden 2011, Pepinsky 2009, Rüländ 2001, Slater 2009, Slater 2010, Ufen 2002)

## **Iran**

[Officially known as the Islamic Republic of Iran; also known as Persia]

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [Start: 03/20/1794]: Sovereignty was reached on 678 BC. The Qajar dynasty started with the reign of Agha Mohammad Khan Qajar and the death of Lotf Ali Khan, the last of the Zand Dynasty, on 03/20/1794.<sup>156</sup> Mozaffar al-Din Shah Qajar ruled as the fifth Qajar shah of Iran from 05/01/1896 until 01/03/1907.<sup>157</sup> The period from 1906 to 1911 was characterized by an era of constitutional revolution. The Constitutional Revolution of 1906 was sparked by a variety of factors, reflecting a range of intellectual movements, social backgrounds, and political demands (Mansourian 2007: 221).

12/30/1906 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Constitutional Monarchy: On 08/05/1906, Mozaffar al-Din Shah issued a royal proclamation establishing the first constitution. The 1906 fundamental and electoral laws set up the electoral system and outlined the internal structures of the Majlis, the Parliament, and the Senate. Further amendments to the constitution that year included the introduction of male suffrage and the bicameral legislature. On 12/30/1906, due to significant public pressure, the Shah enacted the fundamental laws (Lockhart 1959: 377). As anticipated, the Shah's powers were restricted by several articles. While he remained the head of state, he was required to govern through his ministers, who were accountable to parliament rather than to him (Lockhart 1959: 378). The constitution also stipulated the

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<sup>155</sup> <https://apnews.com/article/indonesia-election-fraud-appeal-baswedan-subianto-pranowo-cedb89b905ea598e3a025ccc2ca07d08>

<sup>156</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_monarchs\\_of\\_Persia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_monarchs_of_Persia)

<sup>157</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mozaffar\\_ad-Din\\_Shah\\_Qajar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mozaffar_ad-Din_Shah_Qajar)

separation of powers.<sup>158</sup> On 01/03/1907 Mohammad Ali Shah Qajar took over as Shah after the death of his father Mozzafar al-Din Shah.

06/23/1908 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Absolute Monarchy: Mohammad Ali was by no means a defender of the constitutional movement from the time he took over from his father. On 06/23/1908 he did not hesitate to dissolve the Majlis by force. This drastic measure was carried out by his Cossack Brigade, commanded by an officer on loan from the Russian Army. Furthermore, the Majlis building was bombarded by artillery under the direction of other Russian officers serving the Shah. This marked the beginning of the period known as Istibdad-i-saghir or the Minor Tyranny, when the Shah ruled unrestrained by parliamentary control (Lockhart 1959: 383).

07/16/1909 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Constitutional Monarchy: Nearly the entire nation rallied behind the Constitutionals due to Mohammad Ali's excesses, which eventually led to their success and forced him to abdicate in favor of his son Ahmad Shah Qajar on 07/16/1909 (Lockhart 1959: 383). The second Majlis was elected on 11/15/1909.

02/21/1921 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, Ahmad Shah was pushed aside in a military coup by Colonel Reza Khan, Minister of War and commander of the Persian Cossack Brigade, who subsequently seized the post of prime minister".<sup>159</sup> A civilian ally was appointed prime minister and in turn appointed Reza Khan commander of the armed forces.

12/15/1925 End Military Autocracy/Start Absolute Monarchy: After the Majlis deposed the Qajar dynasty in October 1925 the Majlis crowned on this date, Reza Khan as Reza Shah. The crowning marks the beginning of the Pahlavi dynasty (Metz 1989, Roshandel 1987, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 69). Under Reza Shah, independent parliamentary work became impossible. Elections were undemocratic, and the parliament was structured to fit the Shah's agenda (Abrahamian 1982: 138). On 08/19/1953 the CIA and UK intelligence agencies manufactured a popular uprising and coordinated a military coup against Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddegh.<sup>160</sup> The effective executive leadership was returned to Shah Pavlevi. In the "Constitutional", White Revolution women gained the right to vote in 1963.<sup>161</sup>

01/16/1979 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Non-electoral Transitional Regime: Popular uprising forced the Shah to flee the country to Egypt once his security forces proved impotent

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<sup>158</sup> <https://fis-iran.org/document/iran-1906-constitution/>

<sup>159</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad\\_Shah\\_Qajar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_Shah_Qajar)

<sup>160</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad\\_Mosaddegh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad_Mosaddegh)

<sup>161</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)

against the demonstrations, strikes, and riots against his rule. Shapour Bakhtiar, still appointed as prime minister by the Shah, became the effective head of government as an interim ruler (Curtis/Hooglund 2008, Metz 1989, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 69).<sup>162</sup>

05/02/1979 End Non-electoral Transitional Regime/Start Islamist Ideocracy: Upon his return to Iran, Khomeini rejected Bakhtiar's government. On 02/05/1979, at his headquarters in the Refah School in Tehran, Khomeini declared a provisional revolutionary government and appointed Mehdi Bazargan as his own prime minister, instructing Iranians to obey Bazargan as a religious duty.<sup>163</sup> By 02/11, the Supreme Military Council declared neutrality in the political disputes, effectively yielding control of the country to Khomeini. Estimates of the number of casualties during the revolution vary. Some sources claim around 2.781 protesters and revolutionaries were killed. Khomeini's regime reported a much higher figure of 60.000, but this is believed to be an overstatement for propaganda purposes.<sup>164</sup> On 06/22/1981 Ayatollah Khomeini used troops and supporters to drive out his independently powerful president Bani Sadr from power. Ayatollah thus gained the powers reserved to the president for himself. Later he had his parliament legalize the self-coup.<sup>165</sup> Khomeini was succeeded on 06/03/1989 by Ayatollah Ali Khamenei as the Supreme Leader. Khamenei, previously serving as President, was not as widely recognized as a religious authority as Khomeini. His elevation involved a change in the constitution to allow a less senior cleric to assume the position. The regime was and is marked by the suppression of opposition, including the execution and imprisonment of political dissidents. Hashemi Rafsanjani became President shortly after Khomeini's death, serving from 1989 to 1997. He was followed by Mohammad Khatami (1997-2005), Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (2005-2013), Hassan Rouhani (2013-2021), Ebrahim Raisi (2021-2024) and Mohammad Mokhber (2024-present). Each president brought different policies and approaches, reflecting the evolving political landscape in Iran.

Islamist ideocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Arjomand 1988, Arjomand 2009, Brownlee 2007, Chehabi 2005, Milani 2009, Wahdat-Hagh 2003)

## Iraq

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<sup>162</sup> [http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/january/16/newsid\\_2530000/2530475.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/january/16/newsid_2530000/2530475.stm);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian_Revolution)

<sup>163</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian_Revolution)

<sup>164</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian_Revolution)

<sup>165</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Iran2018.pdf>

[Mesopotamia historically occupied modern Iraq]

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Ottoman Empire, Ruling Monarchy] [Start: 12/25/1638]: The area which now forms the state of Iraq was divided into the three provinces of Basra, Baghdad and Mosul (Sluglett 2007). Starting in 1533, most of the territory of present-day Iraq came under the control of Ottoman Empire as the pashalik of Baghdad. Baghdad was officially captured in December 1534.<sup>166</sup> On 12/25/1638, Baghdad fell back under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, after being under Iranian rule between 1623 and 1638.<sup>167</sup> Ottoman rule over Iraq lasted until the end of World War I in 1918.<sup>168</sup>

11/06/1914 End Part of Other Country [Ottoman Empire, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]: After the Ottoman Empire entered World War I, Britain occupied the territory of later Iraq (Yaphe 2003, Wilks 2016, Sluglett 2007).

11/21/1920 Stop Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Semidemocracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: In October 1920, Sir Percy Cox, High Commissioner and Commander in Chief in Iraq, ended military rule and set up a new constitution with local elites (Yaphe 2003, Wilks 2016). He set up a provisional government lead by an Arab President and council (Yaphe 2003). A referendum was held in Mandatory Iraq between 06/16 and 08/11/1921 to determine the form of government and head of state.<sup>169</sup> The result of the popular vote was 96 percent for Emir Faysal from the Hashemite family of the sharifs of Mecca (Yaphe 2003, Nissen/Heine 2009).

10/10/1922 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Semidemocracy]: The Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of October 1922 was an agreement unilaterally signed by Percy Cox in 1922 and ratified by the Iraqi government only in 1924. The treaty allowed Iraqi self-government while the British retained control of Iraq's foreign policy (Wilks 2016).<sup>170</sup> Male suffrage was introduced in 1924 (LIED).

10/03/1932 Continuation Absolute Monarchy [as independent country]: Iraq gained formal independence in 1932 and became a full member of the League of Nations (Nissen/Heine 2009). The crown was given to King Faisal with no previous ties to Iraq by the British as a

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<sup>166</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capture\\_of\\_Baghdad\\_\(1534\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capture_of_Baghdad_(1534))

<sup>167</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baghdad>; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capture\\_of\\_Baghdad\\_\(1638\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capture_of_Baghdad_(1638))

<sup>168</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Iraq](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Iraq)

<sup>169</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1921\\_Iraqi\\_monarchy\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1921_Iraqi_monarchy_referendum)

<sup>170</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-Iraqi\\_Treaty\\_of\\_1922](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-Iraqi_Treaty_of_1922)

reward for his military support against Turkey. He was a Sunni (Haddad 1971: 55-57, Lewis 1990, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 69). On 10/30/1936 Bakr Sidqi and Hikmat Sulayman organized a coup d'état in which prime minister Yasin al-Hashimi was deposed.<sup>171</sup> Until 08/17/1937 Sulayman ruled as prime minister. In the Golden Square Coup on 04/01/1941 Nuri al-Said was deposed and Rashid Ali al-Gaylani became prime minister.<sup>172</sup>

In 1948 female suffrage was introduced.<sup>173</sup>

07/14/1958 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Military Autocracy: A military coup led by General Abd al Karim Qassem led to the murder of the prime minister and the royal family. The Iraqi Republic was proclaimed and the monarchy ended with the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) taking over (Nissen/Heine 2009, Dann 1969: 19-33, Dawisha 2009: 172, Wolfe-Hunnicut 2015, Haddad 1971: 86, 91-92, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 69-70).

02/08/1963 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Ba'athists and Arab nationalists overthrew the Qasim government because of its relationship with Iraqi communists and external forces. A National Council of the Revolutionary Command (NCRC) was set up by the Ba'th party. The most powerful figure in the new government was the secretary general of the Ba'th Party, Ali Salih al-Sa'di<sup>174</sup> (Haddad 1971: 115-129, Be'eri 1982: 80, Sorby 2009, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 70).

11/13[-18]/1963 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Al-Sadi and 18 of his Ba'ath Party colleagues were seized at gunpoint. The next day it was announced that the ruling Ba'athist Party was now led by a 15-member council headed by al-Bakr.<sup>175</sup> This is a borderline case between a continuation of the old regime and a new regime. However, since the post-coup group from which top leaders were chosen is different from before, we code this event as a regime change.

07/17/1968 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A military coup led by ex-Major General al-Bakr seeking to avenge the previous coup and purge by the years ago ousted Arif. Bakr became president. The regime was dominated by Ba'thist military officers and ruled through the Revolutionary Command Council of the Ba'athist party's military section (Haddad 1971: 138-40, 143-44, 157-64, Farouk-Sluglett/Sluglett 1987: 115-17, 120, Brooker 1997: 115, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 70). On 07/31/1968 Bakr purged the military branch the Ba'athist party which brought him to power by removing an-Naif from the Prime Minister

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<sup>171</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yasin\\_al-Hashimi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yasin_al-Hashimi)

<sup>172</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1941\\_Iraqi\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1941_Iraqi_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>173</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>174</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ramadan\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ramadan_Revolution)

<sup>175</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/November\\_1963\\_Iraqi\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/November_1963_Iraqi_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

position. While it is possible to argue that the regime established from 07/17/1968 on was a one-party autocracy it is coded as military autocracy because it came to power through a military coup and was led by a non-electoral military junta.

07/16/1979 End Military Autocracy/Start Personalist [One-Party] Autocracy: It is disputed if the formal transfer of power from Field Marshal al-Bakr to Saddam Hussein on 07/16/1979 marked a shift from a military to a personalist regime (this is the coding of GWF). Before and after the Ba'th party remained the ruling party.<sup>176</sup> However, since the formal rules were altered fundamentally from a non-electoral military regime reigned by a junta to a one-party regime it makes sense to identify a regime change on 07/16/1979 (Bengio 1998). The 1979 Ba'ath Party Purge, also known as the Comrades Massacre, was a significant event that marked Saddam Hussein's consolidation of power into a personalist autocracy in Iraq. Orchestrated by Saddam Hussein, on 07/22/1979, six days after becoming president, this purge occurred and involved the execution of many Ba'ath Party members who were labeled as traitors in a dramatic and public display of power. The leading party members who were spared “were given weapons and directed to execute their comrades”.<sup>177</sup> The executed leading members of the party were accused of taking part in a pro-Syrian plot to overthrow Hussein. Iraq subsequently cut off relations with its fellow Ba'athist regime in Syria, accusing Hafiz al-Assad of organizing the plot.<sup>178</sup> This event was a crucial moment in solidifying Saddam's personal control over Iraq. It served to eliminate potential rivals and instill fear among party members and the population, ensuring that loyalty to Saddam was paramount and unchallenged. From this point on, Saddam's word was effectively law, and his personal authority was the primary force in Iraqi governance, characterizing his rule as a personalist autocracy. The ruling ideology since is described as Saddamist Ba'athism, a distinct form of Ba'athism.<sup>179</sup> Starting from 1980, the party came under the control of the military and security services (Farouk-Sluglett/Sluglett 1987: 208-13, Brooker 1997: 115-118, Kamrava 1998: 73, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 70-71). Because the party was purged and brought under the personalist control of Saddam Hussein in the first week of his rule the whole period is classified as a personalist autocracy.

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<sup>176</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Baath-Party>

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Ba%27ath\\_Party\\_Purge#:~:text=The%201979%20Ba%27ath%20Party%20Purge,Republic%20on%2016%20July%201979](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Ba%27ath_Party_Purge#:~:text=The%201979%20Ba%27ath%20Party%20Purge,Republic%20on%2016%20July%201979)

<sup>178</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Ba%27ath\\_Party\\_Purge#:~:text=The%201979%20Ba%27ath%20Party%20Purge,Republic%20on%2016%20July%201979](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Ba%27ath_Party_Purge#:~:text=The%201979%20Ba%27ath%20Party%20Purge,Republic%20on%2016%20July%201979)

<sup>179</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ba%27athist\\_Iraq#State\\_ideology](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ba%27athist_Iraq#State_ideology)

04/07/2003 End Personalist [One-Party] Autocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by USA, Democracy]: A US invasion force ousted Saddam Hussein because of fears of WMD proliferation. On 04/07/2003 the U.S. forces took control of presidential palace (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 71).<sup>180</sup> A new Iraqi Governing Council (IGC) was established on 07/13/2003. The 25 members were carefully divided across religious and ethnic lines (13 Shiites, 5 Sunnis, 5 Kurds, 1 Assyrian Christian, and 1 Turkman). A system of rotating presidency was established for the IGC, overseeing preparations for transitional government elections (Lansford 2021: 779). A draft interim constitution was presented on 03/01/2004, which was approved by the United States (confirming the regime was still an occupational regime) and the IGC on 03/08/2004. On 06/28/2004 the IGC was dissolved in favor of the new Iraqi Interim Government (IIG) (Lansford 2021: 780).

03/07/2010 End Occupation Regime [by USA, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date parliamentary elections were held. The elections are not considered free and fair because, among other things, nearly 500 candidates were prevented from running (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 71).<sup>181</sup> The inability to establish a new government also delayed the election of a new president (Lansford 2021: 780). The following elections<sup>182</sup> in 2014, 2018 and 2021 were also plagued by fraud allegations and other irregularities, and Gorran and other smaller parties rejected the results.<sup>183</sup>

Electoral Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Abdullah 2006, Arjomand 2008, Enterline/Greig 2008, Shields/Koestler-Grack 2005)

## **Ireland**

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 06/18/1542]: 06/18/1542 marks the date of the annexation of Ireland by England, as it proclaimed Henry VIII as the King of Ireland. Prior to this, English influence in Ireland was through the Lordship of Ireland, but this Act brought Ireland more directly under the authority of the English crown. The Kingdom of Ireland was founded by the 'Crown of Ireland Act 1542' on

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<sup>180</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/apr/07/iraq.politics>

<sup>181</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010\\_Iraqi\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010_Iraqi_parliamentary_election)

<sup>182</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010\\_Iraqi\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010_Iraqi_parliamentary_election)

<sup>183</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/iraq/freedom-world/2022>



06/18/1542.<sup>184</sup> The Roman Catholic Relief Act 1791 removed the voting ban from Catholic men in the Kingdom of Ireland. On 04/16/1916, Irish Republicans launched the Easter Rising against British rule and proclaimed the Irish Republic. However, they were defeated by British forces a week later. Nonetheless, the Easter Rising had a significant political impact and contributed to the landslide victory of the Irish Republican party, Sinn Féin, in the Irish general elections on 12/04/1918 (as part of the 1918 United Kingdom general elections).<sup>185</sup> All adult men in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland were enfranchised by the Representation of the People Act 1918. Women were enfranchised women over the age of 30, subject to a property qualification. Men who had seen active service could vote from the age of 19.<sup>186</sup> On 01/21/1919, Sinn Féin formed a breakaway government, the Dáil Éirann, and declared Ireland's independence. Subsequently, the conflict between the Irish Republican Army, the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC), and the British Army patrols escalated amidst the Irish War of Independence. On 12/10/1920, the British authorities declared martial law in the southern region of Ireland.<sup>187</sup>

05/03/1921 End Part of other Country [United Kingdom, Semidemocracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, the British government divided Ireland into two self-governing entities: Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland. This division de facto ended the British rule in Southern Ireland and established a provisional government.

12/06/1921 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: The Anglo-Irish Treaty established the Irish Free State and offered Northern Ireland to remain in the United Kingdom, which it accepted on 12/08/1922. Subsequently, on 10/25/1922, the Constitution of the Irish Free State was ratified, establishing a parliamentary system of government with a form of constitutional monarchy.<sup>188</sup> However, the adoption of the Anglo-Irish Treaty ignited a ten-month civil war between the Provisional Government (pro-Treaty forces) and the Irish Republican Army (anti-Treaty forces). The conflict concluded on 05/04/1923 when Frank Aiken, IRA Chief of Staff, issued a ceasefire order to IRA volunteers.<sup>189</sup> The Electoral Act in the Irish Free State changed previous British law to enfranchise women equally with men in 1923.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crown\\_of\\_Ireland\\_Act\\_1542](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crown_of_Ireland_Act_1542)

<sup>185</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish\\_War\\_of\\_Independence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish_War_of_Independence)

<sup>186</sup> <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/how-irish-women-won-the-right-to-vote-in-1918-1.3697389>

<sup>187</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish\\_War\\_of\\_Independence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish_War_of_Independence)

<sup>188</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_the\\_Irish\\_Free\\_State](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_the_Irish_Free_State)

<sup>189</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish\\_Civil\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish_Civil_War)

<sup>190</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)

08/27/1923 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: On this date, for the first-time universal suffrage was practiced in a parliamentary election in Ireland. On 02/16/1932, the losing faction of the 1922 Irish civil war, Fianna Fáil, took power by peacefully winning the election. It was the first election in the Irish Free State since the 1931 Statute of Westminster had removed the authority of the United Kingdom parliament to legislate for the Dominions.<sup>191</sup> On 07/01/1937, a new constitution reestablished the state as Ireland (or Éire). During the Second World War, Ireland remained neutral.<sup>192</sup> On 04/18/1949 Ireland left the Commonwealth and became a republic under the Fine Gael Taoiseach (prime minister) John A. Costello. Several of the main political parties in Ireland – Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael, and Sinn Féin – represent successors of the conflict parties of the 1922 to 1923 civil war.<sup>193</sup> Ireland is a parliamentary democracy with a bicameral system consisting of an indirectly elected Senate and a directly elected House of Representatives. All citizens over the age of 18 years are able to vote in elections. Additionally, British citizens residents in Ireland have the right to vote in parliamentary elections.<sup>194</sup> Credible polls are held by the Irish government as well as frequent referendums. Ireland has a free and competitive political landscape. The freedom of religion and freedom of assemble are granted. Judiciary is generally independent in Ireland. Discrimination based in sexual orientation and discrimination in the workplace based on gender is prohibited, but still problems persist. On 01/08/2020 a general election was held, which was deemed free and fair.<sup>195</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Coakley 1986, Elvert 2009, Gallagher/Weeks 2010, Zink 2000)

## Israel

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Ottoman Empire, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 12/29/1516]: The State of Israel did not yet exist during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The territory of today's State of Israel was situated in Palestine. Under Ottoman rule since 12/29/1516, when Yavuz Sultan

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<sup>191</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1932\\_Irish\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1932_Irish_general_election)

<sup>192</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Ireland#Free\\_State\\_and\\_Republic\\_\(1922–present\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Ireland#Free_State_and_Republic_(1922–present))

<sup>193</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/ireland/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>194</sup> <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/a/b/445528.pdf>

<sup>195</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/ireland/freedom-world/2021;>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020\\_Irish\\_general\\_election#:~:text=Sinn%20Féin%20made%20significant%20gains,and%20in%20first%20preference%20votes.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020_Irish_general_election#:~:text=Sinn%20Féin%20made%20significant%20gains,and%20in%20first%20preference%20votes.)

Selim entered Jerusalem,<sup>196</sup> the territory was situated in the Damascus Eyalet of Ottoman Syria.<sup>197</sup> From 1882 to 1903 there was a large wave of Jewish immigration to Palestine which brought with it the birth of Zionism. During this time, which was known as the first Aliyah, approximately 35.000 jews moved to Palestine, most of them originating from the Russian Empire.<sup>198</sup> By 1896 jews constituted the absolute majority in Jerusalem, however, 88% of the overall population of Palestine was Muslim.<sup>199</sup> The “Russian” Jews established the Bilu and Hovevei Zion movements with the aim of Jewish settlement in Palestine. In 1897, the World Zionist Organization was founded declaring as its aim the establishment of a home for Jewish people in Palestine secured under public law. During the second Aliyah between 1904 and 1914, another 40 000 Jews settled in Palestine.<sup>200</sup> Two great evacuations of Palestinian territory took place during the First World War. By January 1917, the British had taken Sinai and were marching towards Palestine. Ottoman rulers began to hold suspicions against the local population, alleging that they were in favor of the aggressors. At the start of March 1917, the Ottoman Empire expelled all inhabitants from Gaza. Many died and the pre-war population of Gaza was not recovered until the 1940s. On 03/27/1917, Jaffa including Tel Aviv was evacuated.

10/30/1918 End Part of other Country [Ottoman Empire, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy and France, Semidemocracy]: On this date, the British army ended the so-called Sinai- and Palestine Campaign. They had defeated the Ottoman Empire and started a British occupation of Palestine. The 1918 Anglo-French Modus Vivendi came into action. Accordingly, the British ceded control over certain areas to the French.<sup>201</sup>

04/25/1920 End Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Semidemocracy and France, Semidemocracy]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Semidemocracy]: On this date, the San Remo Conference took place. During the conference, the San Remo Resolution was passed which awarded a League of Nations international mandate for the administration of Palestine to the United Kingdom.<sup>202</sup> In July 1920, the military administration was replaced by a British civilian administration headed by a high

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<sup>196</sup> <https://thejudean.com/index.php/history/59-the-ottoman-period-1516-1917>

<sup>197</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Israel#Ottoman\\_period](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Israel#Ottoman_period)

<sup>198</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Israel#Birth\\_of\\_Zionism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Israel#Birth_of_Zionism)

<sup>199</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Israel#Ottoman\\_period](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Israel#Ottoman_period)

<sup>200</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Israel#Birth\\_of\\_Zionism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Israel#Birth_of_Zionism)

<sup>201</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occupied\\_Enemy\\_Territory\\_Administration](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occupied_Enemy_Territory_Administration)

<sup>202</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/San\\_Remo\\_conference](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/San_Remo_conference)

commissioner. During the first years there were persistent violent clashes between Muslim and Christian Arabs and Palestinian Jews. Samuel, the high commissioner, endeavored to establish self-governing institutions in Palestine as mandated, but the Arab leadership declined to collaborate with any institution that included Jewish participation.<sup>203</sup> In 1922, a Legislative Council was established which was to consist of 12 elected and 10 appointed members as well as the high commissioner. Elections took place in February and March 1923, but the results were annulled due to Arab boycott of the elections. Between 1936 and 1939 there was an anti-Zionist and anti-British Arab revolt in Palestine.<sup>204</sup>

11/30/1947 End (de facto) Colonial Regime/Start No Central Authority [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: On this date, the civil war in mandatory Palestine broke out after a resolution had been signed one day prior, recommending a partition plan for Palestine. Jewish communities clashed with Arab communities which were supported by the Arab Liberation Army. The British organized their departure and intervened only occasionally.<sup>205</sup>

05/14/1948 Continuation No Central Authority: On 05/14/1948, the British international mandate over Palestine expired. On the same day, David Ben Gurion, the executive head of the World Zionist Organization, issued the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel. Egypt, Transjordan, Iraq and Syria invaded former mandatory Palestine and attacked the new Israeli forces. This marked the beginning of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War.<sup>206</sup>

01/25/1949 End No Central Authority/Start Democracy: On this date, the first free and fair elections were held for the Constituent Assembly. Universal suffrage was granted since the founding of Israel.<sup>207</sup> Mapai and Mapam, two Socialist-Zionist parties won the most seats in the elections. David Ben-Gurion, Mapai's leader, was appointed Prime Minister. He formed a coalition government which excluded the Stalinist Mapam. Chaim Weizmann was elected first President of Israel by the Knesset.<sup>208</sup> From February to July 1949, Israel signed individual armistices with Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria equating to a permanent ceasefire. However, actual peace agreements were never signed. The armistices established Israel's new borders, known as the Green Line. Britain released over 2000 Jewish detainees and recognized the state of Israel.<sup>209</sup> In 1950, the Knesset passed the so-called Law of Return,

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<sup>203</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mandatory\\_Palestine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mandatory_Palestine)

<sup>204</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mandatory\\_Palestine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mandatory_Palestine)

<sup>205</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1947%E2%80%931948\\_civil\\_war\\_in\\_Mandatory\\_Palestine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1947%E2%80%931948_civil_war_in_Mandatory_Palestine)

<sup>206</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1948\\_Arab%E2%80%93Israeli\\_War#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1948_Arab%E2%80%93Israeli_War#)

<sup>207</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>208</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Israel\\_\(1948%E2%80%93present\)#Establishment\\_years](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Israel_(1948%E2%80%93present)#Establishment_years)

<sup>209</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Israel\\_\(1948%E2%80%93present\)#Armistice\\_agreements](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Israel_(1948%E2%80%93present)#Armistice_agreements)

allowing all persons with Jewish ancestry to settle in Israel. Between 1948 and 1951, the Jewish population in Israel doubled. On 06/05/1967, the so-called Six-Day War broke out. It lasted until 06/10/1967 and was fought between Israel and a coalition consisting of mainly Egypt, Syria and Jordan. Many Palestinians living in Gaza, the West Bank and the Golan Heights were displaced.<sup>210</sup> Israel emerged victorious from the Six-Day War, leaving it in control of the entire Sinai Peninsula. This sparked the War of Attrition between Israel and Egypt which lasted from 07/01/1967 until 08/07/1971 when an armistice agreement was signed.<sup>211</sup> From 10/06/1973 until 10/25/1973, the so-called Yom Kipur War took place. It was fought between Israel and a coalition of Arab States led by Egypt and Syria. The main object of the conflict were territories in the Golan Heights and the Sinai Peninsula. An armistice was signed to end the conflict.<sup>212</sup> On 06/07/1982, Israel Defense Forces (IDF) invaded southern Lebanon where the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) had been stationed. By invading and occupying Lebanon, Israel hoped to expel the PLO and Syrian influence in order to sign a peace treaty with a newly installed government led by President Bachir Gemayel. Israel's position was weakened after Gemayel's assassination in September 1982 and Israel began to gradually withdraw.<sup>213</sup> From 12/08/1987 to 09/13/1993, the First Intifada, a series of violent riots and protests against the Israeli occupation of Gaza and the West Bank carried out by Palestinians in the Palestinian Territories and Gaza.<sup>214</sup> The Second Intifada took place from 09/28/2000 to 02/08/2005. The results of these uprisings and violent clashes were the construction of the Israeli-West Bank barrier and a decrease of violence in the West Bank. Additionally, Israel disengaged from the Gaza Strip.<sup>215</sup> Following a Hezbollah cross-border raid, the 2006 Hezbollah-Israel war broke out on 07/12/2006 and lasted until 08/14/2006.<sup>216</sup> In 2014, the Gaza War occurred. It was a military operation launched by Israel against the Hamas in the Gaza Strip. It lasted for one and a half months and ended on 08/26/2014.<sup>217</sup> Despite the many military conflicts and power struggles, we code this regime as a democracy as power is passed on with respect to free and fair elections within the state of Israel. Political instability arose during the 2019-2022 political crisis. During this period, five elections to the Knesset were held. The last of these elections, which took place in 2022, allowed Netanyahu

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<sup>210</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Six-Day\\_War#Occupied\\_territories\\_and\\_Arab\\_displaced\\_populations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Six-Day_War#Occupied_territories_and_Arab_displaced_populations)

<sup>211</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War\\_of\\_Attrition#1967](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_of_Attrition#1967)

<sup>212</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yom\\_Kippur\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yom_Kippur_War)

<sup>213</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1982\\_Lebanon\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1982_Lebanon_War)

<sup>214</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First\\_Intifada](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Intifada)

<sup>215</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second\\_Intifada#Background](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Intifada#Background)

<sup>216</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006\\_Lebanon\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006_Lebanon_War)

<sup>217</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014\\_Gaza\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014_Gaza_War)

to return to power as Prime Minister. His coalition has been described as the most right-wing government the country has ever seen. The plans for judicial reform in 2023 were highly controversial with many calling out antidemocratic tendencies of the regime. Nevertheless, elections can still be considered free and fair.<sup>218</sup>

Israel operates as a parliamentary democracy featuring a multi-party system and autonomous institutions that safeguard political freedoms and civil liberties for the majority of its populace. Despite the judiciary's relatively active role in safeguarding minority rights, there has been discrimination against Arab and other minority groups by political leaders and certain segments of society. As a result of this discrimination, systematic inequalities have emerged across various sectors, encompassing infrastructure, criminal justice, education, and economic opportunity.<sup>219</sup> On 10/09/2023 Israel declared war on Hamas, after Hamas attacked Israel on 07/10/2023 causing casualties and taking hostages. In addition, Israel imposed a total blockade of the Gaza Strip.<sup>220</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Decker 2003, Peled 1992, Peled 2011, Reich 2002)

## Italy

01/01/1900 Constitutional Monarchy [Start: 03/17/1861]: Sovereignty of the Kingdom of Italy, an independent successor state of the dissolved Carolingian Empire was gained on 02/02/888. Italy was unified on 03/17/1861. The Kingdom of Italy as a state existed from 03/17/1861, when Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia was proclaimed King of Italy.<sup>221</sup> The kingdom adopted the Statuto Albertino, the governing document of the Kingdom of Sardinia, as its constitution. On 07/29/1900, King Umberto I was assassinated. His son Victor Emmanuel III, who favored a return to constitutional government,<sup>222</sup> acceded to the throne. Parliamentary rule had been firmly established but some considerable residual powers were granted to the monarch. The Statuto Albertino allowed him to appoint the prime minister even against a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. The first universal male suffrage, which was introduced in 1912, extended to all citizens aged 30 and older, with no restrictions. It was

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<sup>218</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Israel\\_\(1948%E2%80%93present\)#2020s%E2%80%93present](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Israel_(1948%E2%80%93present)#2020s%E2%80%93present)

<sup>219</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/israel/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>220</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza\\_Strip](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Strip)

<sup>221</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Italy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Italy)

<sup>222</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Italy/The-Crispi-era-1887-1900>

applied in the elections of 1913. Nevertheless, when Prime Minister Antonia Salanda resigned after Italy had signed the secret Treaty of London in April 1915, which had been rejected by most politicians, King Victor Emmanuel III rejected his resignation. He personally decided for Italy to enter the war, exercising his right under the Statuto.<sup>223</sup>

11/16/1919 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start (Monarchical) (Male) Semidemocracy: On this date, the general elections were held. Considered the most significant elections in Italy since 1870, they were the first to occur under conditions approaching mass political democracy (Morgan 1995). The Electoral Reform Law which had been passed in August 1919 expanded suffrage to all males over the age of 21 and introduced proportional representation. The period from 1919-1920 is referred to as the “Red Biennium”. It was marked by intense social conflicts. Reasons for the unrest were mainly political instability, the aftermath of the First World War, high unemployment, and the economic crisis. Mass strikes and demonstrations occurred throughout the country. This paved the way for the fascist March on Rome.<sup>224</sup> While royal prerogatives were not officially diminished, they were challenged by a substantial rise in political participation as well as the turmoil of the Red Biennium. However, Italy is in this regime period a borderline case between a semidemocracy and a constitutional monarchy.

10/27[-29]/1922 End (Monarchical) (Male) Semidemocracy/Start Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy: The March on Rome brought Benito Mussolini in power, when he was appointed on 10/29/1922 by King Victor Emmanuel III as prime minister.<sup>225</sup> Soon after taking office, Mussolini pushed through an electoral law which made it nearly impossible for non-fascists to be elected, purged non-fascist ministers, and engaged in widespread electoral fraud and violence (Bosworth 2002: 145-70, Berman 2019: 220-37, Casey et al. 2020: 10-11).

07/25/1943 End Right-wing Autocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: Mussolini’s reign ended due to a successful vote of no confidence. Pietro Badoglio took over the government for a short period. Mussolini was placed under arrest.<sup>226</sup> German troops continued to fight in Italy until their defeat and unconditional surrender in May 1945 (Collier 2003: 58, Casey et al. 2020: 11). As the Allies progressed through the peninsula, it became evident that Victor Emmanuel III’s previous support of Mussolini had compromised him too greatly to continue in any significant capacity.

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<sup>223</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Victor\\_Emmanuel\\_III\\_of\\_Italy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Victor_Emmanuel_III_of_Italy)

<sup>224</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biennio\\_Rosso](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biennio_Rosso)

<sup>225</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/March\\_on\\_Rome](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/March_on_Rome)

<sup>226</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fall\\_of\\_the\\_Fascist\\_regime\\_in\\_Italy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fall_of_the_Fascist_regime_in_Italy)

Consequently, in April 1944, he delegated the majority of his powers to Crown Prince Umberto.<sup>227</sup>

04/25/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: Disestablishment of the German-backed Italian Social Republic, whereby the unity and independence of the Italian state was restored.<sup>228</sup>

Following World War II, Italy was governed under provisional laws established through agreements between the National Liberation Committee (CLN) and the royal Lieutenant General of the Realm, Umberto II of Italy.<sup>229</sup> The member parties of the CLN were the Italian Communist Party, the Italian Socialist Party, the Action Party, the Christian Democracy, the Labour Democratic Party, and the Italian Liberal Party.<sup>230</sup>

06/02/1946 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Democracy: On this date, the first elections after World War II for a Constituent Assembly were held. The election did not take place in the Julian March and in South Tyrol, which were under military occupation by the United Nations. For the first time, Italian women were allowed to vote in a national election.<sup>231</sup> On 01/01/1948 the Constitution of the Italian Republic came into force, having already been ratified by the Constituent Assembly on 12/22/1947.<sup>232</sup> From then on Italy's parliamentary system features competitive multiparty elections. Italy has a parliamentary system of government with a multi-party system and a bicameral parliament consisting of the Chamber of deputies and the Senate.<sup>233</sup> Since an amendment to the constitution in 2021, all citizens aged 18 and older are entitled to vote for both chambers of the parliament. Previously, the voting age for the Senate was 25.<sup>234</sup> On 09/25/2022 snap elections were held. Giorgia Meloni became the first female prime minister of Italy and a right-wing coalition under her leadership formed the government. The snap elections were deemed free and fair. The political spectrum in Italy is characterized by diversity and competitiveness.<sup>235</sup> Civil liberties are generally respected, but there are endemic problems of corruption and organized crime which pose an enduring challenge to the rule of law as well as

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<sup>227</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946\\_Italian\\_institutional\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946_Italian_institutional_referendum)

<sup>228</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>229</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946\\_Italian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946_Italian_general_election)

<sup>230</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Liberation\\_Committee](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Liberation_Committee)

<sup>231</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946\\_Italian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946_Italian_general_election)

<sup>232</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_Italy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Italy)

<sup>233</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Italy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Italy)

<sup>234</sup> <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/b/8/524559.pdf>

<sup>235</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/italy/freedom-world/2023>



rising concerns about the rights of LGBT+ people and migrants.<sup>236</sup> Freedom of the press, freedom to assemble and religious freedom are constitutionally guaranteed. Incidents of corruption led to stricter laws in 2022, with which aspects of the judicial system should be reformed. Overall, the judiciary operates autonomously and independently.<sup>237</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (2006, Bach/Breuer 2010, Dunnage 2002, Hertner 1987, Petersen 1981, Salvemini 1973, Schieder 2008, Seton-Watson 1967, Stübler 1987, Trautmann 1997, Ullrich 2009, Wellhofer 2003, Zohlnhöfer 2002)

## **Ivory Coast**

[Officially known as the Republic of Cote D'Ivoire; also known as Cote D'Ivoire]

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 03/10/1893]: On 03/10/1893 the Ivory Coast became a French colony.<sup>238</sup> On 06/16/1895 it became part of French West Africa. In 1952 universal suffrage was introduced.<sup>239</sup>

12/04/1958 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start One-Party Autocracy: On this date the Republic of Ivory Coast became an autonomous republic within the French Community and on 08/07/1960 a fully independent republic.<sup>240</sup> In October 1960 membership in the French Community was abandoned with the adoption of the country's present constitution. The dominant political figure since the 1940s was Félix Houphouët-Boigny, who in 1944 organized the Syndicat Agricole Africain (an African farmers' union) and helped to found the African Democratic Rally (Rassemblement Démocratique Africain—RDA), an international political party with branches in numerous French African territories (Lansford 2021: 391). Ivory Coast embarked on the path to autonomy and independence from France, with Houphouët-Boigny as prime minister and a government under the control of the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast – African Democratic Rally (Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire — Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, PDCI – RDA).<sup>241</sup> The PDCI won all pre-independence elections to various offices. It ran unopposed in the 4/59 Assembly elections,

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<sup>236</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/italy>

<sup>237</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/italy/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>238</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Ivory\\_Coast](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Ivory_Coast)

<sup>239</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>240</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5CotedIvoire2018.pdf>

<sup>241</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic\\_Party\\_of\\_Ivory\\_Coast\\_%E2%80%93\\_African\\_Democratic\\_Rally](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Party_of_Ivory_Coast_%E2%80%93_African_Democratic_Rally)

giving it control of the government and electoral rules at independence (Zolberg 1964: 75-271).<sup>242</sup> From 1959 the PDCI began manipulating electoral rules to limit the ability of potential opposition groups to compete (Zolberg 1964: 264- 65, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 71). In the parliamentary elections on 04/12/1959 as a prelude to independence the next year, the PDCI “was the only party to contest the election, thereby winning all”<sup>243</sup> seats. In 1960, upon independence, the PDCI officially became the sole legal party in the country. Over the next three decades, the PDCI and the government effectively merged. Every five years, Félix Houphouët-Boigny, its founder and leader, was automatically elected as president of the republic for a five-year term and confirmed through a referendum. Simultaneously, a unified list of PDCI candidates was elected to the National Assembly. All adult Ivoirians were mandated to be party members, considering the PDCI as the primary intermediary between the government and the populace.<sup>244</sup>

10/28/1990 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: In 1990 opposition parties were legalized. On 10/28/1990 presidential and parliamentary multi-party elections were held, which cannot be considered free and fair (Hartmann 1999a: 303). Yet, even following the legalization of opposition parties in 1990, the PDCI maintained its stronghold over Ivorian politics. During the 1990 elections, Houphouët-Boigny secured a seemingly improbable 81 percent of the vote, and the party claimed all but 12 seats in the legislature.<sup>245</sup> The emerging party system was still dominated by the PDCI (Hartmann 1999a: 302-303). When Houphouët-Boigny died on 12/07/1993, acting President Henri Konan Bédié took over and was elected with 96% of the vote in 1995. This was strongly contested by the opposition parties.<sup>246</sup> Following the conclusion of Houphouët-Boigny's 33-year reign, the political landscape retained traits of low institutionalization and the prevalence of personalistic and informal networks. Without the charisma of his predecessor, President Bédié not only targeted the opposition and curbed press freedom but also estranged a significant portion of the population through electoral manipulation in 1995 (Hartmann 1999a: 303).

12/24/1999 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Army revolt by junior officers led to a coup. The army overthrew Bédié and handed over power to a junta led by ex-army chief-of-staff General Robert Guéi. He created the 9-man, all-military Comité National de

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<sup>242</sup> <http://africanelections.tripod.com/ci.html>

<sup>243</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1959\\_Ivorian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1959_Ivorian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>244</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic\\_Party\\_of\\_Ivory\\_Coast\\_%E2%80%93\\_African\\_Democratic\\_Rally](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Party_of_Ivory_Coast_%E2%80%93_African_Democratic_Rally)

<sup>245</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic\\_Party\\_of\\_Ivory\\_Coast\\_%E2%80%93\\_African\\_Democratic\\_Rally](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Party_of_Ivory_Coast_%E2%80%93_African_Democratic_Rally)

<sup>246</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic\\_Party\\_of\\_Ivory\\_Coast\\_%E2%80%93\\_African\\_Democratic\\_Rally](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Party_of_Ivory_Coast_%E2%80%93_African_Democratic_Rally)

Salut Publique (National Committee of Public Salvation) to rule (Cornewell 2000, Englebert 2004a: 332, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 71).

10/26/2000 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date a presidential election took place. Robert Guéi, who led a transitional military government after the December 1999 coup d'état, ran as a candidate in the election. However, all significant opposition candidates, except for Laurent Gbagbo of the Ivorian Popular Front (FPI), were disqualified from participating.<sup>247</sup> Nevertheless, Gbagbo won the presidential election, but Guéi refused to validate the results. Popular uprising followed in response to Guéi's effort to steal the election. Gbagbo declared himself president in the aftermath (Cornewell 2000, Englebert 2004a: 332, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 71). However, the following regime led by Gbagbo was not democratic at all. As per Human Rights Watch, Gbagbo's security forces perpetrated violations against civilians, specifically targeting immigrants, their descendants, and Ivorians from the north based on factors such as nationality, ethnicity, or religion (Rocco/Ballo 2008).

09/19/2002 End Electoral Autocracy/Start No Central Authority: On this date war broke out – the so called First Ivorian Civil War. The confrontation involved the government of Ivorian President Laurent Gbagbo facing off against a domestic insurgency led by the New Forces of Ivory Coast (Forces nouvelles de Côte d'Ivoire), under the leadership of Guillaume Soro. The rebels swiftly gained dominance over a significant portion of the northern region while engaging in combat with government forces for control of the western territories. Throughout the nation, supporters of the opposition clashed with pro-government militias. The uprising that sparked the conflict was fueled by factions aiming to demand a rerun of the 2000 election and advocate for reforms regarding exclusionary citizenship policies (Rocco/Ballo 2008: 350-354). The global community promptly dispatched peacekeepers and organized peace negotiations. While the peace agreements mediated by the international community did not fully resolve the conflict, their intervention helped contain it and improve the humanitarian crisis. This intervention also opened up opportunities for dialogue (Bah 2010: 605). Although the violence faded, the civil war resulted in a de facto division of the country in a southern part, which was ruled by the elected government of Gbagbo, and a northern part, which was under the rule of the rebel forces (Bah 2010, Riehl 2007). Although the First Ivory Coast Civil War emerged in 2002 and lasted until 2007, we classify only the initial period until the first Agreement (Linah-Marcoussis Agreement) as no central authority. The reason for this is

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<sup>247</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000\\_Ivorian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2000_Ivorian_presidential_election)

that the Government of National Reconciliation (GNR) was founded from then on, even though the country continued to be divided into two parts.

01/26/2003 End No Central Authority/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime:

The Linas-Marcoussis Agreement, signed by conflicting parties, highlighted conflict issues but focused more on power sharing than addressing citizenship. Despite efforts to establish a Government of National Reconciliation (GNR), disagreements over appointments and power-sharing halted progress. The Accra II Agreement reaffirmed the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement and Gbagbo's authority, but tensions persisted. The Pretoria Agreement of April 2005 aimed at military and electoral issues but faced challenges with ongoing violence and stalled disarmament. The Ouagadougou Agreement of March 2007, influenced by UN Resolution 1721, shifted the peace process significantly, with Ivorian leadership. Resolution 1721, which not only granted more powers to the prime minister, but also gave Gbagbo legitimacy, as his term of office had expired. Though it didn't define citizenship, it aimed to resolve Ivoirité-related grievances (Bah 2010: 605-613). After the agreement, the election was scheduled to take place in the initial quarter of 2008, but were postponed until 2011, after the presidential elections of 2010. We classify not only the remaining period of the First Ivorian Civil War (2003-2007) as a non-electoral transitional (multiparty) regime, but also up to 2010 – the first elections since 2000. Overall, the period since the First Ivorian Civil War is classified in different ways. AF and GWF classify a personalist rule, BR a civilian dictatorship, HTW a limited multiparty autocracy and LIED a multiparty autocracy between 2000 and 2007 and a non-electoral autocracy between 2008 and 2010. POLITY codes a state of interregnum or anarchy between 2002 and 2007 and a state of transition until 2010.

10/31/2010 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start No Central Authority:

After several delays on this date the first round of presidential balloting President Laurent Gbagbo secured 38 percent of the vote, while former prime minister Ouattara of the RDR, gained 32.1 percent. The run-off took place on 11/28. The election commission initially declared Ouattara the winner of with 54.1 percent of the vote to Gbagbo's 45.9 percent. However, Gbagbo challenged the results, and the Constitutional Court nullified the ballots in seven northern provinces. On 12/04/2010 the court declared Gbagbo the winner with 51.5 percent of the vote to Ouattara's 48.5 percent (Lansford 2021: 394). Subsequently, Ivory Coast faced political gridlock. Both politicians were inaugurated as presidents and formed their respective cabinets. The international community recognized Ouattara as the legitimate president and urged Gbagbo to resign (Ogwang 2011: 1). Fighting between supporters of Gbagbo and Ouattara (mainly FN fighters) spread throughout the country, and by March

forces loyal to Ouattara controlled most of the country, with the exception of Abidjan. On 04/11/2011 FN fighters backed by French and AU forces stormed Gbagbo's compound and captured the presidential claimant and his leading supporters. Ouattara was sworn in as president on 05/11, and he reappointed Soro as prime minister of a reshuffled cabinet on 06/01. Observers attributed much of the violence to reprisals against Gbagbo supporters, although pro-Gbagbo militias were also deemed responsible for killings and other abuses (Lansford 2021: 394). We classify this period of the Second Ivorian Civil War as no central authority, because the country was again divided into two parts and two presidents were proclaimed, so that no clear central power can be identified. Our classification is in line with POLITY, which also contests a state of interregnum of anarchy between 2010 and 2011.

12/10/2011 End No Central Authority/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date parliamentary elections were held. The Rally of the Republicans, the party of President Alassane Ouattara, won just under half the seats in the National Assembly.<sup>248</sup> The Ivorian Popular Front opted to boycott the election, alleging bias on the part of the electoral commission in favor of Alassane Ouattara. They also accused the army of intimidating FPI supporters during the campaign. Additionally, the party lamented restrictions on disseminating information to the electorate, citing the government's ban on the pro-FPI newspaper *Notre Voie* and the subsequent arrest or imprisonment of many of its journalists.<sup>249</sup> The most recent presidential election conducted in which incumbent president Alassane Ouattara was re-elected with 95% of the vote amidst an opposition boycott is considered neither free nor fair. Amongst other aspects, the Constitutional Council rejected 40 of the 44 candidates for the presidential election and validated the candidacy of only four individuals.<sup>250</sup> However, in March 2021, the members of the National Assembly were elected in transparent, credible, and peaceful elections.<sup>251</sup> In 2022 President Alassane Ouattara won a controversial third term in the presidential election held in October 2020, amid boycotts and violence from the opposition. He faced criticism from regional and international actors for violating the constitutional term limit. In 2022, he appointed former rebel leader Guillaume Soro as his prime minister, in a move seen as an attempt to appease the opposition and promote national reconciliation. However, Soro was also accused of plotting a coup against Ouattara and arrested in June 2022. The political

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<sup>248</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011\\_Ivorian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_Ivorian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>249</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010\\_Ivorian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010_Ivorian_presidential_election)

<sup>250</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/cote-divoire/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>251</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/cote-divoire/freedom-world/2022>

situation remained tense and unstable throughout the year.<sup>252</sup> The regime in this period is a borderline case between a semidemocracy and an electoral autocracy.

Electoral Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Chirof 2006, Handloff 1988a, Jeffries 1989)

## **Jamaica**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 05/10/1655]: Jamaica was given the status of a British Crown Colony on 05/10/1655 (Lansford 2021: 836).<sup>253</sup> A two-party system was developed before World War II under the leadership of Sir Alexander Bustamante and Norman W. Manley, founders, respectively, of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the People's National Party (PNP). A considerable measure of self-government was introduced in 1944, but full independence was delayed by attempts to set up a wider federation embracing all or most of the Caribbean Commonwealth territories. Universal suffrage was introduced in the same year.<sup>254</sup> Jamaica became a member of the West Indies Federation in 1958 but withdrew in 1961 due to disputes regarding taxation, voting rights, and the location of the federal capital. The Federation disbanded in 1962 (Lansford 2021: 836).

08/06/1962 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Democracy: On this date Jamaica gained its independence. Jamaica's constitution vests legislative power to its parliament. Its constitution was promulgated in 1962 at the time of its independence. It holds regular elections that are largely considered fair and free. While the judiciary is considered independent and limits executive power, corruption remains an issue.<sup>255</sup> Jamaica's political structure operates democratically, with competitive elections and regular transitions of power. Nevertheless, corruption poses a significant challenge, and enduring ties between officials and organized crime elements are believed to endure. The nation continues to grapple with issues of violent crime, along with instances of harassment and violence targeting the LGBT+ community.<sup>256</sup> While civil liberties such as freedom of expression, religion and press are generally guaranteed by the constitution, the prevalent presence of criminal groups threaten to

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<sup>252</sup> <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/CIV>

<sup>253</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colony\\_of\\_Jamaica](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colony_of_Jamaica)

<sup>254</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>255</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/jamaica/freedom-world/2020#CL>

<sup>256</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/jamaica/freedom-world/2022>

hamper the freedom to express beliefs and views on political/sensitive issues.<sup>257</sup> Although the judiciary is generally perceived as independent, instances of corruption persist within certain lower courts.<sup>258</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued

Additional Sources (Wüst 2005)

## Japan

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [Start: 11/29/1890]: According to the Meiji Constitution from 02/11/1889 the emperor was granted supreme control of the army and navy, it came into effect on 11/29/1890.<sup>259</sup> A privy council composed of the Meiji genro, created prior to the constitution, advised the emperor and wielded actual power.<sup>260</sup> Sovereignty was vested in the person of the emperor who was authorized to exercise them. The constitution was not seen as a “mystical power hovering over the State” but rather as any other law that to be enacted and changeable (Kenneth 1932). The emperor held the authority to appoint the judges to the courts and the cabinet including the ministers and the prime minister. The constitution created a bicameral imperial Diet which was made up of the House of Representatives and the House of Peers. The former was elected by the Japanese citizens. However, only about 1,1% of the population were eligible to vote. This can hardly be considered a considerable amount of the population. The Diet was required to give its consent to legislative projects of the emperor. According to the constitution maker, however, it could also initiate projects of law (Kenneth 1932).<sup>261</sup>

05/05/1925 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Constitutional Monarchy: On this date the General Election Law was passed by the Diet of Japan (Quigley 1926: 392).<sup>262</sup> It introduced universal adult male suffrage for males over 25.<sup>263</sup> The Meiji Constitution continued to be enacted but the House of Representatives was now actually elected by a considerable number of citizens. In the 1930s a large rift between the parliamentary government and the military formed. The military distrusted the government highly and held, though restricted by the government, a

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<sup>257</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/jamaica/freedom-world/2020#CL>

<sup>258</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/jamaica/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>259</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Meiji\\_Constitution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Meiji_Constitution)

<sup>260</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Meiji-Constitution>

<sup>261</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Meiji\\_Constitution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Meiji_Constitution)

<sup>262</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/General\\_Election\\_Law](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/General_Election_Law)

<sup>263</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)

considerable amount of power. Throughout the 1930s, the army plotted to get rid of the parliamentary government. In 1930, Prime Minister Hamaguchi was assassinated after attempting to curtail military power. In March 1931, high ranking military officers planned a coup but then abandoned it. On 09/18/1931 Japan invaded Manchuria, which was captured by the Kwantung Army without authorization from the government. Japan established at the end of the war in February 1932 the puppet state of Manchukuo. Prime Minister Inukai tried to stop the army by imperial intervention but failed.<sup>264</sup> On 05/15/1932, a terrorist attack was carried out in Tokyo led by naval officers. On 05/15/1932, Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi was assassinated by naval officers. This event marked a turning point, leading to a heightened military presence in governmental affairs, ultimately diminishing the role of civilians. The abortive coup of February 1936 further consolidated the military faction's power, particularly under Tojo Hideki's leadership. Subsequently, the regime developed a robust security apparatus dedicated to combating political opposition (Shillony 1981: 1, Worden 1992: 44-45, 56, 58, Tipton 2002: 116, Cullen 2003: 254, 261-69, Goto-Jones 2009: 77-80, James 2011: 169, Hofmann 2015: 63, 69-70, Ward 2019, Casey et al. 2020: 11). On 02/26/1936 a coup was organized by a group of young Imperial Japanese Army officers with the goal of purging the government and military leadership of their factional rivals and ideological opponents. Despite the failure of the coup, it had the effect of significantly increasing the military's influence over the civilian government. Downtown Tokyo was held by the army for three days. Several statesmen were murdered. However, the leaders of the revolt were quickly captured and executed. The Okada cabinet resigned on 03/09/1936 and a new cabinet was formed by Kōki Hirota, Okada's foreign minister.<sup>265</sup> Although this period beginning at the start of the 1930s showed significant military influence as well as a lack of government control over the military, it is not coded as a military autocracy seeing as the attempts by the military to oust the government and obtain full power all failed sooner or later.

08/15/1945 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Occupation Regime [by Allied Powers]: After the unconditional surrender Japan was occupied by the Allied Powers. While it was theoretically an international occupation it was carried out almost entirely by US forces under General Douglas MacArthur. A new constitution (promulgated 1947) vested power in a democratic government and replaced the Meiji Constitution. In it the emperor was reduced to ceremonial status, and women were given the right to vote. For both sexes the voting age was

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<sup>264</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Japan/The-rise-of-the-militarists>

<sup>265</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/February\\_26\\_incident#Change\\_of\\_government](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/February_26_incident#Change_of_government)



reduced to 20.<sup>266</sup> The parliamentary elections on 04/25/1947 were held still under US occupation.<sup>267</sup>

04/28/1952 End Occupation Regime [by Allied Powers]/Start Democracy: On this date the Treaty of San Francisco took effect. The government continued as a partially US-inspired bicameral parliamentary democracy after US-occupation ended. Convention prescribes the president of the elected party in the House of Representatives becomes the prime minister and thereby the chief executive. Japan holds regular fair and free multi-party elections with universal suffrage (limited by age) and enjoys constitutionally guaranteed liberties such as the Freedom of Speech and Press.<sup>268</sup> The presence of strong and independent institutions such as the Supreme Court, with the power to interpret the constitution, limit executive power. However, besides its strong democratic characteristics, its democratic quality is sometimes criticized due to the weakness of the opposition. The currently ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) has almost exclusively been in power since the 1950s. However, the elections are and were nonetheless overbearingly fair and free, thereby still warranting the classification as a full democracy.<sup>269</sup> Gender equality continues to be an issue in Japan: in the 2023 Global Gender Gap Index, it ranked #125 out of 146.<sup>270</sup> In 2016 the voting age was reduced to 18.<sup>271</sup> Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Dolan/Worden 1994, Klein 2001)

## **Jordan**

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Ottoman Empire, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 08/24/1516]: From 1516 until 1918, the territory of what constitutes Jordan today (known as Transjordan) was under Ottoman rule from the 16<sup>th</sup> century until early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Ottoman-Mamluk War was decisive for Ottoman rule in the region. The battle of Marj Dabiq on 08/24/1516 was leading the Ottoman success against the Mamluk.<sup>272</sup> The region of Transjordan was included under the jurisdiction of Ottoman Syrian provinces.<sup>273</sup> However,

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<sup>266</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/event/occupation-of-Japan>

<sup>267</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1947\\_Japanese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1947_Japanese_general_election)

<sup>268</sup> <https://www.hudson.org/democracy/first-democracy-japan-jun-isomura>

<sup>269</sup> <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2022/09/democracy-japan>

<sup>270</sup> <https://www.statista.com/topics/7768/gender-equality-in-japan/#topicOverview>

<sup>271</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>272</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Marj\\_Dabiq](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Marj_Dabiq)

<sup>273</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transjordan\\_\(region\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transjordan_(region))

Turkish control ended during World War I when the Hashemite Army of the Great Arab Revolt, took over and secured present-day Jordan with the help and support of the region's local Bedouin tribes, Circassians, and Christians. The revolt was supported by the Allies of World War I, including Britain and France.<sup>274</sup>

10/23/1917 End Part of Other Country [Ottoman Empire, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by British, Electoral Oligarchy, French, Semidemocracy and Arab forces]: Following the Arab Revolt of World War I, the region of Transjordan as a Levantine province of the former Ottoman Empire came under joint military administration of British, French and Arab forces called Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (OETA).<sup>275</sup> The administration was officially declared by the 1918 Anglo-French Modus Vivendi signed on 09/30/1918.<sup>276</sup> In practical terms, the agreement led to the establishment of three OETA territories: the South (Palestine) under British administration, the West (covering the northern Mediterranean coast including Lebanon) under French administration, and the East (inland Syria including Transjordan) under Arab administration.<sup>277</sup>

11/26/1919 End Occupation Regime [by British, Semidemocracy, French, Semidemocracy and Arab forces]/Start Part of Other Country [Kingdom of Syria, Constitutional Monarchy]: After Ottoman withdrawal, the Transjordan region remained part of Syria in the newly established Kingdom of Syria ruled by Faysal ibn al-Husayn, with its capital in Damascus (Rogan 1996). In OETA East, British administration ended following the withdrawal of British forces from the territory in November 1919, and the subsequent declaration of the Arab Kingdom of Syria over the same area.<sup>278</sup> The OETA administration ended, and this region gained de facto recognition as part of the Hashemite-ruled Arab Kingdom of Syria, administering an area broadly comprising the areas of the modern countries of Syria and Jordan.<sup>279</sup> Therefore, this period is coded as ruling monarchy starting from the date of British withdrawal in 1919 and not from the official proclamation of the King 1920. After Faysal's official proclamation in March 1920, a League of Nations Mandate was imposed on the territory of Syria which became a French mandate. The San Remo resolution solidified France's territorial claims in Syria, internationally legitimizing its dominion and ensuring that its interactions with Faisal were now heavily influenced by French military and economic

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<sup>274</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Jordan#Establishment](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Jordan#Establishment)

<sup>275</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occupied\\_Enemy\\_Territory\\_Administration](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occupied_Enemy_Territory_Administration)

<sup>276</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occupied\\_Enemy\\_Territory\\_Administration](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occupied_Enemy_Territory_Administration)

<sup>277</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1918\\_Anglo-French\\_Modus\\_Vivendi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1918_Anglo-French_Modus_Vivendi)

<sup>278</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occupied\\_Enemy\\_Territory\\_Administration](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occupied_Enemy_Territory_Administration)

<sup>279</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emirate\\_of\\_Transjordan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emirate_of_Transjordan)

agendas. This development considerably weakened Great Britain's capacity to constrain French activities in the region.

07/25/1920 End Part of Other Country [Kingdom of Syria, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start No central authority: The existence of the Kingdom of Syria was brief. In July 1920, France escalated its involvement by issuing a decisive ultimatum, followed by military intervention in the Battle of Maysalun. This intervention led to the overthrow of the Arab government and the ousting of King Faisal from Damascus in August.<sup>280</sup> The area situated east of the Jordan River was incorporated into the British mandate over Palestine, while the "Faysali" state was supplanted by the French mandate in Syria in October, thereby isolating Transjordan from Damascus (Rogan 1996). As such, southern part of what constituted Transjordan became "a no man's land".<sup>281</sup> Since there was no established ruler or occupying power the period is coded as no central authority.

04/11/1921 End No Central Authority/Start Absolute Monarchy [as Emirate of Transjordan under International Mandate]: Following a brief interregnum period in which Transjordan was not controlled by a central authority nor occupied by any power, the future of the territory of the Transjordan became an issue between competing interests during the Cairo Conference held from 03/12 to 03/30/1921. At that conference, Churchill suggested establishing Transjordan as an Arab province with an Arab Governor, who would acknowledge British oversight of his administration and be answerable to the High Commissioners for Palestine and Transjordan.<sup>282</sup> Following the outcomes of further meetings and negotiations between British officials and representatives of Transjordan it was agreed to entrust Abdullah bin Hussein with the administration of the territory, operating within the framework of the British Mandate for Palestine while maintaining a fully self-governing system."<sup>283</sup> Britain had already received a mandate over Palestine and now administered that east part of Jordan as part of that mandate. Abdullah established his government on 04/11/1921. For example, Golan speaks of a protectorate already in 1922. Following World War I, the Ottoman Empire (1299-1922) was dismantled, and its territories were partitioned between Britain and France. The League of Nations (precursor to the UN) granted Britain a mandate over Palestine, and in 1922, Britain allocated a portion of it, the eastern bank of the Jordan River, to its protectorate, the Emirate of Transjordan (Golan 2018). In contrast to other sources, this period is coded as

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<sup>280</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/San\\_Remoo\\_conference](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/San_Remoo_conference)

<sup>281</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interregnum\\_\(Transjordan\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interregnum_(Transjordan))

<sup>282</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cairo\\_Conference\\_\(1921\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cairo_Conference_(1921))

<sup>283</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emirate\\_of\\_Transjordan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emirate_of_Transjordan)

under international mandate and not as a protectorate because nominal independence for Transjordan and the creation of the post of High Commissioner occurred only later by the first Transjordan Treaty in 1928.<sup>284</sup>

02/20/1928 Continuation Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate by United Kingdom, Semidemocracy]: A Treaty signed in February 1928 between Transjordan and Britain recognized the existence of an independent government in Transjordan and established the post of a British High Commissioner for Transjordan. Although the status of the international mandate over Transjordan was not altered by this agreement, this period is coded as a protectorate because while Transjordan nominally became independent, the British still retained their military presence and control of foreign affairs.<sup>285</sup> On 04/02/1929 the first general elections in the country's history were held.<sup>286</sup>

05/25/1946 End Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate by United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Constitutional Monarchy [as independent country]: Through a treaty inked in London on 03/22/1946, Britain officially acknowledged Transjordan as a fully sovereign independent state. Subsequently, on 05/25/1946, Amir Abdullah adopted the title of King, and upon the ratification of the treaty on 06/17/1946, the territory was renamed "The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan" (Paxton 1980). The monarchy was founded by King Abdullah, who was the son of the Ottoman emir of Mecca. He played a prominent role in the Arab nationalist movement, opposing Ottoman rule, and aligned with the British during both World Wars I and II (Lewis 1991a, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 71-72). For a brief time between 02/14/1958 and 07/14/1958 Jordan was in federation with the Iraq part of the Hashemite Arab Federation (Paxton 1980). In 1947 universal male suffrage was introduced and in 1974 female suffrage.<sup>287</sup> According to the Constitution of 1952, the form of government is determined by a hereditary monarchy with a parliament. The parliament is bicameral, consisting of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The king possesses extensive executive powers. He has the authority to appoint and dismiss the prime minister and the cabinet. Additionally, he can dissolve the National Assembly at his direction. Although constitutionally independent, the judiciary's autonomy is effectively limited in practice. The King appoints the Constitutional Court and the chair of the Judicial Council, responsible for nominating civil court judges.

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<sup>284</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emirate\\_of\\_Transjordan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emirate_of_Transjordan)

<sup>285</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emirate\\_of\\_Transjordan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emirate_of_Transjordan)

<sup>286</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1929\\_Transjordanian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1929_Transjordanian_general_election)

<sup>287</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

Judges of both civil and Sharia courts are formally appointed by royal decree.<sup>288</sup> Constitutional amendments in 2022 granted the King sole authority to appoint chief judge of the religious courts and the president of the overseeing council. However, instances of judicial independence in practice and citizens successfully challenging state actors in court cases occur. In 2016 the electoral-law reform implemented a multi-vote proportional representation system for parliamentary elections, replacing the former system of single nontransferable voting.<sup>289</sup>

Constitutional monarchy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Bank 2004, Lust-Okar 2006, Shyrock 2000)

## **Kazakhstan**

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Russia, Absolute Monarchy][Start: 10/21/1731]: The founding of the Kazakh Khanate is regarded by the Kazakhs as the initiation of Kazakh statehood, commemorated with its 550th anniversary celebrated in 2015. However, the region's history is tumultuous and subject to debate. In much of modern Kazakhstan, the Uzbek Khanate was established. Under Abu'l-Khayr Khan, the country was weak, and corruption plagued the government. Janibek and Kerei Khan, the offspring of Barak Khan, rallied the Kazakh people to Jetysu, where they established the Independent Kazakh Khanate.<sup>290</sup> The Kazakh Khanate was a Kazakh state in Central Asia, successor of the Golden Horde existing from the 15th to the 19th century, centered on the eastern parts of the Desht-i Qipchaq.<sup>291</sup> During the reign of Kasym Khan (1511-1523), the khanate expanded considerably. Numerous victories in wars against neighboring countries made the Khanate's reputation and country well known even in Western Europe. The first Kazakh code of laws, Qasym Khannyn Qasqa Zholy (Bright Road of Kasym Khan), was also established in 1520. In the 18th century, the Russian Empire built the Irtysh line, consisting of forty-six forts and ninety-six redoubts, including Omsk, Semipalatinsk, Pavlodar, Orenburg, and Petropavlovsk, to prevent raids from Kazakh and Oirat into Russian territory. On 10/21/1731, as a result of the weakened state of the Kazakh Khanate caused by an exhausting war with Zunghars

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<sup>288</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Jordan\\_2016](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Jordan_2016)

<sup>289</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/jordan/freedom-world/2024>

<sup>290</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Kazakhstan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Kazakhstan)

<sup>291</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazakh\\_Khanate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazakh_Khanate)

(Dzungar people), Khan Abul Khair and most of elders of the Little horde (Jüz) swore allegiance to the Russian Empire, thus the incorporation of Kazakhstan into Russia begun.<sup>292</sup>

During the 19th century, the Empire expanded its influence into Central Asia and controlled much of what is now the Republic of Kazakhstan. This period, known as the "Great Game," lasted from roughly 1813 to the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907.<sup>293</sup>

11/07/1917 End Part of Other Country [Russia, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Part of Other Country [Russia, Communist Ideocracy]: On this date the Russian Soviet Republic was proclaimed.<sup>294</sup> On 04/10/1918 the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (initially, the Turkestan Socialist Federative Republic) was officially proclaimed. The Turkistan ASSR was an autonomous republic of the Russian Federative Socialist Republic, which included territories of present-day Kazakhstan, Kyrgystan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan (Fedorenko 2015: 3).<sup>295</sup> On 08/26/1920 the Kazakh ASSR was originally created as the Kirghiz Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic and was an autonomous republic within the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic.

12/28/1922 End Part of other Country [Russia, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Part of Other Country [USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]: With the establishment of the USSR, Kazakhstan became a part of the Soviet Union.<sup>296</sup> On 02/19/1925 Filipp Goloshchyokin was appointed First Secretary of the Communist Party in the newly created Kazakh Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic.<sup>297</sup> From 1925 to 1933 he ran the Kazakh ASSR with virtually no outside interference. Between 06/15/1925 and 06/19/1925, the Fifth Kazakh Council of Soviets passed a resolution to change the name of the republic to the Kazakh Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic.<sup>298</sup> On 12/05/1936 the former Kazakh ASSR was being elevated to the status of a Union-level republic and thus became the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.<sup>299</sup> Like other parts of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan underwent forced collectivization and industrialization. These policies had profound impacts, including widespread famine in the early 1930s. During World War II, many industries and people were relocated to Kazakhstan from the western parts of the USSR, further integrating the republic into the Soviet industrial framework. The Soviet era saw significant Russification in Kazakhstan, with Russian settlers

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<sup>292</sup> <https://www.prlib.ru/en/history/619652>

<sup>293</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazakhstan#Russian\\_Kazakhstan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazakhstan#Russian_Kazakhstan)

<sup>294</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian\\_Soviet\\_Federative\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_Soviet_Federative_Socialist_Republic)

<sup>295</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkestan\\_Autonomous\\_Soviet\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkestan_Autonomous_Soviet_Socialist_Republic)

<sup>296</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)

<sup>297</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazakh\\_Soviet\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazakh_Soviet_Socialist_Republic)

<sup>298</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazakh\\_Autonomous\\_Socialist\\_Soviet\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazakh_Autonomous_Socialist_Soviet_Republic)

<sup>299</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazakh\\_Soviet\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazakh_Soviet_Socialist_Republic)

moving into the region and Russian culture and language being promoted. Namely during the 1950s and 1960s, the influx of immigrants, mostly Russians, skewed the ethnic mixture and enabled non-Kazakhs to outnumber natives.

12/16/1991 End Part of Other Country [USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]/Start Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy: On this date, Kazakhstan became independent with Nursultan Nazarbaev as president and a legislature dominated by ex-communists. Nazarbaev maintained much of the structure and personnel of the communist system (Kadyrzhanov 1999: 147, Olcott 2010: 92-93, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 72). Universal suffrage was guaranteed since independence in 1991 (LIED). In May 2007, an unprecedented legislative change was approved by the parliament, which involved lifting the two-term restriction on the presidency exclusively for Nazarbayev. This change did not constitute an appointment for a lifelong term, but rather allowed Nazarbayev the possibility of indefinite re-election.<sup>300</sup> After stepping down from the presidency in 2019, Nazarbayev retained significant influence in Kazakhstan. He held the title of "Elbasy" or "Leader of the Nation," a title that provided him with unique powers and privileges, including immunity from prosecution and a role in shaping domestic and foreign policies. This position and his continued influence in the political sphere made him a central figure in Kazakhstan's governance even after leaving the presidential office. Parliamentary and presidential elections are neither free nor fair, and major parties exhibit continued political loyalty to the government. The authorities have consistently marginalized or imprisoned genuine opposition figures. The dominant media outlets are either in state hands or owned by government-friendly businessmen. Freedoms of speech and assembly remain restricted, and corruption is endemic.<sup>301</sup> While Nazarbayev's regime exhibited elements of personalist autocracy, especially given his strong personal control over the state and its institutions, the regular occurrence of multiparty elections (albeit flawed) and the presence of some formal institutional structures align more closely with the definition of an electoral autocracy. Snap-elections in March 2023 were purported to be neither fair nor free and media coverage superficial with self-nominated candidates facing obstacles.<sup>302</sup>

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

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<sup>300</sup> Vgl. [https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/KAZ](https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/KAZ;);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President\\_of\\_Kazakhstan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President_of_Kazakhstan)

<sup>301</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/kazakhstan/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>302</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/kazakhstan/freedom-world/2024>

## Kenya

01/01/1900 (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy, Protectorate (along the coast)] [Start: 12/14/1895]: Kenya came under British control in the late 19th century (Lansford 2021: 870). The protectorate of Kenya (coastal line) was governed as part of the Colony of Kenya by virtue of an agreement between the United Kingdom and the Sultan, dated 12/14/1895.<sup>303</sup> On 07/23/1920 the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya (British East Africa) was established when the territories of the former East Africa Protectorate (except those parts of that Protectorate over which His Majesty the Sultan of Zanzibar had sovereignty) were annexed by Britain. The Kenya Protectorate was established on 11/29/1920 when the territories of the former East Africa Protectorate which were not annexed by the UK, were established as a British Protectorate.<sup>304</sup> The regime is coded as a de facto colony. Pre-independence elections were held between 05/18 and 05/26/1963. The result was a victory for the Kenya African National Union (KANU), which won most seats in the House of Representatives and in the Senate (Lansford 2021: 870). After the election KANU and Jomo Kenyatta coopted the leaders of the main opposition party, which dissolved itself.<sup>305</sup>

06/01/1963 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, Kenya attained internal self-government with Mzee Jomo Kenyatta as the first prime minister leading KANU in the autonomous government on basis of the pre-independence elections (Embassy of Kenya in Brussels, Embassy of Kenya in Japan).<sup>306</sup> In 1963 universal suffrage was introduced.<sup>307</sup> On 12/12/1963 independence from Britain was granted and Kenya became an independent British Dominion with Queen Elizabeth II as the head of state represented by a governor general.<sup>308</sup> De facto single-party rule was maintained mainly through the president's control over resources and patronage. When Odinga, who had led the opposition and initially agreed to the merger,

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<sup>303</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kenya\\_Colony#cite\\_note-5](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kenya_Colony#cite_note-5)

<sup>304</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kenya\\_Colony#cite\\_note-5](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kenya_Colony#cite_note-5)

<sup>305</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Kenya-African-National-Union>

<sup>306</sup> <http://www.kenyabrussels.com/index.php?menu=2&leftmenu=23&page=38> ; <http://www.kenyarep-jp.com/en/kenya/government/>

<sup>307</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage) ;

<https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Kenya2018.pdf>

<sup>308</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kenya\\_\(1963%E2%80%931964\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kenya_(1963%E2%80%931964))



resigned from KANU and attempted to form a new opposition party, the government used various manipulations and intimidation to undermine it before it was banned in 1969 (Decalo 1998: 194-95, 218-27, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 72).

12/12/1964 End Electoral Autocracy/Start One-Party Autocracy: Upon the adoption of a republican form of government within the Commonwealth on this date, Kenyatta became the country's first president (Lansford 2021: 870).<sup>309</sup> The main opposition party, the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) dissolved itself and merged with KANU in 1964 leaving KANU as sole party in Kenya (Hartmann 1999b: 476).

03/01/1966 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, a new opposition party, the Kenya People's Union (KPU) emerged, led by Odinga, whose forced resignation as vice president in April 1966 caused a minor split in the ruling party. The new party was joined by 29 Members of Parliament. The government subsequently issued a constitutional amendment which stipulated that the defected MPs needed to have their constituencies reconfirmed through by-elections. However, the starting conditions were highly unfair due to KANU's political and administrative control. The by-elections between 06/11/1966 and 06/12/1966 resulted in the KPU receiving the most votes, but KANU winning more seats (Hartmann 1999b: 476).<sup>310</sup> The main opposition party KPU was banned shortly before the first post-independence elections (Lansford 2021: 870).

12/06/1969 End Electoral Autocracy/Start One-Party Autocracy: On this date, general elections were held, the first since independence with Kenyatta's Kenya African National Union being the sole party to participate in the election.<sup>311</sup> Therefore, this period is coded as one-party autocracy. Kenya became officially a one-party state with the Kenya African National Union as the sole lawful party by constitutional amendment (de jure) on 06/09/1982 (Lansford 2021: 869). The bill enshrined.<sup>312</sup>

12/29/1992 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: After 26 years of single-party rule under KANU, a multiparty system was approved by constitutional amendment on 12/20/1991 (Lansford 2021: 869-870). On 10/28/1992, President Moi dissolved the parliament, five months before the end of his term and on 10/29/1992 the first multiparty

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Queen\\_of\\_Kenya#:~:text=Kenya%20adopted%20a%20new%20constitution,Kenya%20as%20head%20of%20state](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Queen_of_Kenya#:~:text=Kenya%20adopted%20a%20new%20constitution,Kenya%20as%20head%20of%20state).

<sup>310</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1966\\_Kenyan\\_parliamentary\\_by-elections](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1966_Kenyan_parliamentary_by-elections)

<sup>311</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1969\\_Kenyan\\_general\\_election#cite\\_note-1](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1969_Kenyan_general_election#cite_note-1)

<sup>312</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/1982/06/10/world/kenyan-parliament-approves-measure-for-one-party-state.html>

elections in post-independent Kenya were held.<sup>313</sup> Observers criticized the polling as tainted by KANU intimidation tactics, electoral fraud, and vote rigging (Lansford 2021: 870). While Moi and KANU retained authority over electoral laws and administration, and allegedly incited 'ethnic clashes' in areas opposed to them—resulting in the disenfranchisement of hundreds of thousands—it's not solely the discord among opposition leaders, but rather the lack of competitive conditions, that must be seen as the primary cause of their loss (Hartmann 1999b: 477-478). Before of the general elections on 12/29/1997 incumbent President Moi made some concessions to electoral reform, which he won by a plurality. (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 37).

12/27/2002 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Democracy: On this date, Kenya conducted general elections, recognized as the inaugural genuinely free general election held in the country since gaining independence, which were held under universal suffrage.<sup>314</sup> The ruling party lost in competitive elections (Kagwanja 2005: 51, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 72).<sup>315</sup> A new draft of the constitution was released in September 2002 which aimed to reform many of the existing systemic issues standing in the way of good governance. The new draft sought to create more accountability by establishing new and improved checks and balances on the executive and limit the powers of a dominant executive. Nonetheless, implementation remained elusive for multiple years. While Human Rights and civil liberties had improved significantly in the last decade, some abuses and issues persisted.<sup>316</sup>

12/27/2007 End Democracy/Start Semidemocracy: After the 2007 elections, concerns of electoral manipulation led to wide-ranging post-election violence and uprising.<sup>317</sup> A new constitution was approved by referendum on 08/04/2011, providing for a mixed presidential-parliamentary system with a bicameral legislature (Lansford 2021: 869). Following the nullification of the initial presidential election in 2007, the National Assembly passed contentious measures stipulating that if a candidate withdraws from a runoff election, the remaining candidate automatically wins the election.<sup>318</sup> The fraudulent results of the general elections in 2007 led to widespread violence throughout the country resulting in the deaths of more than 1200 people.<sup>319</sup> While the EU EOM praised the improvements proclaimed by the

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<sup>313</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992\\_Kenyan\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992_Kenyan_general_election)

<sup>314</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2002\\_Kenyan\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2002_Kenyan_general_election)

<sup>315</sup> <http://africanelections.tripod.com/ke.html>

<sup>316</sup> <https://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/kenya2/kenya1202.pdf>

<sup>317</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007%E2%80%932008\\_Kenyan\\_crisis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007%E2%80%932008_Kenyan_crisis)

<sup>318</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/kenya/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>319</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007\\_Kenyan\\_general\\_election#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007_Kenyan_general_election#)

new constitution, the elections in 2013 were a test for these new principles. Overall, the EOM noticed some shortcomings, the most significant issue being the lack of transparency in processing official results. Election observers and party agents did not have sufficient access to the processes at the constituency, county, and national tallying centers (Lisek 2013). In 2017 the results of the presidential elections were brought before the Supreme Court. The opposition candidate Raila Odinga, did not accept the victory of the incumbent president Uhuru Kenyatta and claimed that the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) had failed to conduct fair elections, resulting in a falsely declared winner. The IEBC refused to grant the Supreme Court access to the IT system, which was at the center of the legal dispute. Therefore, the Supreme Court annulled the results. Members of the IEBC itself raised concerns about the probability of a fair second presidential election. The second presidential elections were held in October 2017 and Kenyatta emerged again as winner and was sworn in on 11/28/2017. Odinga refused to participate in the second round. The ruling of the court received international attention and was praised.<sup>320</sup> AF, BR, GWF, HTW and MCM all classify Kenya since 2003 as democracy. Only LIED codes a change towards a multiparty autocracy between 2008 and 2013. We classify this period as semidemocracy, because of the severe violence in the aftermath of the 2007 elections, the allegations of fraud in 2007 and 2017 and the intransparency of the electoral process as noted by the EU EOM in 2013. At the same time, the independent ruling of the judiciary must be acknowledged above all.

08/09/2022 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: On this date general elections were held. They have been considered as “largely peaceful, free and fair.”<sup>321</sup> Freedom of expression is a constitutional right in Kenya. However, there are multiple cases of harassment of journalists and laws restricting press activity.<sup>322</sup> The judiciary is relatively independent and limits the power of the executive. A recent demonstration of this was in April 2022, when the Supreme Court upended a constitutional review process that would have expanded executive power. It also upheld election results of 2022 after allegations of the opposition that the online voting system had problems.<sup>323</sup> However, concerns about corruption are high. A charge of corruption against deputy president Rigathi Gachagua was withdrawn in September 2022, among other high-profile persons, raising questions about judicial independence.<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2017\\_Kenyan\\_general\\_election#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2017_Kenyan_general_election#) ;

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Independent\\_Electoral\\_and\\_Boundaries\\_Commission#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Independent_Electoral_and_Boundaries_Commission#)

<sup>321</sup> <https://english.news.cn/20220812/5ceae447bfe14ad787bf90c37aa86419/c.html>

<sup>322</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/kenya/freedom-world/2023#CL>

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

<sup>324</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/kenya/freedom-net/2023#C>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Barkan/Okumu 1978, Elklit 1994, Kaltschew 2010, Kim 1984)

## **Khiva**

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of Russia, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 08/12/1873]: In 1848, the Russians established a permanent presence on the Aral Sea by constructing Fort Aralsk near the Syr Darya's mouth. Their military dominance was so overwhelming that the Central Asian principalities of Khiva, Bukhara, and Kokand could not resist the Russian expansion despite years of resistance. After Russia's conquest of significant cities like Tashkent and Samarkand in 1873, General Von Kaufman led a 13,000-strong force to attack Khiva. As a result, Khiva fell on 06/10/1873, and a peace treaty was signed on 08/12/1873, designating Khiva as a quasi-independent Russian protectorate. Later, after the conquest of Turkmenistan in 1884, Khiva and Bukhara found themselves surrounded by Russian-controlled territory.<sup>325</sup>

11/07/1917 Continuation Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of Russia]: On this date, the Russian Soviet Republic was proclaimed.<sup>326</sup> Following the October Revolution the Khanat of Bukhara 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 (Becker 2004: 206, 211). The Slavic and European troops controlling Tashkent then worked to remove the khan of Khiva in 1920.<sup>327</sup>

02/02/1920 End Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of Russia, Communist Ideocracy/Start Part of other Country [Russia, Communist Ideocracy]: On this date, Sayid Abdullah, the final Kungrad khan of Khiva, stepped down from power, leading to the establishment of the Khorezm People's Soviet Republic (Fedorenko 2015: 3). The First Khorezm Kurultay officially declared its creation on 04/26/1920. This newly formed republic emerged from the territory previously belonging to the old Khanate of Khiva.

12/28/1922 End Part of other Country [RSFSR, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Part of other Country [USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]: With the establishment of the USSR,

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<sup>325</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khanate\\_of\\_Khiva#Russian\\_Empire\\_period](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khanate_of_Khiva#Russian_Empire_period)

<sup>326</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian\\_Soviet\\_Federative\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_Soviet_Federative_Socialist_Republic)

<sup>327</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Uzbekistan/Russian-and-Soviet-rule>

the Khorezm People's Soviet Republic became a part of the Soviet Union.<sup>328</sup> Later, on 09/20/1923, it was transformed into the Khorezm Socialist Soviet Republic.<sup>329</sup> In 1924 the former khanate's territory was divided between the newly created Turkmen SSR and Uzbek SSR.<sup>330</sup>

## **Kiribati**

01/01/1900 (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 08/02/1875]: In the framework of the Pacific Islanders Protection Act from 08/02/1875<sup>331</sup>, the British declared a protectorate over the region that later was known as the Gilbert and Ellice Islands (but not specifically over these islands). Nauru and the future Gilbert and Ellice Islands were placed in the British sphere of influence. A British protectorate was established first on the Marshall Islands and Nauru and later in 1892 was declared for the sixteen islands of the Gilbert Islands and Ellice Islands as well. The Ellice and Gilbert Islands were administrated together by a British governor from Fiji and then received their own resident commissioner.<sup>332</sup> Although technically separate protectorates, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands were treated as a single entity for administrative convenience. The British authorities adopted a continental type of protectorate, asserting authority that amounted to full sovereignty within its protectorates, later known as 'colonial protectorate'. With the arrival of William Telfer Campbell as second resident commissioner in 1896, indirect rule was effectively abandoned and replaced by an authoritarian, paternalistic, and direct rule. Hence, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands were governed like a colony, even before this arrangement was formalized in 1916 (Munro and Firth, 2003).

01/12/1916 Continuation [as official colony of United Kingdom]: On this date, the islands became a Crown colony.<sup>333</sup> During the year 1916, the Union Islands (Tokelau) were also annexed to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands colony. On 03/18/1937, Great Britain annexed the uninhabited Phoenix Islands (except Howland and Baker Islands) to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands colony.<sup>334</sup> This period is coded as colonial rule.

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<sup>328</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)

<sup>329</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bukharan\\_People%27s\\_Soviet\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bukharan_People%27s_Soviet_Republic)

<sup>330</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khanate\\_of\\_Khiva](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khanate_of_Khiva)

<sup>331</sup> [http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/imp\\_act\\_1881/pipa187538a39vc51346/](http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/imp_act_1881/pipa187538a39vc51346/)

<sup>332</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert\\_and\\_Ellice\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert_and_Ellice_Islands)

<sup>333</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert\\_and\\_Ellice\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert_and_Ellice_Islands) ; <https://www.rulers.org/ruljk.html#kiribati>

<sup>334</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert\\_and\\_Ellice\\_Islands#Gilbert\\_and\\_Ellice\\_Islands\\_Colony\\_\(GEIC\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert_and_Ellice_Islands#Gilbert_and_Ellice_Islands_Colony_(GEIC))

12/10/1941 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]: On the day of their attack on Pearl Harbor (USA) Imperial Japanese forces occupied the Gilbert Islands.<sup>335</sup>

11/23/1943 End Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]: After Japanese withdrawal from the Islands, colonial administration was re-established. The Tokelau Act of 1948 transferred sovereignty over Tokelau New Zealand while the five islands of the Central and Southern Line Islands were added to the colony in 1972.<sup>336</sup> In 1967 universal suffrage was introduced. Social unrest and ethnic differences in 1974 within the colony led the Polynesians of the Ellice Islands to opt for separation from the Gilbert Islands (later Kiribati). On 10/01/1975, the Ellice Islands became the separate British colony of Tuvalu, but the separation was completed on 01/01/1976.<sup>337</sup>

10/01/1975 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: In 1974 Ministerial government was introduced in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands colony through a change to the Constitution.<sup>338</sup> Following the 1974 Ellice Islands self-determination referendum, separation took place in two phases. The Tuvaluan Order 1975 made by the Privy Council, which took effect on 10/01/1975, recognized Tuvalu as a separate British dependency with its own government. The second stage occurred on 01/01/1976 when two separate administrations were created out of the civil service of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony. The British conducted a formal inquiry into Tuvaluan attitudes towards secession, and announced that a referendum was to be held, in which Tuvaluans could choose to remain with the Gilberts or secede. They were told that if they separated, they would not receive royalties from the Ocean Island phosphate or other assets of the colony. Despite this, 3,799 Tuvaluans (92%) voted to secede, while 293 voted against separation. On 10/01/1975, legal separation from the Gilbert Islands (now Kiribati), took place. On 01/01/1976, full administration of the new colony was transferred from South Tarawa to Funafuti. Tuvalu became an independent member of the Commonwealth of Nations on 10/01/1978.<sup>339</sup> Elections to the post of Chief Minister were held in the Gilbert Islands on 03/17/1978.<sup>340</sup>

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<sup>335</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese\\_occupation\\_of\\_the\\_Gilbert\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_occupation_of_the_Gilbert_Islands)

<sup>336</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert\\_and\\_Ellice\\_Islands#Gilbert\\_and\\_Ellice\\_Islands\\_Colony\\_\(GEIC\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert_and_Ellice_Islands#Gilbert_and_Ellice_Islands_Colony_(GEIC))

<sup>337</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert\\_and\\_Ellice\\_Islands#Gilbert\\_and\\_Ellice\\_Islands\\_Colony\\_\(GEIC\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert_and_Ellice_Islands#Gilbert_and_Ellice_Islands_Colony_(GEIC))

<sup>338</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert\\_and\\_Ellice\\_Islands#Gilbert\\_and\\_Ellice\\_Islands\\_Colony\\_\(GEIC\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert_and_Ellice_Islands#Gilbert_and_Ellice_Islands_Colony_(GEIC))

<sup>339</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert\\_and\\_Ellice\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert_and_Ellice_Islands)

<sup>340</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1978\\_Gilbertese\\_Chief\\_Minister\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1978_Gilbertese_Chief_Minister_election)

07/12/1979 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Democracy [as independent country]: On this date The Gilbert Islands achieved independence as Kiribati through the Kiribati Independence Order 1979, becoming a republic and joining the Commonwealth. On that significant day, the colonial flag was lowered for the final time during a parade honoring the newly independent state and commemorating the fierce battles fought on Tarawa during World War II. The parade was attended by numerous dignitaries from both domestic and international spheres.<sup>341</sup> The political landscape has stayed relatively stable since then, as the institutional structures have operated effectively and elections for both legislative and executive positions have been consistently held (Somoza 2004: 674). Presently, Kiribati is recognized as a multiparty democracy that conducts regular elections and has undergone peaceful transfers of power between competing groups.<sup>342</sup> Its constitution guarantees freedom of expression, religion and speech. Kiribati has a unicameral parliamentary system, in which regular elections are considered free and fair and are conducted under universal suffrage.<sup>343</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Korea**

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [Start: 10/12/1897]: The Great Korean (Taehan) Empire was proclaimed on 10/12/1897, when King Gojong assumed the title of Emperor. This Korean monarchy was the first to openly assert its status as an empire, a prerogative previously exclusive to the Chinese ruler in the pre-modern Sinocentric world order (Kwon 2021).

11/17/1905 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Colonial Regime [of Japan, Absolute Monarchy]: Japan declared the Great Korean Empire a Japanese protectorate in 1905 and ruled the country indirectly through the Japanese Resident-General of Korea (Kim 2009).<sup>344</sup> The protectorate agreement was based on the Japan–Korea Treaty of 1905 that resulted from the Russia-Japanese War in 1905 in which the Japanese government had clear geopolitical ambitions and sought to formalize its sphere of influence over the Korean Peninsula towards other powers such as Russia (Kim 2009). The Treaty deprived Korea of its diplomatic

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<sup>341</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert\\_and\\_Ellice\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert_and_Ellice_Islands)

<sup>342</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/kiribati/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>343</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/kiribati/freedom-world/2023> ; <https://www.state.gov/reports/2022-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/kiribati/>

<sup>344</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Korea\\_under\\_Japanese\\_rule](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Korea_under_Japanese_rule)

sovereignty and was rejected by the Korean Emperor.<sup>345</sup> This period is coded as a colony as it seems that the treaty was unilaterally concluded by Japan without the Korean Emperors consent. On 07/24/1907 the Korean Emperor abdicated in 1907 following a series of disputes with the Japanese, who saw the protectorate treaty violated and appointed the Crown Prince Sunjong as regent.<sup>346</sup> On 07/24/1907, Korea signed a new treaty with Japan by which all the prerogatives on internal affairs were legally surrendered into the hands of the Resident-General" (Kim 2009). On 08/22/1910 Japan officially annexed the Korean Empire by Japan-Korea Treaty of 1910. However, the start of colonial rule is coded here for 07/24/1907 and not for 08/22/1910 because already in 1907, the Japanese established de-facto hegemony over Korean domestic politics while annexation was de-jure effective in 1910. This led to an era of military dictatorship under colonial rule in Korea, which endured until 1945 (Kim 2009).

01/09/1945 End Colonial Regime [of Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by USA, Democracy and USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]: Following the conclusion of World War II and the withdrawal of Japanese forces from the Asia-Pacific region, the United States and the Soviet Union reached an agreement to temporarily partition Korea and oversee the removal of Japanese troops. In August 1945, the Soviet Union occupied Korea, which had been under Japanese control since 1910. Concurrently, the United States deployed its troops to southern Korea. Japanese forces surrendered to the Russians in the north and to the Americans in the south.<sup>347</sup> Korea was thus occupied by the USSR in the north and the USA in the south.

## **Korea, North**

[Officially known as: Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)]

09/09/1948 End Occupation Regime/Start Communist Ideocracy: On this date, North Korea, under the leadership of Kim Il-Sung, was founded on socialist principles and a Soviet-type political regime, focusing on economic self-sufficiency.<sup>348</sup> Kim governed the nation with a firm grip, fostering a cult of personality that revolved around his portrayal as the "Great

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<sup>345</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japan%E2%80%93Korea\\_Treaty\\_of\\_1905](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japan%E2%80%93Korea_Treaty_of_1905)

<sup>346</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Korea\\_under\\_Japanese\\_rule#Japan%E2%80%93Korea\\_annexation\\_treaty\\_\(1910\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Korea_under_Japanese_rule#Japan%E2%80%93Korea_annexation_treaty_(1910))

<sup>347</sup> <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/korean-conflict#:~:text=In%20August%20of%201945%2C%20the,the%20Americans%20in%20the%20south>

<sup>348</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_North\\_Korea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_North_Korea)



Leader" of the Korean populace.<sup>349</sup> The main regime party was the Communist Workers' Party of Korea (WPK). There were two other parties making up the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea, which were just satellites of the WPK (Savada 1994b, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 72). Universal suffrage was introduced from the start of the regime.<sup>350</sup> The political evolution of North Korea reflects a complex interplay of ideology, leadership, and external influences. In the early 1960s, the regime adopted features of the Chinese political system. The economic evolution towards a more internal market-oriented economy, combining a communist command structure with the Juche doctrine, has been a significant aspect of North Korea's recent history (Stock 2019). The Kim family's rule, now in its third generation, has been marked by the consolidation of power through various state institutions (Armstrong 2005, Gelius 2013, Scobell 2006). North Korea's foreign policy, heavily influenced by the Juche ideology, has shaped its domestic and international relations. The regime's development has also been impacted by the Cold War dynamics, the collapse of the USSR, and the rise of China, leading to a militaristic society and challenges in nuclear diplomacy (Becker 2005, Gerschewski/Köllner 2009). Throughout its history, North Korea has faced economic challenges, including hypermilitarization and central planning, leading to food shortages and economic crises. The regime's relationship with China has been a cornerstone of its foreign policy and survival, especially since the Sino-Soviet split (Sukhoon 2014). While the regime has strong personalistic features it is still as communist regime (Armstrong 2013). North Korea's ruling party, the Workers' Party of Korea, which was originally Marxist-Leninist, has also gradually distanced itself from orthodox communism, particularly since the 1970s, in favor of Juche.

Communist Ideocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Lankov 2006, Kim 1971)

## **Korea, South**

[Officially known as the Republic of Korea (ROK)]

08/15/1948 Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date the Republic of Korea was established.<sup>351</sup>

Under the leadership of Rhee, the country achieved independence. Rhee's supporters won the

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<sup>349</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/North-Korea>

<sup>350</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>351</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Liberation\\_Day\\_of\\_Korea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Liberation_Day_of_Korea)

legislative elections of 1948, with some significant political groups choosing to boycott the elections. The influence of the left-wing was considerably weakened by the U.S. occupation policy, resulting in the 1948 election being considered less competitive due to these factors (Savada 1994b, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 72). Suffrage for both men and women were given in 1948 right after the first constitutional law had been announced.<sup>352</sup> Rhee suppressed leftist opposition and his style of government became more autocratic over time.<sup>353</sup> He accumulated more and more power in his hands. The parliamentary and presidential elections that followed in the 1950s were marred by widespread vote-buying, manipulation of electoral regulations, and fraud. While opposition parties retained their legal status and were permitted to participate in the elections, the semi-competitive environment hindered their ability to garner substantial electoral backing (Croissant 2002a: 235).

04/27/1960 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: Public unrest began when Rhee extended his rule without a vote and against the constitutional limit of two terms. Public interest shifted to the vice-presidential elections. These were manipulated to a considerable extent in Lee's favor. Accusations of corruption arose as well. Protests against the corrupt regime grew and when a student was killed by the police during one it touched off a nationwide movement which led to ousting the president (Kim 1968: 302-03, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 72).<sup>354</sup> On 06/29/1960, South Korea held parliamentary elections, marking the sole instance of direct elections in the Second Republic. These elections were significant as they constituted the inaugural vote for the newly established House of Councillors, alongside the fifth election for the House of Representatives. Notably, they were the first national elections in the country that were relatively free and fair.<sup>355</sup> The parliament then indirectly elected Yun Posun as president. An office that now had mainly ceremonial rights.<sup>356</sup> While BMR, GWF and LIED classify the regime as democratic, PCR classifies the regime as autocratic, and MCM and RoW more specifically as an electoral/multiparty autocracy. In the beginning of this regime period the deficits in the institutional constraint on the executive became extremely evident. Afterwards, deficits in the electoral process continued to become evident. Therefore, we classify this period as semidemocracy.

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<sup>352</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>353</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syngman\\_Rhee#Presidency\\_\(1948%E2%80%931960\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syngman_Rhee#Presidency_(1948%E2%80%931960))

<sup>354</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/March\\_1960\\_South\\_Korean\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/March_1960_South_Korean_presidential_election)

<sup>355</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960\\_South\\_Korean\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960_South_Korean_parliamentary_election)

<sup>356</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/August\\_1960\\_South\\_Korean\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/August_1960_South_Korean_presidential_election)

05/16/1961 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Prolonged unrest and political deadlock between the president and prime minister led to a military coup led by Major General Park Chung-hee. Power from then on rested in a military junta called the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction, which was effectively led by Park, who took over as chairman after General Chang's arrest in July (Kim 1968: 289, 303, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 72).<sup>357</sup> In the two years of military rule, the constitution was nullified, and the legislature along with political parties were banned. Numerous politicians faced purges, blacklisting, and silencing, while demonstrations were strictly prohibited (Kim 1975: 303). From the beginning the junta declared their transitional nature. First and foremost, the United States pressured the junta to return to a civilian rule (Kim 1975: 303-305).

10/15/1963 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral (Military) Autocracy: This date marks the end of the Junta and the Establishment of the Third Republic. In the presidential election held on this date Park Chung-hee, in the meantime retired from the military, was elected as President (Kim 1974: 131, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 72). The elections of 1963 were characterized as free and more or less fair. Although the military junta was dissolved and the Third Republic proclaimed, the personnel stayed the same. The military rulers retired from active service and assumed posts in the civilian government. Therefore, the Third Republic is often referred to as a mixed military-civilian system (Kim 1975: 302-308). In 1969 a constitutional amendment was passed, which allowed Park Chung-hee to run for a third term.<sup>358</sup> During the 1971 presidential elections, Park emerged victorious over Kim Dae-jung, the oppositional National Democratic Party (NDP) candidate, although this outcome was achieved through extensive fraudulent activities (Croissant 2002a: 236). Despite the strong military background of the leaders of the new civilian government and the coding of AF, BR, GWF and MCM as military autocracy, we classify this period as electoral autocracy. The reason for this is, that there were multiparty presidential elections.

10/10/1972 End Electoral (Military) Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date Park Chung-hee launched a self-coup known as the October Restoration.<sup>359</sup> Park expanded his rule by introducing a new constitution that granted the president extensive authority, resembling almost dictatorial powers, and allowed him to seek an unlimited number of six-year terms.<sup>360</sup> Despite facing ongoing popular unrest, students and democracy activists persisted in their

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<sup>357</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/May\\_16\\_coup](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/May_16_coup)

<sup>358</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/October\\_Restoration](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/October_Restoration)

<sup>359</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fourth\\_Republic\\_of\\_Korea#Establishment](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fourth_Republic_of_Korea#Establishment)

<sup>360</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South\\_Korea#Post-Korean\\_War\\_\(1960%E2%80%931990\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Korea#Post-Korean_War_(1960%E2%80%931990))

protests calling for the elimination of the Yushin system. In response to these demonstrations, Park's government issued emergency decrees in 1974 and 1975, resulting in the imprisonment of numerous dissenters.<sup>361</sup> On 10/26/1979 Park Chung Hee was assassinated by the director of the KCIA, Kim Jae-gyu, thus bringing the 18-year military rule to an end. Prime Minister Choi Kyu-hah took the president's role.<sup>362</sup> This is not considered as a regime change since Choi as prime minister was not involved in the assassination and stood next in line for the presidency under Article 48 of the Yushin Constitution. Choi was the sole candidate in an election on 12/06/1979 December for the balance of Park's term, becoming the country's fourth president.<sup>363</sup>

12/12/1979 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date Major General Chun Doo-hwan launched a coup d'état. Chun acting without authorization from Acting President Choi Kyu-hah, ordered the arrest of General Jeong Seung-hwa, ROK Army Chief of Staff, on allegations of involvement in the assassination of former President Park Chung-hee.<sup>364</sup> In the following year, a vocal civil society, primarily composed of university students and labor unions, initiated powerful protests across the country to challenge authoritarian rule. Chun Doo-hwan responded by declaring martial law on 05/17/1980, which led to further escalation of the protests. On 05/18, a clash erupted in Gwangju between protesting students from Chonnam National University and the armed forces dispatched by the Martial Law Command. This incident evolved into a citywide protest that lasted for nine days until 07/27, known as the Gwangju massacre. In June 1980, Chun dissolved the National Assembly and established the National Defense Emergency Policy Committee, placing himself as a member. On 07/17, he resigned as the Director of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) and remained solely as a committee member. In September 1980, President Choi Kyu-hah was compelled to resign, making way for Chun Doo-hwan to assume the role of the new military leader.<sup>365</sup> On 08/27/1980, South Korea conducted indirect single-candidate presidential elections to fill the vacant position resulting from President Choi Kyu-hah's resignation. According to the 1972 Yushin Constitution, the president was elected by the National Conference for Unification, consisting of 2,540 members who were elected for a six-year term

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<sup>361</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_South\\_Korea#Fourth\\_Republic\\_\(1972%E2%80%931979\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_South_Korea#Fourth_Republic_(1972%E2%80%931979))

<sup>362</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_South\\_Korea#Fourth\\_Republic\\_\(1972%E2%80%931979\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_South_Korea#Fourth_Republic_(1972%E2%80%931979))

<sup>363</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Choi\\_Kyu-hah](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Choi_Kyu-hah)

<sup>364</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat\\_of\\_December\\_Twelfth](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coup_d%27%C3%A9tat_of_December_Twelfth)

<sup>365</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_South\\_Korea#Fifth\\_Republic\\_\(1979%E2%80%931987\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_South_Korea#Fifth_Republic_(1979%E2%80%931987))

in December 1978. General Chun Doo-hwan emerged as the sole candidate and was elected unopposed.<sup>366</sup>

02/25/1981 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: In February 1981, South Korea conducted two-stage presidential elections. On 02/11, an electoral college was elected, and subsequently, on 02/25, the president was elected by this electoral college. These were the final indirect presidential elections overseen by the government of Chun Doo-hwan under the newly implemented 1980 constitution, which now allowed opposition candidates to stand for election. Chun was re-elected with an overwhelming 90% of the vote from the electoral college.<sup>367</sup> On 03/25/1981 not only presidential but also legislative elections were held. Chun's Democratic Justice Party won 151 out of 276 seats. The election was supposed to involve multiple parties, but many believe it was rigged. Alleged opposition candidates faced strict scrutiny by the Agency for National Security Planning and the South Korean Army Security Command. Important political leaders such as Kim Young-sam were prevented from participating in the election. Others were arrested. The Democratic Republican Party, led by the late president Park Chung-hee, was dissolved against its will.<sup>368</sup> The fifth Republic of South Korea was established in 03/03/1981, when Chun was inaugurated.<sup>369</sup> On 02/12/1985 legislative elections were held. The ruling Democratic Justice Party of President Chun won 148 of 276 seats. It faced a tougher challenge from the united opposition. The New Korean Democratic Party (NKDP) was formed by former members of the New Democratic Party, notably opposition leaders Kim Dae-jung and Kim Young-sam despite being still barred from running. The party made strong gains across the country, largely thanks to its focus on greater democratic rights.<sup>370</sup> Overall the fifth Republic was ruled autocratically by Chun and his Democratic Justice Party, albeit less harsh and with less power than Park. The elections were considered rigged and illegitimate.<sup>371</sup> In June 1987, incumbent Vice President Roh Tae Woo announced a political reform that included direct election of the president. Subsequent negotiations between the regime and the opposition hammered out a constitutional compromise. The opposition's demand for constitutional changes, including direct presidential elections, was met by the military following widespread demonstrations. These changes paved the way

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<sup>366</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1980\\_South\\_Korean\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1980_South_Korean_presidential_election)

<sup>367</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1981\\_South\\_Korean\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1981_South_Korean_presidential_election)

<sup>368</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1981\\_South\\_Korean\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1981_South_Korean_legislative_election)

<sup>369</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fifth\\_Republic\\_of\\_Korea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fifth_Republic_of_Korea)

<sup>370</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1985\\_South\\_Korean\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1985_South_Korean_legislative_election)

<sup>371</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fifth\\_Republic\\_of\\_Korea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fifth_Republic_of_Korea)

for the transition to democracy (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 59, Han 1988: 52, Billet 1990: 301, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 72).

12/16/1987 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Democracy: On this date presidential elections were held. The elections marked the establishment of the Sixth Republic and set an end to the years of authoritarian rule. Roh Tae-woo, representing the ruling Democratic Justice Party, won the elections, securing 37% of the total votes. Notably, the two prominent opposition candidates, Kim Young-sam and Kim Dae-jung, collectively garnered more than 55% of the votes.<sup>372</sup> South Korea is a presidential democracy with a unicameral system. Civil liberties and political rights are generally upheld, but struggles regarding minority rights, corruption and misogyny persist.<sup>373</sup> In 2012, South Korea achieved a significant milestone as Park Geun-hye became the country's first female president, succeeding her father, former President Park Chung Hee. However, her administration faced serious allegations of corruption, bribery, and undue influence due to the involvement of her close friend Choi Soon-sil in state affairs. This led to massive public demonstrations starting from November 2016, ultimately resulting in her removal from office. Subsequently, new elections were held, which Moon Jae-in of the Democratic Party won. Former president Park Geun-hye was convicted in April 2018 and sentenced to 24 years in prison due to charges of power abuse and corruption. In March 2022, Yoon Suk Yeol, representing the conservative opposition People Power Party, narrowly won the election against the Democratic Party candidate by the slimmest margin ever recorded.<sup>374</sup> Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Croissant 2002b, Croissant 2004, Domínguez 2002, Huang 1997)

## **Kosovo**

01/01/1900 Start Part of other Country [Ottoman Empire, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 10/20/1448]: Kosovo became part of the Ottoman Empire after the Second Battle of Kosovo that ended in 10/20/1448.<sup>375</sup> The area became the scene of the Albanian nationalism movement in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which is closely tied to the conflict between the Serbs and the Albanians.<sup>376</sup> From the early 20<sup>th</sup> century on, the Ottoman Empire started to disintegrate. They

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<sup>372</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1987\\_South\\_Korean\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1987_South_Korean_presidential_election)

<sup>373</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/south-korea/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>374</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South\\_Korea#Contemporary\\_South\\_Korea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Korea#Contemporary_South_Korea)

<sup>375</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo>

<sup>376</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo#Ottoman\\_rule](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo#Ottoman_rule)

lost the Italo-Turkish War in 1912 and the Balkan Wars from 1912 until 1913. The first Balkan War between Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro and Serbia against the Ottoman Empire ended with the Treaty of London.<sup>377</sup>

05/30/1913 End Part of other Country [Ottoman Empire, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Part of other Country [Montenegro, Absolute Monarchy and Serbia, Constitutional Monarchy]: On this date the Treaty of London was signed, and the region of the western Kosovo ceded to Montenegro while the eastern Kosovo was handed to Serbia<sup>378</sup> During the Balkan Wars, a great exodus of Albanians took place, playing into the following colonization efforts of Serbia. New Settlements of Serbs in Kosovo were promoted, and the existing Albanians had to either assimilate or leave the country.<sup>379</sup> During the First World War, the Serbian Army was forced out of Kosovo by the Central Powers. Serbia was occupied by Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria.<sup>380</sup>

11/24/1915 End Part of other Country [Montenegro, Absolute Monarchy and Serbia, Occupation Regime]/Start Occupation Regime [by Austria-Hungary, Constitutional Monarchy and Bulgaria, Constitutional Monarchy]: On this date, the Kosovo offensive of the Central Powers against Serbia ended and resulted in the occupation of Serbia. Kosovo was split between Austrian and Bulgarian control, with the Bulgarian army occupying the eastern territories and the Austro-Hungarian forces occupying the western regions.<sup>381</sup>

12/01/1918 End Occupation Regime [by Austria, Constitutional Monarchy and Bulgaria, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Part of other Country [Yugoslavia, Ruling Constitutional Monarchy]: On this date the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later Kingdom of Yugoslavia was established.<sup>382</sup> The governance of the state was vested in the Serbian dynasty of Karađorđević, which had previously held sway over the Kingdom of Serbia under the reign of Peter I from 1903, following the May Coup, onward.<sup>383</sup> During this period, Kosovo was continued to be colonized by Serbians. Kosovar Albanians, as well as other Slavic minorities, were heavily discriminated against.<sup>384</sup>

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<sup>377</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balkan\\_Wars](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balkan_Wars)

<sup>378</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo>

<sup>379</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo#Ottoman\\_rule](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo#Ottoman_rule)

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo\\_offensive\\_\(1915\)#:~:text=Kosovo%20was%20divided%20between%20the,army%20would%20fight%20on%20regardless.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo_offensive_(1915)#:~:text=Kosovo%20was%20divided%20between%20the,army%20would%20fight%20on%20regardless.)

<sup>381</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo\\_offensive\\_\(1915\)#Aftermath](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo_offensive_(1915)#Aftermath)

<sup>382</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Yugoslavia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Yugoslavia)

<sup>383</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Yugoslavia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Yugoslavia)

<sup>384</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo#Ottoman\\_rule](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo#Ottoman_rule)

04/12/1941 End Part of other Country [Yugoslavia, Occupation Regime]/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy, Bulgaria, Constitutional Monarchy and Italy, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: On 04/06/1941 the Axis powers started their invasion of Yugoslavia in the context of World War II.<sup>385</sup> As a result, Kosovo was controlled partly by Italian-controlled Albania, Germany and Bulgaria. In the following war years, ethnic tensions intensified further.<sup>386</sup>

11/29/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy, Bulgaria and Italy, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Part of other Country [Yugoslavia, Communist Ideocracy]: On this date, the Socialist Federal Republic Yugoslavia was proclaimed.<sup>387</sup> The Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, commonly known as Kosovo, constituted one of the two autonomous provinces within the Socialist Republic of Serbia under the framework of Yugoslavia.<sup>388</sup> Over the following years, the region attained different levels of autonomy, before their freedom was significantly reduced in 1989. The ethnic tensions in Kosovo only increased during the 1980s, while the Serbian effort to oppress the Albanian population grew. In July 1990, Kosovo Albanians declared the establishment of the Republic of Kosovo, proclaiming it as a sovereign and independent state in September 1992. Ibrahim Rugova was elected president in May 1992, in an election limited to Kosovo Albanians. Throughout its existence, the Republic of Kosovo was only officially recognized by Albania. By the mid-1990s, Kosovo Albanians grew increasingly discontented, as the status of Kosovo was unresolved in the Dayton Agreement of November 1995, which concluded the Bosnian War. By 1996, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), an ethnic Albanian guerrilla paramilitary group advocating for Kosovo's separation and the creation of a Greater Albania, had surpassed Rugova's non-violent resistance movement and initiated attacks against the Yugoslav Army and Serbian police in Kosovo, leading to the Kosovo War.<sup>389</sup> The War ended June 1999, the Yugoslav and Serb forces retreated, and the UN send peacekeeping missions to Kosovo.<sup>390</sup>

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<sup>385</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Invasion\\_of\\_Yugoslavia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Invasion_of_Yugoslavia)

<sup>386</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo\\_during\\_World\\_War\\_II#Overview](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo_during_World_War_II#Overview)

<sup>387</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist\\_Federal\\_Republic\\_of\\_Yugoslavia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Federal_Republic_of_Yugoslavia)

<sup>388</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist\\_Autonomous\\_Province\\_of\\_Kosovo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Autonomous_Province_of_Kosovo)

<sup>389</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo#Ottoman\\_rule](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo#Ottoman_rule)

<sup>390</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo#Kosovo\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo#Kosovo_War)



06/05/2006 Continuation Part of other Country [Serbia, Democracy]: After ongoing political tensions in the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, the latter declared independence on 06/03/2006. Serbia followed two days later.<sup>391</sup>

02/17/2008 End Part of other Country [Serbia, Democracy]/Start Semidemocracy: On this date Kosovo declared itself independent. During the 2010 parliamentary elections in Kosovo, it was necessary to recount more than 40% of the ballots. Additionally, authorities indicted over 500 officials on charges of electoral fraud, and there were numerous instances of attempted vote buying in municipalities predominantly inhabited by ethnic Albanians and Serbs.<sup>392</sup> In 2023 at one time or another independence was recognized by a total of 119 nations.<sup>393</sup> Universal suffrage was guaranteed since independence and democratic structures were established. Yet, corruption, high youth employment and concerns over religious extremism remain problematic.<sup>394</sup> The status of the Serb minority remained unsettled, and the government in Pristina continued to face difficulty in establishing authority over the Serb-dominated areas north of the Ibër (Ibar) River. Obviously unsettled as well were relations with Serbia, still a major trading partner.<sup>395</sup>

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Kuwait**

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [as (de facto) Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 01/23/1899]: The Sheikdom of Kuwait gained independence from the Khalidi Emirate of Al Hasa under Sabah I bin Jaber of the Sabah Dynasty in the year 1752. The ruler had complete autonomy regarding Ottoman rule (Klaff 1991). On 01/23/1899, Sheikh Mubarak Al-Sabah signed a secret treaty with Great Britain by which Kuwait became de facto a protectorate. The protectorate status never became official although Sheikh Mubarak had several times tried to establish formal protection from the British against threats by the Ottoman Empire (Klaff 1991). While Kuwait had been a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire under special British protection since 1899 this did not affect its internal autonomy. The Sheikh was expressly granted complete administrative autonomy by the Ottoman Empire (Klaff 1991). Therefore, this period is coded as a ruling (absolute) monarchy under a de facto

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<sup>391</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Serbia#Republic\\_of\\_Serbia\\_\(2006%E2%80%93present\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Serbia#Republic_of_Serbia_(2006%E2%80%93present))

<sup>392</sup> <https://www.democratic-erosion.com/event-dataset/raw-data/>

<sup>393</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo#Declaration\\_of\\_independence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo#Declaration_of_independence)

<sup>394</sup> <https://www.ndi.org/central-and-eastern-europe/kosovo>

<sup>395</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Kosovo/Self-declared-independence>

British protectorate. On 11/03/1914, Britain declared the Sheikdom as an autonomous government under the protection of the British (Loewenstein 2000). By this, Kuwait officially was not part of the Ottoman Empire anymore and in 1920 was officially put under British protection, this meant that while Kuwait enjoyed full autonomy in its domestic matters, while Britain held sway over its foreign affairs. Consequently, Kuwait's ruler was barred from engaging with foreign representatives and from making any territorial agreements or transactions without the approval of the British government (Loewenstein 2000, Pillai/Kumar 1962). The case fulfils all criteria to be coded as protectorate although it is oftentimes declared as protected state.

06/19/1961 Continuation Constitutional Monarchy [as independent country]: Kuwait gained full independence on this date when the 1899 Treaty with Great Britain was terminated (Klaff 1991). Independence under al Sabah emirate. On 11/11/1962, the Constitutional Assembly adopted the Constitution of Kuwait, under which the monarch (Emir) holds executive power and dominates most state institutions. Nonetheless, the elected National Assembly has an influential role, often challenging the government. The National Assembly is popularly elected on a nonpartisan basis as political parties are illegal.<sup>396</sup> In 1962 universal adult male suffrage was established for citizens who are 21 or older, with the exception of those who, at the time of elections, served in the armed forces.<sup>397</sup> Kuwait held its first general parliamentary elections on 01/23/1963.<sup>398</sup>

08/02/1990 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Occupation Regime [by Iraq, Personalist Autocracy]: From this date until 04/20/1991 Kuwait was for seven months occupied by Iraq. However, since in 1990 as well as in 1991 on 07/01 the regime was a ruling monarchy both years appear in the dataset as a ruling monarchy. Note that regime duration after occupations is counted on anyway if the same regime is in place before and after the occupation.)

04/20/1991 End Occupation Regime [by Iraq, Personalist Autocracy]/Start Constitutional Monarchy: The regime continued after the occupation without changes to the time prior to the occupation. As of 2005, women who satisfy the age and citizenship requirements are allowed to vote.<sup>399</sup> After the elections on 02/02/2012, more than 50 members of parliament formed a Majority Bloc (Al-Aghlabiyya), an anti-government opposition bloc in the National Assembly. As a response, the Emir dissolved the National Assembly and issued a decree

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<sup>396</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/kuwait/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>397</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>398</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1963\\_Kuwaiti\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1963_Kuwaiti_general_election)

<sup>399</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)

amending the electoral law in October 2012, leaving the electoral districts intact but switching to a single non-transferable vote (SNTV) system whereby each voter would only have one vote instead of four. New elections were held on 12/01/2012, boycotted by the opposition.<sup>400</sup> Kuwait remains a constitutional monarchy governed by the Sabah family. The emir selects the prime minister and appoints cabinet ministers, with the stipulation that at least one minister must be an elected member of parliament. Members of the ruling family have historically held the positions of prime minister and most senior ministerial roles. In 2020, Sheikh Nawaf al-Ahmad al-Jaber al-Sabah succeeded his half-brother as emir and subsequently appointed another half-brother, Sheikh Meshaal al-Ahmad al-Jaber al-Sabah, as crown prince. The parliament unanimously approved the choice of heir, as required by majority vote. Later in 2021, the emir delegated numerous powers to Sheikh Meshaal.<sup>401</sup> While the monarchy retains executive power and controls most state institutions, the elected parliament plays a significant role, often challenging the government. The 50-member National Assembly is elected by the public in a formally nonpartisan manner, given that political parties are prohibited. Up to 15 cabinet ministers appointed by the government may also serve as ex officio members, although they are barred from participating in confidence votes. The emir, along with the Constitutional Court, which lacks complete independence, holds the authority to dissolve the legislature. This enables the executive to dictate the timing of elections to align with its political agenda. Such instances have occurred multiple times since 2011, often following conflicts between lawmakers and senior ministers belonging to the ruling family.<sup>402</sup> On 09/29/2022 general elections took place, following the dissolution of parliament by the Crown Prince. The voter turnout was approximately 50 percent. On 06/06/2023 snap elections were held. They occurred after the Constitutional Court annulled the results of the elections held in 2022, following a ruling by judges that the preceding parliament had not been dissolved correctly. The crown prince then dissolved parliament again on 05/02/2023.<sup>403</sup> The Interior Ministry, rather than an independent institution, oversees the administration of elections, and the electoral system lacks transparency. Despite this, elections are considered competitive compared to regional standards. Concerns about corruption in campaigns persist. The constitutional framework does not permit democratic transitions of power within the

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<sup>400</sup> <https://www.idea.int/answer/ans130355983610025>

<sup>401</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/kuwait/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>402</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/kuwait/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>403</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023\\_Kuwaiti\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023_Kuwaiti_general_election)

executive level.<sup>404</sup> The authorities impose certain limitations on civil liberties, such as freedom of speech and assembly.<sup>405</sup> Women, despite some legal protections from bias and abuse, remain underrepresented in the workforce and face unequal treatment in several areas of law and society.<sup>406</sup>

Constitutional Monarchy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Alnajjar 2000, Ismael 1982, Ismael 1993, Kechichian 2008, Ottaway/Choucair-Vizoso 2008, Herb 1999, Herb 2003, Herb 2004, Quamar/Kumaraswamy 2019)

## **Kyrgyzstan**

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Russia, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 10/07/1864]: During the late 1800s, the eastern portion of present-day Kyrgyzstan, specifically the Issyk-Kul Region, was transferred to the Russian Empire through the Treaty of Tarbagatai on 10/07/1864<sup>407</sup> after being under Qing China's control. The area, referred to as "Kirghizia" in Russian, was officially integrated into the Empire in 1876.<sup>408</sup>

11/07/1917 End Part of other Country [Russia (Russian Empire), Ruling (consitutional) Monarchy]/Start Part of other Country [RSFSR, Communist Ideocracy]: On this date the Russian Soviet Republic was proclaimed.<sup>409</sup> On 04/10/1918 the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (initially, the Turkestan Socialist Federative Republic) was officially proclaimed. The Turkistan ASSR was an autonomous republic of the Russian Federative Socialist Republic, which included territories of present-day Kazakhstan, Kyrgystan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan (Fedorenko 2015: 3).<sup>410</sup>

12/28/1922 End Part of other Country [RSFSR, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Part of other Country [USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]: With the establishment of the USSR, Kyrgyzstan became a part of the Soviet Union.<sup>411</sup> On 10/14/1924 the Kara-Kirghiz Autonomous Oblast was established in the former region of Soviet Central Asia, within the

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<sup>404</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/kuwait/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>405</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/kuwait/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>406</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/kuwait/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>407</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_Tarbagatai](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Tarbagatai)

<sup>408</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kyrgyzstan>

<sup>409</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian\\_Soviet\\_Federative\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_Soviet_Federative_Socialist_Republic)

<sup>410</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkestan\\_Autonomous\\_Soviet\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkestan_Autonomous_Soviet_Socialist_Republic)

<sup>411</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)

Russian SFSR. It was formed from the mainly Kyrgyz portion of the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The oblast was later renamed to the Kirghiz Autonomous Oblast on 05/15/1925. On 02/11/1926, it was restructured and became the Kirghiz ASSR.<sup>412</sup> On 12/05/1936 the former Kirghiz ASSR was upgraded to the Kirghiz SSR, which became one of the constituent republics of the USSR and gained independence from the Russian SFSR.<sup>413</sup> 08/31/1991 End part of other country [USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]/Start Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy: Upon attaining independence, President Akayev found himself navigating a political milieu wherein the communist-dominated Supreme Soviet held sway. Despite the formal dissolution of the communist party, Akayev's networks retained significant influence. Shortly thereafter, Akayev ascended to the presidency unopposed. (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 73).<sup>414</sup> Universal suffrage did predate independence (LIED). On 03/24/2005, large-scale protests prompted Akayev's resignation and departure, resulting in an interim government overseen by the opposition and the organization of new elections (Radnitz 2006: 132, Hiro 2009: 305-07, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 73).<sup>415</sup> On 07/10/2005, elections tainted by irregularities underscored a distinct progression toward authoritarian consolidation within the transitional government. Bakiyev, a key figure in the opposition to Akayev, assumed interim presidency and prime ministership subsequent to Akayev's removal from power. Initially entrusted with overseeing a democratic electoral process, Bakiyev's administration, however, leveraged its control over the electoral machinery to manipulate the ensuing election in favor of his own candidacy (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 73).<sup>416</sup> The Kyrgyz Revolution of 2010, also known as the Second Kyrgyz Revolution, the Melon Revolution, the April Events or officially as the People's April Revolution, began in April 2010 with the ousting of Kyrgyz president Kurmanbek Bakiyev in the capital Bishkek (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 73).<sup>417</sup> It was followed by increased ethnic tension involving Kyrgyz people and Uzbeks in the south of the country, which escalated in June 2010. The violence ultimately led to the consolidation of a new parliamentary system.<sup>418</sup> On 04/08/2010 Bakiyev was ousted in a popular uprising. On 10/30/2011 early presidential elections were held to replace interim president Roza Otunbayeva.<sup>419</sup> The 2020 Kyrgyz protests began on

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<sup>412</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kara-Kirghiz\\_Autonomous\\_Oblast](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kara-Kirghiz_Autonomous_Oblast)

<sup>413</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kirghiz\\_Autonomous\\_Socialist\\_Soviet\\_Republic\\_\(1926%E2%80%931936\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kirghiz_Autonomous_Socialist_Soviet_Republic_(1926%E2%80%931936))

<sup>414</sup> <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-kyrgyzstan/>

<sup>415</sup> <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-kyrgyzstan/>

<sup>416</sup> <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-kyrgyzstan/>

<sup>417</sup> <https://www.economist.com/asia/2010/09/30/a-vote-into-the-unknown>

<sup>418</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kyrgyz\\_Revolution\\_of\\_2010](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kyrgyz_Revolution_of_2010)

<sup>419</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011\\_Kyrgyz\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_Kyrgyz_presidential_election)

10/05/2020 in response to the previous day's parliamentary election that was perceived by protestors as unfair, with allegations of vote rigging. The results of the election were annulled on 10/06/2020. On 10/12/2020, President Jeenbekov announced a state of emergency in the capital city of Bishkek, which was approved by Parliament the following day. Jeenbekov resigned on 10/15/2020.<sup>420</sup> On 11/28/2021 snap parliamentary elections were held. They followed the annulment of the results of the October 2020 elections and the subsequent protests against the election's conduct. Turnout hit a record low at less than 35%.<sup>421</sup> While all other datasets agree that Kyrgyzstan was an electoral/multiparty autocracy, MCM observed a regime change to democracy.

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

Additional Sources (Olcott 1997, Eschment/Grotz 2001, Schatz 2009)

## Laos

01/01/1900 (de facto) Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 10/03/1893]: Before falling under French rule, Laos experienced only two brief periods (around 1350-1415 and 1637-1694) when it could assert the status of a nation-state (Smith 1963). As such the territory occupied by the French did not constitute a state. By the treaty of 10/03/1893 the Lao territories were divided into French Laos (east of the Mekong) and Siamese Laos to the west (Stuart-Fox 1995). In 1893, French Laos was divided into a protected Kingdom (Kingdom Luang Prabang) in the north and a directly administered territories in the south designated respectively Upper and Lower Laos (Stuart-Fox 1995). In 1893 Laos was incorporated as one of the five associated regions of Indochina, along with Cambodia and Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina in Vietnam. In the north of Laos, the Kingdom of Luang Phrabang was incorporated as a protectorate, nominally under the rule of its King, but the actual power lay with French officials including the vice consulate and Resident-General. The royal families' position in Luang Prabang was reduced to figureheads.<sup>422</sup> This resulted in an indirect governance approach in the north, while the central and southern regions were governed jointly as a colony until 1899, when Laos was consolidated into a single administrative entity (Evans 2002, Savada 1994a). The royal seat at Luang Phrabang was still seen as the official

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<sup>420</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020\\_Kyrgyz\\_protests](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020_Kyrgyz_protests)

<sup>421</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021\\_Kyrgyz\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021_Kyrgyz_parliamentary_election)

<sup>422</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_protectorate\\_of\\_Laos](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_protectorate_of_Laos)

ruler of the province and a royal court still remained, but it held no actual power, and it was later to be consisted of French appointed officials. The remaining nine provinces were directly ruled under the French government in Vientiane, with each province having a resident governor and military post. To financially support the colonial government, taxes were introduced and imposed on the population.<sup>423</sup> On 06/05/1930 Laos was officially declared a designated French colony by the French Legislative Council (Savada 1994a). After large protests, in 1931 Luang Prabang was confirmed as a protectorate of France (Savada 1994a). Only on 08/29/1941 a Treaty of Protectorate between France and the Kingdom of Luang Prabang was signed to re-establish the monarchy, while further provinces were incorporated into Kingdom of Luang Phra Bang (Stuart-Fox 1995, Stuart-Fox 1986, Savada 1994a). In 1942, France acknowledged the King of Luang Prabang as the monarch of Laos in its entirety (Smith 1963). In 1942, France acknowledged the King of Luang Prabang as the monarch of Laos in its entirety (Smith 1963).

04/07/1945 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]: The time France was liberated under General Charles de Gaulle in 1944 Imperial Japanese troops were being largely defeated in the Pacific Front and in a last-minute attempt to draw support Japan dissolved French control over its Indochinese colonies in March 1945.<sup>424</sup> Subsequently, Laos entered a brief interregnum when Japanese forces occupied the country and ruled Laos for a period of six months. During this time, they forced a royal proclamation to end the French protectorate, imprisoned or executed French officials and their families and incited the rulers of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam to proclaim their countries' independence (Pholsena 2006).<sup>425</sup> Laos was thus proclaimed independent on 04/08/1945 by King Sisavangvong under Japanese patronage (Pholsena 2006).

09/02/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional Regime: After the capitulation of Japanese forces on 08/27/1945 and their formal surrender on 09/02/1945, a power struggle started between the King and the Viceroy, Prince Phetsarath on the future of the country. While the Laotian King Sisavangvong planned the return to the colony status under the French, Prince Phetsarath wanted independence for Laos along with the integration of all the country's provinces (Pholsena 2006). In 09/1945 King Sisavangvong announced the union of Vientiane and Champasak with Luang Prabang to form

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<sup>423</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_protectorate\\_of\\_Laos](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_protectorate_of_Laos)

<sup>424</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_protectorate\\_of\\_Laos](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_protectorate_of_Laos)

<sup>425</sup> [https://factsanddetails.com/southeast-asia/Laos/sub5\\_3a/entry-2936.html#:~:text=The%20Japanese%20ruled%20Laos%20for,Lao%20Issara%20\(Free%20Lao\).;](https://factsanddetails.com/southeast-asia/Laos/sub5_3a/entry-2936.html#:~:text=The%20Japanese%20ruled%20Laos%20for,Lao%20Issara%20(Free%20Lao).;)  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_protectorate\\_of\\_Laos](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_protectorate_of_Laos)

a government that would include all Lao areas. Phetsarat to the contrary informed Laotian provincial governors that the Japanese surrender did not affect Laos status as independent and urged them to resist any foreign intervention. He also proclaimed unification with the country and the southern Lao provinces on 09/15/1945, that led to the King dismissing him from his post as prime minister and viceroy on 10/10/1945 and ultimately dismissed the dispute.<sup>426</sup> In this power vacuum Laotian anticolonial nationalists, known as “Lao Issara” (Lao Freedom) formed a competitive provisional government led by Prince Phetsarat on 10/12/1945.<sup>427</sup> On 04/23/1946 Sisavangvong was crowned King of Laos.

05/11/1946 End Non-electoral Transitional Regime/Start Constitutional Monarchy [as Protectorate of France, Democracy]: French troops re-captured Vientiane from the Lao Issara on 04/24/1946, and largely regained control of the Laos on September 09/23/1946. The Lao Issara went into exile, running a government-in-exile from Bangkok. France, in a temporary agreement, recognized the internal autonomy of Laos under the king of Luang Prabang, Sisavangvong.<sup>428</sup> Multiparty-legislative elections for a constituent assembly in the Kingdom of Laos were held on 12/15/1946, with all candidates running as independents.<sup>429</sup> The Constituent Assembly was convened by the French colonial government on 03/15/1947, and a new constitution went into effect on 05/11/1947, declaring Laos a de jure constitutional monarchy (Kingdom of Laos) within the French Union. King Sisavangvong, as former king of Luang Prabang, became King of Laos and reigned through the Royal Lao Government (Pholsena 2006, Savada 1994a). Elections for the 35-member National Assembly were held on 08/24/1947. The National Assembly convened in Vientiane on 11/26/1947.<sup>430</sup> On 07/19/1949 Laos was granted greater autonomy in the French Union. This satisfied the Lao Issara who dissolved the group on 10/24/1949<sup>431</sup> and gradually returned to Laos under amnesty (Smith 1963). The agreement signed at the Franco-Lao General Convention gave Laos greater latitude in foreign affairs (Savada 1994a). Therefore, Laos was allowed to join the United Nations even though their foreign affairs and national defense was still controlled by France (Evans 2002: 92). Therefore, the protectorate status is continued because greater

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<sup>426</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lao\\_Issara](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lao_Issara)

<sup>427</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/asiapacific-region/french-indochinalaos-1945-1954/>

<sup>428</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Laos/Under-foreign-rule>

<sup>429</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946\\_Laotian\\_Constituent\\_Assembly\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946_Laotian_Constituent_Assembly_election)

<sup>430</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/asiapacific-region/french-indochinalaos-1945-1954/>

<sup>431</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/asiapacific-region/french-indochinalaos-1945-1954/>



autonomy included only diplomatic representation at the UN but not the conduct of foreign affairs without consultation with the French. On 08/18/1951 the lower chamber of Parliament which were previously held on a non-partisan basis, for the first time saw political parties compete.<sup>432</sup> The result was a victory for the National Progressive Party. The party's leader, Souvanna Phouma, became prime minister.<sup>433</sup> A government was formed under Souvanna Phouma on 11/21/1951.<sup>434</sup> In this period Laos is a multiparty autocracy without elected executive. In this data set it is coded as constitutional monarchy as protectorate of France because King Sisavangvong influences government appointments and France as foreign power dominates political decision-making.

10/22/1953 Continuation Constitutional Monarchy [as independent country]: The Franco-Lao Treaty of Amity and Association on 10/22/1953, removed the last limitations on independence and transferred remaining French prerogatives in Laotian external affairs to the Royal Lao Government (Savada 1994a). Yet, the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Laos acknowledged Laos as a neutral state but forbade it from establishing military alliances with other governments (Anthony/Sexton 1993). It additionally concurred that the entirety of Laos should be under the authority of the Royal Lao Government led by the King and should remain undivided. The agreements, however, did provide for two “regroupment zones” in provinces adjacent to what was then North Vietnam to allow the Pathet Lao forces to assemble. As a consequence, the Laotian communists effectively governed those regions, while the royal government retained control over the rest of the country.<sup>435</sup> Legislative elections for the National Assembly were held in 12/1955.<sup>436</sup> The French government provided military assistance to the royal government beginning in 01/1955.<sup>437</sup> The U.S. provided economic and military assistance to the royal government beginning in 01/1955. Although some data sets advocate coding Laos as an exclusive and later electoral democracy between 1954 and 1959, in this data set Laos continues to be coded in this period as a constitutional monarchy. The Parliament of the Kingdom of Laos was a bicameral legislature that consisted of the national Assembly, whose members were popularly elected, and the Royal Council, whose members were appointed by the King or elected by the National

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<sup>432</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1951\\_Laotian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1951_Laotian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>433</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1951\\_Laotian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1951_Laotian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>434</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/asiapacific-region/french-indochinalaos-1945-1954/>

<sup>435</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Laos/Under-foreign-rule>

<sup>436</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/asiapacific-region/laos-1954-present/>

<sup>437</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/asiapacific-region/laos-1954-present/>

Assembly.<sup>438</sup> Elections were exclusive to the lao ethnic group, despite large vietnamese populations. Female suffrage was introduced in 1958.<sup>439</sup> On 10/29/1959 Sisavang Vatthana, the 6<sup>th</sup> prime minister of Laos and son of King Sisavangvong, was named regent and took over the throne. He was the last king of the Kingdom of Laos. He ruled until his forced abdication by the Phatet Lao in 1975. The Pathet Lao was a communist political movement and organization in Laos, formed in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, always closely associated with Vietnamese communists and North Vietnam.<sup>440</sup> However, he was never officially crowned king, deferring his coronation until the cessation of civil war. The king was active in politics as he was trying to stabilize Laos after the political turmoil started with the Geneva Conference of 07/1954, which granted full independence to the country but did not settle the issue of who would rule. As a result, the position of prime minister was disputed between three princes: Prince Souvanna Phouma, a neutralist based in Vientiane, who gained recognition from the Soviet Union. Prince Boun Oum, a right-wing figure from Champassak in the south, was acknowledged as Prime Minister by the US due to his pro-United States stance and control over the Pakse area. In the far north, Prince Souphanouvong led the leftist Pathet Lao resistance, with support from North Vietnam and the Communists. To avoid disputes over legitimacy, the pro-Western king Vatthan played a crucial role as the mediator.<sup>441</sup>

12/24/1959 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Military Autocracy: A military coup led by General Phoumi Nosavan, and supported by the USA and right-wing civilians, ousted the civilian government under Prime Minister Phoui Sananikone, Boun Oum's successor, with approval from King Vatthana (Chaloemtiarana 2007: 161, Stuart-Fox 1986: 25, Stuart-Fox 1997: 109-10). The coup virtually ended the Laotian monarchy's power, it continued to exist only in a ceremonial capacity and its influence was greatly diminished.<sup>442</sup> On 12/25/1959 the term of the National Assembly expired. However, elections for its replacement were not scheduled until 04/1960. The elections were marred by alleged fraudulent activities involving the royal Lao Army and purported assistance from the CIA. Accusations include gerrymandering, payoffs, and ballot box tampering, leading to a loss for the Pathet Lao.<sup>443</sup>

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<sup>438</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parliament\\_of\\_the\\_Kingdom\\_of\\_Laos](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parliament_of_the_Kingdom_of_Laos)

<sup>439</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline\\_of\\_women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>440</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pathet\\_Lao](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pathet_Lao)

<sup>441</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sisavang\\_Vatthana](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sisavang_Vatthana)

<sup>442</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sisavang\\_Vatthana](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sisavang_Vatthana)

<sup>443</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960\\_Laotian\\_coups](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960_Laotian_coups)

08/09/1960 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A left-wing coup led by Captain Kong Le aiming to jumpstart the negotiations with the Pathet Lao communist rebels ousted the conservative government led by General Phoumi (Stuart-Fox 1986: 26, Chaloeontiarana 2007: 161, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 73). On 12/10/1960 Prince Souvanna Phouma fled fighting between the Left and Right forces. General Phoumi Nosavan assumed executive power in the vacuum. In the meantime, between 12/11&12, Kong Le tried to generate citizens support in the capital city Vientiane.<sup>444</sup> In Luang Prabang, the national assembly, flown in by U.S., voted “No confidence” in Souvanna Phouma’s regime and backed General Phoumi Nosavan and his revolutionary committee.<sup>445</sup> According to Lao legislation, the expression of "no confidence" in the government resulted in the country being without a lawful administration until the king issued an ordinance to establish a replacement.<sup>446</sup> The following day, on 12/13/1960, in the wake of Souvanna Phouma vacating the government and General Phoumi Nosavan tactical position in the war, Boum Oum stepped up as interim prime minister but was quickly overshadowed by Phoumi Nosavan and military's assertion of political executive power. On 12/16/1960 The military forces under General Phoumi successfully recaptured Vientiane from the neutralist government and its defending military faction (Stuart-Fox 1986: 27, Dommen 1995, Chaloeontiarana 2007: 162). After the December 1960 coup, Laos had two governments, one controlled by the right and the other controlled by Souvanna Phouma and Capt. Kong Le, who espoused neutral policies. The neutralist government was established in the Plain of Jars (Stuart-Fox 1986: 27). The government led by General Phoumi and his civilian prime minister seems to have been the stronger and controlled the capital (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 73-74). The Paris Peace Accords on 06/22/1962 forced Nosavan to give up his hold on executive power and mandated Phouma resume his post as prime minister.

07/24/1962 End Military Autocracy/Start No Central Authority: On this date, a tripartite coalition was forced on General Phoumi and his supporters by the U.S. (Stuart-Fox 1986: 27-28, Dommen 1995). The Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos establishing the Tripartite government signed on 07/24/1962 (Lee 1969: 536, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 73-74). Although forced to relinquish his monopoly on power, Nosavan retained significant executive and official powers after the Paris Peace Accords on 04/19/1964. He abused these powers

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<sup>444</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960\\_Laotian\\_coups](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960_Laotian_coups)

<sup>445</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960\\_Laotian\\_coups](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960_Laotian_coups)

<sup>446</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960\\_Laotian\\_coups](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960_Laotian_coups)

extensively for personal gain and several right-wing generals became jealous. As a result, they ousted him by force and imposed restraints on Phouma in a partial coup. In May 1975 large, communist-organized student and union demonstrations against the anti-communists in the coalition government caused several non-communist ministers and a number of top generals to resign and flee the country. Continuing demonstrations in May and June caused the US to withdraw from Laos. On 08/24/1975 Communist Pathet Lao Rebels and the population supporting them began to impose their will on the government and installed themselves as the Revolutionary Administration Cabinet. Phouma remained the Prime Minister with some authority. Between July and November, most remaining high-level officers and civil servants were sent, most voluntarily, for what was supposed to be a few months of political re-education. In the whole period there were rival governments and no effective central power, hence, we code this period rather as no central authority than a non-electoral transitional regime.

11/29/1975 End No Central Authority/Start Communist Ideocracy: The king's abdication and the prime minister's resignation marked the conclusive stages of a largely peaceful transition from a coalition to a communist government from May to December 1975. On 12/02/1975, the National Congress of People's Representatives eliminated the monarchy and established the Lao People's Democratic Republic (Stuart-Fox 1986: 33-35, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 74). Since then, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP) has been the state party. Kaysone Phomvihane, the general secretary became prime minister and the effective head of government (Savada 1994a). Laos had no constitution until 1991. On 08/14/1991 a constitution was adopted by the Assembly. The constitution outlines both the duties and powers of the government, as well as the rights and responsibilities of Laotian citizens. It specifies that the LPRP is the leading body of the political system in Laos but does not explicitly ban other political parties (Johnson 1992: 84).<sup>447</sup> The LPRP exercises full control over political matters and imposes severe limitations on civil liberties. There are no organized opposition groups, independent civil society organizations, or independent media outlets allowed. The 61-member Central Committee of the LPRP, led by the 11-member Politburo, is responsible for making all significant decisions. The electoral laws and framework are structured to guarantee the dominance of the LPRP, the sole legal party, in every election, thereby exerting control over the political system. The LPRP screens all candidates seeking election to the National Assembly, where members then vote for the president and prime

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<sup>447</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_Laos](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Laos)

minister. National Assembly elections occur every five years, but they lack fairness and transparency, and international observers are not allowed to monitor them. On 02/21/2021 elections were held, the LPRP secured 158 out of the 164 seats in the assembly, with the remaining seats allocated to pre-approved independent candidates.<sup>448</sup> Leading human rights advocates remain detained, with investigations into forced disappearances of activist and ethnic minorities stalled. The ChaoFa Hmong ethnic group continues to encounter restrictions in accessing essentials like food, water, and healthcare.<sup>449</sup>

Communist Ideocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Brown/Zasloff 1986, Hartmann 2001, Zasloff/Unger 1991)

## Latvia

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Russia, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 09/10/1721]: As a result of the Great Northern War, which took place from 1700 to 1721, Estonia and Livonia surrendered to Russia in 1710, and the Treaty of Nystad in 1721, signed on 09/10/1721<sup>450</sup>, solidified Russian control, making Vidzeme part of the Riga Governorate. Meanwhile, the Latgale region remained under the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as Inflanty Voivodeship until 1772 when it was absorbed into Russia. The Duchy of Courland and Semigallia, a vassal state of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was annexed by Russia in 1795 through the Third Partition of Poland, thus bringing the entire territory that is now Latvia under Russian rule. Despite this, all three Baltic provinces maintained their local laws, German as the official language, and their own parliament known as the Landtag.<sup>451</sup> The territory that would later become Latvia, along with other western parts of the Russian Empire, was severely impacted by the devastation of World War I. Initially, demands for self-determination were limited to seeking autonomy. However, the situation changed with the Russian Revolution in 1917, which created a power vacuum. This was followed by the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk between Russia and Germany in March 1918, and ultimately, the armistice between the Allies and Germany on 11/11/1918.<sup>452</sup>

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<sup>448</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/laos/freedom-world/2023> ;

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021\\_Laotian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021_Laotian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>449</sup> <https://www.amnesty.org/en/location/asia-and-the-pacific/south-east-asia-and-the-pacific/laos/report-laos/>

<sup>450</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_Nystad](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Nystad)

<sup>451</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latvia#Reformation\\_period\\_and\\_Polish\\_and\\_Swedish\\_rule](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latvia#Reformation_period_and_Polish_and_Swedish_rule)

<sup>452</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latvia#Declaration\\_of\\_independence\\_and\\_interwar\\_period](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latvia#Declaration_of_independence_and_interwar_period)

11/18/1918 End Part of Other Country [Russian Empire, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: Latvia gained its independence de jure on 11/18/1918 and de facto on 08/11/1920 (Dreifelds 1996: 96-97, Casey et al. 2020: 11). Kārlis Ulmanis was appointed as the prime minister and entrusted with forming a government.<sup>453</sup> Universal suffrage was introduced in Law of elections to the Constituent assembly in 1919.<sup>454</sup>

04/17[&18]/1920 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Democracy: Latvia conducted elections for the Constitutional Assembly. The Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party emerged as the leading party, securing 57 out of the 150 seats in the Assembly.<sup>455</sup> During that period multiple parliamentary elections were held under universal suffrage.<sup>456457</sup> The constitution of 1922 envisioned an independent judiciary accountable solely to the dictates of the law.<sup>458</sup>03/17/1934 End Democracy/Start Personalist Autocracy: Following the emergence of a right-wing coup threat, Karlis Ulmanis, a centrist, took control of power with the assistance of General Janis Balodis. Ulmanis outlawed all political parties, closed down a majority of the press, and detained opposition figures as part of his actions (Dreifelds 1996: 96-97, Casey et al. 2020: 11). Up until March 1936, the incumbent State President Alberts Kviesis stayed in office and although he had not been a supporter of the coup, he collaborated with Ulmanis. On 03/19/1934 Ulmanis became State President and Prime Minister and thus united both the executive and legislative in one person.<sup>459</sup> Ulmanis "did not create a ruling party, [or a] rubber-stamp parliament".<sup>460</sup> The regime was characterized by a personal and paternalistic dictatorship, with Ulmanis, who referred to himself as "the leader of the people," asserting that his decisions were in the best interest of Latvians. He held a strong belief in Latvian nationalism and championed the slogan "Latvia for Latvians," advocating for Latvia to be a nation-state specifically for Latvian people, rather than a multinational state dominated by traditional Baltic German elites and the Jewish entrepreneurial class.<sup>461</sup> The regime can therefore clearly be classified as a personalist autocracy, as there were no longer any institutional restrictions on Ulmanis power.

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<sup>453</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latvia#Declaration\\_of\\_independence\\_and\\_interwar\\_period](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latvia#Declaration_of_independence_and_interwar_period)

<sup>454</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>455</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1920\\_Latvian\\_Constitutional\\_Assembly\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1920_Latvian_Constitutional_Assembly_election)

<sup>456</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#Dates\\_by\\_country](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#Dates_by_country)

<sup>457</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1925\\_Latvian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1925_Latvian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>458</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Latvia\\_2016](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Latvia_2016)

<sup>459</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/K%C4%81rlis\\_Ulmanis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/K%C4%81rlis_Ulmanis)

<sup>460</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/K%C4%81rlis\\_Ulmanis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/K%C4%81rlis_Ulmanis)

<sup>461</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/K%C4%81rlis\\_Ulmanis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/K%C4%81rlis_Ulmanis)

09/27/1939 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]: After the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in August 1939, Latvia was occupied by the Soviet Union under the pressure of a coerced treaty. Subsequently, in June 1940, the Soviet forces compelled the Latvian government to resign (Dreifelds 1996: 97-98, Casey et al. 2020: 11).

08/05/1940 End Occupation Regime [by USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]/Start Part of Other Country [USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]: Following the occupation, the Communist Party of Latvia became the sole legal party, forming the "Latvian Working People's Bloc" for elections. All other political groups were banned, including the Democratic Bloc, which was prevented from participating. The election results were manipulated, with Soviet army personnel allowed to vote and the announcement released prematurely. Despite the unconstitutional process, the newly elected People's Parliament declared the establishment of the Latvian SSR on 07/21/1940 and requested admission to the Soviet Union, which was eventually accepted by the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, formally incorporating Latvia into the USSR on 08/05/1940.<sup>462</sup>

03/18/1990 End Part of Other Country [USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]/Start Democracy: On this date, Latvia held parliamentary elections in the Latvian SSR. This marked the first genuinely free parliamentary election in Latvia since 1931. A total of 201 deputies were elected to the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR, with 170 of them being elected in the initial round. Subsequent run-off elections took place on 03/25, 04/01, and 04/29 to determine the remaining deputies.<sup>463</sup> In May 1990, Latvia's Soviet declared its independence from the Soviet Union. Following a tense and violent standoff with pro-Soviet forces, the Soviet Union acknowledged Latvia's independence in September 1991 (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 37). The first post-soviet elections took place on 06/05/1993 and 06/06/1993. The result was a coalition minority government between the two parties Latvian Way and Latvian Farmers Union.<sup>464</sup> Latvia has held regular elections since then, which are deemed free and fair.<sup>465</sup> Every citizen over the age of 18 may vote.<sup>466</sup> On 10/06/2018 Credible and competitive parliamentary elections took place, leading to the

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<sup>462</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latvian\\_Soviet\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latvian_Soviet_Socialist_Republic)

<sup>463</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990\\_Latvian\\_Supreme\\_Soviet\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990_Latvian_Supreme_Soviet_election)

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993\\_Latvian\\_parliamentary\\_election#:~:text=Parliamentary%20elections%20were%20held%20in,of%20votes%20and%20won%20seats](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993_Latvian_parliamentary_election#:~:text=Parliamentary%20elections%20were%20held%20in,of%20votes%20and%20won%20seats).

<sup>465</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022\\_Latvian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022_Latvian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>466</sup> [https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/f/6/541053\\_0.pdf](https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/f/6/541053_0.pdf)

formation of a coalition government from a divided seven-party parliament.<sup>467</sup> The parliamentary elections on 10/01/2022 were viewed as competitive and credible. New Unity, a center-right party, established a ruling coalition with the United List, a centrist alliance and the National Alliance, a right-wing party. Latvia is a parliamentary democracy with a unicameral system and is classified by FH as a consolidated democracy.<sup>468</sup> In general, civil liberties are respected both in law and in practice. Freedom of religion and freedom of assembly are protected. Political parties in Latvia are free to organize themselves and compete freely with each other. Although there are numerous provisions designed to ensure transparent government work, the European Commission Rule of Law Report 2022 expressed concerns about risk of corruption in public procurement. Judicial independence is guaranteed in principle, but corruption and politicization remain a persistent problem. Protection of human rights and equality before the law are ensured by the constitution.<sup>469</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Bilmanis 1947, Bilmanis 1951, Elklit 1994, Hiden/Salmon 1991, Iwaskiw 1995a, Iwaskiw 1995b, Pabriks/Valtenbergs 2010, Rogainis 1971)

## **Lebanon**

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [as Protectorate of Ottoman Empire, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 10/05/1861]: The territory had a special Status within the Ottoman Empire. On 10/05/1861 Mount Lebanon became semi-autonomous, when the Ottoman Sultan signed the Règlement Organique ("Organic Regulation"), which established the Mount Lebanon Mutasarrifate.<sup>470</sup> The Règlement Organique was the result of international intervention following the 1860 Mount Lebanon Civil War. The European powers were concerned about the instability in the region and the potential for further violence. They therefore worked with the Ottoman Sultan to establish a new system of government that would give the Lebanese people more autonomy. The 1861 agreement separated Mount Lebanon from Syria and reunited under a non-Lebanese Christian mutasarrif (governor) appointed by the Ottoman sultan (Longrigg 1958).<sup>471</sup> In September 1864, the statute became permanent. The Mutasarrif

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<sup>467</sup> [https://bti-project.org/fileadmin/api/content/en/downloads/reports/country\\_report\\_2020\\_LVA.pdf](https://bti-project.org/fileadmin/api/content/en/downloads/reports/country_report_2020_LVA.pdf)

<sup>468</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/latvia/nations-transit/2023>

<sup>469</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/latvia/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>470</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mount\\_Lebanon\\_Mutasarrifate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mount_Lebanon_Mutasarrifate)

<sup>471</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mount\\_Lebanon\\_Mutasarrifate#Daoud\\_Pasha\\_\(1861-1868\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mount_Lebanon_Mutasarrifate#Daoud_Pasha_(1861-1868))



was appointed by the Ottoman sultan, however, the approval of the European powers was needed.<sup>472</sup> The Ottoman army was not allowed to station itself in the lands of the Mutasarrifate except at the request of the Mutasarrif.<sup>473</sup> On 10/29/1845, the Ottomans introduced proportional sectarian representation in public offices. On 09/06/1864, a mixed administrative council composed of twelve delegates from the districts of the sanjak was established. These delegates were elected by the village shaykhs, who, in turn, were chosen by their respective village populations (Scheffler 2001). Village shaykhs were tasked with overseeing local matters. Although appointed by the Ottoman government in some cases, the shaykhs typically relied on the collective approval of those they governed to retain their roles. Confirmation of their positions often came through acclamation or general consent from the community (Freas 2010). However, the Lebanese Council of Notables was a consultative body, that did not have any legislative powers. The population had no say in politics. On 07/24/1908, the regions annexed to Mount Lebanon and in 1920 introduced elements of electoral participation when the Young Turks reinstated the Ottoman constitution and electoral law of 1876, which had been suspended by Sultan Abdulhamid II in 1878. This framework facilitated elections in Ottoman Syria in 1908, 1912, and 1914. Notably, Mount Lebanon's population abstained from voting to protect the "autonomy" of their sanjak (Scheffler 2001). Since only a small elite part of the population took part in the election processes the regime is classified as an electoral oligarchy.

11/28/1915 End Electoral Oligarchy [as Protectorate of Ottoman Empire, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Ottoman Empire, Constitutional Monarchy]: With the breakout of World War I and the participation of the Ottoman Empire the Protocol of 1861, which had established the semi-autonomous Mount Lebanon Mutasarrifate, was violated. The practical significance of the international guarantee provided under the Protocol of 1861 diminished when the signatory states became divided into two conflicting factions.<sup>474</sup> The Protocol of 1861 had stipulated that the Ottoman army was not allowed to station in the Mount Lebanon Mutasarrifate. It is considered to be the end of the legitimate administrators and the start of Turkish administrators.<sup>475</sup> Mount Lebanon came under military rule, resulting in a change in leadership and the dissolution of the administrative council, as a Muslim governor replaced a Christian one. Between 1915 and 1916, the Ottomans carried out

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<sup>472</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mount\\_Lebanon\\_Mutasarrifate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mount_Lebanon_Mutasarrifate)

<sup>473</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mount\\_Lebanon\\_Mutasarrifate#Daoud\\_Pasha\\_\(1861-1868\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mount_Lebanon_Mutasarrifate#Daoud_Pasha_(1861-1868))

<sup>474</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mount\\_Lebanon\\_Mutasarrifate#The\\_era\\_of\\_the\\_Turkish\\_Mutasarrifs](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mount_Lebanon_Mutasarrifate#The_era_of_the_Turkish_Mutasarrifs)

<sup>475</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mount\\_Lebanon\\_Mutasarrifate#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mount_Lebanon_Mutasarrifate#)

executions of agitators whose advocacy for Arabism or "Lebanon" had turned subversive. By the end of 1916, the combination of repressive military governance and the Arab revolt led by Sharif Husayn made either an Arab state or an independent Mount Lebanon the primary preferences of the local educated elite (Harris 2012).

10/01/1918 End Occupation Regime [by Ottoman Empire, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy and France, Semidemocracy]: After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War in 1918, Arab and Entente forces entered Damascus and captured the city. This event marked the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the region and contributed to its dissolution. In accordance with an agreement reached between France and the United Kingdom in 1916, military governors were appointed to various districts. The French occupied the coast and the British-backed government of Prince Faysal in the Syrian interior. Subsequently, the military administration issued a declaration, promising the people both liberation and the opportunity to establish their own national governments. However, in 1920, European authorities unilaterally granted the French a League of Nations mandate over the territory, divided into Syria and Lebanon (Harris 2012, Kedourie 1964, Thompson 2000).

09/01/1920 End Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Semidemocracy and France, Semidemocracy]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate of United Kingdom, Semidemocracy and France, Semidemocracy]: After the Ottoman Empire was formally split up by the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920, it was decided that four of its territories in the Middle East should be League of Nations mandates temporarily governed by the United Kingdom and France on behalf of the League.<sup>476</sup> On 08/30/1920, the new State of Great Lebanon was established by Decree by the High Commissioner and declared on 09/01/1920. The newly established State was set to be overseen by a French administrator, aided by an appointed administrative council comprised of ten Christians, and seven Muslims and Druze, selected by the high commissioner to oversee its domestic affairs (Longrigg 1958, Harris 2012). Initially, a French governor, acting on behalf of the high commissioner for Lebanon and Syria, governed Lebanon as chief executive of Lebanon. Together with the high commissioner, they governed through a council of directors, appointed by the French, acting as a cabinet. This representative council mainly had advisory functions (Harris 2012). In 1922, France confirmed the universal male suffrage from the age of 21 and multimember constituencies that had existed in Mount Lebanon in 1914. Moreover, two-stage elections

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<sup>476</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greater\\_Lebanon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greater_Lebanon)

were introduced, where secondary electors were chosen by the primary electors through an absolute majority. (Scheffler 2001, Harris 2012). On 05/25/1926, France formed the Lebanese Republic. A constitution was adopted establishing a democratic republic with a parliamentary system of government along with equal sectarian representation in public employment and government (Longrigg 1958, Traboulsi 2007). The first election under this new constitution was held in 1929. However, in May 1932, the French suspended the constitution due to a budget crisis and concerns over the potential presidential candidacy of Muhammad al-Jist, a Muslim politician (Thompson 2000). In 1933, Antoun Saadeh established the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP), advocating for a "Greater Syrian identity" that incorporated elements of romanticism and European fascism. (Harris 2012: 187). That year, the new high commissioner, Damien de Martiel, reinstated parliament and introduced direct voting for deputies in the 1934 elections. Bishara al-Khuri formed the Constitutional Bloc, while the high commissioner continued interfering with candidate lists and vote-buying (Harris 2012). The amended 1926 constitution was reinstated in January 1938, following elections held in late 1937, before it was suspended again after the outbreak of the Second World War on 09/11/1939 (Fieldhouse 2006).

07/12/1941 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate of United Kingdom, Democracy and France, Occupation Regime]/Start Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Democracy and France, Occupation Regime]: Following France's defeat in June 1940, Lebanon remained under Vichy government control. On 06/08/1941, British and Free French troops invaded Lebanon, leading to the surrender of Vichy forces on 07/12/1941. This effectively ended France's control of Lebanon and established a shared Anglo-French administration over Lebanon and Syria. Free French General Georges Catroux became high commissioner with British approval and promised independence (Harris 2012, Thompson 2000). Alfred Naqash remained president with a multi-confessional government (Fieldhouse 2006). Independence was guaranteed by the British on 06/08/1941. General elections took place on 08/29/1943.<sup>477</sup> However, independence was not realized until 11/08/1943, when the Chamber of Deputies approved a set of constitutional amendments. These revisions removed the provision that designated the French mandatory authority as the exclusive source of political power and jurisdiction, reinstated Arabic as the sole official language of the nation and introduced a new design for the Lebanese flag (Traboulsi 2007).

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<sup>477</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1943\\_Lebanese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1943_Lebanese_general_election)

08/29/1943 End Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Democracy and France, Occupation Regime]/Start Electoral Autocracy [as independent country]: On 11/22/1943 Catroux announced the termination of the French Mandate in Lebanon (Traboulsi 2007). Parliamentary elections took place on 08/29/1943 and 09/04/1943. With independence universal suffrage for all adults (males and females) was introduced. However, the Chamber of Deputies was shared equally between Christians and Muslims, rather than elected by universal suffrage that would have provided a Muslim majority. On 09/21/1943 Bishara al-Khuri was indirectly elected by parliament (Scheffler 2001).<sup>478</sup> In that year, Maronite leader Bishara al-Khuri and Sunni leader Riyad al-Suhl reached an agreement known as the National Pact. This informal agreement outlined sectarian power sharing with a 6:5 ratio between Christians and Muslims in government positions and designated specific government roles: a Maronite president, a Sunni prime minister, a Shiite speaker of parliament, and a Greek-Orthodox deputy speaker and deputy prime minister. These principles of consociationalism guided the elections until the Taif Agreement in 1989 (Scheffler 2001, Bogaards 2019). In 1944, the French handed over the control of the civilian administration to a nationalist government, before the last French troops withdrew from the now independent state on 12/31/1946 (Thompson 2000, Scheffler 2001).

On 05/25/1947, the first round of a general election took place, followed by a second round on 06/01/1947. The majority of seats were won by independent candidates. As'ad AbuKhalil characterized the 1947 election as "one of the most corrupt in Lebanese history" and alleged that Camille Chamoun had manipulated the results through rigging.<sup>479</sup> The "White Revolution" of 1952 ousted President El-Khuri and introduced compulsory male voting and limited women's suffrage with educational restrictions. These restrictions as well as compulsory voting were lifted in 1957 (Scheffler 2001). Camille Chamoun succeeded El Khuri and assumed office on 09/23/1952. He stretched his powers to a maximum, effectively acting like an autocrat, favoring strict interpretation of the constitution over the spirit of the National Pact. He chose weak prime ministers who relied on his favors rather than representing their communities. By directly controlling major ministries through their directors-general, he bypassed ministerial oversight. He also manipulated elections by creating small electoral districts with fewer deputies, ensuring his control in the legislature and reinforcing sectarianism. Media reported, that his authoritarianism had become so

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<sup>478</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/lebanon/22.htm> ; [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>479</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1947\\_Lebanese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1947_Lebanese_general_election)

extreme that the head of state effectively monopolized all branches of government (Traboulsi 2012: 130-131). After the assassination of a journalist, clashes erupted between Christians and non-Christians, involving challenges to the National Pact and Chamoun's intention to prolong his presidency. Upon the request of President Chamoun, British and American troops entered Lebanon from 07/15/1958. The 1958 insurrection concluded when the parliament chose Fu'ad Shihab with 48 votes on 07/30/1958 as Chamoun's successor, with ten of Chamoun's loyalists abstaining. Chamoun left office on 09/23/1958, and Shihab took over. American troops departed by late October (Harris 2012, Traboulsi 2007). In 1960, Shihab increased the parliament's size from sixty-six to ninety-nine to include more of his supporters. The 1960 electoral law introduced voter seclusion, but voters still brought ballot papers from outside (Harris 2012). Aside from technical inaccuracies, electoral fraud is prevalent in Lebanon and often coincides with a disregard for statistical concerns. Prior to the establishment of the Constitutional Court in 1994, conducting an impartial assessment of electoral irregularities was unattainable, as Parliament held the authority to nullify seats obtained through fraudulent means. In the majority of instances, information regarding invalid votes was either unavailable or, at best, unreliable. (Scheffler 2001). Most datasets, including GWF, HTW, LIED, MCM classify Lebanon in this period as a democracy. PCR categorizes the regime as a semidemocracy. However, RoW classifies the regime as an electoral autocracy and BMR as an autocracy. According to our classification the regime is a borderline case between a semidemocracy and an electoral autocracy. Hence, most categorizations of the regime seem to positive overlooking fundamental democratic deficits.

04/13/1975 End Electoral Autocracy/Start No Central Authority: On this date, a civil war erupted in Lebanon, causing the Lebanese state to collapse as Maronites fought Palestinians and the Leftist/Muslim National Front (Harris 2012, Collelo 1987: 29).<sup>480</sup> Fundamental state institutions like the army, president and cabinet disintegrated or split up, with the parliament becoming the sole undivided institution. Subsequently, the parliament, elected between 04/16-30/1972, extended its term repeatedly (Scheffler 2001). Hence, even though Lebanon's state and regime endured, they did so lacking authority (Harris 2012: 235). The war can be categorized into distinct periods: an initial outbreak in the mid-1970s, followed by Syrian and Israeli interventions in the late 1970s. The conflict between the Palestinian Liberation

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<sup>480</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Lebanon2018.pdf>

Organization (PLO) and Israel escalated in the early 1980s, leading to the 1982 Israeli invasion.

02/26/1985 End No Central Authority/Start No Central Authority [territory partially occupied by Israel and Syria]: Subsequently, there was a brief period of multinational involvement, culminating in a resolution that resulted in the Syrian occupation.<sup>481</sup> In the wake of the ongoing civil war Israel occupied the south of Lebanon from 02/26/1985 to 05/25/2000.<sup>482</sup> Furthermore Lebanon was occupied by Syria from 05/31/1976 to 04/30/2005.<sup>483</sup>

10/04/1990 End No Central Authority/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime: The civil war ended on 10/04/1990.<sup>484</sup> The war's conclusion was initiated by the Taif Agreement in 1989, which was officially approved on 11/04. The next day, President René Mouawad was elected, but his term was short-lived as he fell victim to a car bombing in Beirut on 11/22 while returning from Lebanese Independence Day events. Following his assassination, Elias Hrawi assumed the presidency and served until 1998. He was elected by 47 out of 53 members of parliament on 11/24.<sup>485</sup> In August 1990, the parliament and the new president agreed on constitutional amendments embodying some of the political reforms envisioned at Taif.<sup>486</sup> Despite the end of the Lebanese civil war, Syrian forces continued to maintain a significant presence in Lebanon, exerting substantial influence over the country's affairs. In 1991, both Lebanon and Syria signed a Treaty of "Brotherhood, Cooperation, and Coordination," which provided legitimacy to the Syrian military's continued presence in Lebanon. According to the treaty's terms, Lebanon committed not to pose a threat to Syria's security, while Syria assumed the responsibility of safeguarding Lebanon from external threats.<sup>487</sup>

08/23[&10/11]/1992 End Non-electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: These dates mark the first and second round of the first general election since 1972. Independent candidates won most seats, although most of them were considered members of various blocs.<sup>488</sup> Before the Israeli election in May 1999, Israel's Prime Minister Ehud Barak made a promise that all Israeli forces would withdraw from Southern Lebanon within a year, which effectively meant withdrawing support for the South Lebanon Army.

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<sup>481</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Lebanon#The\\_Lebanese\\_Civil\\_War:\\_1975%E2%80%931990](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Lebanon#The_Lebanese_Civil_War:_1975%E2%80%931990)

<sup>482</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israeli\\_occupation\\_of\\_Southern\\_Lebanon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israeli_occupation_of_Southern_Lebanon)

<sup>483</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syrian\\_occupation\\_of\\_Lebanon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syrian_occupation_of_Lebanon)

<sup>484</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lebanese\\_Civil\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lebanese_Civil_War)

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<sup>486</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Lebanon#The\\_Lebanese\\_Civil\\_War:\\_1975%E2%80%931990](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Lebanon#The_Lebanese_Civil_War:_1975%E2%80%931990)

<sup>487</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syrian\\_occupation\\_of\\_Lebanon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syrian_occupation_of_Lebanon)

<sup>488</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992\\_Lebanese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992_Lebanese_general_election)

Efforts to negotiate a peace agreement between Israel and Lebanon, including Syria, failed due to Syria's control of Lebanon until 2005. Consequently, Barak decided to withdraw the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) to the internationally recognized border. The complete Israeli withdrawal to this border occurred on 05/24/2000. Following the withdrawal, the South Lebanon Army quickly collapsed as Hezbollah applied pressure on the remaining units, leading most officers and administration officials to flee to Israel.<sup>489</sup> On 02/28/2005 the government of prime minister Najib Miqati as head of an interim government took over, whose main task was to run the elections.<sup>490</sup> As a result of the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1559 and in the wake of the assassination of the former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, with allegations of Syrian involvement in his death, a popular uprising known as the Cedar Revolution took place across the country. On 03/05/2005, Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad declared in his speech to the Syrian parliament that Syrian forces would commence their withdrawal from Lebanon. This withdrawal was completed on 04/30/2005, marking the full withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon.<sup>491</sup> In May and June 2005, Lebanon conducted general elections to elect the 128 members of its parliament. These elections marked a significant moment as they were the second in three decades to take place without any Syrian military or intelligence involvement in Lebanon. Notably, a single electoral block secured an outright victory for the first time in Lebanese history, and these elections also represented the first instance of United Nations monitoring.<sup>492</sup> The EU Election Observation Mission reported serious irregularities of the electoral process, described media coverage as unbalanced and found substantial weaknesses in the electoral framework.<sup>493</sup> Parliamentary elections were held in Lebanon on 06/07/2009 to elect all 128 members of the Parliament of Lebanon. The parliament elected in 2009 had repeatedly extended its own term, citing the need for electoral reforms as well as security concerns related to the civil war in Syria.<sup>494</sup> Hence, between 2013 and 2018 the regime in Lebanon was a borderline case between a non-electoral (Multiparty) regime and an electoral autocracy. Subsequent elections in 2018 are regarded as free and fair, however, vote buying was rampant, and the electoral framework retained substantial structural flaws associated with the sectarian political system.<sup>495</sup> Prime

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<sup>489</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israeli\\_occupation\\_of\\_Southern\\_Lebanon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israeli_occupation_of_Southern_Lebanon)

<sup>490</sup> <https://www.iemed.org/publication/lebanon-2005/>

<sup>491</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syrian\\_occupation\\_of\\_Lebanon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syrian_occupation_of_Lebanon)

<sup>492</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005\\_Lebanese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_Lebanese_general_election)

<sup>493</sup> [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/node/26302\\_en](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/node/26302_en)

<sup>494</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2009\\_Lebanese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2009_Lebanese_general_election) ;  
<https://freedomhouse.org/country/lebanon/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>495</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/lebanon/freedom-world/2022>

minister Saad Hariri resigned in July after failing to organize a government. A new government headed by Mikati was installed in September 2021.<sup>496</sup> The most recent elections were held on 05/15/2022.

Electoral Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Lesotho**

[Historically the territory of Lesotho occupied the Basotho Kingdom]

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 11/03/1871]: Prior to British rule, the territory known today as Lesotho was ruled by Moshoeshoe I. It was a nation constituting the Basotho Kingdom which emerged as a polity in 1822. After war with Boer settlers in 1856 and in 1886, Moshoeshoe appealed for British protection (Turner 2016). Protection was granted in 1868, however the Kingdom was annexed to Cape Colony (now South Africa) shortly afterwards in 1871, confirmed by an Order in Council of 11/03/1871.<sup>497</sup> In 1883, it was placed under direct British rule when it was annexed as a Crown colony and governed by the High Commissioner for South Africa (Keltie 2014, Turner 2016). While by name and the fact that the territory was annexed by the British, Lesotho was a colony it was de facto a borderline case between a colony and a protectorate. It remained under direct rule by a commissioner, while effective internal power is said to have been “wielded by tribal chiefs”.<sup>498</sup> While Moshoeshoe had been succeeded as paramount chief by his son, Letsie I, and he in turn was succeeded in 1891 by Lerotholi Letsie I, yet they acted in concert with the British representative in the country, to whom was given the title of resident commissioner.<sup>499</sup> Furthermore, self-governance was encouraged in Basotho: Although the Commissioner possessed the authority to enact laws through Proclamation on specific matters like external affairs, defense, and the public service, these subjects were beyond the jurisdiction of the National Council. However, the Commissioner was obligated to present a draft of any Proclamation to the council and take their feedback into account. The Constitution included specific provisions concerning objections raised by the council regarding particular matters.<sup>500</sup> The British established a dual rule system that vested significant authority in the paramount chiefs: Letsie (1870-1891), Lerotholi (1891-1905), Letsie II (1905-1913), Griffith (1913-

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<sup>496</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/lebanon/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>497</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Basutoland>

<sup>498</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lesotho#Basutoland>

<sup>499</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lesotho#Basutoland>

<sup>500</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lesotho#Basutoland>



1939), Seeiso (1939–1940), and the regent 'Mantsebo (1940–1960) – all direct descendants of Moshoeshe I. These leaders delegated power through a hierarchy of regional chiefs selected from the royal lineage and key chiefdoms.<sup>501</sup> Lesotho is a borderline case between a colony and a semi-autonomous protectorate.

04/29/1965 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Semidemocracy [as self-governing entity]: In 1965, complete internal self-government was attained under King Moshoeshe II (Turner 2016). Universal suffrage was introduced in 1965<sup>502</sup> and pre-independence general elections were held on 04/29/1965. The result was a narrow victory for the Basotho National Party (Engel 1999: 495).<sup>503</sup> Lesotho is along our coding lines a borderline case between a ruling (constitutional) monarchy and a regime with a ceremonial monarch. However, in all regime datasets with the category monarchy like AF, CGV, HTW and GWF Lesotho is at no one point in its history classified into this category. In addition to that qualitative literature indicates that the king had no executive powers (Nyane 2020).

10/04/1966 Continuation Semidemocracy [as independent country]: On 10/04/1966, Basutoland achieved independence as the Kingdom of Lesotho. The Basotho National Party (BNP) ruled from 1966 until January 1970.<sup>504</sup> Regarding severe democratic defects regarding executive constraints among other things the regime is coded as semidemocratic. The classification in datasets of the regime varies. RoW classifies the regime as an electoral autocracy, LIED as a multiparty autocracy, BMR as non-democratic, PRC as a semidemocracy and GWF as a democracy. Polity5 indicates that it is a hybrid regime between a democracy and an autocracy.<sup>505</sup>

01/31/1970 End Semidemocracy/Start One-Party Autocracy: The ruling Basotho National Party (BNP), which won a free and fair pre-independence election, annulled the first post-independence election when it appeared to be losing against the Basotho Congress Party (BCP) (Matlosa 1997: 143). Prime minister Leabua Jonathan declared a state of emergency, made de facto a self-coup and suspended constitutional restraints on his executive power. In January 1974, Jonathan accused the BCP of attempting to stage a coup and the party was outlawed. In September 1985, for the first time since 1970 a general election took place in Lesotho. However, all parties except the BNP boycotted the election. Since Jonathan ruled as leader of the BNP the regime is classified as a one-party autocracy. However, since there have

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<sup>501</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Lesotho/The-Sotho-kingdom-1824-69>

<sup>502</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>503</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1965\\_Basutoland\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1965_Basutoland_general_election)

<sup>504</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lesotho>

<sup>505</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Lesotho2018.pdf>

not even been one-party elections from 1970 to 1985 it is a borderline case between a personalist autocracy and a one-party autocracy.<sup>506</sup>

01/20/1986 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A military coup led by General Justin Lekhanya ousted the single-party BNP government. Lekhanya became the chairman of a junta. The powers of the king were increased (Baynham/Mills 1987: 52, Machobane 2001: 52-65, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 74).<sup>507</sup> However, on 11/12/1990 Lekhanya launched a self-coup against the king in order to consolidate all power in his junta.

04/30/1991 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Colonel Elias Phisoana Ramaema led a coup ousting Prime Minister General Justin Lekhanya. Ramaema took over as head of the existing military junta.<sup>508</sup>

03/27/1993 End Military Autocracy/Start Democracy: On this date a general elections took place that were considered free and fair by international observers (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 74). However, due to the first-past-the-post electoral system the BCP won all 65 seats in the parliament. The new constitution, which was promulgated in 1993, stripped the monarch of his executive authority. It banned the monarch from participating in political affairs.<sup>509</sup>

08/17/1994 End Democracy/Start Absolute Monarchy: On this date, facing mutinies from his security and civil services, King Letsie III suspended his status as constitutional monarch and declared himself the king in a self-coup. He suspended the parliament and established a ruling Council.<sup>510</sup>

09/14/1994 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Constitutional Monarchy: On this date, the elected government was reinstated, but Letsie remained in power.<sup>511</sup> On 01/25/1995, King Moshoeshe II ascended to the throne again. He died in a car accident on 01/15/1996.<sup>512</sup> King Letsie II became King again one month after Moshoeshe's death.<sup>513</sup> In 1997, the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) was established due to split in the BCP. The LCD obtained two thirds of the Members of Parliament. This enabled Prime Minister Mokhehle to remain in

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<sup>506</sup> In the dataset of Geddes, Wright and Frantz the regime is also not classified as a personalist autocracy, but a party autocracy.

<sup>507</sup> [http://articles.latimes.com/1986-01-20/news/mn-30866\\_Lradio-lesotho](http://articles.latimes.com/1986-01-20/news/mn-30866_Lradio-lesotho)

<sup>508</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991\\_Lesotho\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991_Lesotho_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>509</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Lesotho#Kingdom\\_of\\_Lesotho](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Lesotho#Kingdom_of_Lesotho)

<sup>510</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Lesotho#Kingdom\\_of\\_Lesotho](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Lesotho#Kingdom_of_Lesotho)

<sup>511</sup> [https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lesotho#Kir%C3%A1lyok\\_%C3%A9s\\_r%C3%A9gensek](https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lesotho#Kir%C3%A1lyok_%C3%A9s_r%C3%A9gensek)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Lesotho#Kingdom\\_of\\_Lesotho](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Lesotho#Kingdom_of_Lesotho)

<sup>512</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moshoeshe\\_II\\_of\\_Lesotho](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moshoeshe_II_of_Lesotho)

<sup>513</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Lesotho#Kingdom\\_of\\_Lesotho](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Lesotho#Kingdom_of_Lesotho)

office as head of the new ruling party. The BCP became the opposition.<sup>514</sup> On 05/14/1998 general elections were won by the LCD, which managed to secure 79 of the 80 parliamentary seats.<sup>515</sup> While the opposition claimed that the elections had been fraudulent, international observers were convinced that the election results had not been influenced by fraudulent incidents.<sup>516</sup> As a consequence of the elections, opposition protests began to occur more frequently and in a more violent manner. The Government asked the South African Development Community (SADC) for help in maintaining public order and preventing a coup d'état. SADC troops entered Lesotho on 09/22/1998. Despite their presence looting, riots and violence occurred throughout the country. The last of the troops left Lesotho in May 1999.<sup>517</sup> 12/16/1998 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date the first formal meeting of the Interim Political Authority (IPA) took place.<sup>518</sup> It was tasked with reviewing electoral processes in the country. The IPA proposed a new electoral system, adding 40 seats in parliament which were to be filled on a proportional basis.<sup>519</sup>

05/25/2002 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: The general elections on this date were the first under the new mixed member proportional representation system.<sup>520</sup> For the first time there was a considerable number of opposition members elected to the parliament of Lesotho.<sup>521</sup> On 02/17/2007 early general elections were held. Several members had previously resigned from the LCD, leaving the party with only a narrow majority in parliament. The opposition protested the early elections as they did not see enough time for electoral preparations and campaigning. It was speculated that the early calling of the elections was prompted by concerns about potential additional defections from the LCD, which could have resulted in the party losing its majority.<sup>522</sup> In the aftermath of the elections a dispute about the allocation of the seats arose, despite the acknowledgement that the LCD had won the election.<sup>523</sup> National Assembly and prime ministerial elections took place on 05/26/2012. No party was able to acquire an absolute majority of votes. Therefore, a coalition between the ABC, the LCD and the BNP was formed. The largest party, the

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<sup>514</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Lesotho#Kingdom\\_of\\_Lesotho](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Lesotho#Kingdom_of_Lesotho)

<sup>515</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1998\\_Lesotho\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1998_Lesotho_general_election)

<sup>516</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Lesotho#Kingdom\\_of\\_Lesotho](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Lesotho#Kingdom_of_Lesotho)

<sup>517</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Southern\\_African\\_Development\\_Community\\_intervention\\_in\\_Lesotho](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Southern_African_Development_Community_intervention_in_Lesotho)

<sup>518</sup> [https://www.africa.upenn.edu/Hornet/irin\\_12161998.html](https://www.africa.upenn.edu/Hornet/irin_12161998.html)

<sup>519</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Lesotho](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Lesotho)

<sup>520</sup> <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Lesotho2018.pdf>

<sup>521</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2002\\_Lesotho\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2002_Lesotho_general_election)

<sup>522</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007\\_Lesotho\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007_Lesotho_general_election)

<sup>523</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007\\_Lesotho\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007_Lesotho_general_election)

Democratic Congress (DC) remained in the opposition. Thomas Thabane (ABC) succeeded Mosisili as Prime Minister.<sup>524</sup> In 2014 critical voices towards Thabane grew louder. The LCD turned to the DC to plan a vote of no confidence.

06/19/2014 End Semidemocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, Thabane suspended the National Assembly for a period of nine months with the endorsement of Letsie III. Tension was high and there were rumors about a possible coup. 08/30/2014, the Lesotho Defense Forces (LDF) occupied several government buildings as well as the police headquarters in Maseru. Thabane's house was surrounded by the LDF, however, he had been able to flee to South Africa prior to the events. While Thabane spoke of a coup d'état, this was denied by LCD and opposition members.<sup>525</sup> The vice president Metsing (LCD) took over as ruling president. On 08/31/2014 and 09/01/2014 negotiations were held in Pretoria. Many international actors, such as UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon, called upon Lesotho to return to a constitutional order. On 09/03/2014, Thabane returned to Lesotho, heavily protected by South African police forces. However, there was still large opposition in the armed forces and Thabane refused to announce a date for the reopening of parliament before the issue of military leadership had been dealt with. On 09/16/2014 it was announced on behalf of the SADC that the elections planned for 2017 should be held earlier.<sup>526</sup> In connection with the Maseru Facilitation Declaration, the election date was set for the 02/28/2015.

02/28/2015 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: Parliament was reopened on 10/17/2014 but no vote of no confidence was permitted until the new elections had been held. Foreign security forces remained in the country until the elections. On 02/28/2015, general elections were held. The SADC Election Observer Mission declared the elections as peaceful and transparent, but also criticized the electoral process and made suggestions to improve the process. In the aftermath of the elections, the DC, LCD, PFD, MFP, NID, BCP and LPC formed a coalition.<sup>527</sup> In, May 2015, the leaders of the opposition parties fled the country.<sup>528</sup> The opposition parties boycotted the parliament. In November 2016 the DC fraction collapsed and they left the coalition. The parliament was once again closed. On 03/01/2017 there was a successful vote of no confidence against

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<sup>524</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012\\_Lesotho\\_general\\_election#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012_Lesotho_general_election#)

<sup>525</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014\\_Lesotho\\_political\\_crisis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014_Lesotho_political_crisis)

<sup>526</sup> [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Staatskrise\\_in\\_Lesotho\\_2014#Weitere\\_Verhandlungen\\_und\\_Fortdauer\\_des\\_Konflikts](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Staatskrise_in_Lesotho_2014#Weitere_Verhandlungen_und_Fortdauer_des_Konflikts)

<sup>527</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015\\_Lesotho\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015_Lesotho_general_election); <https://www.eisa.org/pdf/les2015au9.pdf>

<sup>528</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tom\\_Thabane#Post-premiership](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tom_Thabane#Post-premiership)

Mosisili's government. On 03/07/2017, Letsie III agreed to elections that were to be held within the next three months. On 06/03/2017 general elections were held in Lesotho.<sup>529</sup> Election observers declared the contest peaceful, generally well administered, and competitive. However, isolated instances of political violence were noted, as was a heavy security presence at many polling places, which electoral officials said intimidated some voters.<sup>530</sup> In May 2020, the coalition government disintegrated following Thabane's resignation, leading to the ABC establishing a new coalition with the DC later in the month. Since its formation, the present coalition government has encountered persistent challenges to its stability, primarily stemming from internal conflicts within the ruling ABC and strained relations between coalition partners.<sup>531</sup> Political and civil liberties are generally guaranteed but are not always fully respected.<sup>532</sup> On 10/07/2022 general elections took place. International observers considered them well organized, but still identified deficits in the electoral process and in the guarantee of political rights.<sup>533</sup> Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2023 continued.

## **Liberia**

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [Start: 07/26/1847]: Liberia became an independent state when settlers issued a Declaration of Independence on 07/26/1847.<sup>534</sup> It was a presidential system and a bicameral legislature modeled after the US constitution, with the president who serves as the head of state and head of government elected by popular vote for a four-year term (since 1907) (Basedau 1999a). Liberia was founded as a haven for Black people seeking freedom and redemption. Its constitution was crafted to protect Liberians from non-Black influence by limiting citizenship. In essence, Liberia offered Black people a chance for citizenship, which was denied to them in the United States. But the division of power dynamics was complex, and power was concentrated among Americo-Liberians that held significant political influence. The Americo-Liberians made up only about 3 to 5 percent of

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<sup>529</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2017\\_Lesotho\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2017_Lesotho_general_election);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakalitha\\_Mosisili](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakalitha_Mosisili)

<sup>530</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/lesotho/freedom-world/2021>

<sup>531</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/lesotho/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>532</sup> <https://bti-project.org/de/reports/country-report/LSO#pos0>

<sup>533</sup> <https://www.eods.eu/library/EU%20EOM%20FR%20LESOTHO%202022%20.pdf>;

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022\\_Lesotho\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022_Lesotho_general_election)

<sup>534</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberia#History>

the population, but dominated and ruled the country until 1980. Until 1947 indigenous male and females Liberians, about 16 ethnic groups were disenfranchised (Ludwig 2016: 86-90, Schmidt 1981: 243-248).<sup>535</sup> Elections were regularly held, but the percentage of the population which participated ranged according to Vanhanen between 1.0 and 5.0 (Vanhanen 2019). From 1879 to 1980, the nation was effectively administered as a one-party state under the True Whig Party (TWP), although opposition parties were never outlawed.<sup>536</sup> The 1923 general elections stands out in regard to electoral manipulation: The candidate of the TWP Charles D. B. King was re-elected receiving 45,000 votes, although only 6,000 Liberians had been eligible to cast a vote.<sup>537</sup> Initially, the ideology was strongly influenced by that of the United States Whig Party (from which it took its name).<sup>538</sup> On 01/01/1944 the formal and informal rules governing Liberian politics changed after Tubman's inauguration as president. Tubman granted citizenship to all Liberians and incrementally extended political participation to indigenous Liberians. In May 1945 new suffrage laws extended the vote to all male and female citizens who owned property and paid the hut tax.<sup>539</sup> Tubman changed the formal rules about who could influence policy by extending suffrage, but also changed the informal rules of political decision making, reducing the influence of traditional True Whig Party institutions and procedures and personalizing decision making within his own family and patronage network, which extended into the indigenous hinterland (Lowenkopf 1972: 94-108).

05/01/1951 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date the first general elections with universal male and female suffrage were held. The percentage of the population which participated in the elections rose from 5.0 in 1943 to 20.0 percent in 1951 and increased with every election up to over 50 percent (Basedau 1999a, Vanhanen 2019). The governance, formerly organized based on familial ties among Americo-Liberians, underwent substantial changes because of the personalized approach adopted by Tubman's administration. This was facilitated by a substantial rise in foreign investment, resulting in increased government revenues under the president's control (Lowenkopf 1972: 99-100, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 74-75). But Tubman also strengthened the presidency over time so much that the legislature and judiciary became mere followers of his decisions. This personal control prevented the development of civil institutions that could uphold the rule of law and peacefully resolve conflicts (Frempong 2000-2001: 126). Following Tubman's death

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<sup>535</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>536</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/True\\_Whig\\_Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/True_Whig_Party)

<sup>537</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1923\\_Liberian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1923_Liberian_general_election)

<sup>538</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/True\\_Whig\\_Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/True_Whig_Party)

<sup>539</sup> <http://africanelections.tripod.com/lr.html>

in 1971, his successor, President William R. Tolbert, attempted to uphold these policies. However, his inability to address widespread governance issues and corruption led to domestic unrest. The rule of the True Whig Party continued until 1980 and portrayed a de-facto single party rule. Even though various parties participated in several elections during that time, none posed a threat to the TWP's presidential candidates or managed to secure seats in Congress. Thus, the unquestioned dominance of the Americo-Liberians came to an end with the overthrow of the Tolbert government in a coup d'état in 1980. (Basedau 1999a). AF, HTW and MCM classify the period as a single-party rule. LIED encodes alternating phases between one-party autocracy and multiparty autocracy and GWF classifies the regime as party personal. We classify the period between 1951 and 1980 as an electoral autocracy, because opposition parties were not forbidden and opposition candidates contested some elections (1951, 1955, 1959). In the 1963, 1967, 1971 and 1975 general elections the candidate of the TWP was elected uncontested. However, the case clearly represents a borderline case between a one-party autocracy and an electoral autocracy. t

04/12/1980 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup by a group of officers led by Sergeant Samuel Doe declaring themselves “ethnic Liberians” overthrew Toulbert. Doe took power as the chair of the military junta (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 75).<sup>540</sup> He rose to become Liberia's inaugural indigenous President. Supported by his ethnic group, the Krahn, Doe's oppressive and destructive regime intensified the political turmoil. Despite attempts to validate his authority through a new constitution in 1984 (ratified by referendum) and general elections in 1985 (under questionable circumstances), ethnic tensions persisted, leading to overt violence (Basedau 1999a).

10/15/1985 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: After a new constitution in Liberia was drafted in 1985, providing a multi-party republic, on this date, the first general elections were held. Doe was elected president in these subsequent elections that were internationally condemned as deceptive (Basedau 1999a).<sup>541</sup> Doe had the ballots taken to a secret location and 50 of his own handpicked staff counted them. Foreign observers declared the elections fraudulent and suggested that runner-up Jackson Doe of the Liberian Action Party had actually won the voting.<sup>542</sup> Following the general election, the new Constitution came into effect on 01/06/1986.<sup>543</sup> Doe didn't significantly change politics, economy, or

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<sup>540</sup> [https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1985/liberia\\_1\\_tolbertpresidency.htm](https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1985/liberia_1_tolbertpresidency.htm)

<sup>541</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberia>

<sup>542</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel\\_Doe](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel_Doe)

<sup>543</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_Liberia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Liberia)

society. He tried to manage conflicts like the previous regime but faced financial troubles and increased tension, with several coup attempts from 1985 onward. Doe built support among his own ethnic group. After a 1985 coup attempt, Doe's regime targeted certain peoples, fueling intense hostility. This led to a rise in ethnic identity among various groups (Outram 1999: 167, McDonough 2008: 360).

09/09/1990 End Electoral Autocracy/Start No Central Authority: Rebel forces occupied Monrovia, captured, tortured and executed Samuel Doe. This was the beginning of the First Liberian Civil War. Liberia entered a state of anarchy in the following days and Doe was killed. (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 75).<sup>544</sup> On 11/22/1990 the rebels Taylor and Johnson warred for the presidency. An interim government was established abroad, and Amos Sawyer was voted the president. On 03/07/1994 Amos Sawyer was forced to step down as the factions continued to war both in the country and in the government. Kpormapkor became head of the interim civilian junta. On 09/01/1995 As fighting continued, the Council of State forced Kpormapkor out and Sankwulo took the chair with the new Peace Accords. Another cease-fire agreement on 09/03/1996 led to the ousting of the previous chairman and the introduction of a new chairwoman.

07/19/1997 End No Central Authority/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, Charles Taylor was elected in an atmosphere of fear and intimidation (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 75).<sup>545</sup> Accusations against Taylor included supporting guerrillas in neighboring nations and diverting diamond funds for arms acquisitions to aid the rebel armies he endorsed, as well as indulging in personal luxuries. The underlying unrest is reflected in the significant national economic decline and the widespread exchange of diamonds and timber for small arms. Former members of anti-rebel groups established the "Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy" (LURD). LURD began fighting in Lofa County with the aim of destabilizing the government and gaining control of the local diamond fields, leading to the Second Liberian Civil War.<sup>546</sup>

The second civil war began on 04/21/1999, when Liberian dissidents under the banner of the Organization of Displaced Liberians invaded Liberia from Guinea. In 07/2003 the United States sent a small number of troops to bolster security around the US embassy in Monrovia,

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<sup>544</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/1990/09/11/world/liberian-insurgents-kill-president-diplomats-and-broadcasts-report.html>; <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-liberia/>

<sup>545</sup> <https://africanelections.tripod.com/lr.html>

<sup>546</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First\\_Liberian\\_Civil\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Liberian_Civil_War)



which had come under attack. On 07/29/2003, LURD declared a ceasefire.<sup>547</sup> Taylor stepped down on 08/11/2003, amidst insurgencies that had gained control over much of the country, paving the way for a peace agreement and the establishment of a neutral transitional government (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 75).<sup>548</sup> Vicepresident Moses Blah replaced Taylor. On 08/14/2003 rebels lifted their siege of Monrovia and United States Marines landed to support a West African peace force. On the same date Blah was forced to hand over power to the National Transitional Government of Liberia. The second civil war officially ended on 08/18/2003.<sup>549</sup>

08/14/2003 End Electoral Autocracy /Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime:  
10/14/2003 Moses Blah was forced out by a new UN-baked peace arrangement. The peace agreement furthermore stated that the National Transitional Legislative Assembly was Liberia's legislative body during the country's transition from civil war to democratic rule. It also called for the creation of a broad-based transitional government.<sup>550</sup> This government held power for two years until the general elections in 2005 and the installation of a democratically elected government by January 2006.<sup>551</sup>

10/11/2005 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: On this date general elections were held, with a runoff election for the presidency held on 11/08/2005. The presidency and all seats in the House of Representatives and Senate were up for election. The elections were the first held since 1997 and marked the end of the political transition following the second civil war, having been stipulated in the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2004. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, previously employed by the World Bank and serving as Liberia's finance minister, emerged victorious in the presidential election, securing her position as the first democratically elected female African head of state in January 2006.<sup>552</sup> The 2017 election, the latest one held, was deemed generally peaceful and credible by both domestic and international observers. However, administrative challenges such as lengthy queues at polling stations and issues with voter identification were noted. Notably, this election marked the first peaceful transition of power between leaders since 1944. Nonetheless, Liberia continues to grapple with significant problems including

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<sup>547</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second\\_Liberian\\_Civil\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Liberian_Civil_War)

<sup>548</sup> <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/502077>; <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-liberia/>

<sup>549</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second\\_Liberian\\_Civil\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Liberian_Civil_War)

<sup>550</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Transitional\\_Legislative\\_Assembly\\_of\\_Liberia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Transitional_Legislative_Assembly_of_Liberia)

<sup>551</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Transitional\\_Legislative\\_Assembly\\_of\\_Liberia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Transitional_Legislative_Assembly_of_Liberia)

<sup>552</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005\\_Liberian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_Liberian_general_election)

corruption, impunity, and violence against women.<sup>553</sup> General elections in November 2023 were characterized by a rematch of the incumbent President George Weah and former Vice President Joseph Boakai in a run-off election on the 11/14/2023. The EU Observation Mission in Liberia 2023 reported the voting procedure to be very good at polling stations, generally well organized, and noted high-turnout rates.<sup>554</sup> Civil liberties and freedom of press and opinion were generally respected, although a level-playing field was distorted by biased state-owned media and the use of state resources. Self-censorship in the media poses the largest issue to a diversified media landscape. The legal framework was provided a functional base for democratic elections, yet some shortcomings remained relating to the processing voter complaints.<sup>555</sup> In an extremely close head-to-head race, the oppositional candidate Boakai managed to secure the majority vote and became the new acting president after a peaceful transfer of power.<sup>556</sup> While Universal suffrage remains warranted and the executive is constrained by legislature, corruption remains a pervasive issue that permeates into policy prioritization, independent media issues and judicial institutions, thereby compromising the rule of law (Freedom House rating 1/4 for judiciary independence).<sup>557</sup> Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2023 continued.

## Libya

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Ottoman Empire, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 05/27/1835]: The region of Libya was ruled by the autonomous Karamanli dynasty from 1711 to 1835. On 05/27/1835 an Ottoman naval force landed on Tripolitan shores. Following this event, Sultan Mahmud II of the Ottoman Empire brought the region under his direct control.<sup>558</sup> After the collapse of the Karamanli dynasty,<sup>559</sup> Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and the Fezzan had formed the Ottoman province of Libya (Roberts 1986).

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<sup>553</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/liberia/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>554</sup> [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eom-liberia-2023/remarkably-close-and-well-administered-run-election-0\\_en?s=410332](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eom-liberia-2023/remarkably-close-and-well-administered-run-election-0_en?s=410332)

<sup>555</sup> <https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/2023/EU%20EOM%20Liberia%202023%20Primary%20Statement1%20General%20Elections%202023.pdf>

<sup>556</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/liberia/freedom-world/2024>

<sup>557</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/liberia/freedom-world/2024>

<sup>558</sup> <https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/qaramanli-dynasty>

<sup>559</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Libya/History>

10/03/1911 End Part of Other Country [Ottoman Empire, Absolute Monarchy]/Start Colonial Regime [of Italy, Constitutional Monarchy]: In 1911, Italy declared war on the Ottoman Empire and invaded Libya, occupying the five ports of Tripoli, Horns, Benghazi, Derna and Tobruk (Anderson 1986: 125, Roberts 1986). By November of 1911, Italy had declared Tripolitania and Cyrenaica to be annexed to Italy (Collins 1974). Under pressure from European powers, the Turks withdrew under the Treaty of Lausanne in October 1912, which granted Cyrenaica and Tripolitania 'independence' under Italian 'sovereignty' (Collins 1974, Roberts 1986). From 1912 to 1927, the territory of Libya was known as Italian North Africa. In 1917, Italy granted the Sanusiyya local autonomy. On 11/16/1918 the Tripolitanian Republic was established as "the first republican government created in the Arab world" (St.John 2011). The Tripolitanian republic accordingly reconstituted itself as a National Reform Party under Azzam (Roberts 1986). Tripolitarians had the right to a parliament, Italian citizenship and other benefits (Collins 1974). Reopened negotiations with the Italians led to the Regima Agreement of October 1920, which gave Idris the hereditary title of Amir (Prince) and recognized him as the independent ruler of the oases of Giarabub, Augila-Gialo and Kufra (Collins 1974). Later, Italy asserted sovereignty over Cyrenaica, with governance of the province as a whole to be administered through the Cyrenaican parliament, which convened for the first time in 04/1921 (Roberts 1986). The governance system implemented by the Italians following their pacification of the country was tailored exclusively for Italian settlers, with little to no opportunity for Libyans to participate (Anderson 1986: 182-183). The Mussolini regime soon rejected the Liberal practice of collaboration with local Libyan elites in place since 1911 and most of Tripolitania was subdued by the end of 1924 (St.John 2011). Benghazi and Tripoli territories later merged into the single colony of Libya. (St.John 2011). On 01/09/1939, the colony of Libya was incorporated into metropolitan Italy .

05/01/1943 End Colonial Regime [of Italy, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Democracy and France, Occupation Regime]: By this date Cyrenaica and Tripolitania came under British Military administration until 1949. Fezzan was occupied by Free French troops and France administered the Fezzan through a combination of French military authorities, the House of Sayf al-Nasra, a local ruling family, and Fezzanese officials until 1951 (St.John 2011). On 10/01/1946 the Sanusi Emir Sayyid Idris was recognized by the United Kingdom to administer the territory of Cyrenaica for the UN. He soon dissolved all political organizations in December 1947 in favor of a new united front which took the form of a National Congress (St.John 2011).

12/24/1951 End Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Democracy and France, Democracy]/Start Constitutional Monarchy [as independent country]: On 12/24/1951, King Idris proclaimed the United Kingdom of Libya as a sovereign and independent state (Crawford 2006, St.John 2011). The United Kingdom of Libya was declared to be a hereditary monarchy and the constitution provided for a federal form of government (St.John 2011). Cyrenaica, Fezzan, and Tripolitania were described as provinces, no states, to emphasize national unity (St.John 2011). Idris I had been before the Emir of Cyrenaica, one of three regions grouped together to form Libya (Berry 1989). A year later, in 1952 male suffrage was introduced (LIED) and in 1963 female suffrage was introduced.<sup>560</sup>

09/01/1969 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Military (Personalist) Autocracy: On this date, a military coup of a relatively small group of young Libyan Army officers led by Captain Muammar Gaddafi against King Idris I took place. Motivations were the concentration of oil wealth in royal hands combined with sentiments of Arab nationalism. After Idris I. had fled the country, the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) headed by Gaddafi abolished the monarchy (Haddad 1973: 325-30, Anderson 1986: 260, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 75). Upon assuming power, the RCC government commenced redirecting funds towards universal education, healthcare, and housing. Public education was made free and primary education mandatory for both genders. Access to medical care was provided to the public without charge, although the task of ensuring housing for all remained incomplete under the RCC government.<sup>561</sup> As a non-electoral autocracy the regime fulfils a necessary precondition of being coded as a personalist autocracy. However, it is a borderline case between a military (Personalist) autocracy and a personalist autocracy. Because there was a junta and the regime rooted in a military coup it is coded as a military (personalist) autocracy.

10/20/2011 End Military (Personalist) Autocracy/Start No Central Authority: On 03/19/2011, a multi-state NATO-led coalition began a military intervention in Libya, to implement United Nations Security Council Resolution 1973 in response to events during the First Libyan Civil War. The fall of Sirte on 10/20/2011, the last city under control of pro-Gaddafi units, followed by the killing of Gaddafi, marked the end of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. On 10/27/2011, the Security Council unanimously voted to end NATO's mandate for military action on 10/31/2011. A period with no effective central authority began.<sup>562</sup> After the fall of Gaddafi, Libya's political landscape transformed into a complex terrain marked by horizontal

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<sup>560</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>561</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Libya\\_under\\_Muammar\\_Gaddafi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Libya_under_Muammar_Gaddafi)

<sup>562</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011\\_military\\_intervention\\_in\\_Libya](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_military_intervention_in_Libya)

and vertical modes of authoritarian governance. In Tripolitania, a form of authoritarianism that was populist in character emerged, allowing space for horizontal arrangements between rivals and some degree of political initiative by citizens and local leaders. This contrasted with the more vertical authoritarian model consolidated by Khalifa Haftar and his supporters in Cyrenaica, which tolerated minimal contestation.<sup>563</sup>

03/10/2021 End No Central Authority/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: After nearly a decade of hostilities and civil war, a Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of National Accord (GNA) and the Libyan National Army of the General Command of the Armed Forces was signed on 10/23/2020. The subsequent formation in March 2021 of the Government of National Unity (Magnusson/Clark) established a provisional governmental structure while striking a delicate balance between regional powers in the country.<sup>564</sup> In December 2021, the country's first presidential election was scheduled, but was indefinitely postponed after the head of the High National Election Commission (HNEC) ordered the dissolution of the electoral committees nationwide.<sup>565</sup> Non-electoral transitional (multiparty) regime as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Mattes 1999, Metz 1987, Vandewalle 1998, Vandewalle 2008, Vandewalle 2012)

## **Liechtenstein**

01/01/1900 Constitutional Monarchy [Start: 01/23/1719]: On 01/23/1719, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI merged the lands of Vaduz and Schellenberg, creating a new territory that he named the "Principality of Liechtenstein". This act made Liechtenstein a sovereign member state of the Holy Roman Empire. Due to the Napoleonic Wars, France took control of the Holy Roman Empire in the early 19th century. Emperor Francis II abdicated and dissolved the empire, leading to the creation of the Confederation of the Rhine. This restructuring had a significant impact on Liechtenstein, as the state was no longer obligated to any feudal lord.

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<sup>563</sup> <https://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/en/analyses/libyas-recurring-government-splits-and-international-recognition-dilemmas/>

<sup>564</sup> <https://reliefweb.int/report/libya/libya-humanitarian-needs-overview-2022-december-2021-enar>

<sup>565</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Next\\_Libyan\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Next_Libyan_presidential_election); [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libya#Post-civil\\_war\\_years](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libya#Post-civil_war_years)

Liechtenstein's sovereignty is generally attributed to these events, as the prince no longer owed any obligation to a suzerain.<sup>566</sup>

10/05/1921 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: In 1918, a committee was appointed with the approval of the prince to revise the constitution of Liechtenstein. The new constitution was presented in 1921 and adopted by the Diet with minimal changes on 08/24/1921 and sanctioned by the prince on 08/02/1921. Since 10/05/1921, the constitution has been the state constitution of Liechtenstein, and the government has been elected by Parliament and sworn in by the prince.<sup>567</sup> Male suffrage was introduced in 1921 (LIED). Women suffrage was only introduced in 1984.<sup>568</sup>

07/01/1984 End (Male) Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: On this date women's suffrage was introduced. Liechtenstein was the last nation in Europe to introduce this right.<sup>569</sup> On 03/14/2003 a constitutional referendum was held. Prince Hans-Adam had previously threatened to leave the country if the referendum had not turned out in his favor. Due to the constitutional amendment following the referendum, Liechtenstein boasts one of Europe's most politically influential hereditary monarchies. In his capacity as head of state, the prince appoints the prime minister and cabinet based on parliament's recommendation, with the authority to dismiss the government and dissolve the parliament.<sup>570</sup> Liechtenstein has a unicameral parliament with a multi-party system. However, 8 percent threshold is comparatively high for representation in parliament. Although, people are free to make political decisions, the prince can veto the outcome of a referendum or influence the shaping of public opinion. Freedom of press, freedom of religion, freedom of expression and freedom of assembly are guaranteed. Although the judiciary is generally independent, the prince holds powerful influence. The prince plays a crucial role in the selection of judges, resulting in a process that lacks a fundamental aspect of democratic accountability.<sup>571</sup> On 02/07/2021 general elections were held, they were deemed credible. Although the law provides for compulsory voting, this is not implemented.<sup>572</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

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<sup>566</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liechtenstein#History>

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[https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regierung\\_des\\_F%C3%BCrstentums\\_Liechtenstein#Demokratischer\\_Umschwung\\_und\\_neue\\_Verfassung](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regierung_des_F%C3%BCrstentums_Liechtenstein#Demokratischer_Umschwung_und_neue_Verfassung)

<sup>568</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage\\_in\\_Liechtenstein](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage_in_Liechtenstein)

<sup>569</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage\\_in\\_Liechtenstein](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage_in_Liechtenstein)

<sup>570</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/liechtenstein/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>571</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/liechtenstein/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>572</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/liechtenstein/freedom-world/2023>;

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021\\_Liechtenstein\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021_Liechtenstein_general_election)

## Lithuania

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Russia, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 10/24/1795]: In the 18th century, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth underwent a decline in its political power, which resulted in foreign intervention following attempts at reform. The state's decline culminated in three partitions, causing it to cease to exist. During the first two partitions in 1772 and 1793, only lands inhabited by East Slavs were lost by Lithuania. However, the third partition on 10/24/1795 resulted in a division of the land inhabited by ethnic Lithuanians, with the majority of it being annexed by Russia.<sup>573</sup>

09/08/1915 End Part of Other Country [Russia, Ruling Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]: In April 1915, Germany launched a military offensive against Russian troops in Lithuania and captured Vilnius on 09/08/1915.<sup>574</sup> The German administration aimed to create a Lithuanian state that would be subservient to Germany.<sup>575</sup>

02/16/1918 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, the Taryba declared Lithuanian independence, but the country remained under German occupation. After the armistice of 11/11/1918, the German army began to withdraw, and Lithuania faced a new threat from a Soviet invasion from the east. The Red Army occupied Vilnius on 01/05/1919 and established a communist Lithuanian government. The national government was forced to evacuate to Kaunas. However, by mid-1919, the situation changed, and the Russians were effectively pushed back to the east.<sup>576</sup>

04/14[&16]/1920 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: Free and fair elections for the Constituent Assembly were held.<sup>577</sup> Universal suffrage was introduced in 1922.<sup>578</sup> However, due to ongoing foreign pressure on Lithuania political and civil rights were considerably restricted due to a state of emergency. Furthermore, a power

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<sup>573</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Lithuania/History>

<sup>574</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/europerussiacentral-asia-region/russialithuania-1905-1920/>

<sup>575</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Lithuania/Russian-rule>

<sup>576</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Lithuania/Russian-rule>

<sup>577</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1920\\_Lithuanian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1920_Lithuanian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>578</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)

struggle between the newly established political institutions delayed and hindered the development of a stable democratic system with clear institutional responsibilities and effective checks.<sup>579</sup>

12/17/1926 End Semidemocracy/Start One-Party (Personalist) Autocracy: A military coup overthrew the government of prime minister Mykolas Sleževičius and placed Antanas Smetona in office.<sup>580</sup> The official rationale given by the military was that their actions had prevented an imminent Bolshevik coup.<sup>581</sup> Smetona dissolved the Seimas in 04/1927, leading to the resignation of the Christian Democrats from the government in May. Subsequent parliamentary elections were postponed until 1936, with the Lithuanian Nationalist Union maintaining its exclusive presence in the government..<sup>582</sup> In the following period the regime was a de facto one-party autocracy with a strong personalist component.

06/15/1940 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy] Following the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in August 1939, Lithuania was occupied by the USSR after it was coerced into signing a treaty in October 1939. On this date the Soviet Red Army ousted the Smetona government and established a client regime (Vardys/Slaven 1996: 180-81, Casey et al. 2020: 11). On 07/14&15 parliamentary elections were held for the so-called People's Seimas. The elections were manipulated, permitting only communist candidates to participate.<sup>583</sup> The new parliament was convened on 07/21 and voted unanimously to established the Lithuanian SSR and request to join the Soviet Union.

08/04/1940 End Occupation Regime [by USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]/Start Part of Other Country [USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]: On this date, the USSR formally annexed Lithuania. The USA and most other countries refused to recognize the Soviet annexation of Lithuania. However, in the short period between 08/04/1940 and 06/22/1941 the borderline between occupation and forced annexation was blurred.

06/22/1941 End Part of Other Country [USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]/Start Occupation Regime [ Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: The Soviet process of forced annexation ended with the beginning of the German Operation Barbarossa.

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<sup>579</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1926\\_Lithuanian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat#Background](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1926_Lithuanian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat#Background;);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Lithuania#Democratic\\_period](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Lithuania#Democratic_period)

<sup>580</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1926\\_Lithuanian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1926_Lithuanian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antanas\\_Smetona#Authoritarian\\_president](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antanas_Smetona#Authoritarian_president)

<sup>581</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1926\\_Lithuanian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1926_Lithuanian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>582</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lithuanian\\_Nationalist\\_Union](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lithuanian_Nationalist_Union)

<sup>583</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1940\\_Lithuanian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1940_Lithuanian_parliamentary_election)



01/28/1945 End Occupation Regime [Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Part of Other Country [USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]: The USSR regained control over Lithuania with the Battle of Memel. Starting from the situation before the occupation by Germany, the annexation of Lithuania into the USSR was pushed forward.<sup>584</sup> On 05/18/1989 the Lithuanian SSR declared itself to be a sovereign state, though still part of the USSR.<sup>585</sup>

03/10/1990 (de facto) End Part of Other Country [USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]/Start Semidemocracy: On this date the second round of the elections to the Supreme Soviet ended. It resulted in a triumph for the independence movement (Sajudis) and the declaration of independence. Following a short-lived attempt to overthrow the government in January 1991, the USSR officially acknowledged Lithuania as an independent republic on 09/06/1991 (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 39).<sup>586</sup> On the one hand because of problems with the democratic process in the transitional period and on the other hand because of the partly violent interference of the USSR until 1991 we code this period as semidemocracy.

10/25/1992 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: On this date, the first multi-party parliamentary elections after independence and a constitutional referendum were held. The Democratic Labour Party of Lithuania (LDDP) won the elections in the second round of the parliamentary elections on 11/15/1992.<sup>587</sup> Lithuania has a semi-presidential system of government with a unicameral parliament.<sup>588</sup> The political landscape is characterized by freely operating, competing parties. Universal suffrage applies to Lithuanian citizens aged 18 and older.<sup>589</sup> Political rights and civil liberties are typically upheld. Persistent issues such as corruption and socioeconomic disparities often prompt public discontent with the government, political factions, and other establishments. Women, LGBT+ individuals, members of the Romany minority, and certain other demographics encounter different levels of discrimination and inadequate representation in the political sphere.<sup>590</sup> Parliamentary elections occurred on 10/11/2020 and 10/25/2020, described by observers as free and fair. The TS-LKD secured 50 seats, while the incumbent centrist-populist Farmers and Greens Union (LVŽS) won 32. Two socially liberal and pro-business parties, the Liberal Movement and the Freedom Party,

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<sup>584</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Memel](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Memel)

<sup>585</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lithuanian\\_Soviet\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lithuanian_Soviet_Socialist_Republic)

<sup>586</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990\\_Lithuanian\\_Supreme\\_Soviet\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990_Lithuanian_Supreme_Soviet_election)

<sup>587</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992\\_Lithuanian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992_Lithuanian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>588</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Lithuania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Lithuania)

<sup>589</sup> <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/EqualParticipation/contributions/Lithuania.pdf>

<sup>590</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/lithuania/freedom-world/2022>

secured 13 and 11 seats, respectively. They subsequently formed a coalition government with the TS-LKD in November of that year.<sup>591</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Eidintas/Žalys/Senn 1998, Jurgéla 1948, Krickus 1997, Krivickas 1970, Laučka 1986, Rogainis 1971)

## Luxembourg

01/01/1900 (Monarchical) (Male) Semidemocracy [Start: 04/19/1839]: The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg became an independent sovereign state on 04/19/1839 with the Treaty of London (Schroen 2009).<sup>592</sup> According to the Constitution, executive power is vested in the Grand Duke, who ensures the implementation of laws by issuing the necessary decrees. In practice, however, this task is carried out by the government. The constitution also grants the Head of State absolute freedom to choose his government members. However, the democratic principle requires that ministers enjoy not only their confidence but also that of the parliamentary majority. The right to vote was subject to a poll tax, in other words, a certain amount of tax paid, and restricted to the male population aged 25 and over.<sup>593</sup>

08/02/1914 End (Monarchical) (Male) Semidemocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]: In August 1914, amid World War I, Imperial Germany breached Luxembourg's neutrality by invading it with the objective of defeating France. However, despite being under German occupation, Luxembourg retained a significant degree of its independence and political structures.<sup>594</sup>

11/11/1918 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start (Monarchical) Democracy: Universal voting rights were introduced in May 1919 and first applied in a referendum on 09/28/1919, then in the parliamentary elections on 10/26/1919.<sup>595</sup> According to the Constitution, the Grand Duke retains executive authority. In this capacity, he oversees the enforcement of laws and the establishment of necessary regulations. However, in practice, these responsibilities are carried out by the government,

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<sup>591</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/lithuania/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>592</sup> <https://gouvernement.lu/en/systeme-politique.html>; <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luxembourg>

<sup>593</sup> <https://gouvernement.lu/en/systeme-politique.html>

<sup>594</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luxembourg#Two\\_German\\_occupations\\_and\\_interwar\\_political\\_crisis\\_\(1890%E2%80%931945\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luxembourg#Two_German_occupations_and_interwar_political_crisis_(1890%E2%80%931945))

<sup>595</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)

which makes the necessary decisions and takes initiatives.<sup>596</sup> The 1919 amended version of the constitution of 1868 implemented a working system of checks and balances with an independent judiciary.<sup>597</sup>

05/10/1940 End (Monarchical) Democracy/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: In 1940, following the outbreak of World War II, Luxembourg's neutrality was once again violated as the Wehrmacht of Nazi Germany entered the country. Unlike the First World War, Luxembourg was considered a part of German territory during the German occupation in World War II and was informally annexed to the neighboring province of Nazi Germany, Gau Moselland.<sup>598</sup>

09/11/1944 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start (Monarchical) Democracy: It is undisputed that Luxembourg by all datasets that Luxembourg is a democracy. However, it is a borderline case between an electoral and a liberal democracy. RoW as well as LIED classify Luxembourg as an electoral democracy and not a liberal democracy. Luxembourg's constitutional amendment in 1948 ensured that the constitution was: "up to date with the social and economic changes that had materialized in the country by that time."<sup>599</sup> With the constitutional amendment of 1972, Article 52 was modified, the voting age was reduced to 18 years and the age for election to 21 years.<sup>600</sup> Luxembourg is a parliamentary (Monarchical) democracy with a unicameral system, the Chamber of Deputies.<sup>601</sup> Political parties operate freely and independent and civil liberties as well as political rights are protected by the constitution. Luxembourg's judiciary works independent, and the grand duke appoints the judges. On 10/08/2023 general elections were held. Subsequently, a coalition government consisting of the Christian Social Party (CSV) and the Democratic Party (DP) was formed. Luc Frieden (CSV) became president.<sup>602</sup> Only citizens may vote, and voting is compulsory in Luxembourg.

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

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<sup>596</sup> <https://gouvernement.lu/en/systeme-politique.html>

<sup>597</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_Luxembourg#Nature\\_of\\_the\\_Constitution;](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Luxembourg#Nature_of_the_Constitution;)  
<https://gouvernement.lu/en/systeme-politique.html>

<sup>598</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luxembourg#Two\\_German\\_occupations\\_and\\_interwar\\_political\\_crisis\\_\(1890%E2%80%931945\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luxembourg#Two_German_occupations_and_interwar_political_crisis_(1890%E2%80%931945))

<sup>599</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_Luxembourg#1948\\_Amendment](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Luxembourg#1948_Amendment)

<sup>600</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_Luxembourg#1948\\_Amendment](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Luxembourg#1948_Amendment)

<sup>601</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020\\_Irish\\_general\\_election#:~:text=Sinn%20F%C3%A9in%20made%20significant%20gains,and%20in%20first%20preference%20votes.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020_Irish_general_election#:~:text=Sinn%20F%C3%A9in%20made%20significant%20gains,and%20in%20first%20preference%20votes.)

<sup>602</sup> <https://luxembourg.public.lu/en/society-and-culture/political-system/government.html>

## Macau

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 12/01/1887]: The Sino-Portuguese Treaty of Peking was signed on 12/01/1887. It established a significant trade agreement between the Qing dynasty of China and the Kingdom of Portugal. Widely recognized by the Chinese as one of the unequal treaties following the Second Opium War, it granted Portugal perpetual colonial rights over Macau. This concession was conditional upon Portugal's cooperation in combatting the illicit trafficking of opium.<sup>603</sup> Despite intermittent conflicts between Cantonese authorities and the colonial administration, Macau's legal status remained unchanged during the republican revolutions in Portugal in 1910 and in China in 1911. The Kuomintang further confirmed Portuguese jurisdiction over Macau when the Treaty of Peking was reexamined in 1928. During World War II, the Empire of Japan opted not to seize control of Macau, respecting Portuguese neutrality in the region. However, following the capture of a British cargo ship by Japanese troops in Macau waters in 1943, Japan introduced a group of government counsellors instead of deploying military forces. Macau experienced minimal military activity throughout the war, except for in 1945 when the United States conducted air raids on the territory after learning of plans by the colonial government to provide aviation fuel to Japan.<sup>604</sup>

04/20/1941 Continuation Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Right-wing (Corporatist) Autocracy] [as (de facto) Protectorate of Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]: Under the governance of Gabriel Maurício Teixeira and local elite Pedro José Lobo, Portuguese Macau functioned as a de facto protectorate of Imperial Japan. They endeavored to navigate a delicate equilibrium between the expectations of the Japanese consul Yasumitsu Fukui and the requirements of the Macanese populace, which had swelled in size owing to the influx of refugees from Mainland China and Hong Kong.<sup>605</sup>

09/02/1945 End Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Right-wing (Corporatist) Autocracy] [as (de facto) Protectorate of Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Right-wing (Corporatist) Autocracy]: During the peak of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, discontented residents staged riots in the 1966 12-3 incident, resulting in the deaths of 8 individuals and injuries to over 200. Subsequently, Portugal relinquished full control over the

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<sup>603</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sino-Portuguese\\_Treaty\\_of\\_Peking](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sino-Portuguese_Treaty_of_Peking)

<sup>604</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Macau>

<sup>605</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Collaboration\\_with\\_Imperial\\_Japan#Macau](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Collaboration_with_Imperial_Japan#Macau)

colony, opting to collaborate with the Chinese Communist Party in exchange for retaining administrative authority over Macau.<sup>606</sup>

04/25/1974 Continuation (de facto) Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Democracy] [as (de facto) Protectorate of China, Communist Ideocracy]: After the 1974 Carnation Revolution, Portugal officially renounced its claim over Macau as an overseas province and recognized it as a Chinese territory administered by Portugal. Subsequently, following China's initial agreements with the United Kingdom regarding Hong Kong's future, negotiations between China and Portugal commenced regarding Macau in 1986. These negotiations culminated in the signing of the 1987 Joint Declaration on the Question of Macau. Under this agreement, Portugal consented to the transfer of the colony to China in 1999, while China pledged to uphold Macau's political and economic systems for a period of 50 years following the handover. Subsequently, on 12/20/1999, at midnight, Macau was formally handed over to China, marking the end of 442 years of Portuguese rule over the territory.<sup>607</sup>

12/20/1999: End Continuation (de facto) Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Democracy] [as (de facto) Protectorate of China, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy: Macau operates as a special administrative region of China, with executive, legislative, and judicial powers devolved from the national government. The Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration ensured continuity in economic and administrative affairs during the handover, maintaining an executive-led governing system inherited from its colonial past. Governed by the Basic Law of Macao, which serves as its regional constitution, Macau operates under the principle of "one country, two systems."<sup>608</sup> Negotiations for the Joint Declaration and Basic Law occurred after transitional arrangements for Hong Kong were established, resulting in a government structure similar to Hong Kong's. In Macau, Chinese national law generally does not apply, as it operates as a separate jurisdiction. Its legal system, rooted in Portuguese civil law from colonial times, remains in place. However, ultimate authority over the Basic Law and state acts lies with the central government, making regional courts subordinate to mainland China's legal system. Decisions by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress can override local judicial processes. In 2021, similar to actions in Hong Kong, 21 election candidates in Macau were disqualified for allegedly not supporting the Basic Law, though no specific violations were specified by the electoral commission.<sup>609</sup>

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<sup>606</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Macau>

<sup>607</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Macau>

<sup>608</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Macau>

<sup>609</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Macau>

Electoral Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

**Macedonia:** see North Macedonia

## **Madagascar**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 09/27/1896]: The modern era of Madagascar commenced under the reign of King Andrianampoinimerina (1787–1810) of the Merina dynasty. He initiated the consolidation of power in the Highlands, initially focusing on the twelve sacred hills of Imerina before expanding influence towards the coastal regions.<sup>610</sup> On 10/23/1817 King Radama I of “Imerina” entered a treaty of friendship and peace with the United Kingdom in which he is recognized as king of Madagascar (officially ‘Kingdom of Imerina’). On 12/17/1885, however, France unilaterally declared Madagascar a protectorate (named Malagasy Protectorate). After a war, on 09/30/1895, Queen Ranavalona III and her government surrendered to the French (Mutibwa 1973). On 09/27/1896, the Kingdom of Imerina was declared a French colony (named Colony of Madagascar and Dependencies) by annexation (Oppenheim/Roxburgh 1920: 168, Marcus 2004). On 10/27/1946 the colonial Madagascar became a French overseas territory.<sup>611</sup> The Malagasy rebellion of 1947 stands out as one of the most violent uprisings in the colonial era, resulting in an estimated loss of 100,000 lives.<sup>612</sup>

10/14/1958 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: After holding a referendum on 09/28/1958, to determine whether it should become a self-governing republic, on this date the colonial administration was abolished, and Madagascar was granted internal autonomy as the Malagasy Republic.<sup>613</sup> In 1959, universal suffrage was introduced, and a presidential election was held under French auspices on 04/27/1959, which was won by Philibert Tsiranana and his Parti Social Démocrate de Madagascar (PSD) (Marcus 2004).<sup>614</sup> This period is coded as transitional because there had been clear prospects toward independence.

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<sup>610</sup> <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/MDG>

<sup>611</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Madagascar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Madagascar)

<sup>612</sup> <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/MDG>

<sup>613</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_Madagascar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Madagascar)

<sup>614</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)

06/26/1960 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, independence from France under the leadership of Tsiranana and the PSD was declared. According to Covell (Covell 1987: 30), French colonial administrators chose moderate, pro-French Tsiranana as party founder and first national leader. He was indirectly elected president before independence in 1959. The PSD general secretary became the Minister of the Interior and controlled "the organization (and results) of elections" (Covell 1987: 32). The First Republic's constitution mirrored the governmental structure of the Fifth French Republic, featuring an unconstrained President at the helm of the executive branch. Until 1962, the President was chosen indirectly by an electoral college. Following that, the method of direct election has been utilized, employing the absolute majority system, with presidential terms enduring for seven years. The political landscape was predominantly shaped by the PSD, led by Philibert Tsiranana, who embraced a pragmatic socialist ideology. However, the parliamentary elections of 1965 and 1970 were marred by allegations of government interference, undermining their fairness. Additionally, the electoral system's majoritarian nature cemented the PSD's dominance in the National Assembly. By the early 1970s, amid severe economic challenges, opposition to Tsiranana's autocratic rule gained momentum in society (Thibaut 1999: 532-534).

05/18/1972 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Tsiranana faced a severe student uprising against the French character of the regime and the economic woes in the country. On 05/09/1972, he relinquished a considerable part of his authority to a military prime minister, General Gabriel Ramanantsoa (Covell 1987: 47-48, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 76).<sup>615</sup>

10/11/1972 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, Ramanantsoa forced the president with whom he shared power to resign. Ramanantsoa became president. A referendum approved a five-year transition period under military leadership. While this referendum was in a comparative perspective a very unconventional way to start a military autocracy the regime can hardly be coded otherwise.<sup>616</sup>

12/21/1975 End Military Autocracy/Start Communist Ideocracy: Continuing ethnic and class tensions led to Ramanantsoa's resignation from his interim position. On 12/21/1975, a constitutional referendum was conducted, converting Madagascar into a presidential republic with Didier Ratsiraka assuming the role of the first unelected president. The constitution also

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<sup>615</sup> <http://www.iss.eo.za/uploads/PAPER89.PDF>

<sup>616</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabriel\\_Ramanantsoa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabriel_Ramanantsoa)

established the High Revolutionary Council tasked with spearheading a socialist revolution.<sup>617</sup> On 12/30/1975, the Democratic Republic of Madagascar was declared. The military government's collective leadership appointed Naval Captain Didier Ratsiraka as President of the Republic. Ratsiraka instigated a shift from the collective leadership by high-ranking military officials to a governing coalition encompassing civilians organized under a new political party along with military officers (Covell 1987: 57-62). The era following 1975 is regarded as a new regime due to the shift in the composition of influential decision-makers and policy influencers, transitioning from solely top military officers to a coalition comprising both military officers and civilian party leaders (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 76). On 01/04/1976 President Ratsiraka was sworn in which marked the beginning of the Second Republic. He declared Madagascar a Marxist republic. Ratsiraka created a regime party as well as an umbrella organization named National Front for the Defense of the Revolution (FNDR). Only parties which were member to this organization were allowed to become politically active.<sup>618</sup> Ratsiraka sought to enact the principles laid down in the Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution.<sup>619</sup> Ratsiraka was reelected president in 1982 and in 1989. In May 1978 following sharp economic decline, the socialist government was met with student protests in Antananarivo in May 1978. The government responded by sending military. Nevertheless, it accepted free-market reforms which were being demanded by the IMF in order to enable foreign aid. Ratsiraka abandoned his “scientific socialism”.<sup>620</sup> The fall of the socialist regime in the USSR had rippling effects on the socialist regime in Madagascar. After the elections in 1989, opposition forces began to become more noticeable and started denouncing alleged election fraud. Large protests were already held in 1989 which reached a peak on 08/10/1991 when around 400 000 citizens took to the streets. The protestors were answered with violence.<sup>621</sup>

10/31/1991 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: The events beginning in 1989 led to Ratsiraka’s agreement on 10/31/1991 to support the process of democratic transition. Albert Zafy, who later became president of the Third Republic, emerged as head of the “High State Authority”, a transitional government which shared power with Ratsiraka’s government for the duration of the transition.<sup>622</sup> The new

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<sup>617</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1975\\_Malagasy\\_constitutional\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1975_Malagasy_constitutional_referendum)

<sup>618</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Madagascar/The-Second-Republic>

<sup>619</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic\\_Republic\\_of\\_Madagascar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Republic_of_Madagascar)

<sup>620</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic\\_Republic\\_of\\_Madagascar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Republic_of_Madagascar)

<sup>621</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic\\_Republic\\_of\\_Madagascar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Republic_of_Madagascar)

<sup>622</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic\\_Republic\\_of\\_Madagascar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Republic_of_Madagascar)



constitution was approved by referendum on 08/19/1992. Albert Zafy emerged victorious from the first round of presidential elections on 11/25/1992.

02/10/1993 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Democracy: On this date President Ratsiraka lost the second round of elections against Zafy.<sup>623</sup> He was sworn in as President on 03/27/1993. This marked the beginning of the Third Republic of Madagascar. Parliamentary elections were held on 06/13/1993. The Forces Vives (Zafy's party) gained the majority. Following political and economic struggles beginning in 1994, Zafy was impeached 09/05/1996. The elections during this period were conducted under universal suffrage.<sup>624</sup> Despite Madagascar being predominantly classified by Freedom House as only partially free during most of the period, we classify it as democratic based on our codebook criteria, as it meets the fundamental requirements of universal suffrage, relative independence of the judiciary, and the presence of free and fair elections (Puddington 2008:431-434).

03/17/2009 End Democracy/Start Military Autocracy: After being reelected in 2006, Ravalomanana's government was dissolved in March 2009 in a militarily backed uprising led by Mayor of Antananarivo, Andry Rajoelina. The elected president handed power to the military, which in turn handed it to Rajoelina, who formed a High Transitional Authority of which he was the 'Transitional Head of State' (Lansford 2012, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 76).<sup>625</sup> The HAT persistently postponed both the parliamentary and presidential elections. The constitutional referendum of 2010 implemented a fresh constitution, which prohibited individuals who hadn't resided in Madagascar for the prior six months from running for office. This effectively disqualified opposition figures living abroad, such as Ravalomanana, who had been residing in South Africa since his removal from power.<sup>626</sup>

12/20/2013 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, general elections were held in Madagascar, following a first round of presidential elections on 10/25/2013.<sup>627</sup> The results were announced in January 2014. The winner and the next president was Hery Rajaonarimampianina. He was backed by Rajoelina, who led the 2009 coup and still was a very influential political figure. The EU's chief election observer, Maria Muniz de Urquiza, described the elections as "free, transparent and credible", despite isolated incidents of violence.<sup>628</sup> In the second round of the 2018 presidential election, Andry Rajoelina emerged

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<sup>623</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992%E2%80%939393\\_Malagasy\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992%E2%80%939393_Malagasy_presidential_election)

<sup>624</sup> <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/field/suffrage/>

<sup>625</sup> <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-madagascar/>; <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7948196.stm>

<sup>626</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2013\\_Malagasy\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2013_Malagasy_general_election)

<sup>627</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2013\\_Malagasy\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2013_Malagasy_general_election)

<sup>628</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-24694421>

victorious over Marc Ravalomanana, securing 55.7% of the vote. Despite accusations of fraud, the High Constitutional Court (HCC) upheld the result. Additionally, the majority of regional and international election observers deemed the election to be largely transparent and fair.<sup>629</sup> Government corruption remains an ongoing issue, coupled with a lack of accountability. Press freedom is hindered by defamation and other restrictive laws. Authorities routinely deny permits for demonstrations and forcibly disband those that do occur.<sup>630</sup> According to our classification, the regime is a borderline case between an electoral democracy and a semidemocracy. Classifications by other datasets are mixed. RoW classifies the regime as an electoral autocracy and BR as a civilian autocracy, BMR as a non-democracy until 2018 and a democracy afterward, LIED as an electoral democracy, and REIGN as a (presidential) democracy. The most recent presidential elections were held on 11/09/2023. Voter turnout was reported at a record low with 46.36%. The electoral process was marred by a boycott by ten opposition candidates and efforts, including violent measures by the military, to suppress opposition rallies and gatherings. Corruption is pervasive and defamation laws impede a free media landscape. Civil liberties and freedoms are partly restricted. In many parts of the country institutions fail to enforce the rule of law effectively. While there is an active legislature, it does not function as an effective and independent check on executive power.<sup>631</sup> Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Metz 1994a)

## Malawi

[Formerly known as Nyasaland]

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 05/14/1891]: Malawi, formerly called Nyasaland<sup>632</sup> Districts Protectorate, was administered by the British South Africa Company, founded by Cecil Rhodes as a trade charter. Its eastern boundary was delineated by the highlands descending towards Lake Nyasa (Malawi) (McCracken 1986). On 05/14/1891 a British Protectorate was declared over the Nyasaland Districts. On 02/22/1893, the Nyasaland Protectorate was renamed the British Central African Protectorate,

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<sup>629</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/madagascar/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>630</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/madagascar/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>631</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/madagascar/freedom-world/2024>

<sup>632</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nyasaland>

and it occupied the same area as present-day Malawi.<sup>633</sup> The northern Ngoni kingdom accepted British sovereignty in 1904 and it was allowed to retain a wide span of powers denied to other Nyasa chiefs. Ngoni King Mbelwa was recognized as a paramount chief, the only one in the protectorate at that time (McCracken 1986).<sup>634</sup> In 1907, the British Central Africa Protectorate became Nyasaland (Turner 2014a). In 1915, Mbelwa's powers were abolished, and he was deported to the Southern Province after refusing British orders (McCracken 1986). Likewise, challenges to colonial authority were met with coercion during British rule (McCracken 1986). From 09/03/1953 to 12/31/1963 Nyasaland was part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, a union that consisted of the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia and the two protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In this union, the two northern territories, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, continued under British control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Rosberg 1956, Turner 2014a). In 1960, Malawi was granted greater autonomy within the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in form of responsible government. As part of this, universal suffrage was introduced in 1961.<sup>635</sup> Elections were held in Nyasaland on 08/15/1961, in which the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) emerged victorious with 22 out of 28 seats in the Legislative Council. During this time, Glyn Smallwood Jones served as Governor of Nyasaland from 04/10/1961, to 06/06/1964.<sup>636</sup> The period of responsible government therefore still counts as colonial rule despite the grant of greater autonomy.

02/01/1963 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: After a constitutional conference in London in 1962, Nyasaland achieved internal self-government with Banda as Prime Minister in February 1963.<sup>637</sup> As early as in 1962 Banda made it in the Legislative Council "that he alone was responsible for making policy, which the ministers were to execute without debate or dissent. No criticism of Banda was permitted".<sup>638</sup> The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was dissolved on 01/01/1964. Elections were held in Nyasaland on 04/28/1964, and the MCP won 50 out of 53 seats in the Legislative Council.

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<sup>633</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British\\_Central\\_Africa\\_Protectorate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Central_Africa_Protectorate); <http://library.law.fsu.edu/Digital-Collections/LimitsinSeas/pdf/ibs112.pdf>

<sup>634</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British\\_Central\\_Africa\\_Protectorate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Central_Africa_Protectorate)

<sup>635</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>636</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/british-nyasaland-1907-1964/>

<sup>637</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nyasaland>

<sup>638</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1964\\_Malawi\\_cabinet\\_crisis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1964_Malawi_cabinet_crisis)

07/06/1964 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Personalist Autocracy [as independent country]: Nyasaland achieved independence on this date under the name Malawi with Hastings Banda as the first president who established a one-party dictatorship (Turner 2014a). The MCP had already consolidated a de facto one-party rule before independence, and Banda had established his personal control of the party as well. Opposition groups were intimidated from nominating candidates in the 1964 elections before independence. Shortly after independence a substantial faction of the party, including several members of Banda's first cabinet, were dismissed or purged after proposing limits on Banda's personal power, and others resigned and soon fled the country (Decalo 1998, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 77). On 07/06/1966 a new constitution was adopted, in which the country was declared the Republic of Malawi. (Turner 2014a). The constitution also made the MCP the only political party legally, and not just de facto. Moreover, Banda was elected as president for a five-year term in a one-candidate election.<sup>639</sup> Banda described his rule as follows: “Everything is my business. Everything. Anything I say is law...literally law”.<sup>640</sup> In 1970, the MCP made Hastings Banda its president for life. In 1971 he was declared President for Life of Malawi. Besides that, he also held the official title “His Excellency the Life President of the Republic of Malaŵi, Ngwazi Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda”. The title Ngwazi can be translated with conqueror or chief of chiefs. In addition, Banda's reign was characterized by a comprehensive personality cult. For example, “Every business building was required to have an official picture of Banda hanging on the wall, and no poster, clock or picture could be higher than his picture.”<sup>641</sup> In 1992, President for Life Hastings Banda after increasing domestic and international pressure agreed to hold a referendum on whether to continue single-party rule or to hold multi-party elections. The referendum was held in 1993 and basically already ended the reign of Banda (Decalo 1998).<sup>642</sup> By AF, GWF, REIGN is classified as a personalist regime. HTW, MCM and LIED classify it as a one-party autocracy. According to our classification, the regime is a personalist autocracy, because Banda had a firm grip over the MCP from the very beginning, even before Nyasaland achieved independence. Although the MCP was the only legal party in Malawi, it was not an institution that could limit Banda's power. There were no selection processes for the party leadership, no decision-making powers or opportunities to vote Banda out of office.

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<sup>639</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hastings\\_Banda](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hastings_Banda)

<sup>640</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hastings\\_Banda#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hastings_Banda#)

<sup>641</sup> [https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Hastings\\_Banda#President\\_of\\_Malawi](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Hastings_Banda#President_of_Malawi)

<sup>642</sup> <http://africanelections.tripod.com/mw.html>

Furthermore, Banda was appointed president for life and he cultivated an extreme cult of personality.

05/17/1994 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Democracy: On this date presidential and parliamentary elections were won by the opposition and a transfer of power took place (Decalo 1998, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 77).<sup>643</sup> Bakili Malawi was elected President. A constitution was officially promulgated in 1995 which granted democratic liberties such as freedom of speech and assembly.<sup>644</sup> The constitution designates the Malawi Electoral Commission (MEC) as the primary administrative body responsible for overseeing the electoral process (Rakner/Svåsand 2005). The 1994 constitution also promulgated universal suffrage.<sup>645</sup>

06/15/1999 End Democracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, general elections were held in Malawi to elect the president and the parliament.<sup>646</sup> The anticipation was that the initial election (1994) in a multi-party system would be fraught with controversies, with subsequent ones becoming less contentious as voters, candidates, and administrators familiarized themselves with multi-party dynamics. Regrettably, neither the 1999 elections nor the Presidential and Parliamentary elections on 05/20/2004 showed evidence of such a learning curve. Consequently, the legitimacy of the electoral process was called into question by all key stakeholders (Rakner/Svåsand 2005). In 1999 the opposition accused the government of numerous irregularities, including manipulation of the media and the voter registration process as well as vote rigging (Lansford 2021: 1015). The management of the electoral process in 2004 also displayed democratic deficits. Firstly, voter registration faced issues such as irregularities and logistical challenges like shortages of forms, equipment, and transportation to registration centers. The registration period was frequently extended due to these problems. Importantly, these issues with registration were not exclusive to the 2004 elections; similar problems were observed in 1999. Additionally, mismanagement of the voters' roll further compromised the quality of the elections (Chirwa 2005). On 05/20/2014, Malawi held elections for president, parliament, and local councils. These elections were significant for many reasons, both in Africa and for Malawi itself. Despite some unfairness, they were very competitive, marking the nation's second peaceful transfer of power. Peter Mutharika, from the opposition, won, replacing Joyce Banda. External assessments, notably

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<sup>643</sup> <http://africanelections.tripod.com/mw.html>

<sup>644</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Malawi/Government-and-society>

<sup>645</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Malawi\\_1999](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Malawi_1999)

<sup>646</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1999\\_Malawian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1999_Malawian_general_election)

from the European Union (EU) and the African Union (AU), generally affirmed the credibility of the final results for parliamentary and presidential races. However, deficiencies in electoral management underscored persistent challenges in ensuring a level playing field. Consequently, the elections engendered controversy, with Banda contesting the results, albeit unsuccessfully, in the high court (Patel/Wahman 2015). After general elections in 2019, opposition groups charged that there was widespread fraud and launched nationwide protests (Lansford 2021: 1016). The Constitutional Court subsequently annulled the presidential election results due to evidence of irregularities, and ordered fresh elections be held.<sup>647</sup> AF, LIED, MCM, GWF and BR classify Malawi as a democracy as of 1994. HTW only between 1994 and 2000, after which it is classified as limited multiparty. We classify the period between 1999 and 2020 as semidemocracy, because competitive elections were held regularly. They were marked by considerable procedural and fairness issues, but these did not prevent the opposition from participating. Even peaceful power transfers were possible. Furthermore, the judicial branch exerts independent control.

06/23/2020 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: On this date, presidential elections were held, after the constitutional court had annulled the results of the 2019 polling. In addition, the parliament legislated various reforms, most notably changing the electoral system from a simple majoritarian or first-past-the-post system to a two-round system where the winner must receive over 50 percent of the votes.<sup>648</sup> The elections in 2021 were described as both free and fair by observers, and marked the first instance since the transition to democracy in 1994 where an opposition party defeated an incumbent.<sup>649</sup> Civil liberties and constitutional rights are largely respected, however, discrimination against minority groups and corruption pose an ongoing problem.<sup>650</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Donge 1995, Forster 2000, Svåsand 2011)

## Malaysia

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<sup>647</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019\\_Malawian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019_Malawian_general_election)

<sup>648</sup> <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/lessons-from-malawi%27s-fresh-presidential-elections-of-23-june-2020-en.pdf>

<sup>649</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/malawi/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>650</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/malawi/freedom-world/2023>

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 07/01/1896]: On 07/01/1896 the unification of 'British Malaya' took place, when the four 'Protected' states of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang were joined together as the Federated Malay States (FMS) (Shennan 2000).<sup>651</sup> The federation was centralized under a Resident General who at the same time was High Commissioner, however, each state retained its own Sultan as head of state and sovereignty (Belfield 1902, Shennan 2000). The Anglo-Malay treaties did not undermine the legal sovereignty of the Malay Rulers in any manner (Lau 1991). Therefore, this period is coded as a semi-sovereign protectorate, and, hence, according to the rule in the Malayan territories as absolute monarchy. Sultans ruled the Malay states. However, before the formation of the Malayan Union in 1946, the territories were not under a single unified administration.<sup>652</sup>

12/08/1941 End (Absolute) Monarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Occupation Regime [Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]: On this date, Japan invaded Malaya and established a military administration which ruled the territories for nearly four years (Soh 1998). On 08/15/1945, Japan surrendered to the Allied Powers leaving a three-week period of interregnum without a central authority before the British Royal Marines landed at Penang on 09/05/1945 (Soh 1998, Tadin 1960).

09/06/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Democracy]: British military governance was enforced under the authority of Lord Louis Mountbatten, serving as the Supreme Allied Commander, granting him comprehensive judicial, legislative, executive, and administrative powers and duties across Malaya (Lau 1991, Soh 1998).

04/01/1946 End Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]: On this date, the Malayan Union was promulgated that consisted of the nine federated and unfederated Malay states, the two Straits Settlements of Malacca and Penang including the Province Wellesley and excluding Singapore (Tadin 1960). The Sultans (the traditional rulers of the Malay states) conceded all their powers to the British Crown except in religious matters.<sup>653</sup> The Malayan Union was placed under the jurisdiction of a British Governor which formally re-imposed colonial rule: Additionally, the substitution of British Residents for the Sultans as the heads of the State Councils

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<sup>651</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Federated\\_Malay\\_States](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Federated_Malay_States)

<sup>652</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British\\_Malaya](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Malaya)

<sup>653</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malayan\\_Union](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malayan_Union)

significantly diminished the political standing of the Sultans.<sup>654</sup> Therefore, this period is coded under colony. On 02/01/1948 the Malayan Union, established in 1946, was dissolved on this date when the Federation of Malaya was formally established under a constitutional framework that restored the autonomy of the rulers of the Malay states under British protection (Tadin 1960).<sup>655</sup> However, on the level beyond the domain of the separate rulers the United Kingdom was still in control. In early 1948 the British government banned Angkatan Wanita Sedar (AWAS), together with several other political parties like PKMM and Hisbul Muslimin, accusing them of having connections to the Malayan Communist Party.<sup>656</sup> In 1948 the Federal Legislative Council was formed. The procedure of the selection indicates an ongoing colonial character of the period. The council was composed of representatives from the Malay, the Chinese and the Indian communities, which were appointed by the British High Commissioner for Malaya.<sup>657</sup> On 06/17/1948 the Anti-British National Liberation War also known as the Malayan Emergency began. On this date, the United Kingdom declared a state of emergency following several guerilla attacks on plantations. The war was fought between the communist pro-independence Malayan National Liberation Army (MNLA) on one side and the military forces of the Federation of Malaya, the British Empire and the Commonwealth on the other side.<sup>658</sup>

07/27/1955 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: On this date, the first Malayan general elections took place.<sup>659</sup> The Alliance (consisting of the three main ethnic parties: the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC)) won 51 of 52 contested seats in a 98-seat legislative council, the British controlled the other seats. The British favored the Alliance over more radical political forces. Tunku Abdul Rahman, the leader of the Alliance became Malaya's first elected Chief Minister (the post of Prime Minister was only implemented in 1957) (Tan 2001). At that time, it was difficult for non-Malays to become citizens and 84% of the electorate was Malay though only 50% of inhabitants were there. Thus, the elected legislative council was not democratic, as defined in the coding rules, because it was less than 60% elected, and suffrage was limited by ethnic restrictions (Andaya/Andaya 1982,

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<sup>654</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malayan\\_Union](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malayan_Union)

<sup>655</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malaysia#History>

<sup>656</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1948\\_in\\_Malaya](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1948_in_Malaya)

<sup>657</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Federal\\_Legislative\\_Council\\_\(Malaya\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Federal_Legislative_Council_(Malaya))

<sup>658</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malayan\\_Emergency](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malayan_Emergency)

<sup>659</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1955\\_Malayan\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1955_Malayan_general_election)



Rabushka 1970: 346-47, Means 1996: 103, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 77). In 1956, male suffrage was introduced followed by the introduction of female suffrage a year later.<sup>660</sup> The percentage of the population participating in the elections of 1955 was above 15 percent (Vanhanen 2019).

08/31/1957 Continuation Electoral Autocracy [as independent country]: On this date, the Federation of Malaya achieved independence from the United Kingdom within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Power was transferred to Tunku Abdul Rahman, the leader of UMNO, a Malay ethnic party, which had joined forces with Chinese and Indian ethnic parties in the Alliance (Tadin 1960). Because the 1955 elections are not regarded as democratic, this period is coded as electoral autocracy. With the declaration of independence, the MNLA lost their *raison d'être* in the conflict with the British Empire, the Commonwealth and the military forces of the Federation of Malaya. Nevertheless, they continued their communist opposition. On 07/31/1960, the Malayan government declared the end of the Malayan Emergency.<sup>661</sup> When Britain ended colonial rule in Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah (North Borneo), these ethnically distinct states were joined with independent Malaya to form the Federation of Malaysia on 09/16/1963 (Tan 2008). On 04/25/1964, the first general election after the formation of the Federation of Malaysia was held.<sup>662</sup> The Alliance Party consisting of the United Malays National Organization, the Malaysian Chinese Association and the Malaysian Indian Congress gained a majority. State elections were not held in Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak as transitional provisions allowed state legislatures to choose their representatives without a democratic election.<sup>663</sup> Subsequent elections were held on 05/10/1969 for members of the 3rd Parliament of Malaysia, although voting was postponed until between 06/06/1970 and 07/04/1970 in Sabah and Sarawak. The election on 05/15/1969 saw Alliance lose its majority in Perak, Selangor and Penang in addition to Kelantan. The result of the election and subsequent reactions led to rioting.<sup>664</sup> In May 1969, racial riots in Kuala Lumpur led to a declaration of national emergency. A nine-member National Operations Council (NOC) was attributed full authority to use restraint against the riots on 05/15/1969 (Lansford 2021: 1022). From 1969 to 1971, the NOC governed the country in lieu of the elected government and was dissolved on 02/20/1971, with the restoration of Parliament.<sup>665</sup> The Alliance was

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<sup>660</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>661</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malayan\\_Emergency](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malayan_Emergency)

<sup>662</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1964\\_Malaysian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1964_Malaysian_general_election)

<sup>663</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1964\\_Malaysian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1964_Malaysian_general_election)

<sup>664</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1969\\_Malaysian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1969_Malaysian_general_election)

<sup>665</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Operations\\_Council](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Operations_Council)

extended to become the National Front (BN). In order to avoid further ethnic unrest, the BN integrated some smaller parties and even PAS. The BN won at least 83% of the seats in the national parliament in the elections in 1974, 1978, 1982 and 1986, against an opposition consisting largely of PAS (since 1978) and the social democratic and pre- dominantly Chinese DAP (Ufen 2009: 605-606). In the 2013 elections, the opposition won the majority of the votes. They could not assume government posts however because of alleged gerrymandering and the first-past-the-post system.<sup>666</sup> The BN ruled Malaysia from independence in 1957 until 2018, maintaining power by manipulating electoral districts, appealing to ethnic nationalism and suppressing criticism through restrictive speech laws and politicized prosecutions of opposition leaders.<sup>667</sup> This is a borderline case between an electoral autocracy and a one-party autocracy. While no single party remained in power, a party coalition, the Barisan Nasional founded in 1973 but existing before as the Alliance Party<sup>668</sup>, factually held power for over 50 years. Nevertheless, multiparty elections were held and opposition parties existed even though suppressed by the ruling coalition.

05/09/2018 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, in a political upheaval, the BN-led coalition suffered defeat in the general elections, primarily due to voters' response to ongoing allegations of corruption against Najib. In the polling, the opposition PH-led coalition won 121 seats compared to 79 seats secured by the BN(Lansford 2021: 1023). The elections led to what is acknowledged as the country's initial democratic transfer of power between opposing political groups at the federal level since gaining independence.<sup>669</sup> Yet, the ruling coalition, Barisan Nasional, has faced criticism for alleged vote-buying.<sup>670</sup> Several irregularities in the elections were reported.<sup>671</sup>

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Brownlee 2003, Brownlee 2008, Case 1993, Means 1996, Wiesner 1972, Brownlee 2007, Pepinsky 2009, Slater 2010)

## **Maldives**

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<sup>666</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2018\\_Malaysian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2018_Malaysian_general_election)

<sup>667</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/malaysia/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>668</sup> [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barisan\\_Nasional](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barisan_Nasional)

<sup>669</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/malaysia/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>670</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2018\\_Malaysian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2018_Malaysian_general_election)

<sup>671</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2018\\_Malaysian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2018_Malaysian_general_election)

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 12/16/1887]: The Sultanate of Maldives was established in 1153.<sup>672</sup> On December 16, 1887, the British signed an agreement with the Sultan, granting "protection" and monopolizing the Maldives' foreign affairs. However, the British refrained from intervening in internal administration (Maloney 1976). As a result, the absolutist character of the sultanate persisted in all domestic matters without any changes. (Lehr 2001: 585).

12/22/1932 End Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Constitutional Monarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: On this date the first constitution was promulgated. A thirteen-member constitutional committee had begun to draft a constitution on 03/22/1931 (Lehr 2001: 585-586).<sup>673</sup> The background had been dissatisfaction with the extensive power of the Sultan. Upon the enactment of the initial Constitution, certain royal prerogatives of the Sultan were relinquished. In their stead emerged a People's Assembly comprised of 47 members elected from the atolls and a Legislative Council consisting of 28 members, with seven nominees appointed by the Sultan (Zulfa 2018<. 2). Nonetheless, the government remained a family matter of the Sultan. In spite of this, representation of the atolls in parliament was introduced for the first time (Zulfa 2018: 2). In 1932, universal suffrage was introduced in the Maldives.<sup>674</sup> Furthermore, the constitution of 1932 transformed the monarchy into not only a constitutional but also an elective one. Henceforth, the accession to the Sultan's throne was no longer hereditary; instead, a suitable candidate was elected by the Majlis and the nobility (Lehr 2001: 585-586). In 1934, the Sultan was removed from power over allegations of scheming to undermine the Constitution. He was succeeded by Sultan Hassan Nur-ud-din, who introduced a new constitution. Amidst widespread demand, he was deemed "unfit" and abdicated in 1943. Following two years under a Council of Regency, Abdul Majeed, a respected figure, was elected Sultan. He passed away in Colombo in 1952 (Maloney 1976).

01/01/1953 End Constitutional Monarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Electoral Oligarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: Prime Minister Muhammad Amin Didi led a movement to form a republic. On 04/18/1952, a public referendum converted the Maldives from a ruling (absolute) monarchy to a republic, enforced by a third constitution on 01/01/1953. The constitution established presidential

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<sup>672</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sultanate\\_of\\_Maldives](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sultanate_of_Maldives)

<sup>673</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_the\\_Maldives](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_the_Maldives)

<sup>674</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)

elections, a judiciary, and a bicameral legislature.<sup>675</sup> Amin Didi was elected as president with 98% of the votes (Maloney 1976). The available sources regarding the right to vote are limited. It is not clear whether universal suffrage was actually or only de jure granted. It is not evident how many percent of the population voted in the presidential election. However, it is clear that the nobility and the old elites always exerted a great deal of influence (Lehr 2001: 585-586, Phadnis/Luithui 1981: 168) . This can also be seen in the political dominance of various families, most notably the Didi family.<sup>676</sup> Therefore, we classify this short period as an electoral oligarchy.

08/21/1953 End Electoral Oligarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Constitutional Monarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: On this date, President Amin Didi was overthrown by a popular revolution, and the country reverted to a Sultanate on 03/07/1954, with Muhammad Fareed Didi as sultan. A unicameral legislature was reinstated, of which six members represented the king, 46 represented the people, and two represented the business sector. Only Maldivian men were allowed to vote for the People's Majlis.<sup>677</sup>

07/26/1965 Continuation Constitutional Monarchy as independent country: On 07/26/1965, an agreement was signed on behalf of His Majesty the Sultan, by Kilegefan, Prime Minister, and on behalf of The Queen which ended the British responsibility for the defense and external affairs of the Maldives and full independence was granted by Britain in 1965 (Maloney 1976).<sup>678</sup> On 03/15/1968, a vote was taken in parliament to decide if the Maldives should continue as a constitutional monarchy or become a republic.

11/11/1968 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Personalist Autocracy: On this date, a republic was declared again, a revised constitution promulgated, and Ibrahim Nasir elected as president. There were no political parties (Maloney 1976). On 04/14/1969, the name of the country changed from Maldives' Islands to Maldives. Nasir was elected indirectly to a four-year presidential term by the Majlis (legislature), and his candidacy later ratified by a referendum. Nasir had been previously involved in the 'depopulation' of the Maldivian island Havaru Thinadhoo in 1962, which has been criticized as a crime against humanity.<sup>679</sup> In 1973 Nasir was elected to a second term under the constitution as amended in 1972, which extended the presidential term to five years, and which also provided for the election of the

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<sup>675</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_the\\_Maldives](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_the_Maldives)

<sup>676</sup> [https://factsanddetails.com/south-asia/Maldives/History\\_Maldives/entry-8035.html#chapter-0](https://factsanddetails.com/south-asia/Maldives/History_Maldives/entry-8035.html#chapter-0)

<sup>677</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_the\\_Maldives](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_the_Maldives)

<sup>678</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Maldives#Independence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Maldives#Independence)

<sup>679</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibrahim\\_Nasir](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibrahim_Nasir)

prime minister by the Majlis.<sup>680</sup> Like 1968 the election 1973 took the form of a referendum with Ibrahim Nassir as the sole candidate.<sup>681</sup> Designated as prime minister in 1972, Ahmed Zaki was reappointed in February 1975 but was later dismissed from office and detained in March. President Ibrahim Nasir assumed executive duties, and Zaki was subsequently banished (Lansford 2021: 1032). On 12/07/1978, Nasir went into self-exile in Singapore after resigning from his post.<sup>682</sup>

Maumoon Abdul Gayoom succeeded Nassir. He was appointed by the Majlis and confirmed through a referendum in 1978. He was then reelected, again via a referendum in which he was the only candidate, in 1983, 1988, 1993, 1998 and 2003.<sup>683</sup> The presidential elections under Nassir and Gayoom are therefore not genuine executive (s)elections, but one-candidate referendums. Since no political parties were allowed, the elections for the Majlis cannot be understood as elections in a true sense either. The candidates all had to run as independents. Furthermore, 8 of the 54 members were appointed by the president.<sup>684</sup> The regime under both Nassir and Gyoom is considered to be a personalist autocracy, because nothing changed in terms of institutional conditions. Both presidents were not subject to any institutional restrictions. On 01/22/2005 this date, legislative elections to the 50-seat People's Majlis were held. Since political parties were still banned, all candidates ran as independents. Supporters of President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom emerged as the largest group in the People's Majlis (Lansford 2021: 1033). After the elections political parties were legalized.<sup>685</sup>

05/09/2009 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On 06/02/2005 on President Gayoom's request, the People's Majlis unanimously passed a reform allowing the registration of political parties. The first multiparty legislative elections, for an expanded 77-seat People's Majlis, were held on 05/09/2009. Eleven of 13 registered parties offered candidates and 5 won seats (Lansford 2021: 1033). Election observers characterized the elections as relatively free and fair, although some irregularities persisted. The political and civil rights situation continued to improve, although some restrictions continued.<sup>686</sup> The independence of the judiciary also increased. But some influence of the president remained.<sup>687</sup>

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<sup>680</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Maldives#Independence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Maldives#Independence)

<sup>681</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1973\\_Maldivian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1973_Maldivian_presidential_election)

<sup>682</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibrahim\\_Nasir](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibrahim_Nasir)

<sup>683</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maumoon\\_Abdul\\_Gayoom#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maumoon_Abdul_Gayoom#)

<sup>684</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1969\\_Maldivian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1969_Maldivian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>685</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005\\_Maldivian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_Maldivian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>686</sup> <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2009/sca/136090.htm>

<sup>687</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Judiciary\\_of\\_the\\_Maldives](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Judiciary_of_the_Maldives)

09/23/2018 End Semidemocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: The 2018 presidential election witnessed the improper utilization of state resources in support of the incumbent president Abdulla Yameen from the Progressive Party of Maldives (PPM), interference by the police in opposition campaign activities, and manipulation by electoral officials in diverse forms.<sup>688</sup> Before the elections, apprehensions arose regarding potential vote manipulation by the government, given Yameen's appointment of his supporter, Ahmed Shareef, as the head of the Electoral Commission. International observers were prohibited from overseeing the elections, and foreign media faced significant restrictions.<sup>689</sup> The April 2019 elections were predominantly transparent and competitive, according to Commonwealth observers. Although vote buying, albeit still an issue, seemed to be less widespread compared to previous elections.<sup>690</sup>

Electoral Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Mali**

[Formerly Soudan]

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy]: In 1892 Mali fell under French colonial rule.<sup>691</sup> On 10/17/1899 French Sudan broke apart; the territory was split into Upper Senegal and Middle Niger (Haut-Sénégal et Moyen-Niger). On 10/10/1902 it became the colony of Senegambia and Niger. On 10/18/1904 the country was renamed Upper Senegal-Niger (Haut-Sénégal-Niger). On 12/04/1920 it was renamed French Sudan. On 10/27/1946 it reached the status as a French overseas territory. In 1956 universal suffrage was introduced.<sup>692</sup> Keita and US-RDA emerged victorious in the first universal suffrage election in 1957, having already eliminated or assimilated any semblance of opposition before the country gained independence (Vengroff/Kone 1995: 46).

11/24/1958 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime [as Protectorate of France, Democracy]: On this date Mali became a self-governing member state of the French Community (Sudanese Republic). On 03/31/1960,

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<sup>688</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/maldives/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>689</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2018\\_Maldivian\\_presidential\\_election#International\\_observers](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2018_Maldivian_presidential_election#International_observers)

<sup>690</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/maldives/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>691</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Mali](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Mali)

<sup>692</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)

France consented to the full independence of the Federation of Mali.<sup>693</sup> Full independence within the community was achieved on 06/20/1960 in association with Senegal, with which Sudan had joined in January 1959 to form a union known as the Federation of Mali. However, Senegal seceded from the federation on 08/20/1960. For the brief existence of the Mali Federation, the premier was Modibo Keita.

09/22/1960 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime Transition [as Protectorate of France, Democracy]/Start One-Party Autocracy [as independent country]: On this date, independence from France was declared. The Mali Federation collapsed after Senegal seceded, whereafter *Soudan* left the Franc Zone and became officially known as the Republic of Mali. The previous federation premier, socialist Modibo Keita, became the first president of the newly independent country.<sup>694</sup> His party, the *Union Soudanaise-Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* (US-RDA), which already dominated politics and started the repression of opposition parties since it gained power in 1957<sup>695</sup> (winning all 80 seats in the Legislative Assembly 1959), officially became the only legal party in 1960<sup>696</sup> making Mali a *de jure* one-party state. In the following years Modibo Keita's policy of nationalization led to increasing economic deterioration and public dissatisfaction. The Mali government saw itself forced to rejoin the West African Franc Zone in 1967 in an attempt to regain some stability, however thereby undermining its legitimacy and further stirring disillusionment that culminated in subsequent events in 1968.<sup>697</sup> (Englebert 2004b: 635, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 77).

11/19/1968 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: In 1968, there were public protests against Keita's economic policies, so that his government was overthrown in a coup d'état led by Captain Diakhite and Lieutenant Traoré. The Comité Militaire pour la Liberation Nationale (Military Committee for National Liberation), a junta consisting of four captains and ten lieutenants was established. Traoré became head of a junta. Senior officers were dismissed (Bebler 1973: 87-90, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 77-78). In this time all political activity was banned, and the state was run as a police state by Captain Tiécoro Bagayoko. Traoré tried to move Mali towards a civilian rule with the change of the constitution for a

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<sup>693</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Mali](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Mali)

<sup>694</sup> <https://www.thoughtco.com/brief-history-of-mali-44272>

<sup>695</sup> <https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/bitstream/handle/10222/57689/Nathan-Robert-PhD-HIST-June-2015.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y>

<sup>696</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sudanese\\_Union\\_%E2%80%93\\_African\\_Democratic\\_Rally](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sudanese_Union_%E2%80%93_African_Democratic_Rally)

<sup>697</sup> <https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/bitstream/handle/10222/57689/Nathan-Robert-PhD-HIST-June-2015.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y>

'Malian Second Republic' in 1974. It was finally issued four years later in 1978, but despite the effort, the military remained in power.<sup>698</sup> In 1976, a new political party surfaced, named the 'Democratic Union of the Malian People,' founded on the principle of non-ideological democratic centralism<sup>699</sup> and lead by Moussa Traoré. Upon the restoration of civilian rule in 1979, it became the only legal party in Mali.<sup>700</sup>

06/19/1979 End Military Autocracy/Start One-Party Autocracy: The first single-party presidential and legislative elections were held on 06/18/1979.<sup>701</sup> Moussa Traoré was the only presidential candidate and the Democratic Union of the Malian People the sole legal party. In the National Assembly elections, multiple UDPM candidates competed for each seat, resulting in a 44% turnover of incumbent MPs. The voter turnout was reported to be 97%.<sup>702</sup>

03/26/1991 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: Traoré faced a huge popular uprising over labor and economic concerns. When it reached a climax, General Touré betrayed Traoré and seized power. On 03/26/1991 Traoré was apprehended in reaction to widespread riots, leading to the establishment of a predominantly civilian transitional government within a brief period. Subsequently, in July-August 1991, a National Conference convened to draft a new constitution, paving the way for fair and competitive elections overseen by the transitional government in April 1992 (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 77-78).<sup>703</sup>

04/12/1992 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, elections were won by Alpha Oumar Konaré and The Alliance for Democracy (Adema) (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 41). The presidential and parliamentary elections in 2002 were characterized as fair and transparent by international observers. Nonetheless, allegations of fraud and corruption raised by the opposition persisted.<sup>704</sup> In the 1997 elections many opposition parties and candidates boycotted the elections.<sup>705</sup> Alpha Oumar Konaré was the first president who stood down after his two constitutionally allowed terms.<sup>706</sup> During the 2002 presidential elections many procedural irregularities were detected by electoral

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<sup>698</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moussa\\_Traor%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moussa_Traor%C3%A9)

<sup>699</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moussa\\_Traor%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moussa_Traor%C3%A9)

<sup>700</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic\\_Union\\_of\\_the\\_Malian\\_People](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Union_of_the_Malian_People)

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<sup>702</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Malian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Malian_general_election)

<sup>703</sup> [https://1997-2001.state.gov/background\\_notes/mali\\_0006\\_bgn.html](https://1997-2001.state.gov/background_notes/mali_0006_bgn.html)

<sup>704</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992\\_Malian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992_Malian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>705</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992\\_Malian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992_Malian_parliamentary_election);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1997\\_Malian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1997_Malian_presidential_election)

<sup>706</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alpha\\_Oumar\\_Konar%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alpha_Oumar_Konar%C3%A9)



observers.<sup>707</sup> The election results 2007 were not accepted by all contestants who claimed irregularities. Independent observers, however, endorsed the election as free and fair.<sup>708</sup> Deficits in the electoral process during this period therefore existed. Furthermore, the judiciary was not independent of the executive, but still reached relatively autonomous decisions. Political and civil liberties were generally accepted.<sup>709</sup> In January 2012, Northern Mali saw the onset of a Tuareg uprising spearheaded by the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA).<sup>710</sup> The country was classified as partly free by FH in this period. GWF, REIGN and BR classified the period as democratic, LIED, MCM and HTW as a multiparty/electoral autocracy. according to our standards the regime is classified as a semidemocracy.

03/21/2012 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, there was a successful coup by Malian soldiers led by Captain Amadou Sanogo against President Amadou Toumani Touré.<sup>711</sup> Following Captain Amadou Sanogo's seizure of power, he cited Touré's failures in suppressing the rebellion as justification. This action led to sanctions and an embargo imposed by the Economic Community of West African States.<sup>712</sup> The coup resulted in the partition of Mali between its northern and southern regions. The MNLA attempted to declare independence as 'Azawad,' resulting in a short-lived unrecognized state that existed from 2012 to 2013.<sup>713</sup> Islamist groups that helped the MNLA to defeat the government took control of the north with the goal of implementing the sharia in Mali. On 04/12/2012 an interim president was selected through the involvement of countries belonging to the Economic Community of West African States. These nations entered into a comprehensive agreement with the coup leaders, delineating the content and plan of the transition, thereby enabling a partial return to constitutional normality.<sup>714</sup> French Armed Forces intervened on 01/11/2013 at the request of the interim Government. On 01/30/2013 Malian and French troops reclaimed Kidal, the last Islamist stronghold. On 02/02/2013 French President François Hollande accompanied Mali's interim President Dioncounda Traoré in a public appearance in the recently liberated Timbuktu.<sup>715</sup> Traoré held his function as interim president until

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<sup>707</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2002\\_Malian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2002_Malian_presidential_election)

<sup>708</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007\\_Malian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007_Malian_presidential_election)

<sup>709</sup> <https://www.refworld.org/docid/5278c9453.html>

<sup>710</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mali>

<sup>711</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012\\_Malian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012_Malian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>712</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mali>; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Malian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Malian_general_election)

<sup>713</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Azawad>

<sup>714</sup> <https://tsep.africa.ufl.edu/the-electoral-system/mali/>

<sup>715</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mali>

09/04/2013.<sup>716</sup> Because of the impossibility to schedule elections as prescribed by constitution in 2012, the period of transition extended to 07/28/2013 after the election of a new president.<sup>717</sup>

07/28/2013 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date legislative elections took place, with the second round on 08/11/2013. Concerning voter fraud, the majority of political and civil society leaders demanded that a biometric electoral list in 2012 be implemented in order to reduce electoral fraud during preparation for the elections.<sup>718</sup> About 6.9 million registered voters casted 3 million valid votes (a success rate of 43% valid votes and 57% not voting).<sup>719</sup> In 2013 Mali had democratic elections in place, that faced numerous challenges, which affected the stability and functions of the democratic system. Challenges that arose during the election were for instance providing security on ballot stations, restoring administrative services in northern Mali or the creation of the biometric electoral list civil, that society and political leaders advocated for, despite persistent problems with census data.<sup>720</sup> In the 2013 presidential elections Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta was elected president of the republic.<sup>721</sup>

08/18/2020 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date members of the Malian Armed Forces started the Malian coup d'état. The soldiers apprehended numerous government officials, including President Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta, who subsequently resigned and dissolved the government.<sup>722</sup> The five colonels leading the coup called themselves 'The National Committee for the Salvation of the People' and were led by Colonel Assimi Goïta.<sup>723</sup>

09/12/2020 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: The committee agreed to a political transition to civilian rule. By a group of 17 members of the committee, Bah N'daw was elected transitional interim president and took over office on 09/25/2020. Bah N'daw, a retired military officer, appointed Moctar Ouane, a civilian, as Prime Minister to comply with the demands of ECOWAS. This transitional period was supposed to last 18 months.<sup>724</sup>

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<sup>716</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_heads\\_of\\_state\\_of\\_Mali](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_heads_of_state_of_Mali)

<sup>717</sup> <https://tsep.africa.ufl.edu/the-electoral-system/mali/>

<sup>718</sup> <https://tsep.africa.ufl.edu/the-electoral-system/mali/>

<sup>719</sup> <https://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/2278/>

<sup>720</sup> <https://tsep.africa.ufl.edu/the-administration-of-elections/mali-3/>

<sup>721</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibrahim\\_Boubacar\\_Ke%C3%AFta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibrahim_Boubacar_Ke%C3%AFta)

<sup>722</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020\\_Malian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020_Malian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>723</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020\\_Malian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020_Malian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>724</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bah\\_Ndaw](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bah_Ndaw)

05/24/2021 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Military Autocracy: On this date a second coup in less than a year ousted transitional president Bah N'daw and prime minister Moctar Ouane who had attempted to form a new government excluding key military officers. The military government put the transitional process to a halt.<sup>725</sup> On 06/07/2021, Assimi Goita, Mali's military commander, took the oath of office as the new interim president.<sup>726</sup>

Military autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Bennett 1975, Hanke 2001, Mozaffar 1999)

## Malta

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 07/23/1813]: On 07/23/1813 Malta became a Crown Colony and the status was confirmed as part of the Treaty of Paris in 1814.<sup>727</sup> The elections on 10/27/1947 were the first elections without property qualifications for voters, and women were also allowed to vote for the first time.<sup>728</sup>

09/21/1964 End Colonial Regime/Start Democracy: On this date, independence started under a government democratically elected in the general elections of 02/17-19/1962. The Nationalist Party emerged as the largest party, winning 25 of the 50 seats.<sup>729</sup> Malta usually was considered to be free by Freedom House with an exception of a period in the 1980s. It was noted that the governing party has shown a growing tendency toward antidemocratic practices.

12/12/1981 End Democracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, general elections were held, leading to a majority win for the oppositional Nationalist Party. Nonetheless, the electoral system in place resulted in the previously governing Labour Party securing a narrow majority of seats in parliament.<sup>730</sup> During the subsequent legislative period, the opposition initially chose to boycott the parliament. Consequently, there was a noticeable surge in political violence, raising suspicions of collusion between the ruling government and organized crime groups targeting the opposition. Additionally, the government exercised control over the

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<sup>725</sup> <https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/mali-bundeswehr-einsatz-abzug-100.html>

<sup>726</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mali>

<sup>727</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crown\\_Colony\\_of\\_Malta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crown_Colony_of_Malta)

<sup>728</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/Malta#History>

<sup>729</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1962\\_Maltese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1962_Maltese_general_election)

<sup>730</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1981\\_Maltese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1981_Maltese_general_election)

nation's radio and television stations, thereby restricting opposition access to these media platforms (Gastil 1984, Gastil 1986).

05/09/1987 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: On this day general elections were held. Despite the Nationalist Party securing the highest number of votes, the Malta Labour Party secured a parliamentary majority. However, in line with amendments made to the electoral system after a similar situation arose in the 1981 elections, the Nationalist Party was granted an additional four seats to ensure a parliamentary majority.<sup>731</sup> A peaceful transition of power followed. Despite a general acceptance of the rule of law, there are still suspicions that the government is involved in inciting gang violence against its adversaries. Additionally, the government has consolidated a significant portion of the economy, diminishing freedom by limiting pluralism (House 1984: 396-397). Malta is a unicameral parliamentary democracy. The president is elected by the parliament for a five-year term. The president carries out mainly ceremonial duties. Elections are regular, competitive, fair and free. The ruling Labor Party won for a third consecutive term in 2022. Moreover, new constitutional changes were made to improve gender representation in parliament.<sup>732</sup> The judiciary is regarded as generally independent and civil liberties and political rights are upheld.<sup>733</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Bestler/Waschkuhn 2009)

## **Marshall Islands**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 10/22/1885]: Initially, the Marshall Islands were claimed by Spain, but no Spanish armed forces had been stationed there. Hence, German rule was installed on 10/22/1885 and declared as protectorate in 1886. While the Marshallese version did not differentiate between the ranks of the five chiefs of the Marshall Islands, the German text acknowledged Kabua as the King of the Marshall Islands. Effectively, the Marshallese Iroji chiefs continued to rule under indirect German colonial administration.<sup>734</sup> Hence, the regime is a borderline case between a ruling monarchy and a colony.

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<sup>731</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1987\\_Maltese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1987_Maltese_general_election)

<sup>732</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/malta/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>733</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/malta/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>734</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marshall\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marshall_Islands)

09/30/1914 End Colonial Regime [of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Japan, Absolute Monarchy]: At the onset of World War I, the Marshall Islands came under the control of Japan. On 09/30/1914 they captured the administrative center of the Islands, Jaluit, after they occupied Enewetak the day before (Lansford 2021: 1051).<sup>735</sup>

12/17/1920 End Occupation Regime [by Japan, Absolute Monarchy]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate of Japan, Absolute Monarchy]: On this date, the Council of the League of Nations sanctioned the South Seas Mandate, granting Japan control over all former German colonies in the Pacific Ocean situated north of the Equator.<sup>736</sup>

01/31/1944 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate of Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by USA, Democracy]: The Marshall Islands were occupied by the US in World War II and became part of the US Trust Territory of the Pacific in 1947.

07/18/1947 End Occupation Regime [by USA, Democracy]/Start Colonial Regime [as International Mandate of USA, Democracy]: Following the war, the USA carried out almost 70 nuclear tests in the Marshall Islands, which resulted in significant legal claims due to radioactive contamination and the forced relocation of islanders. In 1965, the Marshall Islands elected members to the Congress of Micronesia and later drafted their own constitution.<sup>737</sup>

04/10/1979 End Colonial Regime [as International Mandate of USA, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy [as International Mandate of USA, Democracy]: On this date elections for the legislature were held on the Marshall Islands.<sup>738</sup> In 1979 universal suffrage had been introduced.<sup>739</sup> Amata Kabua, a descendent of the iroji chiefs was elected president and remained in office (with reelections every four years) for more than thirty years. It was not until his death in 1996 that nominations for the presidency were not closed immediately after his nomination.<sup>740</sup> In 1979, the constitution came into effect (Lansford 2021: 1051). On 03/12/1982 the Republic of the Marshall Islands signed the Compact of Free Association with the United States. On 10/21/1986, the Compact of Free Association entered into force after ratification by RMI and USA. Under the Compact, the RMI gained full sovereignty, except for defense matters which remained a US responsibility for at least 15 years. The RMI was also obliged to consult with the USA on major foreign policy issues (Lansford 2021: 1051).

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<sup>735</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Marshall\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Marshall_Islands)

<sup>736</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Marshall\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Marshall_Islands)

<sup>737</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trust\\_Territory\\_of\\_the\\_Pacific\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trust_Territory_of_the_Pacific_Islands)

<sup>738</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Marshallese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Marshallese_general_election)

<sup>739</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>740</sup> <https://aceproject.org/ero-en/regions/pacific/MH/marshall-islands-legislative-needs-assessment-undp>

On 12/22/1990 the trusteeship under the United Nations Security Council Resolution 683 was terminated, effectively ending the International Mandate of USA on Marshall Islands. Although the constitution was in place, the government was primarily influenced by the Iroij. It was not until 1999, when accusations of political corruption arose, that the aristocratic rule was overturned.

11/22/1999 End Electoral Autocracy [as International Mandate of USA, Democracy]/Start Democracy: On this date parliamentary elections took place on the Marshall Islands. Since there were no political parties, all candidates for the 33 seats ran as independent candidates.<sup>741</sup> The opposition won, and Imata Kabua was replaced by the commoner Kessai Note as a result of this change in leadership.<sup>742</sup> The Marshall Islands are a mixed parliamentary-presidential representative democracy with a unicameral system. The president serves as head of state and head of government.<sup>743</sup> Democratic elections are implemented in the constitution and regular, competitive elections are held. Civil liberties are generally guaranteed, but problems regarding corruption, gender-based discrimination and human trafficking persist.<sup>744</sup> On 11/20/2023 general elections were held. In the Nitijeļā, incumbent candidates suffered defeats in 13 out of the 33 seats, resulting in the loss of Speaker Kedi, Vice Speaker Peterson Jibas, and government ministers John Silk and Casten Nemra.<sup>745</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Stöver 2001)

## Martinique

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 11/20/1815]: On 09/15/1635, Pierre Belain d’Esnambuc, the French governor of St. Kitts, arrived in St. Pierre’s harbor with 80 to 150 French settlers after being forced out of St. Kitts by the English. D’Esnambuc asserted French sovereignty over Martinique on behalf of King Louis XIII and the “Compagnie des Îles de l’Amérique” (Company of the American Islands). He established the initial European settlement, Fort Saint-Pierre, which is now known as St.

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<sup>741</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1999\\_Marshallese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1999_Marshallese_general_election)

<sup>742</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marshall\\_Islands#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marshall_Islands#History)

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government\\_of\\_the\\_Marshall\\_Islands#:~:text=Governance%20occurs%20in%20a%20framework,is%20exercised%20by%20the%20government.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_of_the_Marshall_Islands#:~:text=Governance%20occurs%20in%20a%20framework,is%20exercised%20by%20the%20government.)

<sup>744</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/marshall-islands/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>745</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023\\_Marshallese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023_Marshallese_general_election)

Pierre. Over the years, Martinique was subject to multiple British attacks or occupations in 1693, 1759, 1762, and 1779, except for the period between 1802 and 1809 when it was briefly controlled by Britain following the Treaty of Amiens. From 1794 to 1815, Britain maintained control over the island for most of the time, ultimately returning it to France after the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars. As in the Treaty of 1814, the Second Treaty of Paris on 11/20/1815 stipulated that Britain would return Martinique to France.<sup>746</sup> Since then, Martinique has remained a French territory.<sup>747</sup>

03/19/1946 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Part of Other Country [France, Democracy]: In 1946, the French National Assembly unanimously voted to turn Martinique into an Overseas Department of France. However, during the post-war years, a movement for full independence gained momentum, with figures like Aimé Césaire founding the Progressive Party of Martinique in the 1950s. Tensions reached a breaking point in December 1959, leading to riots following a racially charged incident that resulted in three deaths. In 1962, amid the global shift away from colonialism, the strongly pro-independence OJAM (Organisation de la jeunesse anticolonialiste de la Martinique) was established. Its leaders were initially arrested by French authorities but were later acquitted. Tensions flared again in 1974 when gendarmes shot and killed two striking banana workers. However, the independence movement lost momentum as Martinique's economy struggled in the 1970s, causing significant emigration.<sup>748</sup> Martinique is an outermost region of the European Union, and its residents are granted full political and legal rights as French citizens. The island elects four deputies to the French National Assembly and two senators to the French Senate.<sup>749</sup>

Part of Other Country [France, Democracy] as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Mauritania**

01/01/1900 (de facto) Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy]: Beginning in the late 19th century, France asserted control over present-day Mauritania, extending from the Senegal River region northward. In 1901, the French government implemented a strategy of "peaceful penetration"<sup>750</sup> to organize the administration of territories then under Maure suzerainty. This approach was devised by Xavier Coppolani, an Algerian-raised Corsican

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<sup>746</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_Paris\\_\(1815\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Paris_(1815))

<sup>747</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martinique#History>

<sup>748</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martinique#History>

<sup>749</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martinique#Governance>

<sup>750</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonial\\_Mauritania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonial_Mauritania)

delegate sent by the French government to Mauritania. Coppolani's policy aimed not only to subdivide and pacify the Maures but also to safeguard their interests.<sup>751</sup> By forming strategic partnerships with Zawaya tribes and using military force against the Hassane warrior nomads, French authority was successfully expanded over the Mauritanian emirates. In 1903 and 1904, the French military occupied Trarza, Brakna, and Tagant. However, the northern emirate of Adrar resisted longer, supported by the anti-colonial uprising led by shaykh Maa al-Aynayn and insurgents from Tagant and other occupied areas.<sup>752</sup> On 10/01/1904, Mauritania was declared a protectorate by France. It was administered under the delegate general in Dakar and was given the status of a “civil territory” soon after. On 12/04/1920, Mauritania became part of France West Africa (AOF) which was organized under a centralized federal structure in Dakar. The governor general was directly appointed by the President of the French Republic. The centralized administrative bureaucracy was made up of a lieutenant governor, a commandant for each cercle and the chiefs of the subdivisions, cantons and villages. Only the chiefs were Africans. They exercised authority due to their position in the colonial administration. After France’s fall in 1940, the Vichy Government gained control over the AOF and switched from an assimilation to a racial discrimination policy.<sup>753</sup> On 01/30/1944 a conference was held to commemorate the members of the Free French Forces which at one point had consisted of over 50% African soldiers. In the Brazzaville Declaration, several changes to the colonial ruling system in the AOF were proposed. The declaration was however strongly opposed by Vichy.<sup>754</sup> On 10/27/1946, Mauretania became an overseas territory of France through the entry into force of the new constitution of the French Fourth Republic. The Colonial Ministry was still able to rule by decree but the indigénat and forced labor were abolished. Inhabitants willing to renounce their local rights could apply for French citizenship. While the 1946 constitution did introduce suffrage and representation, this amounted to very little. For example, the Mauritanian General Council consisted of 24 members, 8 of which were elected by Europeans and 6 were elected by Mauritians. Additionally, the franchise was heavily restricted. Consequently, fewer than 10 000 voters qualified in 1946. In 1956, universal suffrage was introduced.<sup>755</sup>

03/31/1957 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy [as Protectorate of France, Democracy]: On this date, the first Territorial Assembly

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<sup>751</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonial\\_Mauritania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonial_Mauritania)

<sup>752</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mauritania#Colonial\\_history](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mauritania#Colonial_history)

<sup>753</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonial\\_Mauritania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonial_Mauritania)

<sup>754</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazzaville\\_Conference](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazzaville_Conference)

<sup>755</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonial\\_Mauritania#Postwar\\_reforms](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonial_Mauritania#Postwar_reforms)



elections with universal suffrage took place in Mauritania.<sup>756</sup> The Mauritanian Progressive Union, a party which had been formed as an opposition to the Mauritanian Agreement Party, won 33 of 34 seats. Mauritania attained autonomy within the French Community in 1958 (Lansford 2021: 1056). This was due to the new French constitution which had been adopted within the Fifth French Republic. It provided for the creation of a French Community whose member States would be autonomous republics. This constitution was also adopted by Mauritania in a referendum in 1958. It quickly lost its appeal though as Mauritania was striving for complete independence. After the proclamation of the Islamic Republic, the Territorial Assembly renamed itself as the Constituent Assembly and began working on a draft for a national constitution.<sup>757</sup> Mokhtar Ould Daddah became head of Government in 1957, supported by his Mauritanian Regroupment Party (MRP), a merger of different political groups with a strong nationalistic stance (Wegemund 1999).<sup>758</sup> The MRP emerged victorious in the pre-independence elections held in May 1959. However, prior to independence, Daddah had prohibited certain opposition parties and detained several opposition leaders (Moore 1965: 409, Warner 1990).

11/28/1960 End Electoral Autocracy [as Protectorate of France, Democracy]/Start One-Party Autocracy: On this date, Mauritania declared its independence. Under Ould Daddah's leadership and the control of the Mauritanian Regroupment Party (MRP), the country gained independence. (Moore 1965: 409, Warner 1990). Shortly after Mauritania's independence from France in November 1960 he merged his Mauritanian Regroupment Party with opposition parties. In 1964, Ould Daddah officially proclaimed a one-party-state at the extraordinary congress of the Mauritanian People's Party. In 1965 a constitutional amendment was passed by the National assembly defining the Mauritanian People's Party (PPM) as the single legal party in Mauritania.<sup>759</sup> Elections in the First Mauritanian Republic existed. However, the presidential and parliamentary elections were non-competitive (Wegemund 1999).

07/10/1978 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A coup of junior officers led by Colonel Mohamed Salek ousted the Ould Daddah regime during an economic crisis and trouble containing an insurgency. Salek took power as chairman of the Military Committee for National Recovery (CMRN) of 20 officers (Warner 1990, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014:

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<sup>756</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1957\\_Mauritanian\\_Territorial\\_Assembly\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1957_Mauritanian_Territorial_Assembly_election)

<sup>757</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Mauritania\\_\(1960%E2%80%931978\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Mauritania_(1960%E2%80%931978))

<sup>758</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/mauritania/15.htm>; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mauritanian\\_Regroupment\\_Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mauritanian_Regroupment_Party)

<sup>759</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/mauritania/16.htm>;

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Mauritania\\_\(1960%E2%80%931978\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Mauritania_(1960%E2%80%931978))

78). The coup led to a 14 year long military rule (Wegemund 1999). On 04/06/1979 prime minister and junta member Bouceif reduced Salek to a ceremonial position while taking the chair for himself. The reason was that Salek isolated himself in the junta. On 01/04/1980 Haidalla ousted Louly as head of the junta. Taya became chief of staff of the army under the leadership of Haidalla in January 1981. On 12/12/1984 Maaouya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya, one of the most important members of the regime, overthrew Haidalla while he was out of the country after he removed Taya from the premier post. Taya assumed the chair of the National Recovery junta.<sup>760</sup> Under Taya's leadership, ethnic tensions in Mauritania escalated, with preferential treatment of Arabs leading to violence and economic decline. Opposition demanded democratic reforms, prompting Taya to introduce a multi-party system and adopt a new constitution in 1991 (Wegemund 1999).

01/24//1992 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, the first presidential election since independence took place. Ould Taya faced his main rival, Ahmed Ould Daddah, who led the opposition coalition. The opposition boycotted the parliamentary elections in March (03/06/1992), claiming manipulation. As a result, the National Assembly was mostly filled with members from Taya's PRDS party. These elections hinted at a lack of progress toward democratization. Subsequent years saw intense confrontation between the President and his main rival, Ould Daddah. The 1996/97 elections failed to alter the fundamental aspects of political dynamics. In October 1996, parliamentary elections reaffirmed the ruling party's dominant position in the National Assembly. The opposition ran independently, leading to the PRDS securing a resounding 7/8 victory. Despite an absence of direct interference on voting day, the elections encountered significant structural barriers, such as the absence of population registers and administration controlled by the PRDS, severely limiting competitiveness. The united opposition boycotted the presidential election in December 1997, leading to President Ould Taya's reelection (Pazzanita 1999, Wegemund 1999).<sup>761</sup> Mauritania conducted presidential elections on November 7, 2003. Predictably, the sitting President Ould Taya secured a comfortable reelection victory against feeble opposition. Allegations of election fraud arose from the opposition. Moreover, Ould Taya's primary challenger, former military leader Mohamed Khouna Ould Haidalla, was arrested both before and after the vote.<sup>762</sup>

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<sup>760</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maaouya\\_Ould\\_Sid%27Ahmed\\_Taya](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maaouya_Ould_Sid%27Ahmed_Taya)

<sup>761</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992\\_Mauritanian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1992_Mauritanian_parliamentary_election);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1997\\_Mauritanian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1997_Mauritanian_presidential_election)

<sup>762</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2003\\_Mauritanian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2003_Mauritanian_presidential_election)

08/03/2005 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: While Taya was out of the country, Ely Mohamed seized control of government buildings and media and declared the end of the Taya's repressive rule. He seated himself at the head of a junta with the goal of bringing democracy to the nation. A coup led by members of the presidential guard and the military removed the Taya government from power (N'Diaye 2006: 421, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 78).<sup>763</sup> On 08/03/2005, during Taya's absence in Saudi Arabia for King Fahd's funeral, a bloodless coup unfolded. Colonel Ely Ould Mohamed Vall, along with a group of security and army officers, assumed control and formed the ruling Military Council for Justice and Democracy (MCJD), with Vall appointed as the head of state. On 08/05, the parliament was dissolved (Lansford 2021: 1057).

03/25/2007 End Military Autocracy/Start Democracy: A competitive presidential election, deemed free and fair, resulted in the peaceful transfer of power to civilian authorities (Ojeda 2009: 2-3, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 78). The election took place under universal suffrage.<sup>764</sup>

08/06/2008 End Democracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, Abdelaziz staged a coup supported by active-duty officers and senior officers who had been dismissed recently from the President's Security Battalion. Abdallahi, el-Waghf who had been the interior minister was arrested. An all-military High Council of States replaced the elected government, and all public media was shut down. Abdelaziz promised to hold elections but did not mention a specific date. The African Union (AU) as well as the EU, UN and USA clearly communicated their objection to the coup and demanded to adhere the constitution. (Lansford 2012: 919, Lansford 2021: 1058, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 78).<sup>765</sup>

07/18/2009 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date presidential elections were held. Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz, who led the 2008 coup d'état, won a narrow first-round majority in the election, according to official results.<sup>766</sup> The presidential elections in 2019 led to the first peaceful transfer of power since independence. Mohamed Ould Ghazouani, the former defense minister received over 50% in the first round on 06/22/2019. The opposition did not recognize the results and accused the military of interfering in the political sphere again.<sup>767</sup> Human Rights Watch reported that Mauritanian authorities detained

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<sup>763</sup> <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5467.html>

<sup>764</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Mauritania\\_2012](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Mauritania_2012)

<sup>765</sup> <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7545934.stm>; <https://2009-2017.state.gov/outofdate/bgn/mauritania/171660.htm>

<sup>766</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2009\\_Mauritanian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2009_Mauritanian_presidential_election)

<sup>767</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019\\_Mauritanian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019_Mauritanian_presidential_election)

at least three prominent pro-opposition figures for a week without charge. This action appeared to be aimed at suppressing dissent following the June 22 presidential election. Additionally, the authorities shut down the Internet and arrested numerous opposition activists.<sup>768</sup>

Electoral Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Handloff 1988b)

## **Mauritius**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 12/03/1810]: Since 12/03/1810 Mauritius was de facto a British colony. This was de jure confirmed in 1814 by the Treaty of Paris. Mauritius's society is ethnically diversified, with the Hindu community being the largest and most influential, alongside the small Franco-Mauritian minority. The Creole community, mostly descendants of slaves, has historically been marginalized, although over time efforts have been made to improve their situation, such as the introduction of Creole as a formal language in schools and the establishment of a Truth and Justice Commission to investigate the country's past and the consequences of slavery.<sup>769</sup> A new constitution in 1947 paved the way for internal self-government ten years later. The 1948 Mauritian general election was the first instance when any adult who could write their names in any of the island's languages was allowed to vote, without property qualifications for voters.<sup>770</sup> In 1958, the Mauritian Labour Party (MLP) led by Seewoosagur Ramgoolam won the first elections under universal suffrage (Turner 2014b). The election on 03/09/1959 was the first one in which women were also allowed to vote.<sup>771</sup>

03/12/1968 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Democracy: Mauritius became independent within the British Commonwealth and Ramgoolam was sworn in as the first prime minister. On 03/12/1992 Mauritius achieved republic status. Mauritius is a parliamentary representative democracy that holds free, fair and competitive multiparty elections. While constitutional liberties are generally protected certain issues persist, including corruption, freedom of press and expression. Journalists regularly face harassment

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<sup>768</sup> <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/07/23/mauritania-widespread-arrests-blunt-backlash-over-election>

<sup>769</sup> <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/MUS>

<sup>770</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>771</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)

and restrictions.<sup>772</sup> Mauritius has faced growing challenges in maintaining its democratic qualities since 2018, with significant declines in fundamental rights, social group equality, freedom of expression, and predictable enforcement since 2018. Although it continues to perform well in terms of representative government, recent electoral irregularities and dissatisfaction with governmental transparency and accountability have sparked concern.<sup>773</sup> Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Krennerich 1999a, Metz 1994b)

## Mayotte

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 03/25/1841]: On 03/25/1841 the reign of the last sultan on Mayotte ended.<sup>774</sup> In 1843, France established colonial authority over Mayotte. Much like their efforts in the West Indies and Réunion, the French government had aspirations to transform Mayotte into a sugar-producing region. However, sugar production in Mayotte remained lackluster, and the sugar crisis of 1883-1885 spelled the end of this industry, even as it reached its peak production. In 1885, during the Berlin Conference, France assumed control over the entire Comoros archipelago, even though French traders were already exerting influence there. The colony was then named “Mayotte and Dependencies.”<sup>775</sup>

07/06/1975 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Part of Other Country [France, Democracy]: On this date, the Comorian parliament passed a resolution asserting independence. Mayotte’s decision to stay under French authority, even as the Comoros declared its independence in the wake of the 1974 referendum, set the course for its future.<sup>776</sup> From 1975 onward, the French administered Mayotte independently from the rest of the Comoros. This distinction came about when the three northernmost islands of the Comoros, primarily Muslim, declared their independence, while the residents of Mayotte, encompassing both Muslim and Christian communities, opted to remain under French authority. In 1976, the French government introduced a distinct status known as “collectivité territoriale” for the island. In 1979, the United Nations adopted a resolution confirming the sovereignty of the

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<sup>772</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/mauritius/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>773</sup> <https://www.idea.int/democracytracker/country/mauritius>

<sup>774</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_sultans\\_on\\_the\\_Comoros](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_sultans_on_the_Comoros)

<sup>775</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Mayotte#ref4733>

<sup>776</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mayotte#>

Comoros over Mayotte. On 03/31/2011, Mayotte attained the status of an overseas department of France (département d'outre-mer, DOM) as a result of the March 2009 Mahoran status referendum, which received overwhelming approval from approximately 95% of the voters. This transition into an overseas department implies that Mayotte will align its legal and social framework with that of mainland France. This transformation will necessitate the discontinuation of certain customary laws, the adoption of the standard French civil code, and reforms in the areas of the judiciary, education, social services, and taxation. The implementation of these changes is expected to occur over a span of approximately 20 years.<sup>777</sup>

Part of Other Country [France, Democracy] as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Mexico**

01/01/1900 Military (Personalist) Autocracy [Start: 09/27/1821]: On 09/27/1821 the Mexican Empire (Ruling Monarchy) declared its independence from Spain.<sup>778</sup> Porfirio Diaz seized power by means of a coup with the help of his supporters in 1876. He was elected president in 1877. He first stepped down after the end of his mandate in 1880. In 1884, however, he abandoned the principle of non-reelection and took office until 1911.<sup>779</sup> On 06/26/1910 general elections were held in Mexico. They were supposed to be the first free and fair elections under the rule of Diaz. However, Diaz imprisoned the opposition leader Madero. The latter was very popular, but after the elections, Diaz was controversially declared the winner with 99% of the vote.<sup>780</sup> Francisco I. Madero subsequently published the Plan of San Luis Potosi which called for an armed uprising against Diaz. This marked the beginning of the Mexican Revolution.<sup>781</sup>

11/09/1911 End Military (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Electoral Oligarchy: Madero was elected as President of Mexico.<sup>782</sup> Due to him, the freedom of press was guaranteed, and opposition was able to operate. Even though he could have ruled more autocratically, he decided to constrain himself to democratic means. However, the regime was fragile and faced

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<sup>777</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mayotte#Politics>

<sup>778</sup> [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Porfirio\\_D%C3%ADaz](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Porfirio_D%C3%ADaz)

<sup>779</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Porfirio\\_D%C3%ADaz](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Porfirio_D%C3%ADaz)

<sup>780</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1910\\_Mexican\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1910_Mexican_general_election)

<sup>781</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mexican\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mexican_Revolution)

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francisco\\_I.\\_Madero#Madero\\_presidency\\_\(November\\_1911\\_%E2%80%93\\_February\\_1913\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francisco_I._Madero#Madero_presidency_(November_1911_%E2%80%93_February_1913)); <https://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/mexico/election1911.html>

rebellions within the context of the Mexican Revolution.<sup>783</sup> However, at this universal male suffrage was not granted, only 0.1 percentage of the population participated in the election (Vanhanen 2019).<sup>784</sup>

02/18/1913 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military (Personalist) Autocracy: During the Ten Tragic Days, Madero was forced to resign and was later assassinated.<sup>785</sup> Though a military coup Brigadier General Victoriano Huerta took over power (Womack 1986: 93, Knight 2013: 122, Casey et al. 2020: 11-12) and became president. There were no elections that democratically legitimated his presidency.

07/15/1914 End Military (Personalist) Autocracy/Start No Central Authority: After the revolutionary armies had defeated the Federal Army, Huerta fled the country on this date. The revolutionary armies then continued to fight each other. The period can best be described as a rule of warlords.

08/02/1915 End No Central Authority/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, the constitutionalist faction of the military successfully vanquished the forces led by Francisco Villa. Subsequently, the loyalist forces aligned with Carranza regained control of Mexico City, prevailing over various other revolutionary factions and securing dominance over the majority of the nation. By September 1915, the government under Carranza's leadership received recognition from the United States and several other nations. In 1916, Carranza convened the assembly in Queretaro, culminating in the promulgation of the Mexican constitution, thereby formalizing the post-revolutionary regime that endured until 2000 (Braderman 1940: 242, Haggerty 1997, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 78).<sup>786</sup> The new constitution was promulgated in February 1917. It asserted universal male suffrage.<sup>787</sup>

03/11/1917 End Military Autocracy/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: On this date, the first general elections after the Mexican Revolution took place. Venustiano Carranza of the Liberal Constitutionalist Party won 97% of the vote and took office for a term until 1920.<sup>788</sup> No greater irregularities were reported but only male suffrage was accepted.<sup>789</sup> On 05/21/1920

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<sup>783</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mexican\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mexican_Revolution)

<sup>784</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage)

<sup>785</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ten\\_Tragic\\_Days](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ten_Tragic_Days)

<sup>786</sup> <http://tinyurl.com/93n8z44>

<sup>787</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mexican\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mexican_Revolution)

<sup>788</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1917\\_Mexican\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1917_Mexican_general_election)

<sup>789</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Venustiano\\_Carranza](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Venustiano_Carranza)[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Venustiano\\_Carranza](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Venustiano_Carranza);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_Mexico#Women%E2%80%99s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Mexico#Women%E2%80%99s_suffrage)

Carranza chose Ignacio Bonillas to succeed him as a president in the 1920 elections.<sup>790</sup> However, Bonillas became a figurehead and Carranza de facto maintained power.

04/22[-23]/1920 End (Male) Semidemocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, Álvaro Obregón, a general in the Mexican Revolution, de la Huerta and Calles, all from the Mexican state of Sonora, launched a coup as a reaction to the Plan of Agua.<sup>791</sup> Carranza died during the insurgencies.<sup>792</sup> Adolfo de la Huerta became interim president.<sup>793</sup>

09/05/1920 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: On this date, Obregón won the general elections with a vast majority.<sup>794</sup> In 1923, de la Huerta successfully launched a coup against Obregón after the latter had named Calles as his successor.<sup>795</sup> There was no women's suffrage yet.<sup>796</sup>

07/06/1924 End (Male) Semidemocracy/Start Electoral (Party) Autocracy: On this date, Plutarco Elías Calles was elected as president in an election that was not entirely free and fair.<sup>797</sup> Calles' presidency can be divided into two phases: populist and repressive anti-clerical. In the latter beginning in 1926 he took aggressive and brutal stances against the church and incited the so called Cristero War. This was an armed conflict with the rebellion against the Calles Regime's anti-clerical laws.<sup>798</sup> In the general elections on 11/17/1929 the National Revolutionary Party, founded in 1928, (renamed Party of the Mexican Revolution in 1938 and finally, Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in 1946), made its debut. From then on, the party ruled uninterruptedly for 71 years. But it was also a period of political stability, which was almost unique in Latin America. Presidential elections and parliamentary elections were held regularly, presidents were elected constitutionally and they served out their term (Nohlen 2005). The PRI dominated not only the presidential elections, but also the chamber of congress and local governments. Hence, electoral competition no longer effectively represented the political and social conflicts within Mexican society (Nohlen 2005). The presidential elections in 1940, 1952 and 1988 were marked by massive electoral fraud and

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<sup>790</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%81lvaro\\_Obreg%C3%B3n#President\\_of\\_Mexico,\\_1920%E2%80%931924](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%81lvaro_Obreg%C3%B3n#President_of_Mexico,_1920%E2%80%931924)

<sup>791</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%81lvaro\\_Obreg%C3%B3n](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%81lvaro_Obreg%C3%B3n)

<sup>792</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mexican\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mexican_Revolution)

<sup>793</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Adolfo-de-la-Huerta>

<sup>794</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1920\\_Mexican\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1920_Mexican_general_election)

<sup>795</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adolfo\\_de\\_la\\_Huerta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adolfo_de_la_Huerta)

<sup>796</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage)

<sup>797</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Mexico#Calles\\_presidency,\\_1924%E2%80%931928](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Mexico#Calles_presidency,_1924%E2%80%931928)

<sup>798</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Mexico#Cristero\\_War\\_\(1926%E2%80%931929\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Mexico#Cristero_War_(1926%E2%80%931929))



were denounced by domestic and international observers.<sup>799</sup> Suffrage was given to women in municipal elections in 1947 and national elections in 1953.<sup>800</sup>

07/06/1988 End Electoral (Party) Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, general elections were held in Mexico. They were the first relatively competitive presidential elections in Mexico since the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) took power in 1929.<sup>801</sup> However, the elections were widely considered as fraudulent, with Salinas de Gortari and the PRI resorting to electoral tampering to remain in power.<sup>802</sup> From 1990 to 1996, the PRI had gradually transferred control over the electoral machinery to an independent Federal Election Institute (IFE), which guaranteed a more free and fair election in 1997 than in the past (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 42). The semidemocratic phase is considered as the end phase of the PRI regime.

07/06/1997 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy: The dominant party, the PRI, lost its absolute congressional majority in the 1997 congressional elections following several decades of gradual political liberalization and institutional reform (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 42). On 07/02/2000 competitive presidential elections were won by the opposition (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 78) for the first time since 1929.

12/11/2006 End Democracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, Operation Michoacán commenced, marking the inception of an ongoing collaborative effort between the Mexican federal police and the military aimed at combating organized crime within Mexico.<sup>803</sup> This operation marked the onset of a gradual escalation in the war on drugs, as evidenced by a near doubling of casualty figures between 2006 and 2011.<sup>804</sup> Both the 2012 and 2015 elections were generally regarded as free and fair, although complaints persisted. The main allegations in 2012 revolved around purported instances of vote buying and collusion between the PRI and the prominent broadcaster Televisa, sparking a notable anti-PRI student movement. At the state level, allegations of misusing public resources to favor specific gubernatorial candidates were common. The 2013 political reform expanded the INE's authority to oversee state elections, and the agency was widely seen as competently managing the voting process in the 2015 midterms and 2016 state races. Nonetheless, political analysts criticized the INE

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<sup>799</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Institutional\\_Revolutionary\\_Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Institutional_Revolutionary_Party)

<sup>800</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/Institutional\\_Revolutionary\\_Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Institutional_Revolutionary_Party)

<sup>801</sup> <http://tinyurl.com/3t5qcbn>

<sup>802</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1988\\_Mexican\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1988_Mexican_general_election)

<sup>803</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation\\_Michoac%C3%A1n#Background](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Michoac%C3%A1n#Background)

<sup>804</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mexican\\_drug\\_war#Escalation\\_\(2008%E2%80%932012\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mexican_drug_war#Escalation_(2008%E2%80%932012))

for its reluctance to adequately penalize campaign violations. Numerous irregularities were reported in the 2016 elections, including carousel voting and ballot destruction, with the highest number of reports originating from Veracruz State.<sup>805</sup> Despite the presence of regular and competitive elections, a nominally independent judiciary, and constitutionally safeguarded civil liberties, the persistent conflict between state forces and cartels significantly impairs the effective functioning of these institutions. The judiciary is plagued by corruption and unpredictability and journalists and politicians face a high risk of physical harm. Furthermore, human rights groups report about a myriad of human rights abuses by the Mexican military and organized crime (Freedom House, 2016: 453).<sup>806</sup> Freedom House classifies Mexico for the majority of this period as partly free. Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Casar 2002, Greene 2007, Langston/Morgenstern 2009, Weldon 1997, Domínguez 2002)

## **Micronesia**

[officially known as Federated States of Micronesia (FSM)]

01/01/1900 (de facto) Colonial Regime [of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 02/12/1899]: On 02/12/1899 Caroline Islands became part of German New Guinea. Spain had sold the islands to Germany under the German-Spanish Treaty.<sup>807</sup> The Germans needed more workers for their plantations and expanded their forced labor policies significantly between 1899 and 1914. Inhabitants were each required to work a minimum of four weeks per year and to pay a poll tax.<sup>808</sup> On 10/18/1910, a rebellion by the Sokehs tribe began. A group of workers refused to work and threatened the German overseers who subsequently fled. Upon his arrival on the island, the district commissioner and several other colonial administrators were shot dead. Word of the incident reached the colonial office in Berlin on 12/26/1910.<sup>809</sup> Several ships were sent to the Sokeh island to get the situation under control. On 03/01/1911, the last of the rebels gave up. Six Sokehs had died during the conflict. On 02/24/1911, 15

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<sup>805</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/mexico/freedom-world/2017>

<sup>806</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/mexico/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>807</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Federated\\_States\\_of\\_Micronesia#European\\_colonisation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Federated_States_of_Micronesia#European_colonisation)

<sup>808</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German\\_New\\_Guinea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_New_Guinea)

<sup>809</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sokehs\\_rebellion#History\\_of\\_the\\_rebellion](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sokehs_rebellion#History_of_the_rebellion)

rebels were executed by firing squad. The rest of the Sokeh tribe was banished to Babelthuap in the German Palau Islands.<sup>810</sup>

10/05/1914 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Japan, Absolute Monarchy]: On this date the first Japanese squadron anchored off the island of Kussaie. Two squadrons had been ordered to temporarily occupy the German territories in Micronesia. Within two months, the Japanese Imperial Army had occupied all of the German colonial territories in the Pacific.<sup>811</sup> During the first five years of occupation, the islands were transformed into a de facto Japanese colony. The territory was divided into five naval territories which all reported to naval headquarters at Truk.<sup>812</sup>

12/17/1920 End Occupation Regime [by Japan, Absolute Monarchy]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate of Japan, Absolute Monarchy]: On this date, the former German colonies in the Pacific north of the equator legally became a League of Nations Mandate under the administration of Japan. Thereby, Japan gained control of the domestic legal system. The post of Governor of the South Seas Mandate was created. He reported directly to the Prime Minister of Japan until the Colonial Ministry was established in 1929. The islands mainly provided Japan with a strategic military location.<sup>813</sup>

02/17/1944 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate of Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start No Central Authority: This date marked the beginning of Operation Hailstone, a military operation carried out by the United States. Due to their “leapfrogging” strategy, they managed to defeat the IJN. Nevertheless, Japan began to rebuild Truk as a bomber airbase after the first attacks. Another US attack followed on 04/29/1944. The British then attacked again in August 1945.<sup>814</sup>

07/18/1947 End No Central Authority/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Trust Territory of the United States, Democracy]: On this date, Security Council Resolution 21 was passed. It established the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI) under the control of the United States who had defeated the Japanese occupants during the Pacific War. The US controlled the Islands from a base in Guam until 1951 and then from a base in Saipan.<sup>815</sup> Pre-independence parliamentary elections were held on 03/27/1979.<sup>816</sup>

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<sup>810</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sokeh\\_rebellion#The\\_response](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sokeh_rebellion#The_response)

<sup>811</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imperial\\_Japanese\\_Navy\\_in\\_World\\_War\\_I](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imperial_Japanese_Navy_in_World_War_I)

<sup>812</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South\\_Seas\\_Mandate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Seas_Mandate)

<sup>813</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South\\_Seas\\_Mandate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Seas_Mandate)

<sup>814</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation\\_Hailstone](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Hailstone)

<sup>815</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trust\\_Territory\\_of\\_the\\_Pacific\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trust_Territory_of_the_Pacific_Islands)

<sup>816</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979\\_Micronesian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1979_Micronesian_parliamentary_election)

05/10/1979 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Trust Territory of the United States, Democracy]/Start Democracy: On this date, the Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia was ratified giving autonomy to the Caroline Islands.<sup>817</sup> In the 1979 elections, universal suffrage had been introduced.<sup>818</sup> On 11/03/1986 Micronesia gained independence. However, the status as trust territory was effectively dissolved on 12/22/1990. The Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) is characterized as a relatively stable democracy with regular and competitive elections. Nonetheless, secessionist movements have intermittently disrupted the country's politics and posed challenges to its unity. The judiciary operates independently, and civil liberties are generally upheld.<sup>819</sup> Micronesia is a federal representative democracy. Legislative powers are wielded by the president and but mainly by a unicameral national congress.<sup>820</sup> Fair and Free general elections for the 14 members of congress were held on 03/07/2023. As there are no parties in Micronesia, all candidates run as independents. Subsequently, President Wesley Simina was elected in the first regular session of congress on 03/11/2023.<sup>821</sup> The previous president David Panuelo has reported dealing with China as a serious challenge, alleging political interference and threats amid tensions in the Pacific.<sup>822</sup> Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Somoza 2001)

## **Moldova**

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [partially of Russian Empire, Absolute Monarchy, partially of Romania, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 05/18/1812, 01/24/1859]: Moldavia was occupied by the Russian Empire several times between 1711 and 1812. On 05/18/1812 the Russian Empire was allowed to annex the region of Bessarabia by the Treaty of Bucharest.<sup>823</sup> The rest of Moldavia, together with Wallachia, formed Romania on 01/24/1859, known as the Unification of the Romanian Principalities.<sup>824</sup> By the Treaty of Berlin, Romania was

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<sup>817</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Federated\\_States\\_of\\_Micronesia#Independence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Federated_States_of_Micronesia#Independence)

<sup>818</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>819</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/micronesia/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>820</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Micronesia-republic-Pacific-Ocean/Government-and-society>

<sup>821</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wesley\\_Simina](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wesley_Simina)

<sup>822</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/mar/10/outgoing-president-of-micronesia-accuses-china-of-bribery-threats-and-interference>

<sup>823</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/event/Treaty-of-Bucharest-1812>;

<https://www.britannica.com/place/Moldova/History>

<sup>824</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Romania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Romania)

internationally recognized on 07/13/1878 and South Bessarabia was returned to the Russian Empire, after the region fell under Moldavian rule in the course of the Crimean War 1856.<sup>825</sup> In the part of Moldova, which was part of the Kingdom of Romania, women who met certain qualifications were allowed to vote in local elections, starting in 1929. After the Constitution of 1938, voting rights were extended to women for general elections by the Electoral Law in 1939.<sup>826</sup>

10/12/1924 End Part of Other Country [partially of USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy, partially of Romania, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Part of Other Country [USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]: Until 08/02/1940 Moldova was part of the Ukrainian SSR as the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.<sup>827</sup> In 1940 the Moldavian SSR formed and equal voting rights were granted to men and women.<sup>828</sup>

04/17/1990 End Part of Other Country [USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]/Start Semidemocracy: Free and semi-competitive elections to the Supreme Soviet took place on this date, paving the way to the declaration of independence, following the failed coup of communist hardliners against Gorbachev in August 1991. Mircea Snegur was elected as first president of Moldova by the Supreme Soviet on 03/09/1990. The election was marred by boycotts of the opposition over his stance against reunification with Romania and of separatists in the Gagauz and Transnistria region over a perceived threat of discrimination on ethnic and linguistic grounds, particularly the latter (Neukirch 2010).<sup>829</sup> Only LIED classifies a regime change in 1994 from a multiparty autocracy to an electoral democracy. We agree with LIED that the quality of the elections and therefore the nature of the regime, differed in 1990 and 1994. However, we see no evidence of such serious shortcomings in the electoral process that would justify a classification as an electoral autocracy. In October 1993, the Supreme Soviet of Moldova, which had been elected in 1990, consented to conduct early parliamentary elections. These elections took place in 1994. Throughout 1993, over 20 parties and political movements registered, marking the first election since the declaration of independence in 1991. On 07/21/2000, the Parliament adopted an amendment to the Constitution, transforming Moldova from a presidential to a parliamentary republic. After the parliamentary elections on 04/06/2009, the opposition accused the government of electoral

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<sup>825</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bessarabia>; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Romania](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Romania)

<sup>826</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moldova>

<sup>827</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moldavian\\_Autonomous\\_Soviet\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moldavian_Autonomous_Soviet_Socialist_Republic)

<sup>828</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>829</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/moldova/7.htm>; <https://countrystudies.us/moldova/9.htm>;  
<https://countrystudies.us/moldova/8.htm>

fraud, which could not be substantiated with evidence from the OSCE election observation. Nonetheless, new elections were held on 07/29/2009, whereby the Communist Party lost power to the Alliance for European Integration.<sup>830</sup> On 06/07/2019 following the parliamentary elections on 02/24/2019, the Socialist Party and the ACUM bloc agreed to form a coalition. The Constitutional Court declared the government illegitimate on 06/07/2019 because the legal deadline for the formation of a government had passed by one day. Subsequently, Moldova had two governments, the outgoing administration refused to leave, and Moldova was in a state of a constitutional crisis.<sup>831</sup> However, on 06/15/2019, former prime minister Pavel Filip resigned in response to international pressure and mass protests, and the new government, a coalition of the pro-Russian Socialist party and the pro-Western Now Platform party, was formed with Maia Sandu as prime minister. Due to the shortness of the constitutional crisis and the resolution in accordance with democratic procedures the event is not counted as a democratic breakdown. On 11/12/2019, Sandu lost a no-confidence vote on and was replaced by Ion Chicu, but immediately won the presidential elections on 11/15/2019.<sup>832</sup> On 06/23/2022, Moldova obtained European Union (EU) candidacy status.<sup>833</sup> Since gaining independence in 1991, Moldova has consistently been categorized as partly free by Freedom House. While the electoral system is deemed competitive and allows for regular changes in government, oligarchs wield significant influence in Moldovan politics. Moreover, there are notable deficiencies in judicial independence and press freedom, both susceptible to political interference. Corruption remains a pervasive issue, impeding government functionality. Despite these challenges, civil liberties are generally respected.<sup>834</sup> Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Büscher 2002, Crowther 1997, Dawisha/Parrott 1997, Way 2005)

## Monaco

01/01/1900 Constitutional Monarchy [Start: 02/02/1861]: In 1215, Monaco was refounded as a colony of Genoa after receiving a grant of land from Emperor Henry VI in 1191. The Grimaldi family bought Monaco from the Crown of Aragon in 1419 and became the official

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<sup>830</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Moldova](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Moldova)

<sup>831</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/14/world/europe/moldova-new-government.html>

<sup>832</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Moldova](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Moldova)

<sup>833</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/moldova/nations-transit/2023>

<sup>834</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/moldova/freedom-world/2023>

rulers. Monaco was occupied by the French from 1793 to 1814 and became a protectorate of the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1815. The Sardinian forces left Monaco in 1860 due to the Treaty of Turin.<sup>835</sup> On 02/02/1861,<sup>836</sup> the sovereignty of Monaco was recognized through the Franco-Monégasque Treaty, replacing the previous status as a protectorate of the Kingdom of Sardinia under the Treaty of Vienna. As part of the treaty, Monaco ceded the towns of Menton and Roquebrune-Cap-Martin to France for 4 million francs.<sup>837</sup> In 1918 male suffrage was introduced (LIED). In 1962 suffrage was extended to women.<sup>838</sup>

11/11/1942 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Occupation Regime [by Italy, Right-wing Autocracy]: On this date the Italian army invaded and occupied Monaco.<sup>839</sup>

09/10/1943 End Occupation Regime [by Italy, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: During Mussolini's fall from power, the German Wehrmacht occupied Italy and Monaco.<sup>840</sup>

09/03/1944 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Constitutional Monarchy: On this date Monaco was liberated as German troops retreated.<sup>841</sup>

On 12/17/1962, Prince Rainier III issued a new constitution that established the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government, including various administrative offices and councils. According to the constitution of 1962, the Principality of Monaco is a constitutional monarchy. The separation of powers is constitutionally guaranteed.<sup>842</sup> Although the Prince retains most of the governing power as the head of state, the judiciary and legislature of the principality can function independently without his interference.<sup>843</sup> The government, under the authority of the Prince, is led by a Minister of State, who is appointed by the Prince and supported by a Government Council. The constitution ensures an independent judiciary but the Prince appoints five full members and two judicial assistants to the Supreme Court, based on nominations from the National Council, government bodies, and the lower courts.<sup>844</sup> The Constitution of Monaco was modified on 04/02/2002 and on 10/24/2002 a Treaty between Monaco and France, regarding the succession to the throne was signed. Since then, it is no

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<sup>835</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monaco>

<sup>836</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/France%E2%80%93Monaco\\_relations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/France%E2%80%93Monaco_relations)

<sup>837</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franco-Mon%C3%A9gasque\\_Treaties](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franco-Mon%C3%A9gasque_Treaties)

<sup>838</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>839</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Monaco](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Monaco)

<sup>840</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monaco>

<sup>841</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Monaco](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Monaco)

<sup>842</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Monaco\\_2002](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Monaco_2002)

<sup>843</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Monaco](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Monaco)

<sup>844</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Monaco\\_2002](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Monaco_2002)

<https://freedomhouse.org/country/monaco/freedom-world/2023>

longer the case that Monaco would become a French protectorate in the event of a vacant throne.<sup>845</sup>

Constitutional Monarchy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Marxer/Pállinger 2009, Rose/Munro 2010)

## **Mongolia**

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [China, Absolute Monarchy]: During the period from the 17th century until the end of the Qing dynasty, Mongolia was under the dominion of the Manchu-led Qing dynasty of China, after the Dzungar Khanate was defeated by the army of the Qing Dynasty in the First Dzungar-Qing War in 1697.<sup>846</sup> This encompassed the Mongolian Plateau, comprising the four Outer Mongolian aimags (also known as "leagues") and the six Inner Mongolian aimags. "Outer Mongolia": This region corresponds to the modern state of Mongolia, plus the Russian-administered region of Tannu Uriankhai, and a part of northern Xinjiang.<sup>847</sup>

12/29/1911 End Part of Other Country [China, Absolute Monarchy]/Start Absolute [Theocratic] Monarchy: After the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1911, Outer Mongolia proclaimed its independence, placing its spiritual leader in a prominent position. In seeking support against China, Outer Mongolia turned to Russia for assistance.<sup>848</sup> On 12/29/1911, the Mongols declared their independence from the collapsing Chinese Qing Empire following the Xinhai Revolution.<sup>849</sup> They installed a theocratic sovereign, the 8th Bogd Gegeen, highest authority of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia, who took the title Bogd Khaan or "Holy Ruler".<sup>850</sup> In July 1912, the Bogd Khan appointed Namnansüren as the Prime Minister of Autonomous Mongolia, replacing Da Lam Tserenchimed. Tserenchimed had been acting as the de facto head of government since the Bogd Khan's elevation as the national leader in December 1911 while serving as the Minister of Internal Affairs.<sup>851</sup>

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<sup>845</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franco-Monégasque\\_Treaties](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franco-Monégasque_Treaties)

<sup>846</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dzungar%E2%80%93Qing\\_Wars](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dzungar%E2%80%93Qing_Wars)

<sup>847</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mongolia\\_under\\_Qing\\_rule](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mongolia_under_Qing_rule)

<sup>848</sup> The region Outer Mongolia corresponds to the modern state of Mongolia, plus the Russian-administered region of Tannu Uriankhai, and a part of northern Xinjiang. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Outer\\_Mongolia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Outer_Mongolia)

<sup>849</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qing\\_dynasty](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qing_dynasty)

<sup>850</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bogd\\_Khanate\\_of\\_Mongolia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bogd_Khanate_of_Mongolia)

<sup>851</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/T%C3%B6gs-Ochiryn\\_Namnans%C3%BCren](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/T%C3%B6gs-Ochiryn_Namnans%C3%BCren)



05/25/1915 Continuation Absolute [Theocratic] Monarchy [as Protectorate of China, Personalist Autocracy]: On this date, Russia, Mongolia, and China entered into the Treaty of Kyakhta, a tri-party agreement. The treaty stipulated the following terms: Russia and China acknowledged Outer Mongolia's autonomy, considering it as part of Chinese territory. In return, Mongolia recognized China's suzerainty. Additionally, Mongolia was not allowed to engage in the negotiation of international treaties with foreign nations concerning political and territorial matters.<sup>852</sup>

02/06/1921 End Absolute [Theocratic] Monarchy [as Protectorate of China, No central authority]/Start Communist Ideocracy: In March 1921, revolutionary forces from the Soviet Union and Mongolia established a provisional government, leading to the Mongolian Revolution of 1921 (Turner 2022: 799). Mongolian revolutionaries, aided by the Soviet Red Army, successfully expelled the Russian White Guards from the country and founded the Mongolian People's Republic in 1924. Although it had nominal independence, the Mongolian People's Republic acted as a satellite state of the Soviet Union until the January 1990 Mongolian revolution.<sup>853</sup> Initially, a constitutional monarchy was established under Jebtsun Damba Khutukhtu, but after his death in 1924, the Mongolian People's Party transformed into the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), leading to the declaration of the Mongolian People's Republic as the first Communist state outside of the Soviet Union (Lansford 2021: 1102). During the 1920s, factional conflicts within the MPP resulted in the elimination of those advocating for a more traditional form of rule. Eventually, the Communists gained control after the death of the Bogd Khan (Bawden 1968: 230-37, Shinn/Worden 1988, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 78-79). In the context of World War II, Mongolia, with Soviet help, fended off Japanese invaders and participated in successful Soviet campaigns against Inner Mongolia and Manchuria. In 1946, China recognized the independence of Outer Mongolia, and until 1990, the Communist MPRP held absolute power (Turner 2022: 799). In 1984, Tsendenbal was forced out of power due to Soviet influence, leading to his replacement by Batmonh as party secretary. In December 1989, the Mongolian Democratic Party, an opposition group, achieved tacit recognition and held its first congress in February 1990 (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 78-79). Mass protests and hunger strikes forced Batmohn to give up power and suspend the constitution which guaranteed power for the Communist party.

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<sup>852</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_Kyakhta\\_\(1915\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Kyakhta_(1915))

<sup>853</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mongolian\\_Revolution\\_of\\_1921](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mongolian_Revolution_of_1921)

05/11/1990 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: In the course of the Mongolian Revolution of 1990 a multi-party system was introduced by constitutional amendment on 05/11/1990, ending one-party rule (Lansford 2021: 1102). In the aftermath of protests and hunger strikes, the complete resignation of the MPRP Politburo occurred on March 12, 1990. This move was accompanied by the legalization of political opposition (Turner 2022: 799).<sup>854</sup>

06/22/1990 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, legislative elections were held, with a second round on 06/29/1990, at which time the new second chamber of parliament (Little Khural) was also elected.<sup>855</sup> On 06/28/1992, under a new constitution, an election for a reinstated unicameral legislature saw the MPRP capturing 71 of 76 seats even though opposition parties won 40 percent of the vote (Lansford 2021: 1103). However, some opposition figures were incorporated into the cabinet. While the adoption of a new constitution on February 12, 1992, marked the formal end of one-party rule in Mongolia, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) continued to hold power until it faced defeat in the 1996 legislative election, when the Democratic Union Coalition won the elections.<sup>856</sup> On 06/28/1992 Communists won again in the first multiparty election of the post-Soviet era (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 44). The first direct election of a president in Mongolia on 06/06/1993 resulted in the victory of an opposition candidate, marking a significant shift towards a more competitive political landscape. Despite Ochirbat's win as an opposition candidate, it is noteworthy that he ran against a candidate from the ruling MPRP. The June 1993 election is considered a turning point as it signified the end of communist dominance and the monopolization of the Mongolian political system (Ginsburg 1995: 462-71). The MPRP retained control of the assembly until the subsequent election in 1996 due to the nonconcurrent election schedules (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 79).<sup>857</sup> On 03/27/2019 the State Great Khural began a constitutional crisis when it adopted an unprecedented law that gave the National Security Council of Mongolia the power to recommend the dismissal of judges and prosecutors, as well as the head of the national anti-corruption service. Battulga's political party, the opposition's main minority faction in the parliament, claims that the law undermines the country's constitutional separation of powers and the larger Mongolian

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<sup>854</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990\\_Mongolian\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990_Mongolian_legislative_election)

<sup>855</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990\\_Mongolian\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990_Mongolian_legislative_election)

<sup>856</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mongolian\\_Revolution\\_of\\_1990](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mongolian_Revolution_of_1990)

<sup>857</sup> <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-mongolia/>

democratic system.<sup>858</sup> On 06/09/2021, Mongolia conducted presidential elections, with former Prime Minister Ukhnaagiin Khürelsükh of the Mongolian People's Party emerging as the winner with 72% of the valid vote. The election was deemed to be free and fair by the OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe). Nevertheless, the election stirred controversy due to the disqualification of several opposition candidates, and former President Khaltmaagiin Battulga was prevented from running for a second term.<sup>859</sup> Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Elklit 1994, Fish 1998, Fish 2001)

## Montenegro

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [Start: 03/13/1852]: In 1878, Montenegro gained independence de jure due to the Treaty of Berlin.<sup>860</sup> It became a principality on 03/13/1852. The first Montenegrin constitution was proclaimed in 1899 by Danilo II., the ruling Prince of Montenegro from 1851 to 1860.<sup>861</sup> On 08/28/1910 Nikola I. proclaimed a kingdom and became King of Montenegro.<sup>862</sup> Officially it was a constitutional monarchy, but absolutist in practice.<sup>863</sup>

12/01/1918 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Part of other Country [Yugoslavia, Ruling Constitutional Monarchy]: On this date Montenegro became part of the new Kingdom of Serb, Croats and Slovenes, later Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

04/18/1941 End Part of other Country [Yugoslavia, Occupation Regime]/Start Occupation Regime [by Italy, Right-wing Autocracy]: On this date Montenegro was occupied by Italy and on 07/12/1941 the Italians proclaimed the Kingdom of Montenegro as sovereign, independent, constitutional monarchy under Italian Protectorate.<sup>864</sup> However, according to our data we classify it as a period of occupation.

09/12/1943 End Occupation Regime [by Italy, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: Since 1941 communist as well as pro-serbian, monarchy-supporting partisans were uprising in Montenegro and built a

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<sup>858</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khaltmaagiin\\_Battulga](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khaltmaagiin_Battulga)

<sup>859</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021\\_Mongolian\\_presidential\\_election#cite\\_note-4](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021_Mongolian_presidential_election#cite_note-4)

<sup>860</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montenegro#History>

<sup>861</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montenegro#Demographics>

<sup>862</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Principality\\_of\\_Montenegro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Principality_of_Montenegro)

<sup>863</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Montenegro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Montenegro)

<sup>864</sup> <https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Montenegro.html>

serious resistance against the foreign occupation.<sup>865</sup> The ‘State Anti-fascist Council for the National Liberation of Montenegro and Boka’ was formed on 11/16/1943, as the highest governing institution of the anti-fascist resistance movement in Montenegro. It was part of the ‘Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia’ established by Josip Broz Tito in the provisional state of ‘Democratic Federal Yugoslavia’. During World War II it developed to be the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro under President Nikola Miljanić.<sup>866</sup>

12/15/1944 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Communist Ideocracy: On this date the Germans withdrew from Montenegro, defeated by partisan troops, and evacuated towards Austria. The liberated Montenegro reinstated the parliament in the form of the ‘Montenegrin Anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation’ resulting from the ‘State Anti-fascist Council for the National Liberation of Montenegro and Boka’. At the same time, the fascist leader Sekula Drljević attempted to create a de facto puppet government-in-exile in the neighboring ‘Independent State of Croatia’ (NDH), which was a German quasi-protectorate. The government-in-exile, known as the "Montenegrin State Council", was dissolved after the fall of the NDH government on 05/08/1945.<sup>867</sup>

11/29/1945 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Part of other Country [Yugoslavia, Communist Ideocracy]: On this date, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was proclaimed. Montenegro became one of the six constituent republics and was on 07/07/1963 renamed in the Socialist Republic of Montenegro.<sup>868</sup> General elections were held in SR Montenegro on 12/09/1990, with a second round of the presidential election held on 12/23.<sup>869</sup> Momir Bulatović of the League of Communists won the presidential election, whilst his party emerged as the largest in Parliament, winning 83 of the 125 seats.<sup>870</sup> In 1991, following the first multi-party elections, the League of Communists of Montenegro underwent a name change to become the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro, resulting in the removal of the adjective "Socialist" from the republic's title.<sup>871</sup>

04/27/1992 End Part of other Country [Yugoslavia, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Part of Other Country (Yugoslavia, Electoral Autocracy): Unlike Croatia and Slovenia, Montenegro

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<sup>865</sup> <https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Montenegro.html>

<sup>866</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montenegrin\\_Anti-Fascist\\_Assembly\\_of\\_National\\_Liberation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montenegrin_Anti-Fascist_Assembly_of_National_Liberation)

<sup>867</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German-occupied\\_territory\\_of\\_Montenegro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German-occupied_territory_of_Montenegro)

<sup>868</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist\\_Republic\\_of\\_Montenegro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Republic_of_Montenegro)

<sup>869</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990\\_Montenegrin\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990_Montenegrin_general_election)

<sup>870</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990\\_Montenegrin\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990_Montenegrin_general_election)

<sup>871</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist\\_Republic\\_of\\_Montenegro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Republic_of_Montenegro)

decided to stay part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with only Serbia as other member. On 10/12/1992 Montenegro changed its name to Republic of Montenegro. On 03/04/2003 Serbia and Montenegro formed a state union.<sup>872</sup> On 05/21/2006, an independence referendum was held and approved by 55.5% of voters.<sup>873</sup>

06/03/2006 End Part of Other Country [Yugoslavia, Electoral Autocracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, Montenegro declared its independence, which was recognized by the Serbian parliament two days later.<sup>874</sup>

09/10/2006 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date elections for the Constitutional Assembly under universal suffrage were held. The DPS had been in power since 1991, which has provided it with significant structural advantages over opposition parties. Opposition parties have long claimed that the political framework is seriously flawed. An extensive patronage systems and widespread corruption can be observed.<sup>875</sup> The country was not ranked in Transparency International's 2006 Corruption Perceptions Index, but some international officials believe that corruption is an even greater problem in Montenegro than in neighboring Albania, which was ranked 111 out of 163 countries surveyed. To boot there are frequent reports that the threat of fines for libel forces journalists to engage in significant self-censorship. The Montenegrin judicial system lacks independence from political authorities, and judicial corruption remains a significant problem.<sup>876</sup> The case lies on the borderline between an electoral democracy and a semidemocracy, but as it is a stable regime that combines democratic and authoritarian elements, it is coded as a semidemocracy in this data set.

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Montserrat**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy as Part of British Leeward Islands] [Start: 07/31/1667]: In 1632, Irish settlers from Saint Kitts established farms on the island. The dominance of Anglo-Irish settlers raised questions about bringing Irish laws distinct from English ones. In 1666, the Irish, allied with the French, invited France to

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<sup>872</sup> <https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Montenegro.html>

<sup>873</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006\\_Montenegrin\\_independence\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006_Montenegrin_independence_referendum)

<sup>874</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006\\_Montenegrin\\_independence\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006_Montenegrin_independence_referendum);  
<https://www.britannica.com/place/Montenegro/Independence>;  
<https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5Montenegro2018.pdf>

<sup>875</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/montenegro/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>876</sup> <https://www.refworld.org/docid/473c55e221b.html>

claim Montserrat. Although briefly occupied by the French, it was recaptured by the English, confirming English control under the Treaty of Breda signed on 07/31/1667. The island's legal status is a "colony acquired by settlement" since the French gave up their claim at Breda. A neo-feudal colony emerged among the "redlegs," with Anglo-Irish colonists importing white and Sub-Saharan African slaves for labor. By the late 18th century, numerous plantations dotted the island.<sup>877</sup> Universal suffrage was implemented in 1951, with the 1952 elections marking the inaugural instance where all adults on the island were eligible to vote.<sup>878</sup>

01/03/1958 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy as Part of British Leeward Islands]/Start Democracy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: From 1958 to 1962, Montserrat was a member of the brief Federation of the West Indies. In contrast to residents in many other British Caribbean colonies, Montserratians did not pursue associated statehood, a transitional stage toward independence.<sup>879</sup> During the November 1978 general election, the People's Liberation Movement (PLM) secured victory in all seven seats of the Legislative Council. The party-maintained control in 1983, but the opposition strengthened during the 1987 election. The PLM leadership leaned towards eventual independence, with a priority on achieving greater economic self-sufficiency first.<sup>880</sup> Montserrat functions as a self-governing overseas territory of the United Kingdom and is listed by the United Nations Committee on Decolonization as a non-self-governing territory. King Charles III serves as the island's head of state, represented by an appointed Governor. Executive authority lies with the government, and the head of government is the Premier, appointed by the Governor from the Legislative Assembly's nine elected members.<sup>881</sup>

Democracy [as protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy] as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Morocco**

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [Start: 06/06/1666]: On 06/06/1666 the Sharifi Moroccan State was founded. It was invaded by France in 1830 and the 1906 Treaty of Algeciras recognized Morocco's independence. Wars from 1907 to 1912 divided Morocco into four

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<sup>877</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montserrat#Early\\_European\\_period](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montserrat#Early_European_period)

<sup>878</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections\\_in\\_Montserrat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_in_Montserrat)

<sup>879</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Montserrat-island-West-Indies/History>

<sup>880</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Montserrat-island-West-Indies/History>

<sup>881</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montserrat#Politics\\_and\\_government](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Montserrat#Politics_and_government)

zones of influence: Spanish Morocco in the north, French Morocco, the Spanish enclaves of Tafaya and Ifni and the international city of Tangiers.<sup>882</sup>

03/30/1912 Continuation Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of France, Semidemocracy]: On this date, the Treaty of Fez established the Sharifi Moroccan State as a French Protectorate while Spain on 11/27/1912 established a smaller protectorate on the coast area along the Strait of Gibraltar except from Tangier (Ikeda 2015). The Treaty saw the protection of the sovereign from internal opposition, and provided that only the French Resident-General could represent Morocco in foreign countries (Ikeda 2015). Under the Treaty of Fez, French rights in Morocco included, inter alia, the right to station military forces in the territory and the right to appoint a French Resident to oversee all matters concerning foreigners in Morocco (Crawford 2006).

03/02/1956 Continuation Absolute Monarchy [as independent country]: On this date French and Moroccan negotiators finally signed an official acknowledgement of Moroccan independence (Wyrzten 2016). This act placed the nation under the governance of the traditional Sultan, Mohammed V (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 79).<sup>883</sup>

05/17/1963 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Constitutional Monarchy: On this date, the first parliamentary elections in Morocco were held. These elections followed the approval of the country's constitution in a referendum the previous year, marking a significant step towards establishing a popularly elected legislative body in Morocco.<sup>884</sup> In the same elections universal suffrage was introduced.<sup>885</sup> According to the constitution, Morocco is a constitutional monarchy with a bicameral parliament, that consists of the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors. The king takes on a central role as head of state, as he is empowered to appoint the prime minister, dissolve the parliament or call for new elections. In 2011 a new constitution elevated the prime minister to the "head of government" and ensured he was selected from the party that received the most votes in election, rather than just chosen by the king.<sup>886</sup> However, the king retained his position as the head of two critical councils—the Council of Ministers and the Supreme Security Council—responsible for formulating security policy. Although the prime minister has the option to chair these councils, they are only permitted to do so according to the agenda determined by

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<sup>882</sup> <https://globalfinancialdata.com/morocco>

<sup>883</sup> <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5431.html>

<sup>884</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1963\\_Moroccan\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1963_Moroccan_general_election)

<sup>885</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>886</sup> [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Morocco\\_2011](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Morocco_2011)

the king.<sup>887</sup> The 2021 election in Morocco marked several significant changes due to a new electoral law. The law eliminated the electoral threshold, which was previously set at 6% for local lists and 3% for national lists, replaced by regional ones. The new law allocates seats based on registered voters rather than actual ballots cast, ensuring that no party in a district can secure more than one electoral seat, regardless of the number of votes received.<sup>888</sup> The regime became a borderline case between a constitutional and an absolute monarchy. Constitutional monarchy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Cavatorta 2009, Hammoudi 1999, Jamal 2012, Moore 1970, Waterbury 1970, Ottaway/Choucair-Vizoso 2008, Kechichian 2008, Bank 2004)

## **Mozambique**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 03/01/1505]: It is often argued that Mozambique became a Portuguese colony on 03/01/1505. However, the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama only established a trading post on this date. While Portuguese influence gradually grew, its authority remained restricted and was primarily wielded by individual settlers and officials who enjoyed considerable autonomy.<sup>889</sup> In 1907, the Portuguese government created the Colony of Mozambique, which was administered by a governor-general appointed by the Portuguese crown. The colonial administration was responsible for all aspects of government in Mozambique, including law enforcement, education, and infrastructure development. The Portuguese also established a system of forced labor, which required Mozambicans to work on plantations and other colonial projects. Much of the administration of the Portuguese Province of Mozambique in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was carried out by chartered companies, the Niassa, Mozambique and Zambezia Companies. Until the termination of their charters in 1929 and 1942, Each company independently governed its territories, managing tax collection, publishing official gazettes, and overseeing nearly all aspects of administration except for judicial matters within their respective concessions. Notably, the Zambezia company, lacking a charter, had its region directly administered by the Portuguese (Herrick et al. 1969). The administration of

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[https://web.archive.org/web/20110620210534/http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20110617/ap\\_on\\_re\\_mi\\_ea/ml\\_moroco\\_king](https://web.archive.org/web/20110620210534/http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20110617/ap_on_re_mi_ea/ml_moroco_king)

<sup>888</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021\\_Moroccan\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021_Moroccan_general_election)

<sup>889</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Mozambique](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Mozambique)



Mozambique was reorganized in 1907. Initially, it was restricted to completely pacified regions and areas not under the authority of the Mozambique and Niassa chartered companies (Henriksen 1978). The New State abolished the notion of provincial autonomy with the Acto Colonial of 1930, reverting the designation from 'overseas provinces' back to 'colonies' within a 'Portuguese Colonial Empire'. It reintegrated the African territories into an administrative framework where ultimate authority resided in Lisbon, ending administration by private companies and replacing the office of High Commissioner with the more subservient post of Governor-General (Henriksen 1978). When Portugal redesignated its possessions in 1951, Mozambique's status changed to overseas province (Henriksen 1978).<sup>890</sup> Portugal is said to never have had intention to grant self-government to Mozambique (Herrick et al. 1969). Therefore, this period is coded as colonial rule.

06/25/1975 End Colonial Regime [of Portugal, Democracy]/Start Communist Ideocracy [as independent country]: On this date, Mozambique gained independence as the People's Republic of Mozambique. The Portuguese handed power to the Liberation Front of Mozambique (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, FRELIMO) that had led the struggle against Portuguese colonial rule since its establishment in 1962, “a phase characterized both by creative experimentation and demoralizing setbacks” (Isaacman/Isaacman 1983). Since 1975 the party more and more leaned towards communism. In 1975 universal suffrage was introduced. FRELIMO began establishing a one-party state (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 79). On 09/25/1977 ate elections of FRELIMO-sponsored candidates to local, district, provincial, and national assemblies were held in 1977 (Lansford 2021: 1129). FRELIMO was the sole legal party. RENAMO opposed FRELIMO's attempts to establish a socialist one-party state and was heavily backed by the anti-communist governments of Rhodesia and South Africa who supported them as a proxy to undermine FRELIMO support for militant nationalist organizations in their own countries. Over one million Mozambicans were killed in the fighting or starved due to interrupted food supplies; an additional five million were displaced across the region during the Mozambican Civil War.<sup>891</sup> In what seemed to be a relaxation of its adherence to Marxist centralism, the government-initiated measures in the early 1980s to distinguish between government and party officials. Nevertheless, a government restructuring in March 1986 reinstated party control, as the Council of Ministers was divided into three sections, each overseen by a senior member of the Frelimo Political

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<sup>890</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/portuguese-mozambique-1951-1975/>

<sup>891</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mozambican\\_Civil\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mozambican_Civil_War)

Bureau (Lansford 2021: 1129). Frelimo abandoned its commitment to Marxism-Leninism in July 1989 and a transition started.

11/30/1990 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: In 1990, negotiations directly involving Renamo representatives commenced in Rome, Italy. Subsequently, on 11/02/1990, after thorough deliberation in the National Assembly, a new pluralistic constitution was adopted (Lansford 2021: 1129).

10/29/1994 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: For the first time the country held multi-party elections for president and the parliament between 10/27 and 10/29/1994. The elections were accepted by most political parties as free and fair although still contested by many nationals and observers alike (Harrison 1996). Nevertheless, FRELIMO maintained control of the country's political system, winning both elections.<sup>892</sup> FRELIMO has maintained an electoral advantage since 1994 by using public resources to fund campaign activities<sup>893</sup> and dominates all branches of government ever since. Assassinations and intimidation of opposition leaders were alleged before the 2019 elections. FRELIMO allegedly uses state resources and media in favor of itself. Bey observers and civil society organizations the elections in 2019 were classified as rigged.<sup>894</sup>

Electoral Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Qualitative Sources: (Lorch/Bunk 2016)

## Myanmar

[Formerly known as Burma (official name until 1989)]

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy as part of British Burma] [Start: 01/01/1886]: On 01/01/1886 the remnant of the Kingdom of Awa was annexed to British Burma (Moscotti 1950).<sup>895</sup> The previous regime was the Third Burmese Empire a ruling absolute monarchy. This Empire existed between 1752 and 01/01/1886. In 1922 universal suffrage was introduced.<sup>896</sup> However, the Rohingya, a Muslim minority, was disenfranchised.<sup>897</sup> 04/01/1937 The British subjugation of the kingdom of Burma occurred in

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<sup>892</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1994\\_Mozambican\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1994_Mozambican_general_election)

<sup>893</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/mozambique/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>894</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019\\_Mozambican\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019_Mozambican_general_election)

<sup>895</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British\\_rule\\_in\\_Burma](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_rule_in_Burma)

<sup>896</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>897</sup> <https://time.com/5910739/myanmar-election-rohingya/>

three phases throughout the nineteenth century. Portions of Burma were integrated into the Indian Empire and eventually consolidated as a province. Burma retained its status as an Indian province until 1937 when it was established as a distinct colony (Moscotti 1950).<sup>898</sup>

08/01/1942 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]: In 1942 Japan successfully expelled the United Kingdom from all but the most remote parts of the country, and in 1944/1945, along with tens of thousands of foreign (Japanese, British Indian, British, East and West African, Chinese, American) troops, indigenous guerrilla fighters and “pocket armies” sprung up around the country, armed with easily obtainable Japanese and Allied weapons. While a British colony, Burma was perennially restless, but the war threw it into chaos and a vicious cycle of score-settling, especially between the Barmans, who generally cooperated with the Japanese occupiers until Aung San’s uprising in March 1945, and many of the ethnic minorities such as the Karens, Chins and Kachins who remained loyal to the British. The surrender of Japan in August 1945 and the repatriation of Japanese troops did not bring an end to fighting inside Myanmar. In 1948/1949, the newly independent Union of Burma faced “multicoloured insurgents” who included not only the majority faction of the Communist Party of Burma, known as the White Flag communists, but also ethnic minorities, particularly the Karens, who wanted to carve an independent Karen state (“Kawthoolei”) out of the Union’s territory along the Thai–Myanmar border” (Seekins 2015).<sup>899</sup> When the Japanese invaded Burma, nearly the entire British administration, along with its Indian contingent that had previously held sway in the civil service and private bureaucracy, managed to flee to India. Consequently, the Burmese populace was left to govern themselves, and they formed a subordinate administration under Japanese control in August 1942. A year later, Burma was proclaimed an independent nation, and a national government led by former Prime Minister Dr. Ba Maw was established (Selth 1986).

05/03/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Democracy]: The Allies reoccupied the country, recapturing Yangon (Rangoon), the colonial capital, in May 1945. The surrender of the Japanese brought a military administration to Burma. After the war ended, the British governor, Colonel Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, returned. The restored government established a political program that focused on the physical reconstruction of the country and delayed discussion of

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<sup>898</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British\\_rule\\_in\\_Burma](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_rule_in_Burma)

<sup>899</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese\\_occupation\\_of\\_Burma](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_occupation_of_Burma)

independence.<sup>900</sup> Negotiations on independence lasted from 1945 until 1947. The period is a borderline case between occupation and colony.

04/09/1947 End Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Semidemocracy:

On 04/09/1947 pre-independence general elections for a constituent assembly were held.<sup>901</sup>

On 01/04/1948 independence as the Union of Burma outside the Commonwealth was declared (McIntyre 1999). Burman leaders assumed the responsibility for governing their country and promoting the welfare of their people (Moscotti 1950). A bicameral parliament was established, comprising a Chamber of Deputies and a Chamber of Nationalities, with multi-party elections occurring in 1951-1952, 1956, and 1960.<sup>902</sup> BMR, CVG, GWF, LIED, PRC and MCM all coded the regime as democratic and solely RoW as an electoral autocracy. The Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) were accused of voter intimidation and corruption by the opposition, but the elections 1947 were generally characterized as free and fair.<sup>903</sup> The AFPFL won every election until 1960. The disregard for ethnic minority rights led to armed clashes. Until 2023, many ethnic conflicts in Myanmar have their roots in this period.<sup>904</sup>

09/26/1958 End Semidemocracy/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy:

Amidst internal strife within the ruling party, AFPFL, Premier U Nu, with the agreement of both factions, decided to hand over power to General Ne Win and the military. The military would take on a caretaker role to stabilize the nation and facilitate new elections. Ne Win was officially confirmed as prime minister by Parliament on 10/28/1958 (Trager 1959: 318, Feit 1973: 92-97, Callahan 2003: 187-89, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 79). The military junta announced to hold an election in 1960.

02/06/1960 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, competitive elections signaled a shift from military to elected civilian governance (Bigelow 1960: 70, Butwell/Von der Mehden 2008: 144-50, Feit 1973: 97, Cady 1974: 119, Callahan 2003: 197, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 79). BMR, CVG, GWF, LIED, PRC and MCM all coded the regime as democratic and solely RoW as an electoral autocracy. During the

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<sup>900</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British\\_rule\\_in\\_Burma](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_rule_in_Burma)

<sup>901</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1947\\_Burmese\\_general\\_election#Campaign](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1947_Burmese_general_election#Campaign)

<sup>902</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Myanmar#Military\\_rule\\_\(1962%E2%80%932011\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Myanmar#Military_rule_(1962%E2%80%932011))

<sup>903</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1947\\_Burmese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1947_Burmese_general_election)

<sup>904</sup> <https://minorityrights.org/country/myanmarburma/>

elections 1960 some minor irregularities occurred.<sup>905</sup> The ethnic tensions and disregards of minority rights persisted. The armed clashes increased.<sup>906</sup>

03/02/1962 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Military coup led by General Ne Win aiming to stabilize the country ousted the civilian government and established a mostly military junta, the Revolutionary Council, headed by Ne Win. Parliament was dissolved (Macmillan 2022, Cook 1970: 259-60, Badgley 1962: 24, Cady 1974: 120, Callahan 2003: 202-8, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 79-80).

01/03/1974 End Military Autocracy/Start Communist Ideocracy: On this date, the new constitution of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma was adopted. The Burmese Way to Socialism was introduced by the Union Revolutionary Council (Zurcher), the military junta established by Ne Win and his allies in the Burmese military (Tatmadaw) after they overthrew the democratically elected government.<sup>907</sup> After the declaration of the "Burmese Way to Socialism" the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) was established on 30/04/1962. Up until 1988, the nation operated under a one-party system, with the general and other military officers resigning from their positions to govern through the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP).<sup>908</sup> The BSPP-led Socialist Economy Construction Committee (hsa sa ta ka) nationalized all businesses across the board. All government employees across various sectors, including doctors, teachers, engineers, scientists, managers from nationalized industries and businesses, as well as civil administrators, were mandated to complete a three-month political indoctrination and basic military training at the Hpaunggyi Central People's Services Training School.<sup>909</sup>

09/18/1988 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date the armed forces seized power and set up the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC). Following the civil unrest, thousands of deaths were reported. Saw Maung took power as the chairman of the military junta (Bradley 1997: 21).<sup>910</sup> The post-September 1988 period is considered a new regime because before September 1988, top leadership was dominated by Ne Win and retired officers who ruled through a single party with extensive societal penetration. In September 1988, the military disengaged from the ruling party and abolished all the governing institutions of the single-party regime (Guyot/Badgley 1990: 187-89,

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<sup>905</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960\\_Burmese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1960_Burmese_general_election)

<sup>906</sup> <https://minorityrights.org/country/myanmarburma/>

<sup>907</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burmese\\_Way\\_to\\_Socialism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burmese_Way_to_Socialism)

<sup>908</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Myanmar#Military\\_rule\\_\(1962%E2%80%932011\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Myanmar#Military_rule_(1962%E2%80%932011))

<sup>909</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burma\\_Socialist\\_Programme\\_Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burma_Socialist_Programme_Party)

<sup>910</sup> <http://www.burmaywatch.org/aboutburma.html>

Brooker 1995: 169, Callahan 2003: 210-12, Min 2008: 1018). The post-1988 regime is described by Brooker (1995) as an "old-fashioned military regime under a junta (168)" (Brooker 1995: 168) and has been controlled by active-duty officers in the military and security service. Civilians who had been part of the old ruling party were subsequently incorporated into a renamed party to support the regime but lost much of their influence" (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 80). On 06/19/1989, the government officially changed the country's English name to the Union of Myanmar. Aung San Suu Kyi, the leader of the opposition National League for Democracy (NLD), was placed under house arrest in July 1989. Despite her prolonged detention, her party secured a landslide victory in the 1990 election. However, the military junta refused to acknowledge the results. In 1992, Shwe assumed leadership at the national level, initiating 19 years of authoritarian rule until his resignation in 2011. Aung San Suu Kyi was released from detention in July 1995 but was subsequently detained on multiple occasions before her most recent release in November 2010 (Macmillan 2022). On 04/23/1992 Saw Maung was the victim of a palace coup by military hardliners who felt Maung was too eager for country to return to civilian rule. Then Shwe took control of the junta. On 07/25/1998 an uprising eventually enveloped the entire country and Ne Win was forced to step down. Sein Lwin took over as the executive party secretary. In 2008, a new constitution was adopted which enshrines army prerogatives. The military-backed government introduced a "Roadmap to Discipline-flourishing Democracy" in 1993, but progress seemed to halt on multiple occasions until 2008. During that year, the government released a new draft national constitution and orchestrated a flawed national referendum that led to its adoption. The new constitution outlined the election of a national assembly with authority to appoint a president, effectively securing military control across all levels.<sup>911</sup>

11/07/2010 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral (Military) Autocracy: On this date the pro-government Union Solidarity and Development Party won the first elections for 20 years. The oppositional National League for Democracy boycotted the elections. The United Nations were concerned regarding the fairness of the elections, while western nations labeled them as fraudulent.<sup>912</sup> Thein Sein assumed the presidency, guiding the country towards civilian governance, although the military retained considerable influence within the government. Following a series of by-election victories in April 2012, including Aung San Suu Kyi's parliamentary seat win, the NLD garnered sufficient seats in the November 2015 general

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<sup>911</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Myanmar#Military\\_rule\\_\(1962%E2%80%932011\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Myanmar#Military_rule_(1962%E2%80%932011))

<sup>912</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010\\_Myanmar\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010_Myanmar_general_election)

election to form the subsequent government. Htin Kyaw took office as president on 04/01/2016, with Aung San Suu Kyi effectively leading the NLD administration (Macmillan 2022). He was the first president since U Nu's overthrow in 1962 to have no ties to the military.<sup>913</sup> On 03/30/2011, the military junta was officially dissolved, following a 2010 general election, and a nominally civilian government was installed.<sup>914</sup>

11/08/2015 End Electoral (Military) Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, general elections were held, with the oppositional National League for Democracy winning a supermajority of seats in the combined national parliament. These polls were the first openly contested election held in the country since 1990, which was annulled by the military government.<sup>915</sup> On 04/01/2016 the first civilian president was elected. However, the military retained significant control. Therefore, the regime is classified as a semidemocracy and not a full democracy. Htin resigned on 03/21/2018 due to health reasons. First Vice President Myint Swe assumed the role of acting president. Win Myint, the speaker of the house from the NLD, resigned from his position to run for the presidency. He was elected as vice president on 03/23 with 273 votes, defeating his opponent Thaung Aye from the USDP who received 27 votes. Win Myint was later elected president by the Electoral College on 03/28 with 403 votes, surpassing Myint Swe who received 211 votes and Henry Van Thio who received 18 votes. Win Myint was inaugurated on March 30. Myint Swe resumed his role as vice president (Lansford 2021). In the elections for the House of Representatives on 11/08/2020, the National League for Democracy (NLD), under the leadership of Aung San Suu Kyi, secured 258 out of 330 elected seats (Macmillan 2022).

02/01/2021 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, in reaction to the victory of the ruling party, National League for Democracy, led by Aung San Suu Kyi, at the November 2020 parliamentary elections, the Tatmadaw ('Armed Forces') declared a state of emergency. They removed Win Myint's government and transferred the power to General Min Aung Hlaing (Macmillan 2022). Burma's Commander-in-chief of the armed forces, Min Aung Hlaing, as the leader of the country, serving as the Chairman of the State Administrative Council, took on a new title as prime minister of a newly formed caretaker government. In 2023 the regime extended the state of emergency postponing elections due in July 2023.<sup>916</sup>

Military autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

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<sup>913</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Htin\\_Kyaw](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Htin_Kyaw)

<sup>914</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State\\_Peace\\_and\\_Development\\_Council](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State_Peace_and_Development_Council)

<sup>915</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015\\_Myanmar\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015_Myanmar_general_election)

<sup>916</sup> <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/myanmar/b175-road-nowhere-myanmar-regimes-stage-managed-elections>

Additional Sources (Bieber 2010, Stöver/Gallenkamp 2010)

## **Namibia**

[Formerly known as: South West Africa]

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 08/07/1884]: While German Southwest Africa was named a protectorate (“Schutzgebiet” Deutsch Südwestafrika) it fulfills our coding rules of a colony. In 1883, Adolf Lüderitz landed in what is known today as Namibia. He bought the land around today’s Lüderitz in hopes of finding mineral resources there. On 04/24/1884, Bismarck instructed the German consul at Cape Town via cable to officially declare that Lüderitz and his establishment were under German protection. Consequently, in response to this development, the Cape Colony annexed Walvis Bay. On 07/24/1884, the Cape Colonial Parliament passed the Walfish Bay and St. John's River Annexation Act (No. 35 of 1884), and on 08/07/1884, the governor issued a formal Proclamation of Annexation (No. 184). The annexed territory stretched from the north bank of the Orange River to the twenty-sixth degree of south latitude, extending twenty miles inland, and encompassing all islands belonging to it under international law. On 08/16/1884, Schering issued a proclamation declaring the establishment of a German protectorate over Namaland and Damaraland. With the proclamation of the protectorate, known as the South West Africa Protectorate, the demarcation of the boundaries of what would become Namibia was finalized. On 07/01/1890, Britain and Germany reached an agreement concerning Africa and Heligoland that acknowledged British control over Walvis Bay and German sovereignty over the South West Africa Protectorate (Berat 1993). Under German administration, the treatment was notably severe, leading to particularly devastating outcomes for the Nama/Orlam and the Herero communities (Berat 1993).

07/09/1915 End Colonial Regime [of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by South Africa, Electoral Oligarchy]: In 1915, troops from the Union of South Africa, which had incorporated the Cape Colony in 1910, entered German South West Africa during World War I, siding with the Allied and Associated Powers. Following the war, the Union administered the former German protectorate on behalf of Britain as a League of Nations C mandate. This included the integration of South West Africa and the Walvis Bay territory into a unified legislative framework. South Africa later treated the mandate as a covert annexation and implemented a severe system of governance (Berat 1993).



12/17/1920 End Occupation Regime [by South Africa, Electoral Oligarchy]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate of South Africa, Electoral Oligarchy]: The conclusion of the First World War marked the official demise of the German colonial empire. As per the Treaty of Versailles, all colonies were transferred to the newly established League of Nations as mandated territories, including German Southwest Africa. In 1921, the League of Nations transferred the mandate over Namibia to South Africa, which governed Namibia as a fifth province. This included the implementation of homeland policies, allocating specific territories to different population groups, and the enforcement of strict passport and labor regulations.<sup>917</sup> Although this transfer of power ended German sovereignty over the area, it did not mean that sovereignty was vested in the League of Nations. Instead, the League had supervisory power over mandates. Sovereignty over South West Africa also did not vest in South Africa despite the expressed intention of South Africa to the contrary. From the start, South Africa treated the mandate as a veiled annexation. It continually took actions that asserted South African sovereignty over the territory (Berat 1993). During the 1950s, South Africa implemented the apartheid system across its provinces. Concurrently, anti-colonial opposition to South Africa began to emerge in Namibia, leading to the establishment of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) movement in 1960.

10/27/1966 Continuation as (de facto) Colonial Regime [of South Africa, Electoral Oligarchy]: On this date, the United Nations, as the successor to the League of Nations, revoked South Africa's mandate over Namibia, effectively ending the International Mandate of South Africa on Namibia, but the South African government ignored this, creating a de jure Colony of Namibia under South African administration. As a result, SWAPO took up the military struggle.<sup>918</sup> On 10/27/1966 the United Nations General Assembly put South West Africa under direct UN responsibility; South Africa did not recognize this and continued to exercise de facto authority.<sup>919</sup> In 1967, the United Nations established the UN Council for South West Africa/Namibia, responding to a different administrative vacuum through the International Trusteeship Agreement (ITA). The council's mandate involved overseeing Namibia's governance, stepping in to address the vacuum created not by immediate threats to the existing government, but by the expected withdrawal of South Africa subsequent to the termination of its mandate and the General Assembly's assumption of direct responsibility for the territory. Nevertheless, South Africa barred the council from entering Namibia. Despite

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<sup>917</sup> <https://www.bpb.de/kurz-knapp/hintergrund-aktuell/203118/namibia-feiert-seine-unabhaengigkeit/>

<sup>918</sup> <https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/past/untagS.htm>

<sup>919</sup> <https://www.rulers.org/ruln1.html#namibia>

this, the council exercised its de jure administrative authority, among other things, to issue travel documents and enact a Decree on Natural Resources. In December 1973, the UN recognized the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) as the authentic representative of the Namibian people, referring concurrently to the international Territory of Namibia. SWAPO was granted observer status in the General Assembly in 1976. South Africa eventually engaged in negotiations with SWAPO, facilitated by a contact group comprising five Western states. In 04/1978, the Contact Group presented a Settlement Proposal (Crawford 2006). In 1988, when South Africa ultimately consented to Namibian independence, the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) had a restricted administrative role focused on overseeing and managing the elections (Wilde 2001).

04/01/1989 End Colonial Regime [of South Africa, Electoral Oligarchy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime [as International Mandate]: On this date, the General Assembly designated the United Nations Council for Namibia as the 'legitimate Administering Authority' for Namibia until its independence. Pre-independence parliamentary elections were conducted under UN supervision from 11/7 to 11/11/1989. On 02/09/1990, the Constituent Assembly approved a constitution. SWAPO, led by Nujoma, the primary party in the armed struggle for independence, emerged victorious in the elections.<sup>920</sup>

03/21/1990 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime [as International Mandate]/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, the country became independent declaring itself the Republic of Namibia and introducing universal suffrage.<sup>921</sup> The Constituent Assembly became the National Assembly of Namibia. As a result of SWAPO's election victory Sam Nujoma was unanimously declared by parliament as President of Namibia and was sworn in by UN Secretary-General.<sup>922</sup> On 04/23/1990 Namibia was admitted to the United Nations.<sup>923</sup> SWAPO has won all subsequent elections and maintained more than two thirds of the seats in the legislature from 1994 until 2019.<sup>924</sup> Although elections have generally been considered fair, the ruling party has monopolized the use of state resources to influence outcomes, harassed the media, and controlled the electoral tribunal, disadvantaging the opposition. The opposition has faced intimidation and harassment (Bauer 2001: 43-51, Confidential 2007). Post-independence, Namibia has adhered to the formal rule of law and democracy, but power remained concentrated in the hands of Nujoma and his inner circle even after his retirement.

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<sup>920</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1989\\_Namibian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1989_Namibian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>921</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>922</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1989\\_Namibian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1989_Namibian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>923</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_Nations\\_Security\\_Council\\_Resolution\\_652](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Security_Council_Resolution_652)

<sup>924</sup> <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/NAM>

Challenges to the government from dissatisfied regions in the 1990s were met with human rights violations and government repression (Bauer 2001: 40- 44, 53, Confidential 2007). Opposition parties are allowed but were widely considered to have no real chance of gaining power.<sup>925</sup> However, the pattern changed in the 2019 parliamentary elections. SWAPO lost its two-third majority in parliament and their presidential candidate Hage Geingob gained only 56% of the votes – the lowest share of votes in party history.<sup>926</sup> In our dataset the regime is coded as semidemocracy because the elections are considered free and fair despite their flaws, while it is coded as autocratic by GWF.

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Emminghaus 2002, Krennerich 1999b, McDougall 1986)

## **Natal**

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 10/12/1838]: On 10/12/1838 Natal became a republic. However, by 1839, the Boers, led by Pretorius, had overcome the Zulu and established a republic in Natal. This move led to renewed conflict with the British government, which opposed the presence of a competing European state on the Indian Ocean coast. The British also feared the impact of Boer expansion into Natal on the surrounded Nguni communities in the eastern Cape. Consequently, Britain annexed Natal in 1845. Disheartened by this turn of events, most of the Natal Boers returned to the highveld, where other groups of settlers had already displaced the Ndebele beyond the Limpopo River. The British government hesitantly followed the Boers north of the Orange River, yet in 1852 and 1854, it acknowledged the independence of the Boer republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, respectively. Thus, in the mid-nineteenth century, South Africa comprised two British colonies, the Cape and Natal, alongside two Boer republics and numerous independent African kingdoms and chiefdoms, with the Basuto and Zulu kingdoms being the most prominent among them (Oliver/Anthony 2005). From 01/07/1856 on, Natal was a separate British colony. The Imperial Government reluctantly consented to the annexation of Natal. It was not warmly received as an addition to the British Empire; however, the Secretary of State, Lord Stanley, believed that Natal might

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Namibia#:~:text=Namibia%20is%20a%20democratic%20but,real%20chance%20of%20gaining%20power](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Namibia#:~:text=Namibia%20is%20a%20democratic%20but,real%20chance%20of%20gaining%20power).

<sup>926</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019\\_Namibian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019_Namibian_general_election)

pose less of a burden to Britain if it were integrated into the Cape Colony rather than being administered as a separate entity. This arrangement remained until 1856, but the challenges of governing the new territory from Cape Town were considerable. Consequently, in 1848, a distinct Legislative Council was established in Pietermaritzburg, and Martin West became the first Lieutenant-Governor, effectively governing Natal as a separate colony (Lambert 1975). On 05/01/1893 Natal received self-government. Following his communication with the Imperial Government, Robinson, upon his return to Natal, strongly advocated for responsible government. This led to the commencement of a significant constitutional discussion in the colony in 1888. Due to disagreements regarding the degree of control the colonists would have over native policy, the debate prolonged for more than four years. However, in 1893, the colony ultimately achieved full self-government (Lambert 1975). In May, the small white settler community commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of Natal's annexation by the British Crown as a district of the Cape Colony. This status persisted until 1856 when Natal became a distinct colony with its own 'representative government'. During the same month of May in 1893, Natal's Legislative Council passed a 'responsible government' bill with a narrow majority, receiving royal assent in July of that year. The year 1893 was significant for another reason, marked by the elections held in September for the new Legislative Assembly under Natal's 'responsible government' constitution. This assembly was elected by a predominantly male and white electorate, reflecting the Colony's non-racial franchise, which, due to property qualifications enforced by local officials, effectively excluded most people of color. Natal's achievement of 'responsible government' status was part of a larger imperial process. Each of the white settlement colonies in Canada and Australia gained representative institutions, albeit at varying rates within the British Empire, depending on local circumstances. Closer to home, Natal neighbored politically independent Boer republics in the interior, as well as the Cape Colony, which had obtained 'representative government' in 1853 and 'responsible government' in 1872. It's noteworthy that Natal was one of the last British colonies with a white settler population to achieve this constitutional milestone. The Imperial Government had to balance settler demands with the interests of indigenous populations across its overseas territories, particularly in Natal, where settlers constituted a small minority of the population (Guest 1993/94). On 05/31/1910 Natal became part of the Union of South Africa (see Cape Colony, Orange Free State and Transvaal).

05/31/1910 End Electoral Oligarchy: On this date Natal became part of the Union of South Africa (see **South Africa**).

## Nauru

01/01/1900 (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 10/02/1888]: In 1886, Germany was granted control over the island of Nauru through the Anglo-German Declaration. On 10/02/1888, Nauru was forcefully integrated into the German Protectorate of the Marshall Islands, ostensibly to quell a civil war.<sup>927</sup> Then, in April 1906, the Marshall Islands Protectorate was incorporated into German New Guinea, leading to Nauru's transition from a protectorate to an official colony by 1907 (Reilly/Gratschew 2001, Storr 2020).

09/14/1914 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Australia, Democracy]: On this date, the Acting Governor of German New Guinea surrendered to Australian troops. From that point until 1919, Britain held control of the island. The Australian occupation was declared successful on 11/06/1914 (Storr 2020).

10/28/1919 End Occupation Regime [by Australia, Democracy]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate of United Kingdom, Semidemocracy]: In 1920, Nauru was formally designated as a British League of Nations mandate, although the practical implementation of administrative authority on the island was dictated by the 1919 Nauru Island Agreement", adopted on 10/28/1919. This agreement established an Australian-appointed administrator and formed the British Phosphate Commission (BPC) to control phosphate mining (Storr 2020: 161, Lansford 2021).

08/26/1942 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]: During the Second World War, Nauru was occupied by Japanese forces who deported around 1200 Nauruan people to the Truk Islands (now Chuuk State within the Federated States of Micronesia) (Morris 2022, Lansford 2021). The Japanese also took control of the phosphate operations on the island. In 1945, the United States of America bombarded the Japanese military base in Nauru and Truk but focused on occupying Truk and the rest of the Pacific Islands Mandate, leaving Nauru under Japanese control (Storr 2020).

09/13/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate of United Kingdom, Democracy, later Australia]:

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<sup>927</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Nauru](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Nauru)

On this date, Japanese troops surrendered to Australian forces. On 01/01/1946, the Nauruan people who survived Japanese captivity on Truk Islands were repatriated to Nauru and the BPC maintained its operations (Storr 2020).<sup>928</sup> On 11/01/1947, Nauru was designated a UN Trust Territory, jointly administered by the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, with Australia once again acting as the de facto administering authority (Lansford 2021: 1160).<sup>929</sup> Universal suffrage was introduced in 1951. Nauru's electoral laws originated in 1965 when an electoral ordinance based on Australian legislation was implemented (Reilly/Gratschew 2001).

01/22/1966 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate, Australia, Democracy]/Start Semidemocracy: Formally, already on 01/01/1966 Nauru became a self-governing territory. On 01/22/1966 elections were held for members of a Legislative Council, that held jurisdiction over all matters except defense, external affairs, and the phosphate industry (Lansford 2021: 1160). The newly formed body consisted of fifteen members, including nine elected members, one ex officio member (the Administrator), and five "official members" appointed by the Governor-General of Australia upon the nomination of the Administrator. Since six members of the assembly were de facto not elected, the period can at best be called a semidemocratic period.<sup>930</sup> As there were no parties all candidates ran as independent contestants. DeRoburt insisted that 'self-government' meant being recognized as a sovereign state on the international stage. However, the Australian government was only willing to grant them the status of a municipal council within Queensland (Storr 2020). A Constitutional Convention was elected in 1967. It produced a new constitution in preparation for independence, which provided for an 18-member Legislative Assembly with a three-year term. The assembly would then appoint a five-member Council of State to exercise executive power.<sup>931</sup>

01/31/1968 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy [as independent country]: Following the adoption of the Nauru Independence Act on 11/10/1967 in the Australian federal parliament, Australian authorities drafted a new constitution for Nauru, providing for a Westminster-style parliamentary system. On 01/26/1968, elections were held for the 18-member new legislative assembly, with two positions for each of the nine constituencies. On 01/29/1968, the constitution was unanimously adopted, and Nauru became a sovereign state on 01/31/1968

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<sup>928</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese\\_occupation\\_of\\_Nauru](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_occupation_of_Nauru)

<sup>929</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Nauru](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Nauru)

<sup>930</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Administrators\\_of\\_Nauru](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Administrators_of_Nauru)

<sup>931</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1967\\_Nauruan\\_Constitutional\\_Convention\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1967_Nauruan_Constitutional_Convention_election)

(Storr 2020). On 05/18/1968 Hammer DeRoburt, who had served as head chief of Nauru since 1956, was appointed as the first president of the new republic through legislative designation (Lansford 2021: 1160). On 12/18/1976, Bernard Dowiyogo was elected president, challenging DeRoburt's leadership. The parliamentary elections of 1976 saw the emergence of the Nauru Party, which won most seats, but the party disappeared after DeRoburt's re-election as president. Although Nauru does not have political parties, they are permitted, but candidates generally run as independents. Alliances in the parliament are loose and mainly based on personal and family relationships. Throughout the years, the government has witnessed numerous changes due to successful votes of no confidence, resulting in 16 government changes between 1968 and 2000. Nauru operates under a unicameral parliamentary system with a president who serves as head of government and head of state. Suffrage is granted to Nauruan citizens over 20 (Reilly/Gratschew 2001). The parliamentary elections on 08/24/2019 were monitored by the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF). Incumbent President Baron Waqa had previously been accused of electoral fraud by granting citizenship to foreigners. However, the elections were generally considered free and fair, Waqa lost re-election, and Lionel Aingimea was chosen president. Despite universal suffrage, only three women have been elected to Nauru's legislative assembly since independence. Moreover, the Australian government yields considerable political influence in Nauru due to an immigration detention center for asylum seekers on the island. On 09/24/2021, Nauru signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the Australian government to maintain the operation of the immigration detention center indefinitely.<sup>932</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Nepal**

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 09/25/1768]: Nepal first reached its sovereignty on 09/25/1768. The Kingdom of Nepal has been ruled by the Shah dynasty since it was founded in 1768.<sup>933</sup> The circumstances altered significantly when Nepal succumbed to British control and was compelled to sign the Sugauli Treaty in 1816, effectively placing Nepal under British protection and reducing its territorial extent. Similarly, the Betrawati Treaty signed with Tibet resulted in a reduction of Nepal's

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<sup>932</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/nauru/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>933</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_heads\\_of\\_state\\_of\\_Nepal](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_heads_of_state_of_Nepal)

northern borders. Nonetheless, Great Britain officially acknowledged Nepal as an independent and sovereign state through the 1923 treaty (Bhatta 2022). On 09/15/1846 Jung Bahadur (later Rana) and his brothers killed about 40 members of the palace court including the prime minister Fath Jung Shah and rendered King Rajendra Bikram Shah powerless.<sup>934</sup> Bahadur became prime minister, exiled the king, and began the concentration of power in his own hands that resulted in the marginalization of the royal family and the establishment of Jung Bahadur's family as hereditary prime ministers and de facto rulers of Nepal. They controlled all executive, legislative, and judicial power.

12/21/1923 Continuation Absolute Monarchy [as independent country]: On this date, the Nepal-Britain treaty was signed with immediate effect, changing Nepal's status from a British protectorate to a sovereign state with the authority to conduct its foreign policy. The treaty was officially recorded in the League of Nations in 1925.<sup>935</sup> The departure of the British from India in 1947 left the Ranas without a crucial external source of support and subjected the regime to fresh risks.<sup>936</sup> Nonetheless, by 1950 the Rana family owned three fourths of the arable land in the country and consumed about half of the state's income (Levi 1952: 185-88, Hayes 1975: 620, Heitzman 1993, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 81).

02/18/1951 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Constitutional Monarchy: On this date another revolt by the Nepali Congress forced the Rana family into political exile. The popular king Tribhuvan returned to the throne with promises of creating a democracy. After the triumph of the Indian Independence Movement, in which Nepalese activists participated with India's backing and the cooperation of King Tribhuvan, the Nepali Congress succeeded in overthrowing the Rana regime and establishing a parliamentary democracy.<sup>937</sup> The Rana family, which had assumed decision-making authority as hereditary prime ministers since the nineteenth century, was compelled to restore the hereditary monarch due to an insurgency, protests, and pressure from India (Levi 1952: 185-91, Heitzman 1993). King Tribhuvan arrived back in Kathmandu on 02/15 and announced a modification in the governing regulations of the country on 02/18 (Levi 1952: 191, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 81). This revolution resulted in the establishment of a constitutional monarchy and the formation of the first democratic government in Nepal.<sup>938</sup> In 1951 universal suffrage was introduced.<sup>939</sup>

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<sup>934</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jung\\_Bahadur\\_Rana](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jung_Bahadur_Rana)

<sup>935</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepal%E2%80%93Britain\\_Treaty\\_of\\_1923](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepal%E2%80%93Britain_Treaty_of_1923)

<sup>936</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Nepal/History>

<sup>937</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepal>

<sup>938</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepali\\_Congress](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepali_Congress)

<sup>939</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)



Following the downfall of the Rana government, the Nepali Congress assumed leadership in three out of the five administrations established before the elections. Matrika Prasad Koirala, the first commoner to hold the position of Prime Minister, governed from 1951 to 1952 and from 1953 to 1955, while Subarna Shamsher Rana led the government from 1958 to 1959. The long-delayed elections took place in February 1959, resulting in Bishweshwar Prasad Koirala becoming Nepal's first democratically elected Prime Minister after the Nepali Congress secured 74 out of 109 parliamentary seats.<sup>940</sup>

12/15/1960 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Absolute Monarchy: On this date, King Mahendra, seeking to restore order in the political system and declaring that democracy had failed suspended the constitution, dissolved the legislature and assumed direct executive rule in an auto-coup. Nepal was further governed by a Panchayat system that heavily restrained political parties. The Panchayat System centralized power under King Mahendra's rule. It consisted of four levels of governance, from village, town, district to national level.<sup>941</sup> The Panchayat served as the official legislative body, operating effectively from 1961 to 1990.<sup>942</sup> Each village panchayat nominated a representative to serve on one of the 75 district panchayats, representing between 40 to 70 villages; the urban panchayat selected one-third of the members for these assemblies. Members of the district panchayats then elected delegates to fourteen zone assemblies, which acted as electoral bodies for the National Panchayat. Furthermore, there were various class organizations at the village, district, and zonal levels representing peasants, youth, women, elders, laborers, and ex-soldiers, with their representatives elected to the respective assemblies.<sup>943</sup> The system was heavily criticized by members of the opposition because of its lack of democratic representation. The National Panchayat, consisting of approximately 90 members, was prohibited from scrutinizing the royal government, deliberating on the tenets of party-less democracy, proposing budgetary bills without royal consent, or passing bills without the king's endorsement.<sup>944</sup> Inspired by the international support and the democratic movements occurring throughout the world after the disintegration of the USSR in 1989, the Nepali Congress and the United Left Front launched a mass movement on 02/18/1990 to end the

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<sup>940</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepali\\_Congress](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepali_Congress)

<sup>941</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panchayat\\_\(Nepal\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panchayat_(Nepal))

<sup>942</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rastriya\\_Panchayat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rastriya_Panchayat)

<sup>943</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panchayat\\_\(Nepal\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panchayat_(Nepal))

<sup>944</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panchayat\\_\(Nepal\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panchayat_(Nepal))

Panchayat regime and the installation of an democratic interim government represented by various parties and people.<sup>945</sup>

05/12/1991 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Constitutional Monarchy: On this date, general elections took place. King Birendra had lifted the ban on political parties in 1990 and allowed for an interim government headed by a coalition of opposition leaders. A Constitution Recommendation Commission (CRC) drafted a new basic law, setting the stage for parliamentary elections in May 1991 (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 45). The transition to a constitutional monarchy was signaled by multiparty elections, which were won by a pro-democracy party (Rahim 1993). In 1990, the king consented to constitutional amendments that introduced multi-partyism and imposed constraints on the monarchy. However, given that the king appointed the interim government and had the potential to backtrack on the agreements, we refrain from categorizing the regime as concluded until the first election ushered in parliamentary governance (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 81) The general elections in May 1991 resulted in a narrow majority for the Nepali Congress (110 of 205 seats) and a strong opposition of the Communist Party of Nepal (69 seats). The ‘Pancha Partys’ associated with the old system won four out of 205 seats. The outcomes were seen as a robust approval of the political changes in 1990, leading to G.P. Koirala being nominated by the NC and appointed by the king to lead the newly elected government.<sup>946</sup> On 02/13/1996 a civil war broke out between the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and the Kingdom of Nepal when members of the Communist Party tried to replace the royal parliamentary system with a people`s republic.<sup>947</sup> On 06/01/2001, Birendras potential successor Dipendra killed King Birendra and his entire family.<sup>948</sup> Dipendra was crowned while in a coma, through his self-inflicted wounds, but died shortly after.<sup>949</sup> The new king, Birendra’s brother Gyanendra, took an active role in defending the monarchy.<sup>950</sup> Throughout the conflict, the government maintained control over the main cities and towns, while the Maoists dominated the rural areas.<sup>951</sup>

10/04/2002 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Absolute Monarchy: King Gyanendra dismissed the prime minister and imposed his direct rule on the nation after Bahdur refused to

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<sup>945</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panchayat\\_\(Nepal\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panchayat_(Nepal))

<sup>946</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Nepal/Constitutional-monarchy>

<sup>947</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepal>

<sup>948</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepalese\\_Civil\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepalese_Civil_War)

<sup>949</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepalese\\_Civil\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepalese_Civil_War)

<sup>950</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Nepal/Fall-of-the-monarchy>

<sup>951</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepalese\\_Civil\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepalese_Civil_War)

call elections: King Gyanendra removed the Prime Minister from office, assumed executive authority, and canceled the scheduled parliamentary elections, thereby bringing an end to the preceding era of constitutional monarchy (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 81).<sup>952</sup> On 02/01/2005 King Gyanendra dissolved the government again and ruled directly for several years in order to try to end ongoing political instability and an insurgency with Maoists.

04/24/2006 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Constitutional Monarchy: Extensive protests compelled the king to restore the previously elected parliament on 04/24. Subsequently, in June 2006, Parliament significantly curtailed the king's authority, effectively restoring the country to a constitutional monarchy (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 81).<sup>953</sup>

11/21/2006 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Party) Regime: The comprehensive peace accord was signed, urging the king to give up all his political rights, also his property was nationalized under public trust.<sup>954</sup> The assembly elections, initially planned for June 2007, faced multiple postponements, particularly after the Maoists withdrew from the government, insisting on the immediate abolition of the monarchy. It wasn't until December 2007 that an agreement was reached to abolish the monarchy, with elections scheduled for April 2008.<sup>955</sup>

04/10/2008 End Non-electoral Transitional (Party) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, parliamentary elections took place.<sup>956</sup> On 05/28/2008, more than two centuries of royal rule came to an end as the new assembly voted to declare Nepal a democratic republic.<sup>957</sup> The freedom of Nepalese citizens to exercise their political rights is sometimes restricted by intermittent instances of political violence, along with crackdowns on political demonstrations by security forces. There have also been reports of vote buying in recent elections.<sup>958</sup> Political demonstrations occasionally continue to be tainted by acts of violence, while corruption persists as a pervasive issue across politics, government, and the judicial system. Additional challenges include gender-based violence, underage marriage, and bonded labor. Transitional justice bodies have encountered difficulties in fulfilling their mandates.<sup>959</sup> General elections took place on 11/20/2022 to elect the 275 members of the House of Representatives. Following failed power-sharing negotiations among the Democratic Left Alliance on

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<sup>952</sup> <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5283.html>

<sup>953</sup> <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5283.html>; <http://tinyurl.com/3jo7mu4>

<sup>954</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comprehensive\\_Peace\\_Accord](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comprehensive_Peace_Accord)

<sup>955</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Nepal/Fall-of-the-monarchy>

<sup>956</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2008\\_Nepalese\\_Constituent\\_Assembly\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2008_Nepalese_Constituent_Assembly_election)

<sup>957</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Nepal/Fall-of-the-monarchy>

<sup>958</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/nepal/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>959</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/nepal>

12/25/2022, Pushpa Kamal Dahal, chairman of the CPN (Maoist Centre), assumed the role of prime minister. His eight-member cabinet comprised MPs from his party, CPN (UML), Rastriya Swatantra Party, and Janamat Party, with support from RPP, JSP, NUP, and three independents.<sup>960</sup>

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Baral 1994, Krämer 2001, Elklit 1994, Savada 1993)

## **[The] Netherlands**

01/01/1900 Constitutional Monarchy [Start: 11/03/1848]: On 07/26/1581 the Plakkaat van Verlatinghe was signed declaring independence from Spain. Since 03/16/1815 the Kingdom of the Netherlands is an independent monarchy.<sup>961</sup> In 1848, the Constitution of the Netherlands was amended to make ministers responsible to the States General and no longer responsible to the king, who acted as the leader of cabinet. The new Constitution was proclaimed on 11/03/1848.<sup>962</sup> In the parliamentary elections from 1848 on a small minority of the population had the right to vote. The part grew from 1.8 per cent in 1848 to 16.5 per cent in 1917 (Andeweg/Ridder/Irwin 2010: 1396f.).

07/03/1918 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start (Monarchical) Semidemocracy: On this date, the first parliamentary elections after a series of reforms that introduced universal male suffrage and pure proportional representation took place.<sup>963</sup> From 1917 on full suffrage for men aged 23 and above was granted. In 1917, women were given a limited form of suffrage known as "passive" voting rights, which allowed them to stand for political office and be elected but did not grant them the right to vote in elections.<sup>964</sup> From 1919 on suffrage was extended to women.

07/05/1922 End (Monarchical) Semidemocracy/Start (Monarchical) Democracy: On this date the first parliamentary elections under universal suffrage took place. From 1971 on men and women aged 18 and older could vote in national elections.<sup>965</sup>

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<sup>960</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022\\_Nepalese\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2022_Nepalese_general_election)

<sup>961</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monarchy\\_of\\_the\\_Netherlands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monarchy_of_the_Netherlands)

<sup>962</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitutional\\_Reform\\_of\\_1848](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitutional_Reform_of_1848)

<sup>963</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1918\\_Dutch\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1918_Dutch_general_election)

<sup>964</sup> <https://stacker.com/world/when-women-got-right-vote-50-countries>

<sup>965</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)

05/10/1940 End (Monarchical) Democracy/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: On this date, the Netherlands were invaded by German forces, in spite of the country's neutrality policy, and without a formal declaration of war. The German troops also advanced into Belgium and Luxembourg simultaneously. The objective of this move was to distract Allied forces away from the Ardennes, as well as entice British and French forces into Belgium. Additionally, it was done to prevent a prospective British invasion in North Holland.<sup>966</sup>

05/05/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start (Monarchical) Democracy: From this date on the Netherlands were free from Nazi occupation due to the surrender. The first parliamentary elections after World War II were held on 05/17/1946. Following the elections, the Catholic People's Party formed a grand coalition government with the Labour Party.<sup>967</sup> The Netherlands has a parliamentary system of government with a bicameral parliament, consisting of the House of Representatives and the Senate. The monarch takes on a mainly ceremonial role. The political landscape is characterized by freely operating parties competing with each other. Equal political rights are granted to all citizens by the constitution. Safeguarding civil liberties and political rights has a high priority in the Netherlands. The judiciary operates independently in both theory and practice. Every Dutch citizen aged 18 and older may vote. On 11/22/2023 general snap elections were held, with the right-wing Party for Freedom emerging as the largest party and subsequently forming a coalition government.

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

Additional Sources (Lepszy/Wilp 2009, Lijphart 1975)

## **New Caledonia**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy] [Start: 09/24/1853]: In 1853, France assumed control over much of what is now New Caledonia during ceremonies at Balade and the Île des Pins, with the initial intention of potentially using the region as a location for a penal Colonial Regime.<sup>968</sup> Throughout the period of colonial settlement and persisting until as late as 1917, there were frequent uprisings by the Melanesian population,

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<sup>966</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Netherlands\\_in\\_World\\_War\\_II#German\\_invasion](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Netherlands_in_World_War_II#German_invasion)

<sup>967</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946\\_Dutch\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946_Dutch_general_election)

<sup>968</sup> <https://www.newcaledonia.travel/en/history-economy>

which were a source of ongoing concern for both the settlers and the authorities. By 1860, French control had been established over the southern portion of the mainland. Over the following decade, the French implemented policies related to the allocation of indigenous land, the reorganization of tribes, and the appointment of a system of tribal chiefs to represent the colonial administration. As the 19th century approached its end, substantial portions of Melanesian land had been taken over, and the residents were confined to designated reserves.<sup>969</sup>

10/27/1946 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start Part of other Country [France, Democracy]: In 1946, New Caledonia attained the status of an overseas territory. By 1953, French citizenship was extended to all residents of New Caledonia, irrespective of their ethnic background. Following the Nouméa Accord's timeline, which mandated a vote by the end of 2018, preparations for a referendum on full independence from France began. The vote took place on 11/04/2018, resulting in the rejection of independence. Another referendum occurred in October 2020, where voters once again opted to remain part of France. In the 2018 referendum, 56.7% of voters chose to remain, and in the 2020 referendum, 53.4% made the same choice. A third referendum took place on 12/12/2021. Pro-independence groups boycotted the referendum, citing concerns about the COVID-19 pandemic and requesting a postponement, which the French government declined. As a result, 96% of voters chose to maintain their association with France.<sup>970</sup>

Part of other Country [France, Democracy]

## **Newfoundland**

01/01/1900 Semidemocracy [as (de facto) Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy][Start: 1610]: English colonists began establishing settlements in Newfoundland in 1610, guided by proprietary governors as part of England's efforts to gain a foothold in North America.<sup>971</sup> The competition between England and France in Europe extended to conflicts in North America, particularly in Newfoundland, where English settlements were near French claims in Southern Newfoundland. In 1825, it officially became a Crown colony, with Thomas John Cochrane appointed as its first governor. Representative government was established in 1832, with a colonial assembly sharing power with an appointed Legislative

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<sup>969</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/New-Caledonia-French-unique-collectivity-Pacific-Ocean/History>

<sup>970</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New\\_Caledonia#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Caledonia#History)

<sup>971</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Newfoundland\\_Colony](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Newfoundland_Colony)

Council.<sup>972</sup> Newfoundland achieved responsible government in 1854, gaining self-governing status. Philip Francis Little served as the first Premier from 1855 to 1858. Despite considerations from 1864 to 1869, the colony rejected confederation with Canada.<sup>973</sup> Newfoundland retained its status as a colony until the 1907 Imperial Conference, which decided to grant dominion status to all self-governing colonies in attendance.<sup>974</sup> In April 1925, women aged 25 and above were given the right to vote.

06/02/1928 End Semidemocracy/Start Democracy [as (de facto) Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: On this date, for the first time women took part in the parliamentary elections. 90 percent of eligible women exercised their voting privilege.<sup>975</sup>

02/16/1934 End Democracy/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]: Newfoundland's self-governing status was revoked by the Dominion, leading to the assumption of control by the Commission of Government in response to the economic collapse during the Great Depression. Despite retaining the title of a dominion, Newfoundland effectively functioned in name only. During this period, a governor oversaw Newfoundland, reporting to the Colonial Secretary in London, and the legislature was suspended (Overton 1990).<sup>976</sup> The British government included confederation as an option in a referendum held on 06/03/1948, which yielded inconclusive results. A subsequent referendum on 07/22/1948 saw a majority of 52.3 percent in favor of confederation.<sup>977</sup>

03/31/1949 Start Part of Other Country [Canada, Democracy]: On this date, Newfoundland became part of Canada, as the province of Newfoundland.<sup>978</sup>

With the end date Newfoundland is no longer in the data set, since the decision to join Canada was completely free and the return to an independent status is extremely unlikely.

## **New Zealand**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 02/06/1840]: On 02/06/1840, New Zealand became a British colony by the Treaty of Waitangi.<sup>979</sup> When the

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<sup>972</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Newfoundland\\_and\\_Labrador#Colonization](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Newfoundland_and_Labrador#Colonization)

<sup>973</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Newfoundland\\_Colony](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Newfoundland_Colony)

<sup>974</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominion\\_of\\_Newfoundland#Political\\_origins](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominion_of_Newfoundland#Political_origins)

<sup>975</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1928\\_Newfoundland\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1928_Newfoundland_general_election)

<sup>976</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominion\\_of\\_Newfoundland#End\\_of\\_responsible\\_government](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominion_of_Newfoundland#End_of_responsible_government)

<sup>977</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Newfoundland-and-Labrador/British-fishery-to-colony>

<sup>978</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Newfoundland\\_\(island\)#Union\\_with\\_Canada](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Newfoundland_(island)#Union_with_Canada)

<sup>979</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_Waitangi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Waitangi)

British Parliament passed the New Zealand Constitution Act in 1852, New Zealand embarked on a journey of independence from Britain in exercising sovereignty – legislative, judicial, and executive authority – over its domestic affairs. However, ‘imperial interests’, (including foreign relations, external trade, the constitution and ‘native affairs’), were beyond the powers of the New Zealand Parliament. New Zealand did not obtain ‘Dominion status’ until 1907, yet, this did not signify absolute sovereign independence, as the position of the dominions in international affairs may not necessarily align with dominion status.<sup>980</sup> From 01/17/1853 it was de facto self-governing. With the extension of voting rights to women in 1893, the self-governing British colony became one of the first permanently constituted jurisdictions in the world to grant universal adult suffrage, suffrage previously having been universal for Māori men over 21 from 1867, and for white men from 1879. Plural voting (impacting men) was abolished in 1889. Some prison inmates were denied the right to vote.<sup>981</sup>

09/26/1907 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]/Start (Monarchical) Democracy: On this date, New Zealand was granted nominal independence shifting into a dominion status: “In fact, New Zealand did not achieve full independence – in the sense of complete autonomy or sovereign power over its own constitutional arrangements and its foreign affairs – until 1947. On 11/25/1947 the Statute of Westminster was adopted. Britain lost the power to legislate for New Zealand.<sup>982</sup> As of 2023 New Zealand is still formally a monarchy with King Charles III. as Sovereign. However, the King acts entirely on the advice of New Zealand Government Ministers. The monarch is represented in New Zealand by a governor-general.<sup>983</sup> According to all classifications of political regimes New Zealand is a democracy. In RoW which distinguishes between electoral and liberal democracies it is classified as a liberal democracy since 1913 and by LIED as a polyarchy (largely equivalent to the meaning of liberal democracy). Regarding Freedom House the country achieved, for instance in 2022, a value of 99 from 100, including a perfect score on the political rights scale, as one of the freest countries in the world.<sup>984</sup>

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

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<sup>980</sup> [https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/research-papers/document/00PLLawRP07041/new-zealand-sovereignty-1857-1907-1947-or-1987#footnote\\_3](https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/research-papers/document/00PLLawRP07041/new-zealand-sovereignty-1857-1907-1947-or-1987#footnote_3)

<sup>981</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>982</sup> [https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/research-papers/document/00PLLawRP07041/new-zealand-sovereignty-1857-1907-1947-or-1987#footnote\\_3](https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/research-papers/document/00PLLawRP07041/new-zealand-sovereignty-1857-1907-1947-or-1987#footnote_3)

<sup>983</sup> <https://www.parliament.nz/mi/get-involved/features/the-sovereign-s-role-in-new-zealand/>

<sup>984</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/new-zealand/freedom-world/2022>



Additional Sources (Bassett 1982, Brooking 2004, Lipson 1948, Roberts 2004, Kaiser 2002)

## Nicaragua

01/01/1900 Electoral Autocracy [Start: 12/10/1893]: On 09/15/1821, Nicaragua became part of the Federal Republic of Central America, which declared independence from Spain. On 11/05/1838, Nicaragua declared independence from the Federal Republic of Central America. Thirty years of Conservative dominance in Nicaragua ended in 1893, when President Roberto Sacasa was forced to resign, and a bipartisan provisional government was established. A month later, a coup led by the Liberals and supported by the military ousted the provisional government and installed a rival provisional government headed by José Santos Zelaya. On 08/10/1893, the junta established the regulations for the selection of members of the constituent assembly. This assembly's responsibility was not only to draft a new constitution but also to formulate a new electoral code (Cruz 2002:133). The constituent assembly was composed of deputies elected in Nicaragua's electoral districts and departments. On 09/20/1893, the junta resigned and transferred its executive powers to the Constituent Assembly (Cruz 2002). On 09/16/1893, the Constituent Assembly elected Zelaya provisional president and president for the first new constitutional term (La Botz 2016). On 12/10/1893, the Assembly adopted a new constitution, constructing a new, liberal, national state and introducing male suffrage (Kellam 2013).<sup>985</sup> On 07/20/1886, Zelaya called a constitutional referendum, which allowed for universal suffrage, but no presidential elections were held throughout his 17-year regime. In 1905, Zelaya aimed to overhaul the Constitution once again, intending to enable the president to have unlimited succession (Cruz 2002:143). Zelaya evolved into an authoritarian president, employing repressive legislation and police actions to sustain his regime. He orchestrated multiple re-elections through the national Assembly and frequently declared a 'state of siege' to maintain order (La Botz 2016:40). Weakened and influenced by both internal and external factors, Zelaya stepped down on 12/17/1909. Following his resignation, José Madriz, his minister of foreign affairs, was appointed president by the Nicaraguan Congress. Holding liberal beliefs, Madriz struggled to establish stability amidst ongoing pressure from conservative factions and the intervention of the United States. Eventually, he resigned on August 20, 1910. Following Madriz's departure,

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<sup>985</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage#Dates\\_by\\_country](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage#Dates_by_country)

Conservative leader Estrada, who governed Nicaragua's easternmost region, assumed control. The United States pledged support to Estrada under the condition that a Constituent Assembly be elected to draft a new constitution. With this condition accepted, a coalition government comprising conservatives and liberals, led by Estrada, was officially recognized by the United States on 01/01/1911.<sup>986</sup>

08/04/1912 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by USA, Semidemocracy]: The occupation was a component of the Banana Wars, during which the U.S. military invaded several Latin American countries between 1898 and 1934.<sup>987</sup> Until 1933, with a nine-month exception in 1925, US Marines were stationed in Nicaragua to maintain control over the construction of a Nicaraguan Canal.<sup>988</sup> In 1913, the United States reduced its military presence in Nicaragua to just 100 troops, signaling its readiness to use force and support conservative regimes. National elections were held under U.S. oversight, but liberals declined to take part, leading to Adolfo Díaz's reelection. Violence and political unrest led to a decline in foreign investment. Although a treaty granting U.S. intervention rights was never ratified, a revised version, excluding the intervention clause, was approved in 1916. This collaboration with the U.S. enabled conservatives to hold power until 1925. Despite liberal participation in the 1920 elections, U.S. support and election fraud ensured Emiliano Chamorro's uncle, Diego Manuel Chamorro, secured victory.<sup>989</sup>

01/02/1933 End Occupation Regime [by USA, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy: Under U.S. supervision, elections took place in November 1932, leading to the triumph of Liberal Party candidate Juan Bautista Sacasa, who had been involved in the 1926 coup prior to the second U.S. intervention. U.S. military forces withdrew entirely from Nicaragua on 01/02/1933, just one day after Sacasa assumed office (Bulmer-Thomas 1990: 320-23, 329, Gobat 2005: 205, Puig 2013: 152-53, Casey et al. 2020: 12). President Sacasa saw a decline in his popularity due to his ineffective governance and allegations of electoral fraud during the 1934 congressional elections. Taking advantage of Sacasa's waning influence, Somoza García strategically unified the National Guard and the Liberal Party (Partido Liberal-PL), positioning himself for success in the 1936 presidential elections.<sup>990</sup>

06/09/1936 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Personalist (Electoral) Autocracy: Leveraging control of the National Guard, Anastasio Somoza García overthrew President Juan Bautista

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<sup>986</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/nicaragua/10.htm>

<sup>987</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_States\\_occupation\\_of\\_Nicaragua](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_occupation_of_Nicaragua)

<sup>988</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Nicaragua](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Nicaragua)

<sup>989</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/nicaragua/10.htm>

<sup>990</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/nicaragua/10.htm>

Sacasa and replaced him with his own candidate for Acting President, Carlos Brenes Jarquín (Booth 1998a: 132, Casey et al. 2020: 12). Somoza was nominated for the presidency a week later at a Liberal Party convention on 06/16/1936 and was inaugurated on 01/01/1937 (Crawley 1984: 94-95, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 81-82). The Somoza family (Spanish: Familia Somoza) was a family dictatorship which ruled Nicaragua for forty-three years from 1936 to 1979. The dictatorship started by Anastasio Somoza García was continued by his two sons Luis Somoza Debayle and Anastasio Somoza Debayle. Anastasio Somoza García was the President of Nicaragua from 1937 until 1956. In 1944, Anastasio Somoza García responded to increasing criticism by establishing a puppet government to preserve his authority. He opted not to seek reelection and instead had the PLN nominate the elderly Leonardo Argüello, under the belief that he could manipulate Argüello from behind the scenes. However, Argüello had no inclination to serve as a puppet. In under a month, as Argüello's actions started to encroach on Somoza García's authority, the National Guard chief orchestrated a coup and installed a family associate, Benjamín Lacayo Sacasa, as the president.<sup>991</sup> Anastasio Somoza García was succeeded by his eldest son, Luis Somoza Debayle, who held the presidency from 1957 to 1963. The youngest Somoza son, Anastasio Somoza Debayle, held two presidential terms: 1967-1972 and 1974-1979. Although the Somozas did not hold the presidency for the full forty-three years, they continued to rule through puppet presidents and their control of the National Guard.<sup>992</sup> In 1955 female suffrage had been introduced.

07/17/1979 End Personalist (Electoral) Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Somoza Debayle stepped down after his forces were defeated by the Sandinista insurgency, and shortly thereafter, a government led by insurgent leaders was established (Booth 1998b: 148, Crawley 1984: 173, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 82). At the institutional level, political authority was centralized within a Provisional Junta of National Reconstruction, while a newly established State Council was granted certain legislative capabilities (Krennerich 2005). The five-member junta reaffirmed its commitment to promoting political pluralism, implementing a mixed economic system, and pursuing a nonaligned foreign policy.<sup>993</sup> Somoza Debayle was assassinated in September 1980.<sup>994</sup> The Sandinistas aimed to change the oppressive and brutal practices of the previous government. Most individuals accused of

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<sup>991</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/nicaragua/11.htm>

<sup>992</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somoza\\_family](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somoza_family)

<sup>993</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/nicaragua/14.htm>

<sup>994</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somoza\\_family](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somoza_family)

crimes during the Somoza regime were given fair trials, and the Ministry of Interior prohibited mistreatment of prisoners. Within their initial two years in power, Amnesty International and other human rights organizations noted significant improvements in Nicaragua's human rights situation. To enhance representation, the new government established a consultative assembly called the Council of State on 05/04/1980. This assembly could approve laws proposed by the junta or create its own legislation. However, the junta retained veto power over laws initiated by the council and controlled much of the budget. Despite its limited authority, the council had autonomy and often modified legislation proposed by the junta. The council's composition, consisting of thirty-three members, was determined through negotiations among revolutionary factions in 1979. These members were appointed rather than elected by various political groups.<sup>995</sup>

11/04/1984 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, general elections were held at the initiative of the incumbent authoritarian Sandinista government in 1984, amidst a temporary easing of the state of emergency (which was later reinstated from 1985 to 1988). The roles and responsibilities of these institutions were officially outlined in the 1987 Constitution. This constitution instituted a presidential system featuring a unicameral congress and a president possessing extensive powers (Krennerich 2005). The main opposition figure, Arturo Cruz, opted out of running in the election, citing restrictions imposed by the regime. However, the majority of external observers deemed the election to be free and fair (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 46). Daniel Ortega assumed his six-year presidential term on 01/10/1985. Following the United States Congress's refusal to continue funding the Contras in April 1985, the Reagan administration implemented a complete trade embargo against Nicaragua the next month. They accused the Sandinista government of posing a threat to U.S. security in the region. In response, the FSLN government suspended civil liberties and targeted both the media and the Roman Catholic bishops, alleging that they were destabilizing the political system. The church's publications and the conservative newspaper *La Prensa* faced censorship or closure at various times due to their critical stance on the military draft and the government's handling of the civil war (Krennerich 2005).<sup>996</sup> Although the extent of autocratic manipulation of the elections is disputed, we therefore classify the regime as an electoral autocracy.

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<sup>995</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/nicaragua/15.htm>

<sup>996</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/nicaragua/18.htm>

02/25/1990 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Democracy: The government of the dominant Sandinista Party held presidential elections in 1990, with intense international monitoring. The election was won by an opposition coalition led by Violeta Chomorro (Close 1999: 37, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 82, Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 46).<sup>997</sup> A historic and peaceful transfer of power ensued thereafter. The early phase of the democratic period was characterized by efforts towards national reconciliation, state reform and pacification.<sup>998</sup> In 1995, constitutional reforms came into force which transferred part of the presidential power to the National Assembly (Staff 1995: 1).. On 10/20/1996 general elections were held. Arnoldo Aleman led the Liberal Alliance against Daniel Ortega's Sandinistas, despite international observers noting irregularities, the results were accepted (Krennerich 2005: 482).<sup>999</sup>

09/06/2011 End Democracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: The incumbent president Daniel Ortega, won a third term in the 2011 Nicaraguan elections. At the same time, parliamentary elections were held in which monitors from the Organization of American States reported many irregularities (Lansford, 2021: 1207). On 11/06/2016 national elections for the presidency and the assembly were held. Ortega was re-elected with 72.4 % of the vote. The polling was described by observers as corrupt and fraudulent especially after antiregime candidates were barred from campaigning and foreign election observers were banned (Lansford 2021: 1208). During anti-government protest in 2018, state forces used harsh repression against protesters. The latest presidential elections in November 2021 were described as not free nor fair due to the prior crackdown on Ortega's challengers.<sup>1000</sup>

Electoral Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Cuzan , Walter 1993, Wilson 2013)

## Niger

01/01/1900 (de facto) Colonial Regime [of France, Semidemocracy]: Niger was an object of centuries-old contention among different African peoples. The French first made contact in the late 19th century. Military conquest of the area began prior to 1900 and lasted until 1922,

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<sup>997</sup><https://tinyurl.com/8rdzdsq>

<sup>998</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Nicaragua/Nicaragua-from-1990-to-2006>

<sup>999</sup><https://tinyurl.com/8rdzdsq>

<sup>1000</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/nicaragua/freedom-world/2022>

when Niger became officially a French colony. A formal Zinder Military Territory was formed on 07/23/1900. This military territory only governed what is modern southern Niger, with only nominal rule east of Zinder or north of Tanout.<sup>1001</sup>

10/13/1922 Continuation as official colony of France, (Male) Semidemocracy: Political evolution began under a constitution granted by France in 1946, with Niger becoming a self-governing republic within the French Community in 1958 and attaining full independence in August 1960. In 1948 universal suffrage had been introduced. While Niger was officially only a colony from 1922 onwards, de facto it was already ruled as a colony before.

08/03/1960 End Colonial Regime [of France, Democracy]/Start One-Party Autocracy: The prohibition of the Marxist-oriented Sawaba (Freedom) Party in 1959 transformed Niger into a one-party state under the Niger Progressive Party (Parti Progressiste Nigérien, PPN), led by President Hamani Diori, who belonged to the Djerma tribe (Lansford 2021: 1214). The PPN won the December 1958 pre-independence election with help from the French. Prior to independence, the most popular rival party was outlawed, and its leaders jailed. Power was centralized under Diori, who controlled ministerial appointments without parliamentary scrutiny, could appoint and dismiss civil servants and military officers, and could decree and veto laws (Higgott/Fuglestad 1975: 385, Collier 1982: 109, Ibrahim 1994: 21-24).

04/15/1974 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Military (Personalist) Autocracy: Diori was accused of consolidating power to himself and to his family while diverting food and other resources. He was overthrown through a military coup by army chief of staff Kountche who established himself as president of a military junta (Conseil Militaire Supreme) (Higgott/Fuglestad 1975: 385) (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 82). Within a year of the coup, the majority of CMS members had been either killed or imprisoned as Kountche solidified his personal power (Higgott/Fuglestad 1975: 385, 397, Robinson 1992: 155, Ibrahim 1994: 25, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 82). In 1981 Kountche began to increase civilian representation in the CMS, and in 1982 preparations were undertaken for a constitutional form of government. A civilian prime minister, Mamane Oumarou, was appointed on 01/24/1983. In January 1984, he established a commission to draft a pre-constitutional document, termed a 'national charter'.<sup>1002</sup> The charter's main points were the establishment of non-elective, consultative institutions at both national and local levels. On 06/16/1987 the "national charter" referendum took place and was approved by 96.8% of voters with a 99.58%

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<sup>1001</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colony\\_of\\_Niger](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colony_of_Niger)

<sup>1002</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seyni\\_Kountch%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seyni_Kountch%C3%A9)

turnout.<sup>1003</sup> After Kountches death Ali Saibou secured his nomination by the Supreme Military Council as Kountche's successor, subsequently sending military rivals overseas with diplomatic tasks. Saibou took over the office of president on 11/14/1987.<sup>1004</sup> On 09/24/1989 Saibou had a new constitution approved. It would render Niger as a one-party state with the 'National Movement for the Development of Society' (MNDS) as sole legal party. The government would have a presidential system, as well as the continued involvement of the Armed Forces, which had ruled the country since the military coup in 1974. It was approved by 99.3% of voters with a 94.9% turnout.

12/12/1989 End Military (Personalist) Autocracy/Start One-Party Autocracy: On this date the first general elections under the new constitution were held. Saibou was elected as president unopposed under the sole legal party MNDS.<sup>1005</sup> Saibou permitted in response to widespread demonstrations and strikes, the convening of a National Conference in July 1990.

07/29/1991 End One-Party Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, the National Conference that stripped Saibou of all but ceremonial powers opened (Gervais 1997: 92). Without delay, it declared its decisions to hold sovereign authority, superseding existing institutions. The dissolution of the government followed, with ministries instructed to directly report to this authority, and the removal of the army commander. The National Conference then selected a transitional government, led by a technocrat and a professor without ties to the previous regime, to guide the transition to democracy. Subsequently, in February-March 1993, fair multiparty elections took place, and the victors were granted the right to assume power, concluding the successful transition to democracy (Ibrahim 1994: 29-38, Gervais 1997: 96, Ibrahim/Souley 1998: 148-50, Lansford 2012, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 82-83).

03/27/1993 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: The Conference took on the practical authority of a transitional government, formulated a new constitution adopted on 12/26/1992, aiming to institute a multiparty political system, and conducted generally free elections in March 1993. Mahamane Ousmane emerged as the winner, leading a coalition led by the Democratic and Social Convention (CDS)

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<sup>1003</sup> [https://africanelections.tripod.com/ne.html#1989\\_Presidential\\_Election](https://africanelections.tripod.com/ne.html#1989_Presidential_Election)

<sup>1004</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali\\_Saibou](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_Saibou)

<sup>1005</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1989\\_Nigerien\\_constitutional\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1989_Nigerien_constitutional_referendum)

(Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 47).<sup>1006</sup> BTI characterized those elections as “relatively free and fair”<sup>1007</sup>, nonetheless deficits continued.

01/27/1996 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date the army, led by Colonel Ibrahim Baré Maïnassara overthrew incumbent president Mahamane Ousmane, who had been elected in 1993.<sup>1008</sup> Mainassara subsequently claimed victory in a rigged election in July 1996 that barred all of the main opposition candidates from competing and seated himself as chairman of the National Salvation Council. He remained in power until his assassination in 1999 (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 83, Ibrahim/Souley 1998: 164).<sup>1009</sup>

04/09/1999 End Military Autocracy/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy: In 1999 authoritarian ruler Colonel Ibrahim Mainassara Bare was killed by his own presidential guard. Following the coup within the army, Major Daouda Mallam Wanke declared a 9-month transition plan to take place under a military Council of National Reconciliation and seated himself as chairman. An extensive debate about the nature of institutional arrangements both within appointed Technical and Consultative Committees and in the press followed. The military imposed a solution, which was validated in a referendum in 1999. The junta promised a return to democracy within the year.<sup>1010</sup>

11/24/1999 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: Presidential and legislative elections took place in October and November 1999, and the new administration assumed office under the designation of the Fifth Republic in 2000 (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 48, Lansford 2012, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 83).<sup>1011</sup> The presidential and legislative elections were hailed as free and fair by international observers. Mamadou Tandja, a former army officer, won the presidency in a second round of polling with about 60% of the vote.<sup>1012</sup> Tandja was re-elected for a second round of presidency in 2004. In 2009 a constitutional crisis occurred due to a political conflict between Tandja and judicial and legislative bodies regarding the constitutional referendum that opponents claimed was an attempt to extend his mandate beyond the constitutional maximum of two terms. The Constitutional Court of Niger ruled on 06/12/2009 that the proposed referendum was unconstitutional. On 06/26/2009 the president then dissolved the courts and announced he was

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<sup>1006</sup> <https://africanelections.tripod.com/ne.html>

<sup>1007</sup> <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/NER>

<sup>1008</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1996\\_Nigerien\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1996_Nigerien_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1009</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1996\\_Nigerien\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1996_Nigerien_presidential_election)

<sup>1010</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mamadou\\_Tandja](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mamadou_Tandja)

<sup>1011</sup> <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6ad6c94.html>

<sup>1012</sup> <https://www.refworld.org/docid/5278c70112.htm>



assuming emergency powers. The referendum was eventually held on 08/04/2009, despite major criticism from international groups. The crisis led to a coup d'état by military leaders.<sup>1013</sup> Although the judiciary was nominally independent, it was prone to corruption due to the low wages of judges. Defamation lawsuits were regularly used by political authorities to deter journalists. Further, an estimated 43,000-870,000 people were living in de facto slavery in 2002 (Freedom House, 2010: 453).<sup>1014</sup>

02/18/2010 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Leutnant General Salou Djibo led a military coup against President Mamadou Tandja. Djibo, as the leader of the Council for the Restoration of Democracy (Conseil Suprême pour la Restauration de la Démocratie—CSR), suspended the constitution and dissolved parliament the next day. Former President Tandja and several of his ministers were placed under house arrest (Lansford 2021: 1217).<sup>1015</sup> The junta progressed towards civilian governance by facilitating multiparty presidential and parliamentary elections on 01/31/2011, despite objections from opposition party leaders. They argued that issues with the voter rolls warranted a postponement (Lansford 2021: 1217).

01/31/2011 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: The presidential election on this date resulted in a victory for Mahamadou Issoufou of the Nigerien Party for Democracy and Socialism (PNDS), who defeated Seyni Oumarou of the National Movement for the Development of Society (MNDS). In the National Assembly elections, the PNDS emerged as the largest party.<sup>1016</sup> Santiago Fisas, the chief of EU monitoring, praised the election as a triumph for the people of Niger, stating, 'It serves as an exemplary model for the peaceful restoration of democracy.'<sup>1017</sup> On 02/21/2016, President Mahamadou Issoufou secured his re-election for a second five-year term. The electoral atmosphere was marked by political tension, as the primary challenger for the presidency, opposition leader Hama Amadou, remained in custody throughout the electoral process, facing accusations related to a baby-trafficking scandal. The opposition chose to boycott the second round of the presidential poll, which Issoufou ultimately won with an overwhelming 92 percent of the vote.<sup>1018</sup> The opposition parties refused to accept the partial election results provided by the electoral commission, alleging disparities between the announced results and their own counts.

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<sup>1013</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2009%E2%80%932010\\_Nigerien\\_constitutional\\_crisis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2009%E2%80%932010_Nigerien_constitutional_crisis)

<sup>1014</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slavery\\_in\\_Niger#Modern\\_slavery](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slavery_in_Niger#Modern_slavery)

<sup>1015</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010\\_Nigerien\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010_Nigerien_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1016</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011\\_Nigerien\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_Nigerien_general_election)

<sup>1017</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12724965>;

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011\\_Nigerien\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_Nigerien_general_election)

<sup>1018</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/niger/freedom-world/2017>

Amadou Cissé, the candidate from the Union for Democracy and the Republic, contested the results and accused the government of establishing "thousands of polling stations" to manipulate the outcome.<sup>1019</sup> On 12/27/2020, general elections were held in Niger to elect the President and National Assembly. On 02/21/2021 a second round was held. Mohamed Bazoum was declared the winner in the second round with 55.67% of the vote.<sup>1020</sup> The vote marked what was expected to be the first peaceful transfer of power in Niger.<sup>1021</sup> The presidential polls were marked by isolated reports of attempted vote buying, but were largely peaceful while for the national assembly, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) observers called the elections relatively free and fair, and lauded the participation of young and female voters.<sup>1022</sup> On 31/03/2021 a coup attempt took place, that was staged by elements within the military. The alleged leader of the plot was Captain Sani Saley Gourouza. The coup was unsuccessful.<sup>1023</sup>

06/26/2023 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: After a successful coup d'état led by the Presidential Guard Commander General Abdourahamane Tchiani on 06/26/2023, Nigers President Mohamed Bazoum was detained and removed from office, ending the already unstable constitutional order. Shortly thereafter General Abdourahamane publicly declared himself the leader of a newly formed military junta.<sup>1024</sup> The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) demanded the release and reinstatement of President Bazoum and the regional bloc gave the military a one-week ultimatum, threatening measures that could include the use of force should it not comply with its demands. After the deadline passed without effect, sanctions were imposed and relations and borders closed with Niger, Nigeria cutting it off from its energy supply, on which Niger depends on for 70% of its power.<sup>1025</sup> Surrounding countries such as Burkina Faso and Mali, similarly led by coup-leaders, have pledged support for General Abdourahamane and threatened a forceful response should ECOWAS decide to intervene militarily, further increasing regional tensions.<sup>1026</sup> On 07/27, supporters of the coup incited civil unrest after setting fire to the headquarters of the former governing party in Niamey.<sup>1027</sup>

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<sup>1019</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2016\\_Nigerien\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2016_Nigerien_general_election)

<sup>1020</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020%E2%80%9321\\_Nigerien\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020%E2%80%9321_Nigerien_general_election)

<sup>1021</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/niger/freedom-world/2021>

<sup>1022</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/niger/freedom-world/2021>

<sup>1023</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021\\_Nigerien\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat\\_attempt](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2021_Nigerien_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat_attempt)

<sup>1024</sup> <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2023/8/20/timeline-what-has-happened-in-niger-since-the-coup>

<sup>1025</sup> <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2023/8/20/timeline-what-has-happened-in-niger-since-the-coup>

<sup>1026</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2024/mounting-damage-flawed-elections-and-armed-conflict>

<sup>1027</sup> <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2023/8/20/timeline-what-has-happened-in-niger-since-the-coup>

Military autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Decalo 1990, Basedau 1999b)

## **Nigeria**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 02/26/1885]: The United Kingdom's dominance over Nigerian territory had been recognized by other European powers at the Berlin Conference that ended on 02/26/1885. From 1886 until 1899 the territory was ruled mainly by the Royal Niger Company. In 1900, both the Southern and the Northern Nigeria Protectorate passed on to the Crown. The protectorates were governed by the colonial office at Whitehall.<sup>1028</sup>

10/01/1954 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start (Monarchical) Semidemocracy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: On this date, Nigeria became the self-governing Federation of Nigeria. Nevertheless, full independence had not yet been granted. General elections were held between October and December 1954.<sup>1029</sup> The elections were held using different systems in the different provinces. Direct elections were held in Lagos and the Eastern and Western regions, whilst electoral colleges were used in Southern Cameroons and Northern Region.<sup>1030</sup> In these elections male suffrage was introduced (LIED) and in 1958 female suffrage was introduced.<sup>1031</sup> On 12/12/1959 parliamentary elections were held that resulted in the victory for the Northern People's Congress, which won 134 of the 312 seats.<sup>1032</sup>

10/01/1960 Continuation (Monarchical) Semidemocracy as independent country: On 10/01/1960, Nigeria reached independence within the Commonwealth under its first prime minister, Abubaker Tafawa Balewa (Lansford 2021: 1227).

10/01/1963 Continuation Semidemocracy as republic: On this date, Nigeria adopted a new constitution in 1963 which abolished the monarchy and the office of governor-general, with Nigeria becoming a parliamentary republic within the Commonwealth with Nnamdi Azikiwe of the Ibo tribe as President of Nigeria (Lansford 2021: 1227).

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<sup>1028</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonial\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonial_Nigeria)

<sup>1029</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1954\\_Nigerian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1954_Nigerian_general_election)

<sup>1030</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1954\\_Nigerian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1954_Nigerian_general_election)

<sup>1031</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>1032</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1959\\_Nigerian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1959_Nigerian_general_election)

01/15[&16]/1966 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: The government could not control the ongoing ethnic violence in the country and thus the military initiated a coup designed to eradicate the civilian elements.<sup>1033</sup> Eventually, General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi took the reins of a new military government with the goal of restoring order (Luckham 1971: 43-49, 55-66, 76-79).<sup>1034</sup> There were around 22 casualties. The acting president, Nwafor Orizu, announced a “voluntary” transfer of power to the armed forces. Shortly after, General Ironsi established a Military Council which suspended the constitution. The coup was seen as an Igbo conspiracy to gain power and fueled the Nigerian Civil War which broke out soon after.<sup>1035</sup>

07/29/1966 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a “military coup led by Hausa-Fulani junior officers and NCOs ousted the government of Ibo Major General Ironsi. The military regime that commenced in July 1966 was distinct from the previous military administration due to differences in ethnic composition and the seniority of the officers participating in the two governments (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 83). This coup is regarded as the “counter-coup” to the military coup on 01/15/1966.<sup>1036</sup> Several pogroms against Igbo people and southern Nigerians took place starting in May 1966 and culminating after 09/29/1966. An estimated 8,000 to 30,000 Igbos and eastern Nigerians were killed and an additional one million Igbos fled the Northern Region. In response, northern Nigerians were massacred in Port Harcourt in the East. The killings contributed to the secession of Biafra and the outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War.<sup>1037</sup> On 07/06/1967 the Nigerian Civil War, also known as the Biafran War, began, when Nigerian troops advanced into Biafra.<sup>1038</sup> It was a war fought between Nigeria and the Republic of Biafra, a secessionist state which had declared its independence from Nigeria in 1967. Biafra was led by Igbo nationalists who no longer felt represented by the federal government which they felt was being dominated by Muslim Hausa-Fulanis. On 01/07/1970, the Nigerian Army launched their last operation named “Tail-Wind”.<sup>1039</sup> On 01/14/1970 the surrender paper of Biafra was signed in Lagos. The secession was renounced and General Gowon, who had led Nigeria during the civil war, returned to power.<sup>1040</sup> The Nigerian Civil War is documented as one of the deadliest conflicts

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<sup>1033</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1966\\_Nigerian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1966_Nigerian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1034</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johnson\\_Aguiyi-Ironsi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johnson_Aguiyi-Ironsi)

<sup>1035</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1966\\_Nigerian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1966_Nigerian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1036</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nigerian\\_Civil\\_War#Background](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nigerian_Civil_War#Background)

<sup>1037</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1966\\_anti-Igbo\\_pogrom](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1966_anti-Igbo_pogrom)

<sup>1038</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nigerian\\_Civil\\_War#War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nigerian_Civil_War#War)

<sup>1039</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nigerian\\_Civil\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nigerian_Civil_War)

<sup>1040</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nigerian\\_Civil\\_War#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nigerian_Civil_War#)

in modern history, with accusations against Gowon for crimes against humanity and genocide.<sup>1041</sup>

07/29/1975 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: a number of scandals including a massive cement contract mistake combined with Gowon's declaration to stay in power led to a bloodless coup while Gowon was attending the 12<sup>th</sup> summit of the Organisation for African Unity in Kampala. Brigadier Murtala Mohammed was appointed leader of the military government by the coup plotters.<sup>1042</sup>

08/11/1979 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, competitive presidential elections were overseen by the outgoing military regime as a means of choosing a civilian leadership (Panter-Brick 1979: 317-35, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 83).<sup>1043</sup> The elections were won by Shehu Shagari from the National Party of Nigeria.<sup>1044</sup> PRC classifies the regime as a semidemocracy, RoW as an electoral autocracy, BR, BMR, GWF, HTW, LIED, MCM and REIGN as democracy. The main reason for our classification as semidemocracy is the oversight of the military over the elections. This also has to be seen against the background that this regime was preceded and succeeded by a military autocracy.

12/31/1983 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, religious and political violence coupled with economic decline prompted a military coup by Major-General Muhammadu Buhari against the government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari. Buhari rationalized the military's seizure of power by castigating the civilian government as hopelessly corrupt and promptly suspended the constitution.<sup>1045</sup> Buhari established himself as the chairman of the Supreme Military Council (Lovejoy 1992, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 83, Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 84).<sup>1046</sup>

08/27/1985 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, Major-General Ibrahim Babangida, overthrew the government of Major General Muhammadu Buhari.<sup>1047</sup> Babangida formed a new junta, called the Armed Forces Ruling Council. On 06/12/1993, the first presidential elections since the 1983 military coup were held. The unofficial result indicated a victory for Moshood Kashimawo Olawale Abiola of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), who defeated Bashir Tofa of the National Republican Convention (NRC). However,

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<sup>1041</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yakubu\\_Gowon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yakubu_Gowon)

<sup>1042</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1975\\_Nigerian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1975_Nigerian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1043</sup> <http://africanelections.tripod.com/ng.html>

<sup>1044</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shehu\\_Shagari](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shehu_Shagari)

<sup>1045</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammadu\\_Buhari](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammadu_Buhari)

<sup>1046</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammadu\\_Buhari](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammadu_Buhari)

<sup>1047</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1985\\_Nigerian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1985_Nigerian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

the winner of the election was never declared as the elections were annulled by Babangida.<sup>1048</sup> Hence, no regime change is coded for 06/12/1993.

08/26/1993 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime: The annulment of the election led to political violence and severe strikes. On this date, the military government under Babangida was forced to resign and appoint an unelected civilian government after annulling the results of what should have been a transitional election (Lewis 1999: 144).

11/17/1993 End Non-electoral Transitional (Non-Party) Regime/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, in a situation of political and economic stalemate General Sani Abacha, defense minister, overthrew Interim President Chief Ernest Shonekan and canceled the budding civilian government.<sup>1049</sup> Due to the shifts in the identity of those holding key leadership positions and influencing policy decisions, the era following August 1993 is perceived as distinct from the Buhari/Babangida regime.(Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 83-84). Abacha dissolved the legislature, as well as the state and local governments, and replaced the elected civilian state governors with military and police officers. He also banned all political activities and established two governing institutions - the Provisional Ruling Council (PRC) and Federal Executive Council.<sup>1050</sup> In the span of a month, Abacha dismissed and compelled the retirement of a significant number of high-ranking officers. He narrowed the circle of influence and high office to his close military allies and individuals from his home region. Additionally, he excluded civilians who had collaborated with the previous regime from positions of influence .<sup>1051</sup> GWF misclassifies the period from 02/27/1997 on as democratic based on the statement that there has been “competitive presidential elections overseen by the military as part of a transition to democracy” (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 84) on this date. However, they have been wrongly dated and only occurred on 02/27/1997. Hence, the period until the elections is coded as a military autocracy.

02/20/1999 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, parliamentary elections were held, following the annulling of the 1998 elections.<sup>1052</sup> The Carter Center and NDI observers reported serious irregularities nationwide: Instances of electoral process abuses, such as ballot stuffing, result inflation, and voter intimidation, were pervasive enough

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<sup>1048</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993\\_Nigerian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993_Nigerian_presidential_election)

<sup>1049</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993\\_Nigerian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993_Nigerian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1050</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993\\_Nigerian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993_Nigerian_presidential_election)

<sup>1051</sup> <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1993-09-26-mn-39134-story.html>

<sup>1052</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1999\\_Nigerian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1999_Nigerian_parliamentary_election)

to raise concerns about the outcome of the elections in specific electoral districts.<sup>1053</sup> On 02/27/1999 presidential elections were held. The result was a victory for Olusegun Obasanjo of the People's Democratic Party.<sup>1054</sup> Presidential elections were held regularly in 2003, 2007 and 2011. According to international observers like the EU EOM the presidential elections of 2003 were marred by irregularities and fraud, such as ballot stuffing and forgery of results. In addition, the media coverage was biased.<sup>1055</sup> Furthermore, most observers deemed the Nigerian elections of 2007 to significantly deviate from the benchmarks of credible, free, and fair elections, marking them as the poorest in Nigeria's post-independence electoral timeline. Up to this point, elections primarily favored the interests of the influential elite, with minimal, if any, tangible contribution to enhancing representative democracy. Reports from both domestic and international observers corroborate that all aspects of the elections were fundamentally flawed.<sup>1056</sup> The general elections of 2011 were characterized by both domestic and international observers as transparent, free, and fair, which is particularly noteworthy considering the fraudulent elections of 2007. However, despite being well-managed, the aftermath saw post-election violence in northern Nigeria, resulting in 800 casualties over three days and displacing 65,000 individuals, making it the most violent election in Nigeria's history (Okolo/Onunkwo 2011, Bekoe 2011).

03/28[&29]/2015 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: General elections were held in Nigeria on these dates. The AUEOM concluded that the elections were conducted in a "peaceful atmosphere" and met the "continental and regional principles of democratic elections". ECOWAS EOM said that it met the "criteria of being free and transparent" despite "pockets of incidents and logistical challenges." The Commonwealth EOM described the conduct as "generally peaceful and transparent".<sup>1057</sup> Constitutionally guaranteed freedoms of speech, expression, and the press were limited by laws on sedition, defamation, and false news. While the right to peaceful assembly was protected, authorities frequently banned public events seen as national security threats, and the military faced criticism for rights abuses, including extrajudicial killings and torture. Both Boko Haram and a civilian vigilante group were reported to forcibly recruit child soldiers.<sup>1058</sup> The main reason for classifying

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<sup>1053</sup> <https://www.cartercenter.org/documents/1152.pdf>

<sup>1054</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1999\\_Nigerian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1999_Nigerian_presidential_election)

<sup>1055</sup>

<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/committees/afet/20030520/Nigeria%20nd%20Preliminary%20State%20ment.pdf>

<sup>1056</sup> <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a795884ed915d07d35b4b48/elections-ng-2007.pdf>

<sup>1057</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015\\_Nigerian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015_Nigerian_general_election)

<sup>1058</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/nigeria/freedom-world/2020>

Nigeria in this period as a semidemocracy and not a democracy are the limitations to civil and political rights.

02/23/2019 End Semidemocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date general elections were held to elect the president, vice president and both chambers of the parliament. Observers documented irregularities, including violence, voter and official intimidation, and vote-buying. There were also instances where party officials instructed voters on how to cast their ballots at polling stations. Additionally, INEC refused to certify the winning candidates in two races due to reports that local returning officers were operating under duress.<sup>1059</sup> Generally the 1999 constitution provides for a bicameral legislative branch (National Assembly), consisting of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Members are elected for four-year terms. Executive power is vested in a president, generally elected for four-year terms.<sup>1060</sup> However, due to the deep challenges to Nigeria's democratic integrity it is coded an electoral autocracy: widespread corruption, high levels of violence by both state- and non-state actors, and discrimination that impede the civil liberties of groups such as LGBT+ and women,<sup>1061</sup> and media is restricted by so-called defamation laws that allow the government to punish critical journalism likely cause self-censorship. Moreover, high violence during election cycles has led to disillusionment and falling voter-turnout rates.<sup>1062</sup> The 2023 Nigerian presidential election took place on 02/25/2023, to choose the president and Vice President of Nigeria. Bola Tinubu, the former Governor of Lagos State and nominee of the All Progressives Congress, emerged as the winner with 36.61% of the vote, totaling about 8,794,726 votes. The election initially had a high projected turnout but was marked by reports of irregularities such as vote buying, voter intimidation, attacks on polling units, and delays in electoral procedures. Additionally, there were accusations of fraud, and the Independent National Electoral Commission failed to upload polling unit results to the INEC result viewing portal as promised on election day, further eroding trust in the electoral process.<sup>1063</sup> Electoral Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Bendel 1999, Bienen 1978, Diamond 1988, Kura 2005, Metz 1991, Zigel 2010)

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<sup>1059</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/nigeria/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1060</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Nigeria/Government-and-society>

<sup>1061</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/nigeria/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>1062</sup> <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2022/06/democracy-nigeria>

<sup>1063</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023\\_Nigerian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023_Nigerian_presidential_election)



## Niue

01/01/1900 (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]: Captain James Cook made the initial recorded sighting of the island in 1774 during his second Pacific expedition. Following extensive British missionary efforts, discussions with local monarchs regarding British safeguarding of the island commenced in 1879. In 1900, Lord Ranfurly, the Governor of New Zealand, officially declared British Sovereignty over Niue, placing the island under the auspices of New Zealand.

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.<sup>1064</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). After Autonomy had been proposed to Niue in 1965 (a proposal accepted by the Cook Islands), Niue had requested a postponement of its autonomy for an additional decade.<sup>1065</sup>

10/19/1974 End Part of Other Country [New Zealand, (Monarchical) Democracy]/Start Democracy [as Protectorate of New Zealand, (Monarchical) Democracy]: The 1974 Niue Constitution Act, enacted by the New Zealand Parliament, reinstated self-government in Niue. This followed the 1974 Niuean constitutional referendum, where Niueans could choose among three options: independence, self-government, or remaining a New Zealand territory. The majority opted for self-government, and Niue's written constitution was established as the supreme law.<sup>1066</sup> The executive authority under the Niue Constitution Act of 1974 is entrusted to His Majesty the King in Right of New Zealand and the Governor-General of New Zealand. The Constitution outlines that the day-to-day exercise of sovereignty is carried out by the Cabinet, consisting of the Premier and three other ministers. These officials, including the Premier, are members of the Niue Assembly, the country's parliament.<sup>1067</sup> The Niue judiciary works independently from legislature and executive.<sup>1068</sup> Niue traditionally does not have political parties, instead the election pool consists of independents. In the most recent of its

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<sup>1064</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>1065</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Niue#Autonomy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Niue#Autonomy)

<sup>1066</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Niue#History>

<sup>1067</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Niue#Government\\_and\\_politics](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Niue#Government_and_politics)

<sup>1068</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Niue#Executive\\_branch](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Niue#Executive_branch)

three-year-term cycle in March 2023, voter turnout was high with 74% and all 20 Assembly seats were elected along with the premier. Dalton Tagelagi, the incumbent premier was re-elected for another three terms.<sup>1069</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **North Macedonia**

[Until 02/12/2019 known as Macedonia]

01/01/1900 Part of other Country [Ottoman Empire, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 01/19/1392]: On 01/19/1392, Skopje fell under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, bringing the whole of Macedonia under Ottoman rule.<sup>1070</sup>

08/10/1913 End Part of other Country [Ottoman Empire, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Part of other Country [Serbia]: With the end of the second Balkan War, the territory of North Macedonia, called “Vardar Macedonia”, was given to Serbia in the Treaty of Bucharest. After World War I, the people in this region were regarded as southern Serbs.<sup>1071</sup>

12/01/1918 End Part of other Country [Serbia, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Part of other Country [Yugoslavia, Constitutional Monarchy]: On this date, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Sloves, later Kingdom of Yugoslavia was found. And North Macedonia, as part of the Kingdom of Serbia became part of it.<sup>1072</sup>

04/08/1941 End Part of other Country [Yugoslavia, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Bulgaria, Constitutional Monarchy, Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy, Italy, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: From 1941-1944 the territory of today’s North Macedonia was occupied by Germany, Bulgaria and Italy.<sup>1073</sup> Despite the occupation, the first meeting of the Macedonian Communists ‘Anti-fascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia’ (ASNOM) was held on 08/02/1944. On the same day, the Yugoslav Socialist Republic of Macedonia was founded.<sup>1074</sup> From August 1944 to the end of World War II. ASNOM was the supreme legislative and executive people’s representative body of the communist Macedonian state. Italy signed its capitulation on 09/08/1943 and on

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<sup>1069</sup> <https://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/4124/>

<sup>1070</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North\\_Macedonia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_Macedonia)

<sup>1071</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_Bucharest\\_\(1913\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Bucharest_(1913))

<sup>1072</sup> <https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Macedonia.htm>

<sup>1073</sup> <https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Macedonia.htm>

<sup>1074</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-fascist\\_Assembly\\_for\\_the\\_National\\_Liberation\\_of\\_Macedonia;](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-fascist_Assembly_for_the_National_Liberation_of_Macedonia;)  
[https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nordmazedonien#Vom\\_Balkankrieg\\_bis\\_zum\\_Ende\\_des\\_Kalten\\_Krieges](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nordmazedonien#Vom_Balkankrieg_bis_zum_Ende_des_Kalten_Krieges)

10/02/1944 Bulgaria ordered its troops to withdraw. By 09/1944 the Soviet Army was approaching North Macedonia. In an attempt to create a buffer state against the Red Army, Germany intended to establish a Macedonian puppet state the 'Independent State of Macedonia' led by Ivan Mihailov, in the territory of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia that had been occupied by the Kingdom of Bulgaria following the invasion of Yugoslavia.<sup>1075</sup> The intention failed and led to ordering German withdrawal on 10/06/1944. On 10/08/1944 right-wing nationalists declared independence, taking over the puppet state. The 'Independent State of Macedonia' was established on 10/08/1944 and disestablished on 11/13/1944, hence existing simultaneously with the Socialist Republic in this short period.

11/19/1944 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: By this date, the Germans were completely dislodged from Macedonia, and organs of "People's Authority" were established. The body was set up by the Macedonian Partisans ASNOM during the final stages of the World War II in Yugoslav Macedonia.<sup>1076</sup> The Manifesto of ASNOM eventually became a compromise between the powers in favor of the creation of an independent United Macedonian state with loose ties to Yugoslavia, and the proponents of the creation of a Macedonian state within the Yugoslavian federation. The unification of the Macedonian people was discussed and propagandized but the decision was ultimately reached that Vardar Macedonia (today's North Macedonia) would become part of the new communist Yugoslavia.<sup>1077</sup>

11/29/1945 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Part of other Country [Yugoslavia, Communist Ideocracy]: On this date, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, led by Josip Broz Tito was proclaimed. In 1946 Macedonia became autonomous as Peoples Republic of Macedonia, later Socialist Republic of Macedonia, within the SFRY.<sup>1078</sup> After Tito's death in 1980, the Yugoslav Communist Party adopted a collective leadership model, with the occupant of the top position rotating annually, and strengthened the federal structure that gave more authority to Yugoslavia's constituent republics. During the 1980s, however, attempts to implement IMF-sponsored adjustments to contain economic decline exacerbated tensions between liberal elites within the federal government and the regional elites, and among the regional elites themselves (Lansford 2021: 1242).

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<sup>1075</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Independent\\_Macedonia\\_\(1944\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Independent_Macedonia_(1944))

<sup>1076</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World\\_War\\_II\\_in\\_Yugoslav\\_Macedonia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_II_in_Yugoslav_Macedonia)

<sup>1077</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World\\_War\\_II\\_in\\_Yugoslav\\_Macedonia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_II_in_Yugoslav_Macedonia)

<sup>1078</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_North\\_Macedonia#Balkan\\_Wars\\_and\\_World\\_War\\_I](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_North_Macedonia#Balkan_Wars_and_World_War_I)

11/20/1991 End Part of other Country [Yugoslavia, Communist Ideocracy]/Start Democracy: On this day the Macedonian Independence Referendum took place. One should not be confused by the fact that North Macedonia celebrates 09/08/1991 as its Independence Day. The first free and fair (parliamentary), universal elections in the country's history took already place before independence on 11/11/1990. From the mid-1980s, the Slovenian government initiated the practice of withholding tax contributions from the federal government and resisting attempts to increase federal control over the monetary system. These actions set a precedent that resonated in Croatia. The tensions within the federal system were further heightened by ethnic conflicts within Serbia, particularly between Serbs and Albanians. Slobodan Milosevic, the president of the Communist League of Serbia, exploited these intra-Serbian conflicts, utilizing Serbian nationalist appeals that alarmed elites in other regions. The growing discord among the regional branches of the Communist Party culminated in the effective dissolution of the Communist League of Yugoslavia during its 14th Congress in January 1990, giving rise to separate parties for each republic. The disbandment of the federal party paved the way for reformist communists across regions to organize multiparty elections in 1990. In Macedonia, despite the nationalist party securing a plurality, the ex-communist party (SDSM) under Kiro Gligorov managed to form a majority coalition in parliament. Gligorov was elected president in 1991 and, following Slovenia and Croatia's lead, spearheaded the government's declaration of "sovereignty" later that year. Similar to Croatia, strong nationalist sentiments prevailed, yet widespread mobilization did not play a decisive role in the collapse of the Yugoslav regime or the decision to conduct regional elections. Additionally, thanks in part to UN peacekeepers, Macedonia remained relatively uninvolved in the Balkan wars. (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 39-40). On 06/05/2011 elections took place that were judged generally free, fair, and without incident (Lansford 2021: 1242). North Macedonia struggles with corruption and clientelism. Despite active involvement in robust public discourse by the media and civil society, journalists and activists continue to experience pressure and intimidation.<sup>1079</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Kasapović 2010)

## **Northern Mariana Islands**

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<sup>1079</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/north-macedonia/freedom-world/2022>

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy as Part of German New Guinea] [Start : 02/12/1899]: The Jesuit priest Diego Luis de Sanvitores initiated the permanent colonization of the islands in 1668. Spanish reinforcements, led by José Quiroga, arrived in 1680, marking the beginning of European colonial rivalries in the Marianas by the 19th century. German and British soldiers encroached on Spanish claims in Micronesia, leading to potential conflict in 1886. Pope Leo XIII mediated, preventing war between Germany and Spain. However, Spain's weakening empire faced war with the United States in 1898. After the U.S. defeated the Spanish fleet in the Philippines and took Guam, Spain decided to withdraw from the Pacific in 1899. It sold its possessions, including all of the Marianas except Guam, which remained under American control, to Germany.<sup>1080</sup> The German-Spanish Treaty was signed on 02/12/1899.<sup>1081</sup> The islands were under German administration as a component of the German New Guinea colony.<sup>1082</sup>

09/21/1914 End Colonial Regime [of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy as Part of German New Guinea]/Start Colonial Regime [of Japan, Absolute Monarchy]: At the onset of World War I, Japan declared war on Germany and occupied the Northern Marianas. Following the war's conclusion in 1919, the League of Nations (LoN) granted Japan a mandate over all of Germany's Pacific islands situated north of the Equator, which encompassed the Northern Marianas. Consequently, Japan administered the Northern Marianas as part of the South Seas Mandate under this mandate.<sup>1083</sup> On 12/08/1941, shortly after the assault on Pearl Harbor, Japanese forces from the Marianas initiated an invasion of Guam. Chamorros from the Northern Marianas, under Japanese rule for over two decades, were transported to Guam to support the Japanese administration.<sup>1084</sup>

06/15/1944 End Colonial Regime [of Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy as Part of German New Guinea]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [of USA, Democracy]: On this date, the United States military initiated the invasion of the Mariana Islands, commencing the Battle of Saipan, which concluded on 07/09.<sup>1085</sup> After Japan's defeat in World War II, the Northern Marianas were placed under U.S. administration as part of the United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Four referendums, held in 1958, 1961, 1963, and 1969,

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<sup>1080</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Northern-Mariana-Islands/History>

<sup>1081</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German%E2%80%93Spanish\\_Treaty\\_\(1899\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German%E2%80%93Spanish_Treaty_(1899))

<sup>1082</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern\\_Mariana\\_Islands#German\\_possession\\_and\\_Japanese\\_mandate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Mariana_Islands#German_possession_and_Japanese_mandate)

<sup>1083</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern\\_Mariana\\_Islands#German\\_possession\\_and\\_Japanese\\_mandate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Mariana_Islands#German_possession_and_Japanese_mandate)

<sup>1084</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern\\_Mariana\\_Islands#World\\_War\\_II](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Mariana_Islands#World_War_II)

<sup>1085</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern\\_Mariana\\_Islands#World\\_War\\_II](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Mariana_Islands#World_War_II)

indicated majority support for integration with Guam, but Guam rejected this in 1969. In the 1975 referendum, nearly 80% voted for the Commonwealth of the United States, and in 1977, over 93% approved the CNMI constitution. Opting not for independence, the Northern Mariana Islands pursued closer ties with the U.S. Commonwealth negotiations began in 1972, leading to the approval of a covenant for political union in a 1975 referendum.<sup>1086</sup>

01/09/1978 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [of USA, Democracy]/Start Democracy [as Protectorate of USA, Democracy]: On this date the constitution became effective after it was drafted in 1976 and ratified by Northern Mariana Islands voters on 03/06/1977.<sup>1087</sup> The Northern Mariana Islands came under U.S. sovereignty on 11/04/1986, and the residents gained U.S. citizenship.<sup>1088</sup> As per the 1978 constitution, the U.S. president serves as the head of state in the Northern Mariana Islands. The head of government is the governor, elected by residents to a four-year term, along with a lieutenant governor. The bicameral legislature comprises a nine-member Senate and an 18-member House of Representatives. Additionally, the commonwealth elects one representative to the U.S. House of Representatives.<sup>1089</sup> The judiciary operates independently, and regular elections facilitate frequent changes in government.<sup>1090</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## Norway

01/01/1900 Constitutional Monarchy [Start: 05/17/1814]: In 1814, the Kingdom of Norway made a short-lived and unsuccessful effort to reclaim its sovereignty. On 05/17/1814, the Norwegian Constitution was signed by the Eidsvoll assembly, which changed Norway's political system from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy.<sup>1091</sup> Despite being recognized as an independent kingdom, Norway had been linked with Denmark under a shared monarchy since the 16th century, with the government of the united state centered in Copenhagen. Denmark, having aligned with France during the Napoleonic Wars, was obliged to relinquish Norway to Sweden by signing the Treaty of Kiel in January 1814, which

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<sup>1086</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern\\_Mariana\\_Islands#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Mariana_Islands#History)

<sup>1087</sup> <https://cnmilaw.org/cons.php#gsc.tab=0>

<sup>1088</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern\\_Mariana\\_Islands#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Mariana_Islands#History)

<sup>1089</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Northern-Mariana-Islands/Economy#ref54015>

<sup>1090</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_the\\_Northern\\_Mariana\\_Islands#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_the_Northern_Mariana_Islands#);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections\\_in\\_the\\_Northern\\_Mariana\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_in_the_Northern_Mariana_Islands)

<sup>1091</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Norway](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Norway)

established the United Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway.<sup>1092</sup> The United Kingdoms, also known as Sweden and Norway or Sweden-Norway, was a personal union between the independent kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, which shared a single monarch and foreign policy from 1814 to 1905 when it ended peacefully.<sup>1093</sup> Women's suffrage was introduced in 1913.<sup>1094</sup> The Union between Norway and Sweden was dissolved on 06/07/1905.<sup>1095</sup> From 1906 to 1918, elections were governed by a two-round run-off system. In the first round, a candidate could win if they received an absolute majority of the votes. If no majority was achieved, a second round was held a few weeks later. In this second round, the candidate with the most votes won, and there were no restrictions on the number of candidates or entry requirements. This system was not mechanically driven by electoral rules but rather controlled by the elites (Fiva/Smith 2017: 4-5 ). On 10/17/1927, Norway conducted parliamentary elections. The Labour Party secured the position of the largest party, securing 59 out of 150 seats in the Storting. Nevertheless, the subsequent government was led by Ivar Lykke of the Conservative Party.<sup>1096</sup>

01/28/1928 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start (Monarchical) Democracy: An important incident in the early years of the new monarchy occurred in 1928 when the King appointed the first Labour government. The Norwegian Labour Party was then relatively radical, even advocating for the abolition of the monarchy in their program. Traditionally, the King would consult the previous prime minister for advice on appointing the new prime minister. In this instance, the previous conservative prime minister opposed granting power to the social democrats. Nevertheless, the King upheld the established practice of parliamentarism and selected Christopher Hornsrud as the inaugural Labour Prime Minister.<sup>1097</sup> Nevertheless, the cabinet had a weak parliamentary basis and was only in office for three weeks from January to February. While the 1814 constitution confers significant executive powers to the King, these powers are nearly always exercised by the Council of State on behalf of the King.<sup>1098</sup> The monarch has not had any influence in the government formation process since 1928 (Anckar 2021: 26). The next elections were held on 10/20/1930. The Labour Party won the most seats (47 of 150 seats) in the Storting and Johann Ludwig Mowinckel of the Liberal

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<sup>1092</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Norway\\_\(1814\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Norway_(1814))

<sup>1093</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Union\\_between\\_Sweden\\_and\\_Norway](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Union_between_Sweden_and_Norway)

<sup>1094</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

<sup>1095</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dissolution\\_of\\_the\\_union\\_between\\_Norway\\_and\\_Sweden](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dissolution_of_the_union_between_Norway_and_Sweden)

<sup>1096</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1927\\_Norwegian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1927_Norwegian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1097</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monarchy\\_of\\_Norway](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monarchy_of_Norway)

<sup>1098</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monarchy\\_of\\_Norway](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monarchy_of_Norway)

Party became the prime minister.<sup>1099</sup> This period was marked by multiple changes in government (Anckar 2021: 26).<sup>1100</sup> The next elections were held on 10/20/1930. The Labour Party won the most seats (47 of 150 seats) in the Storting and Johann Ludwig Mowinckel of the Liberal Party became the prime minister.<sup>1101</sup>

04/09/1940 End (Monarchical) Democracy/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]: On this date German troops invaded the country and quickly occupied Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim and Narvik.<sup>1102</sup>

05/08/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date Germany surrendered and Norway regained its independence.

10/08/1945 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start (Monarchical) Democracy: On this date parliamentary elections were held. The result was a victory for the Labour Party, which won 76 of the 150 seats in the Storting.<sup>1103</sup> From then on Norway remained a stable democracy. The Labor Party ruled almost uninterruptedly between 1945 and 1965.<sup>1104</sup> On 09/12/1965 and on 09/13/1965 parliamentary elections were held. Although the Labor Party became the largest party, the four non-socialist parties were able to form a coalition and Per Borten became Prime Minister.<sup>1105</sup> Norway is a parliamentary democracy with a unicameral system. The prime minister is formally appointed by the monarch. The monarch is officially designated as the head of state and commander in chief of the armed forces; however, his responsibilities are predominantly ceremonial.<sup>1106</sup> Political parties in Norway operate freely and are competitively. Elections are generally deemed free and fair. Civil liberties and political rights are generally upheld. On 11/13/2021 parliamentary elections were held, with the result of the Labour Party winning the largest share of votes.

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

Additional Sources (Cadoret 2010, Derry 1973, Derry 1979, Eriksen 1988, Groß/Rothholz 2009, Larsen 1974)

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<sup>1099</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1930\\_Norwegian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1930_Norwegian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1100</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johan\\_Ludwig\\_Mowinckel](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johan_Ludwig_Mowinckel)

<sup>1101</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1930\\_Norwegian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1930_Norwegian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1102</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Norway/World-War-I-and-the-interwar-years>

<sup>1103</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1945\\_Norwegian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1945_Norwegian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1104</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Norway/World-War-II>

<sup>1105</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Norway/World-War-II>;

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1965\\_Norwegian\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1965_Norwegian_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1106</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/norway/freedom-world/2023>



## Oman

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [as (de facto) Protectorate of United Kingdom] [Start: 12/31/1741]: Oman became sovereign on 01/26/1650. The start of the Al Said dynasty is dated to 12/31/1741. With the previous dynasty weakened by civil war over the succession and poor leadership, in 1741 Ahmed bin Said al Busaidi, governor of Sohar on the coast of what is now of Oman, led the city's defense against a Persian invasion. Although he did not become the formal leader of Oman until 1744 (probably-date of formal election is disputed) when he was named imam, Ahmed bin Said seems to have been the most powerful leader during a very chaotic time. The Al Said have remained in power as traditional sultans since then (Smyth 1994, Plekhanov 2004: 50-53). The information on whether Oman became an official protectorate of the United Kingdom are contested. However, it seems that Oman kept its legal independence, whereas Zanzibar became a British Protectorate after its separation from Oman.<sup>1107</sup> Oman and Great Britain were bound by a series of treaties, economically and politically. Moreover, the British aided the Sultanate on many occasions. Therefore, Oman is coded as an Informal Protectorate, as it was so tightly tied to the Empire.<sup>1108</sup>

12/23/1951 Continuation Absolute Monarchy [as independent country]: The legal framework established under the guise of a British protectorate started to erode in 1939 when the 1891 treaty underwent renegotiation. This process accelerated, particularly in 1951, with the signing of the contemporary Anglo-Omani treaty, allowing Oman to reclaim formal control over its foreign relations. The complete dissolution occurred between 1958—when the mutual termination of the territorial non-alienation declaration of 1891 took place—and 1967, marking the expiration of Britain's extraterritorial rights in Oman.<sup>1109</sup> On 07/23/1970 Qabas bin Said, the king's son suffered greatly under his father's paranoid rule and eventually overthrew him, taking the throne for himself (GWF-codebook).<sup>1110</sup> In 1994, women were granted the right to vote, although this right was limited until 2002. Universal suffrage has been unrestricted for all citizens since 2002.<sup>1111</sup> While, technically, elections take place in

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<sup>1107</sup> <https://www.qdl.qa/en/close-relationship-britain-and-oman-1750>

<sup>1108</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muscat\\_and\\_Oman](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muscat_and_Oman)

<sup>1109</sup> <https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/anglo-omani-treaties>

<sup>1110</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970\\_Omani\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970_Omani_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1111</sup>

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oman#:~:text=Oman%2C%20officially%20the%20Sultanate%20of,borders%20with%20Iran%20and%20Pakistan.>

Oman, this is only to elect a consultative assembly with no power. Hence, Oman is still classified as an absolute monarchy. Oman is a hereditary monarchy where authority is centralized with the sultan, resulting in significant limitations on political rights and civil liberties. The regime imposes criminal consequences for any form of criticism and dissent. After the death of bin Said in 2020, his cousin Haitham bin Tariq became the new monarch. Sultan Haitham distributed some of the duties that his predecessor previously kept for himself among his cabinet ministers. This included the appointment of a foreign minister, while Haitham retained his position as prime minister. In 2021, a new basic law was issued, establishing the role of crown prince. The title was bestowed upon Sultan Haitham's eldest son, Dhi Yazan bin Haitham. In 1996, a bicameral body was established consisting of an appointed Council of State and the entirely elected Consultative Council. The citizens elect members to the Consultative Council for four-year terms. However, this chamber lacks legislative authority and is limited to suggesting modifications to proposed legislation. The electoral system permits all citizens aged 21 and above to vote, except those in the military or security forces. Nonetheless, the framework applies only to the Consultative Council and municipal councils, which serve largely as advisory bodies. The sultan holds a monopoly on political power, and the constitutional system is structured in a way that prevents any change in government through elections. Political parties are prohibited, and authorities show no tolerance for any form of organized political opposition. About 46 percent of the population comprises non-citizens, who have no political rights or electoral opportunities. While Omani women are legally permitted to vote and run for office, they face few practical opportunities to autonomously organize and further their interests within the political system. The judiciary is not independent and remains under the authority of the sultan, who has the power to appoint and dismiss senior judges. Legal restrictions on freedom of expression, including a ban on criticizing the sultan, constrain the media.<sup>1112</sup>

Absolute Monarchy as of 01/07/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Alhaj 2001, Metz 1993, Richter 2014)

## **Orange Free State**

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<sup>1112</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/oman/freedom-world/2023>

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [Start: 04/10/1854]: The Orange Free State was established by Boers who left the Cape Colony in the late 1830s. It is located across the Orange River from the Cape Colony and shares borders with British Basutoland, Natal, Transvaal, and Griqualand West. The republic declared its independence on 02/23/1854, and adopted a constitution on 04/10/1854 (Keltie 1898, Meredith/Shaw 2007). From 03/29/1854 until 05/31/1902 it was called the Republic of Orange Free State. From 1899 until 1902 Orange Free State (and the Transvaal) was occupied in the Second Anglo-Boer-War. In the Boer War, Britain invested heavily in resources and personnel, ultimately gaining the upper hand by June 1900 (Evans et al. 2003, Meredith/Shaw 2007). The British government declared the official annexation of the full territory of the Orange Free State on 10/06/1900, even though they had not yet occupied the full territory, nor defeated the Free State forces.<sup>1113</sup> In the elections only the minority of white male settlers were allowed to vote (Skovsholm 1999: 237-238).<sup>1114</sup>

05/31/1902 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]: On this date the Treaty of Vereeniging was signed, which was the result of the peace talks in April 1902. Alfred Milner was eager to end the war for Britain. However, a major issue was the lack of political rights for Africans in the new British colonies of Transvaal and Orange River Colony. The Boer leaders refused to include a Black franchise in the peace deal. To achieve peace, Milner abandoned African political rights. The Treaty of Vereeniging stated in Article 8 that the decision on granting franchise to natives would be deferred until after self-government was established (Evans et al. 2003).

11/27/1907 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]/Start Electoral Oligarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]: The British government decided to grant self-government to their Boer colonies in 1907, hoping to resolve their differences and merge into a single South African nation. The two colonies were governed by defeated Boer generals who had signed the terms of surrender five years before (Meredith/Shaw 2007). Again, in the elections only the small minority of white male settlers were allowed to vote (Skovsholm 1999: 237-238).<sup>1115</sup>

05/31/1910 End Electoral Oligarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy]: On this date the Orange Free State became part of the Union of South Africa, which was an independent, white-ruled state within the British Empire. Alfred Milner, the

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<sup>1113</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orange\\_River\\_Colony](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orange_River_Colony)

<sup>1114</sup> <https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/index.php/site/q/031v01538/041v01646/051v01703.htm>

<sup>1115</sup> <https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/index.php/site/q/031v01538/041v01646/051v01703.htm>

High Commissioner and administrator of the former Boer republics, played a significant role in the British political control of South Africa during the early 1900 (Guelke 2005).

For the regime narrative of the region for the following time see **South Africa**

Qualitative Sources: (Tylden 1939)

## **Ottoman Empire**

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [Start: 02/14/1878]: The sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1876 until 1909 was Abdul Hamid II. Under him, the Ottoman Empire got its first constitution, which introduced a bicameral parliament, the General Assembly.<sup>1116</sup> Male suffrage was introduced in 1876.<sup>1117</sup> However, this first era of Constitutionalism was short lived and only lasted from 1876 until 02/14/1878<sup>1118</sup>, before Abdul Hamid II reinstated his absolute power.<sup>1119</sup>

12/17/1909 End Absolute Monarchy/Start Constitutional Monarchy: Starting in July 1908, the Young Turk Revolution catalyzed the reinstatement of the Ottoman Constitution of 1876, leading to the revival of the previously suspended Ottoman parliament.<sup>1120</sup> This era witnessed the conduct of elections, marking the first instance of multiple political parties vying for parliamentary seats. The general elections were held in November and December 1908, with the parliament convening on 12/17/1908.<sup>1121</sup> On 04/27/1909, Sultan Abdul Hamid II was removed from power through a unanimous parliamentary vote, paving the way for Mehmed V to assume the throne.<sup>1122</sup> The Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) seized control in a coup d'état on 01/23/1913, establishing the dominance of the "Three Pashas," although the Empire remained a monarchy under Sultan Mehmed V.

10/29/1923 End Constitutional Monarchy, the establishment of the Republic of Turkey formally concluded the Ottoman constitutional monarchy. For the following story, see the entry on **Turkey**.

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<sup>1116</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_the\\_Ottoman\\_Empire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_the_Ottoman_Empire)

<sup>1117</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>1118</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First\\_Constitutional\\_Era#cite\\_note-2](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Constitutional_Era#cite_note-2)

<sup>1119</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdul\\_Hamid\\_II](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdul_Hamid_II)

<sup>1120</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Young\\_Turk\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Young_Turk_Revolution);  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1908\\_Ottoman\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1908_Ottoman_general_election)

<sup>1121</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second\\_Constitutional\\_Era](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Constitutional_Era)

<sup>1122</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mehmed\\_V](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mehmed_V)

## **Pakistan**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 11/01/1858]: After the post-Sepoy Mutiny (1857-1858) direct rule of Queen Victoria of the British Empire, took over most of the country partly through wars, and also treaties.<sup>1123</sup> On 11/01/1858 the Government of India Act 1858 was passed, which abolished the British East India Company's suzerainty and placed the area under direct control of the British Crown.<sup>1124</sup>

08/14/1947 End Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start Electoral Oligarchy: In 1947, Pakistan consisted of West Pakistan (today's Pakistan) and East Pakistan (today's Bangladesh). Upon achieving independence, authority transitioned to a government headed by Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Jinnah had been elected shortly prior to independence by a Constituent Assembly, which itself was formed through a combination of appointments by the rulers of princely states and selections from provincial legislatures, either elected through restricted franchise elections or comprising delegates from the Indian Central Assembly who opted for Pakistan (Feit 1973: 70, Gauhar 1996: 16, Zingel 2001). The Constituent Assembly, which had 69 members, served as the legislature, remained in office for seven years without producing the constitution that would set the rules through which future legislatures would be elected. During that time the executive, the Governor General, continued to function under the rules of the colonial administration, which allowed him to choose and dismiss prime ministers without consulting the legislature and to dismiss elected provincial governments (Shehab 1995: 201, Gauhar 1996: 25-29). He dismissed a bill from the Constituent Assembly that required the Governor General to choose prime ministers responsible to parliament (Shehab 1995: 234-38, Gauhar 1996: 23-24). A new Constituent Assembly was chosen in 1954, again mostly by provincial assemblies, some of which had been intervened by the Governor General (Asfar 1991: 54, Feit 1973: 70, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 84-85). In 1956, this Assembly endorsed its inaugural Constitution, setting up an Islamic Republic governed by a parliamentary system, and substituting the Governor-General with a president wielding significant executive authority. The presidency has consistently remained intact, although the extent of its constitutional authority has fluctuated over time. The president has consistently been chosen through an

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<sup>1123</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Pakistan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Pakistan)

<sup>1124</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government\\_of\\_India\\_Act\\_1858#:~:text=The%20Act%20ushered%20in%20a,and%20the%20Dominion%20of%20India.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_of_India_Act_1858#:~:text=The%20Act%20ushered%20in%20a,and%20the%20Dominion%20of%20India.)

indirect election process involving an electoral college. In 1956 the first indirect presidential elections by the constituent assembly took place (Zingel 2001). Due to the lack of widespread suffrage and the absence of direct national office elections, this period is characterized as an electoral oligarchy. From 1947 to 1958, Pakistan did not conduct any direct national elections. Even the National Assembly elections of 1962 and 1965 were indirect (Zingel 2001). However, provincial elections were sporadically organized. Despite the absence of nationwide elections, certain datasets, for reasons not clearly explained, classify this era as either democratic (for example, MCM, BMR) or semi-democratic. The LIED database identifies Pakistan as an exclusive democracy from 1950 to 1958, whereas the GWF labels it as a party autocracy. Our analysis categorizes the regime during this period as an electoral oligarchy. Vanhanen recorded for the elections 1947 (for the constituent assembly) and 1955 that zero percentage of the population participated (Vanhanen 2019). In 1951, male suffrage was enacted, and by 1956, women also gained the right to vote in national elections. Despite the absence of national elections, the first direct elections within the country post-independence were conducted for the Provincial Assembly of Punjab from 03/10/1951 to 03/20/1951.<sup>1125</sup> On 10/07/1958 President Iskander Mirza dismissed the prime minister, shut down the parliament, suspended the constitution, declared martial law as his political grip on power was challenged by deadlock and challenges internally and externally to his foreign policy.

10/27/1958 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military Autocracy: A military coup led by Commander-in-Chief General Ayub Khan ousted the government of President Iskander Mirza and established military rule (Feit 1973: 68, Mook 1974: 102, Shehab 1995: 248-50, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 85). Mirza appointed General Ayub as chief martial law administrator (CMLA), who then declared martial law.<sup>1126</sup> In 1960, a referendum was held asking a network of local self-governing bodies, which members were elected by constituencies of 800–1.000 adults: Do you have confidence in Muhammad Ayub Khan? The confirmation was used to install Ayub Khan as president.<sup>1127</sup> The regime is classified by CGW as military and GWF as military-personalist. However, MCM dissent and do classify the case as multiparty. In this classification the criteria for an electoral autocracy are clearly not fulfilled in the case of this regime and it is classified as a military autocracy. To our knowledge the elections to the electoral colleges were based on a non-party base (Hassan et

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<sup>1125</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>1126</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayub\\_Khan\\_\(President\\_of\\_Pakistan\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayub_Khan_(President_of_Pakistan))  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayub\\_Khan\\_\(President\\_of\\_Pakistan\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayub_Khan_(President_of_Pakistan))

<sup>1127</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mohammad-Ayub-Khan#ref129208>  
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mohammad-Ayub-Khan#ref129208>

al. 2021). Due to mass protests over prices Ayub Khan was forced to hand over power to General Yahya Khan, the army chief of staff. Yahya Khan reenforced martial law and suspended the constitution. In November 1969 Yahya announced parliamentary elections to return power to elected civilians. On 12/07/1970 the first ever general elections in Pakistan took place. However, they did not mark a regime change since Bhutto and a faction of the military did not allow the assembly to come together.

12/20/1971 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: In December 1971 Yahya resigned in response to demonstrations after the military's defeat by Indian forces in what was to become Bangladesh; and Yahya Khan turned power over to Bhutto, whose party had won a majority in West Pakistan in the December 1970 parliamentary elections. This impasse led to violent demonstrations in East Pakistan, which the army attempted to put down amid great bloodshed. Khan was placed under house arrest afterwards. Bhutto called the previously elected Assembly into session in spring 1972, and civilian government was resumed (Middle East Journal 1972). According to GWF the resignation of Yahya Khan is coded in this data set as the regime change event (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 85). Different from other datasets, Bhuttos regime is coded here as non-democratic from the start since she was not willing to accept the victory of the Awami League in the 1970 elections. On 02/09/1975 The leaders of the primary opposition party were detained, and their party was subsequently prohibited (Middle East Journal 1972, Wheeler 1975: 111, 113-114, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 85). While GWF codes this event as a regime change to a party autocracy, our data set considers it as an event confirming the character of the regime as an electoral autocracy.

07/05/1977 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: When the ruling leftist party won elections the rightist alliance declared fraud. Political unrest ensued with help from the United States. General Zia-ul-Huq overthrew Bhutto's government in the name of restoring order and to a lesser degree, defeating the leftist influences in the nation. Martial law was declared, and Zia became the military president (Baxter 1991: 30, Baxter 1995a, Richter 1971: 548, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 85). In May 1988, General Muhammed Zia al-Haq dissolved the national parliament and provincial assemblies, calling new elections for November. But shortly thereafter (August) he died in a mysterious plane crash. Elections were announced by the acting President, Ghulam Ishaque Khan, and the unconstitutionality of the suspension of the elections was upheld by the Supreme Court.

11/16/1988 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, parliamentary elections were held, bringing Benazir Bhutto and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) coalition to power (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 49, Baxter 1995b, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014:

85).<sup>1128</sup> During this period, Pakistan held regular elections, but the military continued to play a dominant role in politics. The military intervened in the political process on several occasions, and it also controlled key government institutions, such as the intelligence services and the judiciary. Despite the military's influence, there were some positive developments during this period. The media became more independent, and civil society organizations became more active. There was also some progress on economic reforms. In 1990, Bhutto's government was dismissed by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who accused her of corruption and nepotism. Bhutto's PPP won the 1993 parliamentary elections, but her government was again dismissed by President Farooq Leghari in 1996. In 1997, Nawaz Sharif and the Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) won the parliamentary elections. Sharif's government pursued a number of economic reforms, but it was also accused of corruption and nepotism. Due to the veto power of the military and widespread nepotism and corruption the period can only be considered semidemocratic.

10/12/1999 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A military coup, spearheaded by General Pervez Musharraf, ousted the civilian government of Nawaz Sharif (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 84). The reason was that Sharif tried to fire Musharraf for the defeat in the Kargil war. After the coup the seven-man National Security Council, made up of the commanders of the military services, the civilian prime minister and several civilian ministers, was established. However, power laid in the hands of a few generals and heads of military intelligence agencies (Lansford 2012: 1089, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 85).

02/18/2008 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, competitive elections for the parliament were held. On 08/18/2008 Musharraf resigned under threat of impeachment (Nelson 2009: 16-27, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 85-86).<sup>1129</sup> Based on the results of the elections Asif Ali Zardari, widower of Benazir Bhutto, became president on 09/09/2008 of a coalition government (in opposition to Musharraf) (Lansford 2021: 1266). Observations on Pakistan clearly indicate that it cannot be classified as a full democracy. For instance, The extensive deployment of security agents at numerous polling stations in 2018 was construed by observers, including the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, as equivalent to voter intimidation.<sup>1130</sup> In the typology of this dataset, it is classified as a semidemocracy.

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

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<sup>1128</sup> <http://tinyurl.com/4yfm861>

<sup>1129</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/19/world/asia/19legacy.html?ref=pervezmusharraf&pagewanted=1>

<sup>1130</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/pakistan/freedom-world/2022>



Additional Sources (Marcinkowska 2008, Afzal 2001, Blood 1994, Cohen 2011, Diamond 2000, Kaushik 1993, Mahmood 2001, Rahman 2009, Wagner 2008)

## Palau

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 02/12/1899]: On 02/12/1899 Palau became a part of German New Guinea (see under Papua New Guinea) through the German-Spanish Treaty of 1899.<sup>1131</sup>

08/15/1914 End Colonial Regime [of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Part of Other Country [Japan, Absolute Monarchy]: The Japanese Empire took control of the islands from Germany during World War I and annexed them.<sup>1132</sup>

06/28/1919 End Part of Other Country [Japan, Absolute Monarchy]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of Japan, Absolute Monarchy]: On this date, the Treaty of Versailles was signed and the League of Nations assigned the islands to Japanese administration under the South Seas Mandate after World War I.<sup>1133</sup> During World War II, Japan utilized Palau to aid its successful invasion of the Philippines in 1942.<sup>1134</sup>

11/27/1944 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [of USA, Democracy]: In 1944, the United States took control of Palau from Japan after the Battle of Peleliu, which resulted in significant casualties on both sides. Following the war, from 1945 until 1946, the United States regained control of the Philippines and administered Palau from the Philippine capital of Manila.<sup>1135</sup>

07/18/1947 End Occupation Regime [of USA, Democracy]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of USA, Democracy]: In 1947, Palau was transferred to the United States as part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which was established under the authority of United Nations Security Council Resolution 21.<sup>1136</sup> On 01/19/1965 the first Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands parliamentary elections were held.<sup>1137</sup> Universal suffrage was introduced in 1979.<sup>1138</sup> In 1979, four of the Trust Territory districts came together to form the Federated States of Micronesia, but Palau and the Marshall Islands voted against it. Instead, Palau opted

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<sup>1131</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German%E2%80%93Spanish\\_Treaty\\_\(1899\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German%E2%80%93Spanish_Treaty_(1899))

<sup>1132</sup> <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palau>

<sup>1133</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South\\_Seas\\_Mandate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Seas_Mandate); [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_Versailles](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Versailles)

<sup>1134</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palau#History>

<sup>1135</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Peleliu](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Peleliu)

<sup>1136</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palau#History>;

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trust\\_Territory\\_of\\_the\\_Pacific\\_Islands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trust_Territory_of_the_Pacific_Islands)

<sup>1137</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1965\\_Trust\\_Territory\\_of\\_the\\_Pacific\\_Islands\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1965_Trust_Territory_of_the_Pacific_Islands_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1138</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage)

for independent status in 1978, which was supported by several countries, including the Philippines, Taiwan, and Japan. In line with the Encyclopedia Britannica, we find that Palau with the other trust territories “was administered as a de facto American colony”.<sup>1139</sup> On 11/04/1980 general elections were held to elect a President, Vice-President, Senate and House of Delegates.

01/01/1981 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of USA, Democracy]/Start Democracy [as protectorate of USA, Democracy]: Palau established a new constitution and became the Republic of Palau on this date. In 1982 Palau signed a Compact of Free Association with the United States and ratified it in 1993 after eight referendums and a constitutional amendment.<sup>1140</sup>

10/01/1994 Continuation Democracy [as independent country]: On this date the Compact of Free Association became effective, officially granting Palau independence, although it had been de facto independent since 05/25/1994 when the trusteeship ended. Palau was one of the founding members of the Nauru Agreement in the same year.<sup>1141</sup> The judiciary operates independently, and regular competitive elections resulted in multiple peaceful changes in government.<sup>11421143</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Shuster 2001)

## **Palestine**

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Ottoman Empire, Absolute Monarchy] [Start: 12/29/1516]: Under Ottoman rule since 12/29/1516, when Yavuz Sultan Selim entered Jerusalem,<sup>1144</sup> the territory was situated in the Damascus Eyalet of Ottoman Syria.<sup>1145</sup> From 1882 to 1903 there was a large wave of Jewish immigration to Palestine which brought with it the birth of Zionism. During this time, which was known as the first Aliyah, approximately 35.000 jews

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<sup>1139</sup> <https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/trust-territory-pacific>

<sup>1140</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palau#History>

<sup>1141</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palau#History>

<sup>1142</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections\\_in\\_Palau](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_in_Palau)

<sup>1143</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Palau#Elections](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Palau#Elections)

<sup>1144</sup> <https://thejudean.com/index.php/history/59-the-ottoman-period-1516-1917>

<sup>1145</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Israel#Ottoman\\_period](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Israel#Ottoman_period)

moved to Palestine, most of them originating from the Russian Empire.<sup>1146</sup> By 1896 Jews constituted the absolute majority in Jerusalem, however, 88% of the overall population of Palestine was Muslim.<sup>1147</sup> The “Russian” Jews established the Bilu and Hovevei Zion movements with the aim of Jewish settlement in Palestine. In 1897, the World Zionist Organization was founded declaring as its aim the establishment of a home for Jewish people in Palestine secured under public law. During the second Aliyah between 1904 and 1914, another 40 000 Jews settled in Palestine.<sup>1148</sup> Two great evacuations of Palestinian territory took place during the First World War. By January 1917, the British had taken Sinai and were marching towards Palestine. Ottoman rulers began to hold suspicions against the local population, alleging that they were in favor of the aggressors. At the start of March 1917, the Ottoman Empire expelled all inhabitants from Gaza. Many died and the pre-war population of Gaza was not recovered until the 1940s. In 1906, the Ottomans and the British Empire established the international border of the region with Egypt.<sup>1149</sup> Following the Central Powers' defeat in World War I and the subsequent division of the Ottoman Empire, the British delegated control of the Gaza Strip to Egypt, which declined the responsibility.

10/30/1918 End Part of other Country [Ottoman Empire, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy and France, Semidemocracy]: On this date, the British army ended the so-called Sinai- and Palestine Campaign. They had defeated the Ottoman Empire and started a British occupation of Palestine. The 1918 Anglo-French Modus Vivendi came into action. Accordingly, the British ceded control over certain areas to the French.<sup>1150</sup>

04/25/1920 End Occupation Regime [by United Kingdom, Semidemocracy and France, Semidemocracy]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Semidemocracy]: On this date, the Sanremo Conference took place. During the conference, the Sanremo Resolution was passed which awarded a League of Nations international mandate for the administration of Palestine to the United Kingdom.<sup>1151</sup> In July 1920, the military administration was replaced by a British civilian administration headed by a high commissioner. During the first years there were persistent violent clashes between Muslim and Christian Arabs and Palestinian Jews. Samuel [the high commissioner] endeavored to

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<sup>1146</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Israel#Birth\\_of\\_Zionism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Israel#Birth_of_Zionism)

<sup>1147</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Israel#Ottoman\\_period](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Israel#Ottoman_period)

<sup>1148</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Israel#Birth\\_of\\_Zionism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Israel#Birth_of_Zionism)

<sup>1149</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza\\_Strip#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Strip#History)

<sup>1150</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occupied\\_Enemy\\_Territory\\_Administration](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occupied_Enemy_Territory_Administration)

<sup>1151</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/San\\_Remo\\_conference](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/San_Remo_conference)

institute self-governing entities in Palestine in accordance with the mandate. However, the Arab leadership declined to collaborate with any institution that involved Jewish participation.<sup>1152</sup> In 1922, a Legislative Council was established which was to consist of 12 elected and 10 appointed members as well as the high commissioner. Elections took place in February and March 1923, but the results were annulled due to Arab boycott of the elections. Between 1936 and 1939 there was an anti-Zionist and anti-British Arab revolt in Palestine.<sup>1153</sup> 11/30/1947 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]/Start No Central Authority [as Protectorate of United Kingdom, Democracy]: On this date, the civil war in mandatory Palestine broke out after a resolution had been signed one day prior, recommending a partition plan for Palestine. Jewish communities clashed with Arab communities which were supported by the Arab Liberation Army. The British organized their departure and intervened only occasionally.<sup>1154</sup>

05/14/1948 Continuation No Central Authority: On this date, the British international mandate over Palestine expired. On the same day, David Ben Gurion, the executive head of the World Zionist Organization, issued the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel. Egypt, Transjordan, Iraq and Syria invaded former mandatory Palestine and attacked the new Israeli forces. This marked the beginning of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War.<sup>1155</sup> Following this, Egyptian forces swiftly entered Gaza, establishing it as the headquarters for the Egyptian expeditionary force in Palestine. Intense battles in the autumn of 1948 led to a significant reduction in the area under Arab control around Gaza, limiting it to a narrow strip measuring 40 km in length and 6–8 km in width. This territory, delineated in the Egyptian-Israeli armistice agreement of 02/24/1949, became known as the Gaza Strip.<sup>1156</sup> In the course of the 1948 Palestine war, particularly the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, tens of thousands of Palestinian refugees sought refuge in the Gaza Strip. By the war's conclusion, 25% of the Arab population in Mandatory Palestine had relocated to Gaza, despite the region comprising only 1% of the total land area.<sup>1157</sup>

03/10/1949 End No Central Authority/Start Occupation Regime [by Israel, Democracy]: Following the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, the State of Israel extended its control over the territory designated by the UN for the Jewish state and appropriated nearly 60% of the area intended

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<sup>1152</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mandatory\\_Palestine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mandatory_Palestine)

<sup>1153</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mandatory\\_Palestine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mandatory_Palestine)

<sup>1154</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1947%E2%80%931948\\_civil\\_war\\_in\\_Mandatory\\_Palestine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1947%E2%80%931948_civil_war_in_Mandatory_Palestine)

<sup>1155</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1948\\_Arab%E2%80%93Israeli\\_War#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1948_Arab%E2%80%93Israeli_War#)

<sup>1156</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Gaza-Strip#ref279792>

<sup>1157</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza\\_Strip#1948%E2%80%931959:\\_All-Palestine\\_government](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Strip#1948%E2%80%931959:_All-Palestine_government)

for the Arab state. This included regions like Jaffa, Lydda, Ramle, Upper Galilee, segments of the Negev, and a broad stretch along the Tel Aviv–Jerusalem route. Additionally, Israel asserted authority over West Jerusalem, originally designated as an international zone for Jerusalem and its surroundings. Concurrently, Transjordan assumed governance over East Jerusalem and the territory subsequently referred to as the West Bank, formally annexing it in the ensuing year. Meanwhile, Egypt occupied the Gaza Strip.<sup>1158</sup> Commencing on 06/05/1967, the Six-Day War initiated with Israel launching surprise attacks on Egyptian airfields in response to the mobilization of Egyptian forces along the Israeli border. In a span of six days, Israel achieved a decisive victory in the land war, gaining control of the Gaza Strip. The subsequent territorial expansion prompted the establishment of a military government to oversee the affairs of Arab populations under Israeli military rule.<sup>1159</sup> Consequently, the Israeli Military Governorate was established to oversee the civilian population in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Sinai Peninsula, and the western Golan Heights. Operating under the Fourth Geneva Convention’s guidelines for military rule in occupied regions, this governance excluded East Jerusalem, which was annexed to Jerusalem’s municipal area in 1967, with Israeli law extended to the region in 1980. Throughout this time, the UN and various sources commonly referred to the military-administered areas as Occupied Arab Territories.<sup>1160</sup> On 03/26/1979, Israel and Egypt signed the Egypt–Israel peace treaty, requiring Israel to withdraw its forces and civilians from the Sinai Peninsula, captured during the Six-Day War. The Sinai was to be demilitarized by Egypt. However, the treaty did not address the final status of the Gaza Strip or other Israeli-Palestinian relations. Egypt renounced territorial claims north of the international border, while the Gaza Strip continued under Israeli military administration, with Israel responsible for civil facilities and services.<sup>1161</sup>

1981 Continuation (de facto) Occupational Regime [by Israel, Democracy]: Incorporated into the Camp David Accords of 1978, the establishment of a civil administration for the West Bank and Gaza Strip aimed to replace the military government set up by Israel in 1967. Despite the exclusion of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) from the talks on territories claimed by Palestinians, the Civil Administration, formed thereafter, did not separate civil affairs from the military. While technically under the control of the Civil

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<sup>1158</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1948\\_Arab%E2%80%93Israeli\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1948_Arab%E2%80%93Israeli_War)

<sup>1159</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israeli\\_Military\\_Governorate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israeli_Military_Governorate)

<sup>1160</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israeli\\_Military\\_Governorate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israeli_Military_Governorate)

<sup>1161</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza\\_Strip#1967:\\_Israeli\\_occupation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Strip#1967:_Israeli_occupation)

Administration, in practice, it remained subordinate to the military and the Shin Bet.<sup>1162</sup> During Menachem Begin's administration (1979–83), Israeli settlements more than tripled, and settlers increased over fivefold, raising suspicions of eventual annexation. The unresolved issue of Israeli rule over West Bank Palestinians persisted, with Israel considering it vital for security, while the PLO, their political representative, refused to negotiate or recognize Israel until 1988. This impasse led to years of non-recognition and non-negotiation between the two parties.<sup>1163</sup> From December 1987 to around 1993 the First Intifada took place, which was a prolonged series of protests and violent actions by Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied territories. It stemmed from collective frustration with Israel's twenty-year military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which commenced after the 1967 Arab–Israeli War. The uprising concluded around the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993, with the Madrid Conference in 1991 marking a significant point in its timeline.<sup>1164</sup>

01/29/1996 End (de facto) Occupational Regime [by Israel, Democracy]/Start Electoral Autocracy: As a consequence of the 1993 Oslo Accords, Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) reached an agreement for a five-year transitional period. During this time, the Israeli military progressively withdrew from Gaza and the Jericho area, facilitating the incremental transfer of self-governance responsibilities to the Palestinian Authority (PA).<sup>1165</sup> In 1996, both presidential and legislative elections took place. According to assessments from international and local observers, the elections were conducted in a manner that adhered to principles of freedom and democracy.<sup>1166</sup> Fatah Chairman Yasser Arafat emerged victorious in the presidential elections, securing 87% of the votes. Concurrently, Fatah also attained a majority of seats in the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC), signifying its dominance in the legislative branch of the Palestinian Authority (PA).<sup>1167</sup> Even though the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) approved the Basic Law, which aimed to establish a formal system of checks and balances, it was never officially ratified. Coupled with the absence of an independent judiciary, this renders the checks and balances virtually non-existent.<sup>1168</sup> Led by Yasser Arafat, the fledgling Palestinian government faced challenges such as economic stagnation, divided popular support, stalled negotiations with Israel, and the

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<sup>1162</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israeli\\_Civil\\_Administration](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israeli_Civil_Administration)

<sup>1163</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/West-Bank>

<sup>1164</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza\\_Strip#1987:\\_First\\_Intifada](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Strip#1987:_First_Intifada)

<sup>1165</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/West-Bank>

<sup>1166</sup> <https://www.elections.ps/Portals/0/pdf/Resultselection1996.pdf>

<sup>1167</sup> [https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping\\_palestinian\\_politics/](https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping_palestinian_politics/)

<sup>1168</sup> [https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Freedom\\_in\\_the\\_World\\_1998-1999\\_complete\\_book.pdf](https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Freedom_in_the_World_1998-1999_complete_book.pdf)

threat of terrorism from groups like Islamic Jihad and Hamas, which opposed compromise with Israel.<sup>1169</sup> Furthermore, the Arafat administration was marked by significant human rights abuses and persistent violent clashes with Israeli forces.<sup>1170</sup> This culminated in the initiation of the Second Intifada after Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount. Following the failed 2000 Camp David summit, intended to resolve Palestinian status issues, the violence escalated, leading to Yasser Arafat's confinement by the IDF until his subsequent death in 2004. In the 2005 presidential elections, Arafat's successor as PLO chairman, Mahmoud Abbas, was elected president. Surprisingly, the 2006 legislative elections were won by the Islamist group Hamas and a Palestinian Authority national unity government was formed, led by Ismail Haniya and comprised of both Hamas and Fatah. However, the resulting Hamas-Fatah coalition disintegrated swiftly, sparking military clashes between the coalition partners. This conflict concluded with Hamas taking sole control of Gaza. During the Battle of Gaza, Hamas took control of the Gaza Strip by seizing government institutions and replacing officials from Fatah and other factions.<sup>1171</sup>

Consequently, Mahmoud Abbas declared a state of emergency in the remaining Fatah-led territory in the West Bank in June 2007.<sup>1172</sup> Since the 2006 elections, Palestine has been divided into two distinct governing bodies: the Gaza Strip, governed by Hamas, and the West Bank, governed by Fatah. Consequently, unless they reunite under a single governing authority, they will be regarded as separate political entities in this dataset.

## **Palestine, Gaza Strip**

For the period between 1900 and 1957 see **Palestine**.

03/01/1957 End Occupation Regime [Israel]/Occupation Regime [by Egypt]: Established on 09/22/1948, amid the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the All-Palestine Government was formed to administer the Egyptian-controlled territory in Gaza, declared as the All-Palestine Protectorate by Egypt on the same day. Recognized by six out of the seven Arab League members, excluding Transjordan, and endorsed by the Arab League, it asserted authority over the entire former Mandatory Palestine. However, its practical control was confined to the designated

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<sup>1169</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Gaza-Strip#ref279792>

<sup>1170</sup> <https://www.amnesty.org/fr/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/mde150681996en.pdf>

<sup>1171</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza\\_Strip#Post-2006:\\_Hamas\\_takeover](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Strip#Post-2006:_Hamas_takeover)

<sup>1172</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Palestinian-Authority>

All-Palestine Protectorate, eventually known as the Gaza Strip.<sup>1173</sup> From 1949 to 1956 the Gaza Strip was subjected to Egyptian military governance.<sup>1174</sup>

10/29/1956 End Occupation Regime [Egypt]/Start Occupation Regime [Israel]: In the course of the 1956 Suez Crisis, also known as the Second Arab-Israeli war, Israel launched invasions into both Gaza and the Sinai Peninsula. Under international pressure, Israel concluded the occupation in March 1957.<sup>1175</sup>

03/01/1957 End Occupation Regime [Israel]/Start Occupation Regime [Egypt]: On this date, Israel chose to withdraw its forces from the Gaza Strip, resulting in a return to Egyptian occupation. Following the disbandment of the All-Palestine Government in 1959, citing pan-Arabism as a pretext, Egypt maintained control over Gaza until 1967. Although Egypt did not formally annex the Strip, it treated it as a governed territory and oversaw its administration through a military governor.<sup>1176</sup>

06/10/1967 End Occupation Regime [Egypt]/Start Occupation Regime [Israel]: For the period between 1967 and 2007 see **Palestine**.

06/14/2007 End Electoral Autocracy/Start One-party Autocracy: By 06/14/2007, Hamas had gained full control over the Gaza Strip.<sup>1177</sup> In the aftermath of the 2006 legislative elections, in which Hamas secured a majority of seats, Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh was appointed as prime minister by the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC). Following the rift between Fatah and Hamas, President Mahmoud Abbas dismissed Haniyeh. However, the dismissal of the elected Hamas government was not recognized by Hamas. Consequently, Hamas continues to exercise executive power to this day. Mahmoud Abbas's decision to formally dissolve the PLC in 2018 was also contested by Hamas. Consequently, the Hamas-led PLC continues its operations, despite the expiration of its electoral mandate in 2010. Freedom House characterizes the Gaza administration as a one-party state, as only a limited number of minor parties, aside from Hamas, are tolerated to varying degrees. The Hamas government governs in an authoritarian manner without an electoral mandate or a functional system of checks and balances. Freedom of religion is significantly restricted, with Islam considered the official religion of Palestine. Despite this, the Basic Law proclaims respect for and sanctity of other religions such as Judaism or Christianity. Moreover, Hamas exercises political control over

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<sup>1173</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/All-Palestine\\_Government](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/All-Palestine_Government)

<sup>1174</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Gaza-Strip#ref279792>

<sup>1175</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza\\_Strip#1956%E2%80%931957:\\_Israeli\\_occupation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Strip#1956%E2%80%931957:_Israeli_occupation)

<sup>1176</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza\\_Strip#1959%E2%80%931967:\\_Egyptian\\_occupation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Strip#1959%E2%80%931967:_Egyptian_occupation)

<sup>1177</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza\\_Strip#Post-2006:\\_Hamas\\_takeover](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Strip#Post-2006:_Hamas_takeover)



mosques, enforces Sunni Islamic practices, and deems blasphemy a criminal offense.<sup>1178</sup> While the judicial system of the Hamas regime is partially based on Islamic Sharia Law, it also draws inspiration from Ottoman Laws, the legal code of the British Mandate from 1936, and Israeli Military orders.<sup>1179</sup> It can be concluded that, although Hamas's ideology is rooted in the radical political Islam of the Muslim Brotherhood, the Hamas regime cannot be definitively classified as an Islamist ideocracy.<sup>1180</sup> In late June 2008, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan declared Abbas's West Bank-based cabinet as the "sole legitimate Palestinian government." Egypt moved its embassy from Gaza to the West Bank. On 01/23/2008, Hamas damaged the Gaza-Egypt wall in Rafah, enabling thousands to cross for supplies. In the 2008 Israel-Gaza conflict, rockets targeted Israeli cities. On 12/27/2008, Israel struck Gaza, leading to a ground invasion on 01/03/2009.<sup>1181</sup> The 2014 Gaza War, or Operation Protective Edge, began on 07/08/2014, with Israeli military operations in the Gaza Strip. Following the kidnapping and murder of three Israeli teenagers, Israel initiated Operation Brother's Keeper.<sup>1182</sup> Hamas responded with increased rocket attacks, resulting in a seven-week conflict. From 2018 to 2019, the Great March of Return protests occurred near the Israel-Gaza barrier, demanding Palestinian refugees' right to return and protesting Israel's blockade and the U.S. recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital.<sup>1183</sup> On 10/07/2023, Hamas attacked southwest Israel, causing casualties and taking hostages. On 10/09/2023, Israel declared war on Hamas and imposed a "total blockade" of the Gaza Strip.<sup>1184</sup>

One-party Autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Palestine, Westbank**

For the period between 1900 and 1950 see **Palestine**.

04/24/1950 End No Central Authority/Start Part of Other Country [Jordan, Constitutional Monarchy]: From this date Jordan officially administered the West Bank, a region it occupied and annexed during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. This period persisted until Israel's occupation

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<sup>1178</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/gaza-strip/freedom-world/2024>

<sup>1179</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza\\_Strip](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Strip)

<sup>1180</sup> [https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping\\_palestinian\\_politics/hamas/](https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping_palestinian_politics/hamas/)

<sup>1181</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza\\_Strip#2008%E2%80%932009:\\_Gaza\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Strip#2008%E2%80%932009:_Gaza_War)

<sup>1182</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza\\_Strip#2014:\\_Gaza\\_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Strip#2014:_Gaza_War)

<sup>1183</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza\\_Strip#2018%E2%80%932019:\\_Great\\_March\\_of\\_Return](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Strip#2018%E2%80%932019:_Great_March_of_Return)

<sup>1184</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza\\_Strip#2023:\\_Israel%E2%80%932023:\\_Gaza\\_war](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Strip#2023:_Israel%E2%80%932023:_Gaza_war)

in the 1967 Six Day War, leading to Jordan's eventual renunciation of its claim to the territory in 1988.<sup>1185</sup>

06/10/1967 End Part of Other Country [Jordan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Israel, Democracy]:

For the period between 1967 and 2007 see **Palestine**.

06/14/2007 End Electoral Autocracy/Start One-party Autocracy: The Palestinian Authority officially governs a geographically non-contiguous portion of the West Bank, known as Area A, comprising approximately 11% of the territory. However, this area remains susceptible to Israeli incursions. Area B, constituting around 28%, is under joint Israeli-Palestinian military control and Palestinian civil administration. Area C, making up about 61%, is fully under Israeli control. While 164 nations label the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, as "Occupied Palestinian Territory," Israel maintains that only territories captured from an "established and recognized sovereign" in war are considered occupied according to UN definitions.<sup>1186</sup> It is noteworthy that the Palestinian Authority (PA) effectively governs only 39% of the West Bank territory, specifically Areas A and B. The PA lacks authority over the remaining 61% of West Bank territory, currently under Israeli control. Therefore, when referencing the PA administration in the West Bank, it pertains to the civil administration of Area A and B.

According to Freedom House, the Fatah-led Palestinian Authority governs the West Bank in an "authoritarian manner."<sup>1187</sup> Despite the Palestinian Authority officially governs a geographically non-contiguous portion of the West Bank, known as Area A, comprising approximately 11% of the territory. However, this area remains susceptible to Israeli incursions. Area B, constituting around 28%, is under joint Israeli-Palestinian military control and Palestinian civil administration. Area C, making up about 61%, is fully under Israeli control. While 164 nations label the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, as "Occupied Palestinian Territory," Israel maintains that only territories captured from an "established and recognized sovereign" in war are considered occupied according to UN definitions.<sup>1188</sup> According to Freedom House, the Fatah led PA governs the West Bank in an "authoritarian

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<sup>1185</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jordanian\\_annexation\\_of\\_the\\_West\\_Bank](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jordanian_annexation_of_the_West_Bank)

<sup>1186</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West\\_Bank#Israeli\\_Military\\_Governorate\\_and\\_Civil\\_Administration](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West_Bank#Israeli_Military_Governorate_and_Civil_Administration)

<sup>1187</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/west-bank/freedom-world/2024>

<sup>1188</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West\\_Bank#Israeli\\_Military\\_Governorate\\_and\\_Civil\\_Administration](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West_Bank#Israeli_Military_Governorate_and_Civil_Administration)

manner”. Even though presidential and legislative elections being overdue since 2009 and 2010, Mahmoud Abbas and the PA leadership continue to govern on the basis of an expired mandate. The Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) has been unable to function since the rift between secular Fatah and Islamist Hamas, leading to its dissolution by Abbas in 2018. Consequently, all new laws are issued by presidential decree. While there are minuscule parties, they maintain close ties to the PA leadership, whereas oppositional parties with connections to Hamas face harsh crackdowns by the PA. This establishes Fatah as the dominant force within the PA. Furthermore, the PA engages in repressive actions against regime-critical journalists and activists.<sup>1189</sup> The West Bank continues to be a focal point of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. For Palestinians, it holds significant importance as the core of their envisioned state, alongside the Gaza Strip. On the other hand, right-wing and religious Israelis view it as their ancestral homeland, rich in biblical sites. Some Israelis advocate for either partial or complete annexation of this territory. Furthermore, the West Bank is witnessing a growing population of Israeli settlers.<sup>1190</sup> In 2023, a surge of violence between Israeli settlers and Palestinians in the West Bank is evident, resulting in over 500 Palestinians killed by radical settlers or the IDF, along with approximately 30 Israelis. Following the Hamas terrorist attack on 10/07/2023 and the Israeli military campaign in Gaza, the IDF has increased its presence in the West Bank. This includes the establishment of new physical barriers to restrict internal movement within Palestinian territory.<sup>1191</sup>

One-party autocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Panama**

01/01/1900 Part of Other Country [Colombia, Electoral Autocracy] [Start: 12/31/1841]: On 11/18/1840, the State of Panama seceded from Colombia. However, it was reincorporated into Colombia on 12/31/1841.

11/03/1903 End part of Other Country [Colombia, Electoral Oligarchy]/Start Electoral Autocracy [as Protectorate of USA, Semidemocracy]: On this date, Panama regained independence. In a treaty, the USA guaranteed the independence of Panama while obtaining “in perpetuity the use, occupation and control” of a zone for the construction, operation, and protection of the Panama Canal (Lansford 2021: 1283) and the right to intervene militarily

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<sup>1189</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/west-bank/freedom-world/2024>

<sup>1190</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West\\_Bank#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West_Bank#)

<sup>1191</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/west-bank/freedom-world/2024>

beyond the Canal zone to restore public peace and constitutional order, and the right to supervise elections if requested (Bendel/Hillebrands/Zilla 2005: 511). In 1903 male suffrage was introduced (LIED). On 06/04/1918, the sudden death of President Ramón Maximiliano Valdés triggered a political earthquake and Ciro Luis Urriola, the First Vice-President succeeded him. Elections for the National Assembly were due on 07/07/1918, and the Assembly would choose the man to see out the remainder of Valdés' term. The new administration probably feared that it would be unable to gain a majority in the National Assembly and issued a decree postponing the municipal and the national elections. The U.S. government raised concerns about the constitutionality of the decree and, citing Article 136 of the constitution, requested its withdrawal (McCain 1965: 73). The opposition gained a majority in the National Assembly, but the government contested several decisions and requested that the American electoral commission should decide the disputes. Towards the end of August. The American chargé gave a partial report of the findings of the committee and urged the National Assembly to elect Ricardo Arias Feraud president. The final judgment was that the government had won a majority of the National Assembly. With the approval of the State Department, Belisario Porras Barahona assumed the presidency of Panama for the second time (Major 1993: 139). The First Vice-President, Pedro Antonio Díaz de Obaldía, assumed the presidency on 10/01/1918 and was succeeded by Belisario Porras Barahona as soon as he returned from the United States of America on 10/12/1918.<sup>1192</sup> During this period, the Liberals and Conservatives dominated the party system, but the Conservative Party soon became less relevant, and from 1908 all elected presidents belonged to the Liberal Party. Furthermore, despite elections being held regularly until 1968, with only two interruptions due to coups d'état in 1931 and 1941, the outcomes were often doubted and characterized as fraudulent. In the 1930s, the Communist Party, Socialist Party, and the Communal Action Association, led by the Arias brothers, emerged (Bendel/Hillebrands/Zilla 2005: 512). On 06/05/1932, general elections were held in Panama to elect a new president and a national assembly. Harmodio Arias Madrid of the Liberal Doctrinaire Party (PLDo) was elected president, whilst the PLDo emerged as the largest party in the National Assembly, winning 14 of the 32 seats. Although the 1931 revolt toppled Florencio Harmodio Arosemena's administration, it had not removed the structural hegemony of the Panamanian elite, a condition that severely limited the new regime's effectiveness. Before Arosemena's ousting, followers of former president Rodolfo Chiari controlled both, the National Police and the

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<sup>1192</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1918\\_Panamanian\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1918_Panamanian_presidential_election)

electoral board. After the uprising, the Chiaristas still wielded considerable influence among the police and commanded a majority of votes on the electoral board.<sup>1193</sup>

03/02/1936 Continuation Electoral Autocracy [as independent country]: On this date, (ratified by the U.S. in July 1939), Panama entered into a new agreement with the United States, terminating the U.S. authority to intervene in Panamanian affairs and thus putting an end to its status as a protectorate. The ruling regime during this period was headed by Harmodio Arias Madrid (1932-36). Initially declared provisional president after a 1931 coup, Harmodio was replaced by a constitutional change allowing reelection, which, however, did not materialize. Instead, Harmodio mentored Ricardo Alfaro until his return to the presidency after the 1932 elections. In 1935, Harmodio aimed to secure the presidency for his foreign minister, Juan Demostenes Arosemena, under the newly formed Partido Nacional Revolucionario (PNR). The election was marred by widespread fraud and violence. In 06/1940, Harmodio's brother, Arnulfo Arias, who led the 1931 coup, won elections marked by fraud and violence. In 01/1941, Arnulfo orchestrated constitutional amendments, extending his term, reducing the legislature's power, restricting suffrage for non-whites, and shutting down newspapers.(Conniff 1990: 617, 619-22, Casey et al. 2020: 12). The 1941 constitution introduced limited women's suffrage for educated women over 21 in local elections (Bendel/Hillebrands/Zilla 2005: 512). On 09/10/1941, Justice Minister Ricardo Adolfo de La Guardia assumed the presidency of Panama through a Cabinet election following the departure of President Arnulfo Arias to Havana. La Guardia's accession to power occurred amid political upheaval, as he initiated a coup that ousted Arnulfo Arias from office (Conniff 1990: 623, Casey et al. 2020: 12).<sup>1194</sup> De la Guardia became president on the same day. On 05/05/1945 In response to a political crisis, President Ricardo Adolfo de la Guardia Arango suspended the Constitution of 1941, consequently cancelling the next session of the National Assembly, and calling for a Constitutional Assembly election on 05/05/1945. Political tension continued during spring 1945, but the elections held on 05/05/1945 were peaceful and orderly, with approximately 110.000 voters participating (women voted in the national election for the first time). These elections showed a heavy vote for liberal elements and a coalition of the Liberal Renewal Party of Francisco Arias Paredes, the Liberal Democratic Party of Enrique Adolfo Jiménez, elements of the Liberal Doctrinaire Party of Domingo Díaz Arosemena and elements of the National Revolutionary Party (the “official” party of the de la Guardia

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<sup>1193</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1932\\_Panamanian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1932_Panamanian_general_election)

<sup>1194</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/1941/10/10/archives/coup-is-bloodless-panama-drops-chief-who-leaves-country-without.html>

administration) united. They controlled 30 of the 46 delegates of the Constitutional Assembly, elected Enrique Adolfo Jiménez Provisional President of the Republic to hold office during the life of the Constitutional Assembly until a new President, elected in accordance with the provisions of the new Constitution, would assume office. This election took place on 06/15/1945.<sup>1195</sup> On 05/27/1948, general elections were held in Panama, electing both a new president and a new national assembly. Vote shares of Domingo Díaz Arosemena (Liberal Union–Socialist Party) and Arnulfo Arias (Authentic Revolutionary Party) were very close. On 08/07/1948, the national electoral jury declared Domingo Díaz Arosemena the winner of the elections.<sup>1196</sup> On 10/01/1948, Díaz Arosemena was sworn in as president with Daniel Chanis as First Vice president and Robert Chiari as second vice president. The outcome of the 1948 election had been fiercely disputed, marked by protests, violence, and allegations of fraud from both factions. It is currently impossible to determine definitively which candidate emerged as the true winner (Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 86). From 1948 to 1952, National Police Commander Jose Antonio Remón wielded considerable influence, orchestrating the installation and removal of presidents with remarkable ease. One notable instance of his covert interventions was the thwarting of Arnulfo Arias's assumed victory in the 1948 presidential election (Black 1981: 33). The National Police were deployed, reputedly to monitor the elections, but their presence was really a calculated maneuver to influence the election's outcome against Arias (Chin/Wright/Carter 2021: 169). On 07/28/1949, Daniel Chanis Pinzón became acting chief executive after Domingo Diaz Arosemena took a six-month leave for health reasons. Chanis became interim president following Arosemena's death on 08/23/1949 but was overthrown on 11/20/1949 when he did not invalidate a supreme court ruling against powerful business families in Panama. His resignation was forced by the threat of violence, and José Antonio Remón Cantera, chief of the national police, installed his cousin Roberto Chiari, who was removed after a week by the Supreme Court (Conniff 1990: 626).

11/24/1949 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Personalist) Regime: The National Guard installed Arias as president through a coup. The deposed acting president had tried to dismiss the head of the National Guard. In response, the Guard ousted him and installed Arias, who had been a candidate in the 1948 presidential election, claiming that a recount showed he had won the election (Pippin 1964: 40-57, Major 1993: 271, Percy

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<sup>1195</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1945\\_Panamanian\\_Constitutional\\_Assembly\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1945_Panamanian_Constitutional_Assembly_election)

<sup>1196</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1948\\_Panamanian\\_general\\_election#cite\\_note-1](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1948_Panamanian_general_election#cite_note-1)

1998: 138-39). However, since the origin of the takeover was a coup by the National Guard we do not count this regime as a continuation of the electoral autocracy. After being installed, Arias tried to change the constitution to lengthen his term, jailed hundreds of opponents, and tried to suspend the National Assembly (Pippin 1964: 69-70, Percy 1998: 138-39, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 86). On 05/08/1951, Arias made an attempt to prolong his rule, dissolve congress, and establish a clandestine police force to strengthen his authority in Panama against the traditional elites. However, this endeavor backfired, leading to his removal from power by the police acting under the direction of the elites. Arias had been impeached by the elected National Assembly, and the impeachment was upheld by the Supreme Court. Despite this, he refused to resign and instead shot one of the officers who approached him for discussion. Following this incident, he was forcefully ousted by the Guard (Pippin 1964: 70-76, Percy 1998: 140, Bendel/Krennerich 1993: 496, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 86). Arias was then replaced by his vice president, Alcibíades Arosemena, who appointed a multiparty cabinet and oversaw competitive elections in 1952.

05/11/1952 End Non-electoral Transitional (Personalist) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, national police commander José Antonio Remón became president, running for the National Patriotic Coalition (CPN). He became president in a very questionable election in which there were many clear examples of manipulation and police intervention in Remon's favor. On 02/28/1953, the enactment of legislation that disadvantaged opposition parties marked the pivotal moment when the gradual "authoritarianization" of the elected Remon government transitioned into dictatorship. Subsequently, harassment of the opposition persisted, and additional legal disadvantages were gradually imposed (Pippin 1964: 91-93, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 86).<sup>1197</sup> The elections in this period (1946-1964) were still neither free nor competitive (Bendel/Hillebrands/Zilla 2005). On 01/02/1955, Remón's assassination resulted in internal conflict among his closest supporters, leading to a division within the CPN. Those loyal to Remón's established rules and policies were marginalized, allowing traditional political elites, previously sidelined during his tenure, to regain dominance. (Pippin 1964: 130-32, Percy 1998: 141-42, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 86). After the assassination, the first vice-president José Ramón Guizado, initially assumed the office of president. However, he was impeached and imprisoned due to his alleged involvement in the assassination. He was replaced by the second Vice President Ricardo

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<sup>1197</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9\\_Antonio\\_Rem%C3%B3n\\_Cantera](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9_Antonio_Rem%C3%B3n_Cantera)

Arias, who completed the remainder of his term of office.<sup>1198</sup> General elections were held on 05/13/1956. Prior to the elections, the Remón administration mandated that parties must have 45,000 members to gain official recognition. This criterion, later eased to 5,000, resulted in the exclusion of all opposition parties from the 1956 elections, except for the National Liberal Party (Partido Liberal Nacional-PLN), which could trace its origins back to the original Liberal Party. The CPN candidate Ernesto de la Guardia won the elections.<sup>1199</sup> The only opposition candidate Victor Goytia claimed electoral fraud.<sup>1200</sup> Many other data sets classify Panama as a democracy from 1955 to 1968 (AF, GWF, MCM, BR). The amendment of the electoral law in the run-up to the 1956 elections, which effectively prevented the participation of all opposition parties, as well as the election manipulations, clearly argue for a classification as an electoral autocracy in the period up to 1960. We thus agree with LIED, which also classifies a multiparty autocracy between 1952 and 1959 and an electoral democracy only between 1960 and 1968.

05/20/1960 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date general elections were held. The CPN began to disintegrate after being overwhelmed by the unrest and other problems. The Union of National Opposition was formed in 1960 after most of the dissenting factions merged with the PLN. De la Guardia was the first president to serve a full four-year term after the war, and Chiari was the first opposition candidate ever elected to the presidency.<sup>1201</sup> The pre-1968 multi-party system aimed at managing the competition for political power among prominent families. Each party typically operated as a tool for its leader, who promised jobs or other benefits to supporters if they won. Among the major parties of the 1960s, only the heavily divided PLN had a long history. The Socialist Party and the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) were the only ones with clearly defined agendas. The Panameñista Party (PP), led by the unpredictable former president Arnulfo Arias, was the sole party with a substantial support base, appealing to the disillusioned, yet lacking a distinct ideology or program. In the 1964 presidential elections, seven candidates ran, but only three were taken seriously. Robles, previously a minister in Chiari's government, represented the National Opposition Union, which included the PLN and seven smaller parties. After some behind-the-scenes maneuvering, Robles gained the endorsement of the outgoing president. Juan de Arco Galindo, a former member of the National Assembly and public works minister,

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<sup>1198</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/panama/13.htm>

<sup>1199</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/panama/14.htm>

<sup>1200</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/panama-1903-present/>

<sup>1201</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/panama/14.htm>



and brother-in-law of former President de la Guardia, was backed by the National Opposition Alliance coalition, consisting of seven parties led by the CPN. Arnulfo Arias had the support of the PP, which was already the largest party in the country. The Electoral Tribunal declared that Robles won over Arias by more than 10,000 votes out of 317,312 votes cast. The CPN coalition was far behind the leading two candidates.<sup>1202</sup> The results of the elections in 1964 were accepted by all contestants (Bendel/Hillebrands/Zilla 2005). In the mid-1960s, Panama's political landscape remained under the fragile dominion of the oligarchy. Despite periodic emergence of individuals from the middle class, notably comprising educators and public servants, seeking political influence, their ambitions to ascend to higher social echelons hindered their ability to coalesce with the lower strata to contest oligarchic control. Within the middle class, students emerged as the most vocal constituency, often articulating the grievances of the economically disenfranchised; nevertheless, upon completion of their education, they typically became integrated into the prevailing establishment. The multiparty system in place until the 1968 coup d'état functioned to moderate the competition for political authority among prominent families. Typically, political parties operated as extensions of individual leaders, whose patrons expected employment opportunities or other benefits in the event of their candidate's success.<sup>1203</sup> (Bendel/Hillebrands/Zilla 2005).

10/11/1968 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On 10/01/1968, Arnulfo Arias became president for the third time and, once in office, sought to establish total control. Arnulfo Arias was overthrown in a coup led by General Omar Torrijos and Major Boris Martínez on 10/11/1968 when he attempted to reassign the commander of the National Guard.<sup>1204</sup> On 10/12/1968, a two-man provisional junta was installed, led by Colonel José María Pinilla Fábrega and seconded by Colonel Bolívar Urrutia. The junta dissolved the National Assembly, silenced the opposition, and named a ruling cabinet which incorporated military and civilian members. Martínez and Torrijos retained most of the executive power in Panama (Ropp 1982: 37, Priestley 2000: 28, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 87). Following the public announcement of agrarian reform legislation, Martínez was ousted from the power-sharing arrangement on 02/21/1969, and Torrijos took over the control of the government.<sup>1205</sup> On 10/11/1978, Torrijos stepped down as head of government but remained de facto ruler of

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<sup>1202</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/panama/16.htm>

<sup>1203</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Panama\\_\(1964%E2%80%931977\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Panama_(1964%E2%80%931977))

<sup>1204</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1968\\_Panamanian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1968_Panamanian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1205</sup> <https://www.laestrella.com.pa/nacional/181011/191003-boris-moral-cruzada-martinez>

the country and appointed Aristides Royo president.<sup>1206</sup> In 1979 General Torrijos founded the Democratic Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Democrático, PRD).

03/03/1982 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: After the death of Torrijos on 07/31/1981, power was supposed to transition to civilian Aristides Royo. However, instead, the military seized on the power vacuum, Aguilar ascended to Torrijos' previous position as military leader, and Royo again found himself in a puppet presidency. On 03/03/1982, Paredes seized power of the National Guard from Aguilar and assumed his position as the military leader of the nation. The civilian president chosen by Torrijos was forced to retire a few months later on 07/31/1982 (Kempe 1990: 114-24, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 87). We concur with GWF and the Colpus Dataset that after Trojillo's death, political power remained with the National Guard commander, while Royo acted as figurehead president. Hence, this is coded as a transition from a military autocracy under Flores Aguilar to a military autocracy under Paredes (Chin/Wright/Carter 2021: 186). On 07/30/1982, Paredes forced his puppet president to resign under threat of violence. This forced removal was related to an internal power struggle. On 05/07/1989, Panama held general elections to elect a new president and a legislative assembly. Despite accusations of fraud, the election proceeded, and oppositional candidate Guillermo Endara allegedly won against military ruler Manuel Noriega. The Noriega regime immediately annulled the elections.<sup>1207</sup>

12/20/1989 End Military Autocracy/Start Democracy: On this date, the United States of America invaded Panama, deposed military strongman Manuel Noriega and disbanded the base of his power, the Panama Defense Force. On the same day, Guillermo Endara, the apparent victor in a presidential election was sworn into office. On 12/27/1990, Panama's Electoral Tribunal invalidated the annulment of the 1989 election and confirmed Endara's presidency. Manuel Noriega surrendered on 01/02/1990 and was detained as a prisoner of war and taken to the United States of America.<sup>1208</sup> After an internationally monitored election campaign, Ernesto Pérez Balladares became president on 09/01/1994. Since then, Panama has experienced multiple peaceful and democratic transitions of power arranged through popular elections.<sup>1209</sup> On 05/05/2019, Panama held general elections. Since incumbent President Juan Carlos Varela was unable to run for a second consecutive term due to constitutional term limits, businessman and politician Laurentino Cortizo from the center-left Democratic

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<sup>1206</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Omar\\_Torrijos](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Omar_Torrijos)

<sup>1207</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1989\\_Panamanian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1989_Panamanian_general_election)

<sup>1208</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manuel\\_Noriega](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manuel_Noriega)

<sup>1209</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Panama](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Panama)

Revolutionary Party emerged as the winner with approximately 33% of the vote. He narrowly defeated Rómulo Roux of the center-right Democratic Change party, who secured 31% of the vote.<sup>1210</sup> Panama's political framework is characterized by democratic institutions, featuring competitive elections and systematic changes in leadership. While there is a general respect for freedoms of expression and association, the nation faces significant challenges due to corruption and impunity, particularly impacting the justice system and upper echelons of governance. Widespread discrimination against racial minorities persists, and indigenous communities encounter difficulties in safeguarding their legal rights, especially concerning land and development initiatives.<sup>1211</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Papua New Guinea**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [partially of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] [Start: 11/06/1884] [partially of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 11/03/1884]: The island of New Guinea was divided into two separate colonial territories between British (and later Australian) and German authorities. On 11/06/1884, a British Protectorate was proclaimed over the southern portion of the eastern half of New Guinea and in 1888 the territory was annexed. When German forces claimed control over the north-east corner of the island (New Guinea) in 1884, Australia claimed the south-east corner (Papua) (Suter 1981). On 09/01/1906, British New Guinea was placed under Australian control and the Governor-General of Australia declared that it was to be known henceforth as the Territory of Papua.<sup>1212</sup> 09/17/1914 End Partially Colonial Regime [of United Kingdom, Electoral Oligarchy] and Colonial Regime [of Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Colonial Regime [of Australia, Democracy]: On this date, during the First World War, British Imperial Forces occupied German New Guinea and placed it under Australian administration. On 11/21/1914 German forces in the colony surrendered. In 1920, German New Guinea became an

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<sup>1210</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019\\_Panamanian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019_Panamanian_general_election)

<sup>1211</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/panama/freedom-world/2019>

<sup>1212</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Papua\\_Act\\_1905](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Papua_Act_1905)

Australian territory after Australia was awarded a mandate to administer the area (Nelson 1996).<sup>1213</sup>

12/17/1920 End Colonial Regime [of Australia, Democracy]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate, League of Nations mandate, UK, Semidemocracy]: Under the Treaty of Versailles, German New Guinea was ceded to Australia as League of Nations Mandate. The British Government, on behalf of Australia, governed the League of Nations Mandate from 12/17/1920.<sup>1214</sup>

05/19/1921 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate, UK, Semidemocracy]/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate, Australia, Democracy]: On this date, the League of Nations Mandate was transferred from UK to Australia through the New Guinea Act.<sup>1215</sup>

01/23/1942 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate, Australia, Democracy]/Start No Central Authority: On this day, the Empire of Japan invaded the Territory of New Guinea, followed by the Territory of Papua on 07/21/1942.<sup>1216</sup> Despite the construction of a formidable fortress by the Japanese at Rabaul and their occupation of certain areas, the majority of Papua and New Guinea remained under Allied control (Iwamoto 1997:305). In January 1942, the east of New Guinea became the Australian Territories of Papua and New Guinea under separate administrations. However, in February 1942, when military administrations replaced civil administrations, two distinct military units were established: the Papuan Administrative Unit and the New Guinea Administrative Unit. Later, these units merged in March-April 1942 to form the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (ANGAU) (Nelson 1996). Due to the constant warfare in the context of the Second World War and the accompanying shifts in control over territory, the period is categorized as No Central Authority.

08/15/1945 End No Central Authority/Start (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate, Australia, Democracy]: On this date, Japanese forces surrendered, and eastern New Guinea gradually returned to provisional civil administrations. The Provisional Administration of the Territory of Papua-New Guinea continued until the Papua and New Guinea Act was enacted on 07/01/1949 (Nelson 1996). The Act merged their administrations,

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<sup>1213</sup> <https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/atwar/first-world-war>  
<https://www.loc.gov/item/2021668665/#:~:text=When%20World%20War%20I%20broke,the%20territory%20of%20New%20Guinea.>

<sup>1214</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Territory\\_of\\_New\\_Guinea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Territory_of_New_Guinea)

<sup>1215</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Territory\\_of\\_New\\_Guinea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Territory_of_New_Guinea)

<sup>1216</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese\\_occupation\\_of\\_New\\_Guinea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_occupation_of_New_Guinea)

forming Papua and New Guinea, formally approved placing New Guinea under the international trusteeship system, and provided for a Legislative Council, established in 1951.<sup>1217</sup> On 11/10/1951, the first general elections were held in Papua and New Guinea, electing three members from three single-member constituencies to the legislative council, comprised of the administrator, 16 civil servants, nine members appointed by the Administrator, and three elected Europeans. Voting was limited to residents over 21 who had resided in the territory for the last 12 months and were not classified as native or alien. The Chinese community and Europeans also had voting rights. Candidates had to reside continuously in the territory for three years before their nomination and could not be public employees.<sup>1218</sup> Women were granted the right to stand for national elections in 1963 and the universal right to vote on 02/15/1964.<sup>1219</sup> On 06/08/1964, the House of Assembly of Papua and New Guinea replaced the Legislative Council following elections held on 02/15/1964. The territory's name was changed to Papua New Guinea in 1972.<sup>1220</sup>

12/01/1973 End (de facto) Colonial Regime [as International Mandate, Australia, Democracy]/Start Semidemocracy [as self-governing state]: Papua New Guinea continued to be under an Australian Trusteeship by a UN mandate, however, Australia granted the country on this date self-government. Before of that general elections were held in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea between 02/19/1972 and 03/11/1972. Before the elections, the voting age was lowered from 21 to 18.<sup>1221</sup>

09/16/1975 Continuation Semidemocracy [as independent country]: On this date, Papua New Guinea became a fully independent state (Turner 2008). Frequent government changes have marked Papua New Guinea's national politics. The 1977 elections saw Michael Somare become prime minister, but he lost a vote of no confidence in 1980 and was replaced by Sir Julius Chan. Somare regained power after the 1982 elections but lost another vote of no confidence in 1985, and Paias Wingti became prime minister. A coalition led by Wingti won the elections in 1987 but was removed by a vote of no confidence in 1988, and Rabbie Namaliu became prime minister. Consequently, legislation that grants immunity from no-confidence votes for the first 18 months of a new government's term has been introduced.<sup>1222</sup> On 12/01/1988, the secessionist Bougainville conflict began between Papua New Guinea's

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<sup>1217</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Papua\\_New\\_Guinea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Papua_New_Guinea)

<sup>1218</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1951\\_Papua\\_New\\_Guinean\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1951_Papua_New_Guinean_general_election)

<sup>1219</sup> [https://data.ipu.org/node/131/elections/historical-data-on-women?chamber\\_id=13487](https://data.ipu.org/node/131/elections/historical-data-on-women?chamber_id=13487)

<sup>1220</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Papua\\_New\\_Guinea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Papua_New_Guinea)

<sup>1221</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1972\\_Papua\\_New\\_Guinean\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1972_Papua_New_Guinean_general_election)

<sup>1222</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Papua\\_New\\_Guinea](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Papua_New_Guinea)

government and the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA).<sup>1223</sup> A truce was reached on 10/10/1997, followed by a permanent ceasefire on 04/30/1998. A peace agreement was signed on 08/30/2001, establishing the Bougainville Autonomous District and Province (PA-X Database). Bougainville voted overwhelmingly for independence in a non-binding referendum held from 11/23/2019 to 12/07/2019. An agreement in July 2021 stated that Bougainville would gain independence by 2027 if Papua New Guinea's parliament ratified it.<sup>1224</sup> Papua New Guinea operates as a democracy with regular elections; however, these polls have frequently encountered issues such as irregularities and violence. Party allegiances tend to be unstable, and since gaining independence in 1975, only two governments have successfully completed a full term.<sup>1225</sup> General elections were held in Papua New Guinea between 06/24 and 07/08/2017. The 2017 elections in Papua New Guinea were marred by significant flaws, including reports of bribery and voter fraud. Election-related violence, particularly in the Highlands Region, resulted in dozens of deaths and extensive property damage.<sup>1226</sup> There are serious irregularities reported during voter registration and ballot counting, with strong indications that the 2017 election experienced systematic manipulation of the electoral roll in certain constituencies.<sup>1227</sup> General elections were held in Papua New Guinea from 07/04/2022 to 07/22/2022 to elect the members of the parliament for a new five-year term. There were accusations of electoral fraud.<sup>1228</sup> Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Paraguay**

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [Start: 05/14/1811]: On 05/14/1811, Paraguay declared independence from Spain. Subsequently, long periods of dictatorial governments followed that were legitimized by the national Congress or a new constitution, which rendered elections insignificant (León-Roesch/Ortiz Ortiz 2005:412). In 1844, Congress passed a new constitution, which established a powerful president with a ten-year term of office. The president was granted the authority to promulgate legislation and convene congress every five years to approve it (León-Roesch/Ortiz Ortiz 2005:412). In 1870, male suffrage was

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<sup>1223</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bougainville\\_conflict](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bougainville_conflict)

<sup>1224</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019\\_Bougainvillean\\_independence\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019_Bougainvillean_independence_referendum)

<sup>1225</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/papua-new-guinea/freedom-world/2021>

<sup>1226</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/papua-new-guinea/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1227</sup> <https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-report/PNG#pos4>

<sup>1228</sup> <https://learnerman.dw.com/en/electoral-fraud-claims-disrupt-papua-new-guinea-elections/a-39510652>

introduced (Kellam 2013: 29). Although the constitution was liberal and democratic in nature, it played no role in political reality. The constitution of 1870 rapidly lost its relevance (Sacks 1990: 30-31). According to Vanhanen only 0.0 to 3.0 percentage of the population participated in the elections between 1870 and 1902 (Vanhanen 2019). On 09/10/1880, independence was recognized by Spain. The Liberal Party (Partido Azul) and the National Republican Association (Partido Colorado), founded by General and President Bernadino Caballero, emerged in 1887. Both parties represented the interests of the oligarchical groups. The Partido Colorado was the dominant political force between 1878 and 1904 (León-Roesch/Ortiz Ortiz 2005:413-414).

01/09/1902 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, President Emilio Aceval was ousted in a coup supported by General Caballero, putting Juan Antonio Escurra, also from the Partido Colorado, into power (Lewis 1986: 484, Casey et al. 2020: 13). In September 1904 a civil war started.

12/19/1904 End Military Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: On this date, Ezcurra signed a peace treaty and relinquished power to the combined Civic and Radical Liberal rebels led by General Ferreira (Lewis 1986: 484, Casey et al. 2020: 13). Ezcurra resigned, and Juan Bautista Ganoa became temporary president on 12/19/1904, followed by Cecilio Báez on 12/09/1905. In 1906, Ferreira orchestrated his own nomination for the presidency and was elected without facing any opposition (Lewis 1986: 484-85, Casey et al. 2020: 13).

07/04/1908 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Military Autocracy: Army commander-in-chief Colonel Albino Jara ousted Ferreira in a coup (Lewis 1986: 485, Casey et al. 2020: 13). The Revolutionary Committee took control of the government, dissolved the National Congress (Senate and Chamber of Deputies), and declared a state of siege on 07/04/1908. On 07/05/1908, the Revolutionary Committee placed civilian leader and Radical Liberal Emiliano Gonzalez Navarro in office as provisional president.<sup>1229</sup>

11/25/1910 End Military Autocracy/ Start Electoral Oligarchy: On this date, elections uncontested by both major opposition parties were held which gave power to Radical Liberal candidate Manuel Gondra (Lewis 1986: 584, Casey et al. 2020: 13). The constitution of 1870 was still in force and therefore also de jure universal male suffrage (Bruneau 1990: 161). But only five percent of the population participated in the elections. Furthermore, the president

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<sup>1229</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/paraguay-1904-present/>

was elected unopposed (Vanhanen 2019). As in the period 1900-1902, the implementation of the constitution thus appears to be deficient to non-existent (Sacks 1990: 30-31). Therefore, we classify the regime in this period as an electoral oligarchy.

01/11/1911 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, after a period of considerable instability, Colonel Albino Jara led a coup which overthrew the Radical Liberal regime (Lewis 1986: 486, Casey et al. 2020: 13).<sup>1230</sup> Jara became provisional president from 01/19/1911 to 07/05/1911 and chose Liberato Marcial Rojas as his successor on 07/06/1911.<sup>1231</sup>

02/18/1912 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Oligarchy: In elections uncontested by either the Civic Liberals or the Colorados, power was transferred to Radical Liberal candidate Manuel Franco. Franco died in 1919, and power was transferred to his Vice President Jose P. Montero. On 08/15/1920, Gondra was elected president in uncompetitive elections. After brief factional fighting between Gondra and Schaerer in October 1921, Gondra resigned but Schaerer abstained from seizing power and instead the two factions agreed on Eusebio Ayala as provisional president. After Schaerer and opposition Colorado Party members attempted to foment a coup, Ayala announced the postponement of elections which led to a 13-month civil war. During the war, Ayala resigned and Eligio Ayala<sup>1232</sup> took over as president and was elected president in 1923. Ayala introduced electoral reforms which led the Colorado Party to contest the 1927 legislative elections and the 1928 presidential elections which were won by the Radical Liberal candidate Jose P. Guggiari. After 1932 elections, Ayala returned to the presidency (Lewis 1986: 486-95, Casey et al. 2020: 13-14). Until 1928 presidents were elected unopposed. In the period between 1912 and 1936 only between 0.0 and 9.1. percentage of the population participated in the elections (Vanhanen 2019). The constitution of 1870 was still in force and therefore, de jure universal male suffrage (Bruneau 1990: 161). Generally, the liberal decades was also characterized by a “deeply factionalized political oligarchy”.<sup>1233</sup>

02/17/1936 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, Ayala was ousted in a military coup, called the February Revolution (Lewis 1991b: 234, 236, Casey et al. 2020: 14).<sup>1234</sup> Afterward, war hero Colonel Rafael Franco, who had been in exile, returned to Paraguay to take charge of the newly established military government. Decree-Law 1952

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<sup>1230</sup> [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albino\\_Jara](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albino_Jara)

<sup>1231</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albino\\_Jara](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albino_Jara)

<sup>1232</sup> The two Ayalas are not related to each other.

<sup>1233</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/paraguay/14.htm>

<sup>1234</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/February\\_Revolution\\_\(Paraguay\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/February_Revolution_(Paraguay))



conferred unrestricted powers to a "committee of civil mobilization" (Lewis 1991b: 235-36, Casey et al. 2020: 14).

08/13/1937 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, Colonel Ramon Paredes overthrew Franco in a military coup in favor of the Liberal Party. Felix Paiva, a civilian, became president (Lewis 1991b: 239-42, Casey et al. 2020: 14).

04/30/1939 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: After the Liberal Party had realized that they needed a more popular president with national prestige if they wanted to stay in power, they chose General José Félix Estigarribia as their candidate.<sup>1235</sup> On 04/30/1939 General José Félix Estigarribia was elected indirectly and without opposition, because the Colorado Party, the other relevant party at that time, had boycotted the presidential election.<sup>1236</sup> Highly respected for his efforts in the Chaco War as Commander in Chief of the Paraguayan Army, the candidate of the Liberal Party initiated a new period of authoritarianism supported by the military and shifting factions of civilians.<sup>1237</sup> In August 1939, Estigarribia officially took office after the New Liberal faction and army had eliminated any left-over opposition.

02/19/1940 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Personalist (Military) Autocracy: On this date Estigarribia carried out a self-coup and dissolved the parliament (Lewis 1993: 175-78, Wild/Llloyd 2018, Lewis 1991b: 242, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 87). The newly drafted Constitution was approved on 08/04/1940. It granted the president extensive powers. The rule of Estigarribia came to a sudden end on 09/07/1940 when he and his wife died in a plane crash. The Liberal Party opted for General Higinio Morinigo as interim president in the hope of having chosen a more submissive candidate.<sup>1238</sup> However, he took full control of the government on 11/30/1940 and gradually suppressed opponents, banned all parties and restricted individual liberties. Therefore, he was the only candidate in the presidential election on 02/14/1943.<sup>1239</sup> He became a "non-party dictator without a large body of supporters".<sup>1240</sup> Nevertheless, due to his astute handling of relevant parts of the military, he stayed in power until 1948.<sup>1241</sup>

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<sup>1235</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Paraguay](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Paraguay)

<sup>1236</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/paraguay-1904-present/>

<sup>1237</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9\\_F%C3%A9lix\\_Estigarr%C3%ADa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9_F%C3%A9lix_Estigarr%C3%ADa)

<sup>1238</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Paraguay](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Paraguay)

<sup>1239</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/paraguay-1904-present/>

<sup>1240</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Paraguay](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Paraguay)

<sup>1241</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Paraguay](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Paraguay)

06/03/1948 End Personalist (Military) Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: A military coup supported by the Colorado party ousted President Higinio Morínigo. Morínigo cooperated with the Colorados. In the long-promised 1948 elections Natalicio González was elected unopposed. Suspecting that Morínigo would not relinquish power to González, a group of Colorado military officers, including Stroessner, removed Morínigo from office. He was replaced by civilian one-party Colorado government (Leon-Roesch 1993: 514, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 87).<sup>1242</sup> The appointed Juan Frutos, a supreme court justice became acting president, before the presidency was handed over to González.

01/30/1949 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: Gonzalez was only a few months in office when Raimundo Rolón, the Minister of Defense, staged a coup. Rolón became the acting president.<sup>1243</sup>

02/26/1949 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy: On this date, Rolón was deposed by a joint civilian and military movement. Felipe Lopez was appointed as provisional president in the aftermath.<sup>1244</sup>

04/17/1949 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, Felipe Lopez was elected president without opposition and inaugurated on 05/14/1949. On 09/12/1949, the Colorado Party ousted Lopez from office after winning an election because of his failure to unify the party, restore civil order and morality to the country. The party appointed Federico Chavez to Lopez's term. Chavez was elected president for a three-year term and sworn in on 08/15/1950. On 02/15/1953 he was re-elected again without opposition.<sup>1245</sup>

05/04[-07]/1954 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: A brief military conflict led by General Stroessner ousted the civilian president Chavez. The motive was that Chavez began to militarize a national police force at the expense of the military. An interim president reigned temporarily until the Colorado Party and the coup makers decided that Stroessner should be president. He became president two months later as the result of a single-candidate election (Roett/Sacks 1991: 53-54, Leon-Roesch 1993: 507, 514, Geddes/Wright/Frantz

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<sup>1242</sup> <http://tinyurl.com/4x5f65a>

<sup>1243</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/paraguay-1904-present/>

<sup>1244</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/paraguay-1904-present/>

<sup>1245</sup> <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/western-hemisphere-region/paraguay-1904-present/>

2014: 87-88).<sup>1246</sup> The following autocracy of Alfredo Stroessner is colloquially known as El Stronismo.<sup>1247</sup> In 1961, female suffrage was introduced.<sup>1248</sup> Since, there were in the presidential elections only one candidate from the military and no other choice the regime is classified as a military autocracy even if parliamentary elections took place.

02/03/1989 End Military Autocracy/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy: On this date, Andrés Rodríguez and other military officials overthrew Stroessner, supported by the Roman Catholic Church and the United States of America. The Congress and Council of State designated Rodríguez as provisional president.<sup>1249</sup> Rodríguez had previously served as Stroessner's closest confidant for 35 years. Their relationship became so intimate that Rodríguez's daughter married Stroessner's elder son.<sup>1250</sup> Approximately 500 soldiers on both sides are estimated to have lost their lives as a result of Stroessner's capture.<sup>1251</sup>

12/01/1991 End Military (Transitional) Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, the election for a National Constitutional Assembly took place. The result was a victory for the Colorado Party.<sup>1252</sup> In 1992, the National Constitutional Assembly adopted a new constitution that established the basis for a competitive presidential election in 1993 (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 51). Competitive election, generally considered free, is coded as the endpoint of a series of democratizing reforms carried out between 1989 and 1993 by the Rodriguez administration. The 1989 election of Rodriguez is not considered transitional because he was a Stroessner regime insider and relative by marriage who had originally achieved office via coup in what Abente Brun (Abente-Brun 1999: 93) calls “an internal adjustment made by the ruling coalition”. The formal and informal rules under which he won the election were very similar to those under which Stroessner had won elections. Starting in the early 1990s, the Rodriguez government implemented several democratizing reforms. These included ending the compulsory party affiliation of officers, prohibiting the military and police from engaging in partisan activity, revising electoral rules that were disadvantageous to opposition parties to proportional representation, and drafting a new constitution (Leon-Roesch 1993: 505, Lambert 2000: 383-85, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014:

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<sup>1246</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1954\\_Paraguayan\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1954_Paraguayan_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1954\\_Paraguayan\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1954_Paraguayan_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1247</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dictatorship\\_of\\_Alfredo\\_Stroessner](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dictatorship_of_Alfredo_Stroessner)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dictatorship\\_of\\_Alfredo\\_Stroessner](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dictatorship_of_Alfredo_Stroessner)

<sup>1248</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>1249</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andr%C3%A9s\\_Rodr%C3%ADguez\\_\(politician\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andr%C3%A9s_Rodr%C3%ADguez_(politician))

<sup>1250</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andr%C3%A9s\\_Rodr%C3%ADguez\\_\(politician\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andr%C3%A9s_Rodr%C3%ADguez_(politician))

<sup>1251</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andr%C3%A9s\\_Rodr%C3%ADguez\\_\(politician\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andr%C3%A9s_Rodr%C3%ADguez_(politician))

<sup>1252</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991\\_Paraguayan\\_Constitutional\\_Assembly\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991_Paraguayan_Constitutional_Assembly_election)

87-88). The elections of 1993 were not entirely peaceful. Despite confirmed cases of fraud, independent analysts concluded that the fraudulent activity had no effect on the outcome, and that Wasmos's eight-point margin of victory was large enough to offset any illicit activity. Carte's team of international observers noted that opposition candidates tallied almost 60 percent of the vote between them.<sup>1253</sup> In the presidential election on 5/9/1993, the Colorado Party secured pluralities in both houses of Congress, with evident military backing and extensive utilization of state resources to fund its campaign (Lansford, 2021: 1300). The conservative Colorado Party has dominated the presidency for the majority of the past 75 years. The only recent exception, left-wing former president Fernando Lugo, faced a legal but highly controversial "express impeachment" in 2012. In the 2018 election, Mario Abdo Benítez from the Colorado Party secured the presidency with slightly over 46 percent of the vote. Efraín Alegre, representing the opposition Alianza Ganar coalition, garnered 43 percent. While international observers generally deemed the election fair, there were claims of irregularities such as fraud, vote-buying, and a media blackout impacting other candidates.<sup>1254</sup> Paraguay's constitution grants its indigenous inhabitants the right to engage in the economic, social, and political spheres of the nation. Nevertheless, in practice, the indigenous population faces marginalization and neglect. According to a June 2008 census, 48 percent of indigenous individuals were unemployed, and 88 percent lacked access to medical care. The judiciary, influenced by the ruling party and the military, suffers from pervasive corruption, leading to inefficiencies within the courts. Political interference in the judiciary is a significant issue, with judges frequently facing pressure from politicians and investigations being obstructed. Constitutional freedoms of expression and the press are inconsistently upheld, with ownership of Paraguay's primary media outlets concentrated in three influential corporations whose interests often shape media content. Despite these challenges, Paraguay boasts a robust culture of largely autonomous non-governmental organizations dedicated to human rights and governance (Freedom House, 2010: 515-518).<sup>1255</sup> Paraguay is considered to be a borderline case between a democracy and a semidemocracy.

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

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<sup>1253</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993\\_Paraguayan\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993_Paraguayan_general_election)

<sup>1254</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/paraguay/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1255</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/paraguay/freedom-world/2023#CL>

Additional Sources (Abente-Brun 1995, Fournier/Burges 2000, Lambert 1997, Martini/Lezcano 1997, Roett 1989, Sosna 2001, Valenzuela 1997, Zagorski 2003, Sonntag 2001)

## Peru

01/01/1900 Electoral Oligarchy [Start: 08/14/1879]: On 07/28/1821 independence from Spain was declared and on 08/14/1879 it was recognized by Spain. From 09/08/1899 to 09/08/1903 Eduardo López de Romaña, member of the Civilista Party, was elected as constitutional president of the Peruvian Republic.<sup>1256</sup> López de Romaña was a member of the landowning elite, reflecting the Aristocratic Republic's pattern of presidents emerging from the country's most privileged classes also known as the twenty-four friends.<sup>1257</sup> This era is marked by a combination of relative political stability, swift economic advancement, and modernization, alongside significant social and political transformations. Despite these developments, electoral processes were limited, governed by stringent property ownership and literacy requirements, and frequently influenced or controlled by the ruling Civilista regime.<sup>1258</sup> Only in 1931 suffrage was extended to literate men, in 1955 women suffrage was introduced and in 1979 suffrage was extended to illiterates (Kellam 2013).<sup>1259</sup> Therefore, we classify the regime in this period as an electoral oligarchy.

02/04/1914 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, Guillermo Billinghurst was overthrown in a military coup headed by Colonel Oscar R. Benavides, Javier and Manuel Prado, and conservative members of the Civilista Party (Klaren 1993: 38, Casey et al. 2020: 14).<sup>1260</sup>

08/18/1915 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Oligarchy: Presidential and parliamentary elections were held on 05/16&17/1915. José Pardo, who headed the Civilista Party, won the presidency.<sup>1261</sup> On 08/18/1915 Benavides left office and Pardo took over. The elections of the parliament were for the period 1915-1921.<sup>1262</sup> (Klaren 1993: 38, Casey et al. 2020: 14). On 07/04/1919, Augusto B. Leguía was reinstated as president, an event that incited rebellion

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<sup>1256</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eduardo\\_L%C3%B3pez\\_de\\_Roma%C3%B1a](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eduardo_L%C3%B3pez_de_Roma%C3%B1a)

<sup>1257</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eduardo\\_L%C3%B3pez\\_de\\_Roma%C3%B1a#:~:text=A%20member%20of%20the%20landowning,called%20Aristocratic%20Republic;https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Peru](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eduardo_L%C3%B3pez_de_Roma%C3%B1a#:~:text=A%20member%20of%20the%20landowning,called%20Aristocratic%20Republic;https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Peru)

<sup>1258</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/peru/16.htm>

<sup>1259</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage\\_in\\_Peru](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage_in_Peru)

<sup>1260</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guillermo\\_Billinghurst;https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guillermo\\_Billinghurst](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guillermo_Billinghurst;https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guillermo_Billinghurst)

<sup>1261</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9\\_Pardo\\_y\\_Barreda](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9_Pardo_y_Barreda)

<sup>1262</sup> [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elecciones\\_generales\\_de\\_Per%C3%BA\\_de\\_1915](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elecciones_generales_de_Per%C3%BA_de_1915)

among certain oligarchic groups. Nevertheless, on the same date, 07/04/1919, his allies orchestrated a coup to ensure his ascension to power. Throughout his subsequent term, Leguía severed ties with the traditional oligarchy that had previously reigned over Peruvian politics for the last two decades. He exiled a number of leading politicians, then dissolved the parliament with the support of the gendarmerie. In the elections that followed, he committed significant electoral fraud, effectively converting the legislature into an entity that merely ratified his decisions (Klarén 1986: 588, 625, 631, 635, Klaren 1993: 39-40, Casey et al. 2020: 14-15). Although he presided over the creation of a new constitution, he disregarded constitutional norms and ruled as a dictator.<sup>1263</sup> Only in 1931 suffrage was extended to literate men, in 1955 women suffrage was introduced and in 1979 suffrage was extended to illiterates (Kellam 2013).<sup>1264</sup> In the elections between 1915 and 1930 only between 3.1 and 3.8 percentage of the population participated (Vanhanen 2019). Therefore, we classify the regime in this period as an electoral oligarchy. BMR, RoW and LIED classify the period as an electoral/multiparty autocracy.

08/27/1930 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date Leguía was deposed by a military coup.<sup>1265</sup> A junta formed, and Luis Miguel Sánchez Cerro became President.<sup>1266</sup> Following his assassination, General Oscar Benavides was appointed president by a constituent assembly in 1933. When the results of the 1936 elections proved unfavorable, Benavides nullified them. He was subsequently succeeded by Manuel Prado in 1939 (Klarén 1986: 639, Klaren 1993: 41, 44-45, Albertus 2015: 195, 197, Casey et al. 2020: 15).

10/22/1939 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Oligarchy: On this date, general elections were held in Peru to elect the President and both houses of the Congress. In the presidential elections the result was a victory for Manuel Prado Ugarteche of the Concentración Nacional coalition, who received 77.5% of the vote. The Concentración Nacional also won a landslide victory in the Congressional elections, winning 45 of the 48 seats in the Senate and 111 of the 140 seats in the Chamber of Deputies.<sup>1267</sup> Sociologist Dennis Gilbert describes the era spanning from 1930 to 1968 as marked by a "tripartite" political system, wherein the military frequently acted on behalf of the oligarchy to quell the dissent of the "disorderly" populace,

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<sup>1263</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Augusto-Bernardino-Leguia-y-Salcedo>

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Augusto-Bernardino-Leguia-y-Salcedo>

<sup>1264</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s\\_suffrage\\_in\\_Peru](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_suffrage_in_Peru)

<sup>1265</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Augusto\\_B.\\_Legu%C3%ADa#Overthrow](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Augusto_B._Legu%C3%ADa#Overthrow)

<sup>1266</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1939\\_Peruvian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1939_Peruvian_general_election);

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luis\\_Miguel\\_S%C3%A1nchez\\_Cerro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luis_Miguel_S%C3%A1nchez_Cerro)

<sup>1267</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luis\\_Miguel\\_S%C3%A1nchez\\_Cerro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luis_Miguel_S%C3%A1nchez_Cerro)

symbolized by APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana) and the PCP (Partido Comunista Peruano).<sup>1268</sup> Jose Bustamante emerged victorious in the competitive elections of 1945, leading to Prado stepping down from office (Klaren 1993: 44, Albertus 2015: 197, Casey et al. 2020: 15). He restored freedom of the press and civil rights. Furthermore, he planned for a democratization of government and hence limiting the influence of the military and the oligarchy.<sup>1269</sup> However, neither women suffrage (until 1955) nor suffrage for illiterates (until 1979) was granted.<sup>1270</sup> In addition, the quantitative criterion of participation of at least 15% of the population is not met. Between 1939 and 1948, the percentage of the population which participated in the elections was between 0.0 and 6.0 (Vanhanen 2019).

10/27/1948 End Electoral Oligarchy/Start Military Autocracy: A military coup led by General Manuel A. Odría ousted President José Bustamante and installed a military junta (Kantor 1969: 474, Soldevilla 1993: 536, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 88). It came as a surprise that Odría legalized opposition parties in 1956 and called fresh elections.<sup>1271</sup>

06/17/1956 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, general elections were held to elect the President and both houses of the Congress. Manuel Prado Ugarteche of the Pradist Democratic Movement won the presidential election (Masterson 1991: 148-49, Soldevilla 1993: 525, 532, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 88). They were the first elections in Peru in which women could vote.<sup>1272</sup> Although women suffrage had been introduced in 1955, the suffrage was still restricted. Illiterates were only allowed to vote in 1979.<sup>1273</sup>

07/18/1962 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup led by the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, General Perez Godoy, ousted the outgoing civilian President Manuel Prado Ugarteche and installed a military junta (Pike 1967: 302).<sup>1274</sup> In the June 1962 presidential election, no candidate had received the 1/3 of votes required to win, so the choice went to Congress. Haya de la Torre, APRA 's leader, and Odría, the former president agreed to a coalition in which Odría would be president and Haya de la Torre's deputy. The military ousted the outgoing president in order to prevent the UNO-APRA alliance from taking office, annulled the election, and established a four man junta of the leaders of the services to rule until another election could be held (Pike 1967: 299-300,

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<sup>1268</sup> <https://countrystudies.us/peru/19.htm>

<sup>1269</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9\\_Luis\\_Bustamante\\_y\\_Rivero](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9_Luis_Bustamante_y_Rivero)

<sup>1270</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage)

<sup>1271</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manuel\\_A.\\_Odr%C3%ADa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manuel_A._Odr%C3%ADa)

<sup>1272</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1956\\_Peruvian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1956_Peruvian_general_election)

<sup>1273</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal\\_suffrage](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_suffrage)

<sup>1274</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1962\\_Peruvian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1962_Peruvian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

Kantor 1969: 477, Masterson 1991: 174-77 , Klaren 2000: 320, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 88). On 03/03/1963 General Lindley overthrew Godoy due to policy differences. Lindley took over as chairman of the junta.

06/09/1963 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: Civilians reclaimed power through competitive elections, finalizing the transition to democracy (Masterson 1991: 183, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 88). However, illiterates, a large portion of the population, had no right to vote.

10/03/1968 End Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: Military coup led by army chief of staff General Velasco, who deposed the elected president Fernando Belaúnde and installed a – leftist revolutionary - military junta with Velasco as the chairman.<sup>1275</sup> The reason for the coup was a scandal over an oil contract that prompted the armed forces to overthrow the government (Einaudi 1974: 163, Masterson 1991: 229-30). On 08/29/1975 Velasco was overthrown by the military government for not carrying out the revolution. Furthermore, economic decline, unemployment and violence were growing Bermudez took over the junta (Balmaseda 1992). The military leadership agreed to elections for a Constituent Assembly, held on 06/18/1978. In these multiparty elections the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance emerged as the largest party in the multiparty elections.<sup>1276</sup> In 1979 suffrage was granted for the illiterate.<sup>1277</sup> However, power was held until 05/18/1980 by the military and the executive was neither directly nor indirectly legitimized by popular elections.

05/18/1980 End Military Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: The parliament, dominated by APRA and other opposition forces, organized free presidential elections on this date. These elections are viewed in the literature as a transition to democracy (Soldevilla 1993: 518, Orsini 2000, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 88).<sup>1278</sup> Fernando Belaunde Terry, representing the Christian Democratic party, secured victory as the opposition candidate (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 52). In July 1980 the new constitution was fully implemented, and the new state institutions were inaugurated (Lea/Milward/Rowe 2001: 176). The Peruvian bicameral Parliament, known as the Congress, comprised the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Citizens aged at least 18 years and possessing full civil and political rights were entitled to vote. Additionally, voting was compulsory for citizens until the age of 70 (IPU 1980). Throughout much of this period, political and civil liberties were generally

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<sup>1275</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1968\\_Peruvian\\_coup\\_d%27%C3%A9tat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1968_Peruvian_coup_d%27%C3%A9tat)

<sup>1276</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1978\\_Peruvian\\_Constituent\\_Assembly\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1978_Peruvian_Constituent_Assembly_election)

<sup>1277</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>1278</sup> <https://www.janda.org/ICPP/ICPP2000/Countries/3-SouthAmerica/37-Peru/Peru63-00.htm>



respected. However, the occurrence of human rights abuses and the imposition of periodic states of emergency during counter-insurgency operations against the Maoist Shining Path guerrilla severely undermined the state of Peruvian democracy (Freedom House, 1986: 354). The democratic situation deteriorated significantly, particularly in the late 1980s. On 06/10/1990 relatively unknown Alberto Fujimori won the Peruvian general election. Towards the end of this period, Peru faced significant institutional challenges due to a severe economic downturn, widespread corruption associated with drug trafficking, and heightened counter-insurgency efforts against the Shining Path. Expanded martial law extended military control over more than half of the country, severely limiting political expression amidst a climate of pervasive violence and fear caused by the Shining Path and MRTA guerrilla movements. Repressive measures by the military, security forces, and affiliated paramilitary groups exacerbated the situation. Fujimori's first year in office saw a dramatic increase in political violence, with an average of ten deaths per day, up from four deaths per day in 1989, with the trend worsening in the latter half of 1991 (Freedom House, 1992: 369).

05/18/1980 End Military Autocracy/Start Democracy: The Assembly, dominated by the APRA party and other opposition forces, organized free presidential elections on this date. These elections marked the transition to democracy (Soldevilla 1993: 518, Orsini 2000, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 88).<sup>1279</sup> Fernando Belaunde Terry, representing the Christian Democratic party, secured victory as the opposition candidate (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 52). In July 1980 the new constitution was fully implemented, and the new state institutions were inaugurated (Lea/Milward/Rowe 2001: 176). The Peruvian bicameral Parliament, known as the Congress, comprised the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Citizens aged at least 18 years and possessing full civil and political rights were entitled to vote. Additionally, voting was compulsory for citizens until the age of 70 (IPU 1980).

04/04/1992 End Semidemocracy/Start Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy: When opposition parties deadlocked President Alberto Fujimori's neo-liberal economic agenda, he launched, on this date, a self-coup with military support. He dissolved congress, gave the executive branch all legislative powers and suspended the constitution. Subsequently, he called for elections to a new congress which drafted a new constitution (Soldevilla 1993: 518, Conaghan 2005: 41-45, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 88-89). On 11/22/1992 elections took place for the Democratic Constituent Congress. This assembly was elected to draft a new constitution. These elections were marked by controversy. The American Popular

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<sup>1279</sup> <https://www.janda.org/ICPP/ICPP2000/Countries/3-SouthAmerica/37-Peru/Peru63-00.htm>

Revolutionary Alliance, the second-largest party in the Chamber of Deputies at the time, boycotted the elections. Fujimori's Cambio 90–New Majority alliance won a significant portion of the seats, securing 44 out of the 80 available seats in the Democratic Constituent Congress (Cameron 1998). On 04/09/1995 general elections were held, the first under the newly drafted constitution. Fujimori was re-elected with 64,4% of the votes and his Cambio 90-New Majority won 67 of the 120 seats in the unicameral Congress. The former UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and his Party Union for Peru came second with 21,8% and 17 seats.<sup>1280</sup> Because after the self-coup new elections were held the new regime is coded as an electoral autocracy and not a personalist autocracy.

11/21/2000 End Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: Fujimori resigned in response to the publication of evidence of corruption and human rights abuses. Remaining members of Fujimori's inner circle also resigned and/or agreed to turn power over to an interim government led by the opposition until the next election. Generals allied with Fujimori were forced to retire later the same month (Taylor 2001: 18, Conaghan 2005: 228-42, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 89).

04/08/2001 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Semidemocracy: Following the fraudulent presidential elections of 2000, free and fair elections were held on this date.<sup>1281</sup> Following the 2021 general elections, Congress saw the entry of ten parties. International observers regarded these elections as competitive and peaceful. The Peru Libre party, led by Castillo, emerged as the largest faction in Congress with 37 seats. The right-wing FP party, previously led by Fujimori and known for its dominance, secured 24 seats. However, no single party achieved a majority in the Congress.<sup>1282</sup> Elections are held regularly, including in 2006, 2011, 2016 and 2021. International election observer missions are regularly deployed, for example the European Union Election Observation Mission. In general, the missions conclude that the important democratic benchmarks are met, but that reforms are still necessary regarding electoral law, electoral administration and party funding.<sup>1283</sup> In December 2022, Peru's president Pedro Castillo was impeached and imprisoned after trying to dissolve Congress illegally, whereafter Dina Boluarte, the previous vice-president, was inaugurated by Congress. After the impeachment, the new government

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<sup>1280</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1995\\_Peruvian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1995_Peruvian_general_election)

<sup>1281</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2001\\_Peruvian\\_general\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2001_Peruvian_general_election)

<sup>1282</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/peru/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1283</sup> <https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/relations-non-eu-countries/types-relations-and-partnerships/election-observation/mission-recommendations-repository/search>;  
[https://www.eods.eu/library/eueom\\_peru\\_final\\_report\\_eng\\_dv\\_150716\\_pdf.pdf](https://www.eods.eu/library/eueom_peru_final_report_eng_dv_150716_pdf.pdf)

declared a state of emergency after large scale pro-castillo protests turned violent, limiting rights of assembly and employing the military.<sup>1284</sup> Many protestors call for a new election.<sup>1285</sup> Dina Buolarte is the sixth president in five years.<sup>1286</sup> This is mainly due to the fact that the provisions for impeachment proceedings in the 1993 Constitution are very broadly worded, which means that the legislature can initiate proceedings without cause.<sup>1287</sup> The independence of the judiciary is problematic and Peru scores constantly relatively poorly in Freedom House's Rule of Law category. Corruption is also a constant, systematic problem. The reactions to the protests in 2022 and 2020, which were accompanied by restrictions on political and civil rights and the use of police violence, led Freedom House to downgrade Peru to partly free in 2021 and 2023 reports.<sup>1288</sup> Overall, Peru always seems to score on the border between free and partly free. Peru is a borderline case between semidemocracy and democracy, because elections are usually free and fair, and have only minor defects, but checks and balances between the different branches are distorted and civil rights were restricted in the light of protests. Therefore, we classify Peru in this period as a semidemocracy.

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Cameron 1994, Cameron/Mauceri 1997, Carrión 2006, Cotler 1978, Cotler 1986, Dietz 1992, Kenney 2004, Sonntag 2001, Levitsky/Cameron 2003)

**Persia:** see Iran

## **Philippines**

01/01/1900 Colonial Regime [of USA, Semidemocracy] [Start: 10/12/1898]: On 06/12/1898, a revolutionary movement in the Philippines declared itself independent from the Spanish Empire. On 10/12/1898 the Philippines became a colony of the United States of America de jure with the Treaty of Paris. However, from 1899 on to 04/16/1902 the Filipinos fought back

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<sup>1284</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/peru/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>1285</sup> <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/01/24/democracy-line-peru>

<sup>1286</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dina\\_Boluarte](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dina_Boluarte)

<sup>1287</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President\\_of\\_Peru](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President_of_Peru)

<sup>1288</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/peru/freedom-world/2023>;  
<https://freedomhouse.org/country/peru/freedom-world/2021>

against the USA's occupation.<sup>1289</sup> On 11/15/1935 the US-congress approved a 10-year transition period to independence of the Philippines. The Philippines then held a referendum on the new constitution and an island-wide plebiscite on independence. Both were approved by huge margins.<sup>1290</sup> Males over 25 who could speak English or Spanish, with property and tax restrictions, were allowed to vote as early as 1907. However, universal male suffrage started only in 1935. In 1937, women's suffrage was approved in a plebiscite.<sup>1291</sup>

01/03/1942 End Colonial Regime [of USA, Democracy]/Start Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]: The only political party allowed during the occupation was the Japanese-organized Kalibapi.<sup>1292</sup> On 10/14/1943 the Philippines were nominally declared independent. However, the occupation regime continued until 08/17/1945.

08/17/1945 End Occupation Regime [by Japan, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Colonial Regime [of USA, Democracy]: After the occupation of Japan ended the Philippines were under the colonial rule of the USA again.

07/06/1946 End Colonial Regime [of USA, Democracy]/Start Democracy: On this day, the Philippines became independent. The 1935 constitution remained in effect. Elections were held under universal suffrage (including all ethnicities).<sup>1293</sup> On 04/23/1946 general elections were held. Manuel Roxas became the last President of the Commonwealth and the Republic's first. Furthermore, the Liberal Party secured victories in nine out of 16 senatorial seats. In the House of Representatives, the Liberals secured a majority by winning 50 seats, while the Nacionalistas and the Democratic Alliance only managed to secure 33 and six seats.<sup>1294</sup> The constitutional structure is based on the model of the United States, it is a bicameral system consisting of the lower body, the House of Representatives, and the upper body the Senate (Manglapus 1959: 613).<sup>1295</sup> The political system is characterized by a two-party system and the presidential term lasts four years, a second term is permitted (Choi 2001: 489).

09/22/1972 End Democracy/Start Personalist Autocracy: The declaration of martial law, on this date, was accompanied by decisive actions: Congress was shut down, and a wide array of

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<sup>1289</sup> <https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/APA/Historical-Essays/Exclusion-and-Empire/The-Philippines/>

<sup>1290</sup> <https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/APA/Historical-Essays/Exclusion-and-Empire/The-Philippines/>

<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/Japanese\\_occupation\\_of\\_the\\_Philippines](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_occupation_of_the_Philippines)

<sup>1293</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>1294</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946\\_Philippine\\_presidential\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1946_Philippine_presidential_election)

<sup>1295</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congress\\_of\\_the\\_Philippines#:~:text=The%20Congress%20of%20the%20Philippines%20\(Filipino%3A%20Kongreso%20ng%20Pilipinas\),an%20upper%20body%2C%20the%20Senate.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congress_of_the_Philippines#:~:text=The%20Congress%20of%20the%20Philippines%20(Filipino%3A%20Kongreso%20ng%20Pilipinas),an%20upper%20body%2C%20the%20Senate.)

individuals, including opposition leaders, journalists, members of Congress, student activists, and members of the Constitutional Convention, were arrested. These steps effectively dissolved the existing political opposition, consolidating power in the hands of President Marcos (Grossholtz 1973: 102, Ziehl 1986: 119-20, Seekins 1993, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 89). Two explicit justifications for the coup were "to save the republic" (from various plots) and "to reform society" (after the failure of American-style democracy).<sup>1296</sup> Since the congress was dissolved in this period and Marcos ruled by decree with almost unlimited power the precondition of a pure personalist regime is fulfilled. The martial law period under Marcos is noted for its human rights abuses, targeting political opponents, student activists, journalists, religious workers, and others who opposed his regime. The extent of these abuses included thousands of extrajudicial killings, documented tortures, disappearances, and incarcerations.

04/07[&27]/1978 End Personalist Autocracy/Start Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy: On these dates a fraudulent parliamentary election took place. From his prison cell, Aquino was allowed to take part in the elections. It was the first time Lakas ng Bayan ("People's Power") participated in elections. However, due to the fraud, the opposition party gained no seats in the parliament.<sup>1297</sup> On 01/17/1981 Marcos lifted martial law. On 06/16/1981 presidential elections were held which were boycotted by almost all opposition parties.<sup>1298</sup> Because parliamentary and presidential elections took place the regime has to be classified as an electoral autocracy. However, in key aspects it was a continuation of the personalist autocracy of the previous period.

02/25/1986 End Electoral (Personalist) Autocracy/Start Semidemocracy: On this date, Marcos resigned in response to a mutiny of officers and massive demonstrations protesting a stolen election. His resignation allowed the newly elected government to take office (Seekins 1993, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 89, Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 53). The newly elected government under Corazon Aquino drafted the 1987 constitution, that limited presidential power and re-established the bicameral Congress.<sup>1299</sup> The 1992 presidential elections, conducted under the new constitution, were deemed the first held under regular and peaceful conditions since 1965.<sup>1300</sup> In June, the Philippines smoothly navigated a presidential transition from Aquino to Fidel Ramos. However, Ramos' victory, with just 23 percent of the vote

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<sup>1296</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martial\\_law\\_under\\_Ferdinand\\_Marcos](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martial_law_under_Ferdinand_Marcos)

<sup>1297</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1978\\_Philippine\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1978_Philippine_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1298</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1981\\_Philippine\\_presidential\\_election\\_and\\_referendum](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1981_Philippine_presidential_election_and_referendum)

<sup>1299</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Corazon\\_Aquino](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Corazon_Aquino)

<sup>1300</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Corazon\\_Aquino](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Corazon_Aquino)

amidst seven contenders and no run-off system, hardly provides him with a clear mandate.<sup>1301</sup> Starting in 1991 FH classified the Philippines as partly free.<sup>1302</sup> On 01/20/2001 standing President Estrada was impeached for his involvement in a gambling scandal. In his trial, members of congress refused to examine a piece of evidence which led to mass anger and a rejection of the proceedings and president. The armed forces and police reassigned their loyalties to Vice President Arroyo and Estrada was ousted. Despite the shift from authoritarian rule in 1986, the Philippines grapples with inconsistent adherence to the rule of law, marked by a notable bias favoring political and economic elites. Oversight and accountability mechanisms within democratic institutions are either feeble or subject to subversion. Lingering violent insurgencies, persisting for decades, have diminished in recent years but remain a concern. Opposition politicians, particularly in recent years, face heightened harassment and politically motivated charges, impeding their ability to challenge incumbents amid an atmosphere of violence and restricted access to state resources for those outside of power.<sup>1303</sup> LIED classified the Philippines between 1990 and 1998 as a polyarchy (equivalent to a liberal democracy). According to our observations this seems to be a misclassification. FH in accordance with our observations state that “the rule of law and application of justice are haphazard and heavily favor political and economic elites”. However, the Philippines in this period are a borderline case between a semidemocracy and a democracy.

Semidemocracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Celoza 1997, Hutchcroft 1991, Thompson 1995, Thompson 1998, Brownlee 2008, Croissant 2002b, Slater 2010)

## **Poland**

01/01/1900 Part of other country [Russian Empire, Absolute Monarchy Austria-Hungary, Constitutional Monarchy and German Empire, Constitutional Monarchy] [Start: 10/24/1795]: Prior to the partition of Poland in 1795, only the male nobility was allowed to take part in political life. The final partition of Poland took place on 10/24/1795.<sup>1304</sup> In the midst of World War I, on 01/14/1917, Berlin established the puppet “Kingdom of Poland”. This arrangement

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<sup>1301</sup> [https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Freedom\\_in\\_the\\_World\\_1992-1993\\_complete\\_book.pdf](https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Freedom_in_the_World_1992-1993_complete_book.pdf)

<sup>1302</sup> [https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Freedom\\_in\\_the\\_World\\_1992-1993\\_complete\\_book.pdf](https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Freedom_in_the_World_1992-1993_complete_book.pdf)

<sup>1303</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/philippines/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1304</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partitions\\_of\\_Poland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partitions_of_Poland)

involved a governing Provisional Council of State and, commencing from 10/15/1917, a Regency Council (Rada Regencyjna Królestwa Polskiego). The Council administered the country under German auspices until the election of a king.<sup>1305</sup>

11/11/1918 End Part of other countries [of Russia, Communist Ideocracy, Austria-Hungary, Constitutional Monarchy and Germany, Constitutional Monarchy]/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: Poland regained its independence, after World War I, fixed in the Treaty of Versailles.<sup>1306</sup> Yet there were various regions of today's Poland that were not included. On 11/14/1918, Following its dissolution, the Council relinquished all authority to Józef Piłsudski, who assumed the role of Chief of State (Naczelnik Państwa). After consultation with Piłsudski, Daszyński's government disintegrated, making way for a new government led by Jędrzej Moraczewski.<sup>1307</sup>

01/26/1919 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Democracy: On this date, free and fair elections for a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage for men and women over 21 were held. The decree introducing universal suffrage was signed by Piłsudski on 11/28/1918, immediately after restoring the independent Polish state.<sup>1308</sup> On 03/17/1921 the March Constitution was adopted. This period is described as democratic. Rights of minorities were established, and royal titles and state privileges banned.<sup>1309</sup> In this period, also known as the Second Polish Republic, the political system was a parliamentary democracy with a bicameral system, in which the president had limited power. He was elected by Parliament and had the power to nominate the prime minister and form the government, pending approval from the lower house, the Sejm. However, he could only dissolve the Sejm with the consent of the Senate, the upper house.<sup>1310</sup>

05/12[-14]/1926 End Democracy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: In these days Józef Piłsudski and his supporters (Sanation movement) launched a coup against the government of president Stanisław Wojciechowski and prime minister Wincenty Witos.<sup>1311</sup> The Sanation movement, which endorsed authoritarian rule, was built upon a group

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<sup>1305</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second\\_Polish\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Polish_Republic)

<sup>1306</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Poland#Second\\_Polish\\_Republic\\_\(1918–1939\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Poland#Second_Polish_Republic_(1918–1939))

<sup>1307</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second\\_Polish\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Polish_Republic)

<sup>1308</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>1309</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/March\\_Constitution\\_\(Poland\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/March_Constitution_(Poland))

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second\\_Polish\\_Republic#:~:text=The%20Second%20Polish%20Republic%20was,the%20President%20having%20limited%20powers.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Polish_Republic#:~:text=The%20Second%20Polish%20Republic%20was,the%20President%20having%20limited%20powers.)

<sup>1311</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/May\\_Coup\\_\(Poland\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/May_Coup_(Poland))

of individuals closely associated with Piłsudski.<sup>1312</sup> It preached the primacy of the national interest in governance, and contended against the system of parliamentary democracy. Following the coup, Piłsudski did not directly head the government but indirectly controlled the regime.

03/04/1928 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, parliamentary elections took place. Unlike subsequent elections during the Sanation period, opposition parties were allowed to campaign with minimal hindrances and succeeded in securing a significant number of seats.<sup>1313</sup> The Sanation government nullified the 05/1930 election results by dissolving the parliament in August. Under mounting pressure on the opposition, a new campaign was initiated, and new elections were scheduled for November. Taking advantage of the anti-government demonstrations as a pretext, 20 members of the opposition parties, including many leaders of the Centrolew alliance (comprising the Socialists, Polish People's Party "Piast," and Polish People's Party "Wyzwolenie"), were arrested.<sup>1314</sup> Following Piłsudski's death in 1935, his regime retained control, and a compromise candidate, chosen between ruling factions, succeeded him (Lukowski/Zawadzki 2019, Casey et al. 2020, Rothschild 1966, Rothschild 1962, Rothschild 1963).<sup>1315</sup>

10/06/1939 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right-wing (Fascist) Autocracy and USSR, Communist (One-Party) Ideocracy]: Poland was invaded by Nazi Germany from the west on 09/01/1939 and the regime surrendered on 09/27/1939. This invasion was the Start of World War II. On 10/06/1939 the last Polish troops capitulated; the German-occupied area was partly annexed to Germany; another part became the General Government of Poland on 10/12/1939. During the German occupation, three million Polish Jews were murdered, half of all Jews murdered by the Nazi regime during the Holocaust.<sup>1316</sup> Part of the country was occupied from the east by the USSR. In June 1941 Germany took over the Soviet-occupied areas (Lukowski/Zawadzki 2019: 327 f.).<sup>1317</sup> On 01/17/1945 the Russian army, accompanied by the Polish First Army arrived in Warsaw.<sup>1318</sup>

12/31/1944 End Occupation Regime [by Germany, Right Wing (Fascist) Autocracy]/Start Communist Ideocracy: On this date a provisional government was established, a coalition of

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<sup>1312</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sanation>

<sup>1313</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1928\\_Polish\\_legislative\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1928_Polish_legislative_election)

<sup>1314</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sanation>

<sup>1315</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/May\\_Coup\\_\(Poland\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/May_Coup_(Poland))

<sup>1316</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Holocaust\\_in\\_Poland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Holocaust_in_Poland)

<sup>1317</sup> <https://rulers.org/rulp2.html#poland>

<sup>1318</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Poland#Second\\_Polish\\_Republic\\_\(1918–1939\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Poland#Second_Polish_Republic_(1918–1939))



leftist parties controlled by the communist Polska Partia Robotnicza (Polish Worker's Party, PPR). The provisional government announced on this date governed a substantial part of Poland, from which the Soviets had driven German troops. It faced no serious domestic challenges because of the defeat in October 1944 of the Warsaw uprising led by the Home Army. After the Home Army's defeat, Mikolajczyk, premier of the Polish government-in-exile in London, agreed to negotiate with the communists. When other members of the government-in-exile refused to support his compromise, he resigned from the government-in-exile. He joined the communist dominated coalition in 1945. Although non-communist leaders held some formally important positions in this and later governments, the communists held control. Through their control of the security forces and the Interior Ministry, they assured the repression and disorganization of more popular parties and won the 1947 election (Hiscocks 1963: 87-91, 101-6, Lukas 1982: 4-8, 20-28, 70-75, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 89). The communist regime in Poland ascended to power with the coercive apparatus being under Soviet control (Johnson 1981: 8, Naimark 2010: 178). Stalin covertly established the Polish National Liberation Committee (PKWN) by recruiting former Polish Communists residing in Moscow (Naimark 2010: 178). In Poland as elsewhere in Eastern Europe, Soviet military missions oversaw the reorganization of military forces, embedded commanders, advisers, and technicians within the armed forces and defense ministries and purged pre-communist officer corps (Johnson 1981: 2, 7-8). In the early 1950s, the defense minister, chief of the general staff, commander of the ground forces, heads of all service branches, and commanders of all four military districts were former Soviet officers (Johnson 1981: 08). Soviet troops remained in Poland throughout the entire communist regime's tenure (Barany 2016: 101). Throughout the history of the communist regime in Poland, there were riots against it. On 10/21/1956 the communist party denounced Ochab's handling of the riots and what they called his political opportunism. Gomulka was instated as party secretary. In the face of a stagnating post-war economy, Polish Communist leader Władysław Gomułka, the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), decided to end government subsidies for food and other everyday items in late 1970.<sup>1319</sup> On 12/14 to 12/19/1970 riots over wages were violently suppressed under Gomułka which led to the Communist party ousting him from leadership positions.<sup>1320</sup> Edward Gierik became his successor. On 09/06/1980 a new round of price increase riots exacerbated by the formation of the Solidarity movement and

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<sup>1319</sup> <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/polish-shipyard-workers-initiate-regime-change-1970-71>

<sup>1320</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970\\_Polish\\_protests](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1970_Polish_protests)

prompted the communist party to remove the aging Gierk replacing him with Kania. By the beginning of 1981, Solidarity boasted a membership exceeding 10 million people, encompassing nearly 80% of the total workforce. In that year, Solidarity organized its inaugural national congress, during which Lech Walesa, a key figure in the union's establishment, was elected president.<sup>1321</sup> On 10/12/1981 Kania was ousted from his position by the communist party under pressure from the USSR because of his inability to tackle Solidarity and for his anti-Soviet comments. General Wojciech Jaruzelski assumed power and declared martial law. The Military Council of National Salvation, a military junta, was established. It consisted of 21 members: fifteen generals, one admiral and five colonels.<sup>1322</sup> However, since the takeover of a general occurred in the framework of the communist regime it is not classified as a regime change (to a military autocracy). In the beginning of 1982, the Citizens' Committees of National Salvation were formed, composed mostly of PZPR members. In July 1982, they joined the newly formed Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.<sup>1323</sup>

06/18/1989 End Communist Ideocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: In 1989, negotiations dubbed the Roundtable Talks unfolded between the martial law government led by Wojciech Jaruzelski and the Solidarity opposition movement. These discussions yielded a transitional agreement, allocating two-thirds of parliamentary seats to the Communists and their allies. The remaining one-third of seats was subjected to competitive elections, resulting in a resounding victory for Solidarity. Despite Communist predominance, the parliament in 06/1989 appointed Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a prominent figure in Solidarity, as the first non-communist to helm an Eastern European government since the late 1940s (Haggard/Kaufman/Teo 2016: 53). The end of communist rule occurred because some of the small parties that had historically been coopted into the communist led front, defected to join the opposition (Pease 1994, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 89).<sup>1324</sup> In January 1990 the Communist Polish United Workers' Party dissolved.

10/27/1991 End Electoral Autocracy/Start Democracy: On this date, free and fair parliamentary elections were held.<sup>1325</sup> Lech Walesa became first elected president.<sup>1326</sup> On

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<sup>1321</sup> <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/solidarno-solidarity-brings-down-communist-government-poland-1988-89>

<sup>1322</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military\\_Council\\_of\\_National\\_Salvation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_Council_of_National_Salvation)

<sup>1323</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military\\_Council\\_of\\_National\\_Salvation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_Council_of_National_Salvation)

<sup>1324</sup> <http://tinyurl.com/9zhlcdb>

<sup>1325</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991\\_Polish\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1991_Polish_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1326</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Poland#Third\\_Polish\\_Republic\\_\(1989–today\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Poland#Third_Polish_Republic_(1989–today))

10/25/2015 elections took place in Poland, and were won by the largest opposition party, the right winged party Law and Justice (PiS).<sup>1327</sup> Since then, politicians and government-affiliated entities have filed almost 200 lawsuits against independent media outlets and journalists.<sup>1328</sup> Poland's electoral system and its execution have typically safeguarded free and fair elections. However, legislative modifications introduced in 2017/2018 have elevated the possibility of political influence over the National Electoral Commission (PKW), responsible for managing elections and overseeing party finances, including the authority to withhold state subsidies.<sup>1329</sup> On 04/29/2020, the Commission launched an infringement procedure on the law of 12/20/2019 amending a series of legislative acts governing the functioning of the justice system in Poland.<sup>1330</sup> On 03/31/2021, the Commission decided to refer Poland to the Court of Justice and asked for the interim measures. On 07/14/2021, the Court of Justice imposed interim measures on Poland, related to the functioning of the Disciplinary Chamber of the Supreme Court in Poland, granting the request of the Commission on all points.<sup>1331</sup> The 2016-2018 made reforms of the Polish judiciary are described as drastically weakening the judiciary's independence.<sup>1332</sup> While there has been a decline in democratic quality and Poland was moving in the direction of a semidemocracy it fulfilled in a comparative perspective still the criteria of a democracy.<sup>1333</sup> On 10/15/2023 Poland held parliamentary elections, which the OSCE characterized as free and competitive. While voters were given political alternatives, the ruling party PiS enjoyed a disproportionate competitive advantage through its influence over public media and the use of state resources, creating an uneven playing field. Freedom of assembly and association were respected during the election. Voter turnout was high, with approximately 74%.<sup>1334</sup> While the PiS won the most seats with 34.4%, the Civic Coalition under Donald Tusk formed a coalition with The Left and the Third Way Party to take power from the PiS, with a combined seat count of more than 50%. While judiciary independence is still in question, election-related cases were handled by the highest court with transparency.<sup>1335</sup> After two months of waiting, President Duda swore in Donald Tusk as Prime Minister in a peaceful transition of power. Donald Tusk and the President entered a

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<sup>1327</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015\\_Polish\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015_Polish_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1328</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/poland/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1329</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/poland/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1330</sup> [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip\\_20\\_772](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_20_772)

<sup>1331</sup> [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP\\_21\\_4587](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_21_4587)

<sup>1332</sup> <https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/-/poland-judicial-independence-remains-at-risk-according-to-new-report-from-greco#>

<sup>1333</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/poland/freedom-world/2022>

<sup>1334</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023\\_Polish\\_parliamentary\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023_Polish_parliamentary_election)

<sup>1335</sup> <https://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/poland/555072>

constitutional dispute after Duda pardoned two right-wing lawmakers. Duda has threatened the use of his power of veto to impede Tusks efforts of reform, putting Poland's semi-presidential system to the test.<sup>1336</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Bernhard 2005, Dziewanowski 1977, Materska-Sosnowska 2010, Roos 1964)

## Portugal

01/01/1900 Constitutional Monarchy [Start: 12/01/1640]: Portugal has been a ruling monarchy since 10/05/1143 when it formed as a country. From 1821 onwards, it was a constitutional monarchy.<sup>1337</sup> The House of Braganza began its reign over Portugal on 12/01/1640, when John IV was proclaimed King of Portugal. The discontent Portuguese nobility, tired of the policies and taxation under the Spanish Habsburgs, rallied behind John, who had a claim to the throne through his ancestry. This day is known as Restoration of Independence Day in Portugal, marking the end of 60 years of the Iberian Union under Spanish rule. The last dynastic regime in Portugal before 07/01/1900, was the House of Braganza-Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. The exact start date for this lineage within the House of Braganza was 09/16/1837, with the accession of Queen Maria II and King Ferdinand II as king consort after the period of civil wars known as the Liberal Wars in Portugal.<sup>1338</sup> However, there was no regime change in 1837 and it was de facto a continuation of the rule of the House of Braganza.

10/05/1910 End Constitutional Monarchy/Start Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime: The revolution on this date led to the deposition of King Manuell II and the change from a ruling monarchy to a transition to democracy.

05/28/1911 End Non-electoral Transitional (Multiparty) Regime/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: On this date elections to a constituent assembly took place.<sup>1339</sup> However, only adult males had the right to vote and, hence, the regime is classified as a

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<sup>1336</sup> <https://www.politico.eu/article/poland-police-arrest-mps-andrzej-duda-donald-tusk-mariusz-kaminski-maciej-wasik/>

<sup>1337</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Portugal/Overseas-empire>

<sup>1338</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/House\\_of\\_Braganza-Saxe-Coburg\\_and\\_Gotha](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/House_of_Braganza-Saxe-Coburg_and_Gotha)

<sup>1339</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1911\\_Portuguese\\_Constituent\\_National\\_Assembly\\_election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1911_Portuguese_Constituent_National_Assembly_election)

semidemocracy.<sup>1340</sup> Teófilo Braga was provisional president of the new republic. After Manuel José de Arriaga had been elected new president, Braga retired from his office. Arriaga was president from 08/24/1911 to 05/29/1915.<sup>1341</sup>

12/08/1917 End (Male) Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date Sidonio Pais overthrew the government of Afonso Costa in a military coup (Birmingham 2018: 155-56, Casey et al. 2020: 15).

04/28/1918 End Military Autocracy/Start Electoral Autocracy: On this date, parliamentary elections took place, which were boycotted by major political parties, including the Democratic Party, the Evolutionist Party, and the Republican Union, which had dominated the 1915 elections. Consequently, the National Republican Party, led by Pais, secured the majority of seats in both the House of Representatives and the Senate.

12/14/1918 End Electoral Autocracy/Start (Male) Semidemocracy: Pais was assassinated on this date and Portugal saw a return to semidemocracy (Birmingham 2018: 156, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 90, Casey et al. 2020: 15). Just two days later, on 12/16/1918, presidential elections were held. João do Canto e Castro was elected as President, succeeding the late Sidónio Pais. These elections were conducted by the Congress of the Republic, following the 1911 constitution, rather than through a direct popular vote. The election had to be repeated as the first round did not meet the required quorum. João do Canto e Castro won with an overwhelming majority of 99.28% of the votes

05/28/1926 End (Male) Semidemocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, a military coup of nationalist origin led by General Gomes da Costa overthrew the unstable semidemocracy (Opello 1991: 57). António Óscar de Fragoso Carmona, who had been the Minister for Foreign Affairs between 06/03-06, was the leader of the most conservative and authoritarian wing of the military regime, which considered the more moderate Gomes da Costa a liability.

07/09/1926 End Military Autocracy/Start Military Autocracy: On this date, Carmona led a counter coup together with general João José Sinel de Cordes. He named himself president, and immediately assumed dictatorial powers. The period is known as Ditadura Militar.<sup>1342</sup> Restricted female suffrage was first allowed in 1931; it was further extended in 1933.<sup>1343</sup> In 1928 Carmona appointed António de Oliveira Salazar as Minister of Finance. Impressed by

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<sup>1340</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Portugal/The-First-Republic-1910-26>

<sup>1341</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manuel\\_de\\_Arriaga](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manuel_de_Arriaga)

<sup>1342</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ditadura\\_Nacional](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ditadura_Nacional)

<sup>1343</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)

Salazar's charisma and qualities, Carmona nominated Salazar as Prime Minister in 1932, and largely turned over control of the government to him.<sup>1344</sup>

03/19/1933 End Military Autocracy/Start Right-wing (Corporatist) Autocracy: On this date the corporatist constitution was approved in a referendum. The regime was renamed Estado Novo (New State).<sup>1345</sup> António de Oliveira Salazar served as prime minister until 1968. Salazar was followed as prime minister by Marcello Caetano. The regime can be characterized as a right-leaning corporatist government. While the ruling elite from 1926 to 1974 remained largely the same, a new regime is coded for the period following 1933. The ideology of the Estado Novo was based on an interpretation of the Catholic social doctrine similar to the regime of Engelbert Dollfuss in Austria.<sup>1346</sup> Salazar created the National Union a single-party, but he created it as a non-party. The National Union was set up to control and restrain public opinion rather than to mobilize it.<sup>1347</sup> The National Union functioned more as a political extension of the government rather than exerting direct control over it. The National Union membership was mostly drawn from local notables: landowners, professionals and businessmen, Catholics, monarchists or conservative republicans.<sup>1348</sup> The regime was not entirely dependent on Salazar's personal charisma. It also had a strong institutional basis. Salazar was willing to share power with other members of the regime, such as his close associate Marcelo Caetano. There was also no specific personality cult. We classify Portugal in this period as a right-wing (Corporatist) autocracy.

04/25/1974 End Right-wing (Corporatist) Autocracy/Start Military (Transitional) Autocracy: A rebel armed forces group overthrew the Caetano government due to concerns over the economic conditions and the status of the ongoing colonial wars. The junta was established with the intention of returning the government to a democracy. The event is called the Carnation Revolution (Portuguese: Revolução dos Cravos) or 04/25.<sup>1349</sup> The coup was coupled with a popular civil resistance campaign against the Caetano government. (Opello 1991: 84-86, Geddes/Wright/Frantz 2014: 90).<sup>1350</sup> On 09/30/1974 Spínola was forced into resigning by the leftist officers in the junta after an attempted coup. Gomes became chairman. On 03/11/1975 the country saw a failed right-wing coup d'état and on 09/25/1975 a failed

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<sup>1344</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%93scar\\_Carmona](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%93scar_Carmona)

<sup>1345</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Estado\\_Novo\\_\(Portugal\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Estado_Novo_(Portugal))

<sup>1346</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>1347</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Estado\\_Novo\\_\(Portugal\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Estado_Novo_(Portugal))

<sup>1348</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Union\\_\(Portugal\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Union_(Portugal))

<sup>1349</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carnation\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carnation_Revolution)

<sup>1350</sup> <http://tinyurl.com/8buumze>

left-wing coup d'état. In 1975, Portugal granted independence to its African overseas territories.<sup>1351</sup>

04/25/1975 End Military (Transitional)Autocracy/Start Democracy: Exactly one year after the Carnation Revolution the first free and fair elections (for a Constituent Assembly) since 1925 took place. Since then Portugal is a stable parliamentary democracy with “regular transfers of power between political parties”.<sup>1352</sup> On 04/25/1976 a legislative election was held, and the Socialist leader Mario Soares was appointed Prime Minister.<sup>1353</sup> Portugal has a semi-presidential system of government with a unicameral parliament.<sup>1354</sup> The political landscape in Portugal is characterized by a multiparty system with parties acting freely and competitively. Elections are generally deemed free and credible. All citizens are treated equally by the constitution, but problems concerning corruption and discrimination persist. Freedom of religion, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly are upheld. On 01/30/2022 legislative elections were held, the ruling Socialist Party secured an absolute majority with 120 seats, while the center-right opposition Social Democratic Party (PSD) came in second with 77 seats. Chega gained traction, securing 12 seats, a significant increase from the 1 seat it held in the previous parliament. Liberal Initiative secured 8 seats, Left Bloc (BE) obtained 5 seats, the leftist and green Unitary Democratic Coalition (CDU) won 6 seats, and both the People-Animals-Nature (PAN) party and the leftist and green Livre secured 1 seat each.<sup>1355</sup>

Democracy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Costa 1995, da Fonseca 2009, Graham 1975, Graham/Makler 1979, Hersvik/Larsen 2003, Livermore 1976, Martins 1969, Payne 2002, Robinson 1979, Schmitter 1980, Tavares de Almeida 2010, Vesper 1999)

## **Puerto Rico**

01/01/1900 (de facto) Colonial Regime [of USA, Semidemocracy] [Start: 04/11/1899]: On 07/25/1898, during the Spanish-American War, the U.S. invaded Puerto Rico. Following the U.S. victory, Spain ceded Puerto Rico, along with the Philippines and Guam, to the U.S.

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<sup>1351</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Portugal#The\\_Third\\_Republic\\_\(1974–present\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Portugal#The_Third_Republic_(1974–present))

<sup>1352</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/portugal>

<sup>1353</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Portugal#The\\_Third\\_Republic\\_\(1974–present\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Portugal#The_Third_Republic_(1974–present))

<sup>1354</sup> [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS\\_BRI\(2021\)659378](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_BRI(2021)659378)

<sup>1355</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/portugal/freedom-world/2023>

under the Treaty of Paris, effective from 04/11/1899.<sup>1356</sup> In the initial decades of the 20th century, Puerto Rico was under the governance of the U.S. military, and key positions, including the governor, were appointed by the President of the United States. The Foraker Act of 1900 introduced a level of civilian popular government in Puerto Rico, establishing a popularly elected House of Representatives. However, the upper house and the governor continued to be appointed by the United States. In 1914, the Puerto Rican House of Delegates unanimously supported independence from the United States. However, the U.S. Congress rejected this move, deeming it "unconstitutional" and in violation of the 1900 Foraker Act.<sup>1357</sup> In 1917, the Jones–Shafroth Act, commonly referred to as the Jones Act, was enacted by the U.S. Congress. This legislation conferred U.S. citizenship upon Puerto Ricans born on or after 04/25/1898. The Jones Act also established a popularly elected Senate to form a bicameral legislative assembly and outlined a bill of rights. Additionally, it permitted the popular election of the Resident Commissioner for a four-year term.<sup>1358</sup> On 05/21/1948, a bill was proposed in the Puerto Rican Senate aiming to restrict the rights of the independence and Nationalist movements on the island. This legislation criminalized activities such as printing, publishing, selling, or exhibiting materials intended to undermine or destroy the insular government. It also prohibited the organization of any society, group, or assembly with similar destructive intent. The law was repealed in 1957. Following the November 1948 election, Luis Muñoz Marín became Puerto Rico's first governor to be popularly elected, succeeding the U.S.-appointed Piñero on 01/02/1949.<sup>1359</sup> In 1950, the U.S. Congress granted Puerto Ricans the right to organize a constitutional convention, subject to a referendum. The referendum, held in 1951, supported the creation of their own government under a constitution. The commonwealth status, defined as a 'permanent association with a federal union,' was chosen in the referendum. A second referendum ratified the constitution in 1952, establishing Puerto Rico as an "Estado Libre Asociado" (Associated Free State) or Commonwealth. In 1967, the Legislative Assembly conducted the first plebiscite, offering three political status options. The Commonwealth option, endorsed by the PPD, won with 60.4% of the votes. Efforts to address the status issue in the 1970s and 1993 upheld the Commonwealth status. In the 1998 plebiscite, none of the options gained majority support,

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<sup>1356</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puerto\\_Rico#History](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puerto_Rico#History)

<sup>1357</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puerto\\_Rico#American\\_territory\\_\(1898%E2%80%93present\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puerto_Rico#American_territory_(1898%E2%80%93present))

<sup>1358</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puerto\\_Rico#U.S.\\_citizenship\\_and\\_Puerto\\_Rican\\_citizenship](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puerto_Rico#U.S._citizenship_and_Puerto_Rican_citizenship)

<sup>1359</sup>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puerto\\_Rico#U.S.\\_unincorporated\\_organized\\_territory\\_with\\_commonwealth\\_constitution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puerto_Rico#U.S._unincorporated_organized_territory_with_commonwealth_constitution)



with the "none of the above" option prevailing, maintaining the commonwealth status quo by default.<sup>1360</sup> In comparison to other U.S. territories like Guam, the U.S. Virgin Islands, or American Samoa, Puerto Rico has greater autonomy over its internal affairs. While Puerto Rico holds a level of authority over its internal matters similar to that of an American state, it lacks the sovereignty enjoyed by a state in the Union. Being a possession of the United States, Puerto Rico does not benefit from the same constitutional protections granted to states.<sup>1361</sup> Residents of Puerto Rico who are U.S. citizens are not eligible to cast votes in U.S. presidential elections. However, both major political parties, Republicans and Democrats, conduct primary elections in Puerto Rico to select delegates responsible for voting on the parties' presidential candidates.<sup>1362</sup>

Colonial Regime as of 07/01/2024 continued.

## **Qatar**

01/01/1900 Absolute Monarchy [Start: 09/12/1868]: On 09/12/1868 Muhammad ibn Thani signed a treaty with the British, effectively establishing Qatar (previously considered to be a dependency of Bahrain) as an independent state (Brewer et al. 2007). The treaty included that the Al-Thani family was recognized as the ruler of the Qatar peninsula (Tok/Alkhatir/Pal 2016).

11/03/1916 Continuation Absolute Monarchy [as Protectorate of United Kingdom (Electoral Oligarchy)]: On 11/03/1916 Sheikh Abdullah bin Jassim Al-Thani signed a protectorate agreement with the British (Tok/Alkhatir/Pal 2016). In exchange for military protection, Qatar relinquished autonomy in foreign affairs (Stasz et al. 2007).

09/03/1971 Continuation Absolute Monarchy [as independent country]: On 09/03/1971 Qatar regained full independence. On 02/22/1972 Hamad overthrew the Emir, his cousin and ascended to the throne. On 06/27/1995 concerns over political repression in the ruling family allowed Khalifa at Thani to overthrow his relative Hamad. The hereditary emir of Qatar holds complete executive and legislative authority and exercises control over the judiciary. After consulting with the ruling family and other notable figures, the emir appoints the prime minister, cabinet, and selects an heir-apparent. In 2013, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani abdicated as emir, passing the reins of power to his fourth-born son, Sheikh Tamim bin

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<sup>1360</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Puerto\\_Rico#Political\\_status](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Puerto_Rico#Political_status)

<sup>1361</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics\\_of\\_Puerto\\_Rico#Implications\\_of\\_the\\_current\\_political\\_status](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_Puerto_Rico#Implications_of_the_current_political_status)

<sup>1362</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puerto\\_Rico#Government](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puerto_Rico#Government)

Hamad al-Thani. Subsequently, in 01/2020, Sheikh Khalid bin Khalifa al-Thani assumed the roles of prime minister and interior minister, succeeding Sheikh Abdullah bin Nasser al-Thani, a fellow member of the ruling family.<sup>1363</sup> Political parties are prohibited, and the sole elections are for an advisory municipal council. Despite Qatari citizens being among the wealthiest globally, most of the population comprises noncitizens who lack political rights, have limited civil liberties, and face restricted economic opportunities. After years of delay, the emir announced in November 2020 that elections for two-thirds of the body's seats would take place in October 2021. The Constitution of 2003 stipulated that 30 of the 45 seats on the Advisory Council should be filled through elections every four years, with the emir appointing the other 15 members. Though official turnout for the election was 63.5 percent, in July 2021 Tamim signed a law restricting the voter franchise to native Qataris, whose families had settled in Qatar before 1930. The exact number of citizens denied voting rights due to the law is unclear. After public outcry and some small-scale protests, Emir Tamin supported amending the law to include all citizens for future elections. Nonpartisan elections for the 29-member Central Municipal Council, tasked with advising the minister for municipal affairs, have been conducted since 1999. Council members serve four-year terms. Municipal elections are open for active and passive participation for men and women since 1999.<sup>1364</sup> The current electoral laws apply to elections for both the Central Municipal Council and the Advisory Council. Qatari citizens aged 18 and older, who can demonstrate that their male ancestors were settled in Qatar before 1930, are eligible to vote, except for those serving in the military or employed by the Interior Ministry.<sup>1365</sup>

Absolute monarchy as of 07/01/2024 continued.

Additional Sources (Herb 1999, Herb 2003, Herb 2004)

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<sup>1363</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/qatar/freedom-world/2023>

<sup>1364</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>1365</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/qatar/freedom-world/2023>

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