CODING DOCUMENTATION
for data used in:

Leeds, Brett Ashley, Michaela Mattes, and Jeremy S. Vogel. 2009. Interests, Institutions, and the Reliability of International Commitments. *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (2): 461-476.

(WC change in all cases refers to "winning coalition change"—and is our shorthand for the cases in which we code a change in the core supporting coalition of the leader. Please refer to pages 467-469 of the article for discussion of the coding rules and to the replication datafile for the coded data itself.)

2 USA 1944-2001
1921-2001 POLITY dem = 10

The United States is a presidential democracy throughout this period. WC changes are thus coded 1 if the new president belongs to a different party than the preceding president. Power alternates only between two parties.

Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

20 Canada 1971-1992
1971-1992 POLITY dem = 10

Canada is a parliamentary democracy throughout this period. WC changes are thus coded 1 for major partner parliamentary ruling coalition changes. Power alternates between only two parties.

http://www2.parl.gc.ca/Parlinfo/Compilations/FederalGovernment/PrimeMinisters/ElectionWhilePM.aspx?Language=E
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

40 Cuba 1986-2001
POLITY dem = 0

No WC change is coded during this period, as Castro's single party/personalist (see Geddes) regime remains in place throughout.

Suchlicki , Jaime. 1997. *Cuba: From Columbus to Castro and Beyond*. Fourth Edition. Washington, D.C.: Brassey's.

95 Panama 1977-1999
1977-88 POLITY dem = 0
1989-1993 POLITY dem = 8
1994-1999 POLITY dem = 9

For the years 1968-1981, Geddes codes Panama as a personalist/single-party regime under Torrijos. When Torrijos dies in a plane crash, Florez Aguilar, a Torrijos loyalist takes over. In 1982, after 26 years in the military, Florez Aguilar is forced to retire. He is replaced by his own chief of staff, General Rubén Darío Paredes, also a Torrijos loyalist. Neither transition is a WC change: both men had close ties with Torrijos and can be considered part of the Torrijos clique. In 1983, Paredes decides to run for President but in order to do so has to retire from the Guard. Noriega replaces him on the Guard and uses his newly acquired power to prevent a presidency by Paredes and instead consolidates his own power. Geddes codes a military/personalist regime under Noriega from 1981-1989. We code the WC change as occurring only in 1983 because both Aguilar and Paredes seem to have been Torrijos loyalists, while this is less clear for Noriega. Furthermore, the way Noriega attains power represents a break with the way Aguilar and Paredes got to power. We code a WC change in 1990 when Noriega is removed from power by the military intervention of the U.S. and a new leader, Galimay, assumes power. According to our coding rules Panama is a democracy from 1989 onwards. We use worldstatesmen.org's account of transitions between the PA (Arnulfist Party, conservative) and PRD (Revolutionary Democratic Party, populist) to identify WC changes.

http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Panama.htm
http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/patoc.html
Mann, Carlos Guevara. 1996. *Panamanian Militarism: A Historical Interpretation*. Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies.

200 United Kingdom 1919-1976
1919-1922 POLITY dem = 8
1922-1976 POLITY dem = 10

The UK is a parliamentary democracy throughout this period. WC changes are thus coded 1 for major partner parliamentary ruling coalition changes, and 2 for minor.

http://www.number10.gov.uk/history-and-tour/prime-ministers-in-history
Butler, David and Gareth Butler. 1986. *British Political Facts, 1900-1985*. London: MacMillan.
Rubinstein, William D. 2003. *Twentieth-Century Britain. A Political History*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

211 Belgium 1920-1936
1920-1930 POLITY dem = 9
1930-1936 POLITY dem = 10

Belgium is a parliamentary democracy from 1920 to 1936. WC changes are thus coded 1 for major partner parliamentary ruling coalition changes, and 2 for minor.

http://www.premier.be/fr/biografie/yves-leterme-0
Mabille, Xavier. 1986. *Histoire Politique de la Belgique. Facteurs et actuers de changement*. Bruxelles: Editions du Centre de recherché et d'information socio-politiques.

220 France 1920-1940, 1944-2001
1920-1930 POLITY dem = 9
1930-1940 POLITY dem = 10
1940-1944 POLITY dem = 0
1944-1946 POLITY dem = -88
1946-1958 POLITY dem = 10
1958-1969 POLITY dem = 6
1969-1986 POLITY dem = 8
1986-2001 POLITY dem = 9

From 1920 to 1939, France is considered a parliamentary democracy. WC changes are thus coded 1 for major partner parliamentary ruling coalition changes, and 2 for minor. Between 1940 and 1944 France is under German occupation. From 1944 to 1958, France is again considered a parliamentary democracy. From 1959 to 2003, France is considered a presidential democracy. WC changes are thus coded 1 if the new president belongs to a different party than the preceding president.

Bonnefous, Georges. 1965. *Histoire politique de la Troisième République*. Volumes 3, 4, and 5. Paris : Presses universitaires de France.
Finer, Herman. 1962. *The Major Governments of Modern Europe*. Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company.
Da Graça, John V. 2000. *Heads of State and Government*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

230 Spain 1926-1981
1926-1930 POLITY dem = 0
1930-1931 POLITY dem = -88
1931-1939 POLITY dem = 8
1939-1975 POLITY dem = 0
1975-1978 POLITY dem = -88
1978-1982 POLITY dem = 9

From 1923 to 1930, de Rivera led a military government. He came to power in 1923 when he staged a coup. Because he had the support of the military, the King invited him to form a government. As soon as he came to power, he dissolved the legislature and started to rule by

directives. While de Rivera was controversial among some senior military leaders, he did rule with support of the military. His first cabinet was composed predominantly of military officers. By 1925, he was under popular pressure to appoint a civilian cabinet which he did. After this, the army started being concerned about de Rivera's subordination of the army to the government and his intent to reduce the size of the military (Rial 1986, p.63). When he tried to reform the promotion system, the army finally withdrew its support from de Rivera and as a result of this loss of military support, in January of 1930, the King forced de Rivera to step down. The King appointed General Berenguer to lead a transition government. Since Berenguer was just provisional leader, there was no WC change. Elections were conducted in 1931 but the left abstained from it. As a result an administration of monarchists under Admiral Aznar was put in place (no WC change because Admiral Aznar was appointed by the King who also played an important role in supporting previous administrations and was military like the leaders before him). In the municipal elections conducted in 1931, it became clear that there was a very strong republican sentiment in the population, especially in the cities. Because the military was unwilling to intervene to support the monarchy in the face of increasing pressures to abolish it, King Alfonso decided to resign. He preferred to leave the country rather than risk a civil war between republicans and monarchists. A Republican committee formed a by a number of small parties took over power on April 14, 1931 (WC change). Zamora became president and Azana, who emerged as the leader of the Republican left, took over the role as prime minister (WC change). Azana himself was a member of the Agrarian Party. By 1933, the "Pact of San Sebastian" coalition started to suffer from internal dissent and the Republicans went into the opposition and the Radical Socialists split into three sections--left, right, and center. By April 1933, the Azana government had lost its majority. New elections in November 1933 lead to a cabinet dominated by moderate liberals and moderate conservatives. The largest party was CEDA, a conservative party. However, because President Zamora doubted CEDA's commitment to the Republic, he instead had a minority-Radical government under Leroux (Radical Republican Party) form (WC change- Agrarian to Radical Republican). Lerroux led a number of shifting coalition governments until December 1935, when the government ultimately failed. A stalemate developed as President Zamora refused to let CEDA form a government and CEDA refused to participate as a junior coalition partner in any government. The President appointed the non-party finance minister Chapaprieta to form a government (This cabinet contained Radicals, Lliga Catalina and CEDA and Agrarians). This was a WC change since power moved away from the Radicals. When Chapaprieta resigned, the President appointed his crony, Portela, as an interim PM (No WC change). In the elections of 1936, the Popular Front alliance was formed by moderate middle class leftist parties and the various Socialist and Communist parties (*Socialists, Izquierda Republicana, Union Republicana, Esquerra Catalana, Communists, Accio Catalana, Leftist Independents, Unio Socialista de Catalunya, Galicianists, Federal Republicans, Unio de Rabassaires, POUM, Partit Catala Proletari, Estat Catala, Revolutionary Catalan nationalist, Partido Syndicalist, Esquerra Valenciana*). The Popular Front won the election. Azaña took over as the head of this all-left Republican cabinet (WC change). He resigned relatively quickly and handed over power to a fellow *Izquierda Republicana* politician, Quiroga (No WC change). The Spanish Civil War began on July 17, 1936, with the revolt of elite units of the Spanish army in the Morocco against the Left Republican government of Azaña and Casares Quiroga. The leadership realized the need to cooperate with the non-leftist forces and the Quiroga cabinet was replaced with one by Martinez Barrio, one of the more moderate leaders of the Popular Front alliance. (WC since Barrio was from a different party than Azaña or Quiroga).

Then there was a backlash and a new all-left Republican cabinet under José Giral (from the Republican Left) was put in place. After that Largo Caballero, a Socialist, came to power and after him Negrin, another socialist. (WC change from Barrio to Giral and Giral to Caballero since they all had different parties but no WC change between Caballero and Negrin since both were socialists). The Republican government, with a strong Communist influence, remained in power until 1939. In 1939, of course, Franco took over and, according to Geddes, Spain is a personalist autocracy under Franco from 1939 to 1979. Franco died in 1975 and his handpicked successor, Juan Carlos, was crowned King. Juan Carlos immediately confirmed Navarro, a loyal Francoist, as PM. After Juan Carlos became dissatisfied and asked for Navarro's resignation, he picked as the new PM Adolfo Suarez Gonzalez, who had served under Franco and had previously been a monarchist. None of these constitute WC changes as Juan Carlos, Navarro, and Suarez Gonzalez were Francoists and ruled with support of Franco's old clique. Together with Suarez Gonzalez, Juan Carlos led a move towards democracy and elections were conducted in 1977. While no party was able to win an absolute majority, the Union of the Democratic Center (UCD), a centrist coalition which also included more moderate and reform-friendly Francoist and moderate democrats emerged as the largest party. The leader was Suarez Gonzalez. We code a WC change in 1977 because although Suarez Gonzalez continued in office, his WC changed. He did not anymore rely on the support of the King and the Francoist clique but was rather popularly elected by a coalition of voters that included moderate Francoists and democrats. After 1979, Spain is considered a parliamentary democracy. WC changes are thus coded 1 for major partner parliamentary ruling coalition changes, and 2 for minor.

http://www.country-studies.com/spain/the-post-franco-era.html
Ben-Ami, Shlomo. 1978. *The Origins of the Second Republic in Spain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Da Graça, John V. 2000. *Heads of State and Government*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Payne, Stanley G. 1973. *A History of Spain and Portugal, vol. 2: Eighteenth Century to Franco*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Payne, Stanley G. 1980. *Fascism. Comparison and Definition*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Payne, Stanley G. 1993. *Spain's First Democracy: The Second Republic, 1931-1936*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press
Payne, Stanley G. 1995. *A History of Fascism, 1914-1945*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Rial, James H. 1986. *Revolution from Above. The Primo de Rivera Dictatorship in Spain, 1923-1930*. Fairfax: George Mason University Press.
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

235 Portugal 1939-1977
1919-1926 POLITY dem = 8
1926-1930 POLITY dem = -88
1930-1974 POLITY dem = 0
1974-1976 POLITY dem = -88
1976-1982 POLITY dem = 9

According to Geddes, Portugal was a personalist autocracy between 1926 and 1974. In 1926 the First Republic ended as the result of a military coup. In May 1926, President Machado (PD-Democratic Party) handed over power to the military. In the first few months there was infighting in the military as to who should have power. Ultimately General Carmona was appointed President. Gallagher (1983: 42) argued "the military dictatorship (especially in its first two years) was a coalition of top officers in which Carmona was little more than primus inter pares." Whenever the Cabinet needed to be re-shuffled, Carmona sent questionnaires to the various regiments to ask their opinion (p.44). Thus, this would have been a classic military dictatorship. However, in 1928 Carmona decided to appoint more civilians to higher posts. One of these civilians was Salazar, a professor of political economy at the University of Coimbra, who was made finance minister. In 1932, Carmona made Salazar PM. With the change of the Constitution in 1933 it became the PM, i.e. Salazar, and not the President, i.e. Carmona, that wielded political power. While Salazar clearly had the support of the military, he also had built his "own personal power base" (Gallagher 1983: 50) which consisted in part of the UN (National Union), which was created in 1930, and, according to Gallagher (1983: 53) provided "a vehicle of personal support" for Salazar. Thus, Geddes codes Salazar's regime as a personalist one. Salazar stayed in power until 1968. Marcello Caetano, Salazar protégé, took over between 1968 and 1974 (no WC change since Caetano was a pre-designated successor). Caetano had to assert himself against a group of old "Salazarists", composed of senior army officers and heads of financial institutions. This group, also called "the bunker", made it difficult for Caetano to implement any reforms since Salazar's people were still in charge. Caetano was finally removed from office through a coup conducted by young officers. Spinola became interim president (no WC change), followed by General Francisco de Costa Gomes. Since the military was an important supporter of Salazar and originally of Caetano, we do not code a WC change for Costa de Gomes in 1974. Finally, in 1975, Portugal conducted democratic elections and the assumption of power of the new democratic President, Eanes, in 1976 is a WC change. His support stems from the PRD and not the military. (When revisiting the case, we noticed that we could have coded the WC change in 1974 rather than 1975. We replicated the results in the 2009 AJPS study with the new coding and found no difference in results.)

Gallagher, Tom. 1983. *Portugal. A Twentieth Century Interpretation*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Opello, Walter C. Jr. 1991. *Portugal. From Monarchy to Pluralist Democracy*. Boulder: Westview Press.
Payne, Stanley G. 1973. *A History of Spain and Portugal, vol. 2: Eighteenth Century to Franco*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

255 Germany 1926-1943, 1990-2001
1925-1933 POLITY dem = 6
1933-1945 POLITY dem = 0
1990-2003 POLITY dem = 10

Germany is considered a parliamentary democracy from 1925 to 1933. A variety of different coalition governments were in charge of the country. WC changes are thus coded 1 for major partner ruling coalition changes, and 2 for minor. In 1930, the "Great Coalition" collapsed and the President, rather than the Chancellor, took a more important role in politics. At the same time the NSDAP gained more and more support. In 1933, the President finally made Hitler chancellor (WC change because the previous leader had been supported by the DNVP/CNBL and Hitler was backed by the NSDAP). During the years of 1933 and 1934 Hitler consolidated his leadership. He aligned with conservatives and industrialists and was able to ignore the Reichstag, dissolve and replace existing state governments, and take over the bureaucracy. He then introduced a single-party state under the NSDAP. The only institution that could bring him down during this time was the military, which, however, remained appeased as long as Hitler didn't threaten its interests. In 1934, Hitler destroyed the SA which was demanding more socialist economic reforms and wanted to create a new Nazi army, both policies that might threaten Hitler's survival in power. This purge established Hitler as the leader of Germany and ensured the army's support. After Hindenburg's death, Hitler combined the office of the president with that of the chancellor and had the army swear total obedience to the "Führer". Given the fact that it was really Hitler who controlled the party and the military rather than vice versa, this is best understood as a personalist system.
From 1990 to 2001, unified Germany is considered a parliamentary democracy. Chancellor Kohl of the CDU/CSU (in coalition with the FDP) stayed in power until 1996, when he was replaced by Schröder, a Social Democrat (WC change).

Berhhard, Michael. 2005. *Institutions and the Fate of Democracy. Germany and Poland in the Twentieth Century*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
Bendersky, Joseph W. 1985. *A History of Nazi Germany*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
Kinder, Hermanm and Werner Hilgemann. 1991. *Von der Französischen Revolution bis zur Gegenwart. Dtv-Atlas zur Weltgeschichte. Karten und Chronologischer Abriβ*. Band 2. 25. Auflage. Köln, Germany: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag.
Williamson, D.G. 1995. *The Third Reich*. 2nd ed. New York : Longman.
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

260 German Federal Republic 1963-1990
1949-1990 POLITY dem = 10

The GFR was a parliamentary democracy during the entire time period. WC changes are thus coded 1 if the party of the chancellor changes and 2 for changes in junior coalition partners.

http://www.bundeskanzlerin.de/Webs/BK/DE/Amt-und-Verfassung/amt-und-verfassung.html
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

265 German Democratic Republic 1964-1990
1955-1989 POLITY dem = 0

1989-1990 POLITY dem = -88

According to Geddes, the GDR was a single-party, foreign maintained autocracy from 1945 to 1990. There are no WC changes in this period.

Amos, Heike. 2003. *Politik und Organisation der SED-Zentrale 1949-1963 : Struktur und Arbeitsweise von Politbüro, Sekretariat, Zentralkomitee und ZK-Apparat*. Münster: Lit.

290 Poland 1921-1939, 1945-1993

1921-1926 POLITY dem = 8
1926-1935 POLITY dem =2
1935-1939 POLITY dem = 0
1945-1947 POLITY dem = -88
1947-1989 POLITY dem = 0
1989-1991 POLITY dem = 5
1991-1995 POLITY dem = 8

Poland was a democracy between 1921-1926. From 1921 to 1922, Pildsudski, a military officer and war hero, led the Polish government. While he used to be affiliated with the PSP (Polish Socialist Party), he had severed his ties with this party before becoming Head of State. In 1922, there were two leadership changes (Narutowicz and Wojciechowski, respectively). Neither of them was affiliated with a party but Narutowicz was supported by the Polish People's Party and other left wing parties and parties representing national minorities (WC change from Piludski who mainly had the support of the military). Narutowicz was killed only five days later and Wojciechowski took over. Wojciechowski had been a member of the Polish Peasant Party and thus had a different WC than either Pilsudski or Narutowicz. Wojciechowski stayed in power until 1926 when Pilsudski staged a coup. Pilsudski's coup was supported by the upper classes of the eastern border regions and the Polish diasporas in Russia. He also had support from the left, especially the Socialists, and minority parties. Pilsudski had always been skeptical of a parliamentary system and believed that "the army, as the only reliable guarantee of Polish independence, must be kept free under all circumstances from the influence of the parliamentary machine" (Roos 1966: 110; Rothschild 1966: 181). While he clearly attributed great importance to the role of the army, he did not have support of all of the military. Some of the leading officers favored the parliamentary system. After he assumed power, he removed some military leaders and had them executed. "Since he was ultimately a political, not a professional, soldier, he was determined somehow to combine this task of reunification (i.e. of the army that was split after the coup) with the simultaneous transformation of the army into his own instrument- the reflection and the weapon of his own policies" (Rothschild 1966: 181). As part of this plan, Pilsudski created a Committee for the Defense of the State which had to report to him personally and could not make any decisions without his approval. Pilsudski put in place a government of technocrats and led the cabinet himself. However, he refused to be president and instead appointed loyal supporters. Those who supported him during the coup, mainly officers, were given key positions. He also built a government party (the non-party bloc of cooperation: BBWR) that united members from all political parties. After 1930, Pilsudski started to withdraw from politics and left the daily business to his "Colonels". When he died in 1935, his clique

decided that a duumvirate of Rydz and Moscicki, both "Colonels" of Pilsudski, would lead the country. Because they were both part of Pilsudski's inner circle there was no WC change until 1939 when Germany invaded Poland.
There is a WC change in 1945 because German occupation ended and Bierut from the Polish Worker's Party (communist) took over. As a communist, Bierut had a different WC than the last regular leader, Rydz. While Bierut assumed power in 1945, the single-party system was only consolidated in 1947. According to Geddes, Poland was a foreign maintained, single-party autocracy from 1947 to 1989. Because Bierut was in power from 1945 until 1956, i.e. throughout the consolidation of the communist state, and received support from the USSR, no WC is coded in 1947. In 1990, the country returned to a presidential democracy with the election of Walesa to the presidency. The change of political system and the fact that Walesa was supported by Solidarity rather than the Communist Party, indicates that this leadership change was a WC change. Walesa was president until 1995.

Berhhard, Michael. 2005. *Institutions and the Fate of Democracy. Germany and Poland in the Twentieth Century*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
Garlicki, Andrzej. 1995. *Józef Piłsudski, 1867-1935*. Edited and translated by John Coutouvidis. Aldershot, Hants: Scolar Press.
Jędrzejewicz, Wacław. 1982. *Piłsudski: A Life for Poland*. New York: Hippocrene Books.
Polonsky, Antony. 1972. *Politics in Independent Poland 1921-1939. The Crisis of Constitutional Government*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Roos, Hans. 1966. *A History of Modern Poland. From Foundation of the State in the First World War to the Present Day*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
War to the Present Day. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
Rothschild, Joseph. 1966. *Pilsudski's Coup D'Etat*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Stachura, Peter D. 2004. *Poland, 1914-1945. An Interpretive and Documentary History of the Second Republic*. Londong: Routledge.
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

305 Austria 1921-1927, 1936-1938
1921-1933 POLITY dem = 8
1934-1938 POLITY dem = 0

Austria is considered a parliamentary democracy from 1921 to 1932. After the election of 1920, the Christian Democrats (called Christian Social Party or CS) governed for over a decade with the Social Democrats in opposition. Thus there are no WC changes during this time. In 1932, another CS leader, Dollfuss became chancellor. When in March 1933, the parliament failed to elect a speaker, Dollfuss suspended the parliament and banned Communists and Nazis, which were increasingly considered a threat by the government. This action of course ended democracy in Austria. In September of the same year, the CS and the Heimwehr (a paramilitary group) combined into the Vaterländische Front (Fatherland Front or VF), which became the party of Dollfuss'. The idea was for the VF to generate mass support for the Austrian government like Mussolini's party did in Italy and thus limit in the influence of the Nazi movement in Austria. While Dollfuss was the leader at the time, he had trouble asserting himself against other figures

in the VF movement so it was not him but the party that held political power. The VF movement ultimately moved to make Austria a single-party state under the VF, supported by the Heimwehr, farmers, and the Catholic Church. When Dollfuss was murdered in 1934, Schuschnigg, Justice Minister and like Dollfuss a former CS member and current VF member, became new Chancellor (no WC change). Schuschnigg stayed in power until 1938 when Germany attained control over Austria in the "Anschluss".

http://www.ifs.tuwien.ac.at/~andi/somlib/data/standard_1999/ghsom/files/19990619.327.HTM
Da Graça, John V. 2000. *Heads of State and Government*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Drabek, Anna M., Richard G. Plaschka, and Helmut Rumpler (eds.). 1990. *Das Parteienwesen Österreichs und Ungarns in der Zwischenkriegszeit*. Wien: Verlag der österriechischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Goldinger, Walter and Dieter A. Binder. 1992. *Geschichte der Republik Österreich 1918-1938*. München: Verlag für die Geschichte und Politik Wien, R. Oldenburg Verlag.
Kitchen, Martin. 1980. *The Coming of Austrofascism*. London: Croom Helm.
Weissensteiner, Friedrich and Erika Weinzierl (eds.) 1983. *Die Österreichischen Bundeskanzler. Leben und Werk*. Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag Gesellschafy m.b.H.

310 Hungary 1929-2001

1929-1944 POLITY dem = 1
1944-1945 POLITY dem = -66
1945-1948 POLITY dem = -88
1948-1956 POLITY dem = 0
1956-1957 POLITY dem = -66
1957-1988 POLITY dem = 0
1988-1989 POLITY dem = 2
1989-1990 POLITY dem = -88
1990-2003 POLITY dem = 10

Hungary's leader from 1929 to 1944 was Horthy. Horthy had been an Admiral and had been in charge of the military since August 1919. In August 1920, he was elected regent in an election in which the military took a very salient role. Upon Horthy's insistence, he was given wide-ranging powers. He was able to consolidate his control of the country by 1921. Horthy's assumption of power had been supported by the military, the Inter-Allied Military Commission, and the Small-holders party. While initially he was dependent on the military, he was able to establish his own base of power by creating the Party of Unity and by fostering a cult around his personality. There also appears not to have been much collegiality with other military leaders or consultation with the military corps. Thus, this is probably most appropriately considered a personalist system. In World War II, Hungary supported Hitler but was ultimately occupied by Germany and later the USSR. As a result of this Horthy was removed in 1944 and a governing council was put in place. Since Hungary was under occupation at the time we do not code a WC change here. After the war, the USSR helped Mátyás Rákosi gain power. He was a the former leader of the Hungarian Communist Party, and rose to power with the support of the Hungarian Workers Party, which was a coalition between the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Parity. This constitutes a WC change (personalist before occupation to communist single-party after occupation). By

1948, the Communists were able to gain complete control of the country and, according to Geddes, the foreign-maintained single-party system remained in place until 1990. In 1990, free parliamentary elections were held and Antall was elected Prime Minister. Given that Antall was supported by the MDF, FKGP, and KDNP, (i.e. more conservative christian democratic parties instead of the MSzMP, the communists), this leadership change is considered a WC change. Hungary is considered a parliamentary democracy from 1991 to 2001. WC changes are thus coded 1 for major partner parliamentary ruling coalition changes, and 2 for minor.

<http://www.magyarorszag.hu/angol/orszaginfo/allam/kormany/kormanyzat_a.html>
Drabek, Anna M., Richard G. Plaschka, and Helmut Rumpler (eds.). 1990. *Das Parteienwesen Österreichs und Ungarns in der Zwischenkriegszeit*. Wien: Verlag der österriechischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Sakmyster, Thomas. 1994. *Hungary's Admiral on Horseback. Miklos Horthy, 1918-1944*. Eastern European Monographs No.CCCXCVI. New York: Columbia University.
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

315 Czechoslovakia 1920-1939, 1945-1992

1920-1939 POLITY dem = 7
1945-1947 POLITY dem = 10
1947-1948 POLITY dem = -88
1948-1968 POLITY dem = 0
1968-1969 POLITY dem = -77
1969-1990 POLITY dem = 0
1990-1992 POLITY dem = 8

From 1920 to 1938, Czechoslovakia is considered a presidential democracy. Masaryk was in power until 1935 when he became too ill to govern and he asked Benes to assume the presidency. While Masaryk had been non-party and Benes was a member of the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party (CNSP) and had support from socialists, Czech populists, German socialists and clerical, agrarians, this is not a WC change. He had joined the CNSP "largely for convenience" (Mamatey and Luza, 1973: 216). "Except for the constant support of Masaryk, he owed little to other people" (Mamatey and Luza 1973: 217). Benes had been a close affiliate of Masaryk: his student and foreign minister since 1918. Under pressure from Hitler, Benes resigned in 1938. Benes appointed General Syrovny as an interim leader (no WC change) until new elections brought Hacha, a conservative, to office (WC change). Shortly after Hacha took over Czechoslovakia fell under German occupation but Hacha stayed on as a puppet.
After WW II, Benes resumed power (WC change from conservative before occupation to CNSP after occupation) until 1948. During the early post-war years, the Communists increasingly gained support from the people and won the plurality in the elections of 1946. While Benes remained president, Gottwald, the leader of the Communist Party (KSC) became PM and the Communists were able to gain control over a number of cabinet posts. In 1947, the KSC conducted a purge of the security forces and promoted socialist economic policies. Other parties in the CSSR criticized the KSC's actions and a power struggle ensued. Ultimately, Benes, fearing a Soviet invasion, allowed the Communists to fully assume power. According to Geddes,

Czechoslovakia was consolidated as a foreign-maintained single-party regime in 1948 and remained in place until 1989. In 1989, Poland became a presidential democracy. Calfa, a former Communist who had joined the VPN (Public against Violence party- Croat) together with the Civic Forum (Czech), was elected president. After the VPM-Civil Forum coalition was defeated in the 1992 elections, Alfa resigned and Strasky became the president. There was a WC change because Strasky was supported by the ODS, among other parties different from the ones that supported Calfa.

Bradley, J.F.N. 1971. *Czechoslovakia. A Short History by J.F.N. Bradley*.
Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Mamatey, Victor S. and Radomír Luža (ed.) 1973. *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-1948*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Skilling, H. Gordon. 1991. *Czechoslovakia, 1918-88 : seventy years from independence*. New York : St. Martin's Press.
Taborsky, Edward. 1961. *Communism in Czechoslovakia, 1948-1960*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

316 Czech Republic 1993-1994
1993-2003 POLITY dem = 10

The Czech Republic is a parliamentary democracy throughout this period. Vaclav Klaus, a conservative was in office during these years). Thus, no WC change.

<http://www.czech.cz/index.php?section=3&menu=34&action=text&id=68>
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

317 Slovakia 1993
1993-1998 POLITY dem = 7

Slovakia is a parliamentary democracy throughout this time. Meciar of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia was in power in this year.

Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

325 Italy 1924-1943, 1980-1984
1920-1928 POLITY dem = -88
1928-1943 POLITY dem = 0
1948-2003 POLITY dem = 10

From 1924 to 1943, Mussolini and the PNF were in power. Mussolini became PM in 1922 and continued the parliamentary system until 1925. From 1925 onwards, he consolidated his

dictatorship. He established Italy as a single-party system under the PNF. However, according to Payne (1980), the PNF was brought under bureaucratic control rather than vice versa. It was also purged to eliminate all elements critical of Mussolini. Mussolini kept weakening the party by dismissing high-ranking ministers between 1925 and 1933. He wanted to ensure that no stable governing elite powerful enough to oppose him could form (Payne 1980: 77). Because Mussolini controlled the party rather than vice versa, this is best understood as a personalist system. In 1943, Italy was invaded by Germany and a puppet regime installed.
From 1945 onwards, Italy is considered a parliamentary democracy. We code a WC change in 1945 because the new leader, de Gasperi, was not affiliated with the Mussolini dictatorship and in fact had vehemently opposed it. After 1945, WC changes are coded 1 for major partner parliamentary ruling coalition changes, and 2 for minor.

Payne, Stanley G. 1980. *Fascism. Comparison and Definition*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

338 Malta 1964-1972, 1980-1989
Freedom House ratings (only from 1973):
1973-1981: Free
1982-1987: Partly Free
1987-2003: Free

Malta was a parliamentary democracy dominated by two parties throughout these periods (U.S. Department of State says Malta became a parliamentary democracy in 1964). Olivier of the PN (Nationalist Party) was in power from 1964 through 1971. He was then replaced by Mintoff of the MLP (Labour Party). This constitutes a WC change. Mintoff remained in power until 1984 when Bonnici, another MLP member, became PM (no WC change). In 1987, the MLP lost the election and a National Party PM, Adami took over (WC change).

http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5382.htm
http://www.doi.gov.mt/EN/islands/lists/list6.asp
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

339 Albania 1927-1939, 1946-1967
1927-1939 POLITY dem = 0
1946-1990 POLITY dem = 0

In 1922, Zogu, a leading Muslim tribesman, took over power with the help of a mercenary force. He was supported by clan leaders and land owners and enjoyed popularity with the northern tribes because he was himself a chieftain. He initially established a personalist dictatorship where he appointed northern chieftains to government posts, granted military titles (and the associated salary) to his supporters, and made his supporters pledge loyalty to him at least once a year.

Zogu unified the roles of chief of state and head of government and took control of the military. "The president was clearly interested in doing away with the role of the military in politics, primarily because the last time the military took an active role was in opposition to him (Fisher 1984: 79)." In 1928, he dissolved the parliament and crowned himself King, calling himself Zog I. His reign was recognized by a number of countries. Generally little changed between his dictatorship and his reign as King. When Italy invaded Albania in 1939, he went into exile. When Albania regained independence, it was under Communist control. According to Geddes, Albania was a single-party autocracy from 1946 to 1991. Thus, there are no WC changes during this time.

Fischer, Bernd Jürgen. 1984. *King Zog and the Struggle for Stability in Albania*. East European Monographs, Boulder. New York: Columbia University Press.
Vickers, Miranda. 1999. The Albanians : a modern history. London: I.B. Tauris.

345 Yugoslavia 1920-1941, 1945-1949
1921-1929 POLITY dem = 3
1929-1937 POLITY dem = 0
1937-1939 POLITY dem = -88
1939-1941 POLITY dem = 5
1944-1945 POLITY dem = -88
1945-1951 POLITY dem = 0

From 1920 to 1941, Yugoslavia is identified as a monarchy based on the position of the leader in power according to the Archigos data. Although there was a leadership change in 1934 from Alexander I to Prince Paul (who became the regent for Alexander's young son Peter II), and in 1941 from Prince Paul to Peter II, neither is considered a WC change because they all belonged to the same dynasty, the Karadjordjevic. Note, however, that Peter II acceded the throne with support of the British and by conducting a coup against his own uncle. Shortly thereafter Yugoslavia was attacked and occupied by foreign forces until 1945.
In 1945, Tito and the SKJ (Communist Party) came to power and established a single-party autocracy that, according to Geddes, lasted until 1989.

http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/yutoc.html

350 Greece 1928-1941
1928-1934 POLITY dem = 10
1934-1936 POLITY dem = 8
1936-1941 POLITY dem = 0

From 1928 to 1936, Greece is considered a parliamentary democracy. Between December 1926 and July 1928 an "ecumenical government" composed of the Union of Liberals, the Republican Union, the Popular Party, and the Free-thinkers under Zaimis (non-party but apparently a conservative) was in place. After this coalition government collapsed, the President asked Venizelos from the Liberal Party to form a government (WC change conservative to liberal).

Then Papanastasiou (Republican Union) briefly served as PM for a few weeks before being replaced again by Venizelos (Liberal Party) in 1932. In the elections of 1932, the People's Party under Tsaldaris won and Tsaldaris the replaced Venizelos. Thus, there are a number of WC changes that year. Tsaldaris stayed in power until 1935 when he was forced to resign. He was first replaced by a fellow People's Party politician, Kondylis. Kondylis was only in power for 1.5 months until Demertzis from the Liberal party became PM (WC change). After a failed coup the following year, the King asked Metaxas to form a government (WC change, Liberal Party to military). Metaxas was a General that was associated with the Freethinkers party, an ultra-right party. He had the support of conservative forces- the monarchy, royalists, and military officers that supported the monarchy (Kofas 1983: 53). Metaxas shut down the parliament, suspended the constitution, banned all parties including his own, and took control of the police and the military. In 1938, he purged the group that had brought him to power (i.e. the royalists) and replaced them with Metaxists (Kofas 1983: p.54). Generally, he appointed people loyal to him. Kofas (1983: 206) speaks of "two stages: 1) until 1938 the power base was mainly conservative and Metaxas relied on the crown and royalist political and military circles, 2) 'The New State' relied on the police as main organ while the military stayed under control of the crown and played only a minor role before 1940." We consider this to be a personalist dictatorship because Metaxas consolidated power in his person. Metaxas died in January 1941 and was succeeded by Korizis, Tsouderos, and then German Occupation. WC change from Metaxas to Korizis because Metaxas personalist system came to an end but not between Korizis and Tsouderos since both relied primarily on the King.

http://www.venizelos-foundation.gr/endocs/bio23-28.jsp
Clogg, Richard. 1992. *A Concise History of Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Da Graça, John V. 2000. *Heads of State and Government*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Kofas, Jon V. 1983. *Authoritarianism in Greece. The Metaxas Regime*. Eastern European Monographs, No.CXXXIII. New York: Columbia University Press.

355 Bulgaria 1929-1939, 1947-2001

1929-1934 POLITY dem = 1
1934-1935 POLITY dem = -88
1935-1943 POLITY dem = 0
1946-1990 POLITY dem = 0
1990-2001 POLITY dem = 8
2001-2003 POLITY dem = 9

From 1929 to 1941, Bulgaria was a monarchy. King Boris III from the House of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha stayed in power the whole period.
According to Geddes, Bulgaria was a single-party, foreign maintained autocracy from 1947 to 1990. Thus, no WC change occurred during that time. In 1990, the Bulgarian Communist Party stepped down and elections were held. Lukanov, of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, who was considered a moderate Communist, became president. Popov, a judge with no clear party affiliation, quickly replaced him. The leadership change from the Bulgarian Communist Party to Lukanov is not considered a WC change because Lukanov was also Communist. However, the leadership change from Lukanov to Popov is considered a WC change because Popov was not

affiliated with the Communists and this is the end of the Communist system. In 1991 Popov handed over power to Dimitriv (SDS, a center-right party) who was the leader of a broad anti-Communist coalition (WC change). The coalition failed in 1992 and Berov (non-party), nominated by the Movement for Rights and Freedom (MRF, ethnic Turkish, centrist) became PM. He also had support from the Union of Democratic Forces (a union of parties in opposition to Communism) and a number of other parties. This was a WC change since Berov was not necessarily supported by the SDS but other parties with anti-communist platform. Berov was then replaced by acting Premier Indzhova (UDF) which means there was no WC change. Due to rising opposition to the UDF, Videnov from the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party was able to attain office (WC change from anti-Communist to a Socialist). His government collapsed in 1997 and the UDF (Union of Democratic Forces, center-right) was able to gain power first under acting PM Sofianski and then under regular PM Kostov. WC change for Kostov (Socialist to center-right) but not to Sofianski since he was acting. Kostov stayed in power until 2001 when the UDF lost to former Tsar Simeon Sakskoburggotski who created his own political movement (WC change).

Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

360 Romania 1921-1944, 1947-1996

1921-1940 POLITY dem = 1
1940-1941 POLITY dem = -88
1941-1944 POLITY dem = 0
1948-1989 POLITY dem = 0
1989-1990 POLITY dem = -88
1990-1996 POLITY dem = 5

From 1921 to 1940, Romania was a monarchy. While Nicholas replaced Ferdinand II in 1927 and Carol II replaced Nicholas in 1930, none of these are WC changes. All are from the same dynasty, the House of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. In 1940, Carol II appointed Antonescu as PM because after the loss of territory to Germany he felt it was a good idea to appoint a military leader. The King gave Antonescu full powers. Shortly thereafter, Antonescu who had the support of the Iron Guard party (a fascist party), some military officers, and Germany forced the King to abdicate. Since now the country was no longer a monarchy but a military government, this leadership change is considered a WC change. Antonescu was in power until 1944 when Micheal V, son of the previous King Carol II, staged a coup with the help of the Red Army (WC change). The USSR then forced Micheal to appoint a pro-Communist government and he was no more than a puppet until he was forced to abdicate in 1947 when Romania was made a Communist state. Gheorgiu-Dej, a Stalinist and leader of the Communist party, took over the country's leadership. This is considered a WC change as a communist backed government replaced the monarchy. According to Geddes, Romania was a personalist/single-party autocracy under Gheorghiu-Dej/Ceausescu from 1945 to 1990.
In 1989, Ceausescu was executed and replaced by Roman from the National Salvation Front (FSN), who wanted to restore democracy and civil liberties (WC change). In May, 1990 elections were held and the FSN and Roman won easily. Because a number of communists

remained in positions of power under the Roman government, there were numerous protests that forced Roman to reign in 1991. Because his successor Stolojan was also from the FSN but was supported by other coalition parties (the NLP, REM, and ADP) as well, we code this as a minor WC change. When the FSN split into two factions in 1992, Stolofan has to give up power. Vacariou, backed by a coalition between the PDSR, PDAR, PUNR, PSM, and PRM replaced Stolojan and remained the leader until 1996. This is considered a WC change as Vacariou's party (and coalition partners) was different from the Stolojan's. In 1995 and 1996, various members of the coalition government left and we code minor WC changes for this. In 1996, Vacariou, at this point leading a minority government, was replaced by Ciorbea, a Christian Democrat, backed by the Democratic Convention of Romania (CDR), the Social Democratic Union (USD) and the Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania (WC change) His coalition held despite internal tensions until 1998.

Deletant, Dennis. 1999. *Romania under Communist Rule*. Portland: Center for Romanian Studies in cooperation with the Civic Academy Foundation.
Tismaneanu, Valdimir. 2003. *Stalinism for all Seasons: A Political History of Romanian Communism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

365 Russia 1925-2001
1925-1989 POLITY dem = 0 (USSR)
1989-1990 POLITY dem = 1 (USSR)
1990-1991 POLITY dem = 3 (USSR)
1992-1993 POLITY dem = 6
1993-2000 POLITY dem = 5
2000-2003 POLITY dem = 7

According to Geddes, the Soviet Union was a single-party autocracy, under the CPSU, from 1917 to 1991. In 1991, popularly elected Yeltsin replaced Gorbachev who was supported by the CPSU and leader of Russia for the last six years (WC change). Putin replaced Yeltsin in 1999. There is no WC change because Putin had been Yeltsin's PM and chosen successor.

Kargalitsky, Boris. 2002. *Russia under Yeltsin and Putin: neoliberal autocracy*. London: Pluto Press.
Shevchenko, Iulia. 2004. *The Central Government of Russia: From Gorbachev to Putin*. Burlington: Ashgate.
Tikhomirov, Vladimir (ed.) 2001. *Russia after Yeltsin*. Burlington: Ashgate.
White, Steven, Alex Pravda, Zvi Gitelman (eds.) 2001. *Developments in Russian Politics 5*. Durham: Duke University Press.

366 Estonia 1923-1940
1923-1933 POLITY dem = 10
1933-1936 POLITY dem = -88

1936-1940 POLITY dem = 0

From 1923 to 1932, Estonia is considered a presidential democracy. WC changes are thus coded 1 if the new president belonged to a different party than the preceding president. There are WC changes in nearly every year. During those years Estonian cabinets tended to be dominated by the right and center but they shifted power among themselves. Generally, the far right was gaining support in the population and there were demands for a stronger presidency. A proposal to strengthen the presidency won by 77% in 1933. It was widely expected that the Vabs (Veterans of the War of Freedom) would win the election. However, the leader of the interim government in place at the time, Päts, staged a military coup with the help of the commander-in-chief of the Estonian army. Päts was a traditional conservative who had been PM before and always stepped down when he lost electoral support. However, he had become skeptical about democracy when he saw the large support of the populace for the strengthening of the presidency. After the coup, Pats dissolved the parliament, banned political parties, declared martial law, and ruled by decree. In 1936, Päts had his face printed on stamps that declared Estonia "Pätsonia" (Taagepera 1993: 56). The consolidation of power in the person of Päts and his tendency to rule together with close associates suggests that this was a personalist system. In June 1940, the USSR made ultimatums to both Estonia and Lithuania to allow access of Soviet troops, Päts had to resign, and Estonia became a member of the USSR.

Magi, Auteri. 1967. *Das Staatsleben Estlands wahrend seiner Selbstandigkeit*. Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell.
Raun, Toivo U. 1987. *Estonia and the Estonians*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press.
Taagepera, Rein. 1993. *Estonia. Return to Independence*. Boulder: Westview Press.

367 Latvia 1923-1940

1923-1928 POLITY dem = 7
1928-1934 POLITY dem = 8
1934-1940 POLITY dem = 0

From 1923 to 1933, Latvia is considered a parliamentary democracy. WC changes are thus coded 1 for major partner parliamentary ruling coalition changes, and 2 for minor. There are WC changes in 1924, 1926, 1928, and 1931. In 1934, Ulmanis carried out a peaceful coup (WC change). He had the support of the military and some members of the Agrarian Party. After the coup, Ulmanis disbanded the parliament and abolished all parties, including his own. He ruled with a cabinet of loyal supporters. When his term as President was about to expire in 1936 he merged the offices of the PM and president and took over both. "Ulmanis saw himself and was portrayed by his admirers as the Samnieks of Latvia: the head of the farmstead who was morally entitled to supervise and guide the lives of those under his charge and to protect an image of unity to the outside world (Plakans 1995, p.134)". Basically, he was a personalist dictator. He was forced from office when Latvia was made part of the USSR in 1940.

Bilmanis, Alfred. 1951. *A History of Latvia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Plakans. Andrejs. 1995. *The Latvians. A Short History*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press.
Rutkis. J. (ed.) 1967. *Latvia. Country and People*. Stockholm: Latvian National Foundation.

368 Lithuania 1926-1940
1926-1928 POLITY dem = -88
1928-1940 POLITY dem = 0

Stulginskis (LKDP- Lithuanian Christian Democrats) was President between 1922 and 1926. In the elections in May 1926, he lost against a coalition of LVLS (Lithuanian Peasant Populist Union; Liaudininkai) and LSDP, which with the further support of minorities made Grinius the new President (WC change). Grinius was only in power for a few months when a coalition of the Christian Democrats and pro-nationalist army officers ousted Grinius and placed Smetona of the Lithuanian Nationalist Union in power (WC change). While Smetona came to power with the help of the army, the army did not actually want to engage in everyday politics and left this to Smetona, who quickly dissolved the parliament and installed a dictatorship. He initially struggled for power with other nationalist leaders, including his brother-in-law but by 1929 he prevailed. Smetona "based his power on the Nationalist Union, the Army and a prosperous middle class of farmers, business interests, and professionals" (Suziedelis 1997. p.274). He banned all parties other than the Nationalist Union which essentially established a single-party state where the people were supposed to follow the party "Or rather, not the Party's position, but Smetona's, because the Party had more of an advisory than a deciding role in the power structures then in place (Kiaupa p.354)". Gerutis (1969: 227): "In a sense there was no official party in Lithuania because the Tautininkai (Nationalist Union), though it supported the regime and tried to assume the role of a state party, was only considered a handmaiden and helper of the regime of President Smetona, who considered it to be the link between state and society." Further evidence of Smetona having put in place a personalist system is the personality cult around him and his title as "Father of the Nation". Smetona was forced from office when Lithuania was made part of the USSR in 1940.

Gerutis, Albertas (ed.) 1969. *Lithuania. 700 Years*. Second revised edition. Tarnslated by Algirdas Budrecks. Introduction by Raphael Sealey. New York: Maryland Books.
Kiaupa, Zigmas. 2002. The History of Lithuania. Vilnius : Baltos lankos.
Lopata, Raimundas. 1998. Authoritarian regime in interwar Lithuania : circumstances, legitimation, conception. (Autoritarinis rezimas tarpukario Lietuvoje : aplinkybes, legitimumas, koncepcija**)**. Vilnius : Leituvos istorijos institutas.
Sužiedėlis, Saulius. 1997. *Historical Dictionary of Lithuania*. European Historical Dictionaries No.21. London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

375 Finland 1932-1939, 1948-1992
1932-1944 POLITY dem = 7
1944-1999 POLITY dem = 10

Finland is a presidential democracy throughout this period. WC changes are thus coded 1 if the new president belonged to a different party than the preceding president. Svinhufud (a Social Democrat) was in power from 1931 through 1937 when he lost to Kallio from the Farmer's League (WC change).

Paasikivi of the National Coalition Party (conservative) was in power between 1946 and 1956. He was then replaced by Kekkonen of the Finnish Centre Party and Farmer's League (WC change). Kekkonen was then replaced by Koivisto, a Social Democrat, in 1986 who remained in power through 1994.

Da Graça, John V. 2000. *Heads of State and Government*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

390 Denmark 1939-1940, 1976-1993
1939-1940 POLITY dem = 10
1945-2003 POLITY dem = 10

From 1930 to 1940 and from 1945 to 2003, Denmark was a parliamentary democracy. During 1939 and 1940 Denmark was ruled by Stauning of the Social Democrats. In 1940, Denmark fell under German occupation. Per our coding rules, this is not coded as a WC change.
After 1945 Denmark regains its independence. Because Denmark is again a parliamentary democracy, WC changes are coded 1 for if the party of the PM changes and 2 if there is a change in junior coalition partners.

http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3167.htm#history
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

420 Gambia 1981-1989
1981-89 POLITY dem = 7

Gambia is a presidential democracy under Jawara throughout this period; there are no leader or WC changes.

Hughes, Arnold and Gailey, Henry A. 1999. *Historical Dictionary of the Gambia.* 3rd edition. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Ltd.

432 Mali 1960
1960 POLITY dem = 0

We respect Geddes' single-party code for this year. Geddes codes Mali as a single-party autocracy between 1960 and 1968.

Imperato, Pascal James. 1996. *Historical Dictionary of Mali*. 3rd edition. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
Imperato, Pascal James. 1989. *Mali, a Search for Direction.* Boulder: Westview Press, Boulder.

433 Senegal 1974-2001

1974-77 POLITY dem = 0
1978-1999 POLITY dem = 2
2000-2001 POLITY dem = 8

Geddes codes Senegal as a single-party system under the PSS between 1960 and 2000. There is a transition from Senghor to Diouf but both are part of the PSS and thus there is no WC change. In 2000, when Senegal became democratic, Wade (PDS) won the popular presidential election. WC change.

http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2862.htm

435 Mauritania 1961-1972

1961 POLITY dem = 2
1962-2003 POLITY dem = 0

Mauritania was a personalist system (per Geddes) under Ould Daddah throughout this period. So no WC change.

436 Niger 1974-1981

1961-90 POLITY dem = 0

A military coup ousted Diori's single-party dictatorship in 1974. Kontouche assumed power in the new military-personalist dictatorship which lasted until 1993, first under Kontouche and then, after his 1987 death, under Seibou, a close associate. When Kontouche took over in 1974, there was thus a WC change from PPN to mil (single party to mil/personalist regime change per Geddes) but there was no WC change in 1987 when Kontouche's predesignated successor took over.

http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/mrtoc.html

438 Guinea 1971-1986

1960-94 POLITY dem = 0

According to Geddes, Toure headed a single-party regime (PDG) until his death in 1984. Beavogui, the premier, took over per the constitution (no WC change). He was only in charge for a few days when Conte assumed power in a military coup (WC change, PDG to military). The coup had a lot of public support; PDG leaders were arrested and tried. According to Geddes, Conte then created a personalist system in which he held power until 2000.

http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2824.htm

450 Liberia 1959-2001
1959-89 POLITY dem = 0
1990-95 POLITY = -77
1996 POLITY = -88
1997-2002 POLITY dem = 3

According to Geddes, the single-party personalist regime originally created by Tubman was in place between 1944 and 1980. Tubman died in 1971 and was succeeded by his VP and pre-designated successor Tolbert. No WC change. Tolbert was killed in a 1980 coup led by Doe. WC change because Geddes codes Doe's regime as a new personalist system that continued until 1990. Doe was killed in the civil war in 1990. Liberia was undergoing civil war from 1989-1996. After Doe's murder, a number of political organizations met to set up a provisional administration. The provisional government was led by Sawyer, an academic and activist, until 1994 (No WC change because he was interim). The provisional government did not have control over most of the country as the civil war was waging and it was in fact rebel leader Charles Taylor who controlled most of Liberia. In 1994, a 5-man Council of State, composed of the warring civil war factions, elected Kpormapkor as its chairman (No WC change since this was another interim leader). The chairmanship passed to Sankawulo and Perry, also both interim leaders, before Charles Taylor was elected to the presidency in 1997 (WC change). Peace accords ended the Liberian civil war in 1996 and Taylor was elected in an "arguably genuine democratic election on 19 July 1997" (Levitt 2005, 210). On the other hand, apparently "war fatigue rather than Taylor's popularity was the ultimate determiner at the polls" (210). According to Geddes, Charles Taylor established a personalist autocracy that continued until 2003.

Levitt, Jeremy I. 2005. *The Evolution of Deadly Conflict in Liberia. From Paternaltarianism to State Collapse*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press.

451 Sierra Leone 1971-1986
1971-95 POLITY dem = 0

There were a number of leadership changes during the time. Tejan-Sie to Cole to Stevens in 1971 and Stevens to Momoh in 1986. None of these were WC changes since, according to Geddes, a single-party system under the APC was in place the whole time (1968-1992).

461 Togo 1963-2001
1963-90 POLITY dem = 0
1991-92 POLITY = -88
1993-2003 POLITY dem = 1

Geddes codes a personalist dictatorship under Olympio between 1960 and 1963. When Olympio was assassinated in a coup by non-commissioned army officers in 1963, Grunitzky became president. Since Grunitzky was not a pre-designated successor but rather an opposition leader who had been in exile, this is coded as a WC change. Grunitzky first acted as an interim President but he then helped enact a new constitution that restored the multi-party system and

became regular President. Over time a power struggle developed between Grunitzky and other political leaders and this led to a coup in which Dadjo and Lt. Col. Eyadema took over (WC change, MPT to military). First Dadjo became interim leader but was quickly replaced by Eyadema. Instead of returning Togo to democracy, Eyadema had all parties but the RPT (Rally of the Togolose People) banned and, according to Geddes, ruled as a personalist dictator until his deatn in 2005.

http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5430.htm

475 Nigeria 1960-1962
1960-62 POLITY dem = 8

Nigeria is a parliamentary democracy under Balewa (NPC) throughout this period.

481 Gabon 1960-2001
1960-89 POLITY dem = 0
1990 POLITY = -88
1991-2003 POLITY dem = 0

Geddes codes Gabon as a single-party/personalist system from 1960 onwards. The system was interrupted briefly when Mba was deposed in a 1964 military coup because he had been trying to consolidate the single-party state by forcing the USDG to merge with his party, the BDG. He was restored only a few days later with the help of the French. Due to our 30-day rule, this is not a WC change. The French support allowed Mba to further build the single-party state. VP Bongo became president upon Mba's death in 1967. Bongo succeeded in solidifying the SP state. (No WC change since Bongo was a pre-designated successor and the single-party/personalist regime stayed in place).

http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2826.htm

483 Chad 1980-1982
1980-82 POLITY = -77

Chad was in a civil war between 1979 and 1982 and a government under Goukouni Oueddei (FROLINAT-FAP) was in charge as a result of the Lagos Accord of 21 August 1979 that set up a transitional government. However, he was continuously in a power struggle with Habré, the leader of the Armed Forces of the North (FAN). Habré eventually moved into the capital and took over the government in a coup. Because Habré installed a new personalist regime in 1982, we code this as a WC change.

http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/37992.htm
http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/tdtoc.html

484 Congo 1981-2001
1963-90 POLITY dem = 0
1991 POLITY = -88
1992-96 POLITY dem = 6
1997-2003 POLITY dem = 0

Geddes codes the years 1968-92 as single-party/military under Sassou-Nguesso and the PCT (Marxist). We code a WC change in 1992 when the single-party/military regime ends and the Congo democratically elects Lissouba (UDAPS, social-democratic). There is another WC change in 1997, when fighting between militias loyal to Lissouba and those loyal to Sassou-Nguesso and the PCT escalated into civil war and Sassou-Nguesso prevailed and Lissouba left the country.

http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2825.htm
Clark, John F. 2008. *The Failure of Democracy in the Republic of Congo*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

500 Uganda 1972-1979
1972-78 POLITY dem = 0
1979 POLITY = -66

Amin's personalist regime (per Gedes) was in place between 1971 and 1979 when Amin fled from Tanzanian-Ugandan forces. In the aftermath, Lule, "former Makerer University vice-chancellor and chairman of the UNLF political arm" formed an interim government (Ofcansky 1996, 46). UNLF is the Uganda National Liberation Front, a coalition of exile groups that opposed Amin. Lule alienated his supporters by appointing conservative Baganda officials to high positions. His government did not get a long with the political wing of the UNLF and he was replaced with Binaisa. Geddes' coding of Uganda as a military autocracy between 1979-1980 suggested that it was really the military that had power and thus we code a WC change in 1979 when Amin's personalist system ends and a military one was created.

Ociti, Jim. 2000. *Political Evolution and Democratic Practice in Uganda, 1952-1996*. African Studies. Volume 51. Lewiston: Edwin Mellin Press.
Ofcansky, Thomas P. 1996. *Uganda. Tarnished Pearl of Africa*. Boulder: Westview Press.

501 Kenya 1963-2001
1963-65 POLITY dem = 5
1966-68 POLITY dem = 3
1969-96 POLITY dem = 0
1997-2001 POLITY dem = 2

According to Geddes, the KANU single-party regime was in place from 1963 through 2001. Kenyatta became the first President when Kenya gained independence. When he died in 1978, he was succeeded by his deputy, Moi. No WC change.

520 Somalia 1974-1977
1974-90 POLITY dem = 0

According to Geddes, Siad Barre's personalist regime ruled Somalia between 1969 and 1991. Thus, there was no WC change during this period.

522 Djibouti 1977-2001
1977-98 POLITY dem = 0
1999-2001 POLITY dem = 3

Djibouti is not in Geddes' data. However, it appears that it was ruled by the same party, the RPP the entire time period. Hassan Gouled Aptidon became Djibouti's first president following independence in 1977. He stayed in power until 1999 when his nephew, chief of staff, and key adviser, Ismail Omar Guelleh succeeded him. Guelleh was also from the RPP and he seems to have been a predesignated successor. Thus we code no WC change.

http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5482.htm

530 Ethiopia 1944-5, 1963-2001
1944-45, 63-73 POLITY dem = 0
1974 POLITY = -77
1975-90 POLITY dem = 0
1991 POLITY = -77
1992-94 POLITY = -88
1995-2003 POLITY dem = 3

Ethiopia was a monarchy between 1930 and 1974 under Emperor Selassie. In 1974, Selassie was ousted by some junior military officers (WC change monarchy to mil/per). After that a number of military leaders were in charge of the country: Andom in 1974, Banti (1974-1977), and Megistu (1977-1991). After Mengistu came to power, he had multiple members of the Derg (junta) executed. It seems that up until 1977 the regime was mainly military but when Mengistu came to power, he added the personalist component given that he had high military members executed. Geddes codes a military/personalist regime after Selassie's removal in 1974 until 1991. Due to widespread economic problems, including drought and famine, Mengistu's government faced upheaval, including an armed rebellion by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), a coalition of opposition groups. When the EPRDF conquered a number of important cities, Mengistu lost control of the country and fled. After that Kidan (Mengistu's VP and defense minister) initially replaced him (No WC change). Kidan was soon deposed by the EPRDF leader Zenawi, who consolidated a single-party system under the EPRDF which according to Geddes has controlled Ethiopia since 1991 (WC change from military/personal to single-party).

http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/ettoc.html
http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2859.htm

540 Angola 1976-2001
1976-90 POLITY dem = 0
1991 POLITY = -88
1992 POLITY = -77
1993-1996 POLITY = -88
1997-2003 POLITY dem = 1

According to Geddes, Angola was ruled by a single party, the MPLA-PT (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, Marxist) the whole time. Thus, no WC change. Neto was President between 1976 and 1979. He was then succeeded by Des Santos, one of Netos' ministers and his pre-designated successor.

http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/aotoc.html
http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/6619.htm

541 Mozambique 1977-2001
977-93 POLITY dem = 0
1994-2003 POLITY dem = 6

According to Geddes, Mozambique was controlled by a single party, the FRELIMO, the entire time. Geddes acknowledges that there have been free and fair elections since 1994 but because Chissano from the FRELIMO stayed in power after the elections, she continues to code this as a single-party system. While the party tried to attract new supporters after 1994, it essentially maintained the same supporters (South Mozambique region and workers). Thus we code no WC change for the entire period FRELIMO is in power even though Mozambique arguably democratized.

560 South Africa 1955-1994
1945-91 POLITY dem = 7
1992-93 POLITY = -88
1994-2003 POLITY dem = 9

Given a POLITY IV democracy score of 7, South Africa should be considered a democracy but Geddes considers it to be a single-party autocracy between 1961 and 1994. Whether we consider it a democracy or not, because all South African presidents between 1955 and 1994 came from the same party, the NP (New National Party, conservative), there are no WC changes until 1994 when apartheid ended and Mandela from the ANC was elected president. (Note: If considered a democracy, then South Africa was a parliamentary democracy until 1989, when it became a presidential system. While there are no major WC changes in this case, we did code minor WC changes in 1984 and 1989 when the NP changed its coalition partners.)

http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/zatoc.html
http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2898.htm

580 Madagascar 1960-1973
1960-71 POLITY dem = 2
1972-3 POLITY dem = 1

According to Geddes, Madagascar was a single-party system under the PSD and President Tsiranana between 1960 (when Madagascar gained independence) and 1972. Tsiranana was reelected in January of 1972 but when he faced widespread riots in 1972, Tsiranana resigned and appointed Major General Ramanantsoa as PM who was then confirmed in an October 8th, 1972 plebiscite. Because Ramanantsoa was backed by the military and, according to Geddes, established a military dictatorship that lasted until 1975, this is coded as a WC change (single-party to military).

Allen, Philip M. 1995. *Madagascar: Conflict of Authority in the Great Island*. Boulder, CO : Westview Press.
Melkote, Rama S. 1994. *Political Economy of Foreign Policy: A Study of Foreign Policy of Madagascar.* Delhi, India: Kalinga Publications.

581 Comoros 1978-2001
1978-89 POLITY dem = 0
1990-94 POLITY dem = 5
1995 POLITY = -77
1996-98 POLITY dem = 1
1999-2000 POLITY dem = 1
2001 POLITY dem = 2

Soilih, as socialist member of RDPC was President between 1976 and 1978. Soilih had been installed by French mercenaries under Bob Denard because he appeared to be pro-French. As a result of an economic crisis and dissatisfaction with his policies and the loss of French support, Soilih was overthrown in a coup engineered by Denard. Atthoumani (UNF- United National Front) briefly took power until Abdallah Abderemane (UNC- Comoros Democratic Union), a former President and financier of the coup became president. The leadership change to Atthoumani is not coded as a WC change as Atthoumani was in power for less than 20 days but the transition to Abdallah Abderemane was a WC change. Soilih had been a Marxist, while Abdallah was a conservative. Abdallah stayed in power until 1989 when he was assassinated by Denard, the mercenary who up until this point had worked for Abdallah but who had become displeased with Abdallah's plans to integrate his force into the regular army. Denard and his mercenaries seized power and made Djohar, the head of the Supreme Court, interim president. Because of domestic protests against Denard and the withdrawal of French support for him, Denard had to surrender later that year but Djohar remained in place. We code no WC change in 1989 since Djohar was a provisional leader. However, in 1990, Djohar manipulated elections to

retain power, so a WC change is coded for that year. In 1995, Denard came back and led a coup against Djohar. We do not have information on Combo or Abdulkarim, but both were in office for less than 30 days, so no WC change is coded. Yachroutu declared himself interim president. He had been Djohar's PM (no WC change). During the coup, Djohar had been out of the country for medical treatment and came back to challenge Yachroutu. They agreed that Djohar would return as president in a ceremonial capacity, because he was too old to rule (no WC change). Abdoulkarim was elected president in 1996. WC change because Djohar was from the RDR and Abdoulkarim from the RND. Abdoulkarim had also run against Djohar in a previous election. After Abdoulkarim's death, Tadijiddine Ben Said Massounde became interim president. In April 1999, Massounde was overthrown by military officer Azali Assoumani (WC change to military).

http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/kmtoc.html
http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5236.htm
Bever, Edward. 1996. *Africa. International Governments & Politics Series*. Phoenix: Oryx Press.

590 Mauritius 1968-1976
1968-76 POLITY dem = 9

Mauritius is a parliamentary democracy throughout this period. Ramgoolam and the PTr (social-democratic) retained power throughout, so no WC change is coded.

600 Morocco 1956-1966, 1984-1986
1956-64 POLITY dem = 1
1965-2003 POLITY dem = 0

Morocco is a monarchy throughout the entire time period. Upon the death of his father Mohammed V in 1961, King Hassan II succeeded to the throne in 1961. No WC change since they are father and son and thus from the same dynasty, the Alaouite.

615 Algeria 1975-1984
1962-88 POLITY dem = 0
mil/sp whole time

Geddes codes Algeria as a military/single-party regime throughout this period. Thus, no WC change. Bella was President from 1962 until 1965, Boumedienne from 1965 until 1978, Bitat from 1978 until 1979, and then Benjedid until 1992. Bella was deposed in a coup by Boumedienne because he lost the support of the military and the FLN who then supported Boumedienne. When Boumedienne died from illness he was succeeded briefly by Bitat and then Benjedid, both of who were members of the FLN and chosen by the party.

http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/dztoc.html

616 Tunisia 1957-1974
1957-58 POLITY code missing
1959-92 POLITY dem = 0

Single party code per Geddes. No leader change during this period. Ben Ali Bourguiba from the NDP (which changed its name to PSD in 1964 and then RCD in 1988) was in power until 1987.

620 Libya 1953-2001
1953-2003 POLITY dem = 0

Libya was ruled by King Idris (Senussi dynasty) until 1969 when Qadhafi and a small group of military officers deposed him. Geddes codes Libya as a personalist system under Qadhafi since then. WC change (Senussi dynasti- Qadhafi personalist).

http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5425.htm, accessed 4/14/07).

625 Sudan 1972-1985
1971-84 POLITY dem = 0
1985 POLITY = -88

No leader change: Nimeiri was in power from 1969 until 1986. Personalist regime code per Geddes.

630 Iran 1921-1941, 1959-1979
1921-1925 POLTIY dem = -88
1925-1941 POLITY dem = 0
1941-1947 POLITY dem = 2
1947-1953 POLITY dem = 3
1953-1955 POLITY dem = -88
1955-1979 POLITY dem = 0

Iran is identified as a monarchy from 1921 to 1922 under Sultan Ahmed (Qajar dynasty which had ruled Persia from 1795). In 1922, Reza Khan, a military officer, seized control over the government. He initially contemplated a Republic but instead made himself Shah in 1925. This established the Pahlavi dynasty. We code the WC change in 1922 when Reza Khan ended the Qajar dynasty. In 1941, when part of Iran was occupied by British and Soviet forces, Reza Khan abdicated in favor of his son Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (No WC change since same dynasty). Mohammad Reza Pahlavi remained Shah until 1979, when he was deposed by the Iranian Revolution and Ayatollah Khomeini took over. Khomenei, a cleric, established a new Islamic theocratic republic (WC change).

http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/irtoc.html

http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5314.htm

640 Turkey 1921-2001

1921-1922 POLITY dem = -66
1922-1923 POLITY dem = -77
1923-1946 POLITY dem = 0
1946-1954 POLITY dem = 7
1954-1960 POLITY dem = 5
1960-1961 POLITY dem = -88
1961-1965 POLITY dem = 9
1965-1971 POLITY dem = 8
1971-1973 POLITY dem = 2
1973-1980 POLITY dem = 9
1980-1983 POLITY dem = 2
1983-1989 POLITY dem = 7
1989-1997 POLITY dem = 9
1997-2003 POLITY dem = 8

Until 1922, Turkey was a monarchy under the Osmanli dynasty. The Ottoman Empire was occupied and partitioned by the Allies after WW I and the allies kept the Sultan in their custody. The partitioning of Turkey led to the creation of a nationalist movement under the leadership of Atatürk Kemal, a military leader. In January 1921, the Grand National Assembly elected Atatürk as President, against the wishes of the Sultan who was cooperating with the Allies. There was a nationalist as well as an Ottoman government until 1922 when the Grand National Assembly followed Atatürk's wishes and abolished the Sultanate. As a result, Atatürk and the nationalists were able to consolidate their rule over the country and Turkey officially became a Republic in October 1923. The CHP (Atatürk's party, social democratic) was the basis of the single-party state that Geddes codes as continuing until 1946. WC change monarchy to single-party state in 1922. When Atatürk died in 1938, his chief lieutenant, Inönü (CHP), who had been a close associate of Atatürk's and the PM of Turkey, became President. No WC change. From 1946 onwards, Turkey started to democratize and allow elections. In the 1950 election, Bayar (DP) was elected President and made Menderes (DP) PM. The Democratic Turkish Party (DP) was a conservative party and thus this constitutes a WC change (CHP to DP). Since Archigos codes Menderes as the leader of Turkey, we consider the office of the PM to determine WC changes from 1950 onwards. Menderes stayed in power until 1960 when there was a military coup led by chief of General Staff Gürsel (WC change DP to mil). The military considered itself the guardian of the constitution and Kemalism and was disturbed by the dictatorial tendencies of the Menderes administration. The coup was relatively bloodless and put in place the Committee of National Unity (CNU) of military officers. Geddes codes Turkey as a military autocracy from 1960 to 1961. A new constitution was passed in 1961, creating the Second Republic. General Gürsel then asked Inönü (CHP) to form a government. We code this as a WC change since Inönü was not military and he was asked to form the government because his party had received the most votes in the democratic election of 1961. Between 1961 and 1980 Turkey is considered a parliamentary democracy (with exception of 1971-1973 during which there was military interference) and major WC changes are coded based on the party of the PM and minor WC

changes are coded when the coalitions shifted. In 1980, Turkey was affected by widespread unrest and political violence was escalating. The military took over the government, virtually unopposed. This switch to a military government marks a WC change in 1980 and, according to Geddes, the military government remained in place until 1983 when Turkey was returned to civilian rule. In the 1983 parliamentary elections, the Motherland Party (ANAP) won a majority of votes and Ozal became PM. This shift back to civilian rule signifies a WC change. From 1984 to 2001, Turkey is considered a parliamentary democracy. WC changes are thus coded 1 for major partner parliamentary ruling coalition changes, and 2 for minor.

http://rs6.loc.gov/frd/cs/trtoc.html
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

645 Iraq 1932-1990
1930-1958 POLITY dem = 1
1958-2003 POLITY dem = 0

From 1930 to 1958, Iraq is a monarchy. King Faisal I was in power until 1933 when Ghazi becomes King. Faisal II then succeeded Ghazi in 1939. None of these are WC changes since they were all from the same dynasty, the Hashimid dynasty. The Hashimid dynasty ended when General Karim Qasim, a leader of the Free Officers, carried out a coup, during which King Faysal II and Prime Minister Nuri as-Said were killed. According to Geddes, Qasim led a personalist autocracy from 1958 to 1963 (WC change Hashimid dynasty to personalist clique). During his rule Qasim became increasingly isolated and in 1963 the nationalist leaning Ba'ath party overthrew Qasim, who tended to favor communists. Col. Abdul Salam Arif became president. According to Geddes, Arif established a personalist autocracy until 1968. We do not code a WC change since both Qasim and Arif were military officers, both members of the Free Officers, and relied to a large extent on the support of the military. While Arif was also supported by Ba'ath when removing Qasim, he then turned around and ousted Ba'ath from his government. His WC was more the military than Ba'ath. (In revisiting this coding, we found that the transition from Qasim to Arif may have been a WC change since Geddes codes two separate personalist systems for them. We replicated the results in the 2009 AJPS study with the alternative coding and found no difference in results.) In 1966, Arif died and his brother Rahman Arif took over. There is no WC change (pre-designated successor). In 1968, a coup by former Arif supporters removed Arif but failed to gather enough support to remain in power. The Baath party took advantage of this and provided the necessary support for al-Bakr to take over the presidency and the leadership of the Revolutionary Command Council in 1968. WC change because Arif was associated with IIA (Arab Socialist Union, a Nasserite party) and al-Bakr was a Ba'athist. According to Geddes, Iraq was a personalist/single-party autocracy under the Ba'ath and al-Bakr from 1968 to 1979. In 1979, Al-Bakr resigned and Saddam Hussein took over. There is no WC change as Hussein was al-Bakr's chosen successor. According to Geddes, Saddam Hussein led a personalist autocracy until 2003 when U.S. led forces removed him from office.

http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/iqtoc.html
Khalil, Muhammad. 1962. *The Arab States and the Arab League: A Documentary Record, vol.*

1-2. Beirut, Lebanon: Khayats.

651 Egypt 1937-1985
1936-1952 POLITY dem = 5
1952-1990 POLITY dem = 0

Egypt was a monarchy under King Farouk (the Muhammad Ali dynasty) until 1952. In 1952, Nasser and the Free Officers led a coup against King Farouk. Instead of immediately calling for a Republic, the Free Officers allowed a regency for Faud's (Farouk's predecessor) son under Moneim. Moneim was replaced the next year by President Naguib. However, since Nasser was really the person in charge from 1952 onwards we code a WC change already then. In 1954, Nasser finally became President and further consolidated his rule. According to Geddes, Nasser created a combination of a military, personalist, and single-party autocracy. According to Geddes this regime started in 1952 and remains in place. Nasser died in 1979 and his VP, Sadat took over (no WC change). Sadat was assassinated in 1981 and his VP, Mubarak then took over (no WC change).

http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/egtoc.html

652 Syria 1966-1967, 1980-2001
1963-2003 POLITY dem = 0

According to Geddes, since 1962, Syria has been a combination of a military, personalist, and single-party (Ba'ath) autocracy. This regime started in 1963 when General al-Hafiz, supported by Ba'ath and the military, took over the presidency. In 1966, infighting in the Ba'ath party led to the replacement of al-Hafiz with el-Atassi. In 1970, another internal coup transferred power from el-Atassi to al Khatib, another Ba'athist. In 1971, Hafez al-Assad became President and after his death, his son Bashar al-Assad. Because all of these leader's relied on the Ba'ath party and the military, there are no WC changes.

http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/sytoc.html
Commins, David. 2004. *Historical Dictionary of Syria.* 2nd edition. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

663 Jordan 1946-1958, 1962-1990
1945-1951 POLITY dem = 0
1951-1952 POLITY dem = 1
1952-1957 POLITY dem = 3
1957-1989 POLITY dem = 0
1989-1992 POLITY dem = 1

When Jordan gained independence in 1946, it became a monarchy under the Hashemite dynasty

of Jordan. Although there were leadership changes in 1951, 1952, 1998, and 1999, no WC changes occurred because all leaders stemmed from the same dynasty.

http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/jotoc.html
http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3464.htm

666 Israel 1981-1991
1967-1999 POLITY dem = 9

Israel is a parliamentary democracy throughout this period. WC changes are thus coded 1 if the party of the PM changes and 2 for changes in junior coalition partners.

http://www.pmo.gov.il/PMOEng/History/FormerPrimeMinister/
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

670 Saudi Arabia 1934-1990
1934-2003 POLITY dem = 0

Saudi Arabia is a monarchy throughout this period. Although there were leadership changes in 1953, 1964, 1975, 1982 and 1996, no WC changes occurred because all leaders stemmed from the Saud dynasty.

678 Yemen Arab Republic 1934-1967
1934-1945 POLITY dem = 0
1946-1947 POLITY dem = -88
1948-1961 POLITY dem = 1
1962- 1965 POLITY dem = 2
1966-1967 POLITY dem = 0

The Yemen Arab Republic was a monarchy until 1962 under the Muttawakkilite Dynasty. There was a short coup in 1948 but because the dynasty was restored in less than 30 days we do not code a WC change for this year. In 1962, the barely-crowned al-Badr was removed by revolutionary military forces and widespread fighting between monarchists (supported by Saudi Arabia) and republicans (supported by Egypt) ensued until about 1970. There is a WC change from the Muttawakkilite Dynasty to the military. Geddes (2003) considers North Yemen to have been a military dictatorship under al-Sallall, then al-Iryani, and finally al-Hamadi from 1962 to 1978. Thus we code no WC change between al-Sallall and al-Iryani.

Burrowes, Robert D. 1995. *Historical Dictionary of Yemen.* Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
Burrowes, Robert D. 1986. *The Yemen Arab Republic, the Politics of Development 1962-1986.* Boulder: Westview Press, Inc.

680 Yemen People's Republic 1979-1990
1967-1990 POLITY dem = 0

According to Geddes, the Yemen People's Republic was a single-party autocracy (where the party name changed multiple times) from 1967 until unification with North Yemen in 1990. Thus, no WC changes.

Lackner, Helen. 1985. *P.D.R. Yemen, Outpost of Socialist Development in Arabia.* London: Ithaca Press London.

700 Afghanistan 1921-1979
1921-34 POLITY dem = 1
1935-77 POLITY dem = 0
1978 POLITY = -77
1979-91 POLITY dem = 0
1992-95 POLITY = -77
1996-2000 POLITY dem = 0
2001-03 POLITY = -66

Afghanistan was a monarchy until 1973. Emir Amanullah's modernization policies led to resistance by conservative military and religious leaders, including the most powerful groups in the country, the Pushtun tribes. In 1929, a Pushtun rebellion forced Amanullah to abdicate in favor of his brother Inayatullah (no WC change since same dynasty), who also soon abdicated. The royal family then evacuated with British help. Once they left, the Tajik rebel leader Habibullah Ghazi assumed power in 1929. WC change since he was not from the same dynasty and even a non-Pashtun. (First time a non-Pashtun ruled Afghanistan). Already after nine months Habibullah Ghazi was forced from office by a distant cousin of Amanullah's. The tribal council the picked Nadir Shah to inaugurate a new dynasty. Since, unlike Ghazi, Nadir Shah was a Pashtun and thus supported by Pashtun tribes, there is another WC change here. In 1933, when Nadir Shah was assassinated, his son, Mohammad Zahir Shah, was supposed to accede the throne but since he was only 19 years old, his uncle Hashim Khan acted as his regent and became PM (no WC change since it stays in the family). In 1973, Daoud (the brother-in-law and first cousin of Zahir Shah) overthrew the monarchy with the help of leftist military officers (WC change). According to Geddes, Daoud installed a personalist autocracy that lasted until 1978 when he was deposed by Taraki. Taraki was a member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDP), a Marxist-leaning party that had been illegal under Daoud. Thus, this constitutes a WC change. Taraki then became involved in a power struggle with Amin who he tried to assassinate and both of them end up dead. Taraki was killed by Amin and Amin was killed by the Soviets. In 1979, the Soviet invasion put Karmal in place as a puppy. We do not code a WC change in 1979 because Afghanistan is essentially under Soviet occupation and thus this is treated as an interim leadership.

Ewans, Martin. 2002. *Afghanistan, a New History*. London: Routledge Curzon.

Magnus, Ralph H. and Naby, Eden. 2003. *Afghanistan, Mullah, Marx, and Mujahid*. Cambridge: Westview Press.
Rasanayagam, Angelo. 2002. *Afghanistan, a Modern History*. London: I. B. Torris and Company, Ltd.

710 China 1937-2001
1937-45 POLITY = -66
1946-48 POLITY dem = 1
1949-2003 POLITY dem = 0

Japan occupied China from September 1937-1945, setting up a puppet government under Wang Jingwei. No regime type or WC changes are coded for these years due to the foreign occupation. According to Archigos, Chiang Kai-shek was in charge of China between 1945 and 1949. We code no WC change when Chian Kai-shek assumed power in 1945 because his Nationalist Party had also been in charge of the government prior to the occupation. When the Chinese Civil War ended in 1949, Chiang Kai-Shek and the Nationalists were forced to escape to Japan. Mao Tse-Tung then proclaimed the People's Republic of China and declared himself Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party. We code the transition from Nationalists to Communists as a WC change. From 1949, the regime is coded as single-party autocracy per Geddes. There are no WC changes, as all successive leaders have belonged to the CCP.

Bailey, Paul J. 2001. *China in the Twentieth Century.* 2nd edition. London: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
Moise, Edwin W. 1994. Modern China: A History. 2nd ed. London, UK: Longman.
Phillips, Richard T. 1996. *China Since 1911*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
Soled, Debra E. (ed.) 1995. *China, a Nation in Transition*. 2nd edition. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc.

712 Mongolia 1936-1993
1936-89 POLITY dem = 0
1990-91 POLITY dem = 4
1992-93 POLITY dem = 9

Geddes codes Mongolia as a single-party system under the MAKN from 1924 to 1996. Until 1990, MAKN was the only legal party but Mongolia allowed for the formation of other parties starting in 1990. Since Orchibart from MUAN (a conservative reformist party) gained power in 1990 and thus ended the spell of MAKN (which was a Communist party) we code a WC change then.

http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2779.htm

713 Taiwan 1954-1980
1949-80 POLITY dem = 0

Single-party coding throughout this period per Geddes. Chiang Kai-Shek was the leader of the KMT and the Nationalist government of the Republic of China, and as such had appointed Governors for Taiwan until he himself was forced to flee there and assume leadership. Because Chiang Kai-Shek appointed all the governors, there is no WC change between them, nor is there a change when he himself assumed leadership of the island. Also, Yen Chia-Kan was a close political ally of Chiang. He was never more than a figurehead, because real power passed from Chiang to his son, Chiang Ching-Kuo (who was already the premier) upon the elder Chiang's death. Chiang Ching-Kuo formally assumed the presidency from Yen Chia-Kan in 1978. No WC changes.

Davison, Gary Marvin. 2003. *A Short History of Taiwan, the Case for Independence*. Westport: Praeger.
Roy, Denny. 2003. *Taiwan, a Political History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

731 North Korea 1961-2001
1961-2003 POLITY dem = 0

Geddes codes North Korea as a single-party/personalist dictatorship from 1948 onwards. Kim Il Sung was the ruler until his death in 1994. He made his son, Kim Jong Il his pre-designated successor in 1980 and orchestrated his ascension to power gradually, giving him the command of the military in 199,1 and letting him handle the day-to-day affairs of the government. Kim Jong Il took over when his father died but was only fully legitimized when made General Secretary in 1997. No WC change.

http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2792.htm

732 South Korea 1953-2001
1953-59 POLITY dem = 1
1960 POLITY dem = 8
1961-62 POLITY dem = 0
1963-71 POLITY dem = 4
1972-86 POLITY dem = 0
1987 POLITY = -88
1988-97 POLITY dem = 7
1998-2003 POLITY dem = 8

1961-87 mil code per Geddes

According to Geddes, South Korea was a personalist autocracy under Rhee from 1952 until 1960. In 1960, frustration with manipulated elections and widespread concern about failed government policies and corruption led to a series of violent demonstrations that forced Rhee to quit. Ho Chong, a friend of Rhee's and Rhee's foreign minister became interim leader because he had maintained good relations to the opposition, the Democratic Party. No WC change

because of interim government. That same year, the second republic of Korea was formed, creating a parliamentary system with a figurehead president modeled after the French Fourth Republic. Yun Po Sun from the Democratic Party (and thus Rhee's opposition) was elected president (WC change). However, the new government soon faced serious economic problems and students, which had tended to be supporters of the DP, filled the streets demanding reforms. In this situation, the military carried out a coup in May 1961. Yun Po Sun initially remained President which is why we do not code a WC change until the next year. After some internal power struggles in the military, General Park emerged as the winner and forced Yun Po Sun to resign in 1962. Park then assumed the presidency himself. This is a WC change. (Upon revisiting this case, we think that we might have needed to code a WC change already in 1961 rather than 1962 since Geddes considers Yun Po Sun and Park part of the same military regime. We replicated the results in the 2009 AJPS study with the new coding and found no difference in results.) There is another WC change in 1988, when the system type changed to presidential democracy. The president elected in 1988 was Roh Tae Woo from the Democratic Justice Party (MDJ). After democratization, WC changes are determined by the president's party. Note that Roh Tae Woo renamed his party MDD in 1999 when the DJP merged with two other parties. Kim Young Sam, his successor is also from the MDD. Thus, no WC change. Kim Young Sam changed the name of his party to SDH in 1995. In 1998, there was a WC change when Kim Dae Jung from the SJKH took over. He renamed the SJKH MD in 2000.

http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2800.htm
http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/krtoc.html

740 Japan 1940-1945, 1952-2001
1919-44 POLITY dem = 5
1945 POLITY = -66
1946-2003 POLITY dem = 10

Japan was actually ruled by admirals from 1932 onwards but they governed moderately until ultranationalist sentiments made this impossible in 1936-37. From 1937, the government became overtly militaristic. The military was the WC during the period from 1940-45. By 1952, Japan was a parliamentary democracy. WC changes are thus coded 1 for major partner parliamentary ruling coalition changes, and 2 for minor. We code a WC change already in 1952 because this is the year that military occupation ended and the PM is from the Liberal Party and thus has a different WC than the military leaders prior to occupation.

Henshall, Kenneth G. 1999. *A History of Japan: From Stone Age to Superpower*. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc.
Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

750 India 1971-1997
1952-74 POLITY dem = 9
1975-76 POLITY dem = 8

1977-94 POLITY dem = 8
1995-2003 POLITY de = 9

India is a parliamentary democracy throughout this period. WC changes are thus coded 1 for major partner parliamentary ruling coalition changes, and 2 for minor.

Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

770 Pakistan 1954-5, 1959-2001
1954-55 POLITY dem = 5
1956-57 POLITY dem = 8
1958-61 POLITY dem = 0
1962-68 POLITY dem = 3
1969-70 POLITY = -88
1971 POLITY = -77
1972 POLITY = -88
1973-76 POLITY dem = 8
1977-87 POLITY dem = 0
1988-96 POLITY dem = 8
1997-98 POLITY dem = 7
1999-2003 POLITY dem = 0

There is a minor (code = 2) WC change in 1955 when the UF begins to govern with the ML (the Muslim League).
Geddes codes Pakistan as a military-personalist dictatorship between 1958 and 1971. Ayub Khan, a military General and Field Marshall, was in power until 1969 when he handed power to another military officer, the commander in chief, Yahya Khan (no WC change, as both were military men). Yayha resigned 1971, ending a period of military rule, and handed power over to Zulfikar Bhutto. Bhutto was a civilian and the founder of the PPP. Geddes codes Pakistan as a personalist dictatorship under Bhutto until 1977. (WC change from military to personalist). Bhutto had been elected deputy PM in 1970 and was incredibly popular. Over time he became increasingly autocratic and faked the 1977 elections, declaring martial law in response to protests. Increasing unpopularity of Bhutto's rule led to a military coup in 1977. Geddes codes Pakistan as a military/personalist dictatorship under General Mohammad Zia from 1977 until 1988 (WC change from personalist under Bhutto to military/personalist under Zia). The military declared martial law and suspended the constitution. Zia initially took over as chief administrator of martial law and was proclaimed president in 1978. In 1988, Zia was killed in a plane crash. After Zia's death, Pakistan is coded as a democracy and the next leader of Pakistan was Benazir Bhutto, Zulfikar Bhutto's daughter. Like her father, she was a member of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP, social-democratic). This was a WC change. Bhutto was distrusted by President Khan and by the military. President Khan was very powerful after Zia's 1985 constitutional amendments and he eventually dismissed Bhutto and replaced her with Sharif (Jatoi was a caretaker government installed until elections were held, though the elections may have been rigged by Khan, who was anti-PPP). Since Bhutto was a social-democrat and Sharif was from

the conservative PML-N party, this constitutes a WC change. President Khan dismissed Sharif and dissolved the National Assembly in 1993. The Supreme Court overturned this move, reinstating Sharif. Sharif and Khan both resigned in 1993 because of pressure from the army. Rather than declare martial law, the army chief of staff installed Qureshi (a former World Bank president living in the US) as interim PM until elections could be held. Qureshi was thought to be neutral (No WC change since he was interim). Benazir Bhutto won the elections (WC change from PML-N to PPP). Soon a rift opened between Benazir Bhutto and President Leghari, who dismissed her in 1996 because of corruption and economic mismanagement. Khalid was a caretaker government until the 1997 elections which Sharif won in a landslide (WC change from PPP to PML-N). Sharif had the constitution changed to curtail the president's power and he made Leghari resign and had Parliament elect one of his close supporters. Over time his government became more and more oppressive and he moved against his critics. One of these was Chief of Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf whom Sharif fired when Musharraf was out of the country. In 1999, he refused to allow Musharraf's plane to land at Karachi, a move that antagonized the military. The army then took control of the Karachi airport and allowed Musharraf to land. Musharraf then arrested Sharif and suspended the constitution. For the rest of the time period, Geddes codes Pakistan as a military/personalist autocracy. Thus there is a WC change between Sharif and Musharaff (PML-N to military/personalist).

http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3453.htm
Mahmoud, Safdar. 2000. *Pakistan, Political Roots and Development, 1947-1999.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Talbot, Ian. 1998. *Pakistan: a Modern History*. London: Hurst and Company.
Ziring, Lawrence. 2003. *Pakistan, at the Crosscurrent of History*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications.

771 Bangladesh 1972-1997
1972-73 POLITY dem = 8
1974 POLITY dem = 2
1975-90 POLITY dem = 0
1991-97 POLITY dem = 6

Geddes codes Bangladesh as a single-party/personalist autocracy under Mujib Rahman and the Bangladesh Awami League from 1971-1975. After independence in 1971, Mujib founded a 23-member Awami League cabinet with himself as PM. They overwhelmingly won elections in 1973. In 1975, the army, which was unhappy with Mujib Rahman's economic policies, his policies towards the military, and his nepotism and corruption, staged a coup in which Mujib was killed. Mustaque was installed as president and Ziaur Rahman as army chief of staff (WC change). An Awami League countercoup then removed Mustaque and arrested Ziaur, but an army revolt led to the restoration of Ziaur. Geddes codes Pakistan as a personalist dictatorship under Ziaur from 1975 until 1982. Ziaur was the de facto leader after the removal of Mustaque, acting initially through Sayem and becoming president himself in 1977. During his rule, Ziaur professionalized the army, created a National Front, and defeated the Awami League in the 1978 elections. Disaffected army officers assassinated Ziaur in 1981, but they did not seize power out of fear the rest of the army would not support them. VP Sattar became president, acting until he

won the election as the BNP candidate (no WC change because same party as the one Ziaur had belonged to and had strengthened). Ershad consolidated power in the army and forced Sattar to hand over power in a 1982 coup (WC change). Geddes codes Bangladesh as a personalist dictatorship between 1982 and 1990 under Ershad. Choudhury was a puppet of Ershad, who acted as chief administrator of martial law from 1982, but did not assume the presidency until 1983. Civil unrest forced Ershad to relinquish power in 1990. Chief Justice Ahmed took over as a caretaker. (No WC change due to interim administration). In 1991, Bangladesh switched from a presidential to a parliamentary form of government, the president retaining only figurehead powers. Khaleda Zia (Ziaur's daughter, BJD party) was the first PM (WC change). Controversy over the fairness of elections led to a boycott in 1996, so Zia resigned and a caretaker government under Mohammad Habibur Rahman took over until the next election. The 1996 election was then won by Wajed (BAL- Bangladesh Awami League). WC change because Wajed and Khaleda Zia had different parties, with the former being a social democrat and the latter a conservative.

http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3452.htm
Maniruzzaman, Talukder. 1994. *Politics and Security of Bangladesh*. Dhaka: The University Press.

780 Sri Lanka 1948-1962
1947-62 POLITY dem = 7

Sri Lanka is a parliamentary democracy throughout this period. WC changes are thus coded 1 if the party of the PM changes and 2 for changes in junior coalition partners.

Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

800 Thailand 1940-1945
1940 POLITY dem = 1
1941 POLITY = -66
1942-45 POLITY dem = 1

Until 1932 Thailand had been an absolute monarchy but a coup by civil servants and army officers led to the creation of a constitutional monarchy. Plaek Pibulsongkram, also called Phibun, and Pridi Phanomyong were important actors behind the creation of the constitutional monarchy. Phibun was a military officer and Pridi a law professor and they developed a deep-seated rivalry. Generally there was a split between the military and the civilian factions of the new government. Phibun became PM in 1938. While he had some civilians in his cabinet, he certainly favored fellow officers. He also acted aggressively against the royal family and rivals. In 1939, he changed the name of the nation from Siam to Thailand and started to support Japan, very much to the dismay of Pridi. In 1944, when people became disenchanted with the alliance with Japan and with Phibun's government, he was forced to resign. He was succeeded by his long-term rival, Pridi (WC change because Pridi was supported by the TPP/military and Pridi

was a civilian supported by the People's Party (KR). (Wyatt 2003 implies that the Thailand People's Party (TTP) was nothing more than a euphemism for the military.)

Terwiel, B.J. 2005. *Thailand's Political History: From the Fall of Ayutthaya to Recent Times*. Bangkok: River Books.
Wyatt, David K. 2003. *A Short History of Thailand*, 2nd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.

812 Laos 1953-4
1954 POLITY = -88

Prince Souvanna Phouma was in power from 1951 until 1954 when he apparently mishandled the peace talks with the Pathet Lao, the Laotian communist movement. He was replaced by Katay Sasorith in 1954. No WC change since both were part of the NPP (National Progressive Party).

Evans, Grant. 2002. *A Short History of Laos*. Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin.
Stuart-Fox, Martin. 1997. *A History of Laos*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

816 North Vietnam 1978-1994
1962-2003 POLITY dem = 0

Geddes codes North Vietnam as a single-party autocracy under the communists from 1954 onwards. Le Duan, a close associate of Ho Chi Minh's and the number two of Ho's regime, took over after Ho's death in 1969. He was in power until his death in 1986. Truong Chinh was chosen by the politburo to succeed Le Duan. Like Le Duan, Truong had been the number two for some time. However, because of his age he resigned after only a few months. The politburo then picked Nguyen Van Linh who remained in power until 1991. When Nguyen resigned due to health problems, Do Muoi succeeded him. No WC changes since these were all members of the communist party.

http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/vntoc.html

820 Malaysia 1957-1971
1957-68 POLITY dem = 10
1969-70 POLITY dem = 3
1971 POLITY dem = 5

There is a significant contradiction between POLITY IV and Geddes here. Geddes considers Malaysia a single-party system from 1957 onwards. However, POLITY considers Malaysia to be democratic until 1968. After achieving independence in 1957, the UMNO (ethnic Malay party) allied with the MCA (Malay-Chinese party) and the MIC (Malay-Indian party). During the election in 1967 violent clashes between Malays and Chinese occurred. A state of emergency was declared. From 1967 onwards, the government was much more clearly dominated by

Malayan interest and the UMNO became the dominant political party. The alliance was replaced with a much broader coalition of parties in which the significance of all non-UMNO parties was diluted. Because the UMNO was both at the core of the alliance between 1957-67 and remained in power afterwards, we code no WC change.

Andaya, Barbara Watson and Andaya, Leonard Y. 2001. *A History of Malaysia.* 2nd edition. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
Hooker, Virginia Matheson. 2003. *A Short History of Malaysia*. Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin.
Means, Gordon P. 1991. *Malaysian Politics, the Second Generation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

830 Singapore 1965-1971
1965-71 POLITY dem = 2

Geddes codes Singapore as a single-party system under the PAP from 1965 (independence) onwards. Lee Kuan Yew was in power during the entire 1965-1971 period. No WC change during this period.

840 Philippines 1951-2001
1950-68 POLITY dem = 6
1969-71 POLITY dem = 4
1972-85 POLITY dem = 0
1986 POLITY = -88
1987-2003 POLITY dem = 8

POLITY IV codes the Philippines as democratic through 1968 and, since the Philippines appears to have been a presidential democracy, we code WC changes whenever a new president with a different party affiliation came to power. This occurred in 1953, 1961, and 1965. The presidency essentially goes back and forth between the PL (Liberal Party) and PN (Nationalist Party). Marcos was democratically elected as a member of the PM in 1965 and reelected 1969. On September 21, 1972 Marcos declared martial law. 1972 is also the year Geddes starts coding the Philippines as personalist. We code a WC change here because Marcos is not anymore supported by the party that brought him to power but has built his own system of cronies. According to Geddes, the personalist regime under Marcos lasts until 1986. Marcos, under pressure domestically and internationally, called for a new presidential election in 1986. He was declared the official winner, but there was such public outcry that he was forced from power within the month. Aquino from the Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO) and the wife a long-time rival and opponent that Marcos had allegedly murdered, took over the presidency (WC change). She restored democracy in 1987. WC changes from 1987 onwards are thus determined by changes in the president's party. There were WC changes in 1992, 1998, and 2001.

http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/phtoc.html

900 Australia 1944-1951
1942-2003 POLITY dem = 10

Australia is a parliamentary democracy throughout this period. WC changes are thus coded 1 if the party of the PM changes and 2 for changes in junior coalition partners.

Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

920 New Zealand 1944-1951
1942-86 POLITY dem = 10

New Zealand is a parliamentary democracy throughout this period. WC changes are thus coded 1 when the party of the PM changes. Since this is a two-party system there are no minor WC changes.

Woldendorp, Jaap, Hand Keman, and Ian Budge (ed.). 2000. *Party Government in 48 Democracies: composition, duration, personnel*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publications.

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Da Graça, John V. 2000. *Heads of State and Government*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Morby, John E. 2002. *Dynasties of the World. A Chronological and Genealogical Handboo*k. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
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