Online Methodological Appendix Accompanying

"Why Civil Resistance Works"

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Introduction

This online appendix introduces and discusses the data compiled for this book and the various robustness checks performed to test the findings reported in the text. Also available is the command file for all of the tables and charts reported in the book, as well as additional tables in this web appendix. The file is available as a Stata 11 do-file. Those requiring a different format should email Erica Chenoweth directly at erica_chenoweth – at – hks.harvard.edu.

The Nonviolent and Violent Conflict Outcomes (NAVCO) 1.1 Data Set[1]

This dataset combines cases of major non-state resistance campaigns to determine the conditions under which violent or nonviolent resistance methods have been successful in achieving their strategic objectives from 1900-2006. The dataset brings together numerous cases of violent and nonviolent campaigns with the objectives of expelling foreign occupations, regime change (i.e. removing dictatorships or military juntas), self-determination or separatism, and in some cases, other major types of social change (i.e. anti-apartheid campaigns). Consisting of consensus data from experts on major armed

[1] The data set builds on the NAVCO 1.0 data set, which we released along with our article, "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict," *International Security* (Summer 2008). There are several changes to the NAVCO 1.0 data set, including added variables, added cases, and revised coding of several cases. For more information on these changes, email Erica Chenoweth.

and unarmed insurrections, the dataset identifies the levels of success each campaign achieved according to each campaign's stated objective.

The levels of success are categorized as "Success," "Limited," or "Failure," with the purpose of testing the number of successful campaigns of each type (violent or nonviolent), and to test whether the rate of success varies on the purposes of the campaigns, the violent response of the state, support from third parties, campaign membership figures, or regime characteristics (such as level of democracy, wealth, or government capacity) of the targets of the struggle.

When we collected the data, we originally thought that we would analyze it using partial outcomes (i.e. limited success) as a separate category. We ultimately decided, however, to use a dichotomous indicator of success or failure for several reasons. First, the dichotomous variable is a more consistent measure across cases, because it is easier to establish success than limited success. Limited success is quite a fuzzy category, and we ran into too many subjective judgments about the point at which a campaign moved from a failure to a limited success. Second, using a dichotomous indicator of success is a stricter measure, which is a higher bar for campaigns to overcome to be included as successes. Using the strict measure may alleviate concerns that skeptics may have about the tendency to over-represent limited successes of nonviolent campaigns relative to violent campaigns. When we do test the same models on outcomes using an ordinal scale of failure, limited success, and success, however, the results are even more favorable to nonviolent campaigns than to violent campaigns. The fact that the success of nonviolent campaigns is robust even when counting limited successes as failures makes our overall results even more compelling.

Defining Campaigns

We define a campaign as a series of observable, continuous, purposive mass tactics or events in pursuit of a political objective. Campaigns are observable, meaning that the tactics used are overt and documented. A campaign is continuous and lasts anywhere from days to years, distinguishing it from one-off events or revolts. Campaigns are also purposive, meaning that they are consciously acting with a specific objective in mind, such as expelling a foreign occupier or overthrowing a domestic regime. Campaigns have discernable leadership and often have names, distinguishing them from random riots or spontaneous mass acts. Other scholars often use campaigns as their units of analysis, such as Robert Pape's analysis of suicide bombing campaigns (2005), Horowitz and Reiter's analysis of aerial bombing campaigns (2001), and Ackerman and Kruegler's study of strategic nonviolent conflict (1995). In such studies, campaigns usually have distinguishable beginning and end points, as well as discernable events throughout the campaign. In the case of resistance campaigns, beginning and end points are very difficult to determine, as are the events throughout the campaign. In some cases, information on such events is readily available (i.e. Northern Ireland); however, in most cases, it is not. Therefore, our selection of campaigns and their beginning and end dates are based on consensus data produced by multiple sources.

There are some difficulties with this method. First, it is difficult to gather the strength of the campaign and its activities over time (i.e. escalation or de-escalation). Second, without specific events data, it is theoretically difficult to compare all campaigns as equal when we know that some are much more disruptive than others. However, there

are good reasons to analyze campaigns rather than events. First, events data are so difficult to gather—especially nonviolent events data—that making generalizations about nonviolent conflict is virtually impossible. By analyzing campaigns rather than individual events, we are able to make some general observations about campaigns that can be explored further through in-depth case studies. Moreover, resistance campaigns involve much more than just events; they involve planning, recruiting, training, intelligence, and other operations besides their most obvious disruptive activities. Using events as the main unit of analysis ignores these other operations, whereas analyzing campaigns allows us to consider the broader spectrum of activities as a whole.

Distinguishing Nonviolent and Violent Methods of Resistance

Admittedly, there are difficulties with labeling one campaign as "violent" and another as "nonviolent" (see Ackerman and Kruegler 1994:9). In many cases, both nonviolent and violent campaigns exist simultaneously among different competing campaigns, as with Palestinian campaigns. Alternatively, often some campaigns use both nonviolent and violent methods of resistance over the course of their existence, as with the ANC in South Africa. Characterizing a campaign as violent or nonviolent simplifies a very complex constellation of resistance methods.

The categories "violent" and "nonviolent" should not be dismissed out of hand, however. To address the difficulties mentioned above, scholars have addressed this dilemma by characterizing campaigns are "primarily nonviolent" or "primarily violent" based on the primacy of resistance methods employed. We have established some standards of inclusion in each of these categories. Nonviolent resistance does not directly

threaten or harm the physical well-being of the opponent. Sharp (1973) has identified nearly 200 nonviolent resistance tactics, such as sit-ins, protests, boycotts, civil disobedience, and strikes, among many others; scholars have recognized many more since (correspondence with Stephen Zunes, August 28, 2009). When a campaign relies primarily on nonviolent methods such as these as opposed to violent or armed tactics, the campaign can be characterized as nonviolent. The nonviolent campaigns were initially gathered from an extensive review of the literature on nonviolent conflict and social movements. The primary sources were Karatnacky and Ackerman (2005), Carter, Clark, and Randle (2007), and Schock (2005). Then we corroborated these data with multiple sources, including encyclopedias, case studies, and sources from a comprehensive bibliography on nonviolent civil resistance by Carter, Clarke, and Randle (2007). Finally, the cases were circulated among approximately a dozen experts in nonviolent conflict. These experts were asked to assess whether the cases were appropriately characterized as major nonviolent conflicts, whether their outcomes had been appropriately characterized, and whether any notable conflicts had been omitted. Where the experts suggested additional cases, the same corroboration method was used.

The resultant dataset includes major nonviolent campaigns that are primarily or entirely nonviolent. Campaigns where a significant amount of violence occurred are characterized as "violent." However, a dichotomous variable, "VIOLSIM," is included in the dataset to indicate whether a violent campaign was occurring independently from but simultaneously to a nonviolent campaign. The VIOLSIM variable therefore provides a way to assess the effects of simultaneously occurring violent campaigns on the outcomes of nonviolent campaigns.

Violent resistance, on the other hand, involves the use of force to physically harm or threaten to harm the opponent. Violent campaign data are primarily derived from Kristian Gleditsch's 2004 updates to the Correlates of War database on intra-state wars (COW), Clodfelter's encyclopedia of armed conflict (2002), and Kalev Sepp's list of major counterinsurgency operations (2005) for information on conflicts after 2002. The COW dataset requires 1,000 battle deaths to have occurred during the course of the conflict. We also added about a dozen cases to our sample based on data on insurgencies collected by Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson (2008). Lyall and Wilson used the COW dataset, the Uppsala Dataset on Armed Conflict, Fearon and Laitin's dataset on civil wars (2003), and encyclopedic entries from Clodfelter (2002).

Different Definitions of Military Action

Most of our data on violent campaigns come from previous civil war data sets, wherein civil wars are defined as violent conflicts between organized groups within a country that are fighting over control of the government, separatist goals, or some divisive government policy. Civil wars can feature multiple regular armies among the combatant groups. They sometimes come to resolution through coups d'état, which we define as sudden, planned attempts by the military to replace an existing government with a new one. In our study, we are most interested in the mobilization of non-state actors rather than coups, so we exclude from our list of campaigns combatant groups that consist of the military or newly deposed military, unless the coup occurred as a direct and discernable result of a mass movement.

In our study, we focus specifically on insurgencies, which are organized, irregular rebellions that use armed conflict to overthrow a constituted government or expel a foreign occupation. Insurgencies can be included among civil war combatant groups if those groups rely on guerrilla warfare, which is defined as a strategy of violent resistance in which the combatant group "uses small, mobile groups to inflict punishment on the incumbent through hit-and-run strikes while avoiding direct battle when possible," and "seeks to win the allegiance of … some portion of the civilian population" (Lyall and Wilson 2009:70). Thus many insurgents are fighting civil wars, but not all civil wars contain insurgent groups.

Moreover, some insurgents rely on terrorism as a tactic during their struggles. Terrorism is the deliberate use or threat of force against noncombatants by non-state actors in pursuit of a political goal, intended to produce an effect beyond the targets themselves. Multiple insurgencies, such as the Irish Republican Army of the Tamil Tigers campaigns, have featured periods in which the insurgents have used terrorist attacks to further their cause, but the terrorism was part of a broader conflict strategy. Other terrorist groups, such as the Red Brigades, have emerged in isolation from violent insurgencies. Again, while not all terrorists are part of an insurgency, many insurgent groups contain terrorism. In our study, we do not specifically compare the effectiveness of different types of violent conflict such as terrorism or guerrilla warfare specifically; rather we broaden our focus to include all kinds of violent insurgencies.[2]

[2] Other authors have addressed the efficacy of terrorism compared with guerrilla warfare strategies. See Abrhams (2006) and Cronin (2009).

Underreporting Bias on the Outcomes

Especially among the nonviolent campaigns, there is real concern that the campaigns included are biased toward success, since it is the large, mature campaigns that are most commonly reported. Other would-be nonviolent campaigns that are crushed in their infancy (and therefore fail) will not be included in this dataset. This is the major limitation in this study, and it is difficult to avoid. However, we did attempt to mitigate the effects of underreporting bias in several ways.

First, we chose to compare nonviolent campaigns with their comparable counterparts in violent campaigns rather than to view nonviolent campaigns in isolation. We did this because there are many "non-starters" among violent campaigns as well as nonviolent ones, and the same underreporting bias exists within the study of violent insurgencies as with nonviolent insurrections. Therefore, we only investigate the outcomes of *major* nonviolent and violent campaigns—those that are already "mature" in terms of objectives and membership. We only included cases where the objective was maximalist (i.e. regime change, secession, or self-determination) as opposed to limited (i.e. greater civil liberties or economic rights).

Additionally, we only include nonviolent and violent campaigns where we were certain that more than 1,000 people were actively participating in the struggle, based on various reports. For the nonviolent campaigns, we gleaned this information from the sources mentioned above. For violent campaigns, the information was implied from the 1,000 battle-death criteria for inclusion in the various datasets we accessed. Using this strict criteria and comparing major campaigns allows us to address questions of the relative effectiveness of resistance type among comparably developed mass movements.

Critics may still be skeptical of the case selection, especially in the case of nonviolent conflict. Most concerning is the potential omission of failed nonviolent campaigns, which may not be captured in the dataset due to extreme repression or poor news sources. To address this concern, we made certain that the dataset reflects a consensus sample, which was circulated among the world's leading authorities on nonviolent conflict to make sure we accounted for known failed campaigns. Unknown, failed, nonviolent campaigns are necessarily omitted from the dataset, just like unknown, failed, violent campaigns.

Unit of Analysis

In general, the unit of analysis is the country year in which a campaign peaked.[3] The campaign observation is the country year (LOCATION and EYEAR (see below)) that captures the campaign's "peak;" i.e. the most members or watershed events. In many cases, a campaign lasted only a year and so the peak year is obvious. On the other hand, some campaigns lasted numerous years, in which case the peak of the campaign is determined by one of three conditions:

a). the year in which the most members participated in the campaign

b). in the event that membership information is missing, it is coded as the year success or limited success was achieved. For example, if a regime changed in 2002 as a result of the campaign, the peak year is coded as 2002.

c). the year the campaign ended due to suppression or dispersion of campaign.

[3] Chapter 8 includes some tests that require different units of analysis, discussed in the Appendix to Chapter 8 below.

When a campaign is ongoing, the campaign observation is noted for 2006, followed by a 2007 post- observation coded as "Ongoing" in the outcomes variables. Data for some control variables is omitted, however, when the campaign is ongoing or when data is unavailable for that post-observation (i.e. data for 2007). For an example of this, see the West Papuan campaign against the Indonesia occupation from 1964-2006, which is coded as ongoing.

The cases of nonviolent and violent campaigns are listed at the end of the book in Tables A.I and A.II, respectively. Brief narratives of each of the campaigns as well as descriptions of the variables that accompany these cases are available in the NAVCO 1.1 Codebook, which can be found at the end of this document.

Estimation and Postestimation Methods

Because we use a dichotomous dependent variable of success and failure, our primary estimation method is logistic regression. In all models, we report robust standard errors clustered around the target country code to account for autocorrelation in the cross-sectional unit. We rely on Long and Freese's post-estimation commands to generate predicted values and visuals for all of our models; we held all other covariates at their means when generating the predicted values and substantive effects of the reported variables (2005). When statistical insignificance of multiple covariates was thought to be due to colinearity, we used joint significance tests and reported them in the text.

Determining Membership Figures

Membership figures are drawn from multiple encyclopedic sources, which were corroborated with news articles and/or additional sources for accuracy. The primary sources were Beissinger (2002), Clodfelter (2002), and Cunningham, Gledistch, and Saleyhan (2009b). We opted to select a continuous measure rather than categorical range variables, because we found that most observations did allow us enough sensitivity to give specific numbers. That said, some sources reported figures such as "several thousand" or "hundreds of thousands" of participants in different events. In such cases, we adapt Ronald Francisco's technique of making conservative estimates by rounding down. Thus "several thousand" would be 2,000, and "hundreds of thousands" would be coded as 200,000. "Over a million" would be coded simply as 1,000,000 (Francisco 2004).

Missing Data

A number of our variables—particularly the control variables (i.e. government capabilities, population, and POLITY IV figures)—were missing for the observations of interest. This is a common problem when studying cases where conflict is occurring or has occurred, as few conflict-ridden societies spend time reporting these figures. Rather than impute these values artificially, we opted to simply accept the missing values. This explains why the number of observations is low in some models and high in others. Our hope is that greater granularity and disaggregation will be possible in the next iteration of this project.

However, since one of our key variables of interest is campaign membership, we did perform a test to determine whether there were any structural factors that

systematically predict missing values in this variable. We created a dummy variable, MEMDUM, which is coded "1" if the value for campaign membership is missing, a "0" if otherwise. The results are listed in Table WA.1.

Table WA.1: Determinants of Missing Values for Membership

	Probability that the Membership Variable is Missing
Primary Resistance Type is Nonviolent	.00 (.38)
Anti-Occupation	-.39 (.79)
Regime Change	-.82 (.75)
Secession	-1.00 (.94)
Campaign is Successful	.51 (.33)
Middle East	-.02 (.49)
Americas	.18 (.43)
Asia	-.73 (.47)
Former Soviet Union	-2.23* (1.14)
Europe	-.60 (.50)
Duration	-.00*** (.00)
Simultaneous Violent Campaign	-.42 (.35)
Constant	.21 (.80)
N	323
Wald chi^2	31.22
Prob > chi^2	.0018
Pseudo R^2	.1304

Significance levels: ***p<.01; **p<.05; *p<.1; logistic regression with robust standard errors.

The findings indicate that there are no unexpected, systematic conditions that positively predict a missing value for campaign membership. Two factors—a location in the Former Soviet Union and campaign duration—are negative and significant predictors of a missing value. In other words, if the campaign is located in a former Soviet satellite, the likelihood that membership data is available is higher. This is likely due to the excellent sources of data for this variable, which are available from Mark Beissinger's study on participation in protest events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (2002).

Campaign duration is also negatively correlated to missing participation figures. This is intuitive: the longer the campaign lasts, the more likely we are to have data on the number of participants. This variable, however, should not bias our results in terms of causality, because the duration of the campaign is not highly correlated with success (corr.=-.15).

Moreover, we ran additional tests to see whether our results changed once we imputed missing values for the membership figures. We used multiple imputation techniques in Stata 11 to impute missing values and test the robustness of our results using imputed values for membership. The findings reported in Chapter 2 remain the same. More information on the multiple imputed data is available from Erica Chenoweth (erica_chenoweth – at – hks.harvard.edu).

Appendix to Chapter 2

In Chapter 2 footnote 15, we mention that a potential concern is that campaigns choose nonviolent resistance because they anticipate a large number of participants and therefore do not need to use violence. Violent insurgents, on the other hand, select violence because they need it to compensate for their smaller numbers. If that were the case, our results could be driven by reverse causation: large membership would be permitting nonviolent campaigns to remain nonviolent, whereas violent campaigns adopt violence precisely because they cannot attract large numbers of participants.

We discuss some reasons why we are not convinced by this argument in the note, and we also mention that we conducted a test to determine whether the relationship between the choice of violent resistance was endogenous to membership, finding no statistical support for the endogeneity claim. Upon repeated tests, the results are actually inconclusive. Ultimately, however, it is impossible to reject or deny the endogeneity problem because of the limitations of the data. In particular, the results are unreliable because the membership figures report the level of participation during the campaign's peak event—that is, the events that occur well after

the campaign has started, and well after the choice to use nonviolent or violent resistance has occurred. Therefore, there is a significant problem with temporality and sequencing of variables that prohibits us from testing the endogeneity effect robustly. Future studies should look at the level of participation at the onset of the campaign and track whether changes in the level of campaign participation precede decisions to use nonviolent or violent methods of resistance. This would help to untangle the direction of causality.

In footnote 27 in Chapter 2, we mention that we generated an additional model in which we combine the membership and nonviolent resistance variables into an interaction term to estimate the effect that a combination of high membership in a nonviolent resistance has on the probability of inducing loyalty shifts. The results for this model, which form the basis for Figure 2.2, are reported in Table WA.2 below.

Table WA.2: The Conditional Effects of Membership on Security Force Loyalty Shifts

	Probability of Security Force Loyalty Shifts§
Primary Resistance Type is Nonviolent	-1.20* (2.46)
Number of Participants per capita, logged	1.49* (1.62)
Interaction Term (Nonviolent Resistance * Participants per Capita, logged)	1.29* (2.28)
Target Capabilities	-7.25 (5.59)

Target Polity	.01 (.03)
Constant	-2.53 (1.60)
N	134
Wald chi^2	8.12
Prob > chi^2	.1496
Pseudo R^2	.0490

Significance levels: ***p<.01; **p<.05; *p<.1; logistic regression with robust standard errors. §A joint significance test reveals that the interaction term and its three components are jointly significant (Prob > chi2 = 0.07).

The results suggest that increasing campaign participation will only increase the probability of security force defections if the campaign is nonviolent—a finding that corroborates the theory in Chapter 2.

Appendix to Chapter 3

This section provides details about coding decisions, variables, robustness checks, and caveats to the tests performed in Chapter 3. The sample for all of these tests is 323 insurgencies from 1900-2006. Chapter 3 contains the results for our various tests of the effects of different environmental factors on the outcomes of success, and we found these factors to be generally insignificant in determining campaign success when compared to nonviolent resistance and campaign participation. Our findings are also consistent when we control for random effects (Table WA.3).

Table WA.3: Random Effects Estimates: Determinants of Campaign Success

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	Probability of Success (Nonviolent Campaigns Only)§	Probability of Success (All Campaigns)	Probability of Success (All Campaigns)
Primary Resistance Type is Nonviolent	1.03** (.44)	.92** (.40)	1.28*** (.29)
Number of Participants, logged	-1.07** (.47)	.34** (.10)	
Constant	-.05 (3.20)	-3.61*** (1.01)	-1.17*** (.20)
N	62	205	323
Wald chi^2	5.88	18.42	19.34
Prob > chi^2	.0529	.0001	.0000

Significance levels: ***p<.01; **p<.05; *p<.1. §The results in this model may be highly unstable, because the observations drop to fewer than 100.

Although more research is required to assess the robustness of these findings, these results are suggestive of a strong positive relationship between nonviolent resistance, campaign participation, and campaign success.

We also looked at *changes* in three different variables—government capability, regime type, and GDP per capita—to see whether positive or negative changes over time affected the probability of campaign success, independent of nonviolent resistance and campaign participation. We constructed measures for each of these variables that subtracts the value of the indicator four years prior to the campaign's beginning year from the value of the indicators one year prior to the campaign end year. For instance, if a campaign lasted from 1960-1965, we would look at the value of government capacity in 1956 and in 1964. We would subtract the value from 1956 from the value from 1964. If the value is negative, then the target state lost power during the course of the campaign, which most people would generally associate with regime decline. If the value is positive, then the regime gained power during the course of the campaign, making it supposedly harder for a campaign to succeed (Table WA.4).

Table WA.4: Effects of Changes in Government Capability, Polity Score, and GDP per Capita on Campaign Success

	Probability of Campaign Success§
Campaign is Primarily Nonviolent	1.08** (.78)
Number of Participants, logged	.22** (.20)
Change in target's GDP per capita	.26 (.27)
Change in target's Polity Score	-.01 (.05)
Change in Target's Capabilities	.01 (.23)
Constant	-4.47

	(2.60)
N	58
Wald chi^2	8.75
Prob > chi^2	.1197

Significance levels: ***p<.01; **p<.05; *p<.1. §Nonviolent resistance and number of participants are jointly significant at p=.02. However, the results in this model may be highly unstable, because the observations drop to fewer than 100.

Nonetheless, we found that changes in government capacity, regime type, and GDP per capita matter little in influencing the success of nonviolent resistance.

Chapter 3 details a number of tests for endogeneity. In this study, we use both a two-stage simultaneous equations model and the *ivprob* function in STATA. Both models require us to develop an instrument, which we create following methods developed by Fuhrmann (2009) and Gartzke and Jo (2009). Based on previous literature, we first articulate a model of the factors that should condition the choice to use violent resistance. The variables we used are identified in Chapter 3, and are described in the codebook.

Table WA.5: Determinants of Violent Resistance

	Pr(Resistance Method is Violent)
Secession	1.56** (.63)
Simultaneous Violent Campaign	.62** (.27)
GDP per capita	-.00*** (.00)
Target Polity, lagged one year	.08*** (.02)
Target Capabilities, lagged one year	-7.94** (3.29)
Number of Ongoing Civil Conflicts	.11 (.21)
Percentage of Terrain that in Mountainous, logged	.28*** (.10)
Ethnic Fractionalization	.37 (.53)

Target Engaged in Interstate War	.85** (.40)
Constant	-.17 (.48)
N	141
Wald chi^2	.0000
Prob > chi^2	.3053

Significance levels: ***p<.01; **p<.05; *p<.1; probit regression with robust standard errors clustered around target country code.

We find that secessionist conflicts are positively correlated with violent resistance, suggesting that insurgents may perceive such objectives as more difficult and therefore resort to violence more often. The presence of a simultaneous violent campaign is also positively related to violent resistance, supporting the notion that groups may select violence to outbid competitor groups in the same country (Bloom 2005). GDP per capita is negatively related to violent resistance, which actually contradicts much of the prevailing research (Collier 2009), but it likely has conditional effects. Target regime type has a positive effect on violent resistance, as anticipated. Also, target capabilities reduce the probability of a violent method of resistance, which corresponds to conventional expectations concerning the deterrent effects of massive military power. Mountainous terrain is positively correlated with violent resistance, as is an ongoing interstate war. Neither the number of ongoing civil conflicts nor ethnic fractionalization has a significant effect on the choice of violent resistance over nonviolent resistance.[4]

[4] It is important to note that because of the unit of analysis, the causal directions are almost impossible to distinguish. Further study using time series analysis can better determine causality. Furthermore, we do not test the onset of violent conflict, but rather the choice to use violent rather than nonviolent resistance methods.

The predicted probability created from this model becomes our instrument for violent resistance (corr.=.60).

Appendix to Chapter 8

This appendix provides details about coding decisions, variables, robustness checks, and caveats to the tests performed in Chapter 8. Because the unit of analysis and the variables used in this chapter differ somewhat from the rest of the study, they warrant some discussion here.

The sample consists of a subsample of our overall data set, which is the 212 insurgencies from 1960-2006. The insurgency type is the main independent variable in these tests, although we also limited some of the tests to cases in which the insurgency succeeded. The unit of analysis is the (country [insurgency end-year]$_{t+n}$).

The specific outcomes in question are regime type and the probability of being a democracy, which are measured separately for theoretical and methodological reasons. The data for both indicators are drawn from the POLITY IV data set, a widely used database of political institutions that measure the regime type of each country in the world from 1800-2006 (Marshall, Jaggers, and Gurr 2008). POLITY IV ranks political regimes on a scale of -10 (totalitarian regime) to 10 (fully democratic) based on the country's commitment to civil liberties, constraints on executive power, and political competition.

The first independent variable, POLITYT5, is the regime type five years after the campaign end. The second independent variable, DEMDUM, is a dichotomous variable coded as "1" if the value for POLITYT5 is greater than 6, and 0 if otherwise. The reason for the dichotomous measure is that slight increases on the POLITY IV scale may not necessarily translate into democratization. For example, an authoritarian country with a

POLITY score of -6 could improve its POLITY score to -3. One could consider this a tendency toward democracy, but certainly not democratic. The dichotomous measure is a stricter measure of democratization, in that only states that achieve a score above a certain threshold (in this case, a POLITY score of 7 or higher) are counted as democracies. In robustness checks, we used 1, 5, and 10-year intervals to allow for longer transitions.

Next, we introduced a number of control variables, which vary according to each model. In all models, we controlled for the level of democracy at the end of the conflict, as this may affect the level of democracy after the conflict has ended. In each model, we also controlled for the duration of the conflict (the logged conflict duration in days), because duration may affect the degree of certainty about the conflict outcome after the conflict has ended (Fearon 1995).

Civil War Recurrence Tests

To measure civil war recurrence, we created a dichotomous variable (RECUR10), coded "1" if a civil war occurred in the country within ten years of the end of the conflict (insurgency end-year$_{t+10}$).

The presence of a nonviolent campaign is the independent variable in this study, but we also include a series of control variables. The government's regime type may affect the probability of civil war onset, as democracies should be less likely to experience civil wars than nondemocracies. Thus we created a measure of the regime type ten years after the campaign end, called POLITYT10.

The government's capabilities may affect the likelihood of civil war onset. We used the typical indicator of government capabilities, the CINC score from the Correlates of War data set, to control for the effects of state capacity on the likelihood of an outbreak of violence. We expect state capacity to have a negative effect on the likelihood of civil war onset, as more powerful countries should be able to deter internal violence.

We also created a dichotomous variable for the presence simultaneous violent movements, which is coded as "1" if the campaign coexisted with any rival violent groups during the course of the conflict, and "0" if otherwise. Consistent with Cunningham, we expected this variable to have a positive effect on the onset of civil war, due to the tendency of such groups to act as spoilers (Cunningham 2006).

Alternative Hypothesis: Endogeneity

An alternative hypothesis is one of endogeneity: that regime type may be very unlikely in cases where violent and nonviolent insurgencies have occurred in the first place; as such, the resistance type should have no effect on prospects for democracy. There are two major reasons why democracy may not occur in some countries regardless of successful violent or nonviolent resistance: 1). tactics used by occupying powers and incumbent governments to destroy the insurgencies require anti-democratic methods, thereby reinforcing authoritarian political norms; and 2) insurgencies emerge in contexts that are unlikely candidates for democracy in the first place.

First, if the insurgents fail, the government is likely to maintain its status quo—meaning that its regime type during the insurgency may be the same as its regime type after the insurgency. Many insurgencies fight authoritarian regimes, so we would expect

the regime to remain authoritarian when the insurgents lose; in fact, the regimes may be even more entrenched than they were before the insurgency developed (Stephan and Chenoweth 2008). When the insurgents' opponents are democracies, counterinsurgency operations may require deviation from democratic norms. That is, successful counterinsurgency tactics may require the state to cast off normative constraints and harshly repress parts of the population. Such behavior occurred in Egypt, as the Egyptian regime reneged on its pro-democracy commitments in response to growing internal threats from violent elements of the Muslim Brotherhood in the 1960s and afterward. Some argue that the French suppression of the Algerian Liberation Front during the Battle of Algiers cost France its designation as a democracy.[5] Accordingly, an insurgent failure may be as likely to correspond to authoritarian backsliding as insurgent success.

Second, insurgencies may succeed in countries that have little chance of democratization in the first place, as violent insurgencies may be symptomatic of larger divisions within the society that also preclude successful democratization. For example, insurgencies may emerge in countries where poverty is high—a factor that may also affect the probability that the countries democratize. Burkhart and Lewis-Beck, among others, find that economic development and democratic government are positively related, although this is not true in all cases (1994).[6] Londregan and Poole further demonstrate that poverty is the most important predictor of transitions to authoritarianism

[5] It is widely accepted that France used torture during the suppression of the FLN in Algeria. See Crenshaw (1995).

[6] For a challenge to this view, see Diamond (2008).

(Londregan and Poole 1990, 1996).[7] In other words, when insurgencies develop, there may be reasons to be skeptical about the prospects for democratic consolidation whether the insurgents win or lose. Because of these alternative expectations, one wonders whether an insurgent defeat would significantly affect the consolidation of a democratic system compared with an insurgent victory.

Contradicting the endogeneity explanation, a recent Freedom House study finds that there are no systematic factors that prevent democratization in cases where nonviolent revolutions have occurred (Marchant et al. 2008). However, that study does not explicitly compare the consequences of nonviolent versus violent campaigns on the level of post-conflict democratization. An earlier Freedom House study did compare the consequences of nonviolent and violent pro-democracy campaigns for democratization, but without using any control variables (Karatnycky and Ackerman 2005). Both Freedom House studies focus exclusively on pro-democracy movements.

In this study, we add to these results in two ways. First, we test the endogeneity hypothesis using a simultaneous equations model that can account for the independence of the primary resistance campaign type (violent or nonviolent) as well as potentially endogenous factors affecting the prospects for democracy (i.e. poverty, growth, etc.). Second, departing from previous attempts to do control for such environmental factors, we include regime change, anti-occupation, and secession campaigns, rather than just pro-democracy movements.

[7] Of course, these effects may be contingent on gradations of wealth and economic conflicts. For instance, many scholars have found a strong relationship between economic crises and authoritarian breakdowns. See Diamond and Linz (1989); Bermeo (1990) Przeworski and Limongi (1995); and Geddes (1999).

Testing the Endogeneity Hypothesis

The endogeneity hypothesis suggests that nonviolent campaigns may emerge in contexts where democratization is already underway, thus explaining the reason why democracy consolidates more easily in these contexts. Conversely, violent insurgencies may emerge in environments where democratization is unlikely.

To test the endogeneity hypothesis, we relied on the simultaneous equations model CDSIMEQ, designed by Omar Keschk (Keschk 2003; Maddala 1983). This method is designed for simultaneous equation models in which one of the endogenous variables is continuous and the other is dichotomous. The two-stage estimation process generates instruments for each of the endogenous variables, and then substitutes them in their respective structural equations.

The first equation (with the continuous dependent variable) is estimated using ordinary least squares. In our study, the first equation measures the level of democracy a state has achieved in a particular year, so we account for several variables that may have independent effects on the probability of democratic consolidation: the presence of a youth bulge, urban growth, and GDP per capita growth in the five years after the insurgency ends based on current literature. A youth bulge occurs when the population has a disproportionate number of people between the ages of 15 and 24. We expect it to have a negative effect on democratization (Goldstone 2002; Urdal 2006). This variable is coded as the share of 15-24 year olds as the total adult population (15 years and above) at (insurgency end-year$_{t+5}$). Data originate from United Nations demographic reports.[8]

[8] See Urdal (2006) for details.

Urbanization is expected to have a positive effect on democracy, consistent with the well-documented correlation between urbanization and democracy (Barro 1999). This variable is coded as the annual increase in urban populations at (insurgency end-year$_{t+5}$) according to the *World Development Indicators*.

We also expect GDP per capita growth to have a positive impact on the probability of democratic consolidation (Barro 1999). This variable is coded according to the *Penn World Tables'* measure of the average annual change in purchasing power parity GDP per capita during the five-year period after the insurgency ends (Heston, Summers, and Aten 2006).[9] In all models, the standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and are clustered around country code to account for serial correlation in the cross-sectional unit.

The second equation (with the dichotomous variable) is estimated using probit.[10] The probit model in this case estimates the probability that the campaign is nonviolent using the level of target capabilities, whether the campaign is a secession campaign, and whether the opponent is engaged in an interstate war during the campaign as the independent variables.

Table WA.6: Testing for Endogeneity between Democracy and Nonviolent Resistance

	Dependent Variables	
Ind. Vars.	Polity Change 5	Pr(Resistance is

[9] We received the youth bulge, GDP per capita, and urbanization variables from Henrik Urdal through personal correspondence.

[10] For other work in political science that uses this approach see Keshk, Pollins, and Reuveny (2004); Kim and Rousseau (2005); and Fuhrmann (2009).

	Years After Campaign End	Nonviolent)
Instrument for Nonviolent Resistance	2.52** (1.15)	
Urban Population, logged	-.41 (.35)	
Growth of Real GDP per capita	-.03 (.07)	
Real GDP per capita	.00 (.00)	
Instrument for Polity Change		.26*** (.07)
Campaign Goal is Secession		-.27 (.68)
Target Government Capabilities, logged		9.12 (6.09)
Target is Engaged in Interstate War		-.38 (.51)
Constant	5.53* (3.25)	-1.01*** (.30)
N	133	133
LR chi^2		32.36
	Prob > F = .0001	Prob > chi^2 =.0001
	R^2 =.1709	Pseudo R^2 =.2624

Significance levels: ***p<.01; **p<.05; *p<.1; CDSIMEQ two-stage simultaneous equation with standard errors in parentheses.

As seen in Table WA.6, the instrument for nonviolent resistance remains positive and statistically significant. Nonviolent resistance continues to effect positive change toward democracy even when using an instrument for the onset of nonviolent resistance and when controlling for other factors that typically enhance democracy.

Thus we can be more confident that the choice of nonviolent resistance and the presence of a democratic regime type are independent events. In other words, nonviolent resistance does not only occur in conditions where democracy is already present, or where democratization is already underway. Instead, nonviolent resistance can be an

active cause of democracy, even when we account for other factors that typically contribute to democracy.

NAVCO 1.1 Variables and Descriptions

Table WA.7 identifies the variables in the dataset and their descriptions.

Table WA.7: NAVCO 1.1 Variables

Variable Name	*Source*	*Variable Description*
CAMPAIGN	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Name of campaign.
LOCATION	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Geographic base of campaign (country).
LCCODE	Correlates of War	Location country code.
BYEAR	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Year in which campaign begins.
EYEAR	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Year at which the campaign reaches its peak; i.e. the most members or watershed events. If data is unavailable for membership or events, this peak is considered to be the year prior to the outcome (i.e. if regime changed in 2002, the peak is 2001).
AMERICAS	Author's calculation	Region dummy.
ASIA	Author's calculation	Region dummy.
AFRICA	Author's calculation	Region dummy.
EUROPE	Author's calculation	Region dummy.
FSU	Author's calculation	Region dummy.
MIDDLE EAST	Author's calculation	Region dummy.
TARGET	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Target of the campaign.
TCCODE	Correlates of War	Target country code.
OUTCOME	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Ordinal measure with result code. Success=5; Limited Success=4; Failure=3.
SUCCESS	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Dichotomous variable identifying whether the campaign achieved 100% of its stated goals within a year of the peak of activities. In most cases,

		outcome was achieved within a year of the campaign's peak. Some campaigns' goals were achieved years after the "peak" of the struggle in terms of membership, but the success was a direct result of campaign activities. When such a direct link can be demonstrated, these campaigns are coded as successful.
LIMITED	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Dichotomous variable identifying whether the campaign achieved some of its stated goals within a year of the peak of activities. When a regime makes concessions to the campaign or reforms short of complete campaign success, such reforms are counted as limited success.
FAILURE	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Dichotomous variable identifying whether the campaign achieved none of its stated goals; includes campaigns that have been suppressed.
ONGOING	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Dichotomous variable identifying whether the campaign is ongoing and has not yet achieved its goals. Only when campaigns are ongoing and have achieved no stated objectives/outcomes.
NONVIOL	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Dichotomous variable identifying that a campaign was primarily nonviolent during the observation.
VIOL	Gleditsch 2004; Lyall and Wilson 2008; Sepp 2005	Dichotomous variable identifying that a campaign was primarily violent during the observation.
REGCHANGE	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Dichotomous variable identifying purpose of campaign as domestic regime change, excluding expulsion of foreign occupiers.

FSELFDET	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Dichotomous variable identifying purpose of campaign as a self-determination or independence from a foreign occupier or colonial power.
SECESSION	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Dichotomous variable identifying purpose of campaign as self-determination or territorial secession/separatism from an existing state in a territory internationally recognized as part of the target state. Sometimes these campaigns claim objectives of expelling foreign occupations. This campaign type is distinct from anti-occupation campaigns, however, because the contested territory is internationally recognized as sovereign to the target state.
OTHER	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Dichotomous variable identifying purpose of campaign as distinct from previous three objectives (i.e. purpose is NOT to expel a foreign occupation, change a domestic regime, or territorial separation). However, these are major campaigns with "difficult" goals, which exclude labor rights, civil rights, and other types of campaigns.
LDURATION	Author's calculation	Length of campaign in days, logged.
PEAKMEMBERSHIP	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Number of members in campaign at highest point (peak event).
LMEMBERS	Author's calculation	Log of peakmembership.
MEMPC	Author's calculation; Penn World Tables 6.2	Membership per capita (lmembers/lnpop).
MEMDUM	Author's calculation	Dichotomous variable indicating whether peakmembership is missing.
REGVIOL	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Dichotomous variable identifying whether the regime used violence to crack down on

		campaign.
DEFECT	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Dichotomous variables identifying whether the target's security forces defected during the conflict. Does not include routine individual defections, but rather large-scale, systematic breakdowns on the execution of orders from the target regime.
CW	Author's calculation	Whether the campaign occurred during the Cold War (end year occurs between 1949 and 1991).
POSTCW	Author's calculation	End year occurs after 1991.
VIOLSIM	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Dichotomous variable identifying whether a different violent campaign was active simultaneous to the major campaign. Can include an independent terrorist group, violent insurrection, or other violent "spoiler" at any point during the course of the campaign.
LPOLITY	POLITY IV	POLITY IV score of campaign location (democracy – autocracy) 1 year before campaign ends.
LGOVCAP	Correlates of War	Government capacity measure for location of campaign; logged annual composite index of the state's share of the world's total population, GDP per capita, GDP per unit of energy, military manpower, and military expenditures 1 year before campaign ends.
TPOLITY	POLITY IV	POLITY IV score of campaign target (democracy – autocracy) 1 year before campaign ends.
TGOVCAP	Correlates of War	Government capacity measure for target of campaign; logged annual composite index of the state's share of the world's total population, GDP per capita, GDP per unit of energy, military manpower, and military

		expenditures 1 year before campaign ends.
POLITYT5	POLITY IV	POLITY IV score of campaign location (democracy – autocracy) five years after campaign ends.
POLITYT1	POLITY IV	POLITY IV score of campaign location (democracy – autocracy) one year after campaign ends.
POLITYT10	POLITY IV	POLITY IV score of campaign location (democracy – autocracy) ten years after campaign ends.
POLITYCHANGET10	POLITY IV	Change in location POLITY IV score ten years after campaign ends.
POLITYCHANGET1	POLITY IV	Change in location POLITY IV score one year after campaign ends.
POLITYCHANGET5	POLITY IV	Change in location POLITY IV score five years after campaign ends.
POLITYCHANGET0	POLITY IV	Change in location POLITY IV score between the year before the campaign ends to the year the campaign ends.
EXTFOR	Gleditsch 2004	Dichotomous variable indicating whether regime was engaged in an interstate conflict (of over 1,000 battle deaths) at the time of the observation.
REGAID	Various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Dichotomous variable indicating whether target received overt military aid from another state to fight the campaign.
STATESUP	Record 2006; various encyclopedic entries; scholarly works; subject and area experts	Dichotomous variable indicating whether campaign received overt military or economic aid from an outside another state to fight against the target.
SDIRECT	Huffbauer, Elliott, and Schott 2007	Dichotomous variable indicating whether the international sanctions targeted the regime for its behavior vis-à-vis the resistance campaign.

DELTATPOLITY	POLITY IV	Change in target polity from 4 years before campaign begins to 1 year before campaign ends.
DELTATGDP	Penn World Tables 6.2	Change in target GDP per capita from 4 years before campaign begins to 1 year before campaign ends.
DELTATGOVCAP	Correlates of War	Change in target govcap from 4 years before campaign begins to 1 year before campaign ends.
T1	Author's calculation	Time dummy: 1900-1909.
T2	Author's calculation	Time dummy: 1910-1919.
T3	Author's calculation	Time dummy: 1920-1929.
T4	Author's calculation	Time dummy: 1930-1939.
T5	Author's calculation	Time dummy: 1940-1949.
T6	Author's calculation	Time dummy: 1950-1959.
T7	Author's calculation	Time dummy: 1960-1969.
T8	Author's calculation	Time dummy: 1970-1979.
T9	Author's calculation	Time dummy: 1980-1989.
T10	Author's calculation	Time dummy: 1990-1999.
T11	Author's calculation	Time dummy: 2000-2006.
LGDPPC	Penn World Tables 6.2	Location GDP per capita 1 year before campaign ends, in 2000 US dollars.
RGDPPC	Penn World Tables 6.2	Real GDP per capita the year of the campaign ends, in 2000 US dollars.
GROWTHRGDPPC	Penn World Tables 6.2	Growth of real GDP per capita the year of the campaign ends, in 2000 US dollars.
LUPOP	Penn World Tables 6.2	Urban population, logged.
RECUR5	Gledistch 2004	Dichotomous variable indicating whether a civil war recurred within 5 years after campaign ends.
RECUR10	Gledistch 2004	Dichotomous variable indicating whether a civil war recurred within 10 years after campaign ends.
RECUR1	Gledistch 2004	Dichotomous variable indicating whether a civil war recurred within 1 year after campaign ends.
AUTHDUM	POLITY IV	Dichotomous variable indicating whether a country was authoritarian (i.e. POLITY score

		of less than 7) 1 year before campaign ends.
DEMDUM	POLITY IV	Dichotomous variable indicating whether a country was democratic (i.e. POLITY score of more than 6) 5 years after campaign ends.
LNPOP	Penn World Tables 6.2	Location's logged population the year the campaign ends, logged
IXNNVMEM	Penn World Tables 6.2	Interaction term: nonviolent resistance * lmembers.
IXNNVPC	Penn World Tables 6.2	Interaction term: nonviolent resistance * mempc.
LOCLCAP1	Author's calculation; Correlates of War	Dichotomous variable indicating whether location's govcap is in the 1st quartile 1 year before campaign begins.
LOCLCAP2	Author's calculation; Correlates of War	Dichotomous variable indicating whether location's govcap is in the 2nd quartile 1 year before campaign begins.
LOCLCAP3	Author's calculation; Correlates of War	Dichotomous variable indicating whether location's govcap is in the 3rd quartile 1 year before campaign begins.
LOCLCAP4	Author's calculation; Correlates of War	Dichotomous variable indicating whether location's govcap is in the 4th quartile 1 year before campaign begins.
LPOLITY1	POLITY IV	Target's POLITY score 1 year before campaign begins.
LOCLPOLITY1	POLITY IV	Location's POLITY score 1 year before campaign begins.
LMTNEST	Fearon and Laitin 2003	Estimated percentage of mountainous terrain in location, logged.
EF	Fearon and Laitin 2003	Location's ethnic fractionalization 1 year before campaign begins.
LCINC1	Correlates of War	Target's govcap 1 year before campaign begins.
WARS	Fearon and Laitin 2003	Number of internal wars in progress in location 1 year before campaign begins.

Note: Missing variables are simply left blank in the database, except as otherwise noted in notes below.

Conflict Narratives[11]

The following pages contain brief narratives of the different cases included in the NAVCO 1.1 data set. The brief narratives include discussions of the defection variable, which can be controversial, and justification of the coded outcome of the campaign, and at least one source that readers can access to obtain further information about the campaign.

Cuban Revolution against Batista regime, 1956 to 1959
Summary/Description: Leftist forces led by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara engaged in a military-based struggle with the forces of the dictator Fulgencio Batista, who was backed in part by the United States. Castro engaged the Cuban people with a comprehensive social, economic, and political program of change, which created the popular support necessary to remove Batista from power.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, in the form of military defections from Batista's army to the revolutionary army.
Outcome: The Batista regime is overthrown by the Fidel Castro-led revolutionaries, eventually resulting in a communist-style governmental system.
Sources: Fitzgibbon, Russell H. "The Revolution Next Door: Cuba." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 334 (1961): 113-122.

Caco Revolt against U.S. occupation of Haiti, 1918 to 1920
Summary/Description: Following the Treaty of 1915 between the United States and the Haitian government, the U.S. occupied and controlled almost all aspects of Haitian government. In 1918, further moves by the U.S. Occupation to expand their control led to revolts by anti-American rebel groups, known as Cacos. The superior U.S. military violently suppressed the revolt, which resulted in a great number of secondary casualties among non-rebel Haitians.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No Loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt is suppressed by the United States, and the U.S. military forces continue to be stationed in Haiti until 1925.
Sources: Douglas, Paul H. "The American Occupation of Haiti II." *Political Science Quarterly* 42 (1927): 368-396.

Haitian Revolt against Jean Claude Duvalier, 1985-1986
Summary/Description: Protests against Duvalier's opulent spending and lack of social reform led to a wide spread cycle of protest and brutal repression. Following the Catholic Churches denouncement of the dictator, demonstrations and riots spread quickly throughout the country, resulting in Duvalier losing control of much of the

[11] Compiled by Jeremy Berkowitz and Erica Chenoweth.

country. Eventually, urged on by the military and the United States, Duvalier relinquished control over the country and fled.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, as protesters urged the military to stage a coup, which the leaders of the military eventually acquiesced to in the form of demanding Duvalier relinquish power.
Outcome: The revolt successfully overthrows the Duvalier regime, installing a interim government under Henri Namphy.
Sources: Moody, John. "Bad News for Baby Doc." Time Magazine, Feb. 1986.

Dominican Insurgency against U.S. Occupation, 1916 to 1924
Summary/Description: United States Military forces occupied the Dominican Republic in 1916 following an upswing in disruptive revolutions in previous years. Almost immediately, a large number of separate guerilla organizations sprung up in the eastern portion of the country, fighting an irregular war that was predominately a result of U.S. abuses and personal economic hardship. The most severe fighting took place during 1916-1922, after which most of the guerilla leaders negotiated surrender due to the impending U.S. marine withdrawal from the island.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The insurgency was suppressed by the United States, which withdrew formally from the country in 1924.
Sources: Calder, Bruce J. "Caudillos and Gavilleros versus the United States Marines: Guerrilla Insurgency during the Dominican Intervention, 1916-1924." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 58 (1978): 649-675

Dominican Leftists against the Loyalist regime, 1965
Summary/Description: Following a 1963 election of leftist president Juan Bosch, a military government seized control. A popular revolt to return Bosch to the head of government began in 1965 and was initially successful, but the Dominican military, following the perceived rise of communist leaders within the revolt and urged on by the United States, retook power. Following a U.S. occupation, a right-wing government was put into place.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, in the early phase of the revolt some military leaders offered to back the power change.
Outcome: The leftists ousted the Loyalist regime, but were almost immediately removed by the Dominican and United States militaries, which installed a right-wing government under Joaquin Balaguer.
Sources: Draper, Theodore. "The Dominican Intervention Reconsidered." *Political Science Quarterly* 86 (1971): 1-36

Mexican rebellion of Liberals and Radicals against Diaz regime, 1910-1920
Summary/Description: The Mexican Revolution came as a response to the authoritarian government of Porifiro Diaz by a number of left-wing political movements. Led initially by Francisco Madero, the revolution succeeded in removing the Diaz regime, but due to disagreements between various leaders on where to proceed as well as resurgence from the right, the revolution quickly devolved into a disruptive and bloody civil war. Eventually, the infighting died down, and a new constitution and government were

formed.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, as there were a large number of betrayals and counter-coups during the revolution.
Outcome: The Liberals and Radicals ousted the Diaz regime, although this resulted in civil war between various factions. Eventually, a new government was established under the constitution of 1917.
Sources: Macias, Anna. "Women and the Mexican Revolution, 1910-1920." *The Americas* 37 (1980): 53-82.

Huerta-led Mexican Rebellion against Obregon regime, 1923-1924
Summary/Description: This military revolt, led by Adolfo de la Huerta, was an attempt by reactionary elements of the military and anti-governmental forces to prevent a further liberal and centrist shift in Mexican government. However, the delahuertistas were unable to gather the same level of popular support that the agrarian-allied leaders of the Obregon regime were, and the rebellion was defeated after three months of activity.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, in that the military was split between following Huerta's rebellion and remaining with the established Obregon-led government.
Outcome: The Obregon regime suppressed the rebellion, maintaining their control of the country.
Sources: Tardanico, Richard. "State, Dependency, and Nationalism: Revolutionary Mexico, 1924-1928." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24 (1982): 400-423.
Purnell, Jennie. Popular movements and state formation in revolutionary Mexico: the agraristas and cristeros of Michoacán. Duke University Press, 1999.

Cristeros rebellion against Mexican regime, 1926-1930
Summary/Description: Sparked by anti-religious clauses in the new Mexican constitution, the rebellion was organized and led mostly by clergy, the revolt originally took the form of economic boycotts, and gradually became more violent, resulting in an armed rebellion starting in 1927. Following military repression and the execution without trial of several prominent religious leaders, the presence and power of the Catholic Church was greatly diminish, coinciding with several thousand deaths due to the government repression of the rebellion.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Mexican regime suppressed the rebellion, and the over-all power of Catholic church in Mexico was greatly diminished.
Sources: Berbusse, Edward J. "The Unofficial Intervention of the United States in Mexico's Religious Crisis, 1926-1930." *The Americas* 23 (1966): 28-62.

Escobar-led Mexican rebellion against Calles government, 1929
Summary/Description: A predominantly right-wing revolt led by general Escobar and a number of other military allies, the revolt was suppressed by the government using United States assistance and the cooperation of leftist political movements that feared a reactionary government coming to power. The revolt collapsed with the death of Escobar, achieving no significant victories against the Calles government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, as military troops joined general Escobar in rebellion.

Outcome: The Calles government suppressed the rebellion, and the current government remained in power.
Sources: Sherman, John W. The Mexican right: the end of revolutionary reform, 1929-1940. Greenwood Publishing Group, 1997.
Mexican Protests against corrupt government, 1987-2000
Summary/Description: Due to government mismanagement and corruption, coupled with economic downturns, several waves of protest took place, primarily during the 1990's. Changes in behavior towards voting caused policy makers to institute political reforms, and the the first electoral defeat of a political party in office in Mexico's history took place in the 2000 election, resulting in a multi-party system.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protests ousted the corrupt government, resulting in the first change in political party since 1929, as the PAN political party under Vicente Fox took power.
Sources: Williams, Mark Eric. "Traversing the Mexican Odyssey: Reflections on Political Change and the Study of Mexican Politics." *Mexican Studies / Estudios Mexicanos* 18 (2002): 159-188.

Mexican Protests against Calderon regime, 2006
Summary/Description: Following a closely fought electoral battle between the incumbent PAN parties presidential candidate Felipe Calderon and Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador, a left-wing challenger, the PAN and Calderon won a narrow victory of less than one percent of the vote. Obrador and his supporters challenged the election results and staged mass protests for a recount. Despite participation in rallies reaching into the hundreds of thousands, a judicial court ruled that Calderon has lawfully won the election, resulting in the PAN remaining in power.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protests failed to oust the Calderon regime, and the incumbent government remained in control of the Mexican government.
Sources: Garcia-Navarro, Lourdes. "Tribunal: Calderon is Mexico's New President." September 5, 2006, *All Things Considered*, National Public Radio.

Guatemalan October Revolutionaries against Ubico dictatorship, 1944
Summary/Description: The revolt against the Guatemalan military dictatorship occurred in two parts, the first being a civilian protest movement which on the surface removed the current dictator, but failed to unseat the established culture of military rule and governance under General Jorge Ubico. Although Ubico resigned in the face of mass protest, he purposely left the military dictatorship he created in control. This was followed three months later by the October revolution, which was composed of younger military officers who rebelled and ousted the old guard of the military dictatorship.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as the eventual regime change was a result of the lower ranks of the military government removing the established rulers and instituting a civilian government.
Outcome: The October Revolutionaries successfully overthrew the Ubico dictatorship, and the old system of officer-controlled government was replaced with joint military-civilian control over the country.
Sources: Grieb, Kenneth J. "The Guatemalan Military and the Revolution of 1944." *The*

Americas 32, (1976): 524-543.

Guatemalan Conservative movement against Arbenz leftist regime, 1954
Summary/Description: Following the election of Jacobo Arbenz and his leftist government in 1951, traditional social and economic elites, aided by the United States, began planning a coup d'etat against the increasingly leftist government. Eventually, Arbenz was forced to flee, and conservative political parties took control of the government, resulting in a political shift towards anti-communist policies and increased connection to the United States.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, in the form of right-leaning government officials and the military aiding the coup.
Outcome: The Conservative movement overthrew the leftist regime, and the military government of Colonel Carlos Armas was put into power.
Sources: Brockett, Charles D. "An Illusion of Omnipotence: U.S. Policy Towards Guatemala, 1954-1960." *Latin American Politics and Society* 44 (2002): 91-126

Guatemalan Marxist rebels (URNG) against government, 1961-1996
Summary/Description: Following a period of weak government and United States interventionism, various Guatemalan political organizations began the use of violence against each other and the government. Many of those groups had Marxist tendencies, and during the 1980's merged to form the URNG. Despite scorched earth policies on the part of the government, the guerillas were not pacified until an outside-brokered peace treaty was signed.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, in that several important leaders of the Marxist guerillas were former army officers who rebelled against the government.
Outcome: The Marxist rebels had limited success in overthrowing the government, controlling a great degree of the countryside at various points during the conflict. The conflict ended with a U.N. brokered peace accord in which a political compromise was reached between the two sides.
Sources: Wickham-Crowley, Timothy P. *Guerillas and revolution in Latin America.* Princeton University Press, 1993.; Booth, John A. "A Guatemalan Nightmare: Levels of Political Violence, 1966-1972." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 22 (1980): 195-225.; Ruhl, Mark J. "The Guatemalan Military since the Peace Accords: The Fate of Reform under Arzu and Portillo." *Latin American Politics and Society* 47 (2005): 55-85.

Guatemalan Indian resistance against government, 1966-1972
Summary/Description: The Guatemalan country side contains a large number of peasants and laborers of predominantly Indian ancestry. Integrating this population into the mainstream cultural and economic life has been a long-standing difficulty for the Guatemalan government. During the 1960's, attempts were made by the Indian population to gain increased land rights from the government, a campaign which was repressed during the violence of the Guatemalan Civil War.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No Loyalty Shifts took place.
Outcome: The Indian resistance was suppressed by the government, and the status quo of economic inequality was for the most part maintained.

Sources: Booth, John A. "Socioeconomic and Political Roots of National Revolts in Central America." *Latin American Research Review* 26 (1991): 33-73.

Honduran Conservative movement against government regime, 1924
Summary/Description: Following a lengthy period of political and economic instability, the United States government began to use its influence to enforce peace and stability on Honduras. When a long-fermenting revolution began to erupt in early 1924, several groups, including a conservative movement led by Tiburcio Carias, sought to take control of the country. However, the U.S. presence and threat of military action resulted in elections taking place, which put into power Muguel Paz Barahona.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No Loyalty Shifts took place.
Outcome: The conservative movement was suppressed by the government.
Sources: Wright, Theodore P. Jr. "Honduras: A Case Study of United States Support of Free Elections in Central America." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 40 (1960): 212-223.

El Salvadorian leftist rebellion against authoritarian Martinez regime, 1932
Summary/Description: Primarily a peasant rebellion that took place with limited communist party guidance, the 1932 rebellion targeted local power elites in retribution for harsh treatment. The recently established military government brutally crushed the rebellion, with casualty totals reaching into the tens of thousands for peasants in the areas targeted.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The leftist rebellion was suppressed by the authoritarian regime, which remained in power until 1944.
Sources: In Search of the Party: The Communist Party, the Comintern, and the Peasant Rebellion of 1932 in El Salvador, by Eric Ching *The Americas* © 1998

El Salvadorian Strike of Fallen Arms against Martinez dictatorship, 1944
Summary/Description: Following the 1932 rebellion, the Martinez government solidified its power base, altering the electoral system and constitution to retain power for as long as possible. In early 1944, an attempted military coup d'état by the younger generation of military officers failed to bring down General Martinez, but this action from within the military dictatorship sparked mass civilian protests. Despite violent repression by the military, the mass protests and strike weakened the dictatorship to the point where Martinez resigned, and a more democratic government and electoral system was put in place.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, in the form of junior officers rebelling against the older military establishment.
Outcome: The Strike of Fallen Arms was successful in bringing down the Martinez dictatorship, and a short-lived democracy under Arturo Romero took power until military conservatives again seized power.
Sources: Lindo-Fuentes, Hector, Erik Ching, and Rafael Martinez. "Remembering a massacre in El Salvador." UNM Press, 2007.

El Salvadorian revolt against Military and civilian junta, 1979-1981

Summary/Description: In early 1979, a military-led coup d'état against El Salvador's dictatorship took place, eventually removing it from power and creating a shared military-civilian government that pledged to create reforms. However, the military-controlled segment of regime failed to do this, and the majority of the civilian leaders left and joined the anti-government opposition in early 1980. Following this change, the remaining military government began a policy of brutal repression that resulted in ten thousands dead or exiled, and instigated a longer conflict against governmental control.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, in the form of civilian government officials exiting the government and joining the opposition, but no significant military defections took place.
Outcome: The revolt was violently suppressed by the military section of the junta, which consolidated and strengthened its control over El Salvadorian government due to the absence of civilian participation in the junta.
Sources: Ram, Susan. "El Salvador: Perspectives on a Revolutionary Civil War." *Social Scientist* 11 (1883): 3-38.

El Salvadorian Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front against government, 1979-1991
Summary/Description: Following the failures of establishing a democratic government in the early 1980's, a long and violent civil war broke out between right-wing forces and the FMLN, a left-wing guerilla force. During the decade-long conflict, which claimed tens of thousands of lives, neither side was able to gain significant victories over the other, and began to negotiate a cessation of hostilities. This took place in 1991, as democratic reforms were initiated and the FMLN became integrated into the political process and rejected violence.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The National Liberation Front gained limited reforms to the political process, such as changes in the constitution, police force, and human rights policies.
Sources: Singh, Narendra. "Role of Peace Negotiations in a Revolutionary Process." *Economic and Political Weekly* 27 (1992): 1850-1851.; Corr, Edwin G. "Societal Transformation for Peace in El Salvador." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 541 (1995): 144-156.

Nicaraguan Guerrillas against US backed Conservative government/ US intervening troops, 1925-1932
Summary/Description: The revolt was composed of leftist Guerillas, under the leadership of Augusto Sandino, whom were attempting to oust the conservative government from power. Shortly after the revolt began, United States Marines returned to Nicaragua to ensure the security of U.S. interests in the area. Both the government and the U.S. forces were unable to pacify the leftists, and ultimately the U.S. forces withdrew in 1933. The head of the Nicaraguan armed forces, Anastasio Somoza, then proceeded to assassinate Sandino, remove the civilian government, and install a military dictatorship.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No Loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Guerillas failed to oust the Conservative government, and were then suppressed along with the civilian government by the Somoza dictatorship.

Sources: LeoGrande, William. “The Revolution in Nicaragua: Another Cuba?” *Foreign Affairs* 58 (1979): 28-50.

Nicaraguan FSLN against government regime, 1978-1979
Summary/Description: Following a major earthquake and government ineffectiveness to handle disaster relief, leftist guerrillas inspired by Sandino rapidly grew in number, with the Cuba-inspired FSLN rising to prominence. Following international backlash against its human rights records, including U.S. withdrawal of funding and support, the Somoza dictatorship was severely weakened. In early 1978, the assassination of popular leader Pedro Chamorro led to a popular uprising from the mainstream population. Despite a strong moderate shift, United States indecision led to the radical FSLN assuming power once Somoza was defeated in mid 1979. However, conservative backlash, supported by the now anti-FSLN United States continued the conflict despite the Sandinista/FSLN victory.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The FSLN succeeded in overthrowing the government regime, but were faced by a pervasive conservative opposition.
Sources: LeoGrande, William. “The Revolution in Nicaragua: Another Cuba?” *Foreign Affairs* 58 (1979): 28-50.

Nicaraguan Contras against Sandinista regime, 1980-1990
Summary/Description: After the leftist/Sandinista FSLN took control o f the country in 1979, the United States began funding conservative guerrillas, known as Contras, in an effort to oust the liberal regime and install a conservative one loyal to U.S. interests in the region. As a result, Nicaragua existed in a state of civil war for ten years, causing great loss of life and property. Neither the Contras nor the Sandinistas were able to achieve victory, and so in the Sandinistas declared free and open elections. As a result, the FSLN was removed from power, and U.S./Contra opposition to the government of Nicaragua ceased.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No Loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Contras failed to oust the Sandinista regime, but the Sandinista regime voluntarily left power following open elections.
Sources: Peceny, Mark and William Stanley. “Liberal Social Reconstruction and the Resolution of Civil Wars in Central America.” *International Organization* 55 (2001): 149-182.

Costa Rican National Union Party against Calderon regime, 1948
Summary/Description: Following the unexpected electoral defeat of Rafael Calderon’s National Republican Party by the right-wing National Union Party, his party overturned the results, leading to armed conflict between the two sides. The rebels defeated the military, established a temporary junta, and eventually gave control to the original victor of the 1948 elections, Otilio Ulate.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The National Union Party successfully overthrew the Calderon regime, installing the original victor of the 1948 elections.
Sources: Longley, Kyle. “Peaceful Costa Rica, The First battleground: The United

States and the Costa Rican Revolution of 1948." *The Americas* 50 (1993): 149-175.

Panamanian Revolt against Noriega regime, 1987-1989
Summary/Description: By the 1970's, the military dictatorship of Panama had grown increasingly corrupt and repressive. By the late 1980's, General Manuel Noriega's corrupt policies had created a large base of dissatisfaction, which in 1987 erupted into a revolt focused on overthrowing the corrupt regime. With the aid of a brief United States invasion of Panama in 1989, Noriega was arrested and tried, and a civilian democratic government was put into power.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as various members of the military who were unaware of the extent of Noriega's corruption demanded he resign after it was publically revealed.
Outcome: The revolt succeeded in ousting the Noriega regime, installing a democratic government in its place.
Sources: Ropp, Steve C. "Explaining the Long-Term Maintenance of a Military Regime: Panama before the U.S. Invasion." *World Politics* 44 (1992): 210-234.

Colombian Liberal against conservative government, 1946-1949
Summary/Description: The history of Columbian politics before the late 20th century was a continual cycle of power shifts between the liberal and conservative political movements in the country. By the 1946 election, in which the Conservatives gained power, the polarization of the country had reached a level in which violence broke out, as liberal groups attacked conservatives, and the conservatives reacted in kind. This resulted in a decade long period of intense violence, known as la violencia, in which assassinations and other forms of political violence were commonplace throughout the country, especially in the rural regions.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The liberals were suppressed by the conservative government, leading to a cycle of political conflict known as la violencia.
Sources: Bailey, Norman A. "La Violencia in Colombia." Journal of Inter-American Studies 9 (1967): 561-575.

Columbian Liberals of 1949 against Conservative government, 1949
Summary/Description: As part of the violence sweeping Columbia, the election of 1949 was of critical importance, and political violence swelled both before and after it. The Columbian liberals successfully gained a significant amount of political power, especially in Urban areas, but as a result the Conservatives reacted with increased repression, furthering the cycle of violence that took place throughout the country for the next decade.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No Loyalty Shifts took place.
Outcome: The Liberals of 1949, despite political victories, were suppressed by the Conservative government.
Sources: Weinert, Richard S. "Violence in Pre-Modern Societies: Rural Columbia" *The American Political Science Review* 60 (1966): 340-347.

Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia against government and US influence, 1964-

2006
Summary/Description: Emerging from the end of the Conservative-Liberal violence of the earlier years of the century, the FARC is an agrarian/Marxist guerrilla organization that has successfully captured an enclave of the country from the official government. Gaining funding from the sale of cocaine, the production of which is controlled primarily by the FARC, they have reached an effective stalemate with the government, as neither has been able to overthrow the other group. The United States has also become involved in the civil war, but its influence has been unable to defeat the FARC forces.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, Loyalty shifts have taken place.
Outcome: The Revolutionary Armed Forces have failed to overthrow the government.
Sources: Petras, James and Michael Brescia. "The FARC Faces the Empire." *Latin American Perspectives* 27 (2000): 134-142.

Venezuelan La Revolución Libertador against government, 1901-1903
Summary/Description: During the 19th century, military strongmen exerted a large amount of control over the government of Venezuela, eventually resulting in a public uprising by predominately rural revolutionaries. The military quickly suppressed the revolution, however, resulting in little change in political and social life.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Revolución Libertador was suppressed by the government.
Sources: Yarrington, Doug. "Public Land Settlement, Privatization, and Peasant Protest in Duaca, Venezuela, 1870-1936." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 74 (1994): 33-61.

Venezuelan Armed Forces for National Liberation (FALN) against Betancourt regime, 1958-1963
Summary/Description: The FALN came into existence following the rise to power of the Accion Democratica party, a leftist political party under Romulo Betancourt that was responsible for a wide variety of liberal reforms. The FALN was also a leftist group, but was communist in nature, which was not reconcilable with the mainstream liberal politics of the AD. Following a series of uprisings, Betancourt's regime suppressed the opposition, using police force to crush violent actions and encouraging labor unions, which steadily decreased the power of communist alternatives.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, in the form of military aid to the FALN and other far-left groups.
Outcome: The FALN failed to oust the Betancourt regime, as the government reduced its support base and suppressed its activities.
Sources: Wickham-Crowley, Timothy P. "Elites, Elite Settlements, and Revolutionary Movements in Latin America: 1950-1980." *Social Science History* 18 (1994): 543-574.

Venezuelan protests against Jimenez dictatorship, 1958
Summary/Description: In 1952, a military dictatorship under Perez Jimenez violently took control of the Venezuelan government, utilizing political oppression and assassination to remain in power. In January 1958, a general uprising and mass protests caused Jimenez to flee to the United States, and the remaining members of the Junta

peacefully arranged democratic elections in December of that same year. Jimenez was ultimately extradited back to Venezuela and stood trial for corruption charges.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as government/military leaders supported the protesters against Jimenez.
Outcome: The protests successfully ousted the Jimenez dictatorship, resulting in democratic elections.
Sources: Ewell, Judith. "The Extradition of Marcos Perez Jimenez." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 9 (1977): 291-313.

Venezuelan anti-coup protests, 2002
Summary/Description: In 2002, a group of military officers arrested President Hugo Chavez and forced him to resign. The coup lasted only 47 hours. Many high-ranking officers refused to support the coup, and some key labor leaders were also left out of the coalition. Hundreds of thousands of protestors took to the streets in opposition to the Carmona government. The coup collapsed, and the Presidential Guard, which was loyal to Chavez, retook the palace in a bloodless re-occupation.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as some members of the military abandoned the coup in favor of the protestors.
Outcome: The protests successfully ousted the junta, resulting in the re-installment of Chavez.
Sources: Parish, Randall, Mark Peceny, and Justin Delacour, "Venezuela and the Collective Defence of Democracy Regime in the Americas." *Democratization*, 14: 2 (2007): 207-231.
Guyanese revolt against Burnham/Hoyte autocratic regime, 1990-1992
Summary/Description: Since the late 1960's, Guyana had been ruled by a socialist/black power People's National Congress (PNC) government led first by Forbes Burnham, and then Desmond Hoyte. Although a semblance of the democratic process took place, the Burnham/Hoyte PNC utilized voting frauds to secure electoral victory. Following a series of protests in the early 1990's, the PNC was removed from power, and its long time rival, the People's Progressive Party (PPP), gained power, which it has held ever since.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, Loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Guyanese revolt overthrew the autocratic regime, and the PPP was elected to office.
Sources: Romero, Simon. "Desmond Hoyte, 73, Former Preisdent of Guyana, Dies." *The New York Times*, December 29th, 2002.

Peruvian Aprista rebels against Cerro regime, 1932
Summary/Description: The Aprista's, a far-left, socialist style political party that created a base of support out of rural/Indian communities, took part in their first presidential election in 1931, with its founder and leader, Victor Haya, as the parties candidate, against Luis Cerro, a right wing politician. When the Aprista's lost the election, the attempted to overthrow the Cerro regime, resulting in a brief yet brutal civil war and ultimately the outlawing and repression of the Aprista party.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Apista rebels were suppressed by the Cerro regime, and the party was

outlawed until 1945.
Sources: Davies, Thomas M. Jr. "The Indigenismo of the Peruvian Aprista Party." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 51 (1971): 626-645.

Peruvian Senderista Insurgency (Sendero Luminoso) against government, 1980-1995
Summary/Description: The Sendero Luminoso were a Marxist guerrilla group that utilized their control over the isolated rural areas of Peru to remain secure and gain supplies while they waged a fifteen year revolt against the Peruvian government. Beginning with sabotage-style attacks against economic infrastructure and moving more fully to armed conflicts with the Peruvian military and police, the Sendero Luminoso was strengthen by scorched earth tactics of the government, which engendered support from the rural population that was suffering due to military aggression. The government did not gain significant ground on the SL until the 1990s, where they adopted a hearts and minds policy which shifted public support from the guerrillas to the government, along with creating a system of local militias and capturing multiple key SL leaders. These successes resulted in a large decrease in the SL's territory and capabilities, although they have resurfaced in recent years.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as military units refused to utilize scorched earth policies, and the government offered economic incentives to civilians to support the government, not the Sendero Luminoso.
Outcome: The Senderista insurgency was suppressed by the government, but continued to exist in small areas.
Sources: Taylor, Lewis. "Counter-Insurgency Strategy, the PCP-Sendero Luminoso and the Civil War in pEru, 1980-1996." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 17 (1998): 35-58.

Peruvian Senderista Insurgency (Tupac Amaru Revolutionaries) against government, 1996-1997
Summary/Description: A second, but less influential Communist/Marxist guerrilla organization that focused on more traditional terrorist activities than the territorial control strategies of the SL. After the defeat of the SL, their competitor group, they grew to a larger prominence, but the majority of the terrorist groups members were subsequently killed or arrested.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Senderista insurgency was suppressed by the government, resulting in death or imprisonment for the majority of the group's members.
Sources: Ron, James. "Ideology in Context: Explaining Sendero Luminoso's Tactical Escalation." *Journal of Peace Research* 38 (2001): 569-592.

Peruvian protests against Fujimori government, 2000
Summary/Description: From 1992 onward, the Fujimori government of Peru became increasing autocratic, and the overall weakness of the party system/political opposition prevented significant opposition to the government's abuses from developing. However, by the 2000 election, which the Fujimori government won easily, wide scale protests had begun throughout Peru, and although the initial wave of protests were unsuccessful, internal divisions within the organization had begun to splinter Fujimori's

power base. As the protests drew attention to the regime's power abuses, many politicians left the Fujimori government, resulting in a sudden collapse of power and Fujimori's resignation.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No Loyalty Shifts took place.
Outcome: The protestors ousted the government, and a transition government under Valentin Ganiagua was put into power.
Sources: Levitsky, Steven and Maxwell A. Cameron. "Democracy without Parties? Political Parties and Regime Change in Fujimori's Peru." *Latin American Politics and Society* 45 (2003): 1-33.

Brazilian Paulistas against government regime, 1932
Summary/Description: The Paulista revolt, also known as the Constitutionalist Revolution, was largely a response to the 1930 revolution and the control of Brazil by Getulio Vargas. Centered around the state of Sao Paulo, the left-leaning movement originally desired only the institution of a new constitution, but eventually shifted to advocating the complete overthrow of the current regime. However, the revolution was ultimately defeated by the military, and the movement was suppressed.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Paulistas were suppressed by the government regime, and the Vargas government remained in power.
Sources: Skidmore, Thomas E. "The Historiography of Brazil, 1889-1964." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 55 (1975): 716-748.

Brazilian diretas ja against Military rule, 1984-1985
Summary/Description: Since 1964, the Brazilian government had been controlled by a military regime, which was intended by the military to be a long-term governance of the country in order to deal with political and economic instability. Over time, the military government grew increasingly repressive and authoritarian, resulting in a lack of public support. By the 1970's, the military had begun a process of liberalization, although there was little in the way of effective opposition to military rule. This continued until the early 1980's, where political protests, regime disunity, and a consolidation of opposition into an effective political structure resulted in the military regime being removed from office.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, in the form of internal antagonism between political and military leaders.
Outcome: The diretas ja overthrew the Military dictatorship, resulting in the opposition government being voted into power.
Sources: Mainwaring, Scott. "The Transition to Democracy in Brazil." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 28 (1986): 149-179.

Acre rebellion for secession from Bolivia, 1902-1903
Summary/Description: In 1899, the Acre district of Bolivia succeeded in seceding from the larger country and formed its own republic. However, it remained so for a little over a year, being brought back to Bolivian control by the end of 1900. Several years later, a second secession attempt occurred, which resulted in a Bolivia turning control of the country to Brazil, which it has remained a part of since then.

Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No Loyalty Shifts took place.
Outcome: The Acre rebellion failed to secede from Bolivia, and was incorporated into Brazil.
Sources: Unknown Author. "Peace in the Acre Region." *The New York Times* February 14th, 1903.

Bolivian leftists protest against military junta, 1952
Summary/Description: Bolivia had been ruled for several decades by a series of military-ruled dictatorships, most often held together by the force of will of the ruling military dictator. The only significant opposition group at this time was the left-wing Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR), which was marginalized and pushed underground by the military dictatorship. Following a military coup in 1951, the MNR staged another coup the following year, quickly taking control of the government and beginning a period of dramatic policy shifts.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The leftists overthrew the military junta, placing the MNR in power.
Sources: Sanders, G. Earl. "The Quiet Experiment in American Diplomacy: An Interpretative Essay on United States Aid to the Bolivian Revolution." *The Americas* 33 (1976): 25-49.

Bolivian protesters against Military juntas, 1977-1982
Summary/Description: The MNR ruled Bolivia for over a decade, but electoral confusion and economic downturns in the early 1970s led the Military to resume control over the country in 1972. This continued until the late 1970's, where military abuses coupled with electoral difficulties led to multiple coups and counter-coups over a short period of time. Eventually, a series of military and civilian revolts forced the military dictatorships out of political office and successfully instituted a participatory democracy.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, Loyalty shifts took place, in the form of military leaders revolting against ruling dictators and removing them from power.
Outcome: The protesters overthrew the Military junta and installed a democratic government.
Sources: Rojo, Enrique. "The UDP Government and the Crisis of the Bolivian Left (1982-1985)." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 32 (2000): 175-205.

Paraguayan leftist rebellion against Morinigo regime, 1947
Summary/Description: General Higinio Morinigo, who took power in 1940 following the accidental death of General Estigarribia, established an authoritarian military regime with strong nationalistic and corporatist overtones. However, after the right-wing Colorado Party joined Morinigo in 1947, over ninety percent of the military and various left-wing and socialist parties joined together in a nearly-successful revolt against the Morinigo regime. After a death toll of several tens of thousands, the Morinigo and Colorado government successfully suppressed the rebellion, leaving the right-wing nationalist Colorado party in control of Paraguay for the first time since 1904.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as the majority of the armed forces revolted against the right-wing government and joined forces with liberal political

parties.
Outcome: The leftist rebellion was suppressed by the Morinigo regime.
Sources: Nickson, Andrew. "The Overthrow of the Stroessner Regime: Re-Establishing the Status Quo." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 8 (1989): 185-209.

Chilean rebellion against Ibanez regime, 1931
Summary/Description: In 1925, Carlos Ibanez, a general in the Chilean military, led a military coup d'etat against the already established military junta, whose policies he felt were insufficient to deal with the problems of the country. However, he resigned political office following a wave of civilian protests due to the economic downturn caused by the great depression, ultimately resulting in the election of Arturo Alessandri, who alleviated the crisis, one year later. He would later return as part of a national socialist coalition and regain the presidency.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion succeeded in overthrowing the Ibanez regime, installing a new government number Alessandri.
Sources: Klein, Marcus. "The New Voices of Chilean Facism and the Popular Front, 1938-1942." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 33 (2001): 347-375.

Chilean Pinochet-led rebels against Allende regime, 1973
Summary/Description: Following military distaste of the liberal policies of Salvador Allende, the various branches of the Chilean military staged a coup that overthrew the Allende government. Although they military installed a ruling junta composed of the highest ranking officers in each of the branches, the true power was Augusto Pinochet, whose violent and authoritarian government continued until 1989.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as the various branches of the military conspired together to perform the coup d'etat and overthrow the legitimate government.
Outcome: The rebels succeeded in overthrowing the Allende regime.
Sources: Hawthorn, Geoffery. "Pinochet: The Politics." International Affairs 75 (1999): 253-258.

Chilean pro-democracy movement against Pinochet government, 1983-1989
Summary/Description: Following the 1973 coup, Augusto Pinochet gradually became the sole dictatorial power of Chile, utilizing authoritarian tactics and strategies to remain in control. However, under the 1980 Chilean constitution, by the end of the decade the dictatorship was to transition to a more democratic system. Due to the legalization of party politics in 1987 and a continual protest effort throughout the 1980's, a referendum allowing Pinochet to run as president was overturned, and in 1989 the left-wing Patricio Aylwin was elected president, marking the end of the Pinochet dictatorship. However, Pinochet remained highly influential in the political process of Chile until his death in 2006.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Pro-democracy movement succeeded in ousting the Pinochet government, electing Aylwin as President, while Pinochet remained influential in the political process.

Sources: Weeks, Gregory. "Waiting for Cincinnatus: The Role of Pinochet in Post-Authoritarian Chile." *Third World Quarterly* 21 (2000): 725-738.

Argentinean ERP/Monteneros against government regime, 1973-1977
Summary/Description: The corporatist nature of the Peron movement led to the existence of both left-wing and right-wing organizations that considered themselves Peronist. On the left, one of the predominant groups that came into existence during Peron's exile was the Montoneros, a radical socialist segment of the Peronist organization that came into friction with the largely right-wing leadership. Following the return of Peron to Argentina and the resultant violence by the right and left known as the Ezieza Massacre, the Montoneros were ejected from the Peronist party and allied themselves with the Argentinian Communist revolutionaries called the ERP. Engaging in violent actions in an attempt to overthrow the government of Argentina, both groups were eventually crushed by the repressive tactics of the military, failing to establish a radical leftist state.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The ERP/Monteneros failed to oust the government regime, and were suppressed by the military.
Sources: Madsen, Douglas and Peter G. Snow. "Recruitment Contrasts in a Divided Charismatic Movement." *The American Political Science Review* 81 (1987): 233-238.

Argentinean pro-democracy movement against military junta, 1977-1983
Summary/Description: Following the end of the Peronist period, a military dictatorship came to power, seeking to restore stability to the country following a period of political and economic instability. The military Junta was extremely repressive, enacting the so-called "dirty war," in which thousands of dissidents and political rivals were tortured and killed. However, internal divisions, continuing economic problems, and a severe military defeat during the 1982 Falklands war caused the military to lose credibility, resulting in a surge of protest movements and marches in December of 1982. By 1983, the legitimacy of the military government was so diminished that they initiated the transition to a democratic government, which took place in early 1984.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, Loyalty shifts took place, in the form of dissatisfaction from the lower ranks of the military over the junta's handling of the Falklands war and the political protests.
Outcome: The pro-democracy movement overthrew the military junta.
Sources: Arceneaux, C. L. "Institutional Design, Military Rule, and Regime Transition in Argentina (1976-1983)." *Bulletin of Latin American Research 16* (1997): 327-350.

Argentinean protests against attempted coup, 1987
Summary/Description: Following the 1984 transition of power from the military dictatorship of the 70's and early 80's to a democratic regime under Raul Alfonsin, one of the largest demands of the public was the prosecution of military personnel responsible for the dirty war, the violent repression carried out by the military dictatorship. Fearful of possible punishment, a group of lower level military officers known as the carapintadas attempted to carry out yet another military coup d'état, demanding a decrease in the trails of military personnel. The democratic government,

aided by popular protests against another military dictatorship, compromised with the revolting officers, preventing major bloodshed from occurring.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protests were successful in preventing the coup, allowing the democratic government to continue to exist.
Sources: Norden, Deborah L. "The Rise of the Lieutenant Colonels: Rebellion in Argentina and Venezuela." *Latin American Perspectives* 23 (1996): 74-86.

Uruguayan Blancos Rebellion against Ordonez regime, 1904
Summary/Description: The Uruguayan conservative movement had been known colloquially as the Blancos (or whites) since the 19th century, and their rival liberal political party was known as the Colorados. The Colorados were the dominant party of the two, and the Blancos often instigated rebellions during the 19th century which attempted to take control of the country by force. Following the election of Jose Ordonez in 1903, the Blancos initiated a final rebellion, which was easily crushed by the military built up by the Colorados. This failed rebellion marked the beginnings of the modern Uruguayan state, in which the liberal controlled military became an important part of the political system.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the Ordonez regime, and the Colorados remained in power.
Sources: Rock, David. "State-building and Political Systems in Nineteenth-Century Argentina and Uruguay." *Past & Present* 167 (2000): 176-202.

Uruguayan Tupamaros rebellion against government, 1972
Summary/Description: After a period of economic downturns during the late 1960s, a Cuban Revolution inspired Urban guerrilla movement known as the Tupamaros began to carry out a series of bombings and other terrorist attacks against the population of Uruguay. Although the Uruguayan military was easily able to suppress the movement, they used the threat of future attacks by the Tupamaros or other groups as an excuse to take on governmental powers, resulting in a decade long military rule starting in 1973.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the military, which took control of the government and instituted a military regime.
Sources: Cason, Jeffrey. "Electoral Reform, Institutional Change, and Party Adaptation in Uruguay." *Latin American Politics and Society* 44 (2002): 89-109.

Uruguayan protests against Military rule, 1984-1985
Summary/Description: Following more than a decade of military rule, massive protests began in 1984 to return democracy to the government. Following transition agreements between the military government and civilian political bodies, elections were held and the military peacefully turned over power to the victorious Colorado party under Julio Sanguinetti.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protests successfully overthrew the military rule.
Sources: Finch, Henry. "Democratization in Uruguay." *Third World Quarterly* 7

(1985): 594-609.

Somalian Dervish resistance against British and Ethiopian occupation, 1899-1905
Summary/Description: The Dervish movement in Northern Somalia originated from and was led by Muhammad Abdullah, an Islamic Mullah who gathered a group of followers in the 1890's that had turned antagonistic to the British presence in the area by 1899. Declaring a Jihad against rival Somalis, the British, and the Ethiopians, Abdullah's movement occupied key areas of rural Somalia and began attacks on Ethiopian and British military. Utilizing Guerrilla tactics, the Mullah's forces repelled several British military operations, and the British were unable to defeat or remove his support. Eventually, Abdullah negotiated a truce utilizing the Italians in southern Somalia, eventually allying himself with them in exchange for continued control over his territory. This brought an end to the initial military conflict between the dervishes and the British, although further conflict occurred on a more limited scale from 1908 until the end of the First World War.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The dervish resistance was suppressed by the occupation forces.
Sources: Hess, Robert L. "The 'Mad Mullah and Northern Somalia." The Journal of African History 5 (1964): 415-433.

Natal Zulu Rebellion against British occupation, 1906
Summary/Description: The Zulu rebellion was instigated by the institution of a new poll tax on indigenous peoples by the British administration of the Natal colony, but the deeper reasons involve years of systemic disenfranchisement and repressive policies by the British government. The rebellion was unable to gain significant ground before the superior British military, and before the end of 1906 the assembled rebel army was defeated and scattered, and the leaders of the rebellion were arrested and tried.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the British occupation, and no systemic change resulted.
Sources: Thompson, Paul S. "The Zulu Rebellion of 1906: The Collusion of Bambatha and Dinuzulu." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 36 (2003): 533-557.

Irish Republican Army against British occupation of Northern Ireland, 1968-2006
Summary/Description: The history of resistance and conflict between Ireland and Britain began several hundred years ago, with the English invasion and occupation of the neighboring Island, and continuing past the attainment of independence. The current conflict, between non-governmental Irish groups and the British military/government, is due to the continued territorial control Britain holds over the northern sections of Ireland. The Irish Republican Army, which started before the emancipation of Ireland from British control and continued to exist past that point, began using terrorist assassination and bombing tactics starting in 1968, and continuing until the early 2000s. After the 2001 terrorist attack on the United States' World Trade Center, public opinion turned dramatically against the use of similar terrorist tactics, and the IRA renounced terrorism as a strategy of the movement, transitioning back into peaceful and non-violent

protest methods. However, rare instances of violence by smaller factions of the group continue to occur.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The IRA achieved reforms and no longer officially uses violence as a tactic.
Sources: White, Robert W. "From Peaceful Protest to Guerrilla War: Micromobilization of the Provisional Irish Republican Army." *The American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1989): 1277-1302.; Burns, John F. "Irish Assault Raises Specter of Brutal Days." The New York Times, March 8, 2009.

French resistance against German occupation of France, 1940-1945
Summary/Description: Following the defeat and subsequent surrender of the French military and government on the outset of the Second World War, the triumphant German military set up a fascist puppet government known as the Vichy regime. Almost immediately, dissident French military and civilians under Charles de Gaulle began a systemic resistance movement to the German military and French collaborators. Aiding the Allied Powers, the resistance carried out an insurgency and gathered information throughout the war, until the Allies liberated France and the rest of Europe in 1945.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as French military personnel rebelled against the Vichy government and sided with the British and Americans.
Outcome: The resistance successfully ousted the German occupation and re-established a democratic French government.
Sources: Zerner, Elizabeth H. and Robert T. Bower. "German Occupation and Anti-Semitism in France." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 12 (1948): 258-265.

French Secret Army Organization against French withdrawal from Algeria, 1958-1962
Summary/Description: The OAS was a far-right nationalist organization in France and Algeria during the later portion of the Algerian war, with a stated objective of attempting to prevent Algeria from successfully declaring independence from France. They carried out attacks that attempted to disrupt the FLN, the Algerian Independence army, and after Evian agreements which arranged the withdrawl of French control over the country, they shifted their targets towards French government officials in the attempt to slow down the transition and as retribution for the French government accepting the Independence of Algeria. Following this target shift, they were quickly suppressed by the French government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Secret Army Organization was suppressed by the government, and the withdrawal from Algeria took place.
Sources: Harrison, Alexander. "Challenging De Gaulle: The OAS and the Counter-Revolution in Algeria, 1954-1962." Praeger Inc, New York, 1989.

Spanish Asturian miners against right-wing government, 1934
Summary/Description: The two week Asturian miner revolt in October of 1934 was a foreshadowing of the forthcoming violent political conflicts that would soon engulf the country. The revolt was instigated by socialist organizations that decried the socio-economic inequalities and dangers associated with coal mining, and instigated a general

strike/revolt in the general style of a communist revolution. Despite a lengthy period of preparation, the several thousand miners who revolted were shortly crushed by the government and military, although their attempts to overthrow the government would shortly be mirrored in the Spanish Civil War that erupted later in the 1930's.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The miners were suppressed by the government.
Sources: Shubert, Adrian. "Revolution in Self-Defence: The Radicalization of the Asturian Coal Miners, 1921-1934." *Social History* 7 (1982): 265-282.

Spanish Fascists against Republican government, 1936-1939
Summary/Description: The Spanish Civil War had its origins in the increasing political divide of the Spanish people between right-wing and left-wing factions, which broke out into violence following an extremely close election in 1936, in which a socialist/communist leaning government was placed into power. This election, coupled with an increase in violence and politically motivated assassination, resulted in a nationalist/fascist military revolt ultimately led by Francisco Franco, which began in July of 1936. Aided by their respective international sympathizers, the socialist/communist republicans and the fascist nationalists carried out a long and brutal civil war, which was ultimately decided in the nationalist's favor after the military intervention of Nazi Germany.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Fascists successfully overthrew the Republican government and installed a Fascist corporatist state which was led by Franco.
Sources: Tierney, Dominic. "Franklin D. Roosevelt and Covert Aid to the Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War." *Journal of Contemporary History* 39 (2004): 299-314.

Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) against Spanish occupation of Basque, 1968-2006
Summary/Description: The Basque Country of Spain has long been ethnically, linguistically, and economically different from the remainder of the country. Despite the long-term incorporation of the area into the main country, there remains a relatively strong secessionist movement in the region, which by the late 1960s began to use terrorist violence as a method of struggling for independence. The primary terrorist group, known by the acronym ETA, has existed since 1959 and has been involved in dozens of attacks that have caused hundreds of deaths. Despite military force, ETA continues to exist, although their attacks have lessened in severity and frequency, and the resultant hardship has severely damaged the Basque Country and the area surrounding it.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts:
Outcome: The ETA has failed to secede from Spain, but continues to exist.
Sources: Adabie, Alberto and Javier Gardeazabal. "The Economic Costs of Conflict: a Case Study of the Basque Country." *The American Economic Review* 93 (003): 113-132.

Portuguese Carnation Revolution against Military rule, 1974
Summary/Description: During the late 1920's, the Portuguese Republican system was replaced by an authoritarian Military regime reminiscent of the corporatist fascism of Spain, Italy, and Germany. By 1974, however, a left-leaning military culture had been

established, and aided by large scale mass mobilization of civilians, a military-led coup d'état occurred, which led to a relatively peaceful transition of power from the authoritarian military regime to a civilian controlled democracy.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, in the form of younger members of the military revolting against the older generation of military rule.
Outcome: The revolution successfully overthrew the military government and installed a democratic system.
Sources: Graham, Lawrence S. "Is the Portuguese Revolution Dead?" *Luso-Brazilian Review* 16 (1979): 147-159.

Namibian Herero Revolt against German occupation, 1904-1908
Summary/Description: The Herero were a native culture that inhabited the German colony of South West Africa, known in the present day as Namibia. The Herero revolt was initiated after a temporary withdrawal of German troops from the center of the colony, which gave the Herero tribes an opportunity to declare independence from the repressive German colonial government. However, the German military quickly suppressed the revolt, and in the process destroyed and scattered the Herero society.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was suppressed by the German military.
Sources: Gewald, Jan-Bart. "The Road of the Man Called Love and the Sack of Sero: The Herero-German War and the Export of Herero Labour to the South African Rand." *The Journal of African History* 40 (1999): 21-40.

German Ruhrkampf resistance to French occupation, 1923
Summary/Description: Following the end of the Second World War, the defeated German government was forced to accept a large deal of the financial costs of the war that were suffered by the victorious Allied governments. The two hardest hit Allies, France and Belgium, were particularly vehement in enforcing the system of reparations, and as a incentive to the German government, decided to occupy the Rhur region of Germany, a center of economic activity and natural resources. Almost immediately, German protests began, as the population was fearful of rumors of French attempts to annex the region permanently into France. Large scale protests and civil resistance took place, however this mostly peaceful resistance movement was unsuccessful in withdrawing the French occupation until high level agreements between the two governments took place, in which the German government agreed to resume paying a large annual reparation fee.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The resistance successfully removed the French occupation.
Sources: Roosevelt, Nicholas. "The Ruhr Occupation." *Foreign Affairs* 4 (1925): 112-122.

East German rebellion against Communist regime, 1953
Summary/Description: This early rebellion of an Eastern European state against Soviet-Sponsored Communism was the result of continuing diplomatic hostilities between the West and the East, food shortages, and the continuing changes to German society brought on by the transition to the Communist system. Factory protests started in June,

and quickly developed into mass riots throughout the country. The rebellion was quickly and violently suppressed by the Soviet Russian troops still occupying East Germany, and the communist transformation of Eastern Germany continued.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the communist regime, with the aid of the Soviet Military.
Sources: Ostermann, Christian. "Keeping the Pot Simmering : The United States and the East German Uprising of 1953." *German Studies Review* 19 (1996): 61-89.

East German protests against Communist regime, 1956
Summary/Description: In 1956, sparked in part by the death of Stalin and the changes to the Soviet system undertaken by Khrushchev, a wave of protests swept through Communist East Germany. Reacting quickly, the Communist government quickly suppressed the protests, preventing any political reforms from being created.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the communist regime.
Sources: Ramet, Pedro. "Disaffection and Dissent in East Germany." *World Politics* 37 (1984): 85-111.

East German pro-democracy movement against Communist regime, 1989
Summary/Description: Following a period of economic hardship and subsequent reforms throughout the Communist Warsaw block, a wave of non-violent protests toppled the communist system throughout Eastern Europe, and reintroduced democracy-based capitalism. One of the primary examples of these peaceful revolutions was in East Germany, where the Communist regime was removed in November of 1989. Although previous protests had been violently suppressed, the East German government did not significantly resist the wave of mass mobilization, resulting in a comprehensive societal change.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The pro-democracy movement successfully overthrew the communist regime. Subsequently, East Germany reunited with West Germany to recreate the separated German state.
Sources: Schonsee, Reinhart and Gerda Lederer. "The Gentle Revolution." *Political Psychology* 12 (1991): 309-330.

Polish resistance to German occupation, 1944
Summary/Description: Poland was the first country to be invaded by Germany at the start of the Second World War. Aided by the Soviet Union, Germany quickly crushed the Polish Military, and conquered the country in twenty-seven days. Over the course of the war, the Polish resistance and government-in-exile played vital roles in the Allied war effort. The most direct action was the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, in which the Polish resistance rose up against the German occupiers. Relying upon assistance from the allied Soviet Union, the uprising was crushed as the Soviet advance halted, unable to reach the Polish Capital.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Polish resistance was suppressed by the German military.

Sources: Lukas, Richard C. "The Big Three and The Warsaw Uprising." *Military Affairs* 39 (1975): 129-135.

Polish rebellion against Communist regime, 1956
Summary/Description: The first polish rebellion against the Soviet-Communist control over their country, like many other Communist-era resistance movements, began when workers demands had not been met by the government of the country. Beginning in the city of Ponzan, factory workers rose up, freed political prisoners, seized weapons, and began a general rebellion in June of 1956. However, the rebellion was unsuccessful, being easily repressed by the Polish Military, which killed less than a hundred civilians during the crackdown. Afterwards, there was a general cry for political reforms, which the Polish government began to consider and grant until October, when Russian military units advanced into Poland and occupied the capital of Warsaw. Any potential reforms were repealed, and the political atmosphere returned to being in accordance with mainline Soviet wishes.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion achieved limited success against the Communist regime, but reforms were repealed after Soviet Military intervention.
Sources: Granville, Johanna. "Reactions to the Events of 1956: New Findings from the Budapest and Warsaw Archives." *Journal of Contemporary History* 38 (2003): 261-290.

Polish protests against Communist regime, 1968-1970
Summary/Description: Despite the Communist control over the Polish economic and political system, there were a large number of social and political groups that existed outside of the Parties system. This degree of dissonance among the Polish population, coupled with economic stagnation, led the Communist Party to instigate economic reforms in 1970, under the direction of Edward Gierek.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protests instigated reforms from the communist regime.
Sources: Poznanski, Kazimierz. "Economic Adjustment and Political Forces: Poland since 1970." *International Organization* 40 (1986): 455-488.

Polish Solidarity movement against Communist regime, 1981-1989
Summary/Description: The Solidarity Movement began in the 1970s as a Trade Union advocating for continuing economic reforms of the Polish Communist system. Not controlled by the Communist Party and alternating at times between acceptance and illegality, the Solidarity Union evolved into a movement that was critical in applying wide-scale social, political, and economic changes to the Polish system. This culminated, in 1989, with the removal of the Communist regime and the institution of a democratic government, which would be initially composed of a Solidarity-led coalition.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Solidarity movement overthrew the Communist regime.
Sources: Walicki, Andrzej. "Totalitarianism and Detotalitarization: The Case of Poland." *The Review of Politics* 58 (1996): 505-529.

Austrian socialists against Dolfuss government, 1934

Summary/Description: During the 1920's, many European states began to experience a fresh wave of nationalism in the form of conservative/fascist parties, a trend which intensified following the economic downturns and troubles of the early 1930s. In Austria, these conservatives came to power in 1932-1933, and had strong ties to fascist organizations. They were opposed by left wing socialist groups, and the distinctions between the two rapidly polarized the country. Both sides utilized paramilitary groups, and these armed factions began fighting in February of 1934. The socialists were outgunned by the conservatives, who controlled the military, resulting in their defeat and the gradual transformation of Austria into a fascist state.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The socialists were suppressed by the Dolfuss government, leaving the conservatives/fascists in power.
Sources: Ritter, Harry R. "Hermann Neubacher and the Austrian Anschluss Movement, 1918-1940." *Central European History* 8 (1975): 348-369.

Hungarian anti-communist movement (Whites) against communist regime, 1919-1920
Summary/Description: Following the end of the First World War, the Austro-Hungarian Empire split into several distinct countries, including the state of Hungary. However, the first democratic Hungarian government failed to stabilize the country, and in 1919 the left-wing social democrats and the far left Communist party formed a coalition government that had enough political power to gain control over the Hungarian government. This new political party was almost immediately opposed by anti-communist forces, known as the whites, who distrusted a communist presence in the new government. Following large scale repression of dissidents by the Communist regime, and weakness brought out by external conflicts with Czechoslovakia and Romania, conservative forces began to retake parts of the country, ultimately overthrowing the Communist government and installing a constitutional monarchy that ruled until 1946.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The anti-communist movement overthrew the communist regime and installed a constitutional monarchy.
Sources: Low, Alfred D. "The Soviet Hungarian Republic and the Paris Peace Conference." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 53 (1963): 1-91.

Hungarian resistance against Soviet occupation, 1956
Summary/Description: Following the removal of the Stalinist Matyas Rakosi from political power in Hungary, the new Hungarian Communist Party leaders found themselves faced with large scale political dissatisfaction and protest against the Communist Party's policies. Initially, the Hungarian government called in Soviet troops to help suppress protests, but this backfired, and the new government of Imre Nagy instituted wide-scale social, political, and economic reforms. Similarly to Poland earlier in the same year, the Soviet Union's leaders sent large numbers of military troops into Hungary on November 4th, in order to force the Hungarian Party to readjust their policies. Despite wide scale protests by Hungarian citizens against the Soviet military presence, they were quickly suppressed by the superior military, and Hungary's reforms were removed.

Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The resistance was suppressed by the Soviet military.
Sources: Granville, Johanna. "Reactions to the Events of 1956: New Findings from the Budapest and Warsaw Archives." *Journal of Contemporary History* 38 (2003): 261-290.

Hungarian pro-democracy movement against Communist regime, 1989
Summary/Description: During the 1980's, the repressive capacity of the Communist Eastern European States had become gradually weaker, as economic and political freedoms became slowly re-introduced, and the Soviet Union's policy of intervention lessened. This enabled the Hungarian pro-democracy movement to successfully create change in the country, resulting in the end of the communist system and the re-installment of a democratic capitalist society.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The pro-democracy movement overthrew the communist regime.
Sources: Karklins, Rasma and Roger Petersen. "Decision Calculus of Protesters and Regimes: Eastern Europe 1989." *The Journal of Politics* 55 (1993): 588-614.

Czechoslovakian resistance against Soviet occupation, 1968
Summary/Description: In 1968, the Communist government of Czechoslovakia began a period of political liberalization which greatly enhanced personal freedoms and freedom of expression in the general populace. This policy shift, known as the Prague Spring, was opposite to the established policies of the larger Communist rule. As a result, the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia in August of 1968, crushing resistance and purging the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia of reformist politicians. The previously granted freedoms were recinded, and Czechoslovakia returned to the normal level of Warsaw Block political rights.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No Loyalty Shifts took place.
Outcome: The resistance was suppressed by the Soviet military.
Sources: Deli, Peter. "'Esprit' and the Soviet Invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia." *Contemporary European History* 9 (2000): 39-58.

Czechoslovakian Velvet Revolution against Communist regime, 1989
Summary/Description: Czechoslovakia, like almost every other Eastern European Communist country, overthrew the ruling Communist Party and installed a Democratic regime in 1989. The culmination of a decade of economic problems and increasing experiments by the Communist system with political freedom, the Czechoslovakian pro-democracy movement was later dubbed the Velvet Revolution, because the protesters used non-violent tactics. The revolution was successful in ousting the Communist regime, and a democratic government emerged.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Velvet Revolution successfully overthrew the Communist regime.
Sources: Glenn, John K. "Competing Challengers and Contested Outcomes to State Breakdown: The Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia." *Social Forces* 78 (1999): 187-211.

Slovakian People Against Violence against Czech communist government, 1989-1992

Summary/Description: Although the Czechoslovakian people successfully overthrew the Communist regime in 1989, the nationalistic tendencies of the Czech and Slovak segments of the unified country proved too much for the new government to pacify. Following three years of protest, Slovakia successfully and peacefully separated with the Czech republic, resulting in two separate governments and countries.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: People Against Violence successfully overthrew the Czech communist government and gained independence.
Sources: Cox, Richard Henry and Erich G. Frankland. "The Federal State and the Breakup of Czechoslovakia: An Institutional Analysis." *Publius* 25 (1995): 71-88.

Italian resistance to Nazi occupation, 1943-1945
Summary/Description: The Italians, under the Fascist government of Mussolini, formed one of the three Main countries of the Axis Powers in the Second World War. However, following the successful invasion of Italy by the Allied Powers, a mass uprising of Italians overthrew the Fascist Government, executed Mussolini, and agreed to an Armistice with the United States in September 1943. However, the German Military units stationed in the country refused to withdraw and surrender, and retook control over all sections of Italy not held by the Allies. For the remainder of the war, Italian resistance forces attempted to oust the German occupiers, but they failed to remove them from the country until the fall of the Nazi government in 1945.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The resistance failed to oust the Nazi occupation.
Sources: Absalom, Roger. "Hiding History: The Allies, the Resistance and the Others in Occupied Italy 1943-1945." *The Historical Journal* 38 (1995): 111-131.

Albanian protests against Communist regime, 1989
Summary/Description: During the democratization process, Albania had a process similar to many of the other Eastern European countries in the form of mass-mobilization protests and the eventual institution of reforms and free elections. However, the Communist government managed to retain political power, and was reelected to government on the national level until finally being deposed in 1992.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protestors gained reforms from the Communist regime, but the regime remained in power until the mid 1990s.
Sources: Roudometof, Victor and Roland Robertson. *Nationalism, Globalization, and Orthodoxy: the social origins of ethnic conflict in the Balkans.* Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001.

Croatian protests against semi-presidential system, 1999-2000
Summary/Description: Croatia gained independence from Yugoslavia in 1991, and instituted an ostensibly democratic government with a Presidential system. However, the government was controlled by the autocratic Franjo Tudjman, who ruled from 1991 until his death in 1999. Following this, Tudjman's government collapsed, and presidential elections in 2000, accompanied by pro-democratic protests, elected the left-wing Racon government, which quickly rewrote the constitution and instituted a Parliamentary

system.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protestors successfully ousted the semi-presidential system, and the subsequent Racon government created a Parliamentary democracy.
Sources: Peskin, Victor and Mieczysław P. Boduszynski." International Justice and Domestic Politics: Post-Trdjman Croatia and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 55 (2003): 1117-1142.

Yugoslavian student protests against Communist regime, 1968
Summary/Description: The year 1968 saw a mass wave of political protest erupting from the student-age generation. While this was predominantly found in the Western European states, where freedom of expression was usually greater than in the Eastern European, one of the earliest protests was the July uprising in Belgrade University, Yugoslavia. Demanding a return to economic stability and greater personal freedom, the students controlled the University for seven days, until the government of Josip Tito gave in to student demands, resulting in limited changes to the policies of the Yugoslavian Communist Government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The student protests had limited success against the Communist regime.
Sources: Katz, Milton. "Aspects of the 'Embattled University'." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 114 (1970): 343-346.

Croatian nationalists rebellion against Yugoslavian government, 1970-1971
Summary/Description: After World War Two, Croatia continued to be a part of the amalgam Baltic country known as Yugoslavia. However, starting in the 1960s, an increased nationalistic Croatian presence led to similar demands for increased rights and sovereignty for the Croatian people from the centralized Yugoslavian government. After several large-scale demonstrations, the Yugoslavian government ordered the police forces to suppress the movement, although increased political autonomy was eventually granted.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the government.
Sources: Lendvai, Paul and Lis Parcell. "Yugoslavia without Yugoslavs: The Roots of the Crisis." *International Affairs* 67 (1991): 251-261.

Kosovo/Albanian nationalist movement against Yugoslavian government, 1981
Summary/Description: The autocratic Communist dictator of Yugoslavia, Josip Tito, died in 1980, and his death saw a period of great change come to Communist Yugoslavia. In the midst of these events, the students of the small region of Kosovo began a protest movement towards gaining better conditions in their Universities. Due to an over-reaction by the central government in Belgrade, military troops were sent in and the protest movement was violently suppressed. This would later serve as a starting point for the increasing nationalist movement in Kosovo which would later lead to the Kosovo-Serbian conflict of the 1990s.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The nationalist movement was suppressed by the government.

Sources: Rogel, Carole. "Kosovo: Where It All Began." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 17 (2003): 167-182.

Yugoslavian Croats protest against Serbian government, 1991-1992
Summary/Description: Following the end of Yugoslavian Communism, the barriers to the Croatian desire to form their own state were lifted. In 1991, a secession referendum for Croatian Independence had been passed, and Croatia was legislatively independent from the larger Yugoslavia. However, this referendum resulted in military action by the Yugoslavian Government under Slobodan Milosevic, and war broke out between the two countries in 1991, which would last until peace was finally declared in 1995.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters were successful against the Serbian government, but they resulted in war between the two countries.
Sources: Duffy, Gavan and Nicole Lindstrom. "Conflicting Identities: Solidary Incentives in the Serbo-Croatian War." *Journal of Peace Research* 39 (2002): 69-90.

Bosnian-Herzegovinian Serb militias against government, 1991-1995
Summary/Description: The Balkan conflicts of the 1990's had both a long-standing ethnic as well as religious background. Bosnia-Herzegovina is predominantely composed of the Croat and Bosnian ethnic groups, which are predominately Muslim, and the Serbian ethnic minority, which is predominately Christian and shared a greater tie to the Central Government of Yugoslavia. As a result, when the break-up of Yugoslavia began to occur, starting with Slovenia and Croatia in 1991, the country was split between remaining with Serbian-dominated Yugoslavia and declaring Independence, a path that the Bosnian-Herzegovinian government ultimately decided upon in 1992. In 1993, Serbian militias supported by Yugoslavia began violently assaulting the government and population, committing acts of genocide against non-Serbs and attempting to retake control over the country. It was not until a North Atlantic Treaty Organization armed force entered into the conflict that the Bosnian-Herzegovinian government was able to suppress the militias and regain control over their country, leaving tens of thousands dead.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Serb militias were suppressed by the government, with assistance from the United States-led NATO task force.
Sources: Slack, J. Andrew and Roy R. Doyon. "Population Dynamics and Susceptibility for Ethnic Conflict: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." Journal of Peace Research 38 (2001): 139-161.

Serbian Balkan resistance against German occupation, 1943-1945
Summary/Description: Following the invasion of Germany and the other Axis powers in 1941, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which had been established after the First World War, was destroyed, with the Axis powers incorporating that area into their own countries. However, a resistance movement began to develop, formed by separate segments of former Royalist Yugoslavians and the Communist-aligned Yugoslav Partisans, led by Yugoslavia's future leader Josip Tito. Both groups were aided by the Allies, however the Royalist forces were unsuccessful in their operations, and the bulk

of the successful resistance, and eventual overthrow of the Nazi occupation, fell on the Communist Yugoslav Partisans. This would eventually lead to the establishment of a Communist Yugoslavia under Tito following the end of the war.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as royalist military units first sided with the Axis, and eventually returned to the Allied powers.
Outcome: The resistance successfully ousted the German occupation, and a Communist Government under Josip Tito was established.
Sources: Ludanyi, Andrew. "Titoist Integration of Yugoslavia: The Partisan Myth & the Hungarians of the Vojvodina, 1945-1975." *Polity* 12 (1979): 225-252.

Yugoslavian Kosovo-Albanian protest against Serbian rule, 1989-1999
Summary/Description: Despite the governmental repression against Kosovo students in the 1980s and a wave of violence between seceding Yugoslavian regions and the centralized, Serb-dominated government, the initial attempts of Kosovo protesters to achieve secession were relatively peaceful. Although the people of Kosovo protested against the repressive centralized government under Slobodan Milosevic, and passed referendums for the creation of a separate Republic, they were for the most part ignored by the Serbian-led regime. During the wars of the early 1990s, Kosovo did not violently seek to ensure its independence, and it was not until the mid 1990s when the violent Kosovo Liberation Army was formed. This group, operating outside of the mainstream, instigated the Serbian government to the extent that violent exchanges took place, eventually prompting the intervention of NATO and the eventual independence of the Kosovo state.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protestors failed to oust Serbian rule, although more violent subgroups eventually accomplished that goal.
Sources: Rogel, Carole "Kosovo: Where It All Began." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 17 (2003): 167-182.

Serbian KLA revolt for Secession, 1994-1999
Summary/Description: After little success in utilizing non-violent protest methods, and observing the repressive policies of the Serbian central government in other segments of Yugoslavia, segments of the secession movement in Kosovo created a violent insurgency known as the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). This group engaged in guerrilla activities against Serbian military and civilian targets, prompting retaliation from the central government that caused an escalation of violence. By 1998, this violence had been noted by the United Nations, and NATO began to advocate for an intervention in the conflict. In 1999, NATO bombed Yugoslavia and occupied Kosovo, placing it under United Nations supervision, which ultimately resulted in independence for the country in 2008.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The KLA had limited success in achieving secession, and after 9 years of UN administration, gained independence.
Sources: Rogel, Carole "Kosovo: Where It All Began." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 17 (2003): 167-182.

Yugoslavian revolt against Milosevic regime, 2000
Summary/Description: Following his refusal to acknowledge his defeat in the 2000 elections, Yugoslavia's autocratic ruler Slobodan Milosevic was faced with a wave of mass protests. Relying upon the Yugoslavian military to maintain power, Milosevic lost political control to a coup d'etat following the militaries withdrawl of support. Milosevic was eventually arrested and tried for International War Crimes, and the democratically elected government was put into power.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as military leaders refused to suppress the revolt, and aided in Milosevic's arrest.
Outcome: The revolt overthrew the Milosevic regime, arrested him, and installed a democratic government.
Sources: Bass, Gary J. "Milosevic in the Hague." Foreign Affairs 82 (2003): 82-96.

Slovenian protests against Communist regime, 1989-1990
Summary/Description: During the Communist period of Eastern Europe, Slovenia existed as a part of Yugoslavia, although it was geographically distant from the centralized government and economically more prosperous than the remainder of the country. As was the case of many of the smaller states that comprised the conglomerate country of Yugoslavia, Slovenia had a long standing secessionist outlook, which rose to the surface following the end of official Communism and the rise of the pro-Serbian Slobodan Milosevic to leadership in Yugoslavia. Along with the anti-communist protests that brought down the regime was a secessionist movement, which almost immediately began to set in motion an attempt to declare Independence. This was achieved through a democratic referendum December 1990, and was formally announced in early 1991. Slovenia maintained its independence, although a brief armed conflict with Yugoslavia took place in early 1991 that was quickly halted.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters overthrew the communist regime and established a Slovenia state independent from Yugoslavia.
Sources: Zapp, Kenneth. "The Economic Consequences of National Independence: The Case of Slovenia." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 7 (1993): 57-74.

Greek resistance to Nazi occupation, 1943-1945
Summary/Description: Greece was yet another country to be invaded and conquered by the Axis Powers during World War Two, succumbing to the German assault in 1941 after successfully repelling an Italian Invasion in 1940. The Greek resistance was divided between various ideological groups, with the largest and most powerful partisan group Communist in nature, while others were comprised of more right-wing/military forces. The resistance was unsuccessful in directly ousting the occupation, by the combined invasion by the American and British militaries and German retreat from the Russian Front resulted in the majority of Greece was liberated in 1944, although pockets of German resistance remained until 1945.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No Loyalty Shifts took place.
Outcome: The resistance failed to oust the Nazi occupation, although the German

military eventually retreated from the country.
Sources: Marantzidis, Nikos and Giorgos Antoniou. "The Axis Occupation and Civil War: Changing Trends in Greek Historiography, 1941-2002." *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (2004): 223-231.

Greek communists against British and US occupation, 1944-1949
Summary/Description: After the liberation of Greece from the Nazis, infighting between left-wing and right-wing resistance movements that sprung up during the occupation erupted in the Greek Civil War, which pitted the right-wing, military government against the leftist Communist guerrillas who grew in strength during World War Two. The United States and Britain, who had placed military forces in Greece to aid and supervise reconstruction, heavily aided the Greek government, as their foreign policies at the time were opposed to the spread of Communism. With this aid, and a lack of aid provided by the Soviet Union to the communists, the Greek military government and its allies violently suppressed the revolutionaries.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts:
Outcome: The communists were suppressed by the occupation militaries.
Sources: Marantzidis, Nikos and Giorgos Antoniou. "The Axis Occupation and Civil War: Changing Trends in Greek Historiography, 1941-2002." *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (2004): 223-231.

Greek protests against Karamanlis regime, 1963
Summary/Description: Following more than a decade of rule by the conservative National Radical Union, primarily led by Constantine Karamanlis, accusations of electoral fraud and resultant political protest/tension led Karamanlis to resign office, and after subsequent electoral defeats, he willing fled the country.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters successfully overthrew the Karamanlis regime, which was replaced by the left-wing Center Union.
Sources: Seferiades, Seraphim. "Polarization and Nonproportionality: The Greek Party System in the Postwar Era." *Comparative Politics* 19 (1986): 69-93.

Greek protests against Military rule, 1974
Summary/Description: In 1967, a military coup d'état led by Georgios Papadopoulos removed the democratically elected officials of Greece and forced the monarchy to recognize the military dictatorship as the official government. Despite initially offering reforms, over the 7 years the regime ruled it became increasingly repressive and militaristic. By 1974, large scale political uprisings among students and others, coupled with armed conflicts with Turkey over the island of Cyprus forced the Military dictatorship to resign, and a democratic government under Constantine Karamanlis was placed into power.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters successfully overthrew the Military government, and the former Prime Minisier Karamanlis was put into power.
Sources: Danopoulos, Constantine P. "Military Professionalism and Regime Legitimacy in Greece, 1967-1974." *Political Science Quarterly* 98 (1983): 485-506.

Cyprian Ethniki Organosis Kyprios Agoniston against British occupation, 1954-1959
Summary/Description: The British took control of the Island of Cyprus in 1878, as a small part of a larger strategy of control over the Mediterranean shipping lines. The Cyprian people were resistant to the occupation from its very beginning, and over time a number of movements and protests were created in the attempt to oust the British and either establish their own country or integrate into Greece. In 1955, the EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) established itself, with Greek aid, as an anti-British and Communist Guerrilla force. After three years of violent attacks, assassinations, and failed attempts to suppress the EOKA, a joint Turkish-Greek crafted proposal was presented to the British, who granted Cyprus independence.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt successfully ousted the British occupation, and established an independent Cyprian state.
Sources: Souter, David. "An Island Apart: A Review of the Cyprus Problem." *Third World Quarterly* 6 (1984): 657-674.

Bulgarian Agrarian League movement against Military regime, 1923
Summary/Description: Following the end of the first World War, a populist-style political party with strong roots in the peasant/rural communities of Bulgaria known as the Agrarians came to political power. Instituting liberal reforms, the Agrarians were subjected to a military-led right-wing coup d'état in 1923, which drove out the party leaders and instituted a nationalistic government. The Agrarian party was outlawed, and their leaders were labeled as traitors.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The movement was suppressed by the Military regime.
Sources: Macartney, C.A. "The Situation in Bulgaria." *International Affairs* 12 (1933): 367-385.

Bulgarian protests against Communist regime, 1989
Summary/Description: Like many of the Communist Eastern European countries, liberalization during the 1980s and the economic collapse of the Communist system prompted a wave of pro-democratic protest through Bulgaria. Chief among these groups was the Independent Trade Union Podkrepa, which instigated many of the protests. Following a wave of large scale demonstrations, the Communist system ended, and an opening of the Political process took place.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters successfully overthrew the Communist regime.
Sources: Iankova, Elena A. "Multi-level Bargaining during Bulgaria's Return to Capitalism." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 54 (2000): 115-137.

Moldovan Dniestr secessionists against government regime, 1992
Summary/Description: Following the secession of the Moldovan Republic from the Russian Federation, a breakaway fragment of the country, which was predominately populated by Russian-speakers, attempted to do the same. Although the Russian government did not overtly support the Dniestr region secessionists, the Russian military

was involved in the conflict. Although violence has decreased, and Dniestr is not recognized as independent, Russian military units remain in the Dniestr region, and the central government of Moldova has little to no control over the area.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Dniestr had limited success in ousting the government regime.
Sources: Kaufman, Stuart. "Spiraling to Ethnic War: Elites, Masses, and Moscow in Moldova's Civil War." *International Security* 21 (1996): 108-138.

Romanian Peasant Rebellion against land distribution system, 1907
Summary/Description: Despite the modernization most of Europe enjoyed during the 19th century, by the dawning of the 20th century Romania remained very similar to the way it had been during the Medieval period. The vast majority of the land was owned by a small number of landowners, primarily nobles and the monarchy. The remaining land-owners and farmers were similar to the peasant classes of the Medieval period, and indeed little had changed socially and economically since then. In 1907, disgruntled Peasants rose in rebellion, demanding an equalization of the land distribution, but were quickly crushed by the Romanian military, ending that attempt at equalization.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the government.
Sources: Chirot, Daniel and Charles Ragin. "The Markey, Tradition, and Peasant Rebellion: The Case of Romania in 1907." *American Sociological Review* 40 (1975): 428-444.

Romanian revolt against Ceausescu regime, 1987-1989
Summary/Description: Romania, unlike the majority of other Eastern European Communist countries, had a single powerful leader for much of its lifespan. This leader, Nicholae Ceausescu, came to power in 1967, and almost immediately began to pursue policies in opposition to the mainline Warsaw pact, creating an autocratic communist system in his country. Therefore, it is unsurprising that during the period of reform that brought about the end of the Communist system in Eastern Europe, Romania had a more difficult time in undergoing the transition to Democracy. Initial non-violent attempts to remove Ceausescu in the late 1980s proved unsuccessful, resulting eventually in the need for a violent revolution to unseat the communist government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt failed to overthrow the Ceausescu regime, and was violently suppressed.
Sources: Hall, Richard Andrew. "Theories of Collective Action and Revolution: Evidence from the Romanian Transition of December 1989." *Europe-Asia Studies* 52 (2000): 1069-1093.

Romanian anti-Ceausescu rebels against Coalesce regime. 1989
Summary/Description: Following unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the Ceausescu regime, a violent revolution arose from protest movements in December of 1989. The revolution overthrew the Ceausescu regime, and summarily executed Ceausescu and his wife, ending the Communist regime. However, the Romanian government failed to fully transition to a democracy, with corruption still a critical problem in the country.

Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebels successfully overthrew the Ceacescu regime.
Sources: Hall, Richard Andrew. "Theories of Collective Action and Revolution: Evidence from the Romanian Transition of December 1989." *Europe-Asia Studies* 52 (2000): 1069-1093.

Soviet Tambov Rebellion against government regime, 1920-1921
Summary/Description: The Tambov Rebellion, named after the central Russian province that it originated from, was a peasant rebellion that emerged in the closing days of the Russian Civil War. Primarily a peasant revolution that was caused by discontent towards the Civil War and the lack of consideration the Soviets had shown the rural worker, the rebellion was suppressed by the Soviet Military, and rural discontent was eased by Lenin's New Economic Policy, a limited free market reform that greatly improved the average level of economic prosperity.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the government regime.
Sources: Chamberlin, William. "Russian and American Civil Wars." *Russian Review* 11 (1952): 203-210.

Soviet Central Asian rebels against government policies of conscription, 1930-1935
Summary/Description: The areas of Central Asia that had been once a part of the Soviet Union have had a long but tumultuous relationship with the centralized, Russian-dominated government. First incorporated into the old Russian Empire during the mid 19th century, Central Asia had few resources and little-to-no economic centers, resulting in limited modernization or interest in the area. These characteristics were enhanced by the vast cultural, linguistic, and religious differences between the predominately Christian Russian people and the Turkish-Persian Muslims of the region. However, during the early years of Stalinist Russia, this policy of inaction would change, as Stalin both desired to reduce the ethnic differences between the Central Asian Soviets and the rest of the Soviet Union, as well as a need for large amounts of conscripted labor to improve the Soviet Union's economic industries. During the attempts to conscript Central Asians to work forces, a minor rebellion was sparked, leading to Soviet military repression and violence throughout the region. The rebellion was quickly suppressed, severely limiting the cultural and religious freedoms of the region's inhabitants.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebels were suppressed by the government.
Sources: Rupert, James. "Dateline Tashkent: Post-Soviet Central Asia." *Foreign Policy* 87 (1992); 175-195.

Belarus resistance against Nazi occupation, 1945
Summary/Description: During the German invasion of the Soviet Union, they encountered significant resistance both from Soviet forces as well as local resistance movements. Belarus, at that time a member republic of the Soviet Union, was one of the provinces that was invaded, and the site of a resistance movement that attempted to oust the German/Nazi military. Although the Belarus resistance was unable to successfully remove the occupation, the province was eventually liberated by the advancing Soviet

military.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The resistance failed to oust the Nazi occupation.
Sources: Ioffe, Grigory. "Understanding Belarus: Economy and Political Landscape." *Europe-Asia Studies* 56 (2004): 85-118.

Ukrainian rebellion against Communist regime, 1946-1953
Summary/Description: The Ukraine region of the Soviet Union was one of the hardest hit areas of the USSR during the Second World War. Much of the fighting between Russia and Germany took place in Ukraine, resulting in a massive loss of life and the destruction of much of Ukraine's infrastructure and economy. Following the war, waves of Ukrainian discontent led to a rebellion against the Soviet Communist system, which was ultimately suppressed by the Soviet government and police.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the Communist regime.
Sources: Wilson, Andrew. "The Donbas between Ukraine and Russia: The Use of History in Political Disputes." *Journal of Contemporary History* 30 (1995): 265-289.

Russian pro-democractic movement against Anti-coup movement, 1990-1991
Summary/Description: Following the gradual economic and political collapse of the Eastern European Communist System during the late 1980's, and the democratization of the majority of Soviet Allies, the Soviet Government began its shift towards a Democratic system in late 1989 and early 1990. However, anti-democratic forces in the Communist regime began to plan a coup, which took place in August of 1991. Following the announcement of the coup, however, the public staged waves of anti-coup protests, and the attempted overthrow of the government was halted.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The pro-democratic movement was successful against the anti-coup movement.
Sources: Lepingwell, John W. R. "Soviet Civil-Military Relations and the August Coup." *World Politics* 44 (1992): 539-572.

Russian Peasant/Worker Rebellion against Romanov dynasty, 1905-1906
Summary/Description: The Russian Empire, under the Romanov dynasty of Tsars, was the most backwards of the major European states at the dawn of the 20th century. Although limited industrialization had occurred, much of the country was still rural, and both peasant farmers and urban workers had little to no personal and political freedoms. Spurred in part by Russia's defeat in the Russo-Japanese war, in 1905 a wave of mass mobilization political protests, terrorism, and armed revolts began throughout Russia. Despite brutal repression that left thousands of protesters dead, the movement was successful in gaining limited democratic and economic reforms, most significantly the formation of political parties and the Duma, a legislative political body.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was successful in achieving reforms, although many of them were rescinded following the coup of 1907, which dissolved the Duma and re-instituted the former repressive political system.

Sources: Strauss, Harlan J. "Revolutionary Types: Russia in 1905." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 17 (1973): 297-316.

Russian Revolution & Kirghiz and Kazables rebellion against Romanov regime, 1916-1917
Summary/Description: The Russian Revolution of 1917 came as the finale of decades of protest of and repression by the authoritarian Romanov-led Tsarist government. Spurred by the failures of the Russian Military in the ongoing World War, coupled with the economic hardships this failure created, mass protests in Saint Petersburg, the capital, and other major urban areas culminated in the Tsar abdicating power and placing the democratically elected Duma in control of the country. This quickly resulted in a massive liberalizing shift in Russian politics and society, and the beginnings of the tumultuous period that would eventually give rise to the Soviet period of Russian history.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as military elements sided with the Revolution and aided in the overthrow of the Romanovs.
Outcome: The rebels overthrew the Romanov regime, installing a semi-democratic government.
Sources: Karpovich, Michael. "The Russian Revolution of 1917." *The Journal of Modern History* 2 (1930): 258-280.

Russian anti-Bolsheviks against Bolshevik regime, 1917-1921
Summary/Description: Following the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks, a radical Marxist-Communist organization, took control over the government of Revolutionary Russia. They began solidifying their power, and began to be opposed by more moderate political organizations, including the Communist Mensheviks. Collectively known as the Whites or anti-Bolsheviks, this opposition attempted to overthrow the Bolshevik government, resulting in the Russian Civil War. However, the Bolsheviks controlled the army and production centers, as well as operating under a more unified strategy than the dispersed and contradictory anti-Bolsheviks. Ultimately, the whites were defeated, and the Bolsheviks were left in complete control of the Russian government and society.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The anti-Bolsheviks were suppressed by the Bolshevik regime.
Sources: Chamberlin, William. "Russian and American Civil Wars." *Russian Review* 11 (1952): 203-210.

Chechen separatists against Russian occupation, 1994-2006
Summary/Description: Following the end of the Communist system in the former Soviet Union, many of the former Soviet Socialist Republics seceded from the overall state and formed their own countries. The remainder unified under the largest and most powerful member state, Russia, and became the Russian Federation. However, several areas of present-day Russia which were unable to secede during the break-up of the USSR have since attempted to secede in more traditional ways. The longest lasting secession attempt has been from the small area of Chechnya, an ethnically distinct area in the south of Russia. Since 1994, rebel groups have attempted to separate from Russia and form their own state, a move that has been consistently blocked by the Russian military.

The two sides continue to exist in stalemate, neither able to eliminate the other.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The separatists have failed to secede from Russia.
Sources: Dash, P.L. "Chechnya: War Has No End." *Economic and Political Weekly* 35 (2000): 1517-1520.

Estonian Singing Revolution against Communist regime, 1989
Summary/Description: Following the Second World War, the formerly Independent state of Estonia was integrated into the Soviet Union, and made into a Soviet Socialist Republic. When the Communist system fell apart, wide-spread opposition in Estonia coalesced in the form of a non-violent protest movement that used singing as a means of solidarity. The so-called "Singing Revolution" removed the Communist Government, and separated their country for the centralized Russian-led Soviet government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolution successfully overthrew the Communist regime.
Sources: Johnston, Hank and Aili Aerelaid-Tart. "Generations, Microcohorts, and Long-Term Mobilization: The Estonian National Movement, 1940-1991." *Sociological Perspectives* 43 (2000): 671-698.

Latvian pro-democracy movement against Communist regime, 1989
Summary/Description: One of the three Baltic states that were incorporated into the Soviet Union following the end of the Second World War, Latvia and its neighbors had strong nationalistic movements that coincided with their democratization movements in the late 1980s. Following a wave of political liberalization in the 1980's, a protest-based political campaign ousted the Communist Party from government in 1989. Shortly afterwards, the Latvian government began to gradually separate itself from the Centralized Soviet System, creating a separate country in 1991, although Russian troops remained in the country until 1994.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The pro-democracy movement successfully overthrew the Communist regime.
Sources: Kramer, Mark. "NATO, the Baltic States, and Russia: A Framework for Sustainable Enlargement." *International Affairs* 78 (2002): 731-756.

Lithuanian pro-democracy movement against Communist regime, 1989
Summary/Description: Lithuania, another Baltic country that had been independent before the Second World War and was integrated into the Soviet Union following the end of the War. Starting in the late 1980s, the Lithuanian people began large-scale protests towards both the end of the Communist system, as well as the secession of Lithuania from the Soviet Union and the re-establishment of a separate country. In 1989, open elections resulted in a non-communist, pro-independence political party, Sajudis, gaining control of the government, and by 1990, despite Soviet military presence, the Lithuanian government had passed resolutions declaring Lithuanian independence. The Russian central government attempted to halt this split using political and economic pressures, but was ultimately unsuccessful.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.

Outcome: The pro-democracy movement successfully overthrew the Communist regime, and Lithuania declared independence from the Soviet Union.
Sources: Olcott, Martha Brill. "The Lithuanian Crisis." *Foreign Affairs* 69 (1990): 30-46.

Ukrainian Orange Revolution against Kuchma regime, 2001-2004
Summary/Description: The Orange Revolution, a mass-mobilization non-violent Protest movement, was created in support of Viktor Yushchenko, the opposition candidate for the leadership of the country. Although the movement had existed for several years, the most critical moment followed the 2004 elections, in which millions of demonstrators and protesters demanded a fair and free election, after evidence of voting fraud perpetuated by the government in power came to light. Ultimately, the Orange Revolution (called so because of the color the protesters wore) prevented the government from falsifying the election, and Yushchenko's government came into power.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolution successfully overthrew the Kuchma regime, and installed the Yushchenko government.
Sources: Karactnycky, Adrian. "Ukraine's Orange Revolution." *Foreign Affairs* 84 (2005): 35-52.

Belarusian protests against Communist regime, 1989
Summary/Description: Belarus is another former Soviet Republic which declared independence from Russia in the early 1990s, following political and economic reform that changed the Communist system. However, the Belarusian transition did not fully establish democracy or complete independence, as the resultant government had strong authoritarian elements, and remained deeply connected to the Russian Federation.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters successfully achieved reforms from the Communist regime.
Sources: Deyermond, Ruth. "The State of the Union: Military Success, Economic and Political Failure in the Russia-Belarus Union." *Europe-Asia Studies* 56 (2004): 1191-1205.

Belarusian rebellion against government, 2006
Summary/Description: In 1994, Alexander Lukashenko was elected to the Presidency of Belarus, and began to impose authoritarian controls over the country. In 2006, Lukashenko won a third term in office, in an election that was strongly decried by European electoral inspectors as rigged and non-democratic. Following the election, tens of thousands of protesters took to the streets in an attempt to protest the election. However, Belarusian police suppressed the protesters and arrested the leaders, preventing any significant challenges to the election from occurring.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion failed to overthrow the government.
Sources: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. "Republic of Belarus: Presidential Election 19 March 2006." Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Warsaw 2006.

Gamsakurdian and Abkhaz protests against Georgian occupation, 1991-1994
Summary/Description: Since Georgia's declaration of Independence from Russia in 1991, the Abkhaz minority group of Northwestern Georgia has attempted to secede from the country. The subsequent military conflict has resulted in Abkhaz becoming a relatively self-controlled region of Georgia, with the central Georgian government unable to regain political control over the region. However, the majority of the international community refuses to recognize the Abkhazia republic.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters were suppressed by the Georgian military, although the Abkhaz people still have limited autonomy over Abkhazia.
Sources: Beissinger, Mark. "Nationalist Violence and the State: Political Authority and Contentious Repertoires in the Former USSR." *Comparative Politics* 30 (1998): 401-422.

Georgian Rose Revolution against Shevardnadze regime, 2003
Summary/Description: Following rigged parliamentary elections in early 2003, mass protests against the government of Eduard Shevardnadze led to protesters occupying the parliament building. Shevardnadze resigned power, and free elections took place in January of 2004.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolution successfully overthrew the Shevardnadze regime.
Sources: King, Charles. "A Rose among Thorns: Georgia Makes Good." *Foreign Affairs* 83 (2004): 13-18.

Armenian protests against Azeri occupation, 1991-1994
Summary/Description: The Armenian minority in western Azerbaijan began their struggle for independence before the fall of the Soviet Union, but the actual armed conflict began in 1991, following the declaration of Azeri independence from the centralized Soviet Government. Supported by Armenia, the Nagorno-Karabakh region engaged in a guerrilla war with the Azeri military, with both sides committing numerous war crimes over the course of the conflict. Following three years of large-scale conflict, a ceasefire was declared in 1994, resulting in the unofficial formation of the Nagorno-Karabakh republic, the region controlled by the Armenian guerrillas and out of the jurisdiction of the central Azeri government. The area controlled by the Republic is still officially part of Azerbaijan, but continues to be controlled by the guerrillas.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protests had limited success against Azeri occupation.
Sources: Rieff, David. "Case Study in Ethnic Strife." *Foreign Affairs* 76 (1997): 118-132.

Finnish communist rebels against government, 1918
Summary/Description: The Russian Revolution of 1917 caused a collapse of the Imperial system that the Romanov Dynasty had built. This included Finland, which had been a part of Russia that found itself without a centralized government or police force in the months following the February and October Revolutions. Two large political

organizations simulateously attempted to seize power in the months following the breakdown, one group composed of Communist Revolutionaries similar to those who had seized power in Russia, and the second composed of more moderate and right wing forces, collectively known as the Whites. Following periods of armed conflict and political killings/terrorism, the Whites defeated the communists, and installed a democratic independent government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebels were suppressed by the government.
Sources: Arosalo, Sirkka. "Social Conditions for Political Violence: Red and White Terror in the Finnish Civil War of 1918." *Journal of Peace Research* 35 (1998): 147-166.

Norwegian revolt against Nazi occupation, 1944
Summary/Description: Norway was invaded and conquered by the German Nazi Military in early 1940, and remained occupied by the German military until the end of the war. Almost immediately, the Norwegian people organized a resistance movement against the Military occupation, but remained relatively unsuccessful in damaging or ousting the Nazi forces.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt had limited success in ousting the Nazi occupation.
Sources: Getz-Wold, Knut. "International Aspects of Norwegian Economic Reconstruction." *International Affairs* 20 (1944): 57-67.

Danish revolt against Nazi occupation, 1944
Summary/Description: Denmark was invaded by the German military on April 9th, 1940, and shortly surrendered to the superior military force the Nazi government brought to bear on the Northern European state. Due to the collaboration of many within the Danish government with the occupation, the Nazis applied relatively low levels of repression to the Danish. A highly effective resistance movement was able to develop involving noncooperation, underground newspapers, and sabotage. The resistance eventually developed a campaign of assassination against German military personnel and Nazi officials starting in 1943-1944. The Danish were unable to fully oust the German military, however, and the Nazi occupation only ended following the Allied invasion of Germany and the surrender of the Northern German armies in May of 1945.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt had limited success in ousting the Nazi occupation.
Sources: Ackerman, Peter and Jack Duvall. *A Force More Powerful*. New York: Palgrave, 2000; Lampe, David. *The Danish Resistance*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1957.

Guinean-Bissau PAIGC revolt against Portuguese occupation, 1963-1974
Summary/Description: The Guinean Nationalist movement, known by its acronym PAIGC, came into being for the express purpose of fighting a violent struggle for independence against the colonial power of Guinea, the Portuguese. The Portuguese had begun colonizing this same area in the 15th century, and by the 1960s were controlled by an authoritarian Fascist regime that was unwilling to allow its colonies independence.

The PAIGC, knowing that they would be unable to achieve independence through peaceful means, began preparing and arming rural peasants to form military units, and in 1963 began a guerrilla war, a style of conflict the Portuguese were unprepared for. By 1973, the PAIGC controlled the entire country except for the major cities, and the Portuguese military officially withdrew and granted Guinea independence in 1974.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt successfully ousted the Portuguese occupation.
Sources: Chabal, Patrick. "National Liberation in Portuguese Guinea, 1956-1974." *African Affairs* 80 (1981): 75-99.

Malian protest against Military rule, 1989-1992
Summary/Description: Beginning in 1968, the Malian government had been controlled by an authoritarian military dictatorship under the rule of Moussa Traoré. His government repressed political dissonance until the late 1980s, after which almost immediately a protest movement began to form which demanded a return to democratization. In 1991, aided by elements of the Malian military itself, protesters overthrew the Traore regime, and by 1992 had installed a democratic government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as the Malian military was divided, and some members of the military aided the pro-democracy movement.
Outcome: The protesters successfully overthrew the military rule and installed a democratically elected regime.
Sources: Baker, Bruce. "The Class of 1990: How Have the Autocratic Leaders of Sub-Saharan African Fared under Democratisation?" *Third World Quarterly* 19 (1998): 115-127.

Malian Tauregs against government regime, 1989-1994
Summary/Description: The northern desert region of Mali is home to the ethnic group known as the Tauregs, who had felt oppressed under the military dictatorship and began a revolt with the intention of forcibly seceding from the country. Following the overthrow of the military government in 1992, the newly elected democratic system moved to provide the Tauregs with a measure of political autonomy, although the region remained a part of Mali. This was achieved in 1994, and the violent revolt quickly halted afterwards.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt failed to overthrow the government regime; however the Tauregs achieved legalized autonomy from the Malian central government.
Sources: Seely, Jennifer. "A Political Analysis of Decentralization: Co-opting the Tuareg Threat in Mali." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 39 (2001): 499-524.

Senegalese protests against Diouf government, 2000
Summary/Description: Abdou Diouf first became president in 1981, and held that position for several consecutive elections, although he was regularly challenged by Abdoulaye Wade, the leader of the primary opposition party. In 2000, Wade successfully won the second round of electoral voting, and Diouf peacefully handed over political power to his rival, despite fears that he would utilize violent repression to remain in office.

Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters successfully ousted the Diouf government.
Sources: Villalon, Leonardo A. "Senegal." *African Studies Review* 47 (2004): 61-71.

Beninese protests against Communist regime, 1989-1990
Summary/Description: Benin became a communist country in 1972, following a military coup that established a Marxist-style government and economy under Mathieu Kerekou. By the late 1980s, the failing economic situation of Benin, and the protest movements that arose from it, caused Kerekou to transition back into a Capitalist Democracy. In 1991, Kerekou was defeated in the national elections and peacefully stepped down, although he was later re-elected to political office.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters successfully achieved reforms from the Communist regime, and the regime successfully transitioned to a Capitalist Democracy.
Sources: Joseph, Richard. "Democratization in Africa after 1989: Comparative and Theoretical Perspectives." *Comparative Politics* 29 (1997): 363-382.

Nigerian protests against Military rule, 1991-1992
Summary/Description: Nigeria became a military-controlled state in 1984, after already powerful military leaders seized power from a corrupt central government. From 1985 onwards, Nigeria was controlled by the government of General Ibrahim Babangida, whose dictatorship was relatively liberal in its control of personal freedoms. However, the military government continually pushed back the promised transition of a democratic system, resulting in a wave of protests from 1991-1992. The protests were ultimately suppressed, but they instigated an abortive attempt at establishing democratic elections in 1993.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters were suppressed by the military.
Sources: Sesay, Amadu and Charles Ukeje. "The Military, the West, and Nigerian Politics." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 11 (1997): 25-48.

Ivory Coast PMIC revolt against incumbent regime, 2002-2005
Summary/Description: In 2002, a military uprising in the Ivory Coast led to a broad destabilization of the country, with government forces losing control over much of the rural areas in the north of the country. Aided by French military forces, Ivory Coast troops managed to keep rebels from taking control of the government, but lack of governmental control and incursions of warlords from neighboring countries kept the country from regaining stability until 2005.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt failed to oust the incumbent regime.
Sources: Fosu, Augustin Kwasi. "Political Instability and Economic Growth: Implications of Coup Events in Sub-Saharan Africa." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 61 (2002): 329-348.

Liberian Anti-Doe rebels against Doe regime, 1989-1990
Summary/Description: The seven year conflict known as the First Liberian Civil War

began in 1989, when a small group of rebels, led by warlord Charles Taylor, the eventual leader of the NPLF, took over the capital city and forced the authoritarian dictator, Samuel Doe, to flee. Doe was eventually killed by another warlord, Yormie Johnson. Johnson would eventually gain control over the government of Liberia, but the two groups eventually began to fight each other, lengthening the conflict.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebels successfully overthrew the Doe regime.
Sources: Harris, David. "From Warlord to Democratic President: How Charles Taylor won the 1997 Liberian Elections." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37 (1999): 431-455

Liberian NPFL & ULIMO against Johnson regime, 1992-1995
Summary/Description: Following the death of Samuel Doe and the take-over of the government by Yormie Johnson, Johnson's rival, Charles Taylor and his National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), began a concerted effort to eliminate Johnson's forces. By 1995, Taylor and his organization controlled 95% of the countries land-mass, although Johnson still controlled much of the capital and the political engine. Taylor's efforts were stymied, however, by the increasing military involvement of other African powers, as well as the United Liberation Movement of Liberia, a rival guerrilla organization. By 1995, the Civil War had drawn into a multi-sided stalemate, and the first Abuja Accords created a transitional government composed of a coalition of opposing guerrilla factions.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebels had limited success against the Johnson regime.
Sources: Harris, David. "From Warlord to Democratic President: How Charles Taylor won the 1997 Liberian Elections." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37 (1999): 431-455.

Liberian national patriotic forces against government, 1996
Summary/Description: Following the first Abuja Accords, a second peace conference was held, which made allowances for the disarmament of the various rebel guerrilla organizations. This disarmament, which dissolved groups such as Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia, effectively ended the seven year multi-sided civil war. In 1997, Taylor won the first democratic elections, becoming the president of Liberia.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The national patriotic forces were suppressed by the government, although their leader was ultimately elected president.
Sources: Harris, David. "From Warlord to Democratic President: How Charles Taylor won the 1997 Liberian Elections." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37 (199): 431-455

Liberian LURD revolt against Taylor regime, 2003
Summary/Description: Following Charles Taylor's victory in the 1997 Liberian elections, he continually reneged on promises that he had made in campaigning, as well as ignoring the demands of the Abuja Peace Accords that had ended the First Liberian

Civil War. Beginning in 1999-2000, a new rebel guerrilla group, the Liberians United for Reconstruction and Democracy, began to form. In a similar strategy to Taylor's own in the First Liberian Civil War, the LURD took control of the Liberian country side, and eventually in 2003 launched an attack on the capital city of the country. President Taylor was forced to flee, the country devolved into a similar multi-faction conflict as the First Civil War, until the transitional government and the United Nations restored order and new elections were held in 2005.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt successfully overthrew the Taylor regime, although the armed conflict continued.
Sources: Moran, Mary and M. Anne Pitcher. "The Basket Case and the Poster Child: Explaining the End of Civil War Conflicts in Liberia and Mozambique." *Third World Quarterly* 25 (2004): 501-519.

Sierra Leones RUF against Republican government, 1991-1996
Summary/Description: The RUF (Revolutionary United Front) began its revolt against the military government of President/Major-General Joseph Momoh in 1991. Although there were ethnic conflicts in Sierra Leone, the RUF was ethnically diverse, instead united through their radical political views. The aging Momoh was replaced in 1992 by a coalition of younger military officers, who formed the NPRC to combat the RUF insurgency. Unable to defeat the RUF, The NPRC was forced to institute national elections in 1996, in which the RUF participated, but were not victorious. The new government eventually ended the violence through peace talks with the RUF, although the country was severely damaged because of it.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The RUF had limited success in overthrowing the Republican government.
Sources: Zack-Williams, Alfred. "Sierra Leone: The Political Economy of Civil War." *Third World Quarterly* 20 (1999): 143-162.

Ghanaian Convention People's Party movement against British rule, 1951-1957
Summary/Description: The Convention People's Party was a Ghanaian political organization initially founded for the express purpose of attaining Independence from Britain. In 1957 the colonial government and the United Nations sponsored a plebiscite that affirmed the public desire for Independence, and in a surprising move the British government honored this request. Ghana became the first African country to obtain independence through peaceful and democratic processes, and the Convention People's Party was elected into public office.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts:
Outcome: The Convention People's Party successfully ousted the British rule.
Sources: Morrison, Minion. "Political Parties in Ghana through Four Republics: A Path to Democratic Consolidation." *Comparative Politics* 36 (2004): 421-442.

Ghanaian protest against Rawlings government, 2000
Summary/Description: Starting in 1967, a wave of military coups occurred in Ghana, culminating in the eventual rise of Jerry Rawlings to political power in 1981. Rawlings held dictatorial powers until 1992, when the creation of a new constitution recreated the

democratic process. Rawlings subsequently won two additional elections, but was unable to run in the 2000 electoral campaign. Aided by a wave of protest against Rawlings, the opposition candidate officially won the presidency, resulting in a return to competitive democratic processes.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters successfully ousted the Rawlings government.
Sources: Smith, Daniel. "Consolidating Democracy? The Structural Underpinnings of Ghana's 2000 Elections." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 40 (2002): 621-650.

Cameroons anti-colonialist movement against French occupation, 1955-1960
Summary/Description: Following the First World War, the League of Nations gave France the administration of the former German Colony of Cameroon, an administration which continued with the United Nations in 1946, although with the caveat of transitioning the African state to independence. The French built Cameroon into a powerful economic force, and the anti-colonialist movement was primarily composed of urban bourgeoisies and other politically and economically active segments of the society. The Cameroon movement began violent protests in 1955, and by 1960 the French colonial government had withdrawn, and Cameroon gained its independence.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts:
Outcome: The anti-colonialist movement successfully ousted the French occupation.
Sources: Atangana, Martin. "French Capitalism and Nationalism in Cameroon." *African Studies Review* 40 (1997): 83-111.

Nigerian Independence movement against British occupation, 1945-1950
Summary/Description: Prior to the Nigerian independence in 1960, a similar wave of nationalistic protests began to emerge in Nigeria following the end of the Second World War. Although the British government did not grant full independence to the Nigerian people following this wave of protests, they did create a Nigerian controlled Federal Administration system, a compromise which put Nigerians in direct political power, while the British retained overall control of the system. This system allowed the Nigerians to achieve a relatively smooth transition once Independent rule was ultimately established.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Independence Movement successfully achieved reforms from the British occupation.
Sources: Adamolekun, Ladipo and S. Bamidele Ayo. "The Evolution of the Nigerian Federal Administration System." *Publius* 19 (1989): 157-176.

Nigerian Biafrans against government, 1967-1970
Summary/Description: The Nigerian-Biafran war was a struggle for independence hiding a war for control of lucrative oil fields. The Nigerian region of Biafra, home to one of Nigeria's many diverse ethnic groups, was found to have large oil reserves, a discovery which in 1967 prompted the Biafran people to declare independence from Nigeria. Several weeks thereafter, the Nigerian military launched an offensive against the newly created Biafran state, sparking a war in which the superior Nigerian military eventually forced the Biafran government to surrender, bringing the region back into the

Nigerian state.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place
Outcome: The Biafrans were suppressed by the government.
Sources: Davis, Morris. "Negotiating about Biafran Oil." *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 3 (1973): 23-32.

Nigerian Muslim fundamentalists against government, 1980-1984
Summary/Description: Northern Nigeria has a large Muslim population, one which is impoverished as well as highly conservative and religious in nature. During the early 1980s, a series of riots took place in the north, primarily instigated by Muslim fundamentalists. These riots were intended to force the Nigerian government to impose a stricter legislative system in the country, inspired by the Islamic legal code known as the Sharia. These riots were suppressed by the government, which is not inherently Muslim in nature.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Muslim fundamentalists were suppressed by the government.
Sources: Winters, Clyde Ahmad. "Koranic Education and Militant Islam in Nigeria." *International Review of Education* 33 (1987): 171-185.

Nigerian Ogoni movement against government and corporate exploitation, 1990-1995
Summary/Description: The Nigerian government in the 1980's severely damaged the environment of its southern region with extensive oil production and other economic activities. The small Ogoni ethnic group organized a mass mobilization protest campaign directed towards bringing international attention and condemnation to the environmentally damaging policies of the Nigerian state. However, the central government arrested and executed the chief leader of the Ogoni movement, and violently suppressed the Ogoni support base, leading to the direction and power of the movement falling apart.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Ogoni movement was suppressed by the government.
Sources: Bob, Clifford. "Political Process Theory and Transnational Movement s: Dialectics of Protest among Nigeria's Ogoni Minority." *Social Problems* 49 (2002): 395-415.

Nigerian revolt against Military rule, 1993-1999
Summary/Description: In 1983, a military coup overthrew the corrupt civilian government of Nigeria and eventually instituted a military dictatorship under General Ibrahim Babangida. Attempts to transition back into democracy in 1993 were annulled by Babangida, who eventually was forced to turn power over to Defense Minister Sani Abacha. The military government utilized typical nepotism/repression to secure their political rule, but the period was highlighted by a number of ethnic/regional movements and wide scale political protest against the repressive military regime. Although Abacha was able to suppress or co-opt the majority of these movements, his death in 1998 hastened the return to Civil democratic rule, which was obtained in early 1999.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt successfully overthrew the military government.

Sources: Kraxberger, Brennan. "The Geography of Regime Survival: Abacha's Nigeria." *African Affairs* 103 (2004): 413-430.

Central African Republic protests against government regime, 1990-1994
Summary/Description: The Central African Republic had been ruled by a Military government from 1965 until 1994, after which a pro-democracy movement successfully achieved elections and voted in a civilian government under Ange-Felix Patassé. This new government purged the government of military elements and instituted a new civilian political system.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protests successfully ousted the government regime.
Sources: Van de Walle, Nicolas. "Economic Reform in a Democratizing Africa." *Comparative Politics* 32 (1999): 21-41.

Chadian Frolinat revolt against government, 1966-1990
Summary/Description: The National Liberation Front of Chad (FROLINAT) was a radical left wing insurgency that attempted to overthrow the government of Chad for much of the country's history. FROLINAT attempted to unify the various disenfranchised regional, ethnic, and economic groups of the country to create a nationalized revolt. However, the organization splintered in the 1970s, and for much of that decade was unable to effectively carry out their national-level goals. In the 1980s, following a wave of additional civil conflicts and a brief war with neighboring Libya, FROLINAT began to have more and more allies draw to its banner, ultimately forming a powerful army (the People's Armed Forces, or FAP), and began to take control of significant Chadian territory. Eventually, the existent government was overthrown by FROLINAT and others disatistified with the dictatorial rule of Hissene Habre, and after a multi-sided transitional government was instituted, FROLINAT dissolved in 1993.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt successfully overthrew the government.
Sources: Buijtenhuijs, Robert. "The Chadian Tubu: Contemporary Nomads Who Conquered a State." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 71 (2001): 149-161.

Chadian rebels against government regime, 1994-1998
Summary/Description: Following the overthrow of the Habre government, and the creation of a new, democratic government under Idriss Deby, former followers of Habre almost immediately began a counter-rebellion against the new government. However, these opposition groups never reached the level of destabilizing violence of the previous years, and the Deby government acted in a conciliatory, not suppressive, manner. Following the 1997 elections, a coalition government was formed between Deby and former opposition groups, ending the significant violent insurgencies of the country.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as the rebels left violence and joined with the new government.
Outcome: The rebels failed to overthrow the government regime.
Sources: Atlas, Pierre and Roy Licklider. "Conflict among Former Allies after Civil War Settlement: Sudan, Zimbabwe, Chad, and Lebanon." *Journal of Peace Research* 36

(1999): 35-54.

Congolese Nguesso -led rebels against Lissouba regime, 1997-1998
Summary/Description: The Nguesso-Lissouba conflict in the Congo Republic originated from experiments in multiparty democracy that began in 1991. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, the dictator of the Congo during the 1980s, stepped down from power to facilitate a democratic election in which he participated, but failed to win the presidency, which was instead won by Pascal Lissouba. After a period of militia violence (in which Nguesso's militias did not take part), the 1997 elections signaled a return to violence, in which Nguesso and Lissouba allied politicians began violent reprisals against each other. Following Lissouba's attempts to arrest Nguesso, a four month civil war broke out, which ended in 1998 with Nguesso achieving victory and ending the democratic system in Congo.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebels successfully overthrew the Lissouba regime.
Sources: Clark, John F. "The Neo-Colonial Context of the Democratic Experiment of Congo-Brazzaville." *African Affairs* (2002): 171-192.

DRC/Zaire Katanga-led leftists revolt for secession from DRC, 1960-1965
Summary/Description: Shortly after Congo (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) gained independence from Belgium, the Katanga region attempted to itself secede from Zaire and form an independent republic. Following chaos in the Congo and the execution of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, the United Nations passed a resolution calling for the re-integration of Katanga into Zaire. Aided by UN military forces, the Congolese government forcibly defeated the separatists and brought Katanga back under government control.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The leftists were suppressed by the DRC government.
Sources: Willame, Jean-Claude. "Political Succession in Zaire, or Back to Machiavelli." *The Journal of Modern African* Studies 26 (1988): 37-49.

DRC/Zaire FLNC revolt against government regime, 1977-1878
Summary/Description: The conclusion of the political crisis following Lumumba's death came from the take-over of the government by Joseph-Desire Mobutu, who staged a coup d'état in 1965. Mobutu renamed the country Zaire, due to his nationalistic ideology. In 1977, former Katanga dissidents, who renamed their movement the Front for the National Liberation of the Congo (FLNC), staged a revolt against the Mobutu regime. The FLNC was initially successful, and Mobutu's regime was close to collapse. However, Mobutu appealed to the Capitalist Western powers, claiming that the FLNC was a communist threat, which prompted a primarily French reaction which forced the FLNC back and brought Zaire back into the hands of Mobutu.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The FLNC protesters failed to oust the government regime.
Sources: McNulty, Mel. "The Collapse of Zaire: Implosion, Revolution or External Sabotage?" *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37 (1999): 53-82.

DRC/Zaire People's Revolutionary Party against Mobutu regime, 1993
Summary/Description: Following the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Communist System, a wave of pro-democratic and anti-Mobutu protests swept Zaire, culminating in Mobutu being forced to carry out multi-party elections. However, the resultant government was opposed by Mobutu, who retained his political control and authority. Attempts at compromise with Mobutu resulted in his eventual retention of political control.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebels were suppressed by the Mobutu regime.
Sources: McNulty, Mel. "The Collapse of Zaire: Implosion, Revolution or External Sabotage?" *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37 (1999): 53-82.

DRC/Zaire Kabila-ADFL protest against Mobutu regime, 1996-1997
Summary/Description: The final protest against the Mobutu regime was preceded by a wave of conflict in the Central African Region, as fighting in Rwanda spilled over into Zaire and disrupted the Mobutu government, resulting in a civil war between various factions. Rebel forces known as the ADFL, led by Laurent Kabila, began a concerted effort to overthrow the Mobutu government. Kabila successfully took control of Zaire's capital, forcing Mobutu to flee, and declared himself the president of the newly re-named Democratic Republic of the Congo.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Kabila-ADFL protesters successfully overthrew the Mobutu regime, although Kabila's forces were unable to restore peace and Kabila himself was assassinated in 2001.
Sources: McNulty, Mel. "The Collapse of Zaire: Implosion, Revolution or External Sabotage?" *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37 (1999): 53-82.

Ugandan Buganda Tribe against government, 1966
Summary/Description: Uganda gained independence from the British government in 1962, establishing a Parliamentary system with a titular Monarch. Colonial Uganda based much of its historical tradition and local administrative system on the Buganda state, which existed before the colonial take-over. The Buganda elite remained in control of the system, but after independence, their dominance was threatened by the emergence of modern political affiliations and rival political philosophies. In 1966, a Buganda tribe attempted to re-assert their dominance over the political system, and was summarily crushed by the new political parties. The resultant suppression eliminated the Buganda as a force in Ugandan politics.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Buganda tribe failed to overthrow the government.
Sources: Sathyamurthy, T.V. "The Social Base of the Uganda People's Congress, 1958-70." *African Affairs* 74 (1975): 442-460.

Ugandan National Resistance Army against Okello regime, 1980-1988
Summary/Description: The National Resistance Movement/Army was formed in the early 1980's in an attempt to overthrow the series of military dictatorships led by Idi Amin, Milton Obote, and Tito Okello. The NRM, led by Yoweri Museveni, restored the

semblance of democratic rule to the Ugandan state, and Museveni has been in power since 1986.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The National Resistance Army successfully overthrew the Okello regime.
Sources: Van Acker, Frank. "Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army: the new order no one ordered." *African Affairs* 103 (2004): 335-357.

Ugandan LRA against Museveni government, 1996-2006
Summary/Description: The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) is a religiously-motivated insurgency that was formed in 1986, and began actively attacking the Ugandan government in 1996. The LRA exists in several countries, although it is most active in northern Uganda. Although it has failed to make significant inroads against the Museveni government, it is known for significant human rights violations, and its presence has destabilized the society and political environment of the surrounding region.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts have taken place.
Outcome: The LRA was suppressed by the Museveni government.
Sources: Van Acker, Frank. "Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army: the new order no one ordered." *African Affairs* 103 (2004): 335-357.

Kenyan protests against British rule, 1938
Summary/Description: The British had established a colonial interest in Kenya during the late 19th century, and following the First World War, took possession of the entire region from the defeated Germany. However, the new British Colonial administration quickly discovered that Kenya was a highly divided region, with numerous ethnic groups and political/economic needs. Due to the British inability to deal with these problems, in 1938 they found themselves faced with a number of protests by Kenyans throughout the country, resulting in first suppression, and then eventually changes in British policy that placed the governance of Kenya firmly in the control of the colonial extension of the British government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters were suppressed by the British government.
Sources: Wylie, Diana. "Confrontation over Kenya: The Colonial Office and Its Critics 1918-1940." *The Journal of African History* 18 (1977): 427-447.

Kenyan Mau Mau Rebellion against British occupation, 1952-1956
Summary/Description: The Mau Mau rebellion was a broad-based nationalistic rebellion, in which the Kenyan people attempted to oust the British colonial government. Although the rebellion was initially successful, spreading throughout the Kenyan state into various ethnic and regional enclaves, it was eventually suppressed by the British military and government, although various political reforms were implemented in the years following the revolt, and independence was eventually granted in 1962.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the British government.

Sources: Stichter, Sharon. "Workers, Trade Unions, and the Mau Mau Rebellion." Canadian Journal of African Studies 2 (1975): 259-275.

Kenyan NFDLM secessionists against government, 1964-1969
Summary/Description: The NFD (or northern Frontier District) is a Kenyan rural district primarily inhabited by Somali ethnic groups. In the 1960's, immediately after the independence of Kenya, the Northern Frontier District Liberation Movement attempted to secede from Kenya and join Somalia. This was ultimately unsuccessful, but their attempts to secede played a major role in igniting the Shifta war between Kenya and Somalia.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The NFDLM failed to secede from the government.
Sources: Hogg, Richard. "The New Pastoralism: Poverty and Dependence in Northern Kenya." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 56 (1986): 319-333.

Kenyan protests against Daniel Arap Moi, 1989
Summary/Description: In 1978, then-Vice-President Daniel Moi became the President of Kenya following the death of his predecessor. Moi proceeded to solidify and concentrate his power base, creating a one-party patronage based system. However, in 1989, the Moi regime suffered protests, primarily from ethnic groups that were excluded from the patronage system and from agitations over unfair elections. This resulted in Moi instituted reforms, such as multi-party elections, although he remained in power until 2002.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protests succeeded in creating reforms.
Sources: Kloop, M. Jacqueline. "'Ethnic Clashes' and Winning Elections: The Case of Kenya's Electoral Despotism." Canadian Journal of African Studies 35 (2001): 473-517.

Tanzanian Maji Maji Revolt against German colonizers, 1905-1906
Summary/Description: The Maji Maji revolt was an indigenous armed revolt in German East Africa, which eventually became Tanzania. Originating in peasant dissatisfaction with the German occupation, various tribes revolted in an organized fashion against the German military and government stationed in the colony. However, the revolt was quickly suppressed, and several tens of thousands of East Africans were reported to have died during the conflict, both as a result of military force as well as the ensuing famine.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was suppressed by the German government.
Sources: Iliffe, John. "The Organization of the Maji Maji Rebellion." *The Journal of African History* 8 (1967): 495-512.

Tanzanian pro-democracy movement against Mwinyi regime, 1992-1995
Summary/Description: Tanzania's government had a non-democratic one party system since its union with Zanzibar in 1964. In the early 1990s, protests against the autocratic Mwinyi government led to the establishment of multi-party elections, although the ruling party (CCM) remained in power.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.

Outcome: The protests succeeded in creating reforms.
Sources: Brown, Andrea. "Democratization and the Tanzanian State: Emerging Opportunities for Achieving Women's Empowerment." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 35 (2001): 67-98.

Burundi Hutu rebellion against Tutsi hegemony in government, 1972-2002
Summary/Description: Burundi is a small, ethnically divided central African country, in which ethnic divisions between the large Hutu majority and the small, but powerful, Tutsi minority resulted in a long term ethnic-based conflict over political power and natural resources. In the late 1960s, following independence, a Tutsi-led military coup d'etat took control over the government and monobolized power. In order to control the power structure, the dictatorships relied near-exclusively on Tutsi leaders and administrators, barring the Hutu from political power. In 1972, while suppressing a minor revolt, the Tutsi military killed or exiled hundreds of thousands of Hutus in the southern areas of Burundi. This act, although successful in suppressing the revolt, crystallized tensions between the two groups, resulting in increased violence and chaos during the late 1980s and 1990s. This violence did not stop until the early 2000s, in which a United Nations brokered and enforced peace agreement came into effect.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the government.
Sources: Uvin, Peter. "Ethnicity and Power in Burundi and Rwanda: Different Paths to Mass Violence." Comparative Politics 31 (1999): 253-271.

Burundi Tutsi supremacists against Hutu regime, 1991-1992
Summary/Description: Following the end of the cold war, Burundi began a democratization attempt, in which rival Hutu and Tutsi groups shared political power in an effort to limit ethnic violence. However, this system failed to decrease levels of violence, and in the early 1990s, Tutsi and Hutu rebels began attacking the government regime. In 1993, Tutsi rebels assassinated Melchior Ndadaye, an important Hutu leader. This assassination helped spark the next wave of Hutu-Tutsi violence in the region.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was suppressed by the Hutu regime.
Sources: Uvin, Peter. "Ethnicity and Power in Burundi and Rwanda: Different Paths to Mass Violence." Comparative Politics 31 (1999): 253-271.

Rwandan revolt against Belgian occupation, 1956-1961
Summary/Description: The Belgian colonization of Rwanda had a major role in the later history of the state, solidifying political and social divisions between Rwandans and influencing the post-colonial political structure. The Belgians contentrated indigenous political power in the hands of the Tutsi ethnic group, while disenfranchising the other major ethnic group in the country, the Hutus. In the 1950s, a predominantly Hutu nationalistic movement created a revolt that eventually convinced the Belgian occupation to leave the country. This independence, formally recognized in 1962, left a Hutu political regime in power.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was successful in gaining independence.

Sources: Reed, Cyrus. "Exile, Reform, and the Rise of the Rwandan Patriotic Front." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34 (1996): 479-501.

Rwandan Watsui against Hutu regime, 1963-1964
Summary/Description: The Hutu-dominated government of post-independence Rwanda was uninviting to the smaller, previously in power Tutsi ethnic group. During the early years of independence, this was clearly seen in the mass migrations of more than half of the colonial era Tutsi population from the country. Along with mass migrations, some Tutsi refugees began a small-scale insurgency, targeted towards the now dominant Hutu government. These small-scale raids did little to damage the Hutu regime, but they aided in the polarization of ethnic hostilities and the increasing use of violence by both sides towards the other's civilian population.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was suppressed by the Hutu regime.
Sources: Reed, Cyrus. "Exile, Reform, and the Rise of the Rwandan Patriotic Front." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34 (1996): 479-501.

Rwandan Tutsi rebels against Hutu regime, 1990-1993
Summary/Description: Beginning in 1990, the exiled and disenfranchised Tutsi minority in Rwanda began a revolt against the Hutu government. Led primarily by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and their military wing, the RPA, the Tutsi rebels successfully gained control of parts of the country from the Hutu government. The areas the RPF controlled were constantly shifting, however, and neither side had the resources to defeat the other's military. In late 1992, peace agreements were signed between the RPF and the Rwandan government, resulting in a power sharing agreement between the two sides of the conflict.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebels had limited success.
Sources: Reed, Cyrus. "Exile, Reform, and the Rise of the Rwandan Patriotic Front." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34 (1996): 479-501.

Rwandan Patriotic Front against Hutu regime and genocide, 1994
Summary/Description: The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) was a primarily Tutsi organization that was formed in the mid 1980s by Rwandan exiles with the goal of ultimately returning and retaking Rwanda from the Hutu-led government. Following the 1990 invasion of Rwanda by the RPF, the Rwandan government and the Patriotic Front began a power sharing arrangement, with each side controlling a portion of the country until democratic elections could be held. However, by mid 1993, Rwandan Tutsi began to be attacked by Hutu guerillas, and in the next few months a campaign of genocide was directed towards the northern Rwandan Tutsi population. By 1994, the RPF initiated another attack against the complacent Rwandan government, overthrowing it and putting an end to the waves of genocide that had ravaged the country.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Patriotic Front successfully overthrew the Hutu regime.
Sources: Reed, Cyrus. "Exile, Reform, and the Rise of the Rwandan Patriotic Front." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34 (1996): 479-501.

Somali clan factions and SNM against Siad Barre regime, 1982-1997
Summary/Description: The Somali Civil War, a conflict which resulted in the collapse of the Somalia state, began when a coalition of Somali clans and the Ethiopian-supported Somali National Movement (SNM) overthrew the dictatorship of Mohamed Siad Barre, who had held dictatorial powers in Somalia since 1969. After the dictatorship collapsed, the temporary government failed to maintain order, and the strong clan loyalties of most Somali erupted into a long-term conflict.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as the various allied factions turned on each other after Said Barre was overthrown.
Outcome: The clan factions were successful in overthrowing the Siad Barre regime, but faced internal conflicts.
Sources: Webersik, Christian. "Differences That Matter: The Struggle of the Marginalised in Somalia." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 74 (2004): 516-533.

Somali militia insurgencies against U.S. and UN relief missions, 1992-1994
Summary/Description: The Somali Civil War, with its resultant socio-economic chaos and mass displacement, prompted a United States-led relief mission with U.N. mandate to establish itself in Somalia. However, the Somali militias that developed during the civil war were opposed to the foreign presence, as well as the Clinton administration's policy of nation-building. Due to the large-scale opposition that the U.S. forces faced, along with embarrassing military defeats, the U.S. forces withdrew in early 1994, leaving the Somali state chaotic.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Somali militia insurgencies successfully ousted U.S. and U.N. forces.
Sources: Bolton, John R. "Wrong Turn in Somalia." Foreign Affairs 73 (1994): 56-66.

Djibouti Afar insurgency against government regime, 1991-1994
Summary/Description: The Djibouti Civil War was a conflict between two ethnically and politically divided factions, the predominately Issa government and the predominately Afar insurgency. The Afar rebels, known as Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (FRUD) took control of most of Djibouti country-side in 1991, prompting the government to instigate political reforms. These reforms failed to reduce conflict, and the lack of participation in the democratic elections that followed them further de-legitimized the political regime. In 1994, moderates in FRUD signed cease-fires with the government in return for political representation, although hard-liners continued to wage an ineffectual war against the government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as moderate Afars joined the Issa-led government.
Outcome: The insurgency failed to overthrow the government regime.
Sources: Bollee, Amedee. "Djibouti: From French Outpost to US Base." *Review of African Political Economy* 30 (2003): 481-484.

Eritrean-led rebels against Ethiopian government, 1974-1991
Summary/Description: During the colonial period, Eritrea was first an Italian, and then a

British colony, after which it was incorporated into the larger state of Ethiopia in 1951. The Eritrean people were generally opposed to such incorporation, and after a formal annexation of Eritrea by the Ethiopian government in the early 1960s, a powerful mass independence movement was formed. By the 1970s, this movement had turned violent, and a rebellion against the Ethiopian governmental authority began, a rebellion which continued until the early 1990s. After taking control of most of the Eritrean region, the independent Eritrean state was recognized by Ethiopia in 1991.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebels successfully seceded from the Ethiopian government, although conflicts between the two countries have continued.
Sources: Keller, Edmond. "Eritrean Self-Determination Revisited." *Africa Today* 38 (1991): 7-13.

Somali rebels/Ogaden against Ethiopian occupation of Ogaden, 1976-1983
Summary/Description: Following the overthrow of the Ethiopian King Haile Selassie in 1974, the Ogaden people of eastern Ethiopia began a revolt against the Ethiopian control of the region, gaining support from neighboring Somali ethnic groups. Although the mainstream attempts at Ogaden independence were quickly suppressed by the Ethiopian military, which had become allied with the Soviet Union, the Ogadeni Western Somali Liberation Front continued to fight for a short while, until support from Somalia began to diminish and they were unable to continue the revolt.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebels were suppressed by the Ethiopian military.
Sources: Lewis, I.M. "The Ogaden and the Fragility of Somali Segmentary Nationalism." *African Affairs* 88 (1989): 573-579.

Ethiopian Tigrean Liberation Front against government, 1978-1991
Summary/Description: The Tigrean People's Liberation Front (TPLF) began as a guerilla organization in northern Ethiopia in the mid 1970s, and began its campaign against the repressive communist/military Ethiopian government in 1978. Originally founded to bring about independence of self rule to the Tigray region, the TPLF eventually led the revolt that toppled the dictatorship in 1991 and brought about a more democratic political system.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Liberation Front was successful against the government.
Sources: Berhe, Aregawi. "The Origins of the Tigray People's Liberation Front." *African Affairs* 103 (2004): 569-592.

Eritrean Shifta insurgency against UK occupation, 1945-1952
Summary/Description: The wide-spread nationalism of Eritrea began to appear in the late 1940s, as the Eritreans began to determine that their promised eventual independence was not assured by their new colonial administrators, the British. The initial movement was surprisingly broad, with middle and upper class urbanized Eritreans collaborating with more violently oriented, rural peasants and bandits, known colloquially as Shiftas. Although the initial independence movement failed to make significant gains against the British, it would set the foundations for the long-running

and ultimately successful independence campaign against the Ethiopians.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The insurgency failed to oust the British occupation.
Sources: Johnson, Michael and Trish Johnson. "Eritrea: The National Question and the Logic of Protracted Struggle." *African Affairs* 80 (1981): 181-195.

Angolan Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola against Portuguese occupation, 1961-1974
Summary/Description: The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was a socialist organization originally created to carry out a war of independence against the Portuguese colonial government of Angola. After the initial uprising of the MPLA in the early 1960s, the Portuguese and the revolutionaries fought for over a decade, severely damaging the country's economy and infrastructure. The Portuguese would eventually withdraw from Angola following the Portuguese 1974 coup, which removed the right-wing military government from power and installed one that was more willing to negotiate with the MPLA and eventually grant Angola independence. Following the achievement of independence, the MPLA became an official political party in the new Angolan political system.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Popular Movement succeeded in ousting the Portuguese occupation.
Sources: Brinkman, Inge. "War, Witches, and Traitors: Cases from the MPLA's Eastern Front in Angola (1966-1975)." *The Journal of African History* 44 (2003): 303-325.

Angolan UNITA against government, 1975-2001
Summary/Description: The Angolan Civil War began almost immediately after the end of the Portuege occupation of Angola and the beginning of the independent state. The various guerrilla groups that arose during the struggle for independence, although initially cooperating and forming a transitionary government, soon began to feud with each other, resulting in a country wide conflict. The two major groups, UNITA and the MPLA, were supported by the Capitalist (UNITA) and Communist (MPLA) world powers of that time, resulting in an escalation and lengthening of the conflict. Eventually, following the end of the cold war, the conflict died down, and UNITA, which had been the weaker party, declared a ceasefire and joined the institutionalized government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolts succeed in gaining reforms.
Sources: Heywood, Linda M. "UNITA and Ethnic Nationalism in Angola." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 27 (1989): 47-66.

Mozambique Front for the Liberation of Mozambique against Portuguese occupation, 1963-1972
Summary/Description: The Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO) was founded in the early 1960s as a movement determined to achieve independence from the long entrenched Portuguese colonial government. Unlike the majority of European colonizers, Portugal's military dictatorship was unwilling to surrender its few remaining colonial possessions. Following a decade long guerrilla conflict, FRELIMO defeated

the Portuguese occupiers and forced them to militarily withdraw from the country. Independence was formally recognized in 1975.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Front succeeded in ousting the Portuguese occupation, although the Mozambican Civil War broke out shortly afterwards.
Sources: Leonard, Richard W. "Frelimo's Victories in Mozambique." *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 4 (1974): 38-46.

Mozambique RENAMO against government, 1979-1992
Summary/Description: The Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) was a right-wing guerrilla movement founded shortly after Mozambican Independence, and was dedicated to the overthrow of the leftist FRELIMO government. RENAMO was militarily active against the government for thirteen years, until a lasting peace accord was signed in 1992. The peace accord resulted in RENAMO renouncing violence and disarming, and many of its former military personnel joined the standing Mozambican army. RENAMO became a legitimized political party, and began to take part in multi-party government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as the former RENAMO guerrillas joined the government and the military.
Outcome: The revolt was suppressed by the government, and compromises were reached at the national level.
Sources: Manning, Carrie. "Constructing Opposition in Mozambique: RENAMO as Political Party." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24 (1998): 161-189.

Zambian revolt against British rule, 1961-1963
Summary/Description: The British colony of Zambia gained its independence in the early 1960s, taking part in the wave of independence that ended the European colonial system and brought about the modern African political situation. Zambia had a great amount of mineral wealth, but it was landlocked and strategically un-important. Therefore, the British, following a relatively peaceful series of elections, left the government to the indigenous people and withdrew from the country.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was successful in ousting British rule.
Sources: Slinn, Peter. "Commerican Concessions and Politics during the Colonial Period of the British South Africa Company in Northern Rhodesia 1890-1964." *African Affairs* 70 (1971): 365-384.

Zambian protests against one-party rule, 1990-1991
Summary/Description: Following Zambian independence, the United National Independence Party (UNIP) had enjoyed unchallenged one-party rule for a long period of time. However, in 1990 an opposition party, the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) had arisen, forming a protest movement against the system of one-party rule and demanding open elections. The leaders of the UNIP eventually agreed to this decision, and in October of 1991 these elections took place, resulting in a MMD presidential victory.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.

Outcome: The protesters were successful in gaining reforms.
Sources: Bjornlund, Eric, Michael Bratton, and Clark Gibson. "Observing Multiparty Elections in Africa: Lessons from Zambia." *African Affairs* 91 (1992): 405-431.

Zambian protests against Chiluba regime, 2001
Summary/Description: The 1991 Zambian elections resulted in Frederick Chiluba winning the presidency of the country. Chiluba, although campaigning as a Christian reformer, but his administration damaged the country's economy and accumulated multiple human rights violations. When Chiluba announced he intended to run for a third term (in violation of the Zambian constitution) a wave of protest swept the country, and after a motion in the legislature to begin impeachment proceedings over his abuses, Chiluba bowed to political pressure and agreed to resign after his term had been served.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters were successful in ousting the Chiluba regime.
Sources: Phiri, Isabel. "President Frederick J.T. Chiluba of Zambia: the Christian Nation and Democracy." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 33 (2003): 401-428.

Zimbabwean African People's Union against Smith/Muzorena regime, 1974-1980
Summary/Description: In 1965, the country now known as Zimbabwe declared independence from Great Britain and formed a sovereign state known as Rhodesia. Rhodesia was politically dominated by the white minority of the population, who under the rule of Ian Smith, and later Abel Muzorewa limited political participation for the majority of Rhodesians. By the mid 1970s, discontent over these inequalities led to the rise of a Guerrilla movement composed of two nationalist political organizations, the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the Zimbabwe African National Union. Gaining support from the rural regions of Zimbabwe, the two groups successfully overthrew the Rhodesian government, and established a more representative government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was successful in overthrowing the Smith/Muzorena regime.
Sources: Maxwell, David. "Local Politics and the War of Liberation in North-east Zimbabwe." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 19 (1993): 361-386.

Zimbabwean PF-ZAPU guerillas against Mugabe regime, 1983-1987
Summary/Description: Following the end of the Zimbabwean Liberation War, Robert Mugabe, the leader of the African National Union, was elected the prime minister of Zimbabwe. His former guerrilla group, the Zimbabwe African National Union, became a legitimate political party, and held control through a coalition with its rival former guerrilla group, the Zimbabwe African People's Union. Following disagreements between Mugabe and ZAPU leaders in 1983, fighting began in the rural regions between Mugabe's supporters and detractors. After four years of fighting, another power-sharing arrangement was signed.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The guerillas had limited success in overthrowing the Mugabe regime.
Sources: Kaarsholm, Preben. "Quiet after the Storm: Continuity and Change in the Cultural and Political Development of Zimbabwe." *African Languages and Cultures* 2 (1989): 175-202.

Malawian Nyasaland African Congress against British rule, 1958-1959
Summary/Description: The Congress was an organization of middle-class indigenous Malawian businessmen that was founded in the 1940s as an effort to campaign for increased African rights in the British colony. By the late 1950s, the congress had transformed into an active and popular political movement dedicated to removing British control. Following a wave of protests instigated by the Congress, the British agreed to grant the Malawian people a degree of self rule, which the Nyasaland Congress agreed to. Elections held in 1961 resulted in self-governance, and by 1964 the British economic control over the country was lifted.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The African Congress was successful in ousting British rule.
Sources: McCracken, John. "The Ambuguities of Nationalism: Flax Musopole and the Northern Factor in Malawian Politics, c. 1956-1966." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28 (2002): 67-78.

Malawian protests against Banda regime, 1992-1994
Summary/Description: Following Malawian independence, Hastings Banda became the president of the single-party Malawian government. Over time, Banda assumed dictatorial powers and the title "President for Life." Due in part to political protests in the early 1990s, the aging Banda agreed to a referendum on single-party rule, which resulted in the institution of multi-party elections. In 1994, Banda was removed from political office in the elections and ceded his control peacefully.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters were successful in ousting the Banda regime.
Sources: Sevenzo, Farai. "Bedtime for Banda." *Transition* 85 (2000): 4-29.

South African Boer separatists against British occupation, 1899-1902
Summary/Description: The formerly Dutch Boer colonies of South Africa had, by the turn of the twentieth century, become surrounded by larger and more prosperous British colonies, and had their economic and political sovereignty repeatedly eroded by the desires of the extensive British colonial presence. Although this had led to minor military conflicts earlier in the 19th century, the major conflict took place from 1899 to 1902, as the remnants of the Boer colony declared war on the British and began a military conflict. Although the Boers were initially successful, engaging in guerrilla tactics against the larger and more formidable British army, the British ultimately won the conflict, at the cost of a great deal of lives and money.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The separatists were suppressed by the British military.
Sources: Nasson, Bill. "Waging Total War in South Africa: Some Centenary Writings on the Anglo-Boer War: 1899-1902." *The Journal of Military History* 66 (2002): 813-828.

South African Defiance Campaign against Apartheid, 1952-1961
Summary/Description: The Defiance Campaign was the first real attempt by the oppressed and disenfranchised African Majority in South Africa to challenge the system

of institutionalized segregation known as Apartheid. The Defiance Campaign was the first time that significant cooperation took place between the tribal and urban African groups. The protests against the government were ultimately unsuccessful, and many of the leaders of the campaign were arrested by the South African Government. However, the protests and subsequent repression dramatically increased international awareness of the South African Apartheid system, eventually resulting in world-wide trade embargos and boycotts against the state.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Defiance Campaign was suppressed by the Apartheid government.
Sources: Williams, Donovan. "African Nationalism in South Africa: Origins and Problems." *The Journal of African History* 11 (1970): 371-383.

South African Defiance Campaign against Apartheid, 1984-1994
Summary/Description: The repressive Apartheid political system in South Africa had resulted not only in foreign isolation and disapproval, but more importantly a massive undercurrent of dissatisfaction and resistance among the segregated and disenfranchised South African black population. The White minorities grip over the political process began to unwind in the mid 1980s, as waves of protest began to sweep through the country. By 1990, the Apartheid government was forced to legalize the African National Congress, the anti-apartheid movement that first started the Defiance Campaign in the 1950s. Finally, in 1994, following the first Multi-racial elections, the Apartheid government was removed from power, and the repressive policies of South Africa were ended.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Defiance Campaign was successful in overthrowing the Apartheid government.
Sources: Nkiwane, Tandeka. "Africa and International Relations: Regional Lessons for a Global Discourse." *International Political Science Review* 22 (2001): 279-290.

Namibian SWAPO revolt against South African occupation, 1976-1988
Summary/Description: The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was organized in the 1960s to resist the occupation of Namibia by the South African military. SWAPO fought back from bases in friendly African countries, and eventually, due in part to increased South African political dissent, were able to gain their independence from South Africa. Afterwards, SWAPO became Namibia's main political party.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was successful in ousting South African occupation.
Sources: Leys, Colin and John Saul. "Liberation without Democracy? The Swapo Crisis of 1976." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20 (1994): 123-147.

Madagascan Franco-Madagascan revolt against French occupation, 1947-1948
Summary/Description: Spurred by a weakening colonial presence, and the rumored possibility of international recognition and support from the United Nations, Madagascan guerrillas staged an uprising against the French colonial government and military in March of 1947. This uprising was ultimately unsuccessful, although

Madagascar gained its independence shortly thereafter, in 1960.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolters were suppressed by the French government.
Sources: Little, Douglas. "Cold war and Colonialism in Africa: The United States, France, and the Madagascar Revolt of 1947." *The Pacific Historical Review* 59 (1990): 527-552.

Madagascan Active Voices protest against Didier Radsiraka, 1991-1993
Summary/Description: In 1975, a military dictatorship under then Lieutenant-Commander Didier Ratsiraka seized power in Madagascar. He and his party, AREMA, held control of the country until a period of general strikes and wide-spread protests, instigated by the opposition parties, forced the Ratsiraka government to begin transitions into multi-party democracy. In 1993, AREMA failed to win both the presidential and legislative elections, and was removed from political power.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters were successful in overthrowing the government, although Radsirka regained political power in 1996.
Sources: Randrianja, Solofo. "'Be not afraid, Only Believe': Madagascar 2002." *African Affairs* 102 (2003): 309-329.

Madagascan pro-democracy movement against Radsiraka regime, 2002-2003
Summary/Description: In 1996, the former military dictatorship under Didier Ratsiraka, which had been forced from power in 1993, was re-elected into the government by a slim margin. Much of the one-party dynamic of the earlier era returned with Ratsiraka, as other parties were unable to successfully oppose his government. However, by 2001 opposition under Marc Ravalomanana had built into a substantial presidential campaign seeking to oust the Radsiraka government. Despite electoral irregularities, Ravalomanana's party was able to attain victory, aided by wide-scale protests that were similar in character to those that first ousted Ratsiraka in 1993. Ratsiraka was forced into exile, and Madagascar again returned to multi-party government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The pro-democracy movement was successful in overthrowing the government.
Sources: Randrianja, Solofo. "'Be not afraid, Only Believe': Madagascar 2002." *African Affairs* 102 (2003): 309-329.

Moroccan Fez Caids Rebellion against French occupation, 1907-1908
Summary/Description: During the colonial period, the independent country now known as Morocco was a shared colony of Spain and France, and was an important bargaining tool in the European-dominated international system. In the first decade of the 20th century, an indigenous rebellion from the Fez region of northern Morocco gained enough following and strength to begin an attack on the French occupying military. This movement was shortly suppressed, although it was a forerunner to the longer, more destructive Wars of Independence, which took place shortly thereafter.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the French Military.

Sources: Dunn, Ross E. "The Bu Himara Rebellion in Northeast Morocco: Phase I." *Middle Eastern Studies* 17 (1981): 31-48.

Moroccan Wars of Independence against French occupation, 1911-1917
Summary/Description: The Wars of Independence were a number of short-lived native rebellions against the French control of Morocco occurring during the 1910s. Many of them were instigated by local elites who were disenfranchised by the French domination of the political/economic world. To counter this, as well as handle the drain in military and civilian personnel due to the First World War, the French colonial administration began to include native Moroccan civilians in the governmental administration, resulting in a decrease in the number of revolts.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was suppressed by the French Military.
Sources: Burke, Edmund. "A Comparative View of French Native Policy in Morocco and Syria, 1912-1925." *Middle Eastern Studies* 9 (1973): 175-186.

Moroccan Rifian Rebellion against Franco-Spanish occupation, 1921-1926
Summary/Description: The Rifian Rebellion was a Muslim uprising led by Abd al-Karim during the 1920s, which set up a short-lived Republic that fought to liberate Morocco from the joint Spanish-French occupation. The republic gained its legitimacy from a series of Islamic brotherhoods that were culturally opposed to the European occupation, however, the Rifians were unable to defeat the superior Franco-Spanish militaries, and by 1926 had been violently suppressed.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the Franco-Spanish Militaries.
Sources: Darmis, John. "Developments in Morocco under the French Protectorate, 1925-1943." *Middle East Journal* 24 (1970): 74-86.

Moroccan Independence War against French/Spanish occupation, 1953-1956
Summary/Description: Following a period of broken French promises and institutionalized attempts to eliminate the power of the native Moroccan nationalist party, Moroccan/French hostilities reached a climax when the Moroccan Sultan was attacked and forced into exile. What followed was a three year rebellion and insurgency, devolving into the use of terrorist tactics by both sides of the conflict, as well as waves of repression, vigilantism, and wide-spread violence. By 1956, the Moroccan people had forced the French military to withdraw, and a peace treaty was signed that granted Morocco its independence.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was successful in achieving independence.
Sources: Howe, Marvine. "The Birth of the Moroccan Nation." *Middle East Journal* 10 (1956): 1-16.

Moroccan Ifni war against Spanish occupation, 1957-1958
Summary/Description: Following the successful declaration of independence from France by Morocco, the Moroccan Liberation Army attempted to oust the Spanish presence from the Ifni province in the southern region of the formerly joint Franco-

Spanish colony. Although the Moroccan army was initially successful, the Spanish and their French allies rallied and retook the colony from the Moroccans, after which it remained incorporated into Spain until 1969.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion failed to achieve independence.
Sources: Ashford, Douglas E. "Politics and Violence in Morocco." Middle East Journal 13 (1959): 11-25.

Western Saharan Freedom Movement against Moroccan occupation, 1975-1991
Summary/Description: Following the withdrawal of Spain from the area known as Western Sahara in 1975, the Moroccan government sought to claim the region as its own, forcing the Spanish to cede authority during their final withdrawal to the foreign government. Almost immediately, the formerly anti-Spanish guerrilla movement known as the Polisario Front withdrew into Algeria and began to wage a guerilla struggle against the Moroccan occupation. Eventually, however, both sides agreed to cease hostilities and begin a referendum process to electorally decide the status of Western Sahara.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The movement had limited success in achieving independence, as violence has ceased and the Polisario front controls a portion of Western Sahara, but Morocco still occupies other segments of the country.
Sources: Dunbar, Charles. "Saharan Stasis: Status and Future Prospects of the Western Saharan Conflict." *Middle East Journal* 54 (2000): 522-545.

Algerian Revolt/National Liberation Front against French occupation, 1952-1962
Summary/Description: Since the French took control of Algeria in the mid 19th century, the pervading attitude towards Arab-French relations in the colony was that the French must remain in social, economic, and political control at all times. By the mid twentieth century, this policy had engendered a great deal of resentment from the native Algerians, resulting in the formation of the National Liberation Front (FLN) and a large scale insurgency/guerrilla conflict aimed to drive the French out of the country. After a decade long open military conflict, in which thousands of lives were lost, the French withdrew from Algeria, and independence was achieved.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The National Liberation Front successfully ousted the French occupation.
Sources: Gallagher, Nancy. "Learning Lessons from the Algerian War of Independence." *Middle East Report* 225 (2002): 44-49.

Algerian former rebel leaders revolt against Ben Bella regime, 1962-1963
Summary/Description: Immediately following the achievement of independence and the establishment of the Algerian government under Ahmed Ben Balla, the formerly cohesive FLN broke off into numerous splinter groups, many of which attempted to again overthrow the established Algerian government. The most powerful of these groups was the Front of Socialist Forces (FFS), which was a strong contender for eventual seizure of governmental control until its leader was arrested in early 1994 and its organization collapsed. The failure of the FFS, followed by the eventual downfall of

the Ben Balla regime in 1965, caused the former members of the FLN to stop their military actions against the government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The former rebel leaders were suppressed by the Ben Bella regime.
Sources: Heggoy, Alf Andrew. "The FSS, An Algerian Opposition to a One-Party System." African Historical Studies 2 (1969): 121-140.

Algerian Islamic Salvation Front revolt against government, 1992-2006
Summary/Description: Following the achievement of national independence, the remnants of the Algerian FLN formed a nationalistic/populist political regime that created a stable, single party political system that lasted in the country until the late 1980s. During this decade, increased political and social diversity led the Algerian government to institute multi-party reforms, which were designed to more adequately represent the population's desires. However, following a 1991 parlimentary victory for the radical Islamic Salvation Front, the Algerian military annulled the election, leading to an outbreak of civil violence that began in 1992 and has continued to this day.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Islamic Salvation Front failed to oust the government, but continue a low-level insurgency and civil war against the government of Algeria.
Sources: Mortimer, Robert. "Islamists, Soldiers, and Democrats: The Second Algerian War." *Middle East Journal* 50 (1996): 18-39.

Tunisian Independence Movement against French occupation, 1952-1954
Summary/Description: The Tunisian Independence Movement started its campaign to remove French rule over the North African country in the early years of the 20th century, but the height of the struggle occurred only after the second world war, in which increased nationalistic ideologies and a decrease in international French power allowed the Tunisian people to successfully gain independence from the French government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion succeeded in achieving independence.
Sources: Bourguiba, Habib. "The Tunisian Way." Foreign Affairs 44 (1966): 480-488.

Libyan Italo-Libyan War against Italian occupation, 1920-1932
Summary/Description: In 1912, the Italians invaded Libya and took control of it from the decaying Turkish Empire. However, eight years later, Libyan Bedouin guerillas, under the leadership of Umar al Mukhtar, began a decade long guerilla campaign against the Italian occupiers. Eventually, the guerrillas were suppressed by the Italian military, at the cost of a large amount of funds and lives.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the Italian Military.
Sources: Evans-Pritchard, E.E. "Italy and the Bedouin in Cyrenaica." *African Affairs* 45 (1946): 12-21.

Sudanese Anya Nya revolt against government, 1962-1973
Summary/Description: Following the Sudanese independence in 1956, the newly created Sudanese government found itself without a constitution, and the less-advanced

Southern tribes were in danger of political oppression. This risk was quickly realized in the form of a military dictatorship that quickly took power in the country, resulting in repression of political dissidents, especially in the south. As the number of dissidents fleeing to rural areas increased, in 1962 a guerrilla insurgency known as the Anya-nya was created, with the aim of achieving political equality/reforms through the use of force. Eventually, a 1969 coup d'état by the younger members of the military government restructured the government, eventually resulting in limited governmental reforms and a legitimization of southern political views. With this, the decade long insurgency came to a close in the early 1970s.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was successful in gaining government reforms.
Sources: Bell, J. Bowyer. "The Conciliation of Insurgency: The Sudanese Experience." Military Affairs 39 (1975): 105-114.

Sudanese SPLA-Garang faction revolt against government, 1983-2005
Summary/Description: The Sudanese People's Liberation Army, led by Dr. John Garang, began staging an armed guerrilla insurgency in the southern area of Sudan in the early 1980s, attempting to overthrow the northern dominated national government. Largely successful against the Sudanese military, the SPLA began to fall apart in mid-1991, as an ethnic split between the Garang faction and the Nasir faction caused the army to fall apart, and the various insurgencies began fighting each other. In the early 2000s, peace talks between the north and south began, and a power-sharing agreement was signed in 2005, ending this part of the Sudanese conflict and placing both the north and south in control of the legitimate government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as the SPLA began to fracture and fight each other.
Outcome: The revolt had limited success.
Sources: Jok, Madut Jok and Sharon Elaine Hutchinson. "Sudan's Prolonged Second Civil War and the Militarization of Nuer and Dinka Ethnic Identities." African Studies Review 42 (1999): 125-145.

Sudanese protests against Jaafar Nimiery, 1985
Summary/Description: Jaafar Nimiery was the Prime Minister of Sudan from 1969 to 1985. During the 1980s, Nimiery changed his policies towards right-wing Islamic thought, including the execution order of a popular political dissident. In 1985, during a political visit outside of the country, Nimiery's government staged a coup against him, quickly and peacefully overthrowing his regime and installing a new government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters overthrew Jaafar Nimiery.
Sources: Zunes, Stephen. "Unarmed Insurrections against Authoritarian Governments in the Third World: A New Kind of Revolution." *Third World Quarterly* 15 (1994): 403-426.

Sudanese JEM/SLA against Janjaweed militia, 2003-2006
Summary/Description: The Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) are offshoots of the original Sudanese People's Liberation Army that

formed in the early 2000s to combat the Sudanese government supported Janjaweed militia, which has been accused of genocide. The conflict is on-going, and few changes have resulted, in part due to international inability/unwillingness to intercede.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The JEM/SLA failed in their goals.
Sources: De Waal, Alex. "Briefing: Darfur, Sudan: Prospects for Peace." *African Affairs* 104 (2005): 127-135.

Iranian Constitutionalists revolt against Shah regime, 1908-1909
Summary/Description: Around the turn of the twentieth century, the once powerful Iranian state had become weakened and indebted to European powers by a succession of weak Shahs, the traditional monarch of the Iranian state. A series of street riots and open rebellion in Iran's cities prompted the creation of a constitution and parliament in 1905-1906, but by 1908, a new Shah had removed the elected Parliament from power and reneged upon the constitution. This led to open revolt from a variety of sources, and the rise of the traditional split between the cleric-led moderates and socially radical democrats in Iranian politics. The wide-spread social reforms the parliament wishes to put into place were suppressed by foreign intervention by a Russian and English coalition, but the political aim of the revolution, namely the establishment of a Constitution and Parliament that could effectively act independent of the Shah, was established.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Iranian Constitutionalists ousted the Shah's regime through free and fair elections.
Sources: Keddie, Nikki R. "Iranian Revolutions in Comparative Perspective." *The American Historical Review* 88 (1983): 579-598.

Iranian Revolution against Shah Reza Pahlavi, 1977-1978
Summary/Description: Throughout the twentieth century, Iran experienced rapid and profitable modernization, as consumer goods and oil brought a new level of wealth and technology to the middle-eastern country. However, the Monarchy, under the Shah, still held a significant degree of power and control over the economic and political dealings of the country. A gradual coalescing of opposition created a revolutionary conglomerate that included democrats, leftists, and the religious right, which was led by the then-symbolic leader of the revolution, the Ayatollah Khomeini. Eventually, after two years of unrest, the Shah fled and the revolutionaries took control of Tehran and the central government in early 1979.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as the revolutionary movement eventually began to disagree and the Ayatollah and his supporters took control of the entire movement.
Outcome: The revolution successfully overthrew Shah Reza Pahlavi.
Sources: Keddie, Nikki R. "Iranian Revolutions in Comparative Perspective." *The American Historical Review* 88 (1983): 579-598.

Iranian KDPI revolt against government regime, 1979-1996
Summary/Description: The Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran (KDPI), was formed

following the second World War in order to establish an independent or semi-independent state for the Kurdish inhabitants of Iran, a similar desire of Kurds throughout the Middle East. Following the Iranian revolution of 1978-1979, the KDPI attempted to achieve this goal, but were stymied through political opposition in the Iranian parliament. Elements of the KDPI, attempted to establish Kurdistan by force, took control of several border regions in Northern Iran. However, the KDPI were never able to solidify their control, and by the mid to late 1980s, the Iranian military had retaken control over most of the Kurdish areas. Following a subsequent series of assassinations and deaths in the early 1990s, the KDPI renounced violence and rejoined the political process.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt failed to achieve its goals.
Sources: van Bruinessesn, Martin. "The Kurds between Iran and Iraq." *MERIP Middle East Report* 141 (1986): 14-27.

Iranian Mujahidin revolt against Khomeini regime, 1981-1982
Summary/Description: The Mujahidin were a leftist guerrilla and militant group that broke off from the democratic/leftist segments of the Iranian revolution following the rise in power of the Islamic Right under Ayatollah Khomeini. This group, which advocated the political ideology of Maoist China, began an insurgency against the Islamist government in the early 1980s. However, the insurgency took place during the heightened military activity associated with the Iran-Iraq war, and the Mujahidin revolt quickly was suppressed by the government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The Mujahidin were suppressed by the government.
Sources: Alaolmolki, Nozar. "The New Iranian Left." *Middle East Journal* 41 (1987): 218-233.

Macedonian IMRO Rebels revolt against Ottoman rule, 1903
Summary/Description: The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, or IMRO, was founded in the late 19th century as a nationalist device for gaining Macedonian independence from the Ottoman empire. In 1903, the IMRO began a general revolution and insurgency against the Ottoman occupation, successfully seizing various locations before being violently suppressed by the off-guard, but still formidable Turkish military.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebels were suppressed by the Ottoman military.
Sources: Todoroff, Kosta. "The Macedonian Organization Yesterday and Today." *Foreign Affairs* 6 (1928): 473-482.

Turkish Arab revolt against Ottoman rule, 1916-1918
Summary/Description: During the height of the First World War, the Arab minority of the Turk-controlled Ottoman empire erupted in a nationalistic revolt that wrested control over Arabia and other parts of the Middle East from the disintegrating Ottoman state. Led by Arabian tribal leaders, and supported logistically by the British, the Arab revolt successfully attacked the Turkish forces in the area, eventually taking control over

Damascus, one of the Southern Ottoman empire's most critical cities. Following the war, the revolt led to the emancipation of the Arab-dominated regions of the empire from Turkish control, and eventually Arabia achieved sovereignty.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt had limited success due to the control of Damascus.
Sources: Karsh, Effraim and Inari Karsh. "Myth in the Desert, or Not the Great Arab Revolt." *Middle Eastern Studies* 33 (1997): 267-312.

Turkish KTC rebellion for Kurdish secession, 1920-1922
Summary/Description: Following the collapse of the Ottoman empire, and the rise of the nationalistic Turkish Republic under Mustafa Ataturk, the Kurdish ethnic minority found itself under new pressure to conform to Ataturk's new nationalistic requirements, such as speaking the Turkish language and following Turkish ethnic traditions. In the early 1920s, the Kurds attempted to rebel against these policies and form a separate state, but were crushed by the Turkish military and many Kurdish settlements were destroyed. The conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish central government has continued to this day.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was a failure.
Sources: Menon, Meena. "Kurds in Turkey: Fighting for Survival." *Economic and Political Weekly* 30 (1995): 668-669.

Turkish Sheikh Said insurgency against Kemal regime, 1924-1927
Summary/Description: Following the first failed revolt by the Kurds against the Turkish government, an insurgency grew in the eastern areas of the country from the remnants of the KTC. Led by the Kurdish Sheikh Said, the insurgency attempted to topple the Turkish-led government of Kemal, but was defeated by the Turkish military before the end of the 1920s.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The insurgency was a failure.
Sources: Kemal, Ahmet. "Military Rule and the Future of Democracy in Turkey." *MERIP Reports* 122 (1984): 12-15.

Turkish Kurdish rebellion against Turkish government, 1991-1993
Summary/Description: During the latter half of the twentieth century, the Kurdish population steadily became a larger portion of Turkey's demographic, and additionally increased their desires for increased rights within the Turkish state and potentially self-governance or independence from Turkey. The response from the central government was an increased restriction of the Kurdish population, including a 1983 ban on the use of the Kurdish language and repression against openly nationalistic Kurds. In 1991, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) began a series of public demonstrations, protests, and in some cases violent resistance against the centralized Turkish government. Although initial rights were granted, such as the lifting of the Kurdish language ban, the increasing violence led the Turkish government to violently suppress the burgeoning revolt, leading to a period of political repression and eventually the cessation of open Kurdish protest.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.

Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the Turkish government.
Sources: Robins, Philip. "The Overlord State: Turkish Policy and the Kurdish Issue." *International Affairs* 69 (1993): 657-676.

Iraqi rebels against British occupation, 1920
Summary/Description: Following the First World War and the subsequent collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the non-Turkish segments of the former Empire were distributed to the various victorious Allied Powers as Protectorates and Mandates. Among the areas given to the English to govern was modern-day Iraq, which was at the time known as Mesopotamia. Shortly after the English take-over, the various tribal groups of Iraq rose up in a large-scale revolt against the British occupation. This revolt, although unsuccessful in driving the foreign occupation from the country, initiated the establishment of a royalist system of self governance, known as the Kingdom of Iraq, and was successful in achieving limited social reforms from the British government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebels were successful in gaining the removal of direct rule and other reforms.
Sources: Vinogradov, Amal. "The 1920 Revolt in Iraq Reconsidered: The Role of Tribes in National Politics." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3 (1972): 123-139.

Iraqi Shammar Tribe and pro-Western officers against Qassim regime, 1959
Summary/Description: Following the end of the Second World War, the British further withdrew their control of Iraqi politics, resulting in a gradual institution of a semi-democratic form of government. However, increased instability resulted in a military coup d'état in 1958 that toppled the monarchy and the parliament and established a dictatorship under Brigadier General Abdul Qassim. Qassim radically altered foreign policy, entering into closer relations with the Soviet Union and distancing Iraq from the Western democracies. In 1959, a group of pro-Western military officers attempted to overthrow Qassim and return Iraq to its previous relationship with the West, but they were unsuccessful in their goal and the movement was suppressed.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as military officers under Qassim attempted to carry out a second coup d'état and gain control of the government.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the Qassim regime.
Sources: Grassmuck, George. "The Electoral Process in Iraq, 1952-1958." *Middle East Journal* 14 (1960): 397-415.

Iraqi Kurdish rebellion against Iraqi government, 1961-1975
Summary/Description: Like other enclaves of the Kurdish ethnic group, the Iraqi Kurds have had a long history of repeated attempts at achieving self-rule or independence from the larger government. In the early 1960s, a long Kurdish revolt against the Iraqi government was conducted, with Kurdish leaders demanding increased autonomy and access to revenue generated from Iraq's rich oil fields. After a long and costly struggle, the Iraqi government eventually agreed to some of the Kurdish demands, although these reforms were only temporary in nature.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as the Kurds and the Central government compromised and agreed to reforms.

Outcome: The rebellion had limited success in gaining reforms.
Sources: Rosh, Robert M. "Ethnic Cleavage as a Component of Global Military Expenditures." *Journal of Peace Research* 24 (1987): 21-30.

Iraqi Kurdish rebellion for Secession, 1985-1993
Summary/Description: In 1979, Saddam Hussein became the president of Iraq, immediately creating a more dictatorial system, with him and his party, the Baath, in total control over the political system. This policy of total political control resulted in conflict between the Baath and the Kurdish ethnic group in northern Iraq, a group which has repeatedly attempted to become more involved in the political process or gain complete political autonomy. During the Iran-Iraq War, the Kurdish people of Iraq began a more active rebellion against the repressive Baath government, utilizing the chaos of the war to secure control over a large portion of the northern region of Iraq and establish their own parliamentary system in 1991. Despite these successes, the Iraqi government, following the end of the Iran-Iraq war and the Persian Gulf War against a United States-led coalition, violently suppressed the Kurdish resistance, resulting in massacres and other large-scale violent actions against the ethnic group.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the Iraqi government.
Sources: Fuller, Graham. "The Fate of the Kurds." *Foreign Affairs* 72 (1993): 108-121.

Iraqi Shiite rebellion against Hussein regime, 1991
Summary/Description: Following the defeat of Iraq in the Gulf War, and the resultant economic sanctions emplaced on the country by the Global community, discontent with the repressive government of Saddam Hussein and the Baath party erupted in a popular insurgency in the Southern areas of Iraq in early 1991. Primarily composed of Shiites, a religious/ethnic group of Muslims who are traditionally opposed by Hussein's own group, the Sunni, the rebellion was bloodily suppressed, with the Iraqi military committing a pattern of war crimes that decimated the Southern Iraqi countryside.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was a failure.
Sources: Francke, Rend Rahim. "The Iraqi Opposition and the Sanctions Debate." *Middle East Report* 193 (1995): 14-17.

Iraqi KDP Kurds against Iraqi government, 1996
Summary/Description: The Democratic Party of Kurdistan (KDP), originally founded in 1946, became one of the two main parties of the Kurdish coalition during the Post Gulf War Kurdish resistance, which saw the rise of an unofficial, yet still powerful, Kurdish government that operated independently of Hussein's regime. Despite aiding the KDP against a rival Kurdish group during the early 1990s, the Hussein regime staged an attack against the KDP in mid 1996 that for a brief period of time disrupted the operations of the organization.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The KDP were suppressed by the Iraqi Government, although the United States evacuated many of their members.
Sources: Gunter, Michael M. "The KDP-PUK Conflict in Northern Iraq." *Middle East*

Journal 50 (1996): 224-241.

Iraqi insurgency against Iraqi government, 2003-2006
Summary/Description: Following the invasion of Iraq by a United States led coalition, a transitory government was put into place, intended to create a stable democratic government that would survive after the U.S.-led occupation ended. Almost immediately, however, the government and coalition forces came under attack by a wide number of different groups, united only in their desire to remove the standing government. These insurgents have been the major obstacle in the Iraqi government's transition to a stable state, and a large number of resources have been allocated to suppressing various militias and terrorist organizations. However, Iraq is still not fully pacified, and a wide range of insurgent forces remain active.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The insurgency has remained suppressed by the Iraqi government.
Sources: Dobbins, James. "Iraq: Winning the Unwinnable War." *Foreign Affairs* 84 (2005): 16-25.

Egyptian Kifaya protests against Mubarak regime, 2004
Summary/Description: Beginning in 2000, various opposition groups in Egypt united against the semi-authoritarian regime of President Hosni Mubarak. Composed of left-leaning groups such as socialists and Nasserites, as well as including some elements of rightist groups like the Muslim Brotherhood, the Kifaya (or Egyptian Movement for Change) have held numerous demonstrations attempting to increase democratization in Egypt and decrease the power of the Mubarak regime. These protests have been generally successful, resulting in social and political reforms.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protest was successful in gaining reforms.
Sources: Stacher, Joshua. "Rhetorical Acrobatics and Reputations: Egypt's National Council for Human Rights." *Middle East Report* 235 (2005): 2-7.

Syrian Franco-Syrian War against French occupation, 1920
Summary/Description: Following the break-up of the Ottoman Empire following the First World War, the area now known as Syria was given to the French as a protectorate. As French troops moved in to occupy the country, they encountered significant resistance from indigenous organizations who were opposed to the French dominance of the country. Eventually, French negotiations with the Syrian King Faisal broke down, and France took control of the country by force, exiling Faisal to England, where he eventually was placed in power as King of Iraq. The country was placed under a French mandate, which it remained under until the Second World War, in which it again gained independence.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the French military.
Sources: Tanenbaum, Jan Karl. "France and the Arab Middle East, 1914-1920." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 68 (1978): 1-50.

Syrian Muslim Brotherhood revolt against government regime, 1980-1982

Summary/Description: The Muslim Brotherhood is a Jihadist movement started in Egypt that has spread throughout the Islamic world, dramatically affecting reactionary Islamic politics of the past half century. In Syria, the predominately Sunni Muslim Brotherhood attempted to revolt against the Alawi-dominated Syrian government during the late 1970s and early 1980s, with the goal of removing the government and establishing a more traditional Islamic regime. Following a campaign of bombing and guerrilla activities, a general insurrection erupted in Syria in early 1982, which prompted a military reprisal and suppression. The resultant massacres, arrests, and executions killed thousands of Sunnis, and effectively eliminated the Muslim Brotherhood as a threat to the Syrian government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt failed to overthrow the government regime.
Sources: Batatu, Hanna. "Syria's Muslim Brethren." *MERIP Reports* 110 (1982): 12-20.

Lebanese Druze Revolt against French occupation, 1925-1927
Summary/Description: The collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War brought about a power vacuum in the Middle East, which was filled by the French and British Empires, both of which claimed portions of the region as mandates or protectorates. The French Mandates of Syria and Lebanon were resistant to French control, and in 1925, a general revolt initially instigated by the Druze ethnic minority of Lebanon spread throughout both Lebanon and Syria. The French suffered early failures against the Druze, which damaged French morale and legitimized/encouraged further uprisings from the other ethnic groups that inhabited Syria and Lebanon. The rebels eventually grew strong enough to capture the principal city of Damascus, which prompted a mass bombing by the French military which destroyed much of the city and scattered/destroyed the insurgents.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was suppressed by the French military.
Sources: Miller, Joyce. "The Syrian Revolt of 1925." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 8 (1977): 545-563.

Lebanese leftists protest against Chamoun regime, 1958
Summary/Description: Since its independence in 1943, Lebanon had found itself with significant conflict between its various political and ethnic groups, conflict which first erupted in mid 1958, in the form of a so-called "crisis" in the form of mass protest against the government of Camille Chamoun. An armed rebellion of Muslims, angered by the perceived favoritism the Chamoun regime gave the Christian minority and its lack of cooperation with Egypt, quickly became the central threat to the government, which appealed to the United states for military aid. Fearful of losing an ally in the region, the United States quickly intervened with military and diplomatic assistance, suppressing the disruption and transitioning the Chamoun regime to a more moderate government under Faud Chehab.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters were suppressed by the Chamoun regime.
Sources: Salibi, Kamal. "Lebanon under Faud Chehab, 1958-1964." *Middle Eastern*

Studies 2 (1966): 211-226.

Lebanese leftists protest against government, 1975
Summary/Description: Lebanon's ethnic and political problems were not alleviated following the 1958 crisis, and these same issues erupted into a civil war in 1975. Leftist political groups, which were loosely allied with the heavily armed Palestinian Liberation Organization that led the thousands of Palestinian refugees in the south, sought to remove the right-wing, predominately Christian government. Eventually, the Lebanese government again sought foreign intervention, this time in the form of Syrian military assistance. Although this involvement prevented the government from losing control of the country, and successfully suppressed the protesters, conflict eventually continued, resulting in a decade long sectarian conflict/civil war.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters were suppressed by the government.
Sources: Reilly, James. "Israel in Lebanon, 1975-1982." *MERIP Reports* 108 (1982): 14-20.

Lebanese Hezbollah against Israeli occupation of Southern Lebanon, 1982-2000
Summary/Description: In 1978, during the Lebanese Civil War, the Israeli military invaded and occupied the southern areas of Lebanon. This move was to prevent Southern Lebanon from being used as a staging area for terrorist/guerrilla attacks by the Palestinian Liberation Organization, which gained support and refuge in the Palestinian refugee camps in the region. In the early 1980s, a radical Islamic organization known as Hezbollah was formed, with the initial purpose of forcing Israel to leave Southern Lebanon through the use of terrorist attacks. Eventually, after a decade long struggle, and political pressures from the international community, Israel withdrew from the areas in Lebanon it had occupied.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: Hezbollah was successful in removing Israeli occupation.
Sources: Hof, Frederic. "A Practical Line: The Line of Withdrawal from Lebanon and Its Potential Applicability to the Golan Heights." *Middle East Journal* 55 (2001): 25-42.

Lebanese Cedar Revolution against Syrian forces, 2005
Summary/Description: Following the assassination of a former Lebanese Prime Minister in February 2005, a wave of mass protest (known colloquially at the time as the "Independence Intifada) swept through Lebanon. Its goal was to pressure the Syrian military to withdraw its occupation of Lebanon, which had been ongoing since 1976, as well as replaced the Syrian-friendly national government with a less influenced one. Following several months of peaceful protests, the Syrian military withdrew in April of 2005, and a new government was elected.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolution was successful in overthrowing Syrian occupation.
Sources: Salti, Rasha. "Beirut Diary: April 2005" *Middle East Report* 236 (2005): 22-27.

Jordanian Palestinian activists revolt against Jordanian rule, 1970

Summary/Description: Following the 1967 Six Day War, a large number of Palestinian refugees fled into Jordan following the Israeli takeover of the West Bank and Jerusalem. During this period, the militants of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, often known as Fedayeen, took control over the refugee camps, and began to occupy more and more territory and power in Jordan. The militants were opposed to the increased attempts to negotiate peace by the Jordanian government, and in September of 1970 attempted to seize control of the country. The Jordanian army rallied, and after a bloody month of conflict, successfully defeated the Palestinian militants and drove them from the country, severely diminishing the Palestinian potential for military action.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was suppressed by the Jordanian government.
Sources: Frisch, Hillel. "Jordan and the Palestinian Authority: Did Better Fences Make Better Neighbors?" Middle East Journal 58 (2004): 52-71.

Palestinian Jewish resistance against British occupation, 1945-1948
Summary/Description: Following the end of the Second World War and the international realization of the Nazi's systematic genocide of the Jewish people in the Holocaust, the British promise of establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine was strongly considered as a method of resettling the hundreds of thousands of displaced European Jewish survivors. Large numbers of Jewish refugees came to Palestine in the period that followed, demanding the withdrawal of the British colonial mandate and the establishment of a Jewish state. This was eventually achieved in 1948, and the modern state of Israel was established in the wake of the British colonial government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was successful in ousting the British occupation.
Sources: Falah, Ghazi. "The 1948 Israeli-Palestinian War and Its Aftermath: the Transformation and De-Signification of Palestine's Cultural Landscape." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86 (1996): 256-285.

Palestinian Liberation revolt against Israeli occupation, 1973-2006
Summary/Description: Following the establishment of the Jewish-dominated Israeli state and the Israeli military victory over most of its Muslim neighbors in a number of wars during the 1960s and early 1970s, the Israeli government began to expand its borders beyond its initial size, taking control of the surrounding areas dominated by the Palestinian ethnic group. The Palestinians found themselves not only no longer in political control of their territory, but also increasingly unwelcome in the now Jewish-dominated state. Beginning in the early 1970s, the Palestinian people instituted a large number of resistance and insurgency groups with the intent to regain control over their homeland. In the past three decades, the Palestinians have struggled consistently to remove the Israeli occupation, but have been largely unsuccessful, gaining only limited concessions and autonomy from the Israeli state.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was suppressed by the Israeli military.
Sources: Jaeger, David A. and Daniele Paserman. "Israel, the Palestinian Factions, and the Cycle of Violence." The American Economic Review 96 (2006): 45-49.

Palestinian Intifada against Israeli occupation, 1987-1990
Summary/Description: During the 1980s, the Palestinian resistance launched a mass protest/revolt against the Israeli occupation of the various territories that were originally Palestinian yet had come under control of Israel during the 1967 Six Day War. The various organizations of the Palestinian Resistance, including the Palestinian Liberation Organization as well as newly formed groups such as Hamas, conducted both protests as well as violent terrorist attacks against both the Israeli Military and the Israeli civilian population. Although the Palestinians were unsuccessful in ousting the British occupation, they were successful in achieving reforms in the occupied territories, leading to the establishment of the Palestinian Authority, a non-Israeli governing body.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was successful in achieving reforms.
Sources: Arian, Asher, Michal Shamir and Raphael Ventura. "Public Opinion and Political Change: Israel and the Intifada." *Comparative Politics* 24 (1992): 317-334.

Palestinian Arab Revolt against Pro-Jewish British policies, 1936-1939
Summary/Description: Following the British takeover of Palestine following the First World War, the British government promised both the indigenous Palestinian people and the Jewish religious/ethnic group a homeland in the area now split between Palestine and Israel. Following this, Jewish colonists began to flock to the area, infringing upon the territory and power of the indigenous Palestinians. Beginning in 1936, a minor revolt of Palestinian Arabs began in the region, which resulted in the British decreasing the amount of space allotted to the Jewish colonists and increasing Arab participation in government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was successful in achieving reforms.
Sources: Hirszowicz, Lukasz. "Nazi Germany and the Palestine Partition Plan." *Middle Eastern Studies* 1 (1964): 40-65.

Israeli Druze resistance against Israeli occupation of Golan, 1981-1982
Summary/Description: The Druze religious/ethnic group is a culture with long-established ties to Islam who primarily inhabit mountainous regions of modern-day Lebanon, Syria, and Israel. Due to their minority status, the Druze have developed a policy of ideological pragmatism, coupled with renowned military prowess and strong desire to protect their territorial holdings. Following the establishment of the nation of Israel, the predominately Jewish Israeli government signed agreements with the Druze population of Israel, respecting their territorial demands in exchange for Druze military service. However, a rift developed in the 1980s due to Israeli policies in the Golan Heights, an area formerly part of Syria which had been occupied by Israel since the 1967 Six Day War. Following Israeli attempts to integrate the remaining Druze population of the Golan into Israeli life, with the potential to permanently annex the Golan region into Israel following this integration, the Druze set about organizing and carrying out a non-violent civil resistance movement. This included strikes and protests throughout Druze-populated Israel, and severely affected the economic state of the country. This movement was ultimately successful, and although Israel did not withdraw its occupation of the Golan Heights, it did halt its attempts to integrate the

inhabitants of the Golan into Israel's political structure.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt had limited success against the Israeli occupation.
Sources: Kennedy, R. Scott. "The Druze of the Golan: A Case of Non-Violent Resistance." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 13 (1984): 48-64.

Saudi Arabian Ikhwan rebellion against Ibn Saud regime, 1929-1930
Summary/Description: During the early 20th century, the Arab ruler Ibn Saud launched a number of military struggles with the intention of unifying the Arabian peninsula into a single state under his rule. Among his military forces were the Ikhwan, a Islamic religious militia. Despite Ibn Saud's control over the militia, following the establishment of the Saudi state, the Ikhwan attempted to overthrow Ibn Saud's government and establish a more rigorously Islamic regime. Ibn Saud suppressed the Ikhwan, eliminating them as an independent and significant organization in Saudi Arabian politics/society.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the Ibn Saud regime.
Sources: Kostiner, Joseph. "On Instruments and Their Designers: The Ikhwan of Najd and the Emergence of the Saudi State." *Middle Eastern Studies* 21 (1985): 298-323.

Yemeni Yahya Family revolt against countercoup, 1948
Summary/Description: During much of the early 20th century, the Yahya family controlled most of the northern area of the modern Yemeni state, despite continued British colonial presence to the south. In 1948, a coup attempt briefly took control of the Yemeni state, and the current head of the Yahya Family, Imam Yahya, was assassinated. However, his soon, Ahmad, regained control of the country, suppressed the coup, and ruled northern Yemen until his death in 1962.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was successful in ousting the counter coup.
Sources: Guldescu, Stanko. "Yemen: The War and the Haradh Conference." The Review of Politics." 28 (1966): 319-331.

Yemeni insurgency against British and Aden administration, 1955-1957
Summary/Description: The British invaded the coast of Saudi Arabia in the early 19th century, capturing the port of Aden for the express purpose of establishing a supply line between Britain and prosperous Indian and South East Asian colonies. In 1955, a brief insurgency was launched against the colonial government, seeking to gain independence for the Southern Yemeni region. This insurgency was quickly suppressed, although the British withdrew from Aden ten years later.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The insurgency was suppressed by the British and Aden governments.
Sources: Chang, King-Yuh. "The United Nations and Decolonization: The Case of Southern Yemen." *International Organization* 26 (1972): 37-61.

Yemeni royalists against al-Sallal regime, 1962-1969
Summary/Description: In 1962, the Northern Yemen royal system was overthrown by a

republican revolutionary group, which installed a non-royalist government under President Abdullah al-Sallal after deposing King Muhammad al-Badr. Despite the republican control over the government, the Yemeni royalists refused to surrender, sparking a seven year civil war between the two sides. Despite a military intervention by the Egyptian government in support of the royalists, the two sides were stalemated, and in 1967 reached a peaceful reconciliation that granted the royalists limited reforms to the republican government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was successful in gaining reforms.
Sources: Burrowes, Robert D. "Prelude to Unification: The Yemen Arab Republic, 1962-1990." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23 (1991); 483-506.

Yemeni FLOSY, NLF revolt against UK occupation, 1963-1967
Summary/Description: The United Kingdom had controlled parts of modern-day Yemen since the early 19th century, gradually gaining control over the southern portion of the state and having influence over the remaining portions of Southern Arabia. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, a National Liberation Front (NLF) was formed in Yemen, with the specific purpose of violently ousting the British Occupation. Starting in 1963, the NLF launched numerous guerrilla attacks and terrorist bombings against the British occupation, eventually being joined by and competing against the leftist Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (FLOSY). These guerrilla attacks eventually grew so damaging that the British withdrew in 1967, a year earlier than a previously planned military evacuation. The remaining Yemeni army joined the NFL in eliminating the FLOSY and establishing an independent state.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was successful in ousting British occupation.
Sources: Chang, King-Yuh. "The United Nations and Decolonization: The Case of Southern Yemen." *International Organization* 26 (1972): 37-61.

Yemeni leftists revolt against Ali Nasir regime, 1986
Summary/Description: Following the removal of the British occupation of southern Yemen, the country became a socialist state closely allied with the other members of the Communist community, which assisted Southern Yemen in developing a powerful military. In 1980, the president of Yemen, Abdul Ismail, resigned, and Ali Nasir Muhammad took power and instituted a less aggressive foreign policy. However, Ismail returned in 1986 and began a violent power struggle against Ali Nasir, which ended with Ali Nasir being removed from the Presidency, yet escaping with large numbers of troops and funds and establishing refugee camps in neighboring North Yemen.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt had limited success in ousting the Ali Nasir regime.
Sources: Gause, F Gregory. "Yemeni Unity: Past and Future." *Middle East Journal* 42 (1988): 33-47.

Oman Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman revolt against government, 1964-1976
Summary/Description: In the wake of the Southern Yemeni revolt against the British, and the resultant transformation of Southern Yemen into a Communist state with a

strong interest in encouraging revolution throughout the Arab world, the Oman Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, a Marxist group that had been struggling to overthrow the Sultan-led government of the country, gained significant power and the ability to wage an insurgency, centered in the Dhofar province, against the government. Eventually, the guerrillas and insurgents were beaten back and defeated, but civil reforms quickly followed, putting into place many of the demands of the insurgents.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt had success in gaining reforms.
Sources: MERIP Reports. "The Struggle for the Liberation of Oman." *Middle East Research and Information Project* 36 (1975): 10-16.

Afghan Third Anglo-Afghan War against British occupation, 1919
Summary/Description: During the 19th century, the British repeatedly invaded Afghanistan, increasing their overall influence over the area until Afghanistan was a British colony. However, the scattered tribal nature of the Afghani people prevented the British from attaining full control over the region, and in the midst of the First World War, an independence movement arose that removed the British from colonial power in 1919. Although the British Empire still had influence over the region, the Afghani government was predominately independent.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was successful in gaining independence from Britain.
Sources: Nawid, Senzil. "The State, the Clergy, and British Imperial Policy in Afghanistan during the 19th and Early 20th Centuries." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997): 581-605.

Afghan Anti-Reformist movement against Amanullah Khan regime, 1924-1929
Summary/Description: Following the successful independence movement against the British, the Afghani tribes selected Amanullah Khan, the son of the previous Amir, as the Amir, or ruler, of the Afghani state. However, during the decade of his reign, his attempts to modernize the country were met with increasing resistance by the Afghani people, and he was eventually overthrown by a popular uprising. Amanullah Kahn was forced to flee to neighboring India, and an anti-western, traditionalist government was put into place.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as the military sided with the protesters, not the government.
Outcome: The revolt was suppressed by the Amanullah Khan regime.
Sources: Castagne, Joseph. "Soviet Imperialism in Afghanistan." *Foreign Affairs* 13 (1935): 698-703.

Afghan PDPA protest against government, 1978-1979
Summary/Description: In the late 1960s and early 1970s, a wave of dissatisfaction arose against the royal family, due to the inability of the royal government to deal with Afghanistan's failing economy and natural disasters. Eventually, a military coup under Muhammad Sardar Daoud Khan seized power, establishing a dictatorship. This government also failed to prevent economic collapse, and in 1978, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan instigated a mass uprising against the Daoud regime,

ousting the government and establishing a democratic republic.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters were successful in ousting the government.
Sources: Kakar, Hasan. "The Fall of the Afghan Monarchy in 1973." International Journal of Middle East Studies 9 (1978): 195-214.; Goldman, Minton. "Soviet Military Intervention in Afghanistan: Roots & Causes." *Polity* 16 (1984): 384-403.

Afghan resistance to Soviet occupation, 1979-1988
Summary/Description: The Soviet Union has long had an interest in controlling or occupying Afghanistan, believing that it offered significant strategic advantages. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Soviets began to intervene militarily into Afghani affairs, eventually deploying a large military force with the task of securing control of the country. However, large numbers of Afghani partisans, aided by other Muslims as well as the Capitalist government of the United States, were able to stage a long running insurgency that prevented the Soviet military from successfully pacifying the country. After a nine-year long struggle, the tide eventually turned against the better-equipped Soviet military, coupled with significant economic and social tumult in the Soviet Union itself, and the Soviet military completely withdrew from the country.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The resistance was successful in ousting the Soviet occupation.
Sources: Reuveny, Rafael and Aseem Prakash. "The Afghanistan War and the Breakdown of the Soviet Union." Review of International Studies 25 (1999): 693-708.

Afghan Taliban revolt against government regime, 1992-1996
Summary/Description: Following the end of the Soviet Invasion, the Afghani people were left with a devastated country and a depleted economy/population, with little to no help from the international community. Relatively quickly, the trained and armed mujahedeen, the Afghan fighters who fought off the Soviets, overthrew the weak central government in Kabul and began fighting with each other in a bloody civil war. Eventually, one of these violent militias composed of Islamic students and practicing a reactionary form of the Islamic faith and legal tradition, began to take control over increasingly large areas of the country. Calling themselves the Taliban, they had significant backing from various Muslim states, as well as the support of other radical Islamic organizations such as Al Qaeda, and were able to defeat many of the less organized militias. In 1996, with the capture of Kabul, the Taliban set themselves up as the government of Afghanistan, creating an Islamic government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was successful in ousting the government regime.
Sources: Rashid, Ahmed. "The Taliban: Exporting Extremism." *Foreign Affairs* 78 (1999); 22-35.

Afghan Taliban revolt against government, 2001-2006
Summary/Description: Following the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, a U.S. led coalition invaded and overthrew the Taliban controlled Afghani government, an action instigated by the Taliban's harboring of the terrorist organization

Al Qaeda, the group responsible for the attacks. The Taliban were ousted from power in a relatively short amount of time, and a democratic regime was established with considerable oversight by the U.S. and allied nations. However, the Taliban as an organization did not cease to exist, but rather fled and regrouped, increasing their numbers in part due to the Islamic world's increasing hostility towards America and the western world in general. The Taliban have since their defeat waged a lengthy insurgency against the Afghani government and foreign troops yet have been unsuccessful in overthrowing the government or removing the occupation. Likewise, the government has been unsuccessful in completely eliminating the Taliban as an organization.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt has been suppressed by the government.
Sources: Goodson, Larry. "Afghanistan in 2003: The Taliban Resurface and a New Constitution is Born." *Asian Survey* 44 (2004): 14-22.

Tajikistani Popular Democratic Army revolt against Rakhmanov regime, 1992-1997
Summary/Description: During the 1980s, the Soviet Republic of Tajikistan was one of the most resistant to central Russian efforts to reform the Soviet political system. As a result, the Tajikistani state that emerged following the Soviet Union's collapse was highly authoritarian and repressive. This almost immediately resulted in civil war following Tajikstan's independence in 1992, with the guerrilla forces of the Secular Popular Democratic Army attempting to overthrow the Russian-backed authoritarian/Islamist government of Imomali Rakhmonov. Eventually, the two sides signed a peace agreement that resulted in limited participation of the opposition in the government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt had limited success in ousting the Rakhmanov regime.
Sources: Horowitz, Shale. "War after Communism: Effects on Political and Economic Reform in the Former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia." *Journal of Peace Research* 40 (2003): 25-48.

Kyrgyzstani Democratic Movement against Communist regime, 1989
Summary/Description: The former Soviet Socialist Republic of Kyrgyzstan took part in the same general liberalization of political and economic freedoms that took place throughout the Soviet Union in the 1980s. As a result, when the Communist system began to collapse in 1989, Kyrgyzstani opposition to the Communist system staged a mass uprising against the government, which successfully ended the communist regime and introduced a more democratic system into the country.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt had success in overthrowing the Communist regime.
Sources: Howell, Jude. "Coping with Transition: Insights from Kyrgyzstan." *Third World Quarterly* 17 (1996): 53-68.

Kyrgyzstani Tulip Revolution against Akayev regime, 2005
Summary/Description: The Tulip Revolution was a wave of non-violent mass protest that toppled the corrupt government of Askar Akayev and installed a more progressive

Kyrgyzstani government. Starting after reports of rigged parliamentary elections in February and March 2005, the anti-Akayev protesters occupied numerous government buildings, and previously disconnected opposition groups became increasingly organized. By late March, the level of protest prompted Akayev to resign his presidency, resulting in a new series of elections and a change in government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as police and military forces reportedly cooperated with/joined the protesters.
Outcome: The revolution was successful in overthrowing the Akayev regime.
Sources: Grodsky, Brian. "Looking for Solidarnosc in Central Asia: The Role of Human Rights Organizations in Political Change." *Slavic Review* 66 (2007): 442-462.

Chinese Republicans revolt against Imperial regime and military dictatorship, 1911-1913
Summary/Description: In 1911, the declining Qing Imperial dynasty faced a pro-democratic popular uprising that was initiated by Sun Yat-sen, who would later become the first President of Republican China. Although the revolutionaries successfully forced the Qing dynasty to abdicate, they were unable to remove the Qing government, and their successes were eventually removed when Yuan Shikai, a former Qing politician, established a repressive dictatorship.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as parts of the Qing dynasty sided with the Republicans.
Outcome: The revolt had limited success against by the Imperial regime.
Sources: Pritchard, Earl. "Political Ferment in China, 1911-1951." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 277 (1951): 1-12.

Tibetan First War of Independence against Chinese occupation, 1912-1913
Summary/Description: Tibet and China have had contact with each other for centuries, being in close proximity to each other and each containing a complex society and culture. Although the larger and more powerful China had long had influence over the smaller Tibet, it was not until 1905 that China invaded and took control over the country. In 1912, coincident with the larger Republican revolution in China, which overthrew the Qing dynasty and destabilized Chinese politics, the Tibetan people took the opportunity to revolt, successfully removing Chinese authority from the country. However, the international community still believed that China had dominance over Tibet, resulting in limited control over the Tibetan people by the central Chinese government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion had success in gaining reforms.
Sources: Patterson, George. "China and Tibet: Background to the Revolt." *The China Quarterly* 1 (1960): 87-103.

Chinese Yunnan rebellion against Chinese occupation, 1917-1918
Summary/Description:
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion had limited success in temporarily halting the Chinese

occupation.
Sources:

Chinese May the Fourth Movement revolts against Japanese occupation, 1919
Summary/Description: The May Fourth Movement was an anti-imperialist movement that grew out of Beijing student protests. The movement spawned as a result of increased Japanese influence in the region, along with fears of China's growing obsolescence on the international scale. The movement helped spark a broader shift towards nationalism, and resulted in a number of significant reforms to the works of Chinese society and politics.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was successful in achieving reforms.
Sources: Hung Yok Ip, Tze-Ki Hon, and Chiu-Chun Lee. "Review: The Plurality of Chinese Modernity: A Review of Recent Scholarship on the May Fourth Movement." Modern China 29 (2003): 490-509.

Chinese Communist movement revolts against Kuomintang regime, 1922-1949
Summary/Description: In 1922, Communist revolutionaries began a decade's long revolt against the nationalist republican government of China. Initially, the Communists were unable to overcome the superiorly-equipped nationalist forces, and were forced to flee to the more isolated western regions of China. However, following the invasion of China by the Japanese, the Communist's nationalist opposition found themselves severely weakened, while the Communists grew in strength and power. Following the defeat of the Japanese, the Nationalists were unprepared for the resumption of the civil war, and were eventually defeated by the Communist rebels, who continue to hold power in the country.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolution had success in overthrowing the Kuomintang regime.
Sources: Pritchard, Earl. "Political Ferment in China, 1911-1951." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 277 (1951): 1-12.

Chinese Manchurian guerillas revolt against Japanese occupation, 1931-1945
Summary/Description: The Japanese occupation of Manchuria stemmed from the Japanese desire for natural resources to fuel their growing economy, along with general needs for expansion and security of their colonial holdings in the Pacific. Japan initially invaded the area in 1931, citing strikes from Korean rebels originating from the territory, and swiftly began to occupy the entirety of the former Chinese province. Manchurian resistance began almost immediately, but was unable to significantly impact the Japanese military machine. However, the Manchurian rebels eventually collaborated with the Chinese Communist Army and other forces to drive the Japanese from the area by the end of the Second World War.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt had success in ousting the Japanese occupation.
Sources: Esselstrom, Erik. "Rethinking the Colonial Conquest of Manchuria: The Japanese Consular Police in Jiandao, 1909-1937." Modern Asian Studies 39 (2005): 39-75.

Chinese rebels against Japanese occupation, 1937-1945
Summary/Description: In 1937, the Japanese military launched the Second Sino-Japanese War, invading the coastal regions of the Chinese state with the intent to conquer and incorporate the region into the Japanese Empire. The primary opposition that the Japanese faced early in the war was the Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek, who were later joined by Mao Zedong's Communists. Initially successful, the Japanese invasion included many human rights violations, and eventually bogged down, as resistance grew and other powers, in particular the United States, became involved in the conflict. Eventually, the United States forced the surrender of the Japanese, resulting in the occupation of China being lifted.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebels failed to oust the Japanese occupation, although the Japanese surrendered to the Chinese in 1945.
Sources: Bian, Morris L. "Building State Structure; Guomingdang Institutional Rationalization during the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945." *Modern China* 31 (2005): 35-71.

Taiwanese Revolt against Chinese occupation, 1947
Summary/Description: Taiwan, a former Chinese island holding, had been ceded to Japan in 1895, following the Sino-Japanese War. Following the Second World War, after over fifty years of Japanese occupation, and the creation of an established social order, the island was again taken away from the defeated Japanese and given to the victorious Chinese. However, this political change resulted in dramatic upheaval in the Taiwanese social and economic world. These new hardships, in conjunction with a flash point of police brutality, sparked an island wide popular uprising against the Chinese occupation. The Nationalist government of China, already under siege by the eventually victorious Chinese Communists, used their military to brutally suppress the revolt, imprisoning and killing many dissenters.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was suppressed by the Chinese military.
Sources: Chu, Yun-han and Jih-wen Lin. "Political Development in 20th-Century Taiwan: State Transformation and the Construction of National Identity." *The China Quarterly* 165 (2001): 102-129.

Chinese Sino-Tibetan war against Chinese occupation, 1950-1951
Summary/Description: In 1950, the newly victorious Chinese Communists decided to retake control over the autonomous areas of Tibet. This move was not only to retake control over the geographical region, but also to test the international community's desire to interfere in Chinese affairs, as militarily occupying Tibet had been forbidden in agreements between China and several other nations. Despite resistance from the Tibetan government and people, the superior Chinese military quickly suppressed dissent and began instituting Chinese policies.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion failed to oust the Chinese occupation.
Sources: Patterson, George. "China and Tibet: Background to the Revolt." *The China*

Quarterly 1 (1960): 87-103.

Chinese Hundred Flowers Movement protests against Communist regime, 1956-1957
Summary/Description: In the mid 1950s, the Communist regime of China lifted restrictions on expressing political and social dissent to the Communist system, a policy known as the Hundred Flowers Campaign. Despite its initial successes, the Chinese government eventually decided that the protesters were a danger to the stability of the Communist system, and therefore suppressed the dissent, eventually leading to the Cultural Revolution, a mass purge of intellectuals and dissidents.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters were suppressed by the Communist regime.
Sources: Radvanyi, Janos. 'The Hungarian Revolution and the Hundred Flowers Campaign." *The China Quarterly* 43 (1970): 121-139.

Tibetan resistance to Chinese occupation, 1956-1959
Summary/Description: Another attempt by the Tibetan population to overthrow the Chinese occupation of the country, the 1959 Tibetan rebellion was by a number of factors, including the Communist government's refusal to recognize the ethnic differences of the Tibetan people, as well as increased attempts by the Chinese to impose the Chinese social and economic system upon the region. The Tibetans, however, were unable to overcome the Chinese military, and the resistance movement was violently suppressed.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The resistance was suppressed by the Chinese government.
Sources: Norbu, Dawa. "The 1959 Tibetan Rebellion: An Interpretation." *The China Quarterly* 77 (1979): 74-93.

Chinese Red Guard against anti-Maoists, 1967-1968
Summary/Description: The Red Guard was a radical student organization created by the Communist government under Mao with the specific intent to locate and remove anti-communist dissidents from positions of authority and power. The Red Guardsmen were authorized to use terror tactics and executions to eliminate dissenters, and were encouraged to destroy non-communist artwork, books, and social customs. Although they were initially successful, the Red Guard eventually was deemed too radical and dangerous to society, and the Communist government itself suppressed the movement.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as the Chinese Government initially supported the Red Guard, but then decided to suppress them.
Outcome: The Chinese Red Guard was suppressed by the Chinese Government.
Sources: Walder, Andrew. "Ambiguity and Choice in Political Movements: The Origins of Beijing Red Guard Factionalism." *The American Journal of Sociology* 112 (2006): 710-750.

Chinese Democracy movement against Communist regime, 1976-1979
Summary/Description: The first leader of the Chinese Communist State, Mao Zedong, died in 1976, resulting in vast changes in the economic system of China. The new Communist government began a slow system of privatization, reversing many of Mao's

socialist policies. This economic reform prompted pro-democratic protests to be held, seeking to gain political and social reforms alongside economic ones. These protests were quickly suppressed by the Chinese government, which refused the demands for increased democratization.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters suppressed by Communist regime.
Sources: Han, Sun Sheng and Clifton W. Pannell. "The Geography of Privatization in China, 1978-1996." *Economic Geography* 75 (1999): 272-296.

Tibetan revolt against Chinese occupation, 1987-1989
Summary/Description: Following a 1980 visit by the Chinese Prime Minister to China's isolated and often secessionist province of Tibet, the central Chinese government began to realize that their policies towards Tibet and the Tibetan people had failed to improve the Tibetan culture and society. Therefore, throughout the remainder of the decade, the Chinese government began a period of cultural liberalization for the province. After several years of public forums and increased public input, Tibetans began a more rigorous attempt at gaining political and social freedoms, with a relatively small scale protest movement beginning in 1987. Following the death of the Panchen Lama in early 1989, a larger wave of protests began to sweep Tibet, mirroring the slowly simmering tide of public protest throughout the country. In response, the Chinese military imposed martial law and violently suppressed protesters. Following this crackdown, the Chinese government returned political freedoms to a pre-1980 level.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: Revolt suppressed by Chinese military.
Sources: Karmel, Solomon. "Ethnic Tension and the Struggle for Order: China's Policies in Tibet." *Pacific Affairs* 68 (1996): 485-508.

Chinese protest against Communist regime, 1989
Summary/Description: During the 1980s, China began to experience a wide-reaching economic upswing, as greater acceptance from the Capitalist world offered new markets for Chinese products and labor. As a result, China's middle class began to rapidly expand, accompanied by an increased demand for participation in government and civil society. In 1989, a pro-democracy movement began to stage protests and demonstrations, demanding a increase in general participation in government and a relaxation of government control of rights and freedoms. Although many of the other nations in the Communist world faced these same protests, and instituted reforms, the Chinese Communist government suppressed the movement, using the military to violently break up large demonstrations and gatherings.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters were suppressed by Communist regime.
Sources: McCormick, Barret, Su Shaozhi, and Xiao Xiaoming. "The 1989 Democracy Movement: A Review of the Prospects for Civil Society in China." *Pacific Affairs* 65 (1992): 182-202.

Mongolian protest against Communist regime, 1989-1990
Summary/Description: During the 1980s, Mongolia, a Communist state, began a period

of extensive changes in political and economic reforms. These reforms culminated in a series of mass demonstrations that led to increased political liberalization, and the rejection of the authoritarian communist system of a more democratic political structure.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: Protesters succeed in gaining reforms.
Sources: Sanders, Alan. "Mongolia in 1989: Year of Adjustment." *Asian Survey* 30 (1990): 59-66.

Taiwanese protest against autocratic regime, 1979-1985
Summary/Description: The Nationalist party of China, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, fled to the island of Taiwan following their defeat and rout in the Chinese Civil War. Kai-shek created a heavily industrialized economy with strong ties to the United States, but also ruled autocratically, with political power concentrated in his party, the KMT. He also imposed a permanent martial law on the island, severely restricting personal and political freedoms. Following Chiang Kai-shek's death, and the rise to power of his sun, Chiang Ching-Kuo, the Taiwanese people witnessed a series of reforms in the early 1980s, pressured by limited public protest over the old political system. In 1985, an opposition party was formed, and eventually democratic elections and the lifting of the martial law system followed.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: Protesters succeed in gaining reforms.
Sources: Harrison, Selig. "Taiwan after Chiang Ching-Kuo." *Foreign Affairs* (1988): 790-808.

South Korean Student Revolution against Rhee regime, 1960
Summary/Description: Following the end of the United States Occupation and Military Administration of South Korea, an indigenous government under Syngman Rhee was established. Over the course of Rhee's government, Rhee put into place constitutional amendments that extended his term in government and control over the South Korean Political system, as well as instituting repressive political controls over the population. In 1960, non-violent student demonstrations erupted throughout the country, and Rhee was forced to resign, resulting in an interim government and a new parliamentary system.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolution succeeds in overthrowing Rhee regime.
Sources: Kim, Quee-Young. "From Protest to Change of Regime: The 4-19 Revolt and the Fall of the Rhee Regime in South Korea." Social Forces 74 (1996); 1179-1208.

South Korean protests against military junta, 1979-1980
Summary/Description: In 1961, almost immediately after the overthrow of the Rhee regime and the establishment of a new government, a military coup d'etat under General Park Chung Hee overthrew the civilian government and established a military regime. Following Park's assassination in 1979, a popular protest ousted the political government and established a civilian government. However, the military staged a counter-coup which suppressed the protesters, and established a civilian, yet authoritarian government under the former general Chun Doo-hwan.

Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters are suppressed by the military junta.
Sources: Shorrock, Tim. "South Korea: Chun, the Kims and the Constitutional Struggle." *Third World Quarterly* 10 (1988): 95-110.

South Korean protests against Military government, 1987
Summary/Description: Following seven years of authoritarian government under the former general Park Chung Hee, a mass protest consisting of tens of thousands of urban Koreans resulted in the establishment of a fairer political system and opposition parties. Despite these reforms, the military-backed government responsible for the 1980 counter-coup won the resultant elections, and a civilian government was not put into power until 1992.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters succeed in gaining reforms.
Sources: Shorrock, Tim. "South Korea: Chun, the Kims and the Constitutional Struggle." *Third World Quarterly* 10 (1988): 95-110.

Indian protests against British rule, 1919-1945
Summary/Description: The British colonial rule over the Indian subcontinent was the most economically beneficial holding of the colonial period, granting an incredible amount of wealth to the British empire during the 19th and early 20th centuries. However, the heavily populated subcontinent was highly resistant to the forced governance of the area by a foreign power. From the mid 19th century on, there were numerous rebellions and uprisings against the British colonial government, culminating in a mostly peaceful protest movement that existed between 1919 and the eventual independence of the region that was announced in 1945 and carried out in 1947. The protests, while not the exclusive reason for why the British withdrew from India, were an important part of established the undesirable nature of the British colonial system and the relative unity of the Indian population.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters have limited success in ousting British rule.
Sources: Manjunatha, M.S.R. "India and Indonesia: After 50 Years of Independence." *Economic and Political Weekly* 33 (1998): 214-218.

Indian Moplah Rebellion against local Hindu leaders, 1921-1922
Summary/Description: The Moplah were a Muslim community in East India that existed as a minority within a larger Hindu region. The Moplah had repeatedly risen up against the British occupation of India as well as the Hindu rulers of the region. In 1921, the Moplah again staged an uprising against the Hindu authorities, who had restricted the Moplah's political and economic freedoms. However, the Hindu leaders, aided by the British colonial authorities, suppressed the rebellion.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion is suppressed by local government.
Sources: Dhanagare, D. N. "Agrarian Conflict, Religion and Politics: The Moplah Rebellions in Malabar in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." *Past & Present* (1977): 112-141.

Indian Hyderabad activists against annexation, 1948
Summary/Description: Hyderabad is the historical name for a Muslim dominated state in southern India, which was locally ruled during the British colonial period by a Muslim princely authority. However, following the Indian Independence of 1947, Hyderabad found itself in the middle of the Hindu-dominated portion of the former colony, geographically unable to take part in the planned separation between India and Pakistan along religious lines. This led to a brief conflict between the Hyderabad people and the annexing Indian military/government, which resulted in the forced annexation of the Hyderabad state in the Indian state.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion is suppressed by the Indian government, and Hyderabad was incorporated into India.
Sources: Vithal, P.R. "Muslims of Hyderabad." Economic and Political Weekly 37 (2002): 2883-2886.

Indian Naga Rebellion against occupation, 1955-1964
Summary/Description: The Naga, a separate indigenous group inhabiting the Indian Sub-continent, had enjoyed a separate colonial government and regime under the British colonial governance of India. However, when the British announced their withdrawal from India in 1947, they incorporated the Naga region into the whole of India, and the Indian government incorporated the region into the Indian political structure. By the 1950s, dissatisfaction with the nature of the Naga people's relationship with the central Indian government prompted separatist groups within the Naga to stage an uprising, which was eventually suppressed by the government, although the political dispute continued with limited guerrilla violence until the 1990s.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion is suppressed by the Indian government.
Sources: Baruah, Sanjib. "Confronting Constructionism: Ending India's Naga War." *Journal of Peace Research* 40 (2003): 321-338.

Indian Mizo Rebellion against occupation, 1966-1986
Summary/Description: The Mizo are an ethnically distinct culture that originates from the rural hill regions of eastern India, known as Assam. The British occupation of India largely ignored the Mizo and other hill groups, leaving the large majority of the socio-political system in place. However, once a unified indigenous Indian government had been put into place following the withdrawal of the British colonial regime in the 1940s, the central Indian government began to intervene more in Mizo life. This led to the establishment of a separatist movement, entrenched in the ethnic and religious differences between the Mizo and the mainstream Indian population, along with dissatisfaction with the centralized government. In the mid 1960s, this movement began a limited guerrilla rebellion against the Indian government, which launched two major attacks against government installations before the Indian government granted the Mizo people limited autonomy and increased participation in government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion has limited success in ousting Indian occupation.

Sources: Dommen, Arthur. "Separatist Tendencies in Eastern India." *Asian Survey* 10 (1967): 726-739.

Indian Naxalite rebellion against government regime, 1967-1971
Summary/Description: The Naxalite were a Communist insurgency founded along the principles of Maoist Rebellion which waged a short insurgency in the rural regions of eastern India. The Naxalite attempted to establish regions that were free from government control, which they could then inhabit and build up their strength. However, the Naxalite were too disorganized to make permanent gains in their holdings, and the Indian government eventually redistributed the manpower to suppress and eliminate the communist group.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts:
Outcome: The rebellion is suppressed by the Indian government.
Sources: Dasgupta, Biplab. "Naxalite Armed Struggles and the Annihilation Campaign in Rural Areas." *Economic and Political Weekly* 8 (1973): 173-188.

Indian Sikh insurgency for Separatism, 1984-1994
Summary/Description: The Sikh religious/ethnic group, which is concentrated in the Punjab region of northern India, has long been a powerful minority in Indian politics. During the 1980s, dissatisfaction with the central government's treatment of the Sikh minority prompted the rise of a secession movement in the Sikh population, resulting in dramatic violence in the Punjab province. Following almost a decade of violence, and thousands of deaths as a result of the conflict, the Indian government strengthened the police force and instituted new anti-terrorist guidelines for the region in the early 1990s, which eventually resulted in the secessionist forces being suppressed without achieving their goals.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The insurgency fails to secede from Indian government.
Sources: Singh, Gurharpal. "Punjab since 1984: Disorder, Order, and Legitimacy." *Asian Survey* 36 (1996): 410-421.

Kashmiri Muslim separatists against Indian occupation, 1988-2006
Summary/Description: The natural-resource rich Kashmir region of western India has long been a source of debate and conflict between the Indian government and their neighbor, Pakistan. The predominately Muslim population of Kashmir has a strong desire to form their own independent state, or join the Muslim-dominated Pakistan, and since the late 1980s have waged an insurgency to remove the Indian government and military from the region. Despite the insurgency existing for over two decades, and thousands of deaths, the Indian government has been unable to suppress the insurgency, resulting in an ongoing violent conflict.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The separatists have failed to secede from India.
Sources: Ganguly, Surnit. "Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency: Political Mobilization and Institutional Decay." International Security 21 (1996): 76-107.

Pakistani protests against Khan regime, 1968-1969

Summary/Description: In 1958, following a decade of chaotic government, Mohammad Ayub Khan staged a coup d'etat against the government and instituted a powerful, autocratic government with Khan as President. Khan controlled the government for more than ten years, instituting systematic economic reforms and built strong regional alliances, and allowed a limited form of electoral democracy. Despite his successes, dissatisfaction with his regime began to grow, culminating in a mass uprising in the late 1960s. In response, Khan stepped down and set in motion plans for a democratic transition.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters succeed in gaining reforms.
Sources: Dobell, W.M. "Ayub Khan as President of Pakistan." *Pacific Affairs* 42 (1969): 294-310.

Bengalis revolt against Pakistani rule, 1971
Summary/Description: Following the withdrawal of British influence from the Indian sub-continent, the Muslim populations of eastern and western India formed a separate country from the Hindu-dominated central regions, creating the country known as Pakistan. However, over the next two decades, it became obvious that the eastern region of Pakistan had little power in the new country, being the smaller and less economically prosperous section of the country, and divided by a large and hostile Indian state. The apathy of the central government was fully revealed following a massive cyclone that struck the Eastern Pakistani coast, killing half a million people and displacing countless more. Following the inefficient response from the Pakistani government, a mass revolt began among various secessionist groups such as the Awami League. The guerrillas and rebels formed a united liberation army known as the Mukti Bahini, and after a nine-month war that included support by the Indian Army, the Bengalis successfully removed the western Pakistani presence from the country, resulting in the formation of an independent Bangladesh.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion succeeds in gaining seceding from Pakistan.
Sources: Maniruzzaman, Talukder. "Bangladesh: An Unfinished Revolution?" The Journal of Asian Studies 34 (1975); 891-911.

Baluchi rebels revolt against Pakistani rule, 1973-1977
Summary/Description: The Pushtun inhabitants of the Pakistani province of Balochistan, located in the north-western region of the country, have long harbored desires to form a separate ethnically-defined state. As a result, there have been numerous Baluchi separatist groups over the course of Pakistani political history, often taking part in legitimate electoral competitions. After the separatists were defeated in the 1970 regional elections, radical elements of the separatist organization launched a guerrilla war, with the intention of violently separating Balochistan from Pakistan. The central Pakistani government sent in troops, and for the next four years a war of attrition took place, which was eventually won by the superior Pakistani troops.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt is suppressed by the government.
Sources: Titus, Paul and Nina Swidler. "Knights, Not Pawns: Ethno-Nationalism and

Regional Dynamics in Post-Colonial Balochistan." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32 (2000): 47-69.

Pakistani pro-democracy movement against Zia ul-Huq, 1983
Summary/Description: In 1977, the Pakistani military chief of staff, Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, led a bloodless coup d'état that overthrew the civilian government and instituted a military regime. Eventually claiming the Presidency, ul-Huq instituted a more Islamic legal system, as well as operated under martial law and other authoritarian tactics throughout his rule. In late 1983, in response these changes, along with outrage over failed promises to conduct national elections, a wave of unrest and mass demonstrations emerged in Pakistan, concentrated in the Sind region. Ul-Haq deployed military personnel to the region, which quickly suppressed the protesters and stifled demands for renewed democracy.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters are suppressed by ul-Huq regime.
Sources: Rakisits, C.G.P. "Centre-Province Relations in Pakistan Under President Zia: The Government;s and the Opposition's Approaches." *Pacific Affairs* 61 (1988): 78-97.

Pakistani Mohajir protests against government, 1994-1995
Summary/Description: The Pakistani state has experienced a long history of sectarian violence between the Sunni and Shia divisions of the Islamic religion. This problem was exacerbated in the 1980s and 1990s, as the conflicts in Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan increased the number of weapons available in the region, and contributed to a radicalization of fringe Muslim groups. By the mid 1990s, sectarian violence had grown to the extent that the government under Benazir Bhutto sought to suppress and contain violent groups. The government and military jointly worked to suppress sectarian violence occurring within the country, while at the same time directing it to locations outside of Pakistan, reducing for a time the level of religious violence in the country.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters are suppressed by government.
Sources: Nasr, Vali. "International Politics, Domestic Imperatives, and Identity Mobilization: Sectarianism in Pakistan, 1979-1998." *Comparative Politics* 32 (2000): 171-190.

Bangladeshi Shanti Bahini protest for autonomy from Bangladesh regime, 1976-1997
Summary/Description: Following the successful, yet costly, war of independence which established the autonomous state of Bangladesh, the Jumma ethnic group, a small indigenous Bengali group which inhabits the Chittagong Hill Tracts, a rural, isolated region of the country, demanded increased regional autonomy for their ethnic group. This request was rejected by the Bengali government, which resulted in the formation of a militant secessionist group known as the Shanti Bahini in 1973. From 1976 onward, sporadic violent attacks have been made by the Shanti Bahini, with the intention of forcing the central government to grant the Jumma autonomy. However, the Shanti Bahini failed in their goal, and the Bengali military eventually were called in to suppress the violent separatists.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.

Outcome: The protesters fail to gain autonomy from Bangladeshi regime.
Sources: Arens, Janneke. "Winning Hearts and Minds: Foreign Aid and Militarization in the Chittagong Hill Tracts." *Economic and Political Weekly* 32 (1997): 1811-1819.

Bangladeshi protest against Military rule, 1989-1990
Summary/Description: After the successful attainment of Bangladeshi independence in 1971, a parliamentary government was put into place. However, by 1975, the government had fallen apart, with a nation-wide famine striking the country, and an autocratic socialist government emerging from the parliamentary government. As a result, the Bangladesh military seized control of the country in a coup d'état, instituting a nationalistic military government. The military government continued until 1990, when internal protests against the oppressive regime, coupled with a change in global politics due to the collapse of communism, resulted in the military being ousted and a parliamentary system returning to existence.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters succeed in gaining reforms.
Sources: Sen, S. R. "Bangladesh: Retrospect and Prospect." *Economic and Political Weekly* 26 (1991): 825-826.

Burmese Saya San's rebellion against British occupation, 1930-1932
Summary/Description: Among Britain's many colonial holdings in Asia was the country formerly known as Burma, today known as Myanmar. In 1930, an indigenous rebellion led by Saya San, who declared himself king of Burma, erupted in the rural districts of the colony. For the next eighteen months, the British military systematically put down the rebellion, resulting in the deaths of several thousand rebels.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion is suppressed by British military.
Sources: Solomon, Robert L. "Saya San and the Burmese Rebellion." Modern Asian Studies 3 (1969); 209-223.

Burmese Karens revolt against government, 1948-2006
Summary/Description: In 1948, the British government left Burma, and it became an independent republic. Almost immediately afterwards, the Karen ethnic group, a large minority in the rural areas of the country, began a secessionist movement with the intent of creating their own state. Although the Karens have not been suppressed by the central government, and have conducted a war of independence for the past six decades, they have been unable to achieve complete independence from present-day Myanmar, and their secessionist movement continues in the present.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts have taken place.
Outcome: The rebellion has failed to secede from the Burmese government.
Sources: Lintner, Bertil. "Insurgencies among Mons and Karens." *Economic and Political Weekly* 16 (1981): 702-203.

Burmese Kachin rebels revolt against government, 1983-1995
Summary/Description: The Kachin are another rural minority group that engaged in secessionist conflict with the central Burmese government. With a large and powerful

military, the Kachin Independence Movement was able to establish a semi-independent state from the 1980s until 1994, after which the Myanmar military launched a large-scale offensive that suppressed the rebellion and brought the region back under centralized control.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The rebellion was suppressed by the government.
Sources: Aung-Thwin, Maureen. "Burmese Days." *Foreign Affairs* 68 (1989): 143-161.

Burmese pro-democracy movement protest against military junta, 1988
Summary/Description: In 1962, a military dictatorship took power under the nationalistic leadership of General Ne Win. During this oppressive regime, public discontent from numerous elements of the country, including Buddhist religious leaders, ethnic minorities, and the middle class bubbled under the surface, with several revolutionary armies and movements forming on the outskirts of the country. In 1988, however, many of these elements joined together to stage a mass protest/uprising, with the intent of forcing democratic reforms through the Burmese government. Despite initial promises of reform, the Burmese military soon shifted their position, launching systematic repressions against unarmed protesters, crushing the movement and returning the political situation to an autocratic military dictatorship.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters were suppressed by the military junta.
Sources: Aung-Thwin, Maureen. "Burmese Days." *Foreign Affairs* 68 (1989): 143-161.

Sri Lankan JVP revolt against government, 1971
Summary/Description: The Janathā Vimukthi Peramuṇa (People's Liberation Front) was a socialist revolutionary group that was founded with the intent to carry out an armed socialist uprising in Sri Lanka. The uprising was suppressed by the government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike, and was illegalized by the Sri Lankan state. Following another brief uprising in the mid 1980s, the JVP eventually renounced violence and entered in the Sri Lankan parliamentary system.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place in 1971, although the JVP eventually became part of the democratic government.
Outcome: The revolt was suppressed by the government.
Sources: Matthews, Bruce. "Sinhala Cultural and Buddhist Patriotic Organizations in Contemporary Sri Lanka." *Pacific Affairs* 61 (1988): 620-632.

Sri Lankan LTTE revolt against government occupation, 1972-2009
Summary/Description: The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (also known as the Tamil Tigers) waged a three decade long struggle for the Tamil ethnic group's independence from the central Sri Lankan government. The Tamil ethnic group is concentrated in the Northern and Eastern segments of the country, and the LTTE took control of a portion of this region and built an independent enclave from which to strike at remainder of the country. Utilizing a variety of revolutionary and terrorist tactics, such as suicide bombers and child soldiers, the Tamil Tigers created a stalemate with the Sri Lankan government that lasted until 2009, when the Sri Lankan military eradicated the group, killing many civilians in the process.

Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was suppressed by the government.
Sources: Bose, Sumantra. "Tamil Self Determination in Sri Lanka: Challenges and Prospects." *Economic and Political Weekly* 29 (1994): 2537-2539.

Nepalese The Stir revolt against Monarchy/Panchayat regime, 1989-1990
Summary/Description: In 1960, the Nepalese Monarchy carried out a coup d'etat, dissolving the parliamentary democracy that had previously governed the country and establishing a party-less semi-democratic system known as the Panchayat system, which included strong royal controls. In 1989 and 1990, an opposition movement that had struggled for political freedoms since the royal takeover instigated a general non-violent protest movement in the capital and the major cities of the country. The current King capitulated to the wave of public protest, opening the parliamentary system to political parties and establishing a multi-party regime.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt succeeds in gaining reforms.
Sources: Khadka, Narayan. "Democracy and Development in Nepal: Prospects and Challenges." *Pacific Affairs* 66 (1993): 44-71.

Nepalese CPN-M/UPF revolt against government, 1996-2008
Summary/Description: In 1996, a collection of Communist revolutionaries, operating under the Maoist Communist strategy and doctrine, began an ongoing civil war with the intent of toppling the Nepali government. The Nepali government was unable to defeat the Maoist regime, which utilized rural dissatisfaction with the Monarchy, and the government was further destabilized by deaths in the royal family and oppressive policies that lost the government the support of the people. In 2008, the monarchy was formally dissolved, and a Democratic Republic was formed, after which the Maoists laid down their arms and joined the legitimate government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as the Maoist rebels joined the government following the abolishment of the Monarchy.
Outcome: The revolt achieved reforms.
Sources: Baral, Nabin and Joel T. Heinen. "The Maoist People's War and Conservation in Nepal." *Politics and the Life Sciences* 24 (2005): 2-11.

Nepalese protests against government and martial law, 2006
Summary/Description: In early 2006, Nepal saw a wave of pro-democratic protests throughout the country, with the intent of challenging the often-authoritarian rule of the Nepalese Monarchy and demanding institutional reforms. By April, hundreds of thousands of protesters had gathered in Nepal's Capital, Kathmandu, and by the end of the month had forced King Gyanendra to create democratic reforms, including the reinstatement of the Nepalese Parliament.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters are successful in gaining reforms.
Sources: Bindra, Satinder and Prithvi Banerjii. "Rain, Police douse Nepal protest." *CNN* Monday, April 24, 2006.

Thai communist rebels revolt against government, 1970-1973
Summary/Description: The Thai Patriotic Front, a communist organization founded in 1965, began an open armed struggle in 1970, with the express aim of toppling the Thai government and instituting a Communist regime. The Communists waged a three year insurgency against the government, but were eventually defeated and suppressed, due in part to American military aid to the Thai government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts:
Outcome: The revolt was suppressed by the government.
Sources: Stuart-Fox, Martin. "Factors Influencing Relations between the Communist Parties of Thailand and Laos." *Asian Survey* 19 (1979): 333-352.

Thai student protests against military dictatorship, 1973
Summary/Description: In October of 1973, Thai university students began a series of protests against the military dictatorship that controlled the Thai government. These radical protests came after almost a year of systematic loosening of restrictions by the government, allowing the students freedom to demonstrate and protest the government's autocratic policies. Ultimately, the Thai students were able to oust the military dictatorship and began the process to create a new constitution for the country.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters succeed in overthrowing the military dictatorship.
Sources: Zimmerman, Robert F. "Student Revolution in Thailand: The End of the Thai Bureacratic Polity?" *Asian Survey* 14 (1974): 509-529.

Thai pro-democracy movement protests against Suchinda regime, 1992
Summary/Description: In 1991, the democratic government of Thailand was overthrown by a group of corrupt military generals, under the leadership of Suchinda Kraprayoon. However, the Thai people quickly staged counter protests, which toppled the military dictatorship and paved the way for a democratic constitution to be put into place in 1997.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters succeed in gaining reforms.
Sources: Englehart, Neil. "Democracy and the Thai Middle Class: Globalization, Modernization, and Constitutional Change." *Asian Survey* 43 (2003); 253-279.

Thai coup d'état against Thaksin regime, 2005-2006
Summary/Description: In 2006, the Thai military staged a coup d'état against the government of President Thaksin Shinawatra, forcing him to flee the country. The military proceeded to cancel the upcoming national election, and set up an interim military government that imposed widespread changes in the political system, removing corruption and promising free and fair elections, while at the same time granting the military a more powerful say in the governmental process.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as the Thai military turned against its government.
Outcome: The coup succeeded in overthrowing the Thaksin regime.
Sources: Handley, Paul. "What the Thai Coup was really about." *Asia Sentinel* Monday, November 6th, 2006.

Cambodian Khmer Rouge revolt against government, 1970-1975
Summary/Description: The Khmer Rouge (Red Khmer's, a Cambodian ethnic group) was a Marxist-aligned radical movement that was formed in the rural regions of Cambodia during the 1950s, and launched a mass revolt against the Cambodian government in 1970. The Khmer Rouge utilized both traditional Communist thought as well as Cambodian tradition, gathering followers under the promise of returning Cambodia to its former glories and removing foreign presences. The Khmer Rouge eventually defeated the Cambodian government, and instituted a Communist Regime that committed mass genocide and other crimes against humanity during its reign.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt succeeds in overthrowing the government.
Sources: Mehmet, Ozay. "Development in a Wartorn Society: What Next in Cambodia?" *Third World Quarterly* 18 (1997): 673-686.

Cambodian Khmer Rouge revolt against government, 1978-1997
Summary/Description: Following the Khmer Rouge's successful takeover of Cambodia, the totalitarian government under Pol Pot committed systematic genocide and political oppression until the Vietnamese Invasion of Cambodia in early 1979, which forced the Khmer Rouge out of power. Despite the Khmer being ousted, they remained powerful, and the 1980s were characterized by wide-spread infighting between the Khmer Rouge, the Vietnamese and their Cambodian allies, and other rebel groups sponsored by the United States. By 1990, the Vietnamese withdrew, and the various rebel groups formed a coalition government. However, Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge boycotted the new government, and continued to fight for seven more years, until the organization broke down and Pol Pot and his subordinates surrendered and were tried for war crimes.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt was suppressed by the government.
Sources: Vittal, Nalini. "Tribulation before Trial in Cambodia." *Economic and Political Weekly* 36 (2001): 199-203.

Laotian Pathet Lao revolt against government, 1960-1975
Summary/Description: The Pathet Lao (Land of Laos) was a Communist organization that was founded in Laos in 1950 with the intent to violently overthrow the government and install a communist regime. Aided by the North Vietnamese, the Pathet Lao eventually overthrew the government and were officially repurposed to form the new Communist government of Laos.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt succeeds in overthrowing the government.
Sources: Stuart-Fox, Martin. "On the Writing of Lao History: Continuities and Discontinuities." Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 24 (1993): 106-121.

Vietnamese National Liberation Front against U.S. occupation, 1958-1975
Summary/Description: Following the forced decolonization of Vietnam by the French, the victorious Vietnamese rebels formed two separate countries based on the regions controlled by the now competing factions. The Vietnamese Communists, led by Ho Chi

Minh, took control of the northern section of the country, while a capitalist government ran the southern section. Despite attempts at peaceful reunification, by the late 1950s the South Vietnamese were engaged in an armed struggle with Communist Guerrillas supported by the North Vietnamese. Due to the U.S. policy of Containment, the United States slowly began to offer equipment, advisors, and eventually military troops to the South Vietnamese, believing that this was the only way to prevent the spread of Communism in South East Asia. Eventually, the United States became increasingly involved in the war, with tens of thousands of troops being deployed to the country. However, as the war became a stalemate, and public opinion over the number of American deaths turned away from the military, the United States was eventually forced to withdraw from the conflict, leading to the defeat of the South Vietnamese government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The National Liberation Front succeeds in ousting the U.S. occupation.
Sources: Shivakumar, M.S. "Vietnam: Twenty Years After." *Economic and Political Weekly* 30 (1995): 1836-1838.

Vietnamese National Liberation Front against government of South Vietnam, 1958-1975
Summary/Description: Following the forced decolonization of Vietnam by the French, the victorious Vietnamese rebels formed two separate countries based on the regions controlled by the now competing factions. The Vietnamese Communists, led by Ho Chi Minh, took control of the northern section of the country, while a capitalist government ran the southern section. Despite attempts at peaceful reunification, by the late 1950s the South Vietnamese were engaged in an armed struggle with Communist Guerrillas supported by the North Vietnamese. Despite intervention and assistance by the United State, the South Vietnamese were eventually defeated, and the two countries were reunified under a communist government.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The National Liberation Front succeeds in overthrowing the government.
Sources: Shivakumar, M.S. "Vietnam: Twenty Years After." *Economic and Political Weekly* 30 (1995): 1836-1838.

Vietnamese Indochina revolt against French occupation, 1945-1954
Summary/Description: During the Second World War, the French mainland was occupied by the Nazi German military, and the resultant regime changes greatly disrupted the governance of France's colonial holdings, in particular the colony that formed the modern day state of Vietnam. The disruptions to colonial authority led to the rise in power of Ho Chi Minh's Communists, who took power in the Northern region at the same time that attempts were made to establish a partitioned state. By late 1945, conflict between the Communists and other rebel groups and the French military, which sought to reincorporate Vietnam into their colonial system, erupted into a general armed conflict, which lasted until the French withdrew from Vietnam in 1954, leaving the Vietnamese to establish their own governmental system.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt succeeds in ousting the French occupation.
Sources: Tonnesson, Stein. "The Longest Wars: Indochina 1945-1975." *Journal of*

Peace Research 22 (1985): 9-29.

Malayan Emergency against British occupation, 1948-1960
Summary/Description: The Malayan Emergency is the common name for the Communist guerrilla insurgency waged by the Malayan National Liberation Army from 1948 to 1960. Due to the disruption caused by the Second World War and the occupation of Malaysia by the Japanese, indigenous guerrillas became more powerful and motivated, and shortly after the British resumed their governance of the country, the guerrillas launched a rebellion against them. During the twelve year conflict, Malaysia's infrastructure was heavily damaged, and various countries in the British Commonwealth, such as Australia and New Zealand, contributed forces to eventually suppress the Communists.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt has limited success against the British occupation.
Sources: Tilman, Robert. "The Non-Lessons of the Malayan Emergency." Asian Survey 6 (1966): 407-419.

Filipino nationalists revolt against U.S. occupation, 1899-1902
Summary/Description: During most of the 19th century, the Philippine Islands were colonized by the Spanish, whose archaic and repressive colonial system was the source of wide-spread hostility and anger amongst the native Filipino population. In 1899, the Spanish Colonial holdings were assaulted by the United States, which quickly removed Spain from most of its Caribbean and Pacific holdings and incorporated them as either protectorates or colonies of the United States. Among these colonies were the Philippines, where a widespread nationalistic revolt aided the Americans in their takeover of the island. After the Spanish had been defeated, the Americans moved to annex the island, but were faced with a revolt by the same Filipino rebels that had previously aided them. After a costly three year conflict, the revolt was suppressed and the Philippines became a U.S. colony until after the Second World War.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt is suppressed and annexation occurs.
Sources: Meadows, Martin. "Colonialism, Social Structure and Nationalism: The Philippine Case." *Pacific Affairs*, 44 (1971); 337-352.

Filipino Malayan insurgency against Japanese occupation, 1941-1945
Summary/Description: Following the Japanese attack on the U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor and the declaration of war between the two countries, the Japanese almost immediately began to target American holdings in the Western Pacific, quickly invading the Philippines islands and ousting the American and Filipino military forces there. Despite the rapid invasion, the Filipino people quickly began to wage an insurgency against the Japanese occupation, a fight which continued unabated until the Philippines were liberated by the American military in 1945.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The insurgency fails to oust the Japanese occupation, but the Japanese were eventually forced out by the United States military.
Sources: Kalaw, Maximo. "Filipino Opposition to the Japanese." Pacific Affairs 18

(1945): 340-345.

Filipino Hukbalahap Rebellion against government, 1946-1954
Summary/Description: The Communist Huk Rebellion was started following the end of the Second World War by remnants of the Hukbalahap (People's Anti-Japanese Army), the militant division of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Located in rural regions of the main island of the Philippines, the Huk Rebellion attempted to overthrow the newly established independent Filipino government and install a communist regime, partially in response to U.S. and Governmental hostilities towards the existence of Armed communist organizations. By 1950, the Huk were a powerful force in the rural areas of the country, with several thousand armed soldiers carrying out attacks on governmental installations. By the middle of the decade, however, the Huk leadership had been decimated by surprise arrests, and the rebellion dissolved completely by 1954.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as the Hukbalahap were initially aligned with the government and later rebelled.
Outcome: The rebellion is suppressed by the government.
Sources: Goodwin, Jeff. "The Libidinal Constitution of a High-Risk Social Movement: Affectual Ties and Solidarity in the Huk Rebellion." *American Sociological Review* 62 (1997); 53-69.

Filipino Moro Islamic Liberation Front against government, 1970-1980
Summary/Description: The Moro are an Islamic minority that is primarily located on several Islands in the South Philippines. The Philippines largest non-Christian minority, the Moro people have had a long history of political or violent action in defense of their political and social rights, as well as a desire of independence from the larger Filipino state. In 1970, a secessionist group known as the Moro National Liberation Front attempted to forcibly gain independence from the central government, and began to wage guerrilla warfare on government installations and troops. Eventually, however, the MNLF was largely suppressed by the government, with the few remaining members in the organization creating the more radical Moro Islamic Liberation Front, which continued its existence into the 1990s.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt is suppressed by the government.
Sources: Majul, Cesar Adib. "The Moro Struggle in the Phillippines." *Third World Quarterly* 10 (1988): 897-922.

Filipino New People's Army against government, 1972-2006
Summary/Description: The New People's Army is a radical militant wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines, operating under the Maoist philosophy of bringing about Communist revolution through the use of a slow buildup of control in rural areas and the eventual takeover of political and economic centers. Founded in the late 1960s, the NPA began its guerrilla conflict with the Filipino government in 1972, reaching its peak membership and capabilities in the mid 1980s. It has been continually suppressed by the Filipino government, and it has been denounced by the United States and Europe as a terrorist group, further limiting the group's capability for global acceptance and eventual victory.

Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts have taken place.
Outcome: The rebellion continues to be suppressed by the government.
Sources: Montiel, Cristina and Victoria Marie Chiongbian. "Political Psychology in the Philippines." *Political Psychology* 12 (1991): 759-777.

Filipino People Power protest against Ferdinand Marcos, 1983-1986
Summary/Description: The People Power Revolution was a series of peaceful and nonviolent protests against the two-decade old autocratic government of president Ferdinand Marcos, who took power in 1965 and declared martial law in 1972, which existed in various forms until his regime was overthrown. The opposition was led initially by Cory Aquino, the widow of a popular Senator who was believed to have been assassinated by the Marcos regime. Following a forced national election, in which Marcos was perceived to have rigged the vote in his favor, various members of his regime denounced him, and set up military forces around Manila that were aimed at overthrowing his regime. Surrounded by pro-Aquino protesters, the military successfully forced Marcos to flee to the United States, and Cory Aquino was installed as president.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters succeed in overthrowing the Marcos regime.
Sources: Montiel, Cristina and Victoria Marie Chiongbian. "Political Psychology in the Philippines." *Political Psychology* 12 (1991): 759-777.

Filipino Second People Power Movement protest against Estrada regime, 2001
Summary/Description: In 2001, another self-titled "People Power" movement utilized nonviolent protest and mass mobilization tactics to force out the corrupt President Joseph Estrada. Along with widespread protest and discontent, the Filipino military also turned on Estrada, refusing to suppress the protesters and forcing Estrada out of office. Following elections, a new government under Gloria Arroyo was formed.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: Yes, loyalty shifts took place, as the military turned on the Estrada government and helped remove it from power.
Outcome: The protesters succeed in overthrowing the Estrada regime.
Sources: Montesano, Michael. "The Philippines in 2002: Playing Politics, Facing Deficits, and Embracing Uncle Sam." *Asian Survey* (2003): 156-166.

Indonesian Revolt against Dutch occupation, 1945-1949
Summary/Description: The island chain that eventually formed the nation known as Indonesia had been controlled by Dutch economic and political interests since 1602, coming under the direct rule of the Netherlands in 1800. During the early part of the 20th century, there was significant resistance to the Dutch colonial presence from the archipelago's indigenous inhabitants, which ultimately broke out into armed rebellion following the weakening of Dutch colonial power in the Second World War. The Indonesian National Revolution, a combination of various social forces and political ideologies, waged a four year struggle against the Dutch colonial government, which eventually succeeded in forcing the Dutch military and government to withdraw, resulting in an independent Indonesian state.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.

Outcome: The revolt succeeds in ousting the Dutch occupation.
Sources: Gordon, Alec. "Colonial Mode of Production and Indonesian Revolution." *Economic and Political Weekly* 21 (1986): 1417-1426.

Indonesian Moluccas revolt against government, 1950
Summary/Description: Following the independence of Indonesia, former members of the Dutch colonial army, supported by members of Indonesia's Christian minority, attempted to secede from the Muslim dominated Indonesian state and established the South Moluccan Republic (RMS). The central government of the new Republic of Indonesia, unwilling to allow a portion of their territory to secede, sent the new Indonesian military to the area and violently suppressed the revolt. Although the secession movement was halted, dissatisfaction in the Moluccan Islands would result in violence between revolters and the government throughout the rest of the twentieth century.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt is suppressed by the government.
Sources: Bertrand, Jacques. "Legacies of the Authoritarian Past: Religious Violence in Indonesia's Moluccan Islands." *Pacific Affairs* (2002): 57-85.

Indonesian Darul Islam revolt against government, 1953
Summary/Description: The Muslim population of the Indonesian islands is one of the larger minority groups in the ethnically diverse country. In the 1940s, an anti-Dutch Islamic resistance movement was formed under the title of Daurl Islam, or Islamic State. This group participated in the Indonesian National Revolution, which created an independent Indonesia, however it quickly became antagonist towards the established government and created muslim-ruled enclaves in several Indonesian provinces. By the 1950s, the Indonesian military had suppressed the movement, although a variety of offshoots to the organization continued until the 1980s.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt is suppressed by the government.
Sources: Soebardi, S. "Kartosuwiryo and the Darul Islam Rebellion in Indonesia." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 14 (1983): 109-133.

Indonesian leftists against Sukarno regime, 1960-1965
Summary/Description: Following the establishment of an independent Indonesia, Sukarno, a prominent leader of the revolution, took political power as Indonesia's first president. Sukarno's policies gradually shifted from democratic rule to authoritarianism, refusing to relinquish political power and preventing opposition voices in government. During the 1960s, opposition to his rule began to accumulate, resulting in an attempted coup in September of 1965. The coup prompted a response from Indonesia's military, which violently suppressed the leftist organizations of Indonesia, and moved to replaced Sukarno's civilian government with a right-wing military government, which was achieved in 1968.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt is suppressed by the government.
Sources: Van der Kroef, Justus. "Sukarno's Indonesia." *Pacific Affairs* (1973): 269-288.

West Papuan protests against Indonesian occupation, 1964-2006
Summary/Description: The Indonesian archipelago is filled with numerous ethnic groups, many of which have their own economic and social distinctions that form a distinct national/ethnic identity. Among these groups is the West Papuan ethnic group, which had been promised autonomous independence by the Netherlands, but had been incorporated into the larger Indonesian state following independence. Almost immediately, the West Papuans began protests, activism, and eventually militant actions with the intent of forcing the Indonesian government to grant West Papua independence. This conflict took place over several decades, including periods of limited self governance, however the Indonesian government in 2006 violently suppressed the West Papuan separatist organizations, with operations that Papuan activists claim are akin to genocide.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters are suppressed by the Indonesian Military.
Sources: Webster, David. "Already Sovereign as a People: A Foundational Moment in West Papuan Nationalism." *Pacific Affairs* 74 (2002): 507-528.

Timorese Fretilin revolt against Indonesian occupation, 1974-1979
Summary/Description: East Timor was an impoverished and backwater Portuguese colony until 1974, when Portugal gave the colony its independence. However, the Indonesian government, claiming that it had a historical claim to the territory, quickly persuaded the interim government of East Timor to grant Indonesia control over the region. However, the Indonesian takeover was contested by the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin) a radical revolutionary group that had been created during the colonial period and fiercely advocated Timorese sovereignty. Due to Fretilin's popular support with the Timorese people, the organization was able to successfully oppose the Indonesian takeover of the region for several years. However, by 1977, the Indonesian military had used repressive tactics to steadily remove Fretilin control over rural regions of East Timor, a tactic that reached near complete success by 1979.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt is suppressed by the Indonesian Military.
Sources: Anonymous. "The Forgotten People." *Economic and Political Weekly* 15 (1980): 844.

Indonesian GAM revolt against Indonesian occupation, 1976-2005
Summary/Description: The Free Aceh Movement (or GAM in its Indonesian initials), was a secessionist organization attempting to violently gain independence for the Aceh minority group, which inhabited an area of Sumatra, one of the major Islands in Indonesia. The Indonesian government resisted this separatist movement, sparking a guerrilla conflict between the two sides that lasted from 1976 until 2005. Following the devastation caused by the 2004 tsunami, which cost hundreds of thousands of lives and primarily struck the Indonesian islands, the two sides agreed to sign peace agreements, with Indonesia agreeing to a greater deal of autonomy for the Aceh. As a result, the Free Aceh Movement demilitarized, and joined the legitimate government.

Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt is successful in ousting the Indonesia occupation.
Sources: Aspinall, Edward and Mark T. Berger. "The Break-up of Indonesia?" *Third World Quarterly* 22 (2001): 1003-1024.

Timorese resistance against Indonesian occupation, 1988-1999
Summary/Description: Following the initial invasion of East Timor by the Indonesian military, and the subsequent violent oppression of the Timorese independence movement, the Indonesian military continued to occupy the country, violently oppressing the inhabitants of the region. During the late 1980s, remnants of the Fretilin resistance movement and others started another period of resistance against the Indonesian military, a movement that gained the attention of the global community to the East Timor situation and the abuses of the Indonesian military and government. Following the overthrow of the Suharto regime by the Indonesian people in 1998, peace talks began to be conducted between the East Timorese and the Indonesian government, culminating in significant reforms and acceleration towards self government that was observed and coordinated by the United Nations.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The resistance was successful in gaining reforms.
Sources: Brunnstrom, Cecilia. "Another Invasion: Lessons from International Support to East Timorese NGOs." *Development in Practice* 13 (2003): 310-321.

Indonesian protests against Suharto rule, 1997-1998
Summary/Description: In 1966, then-General Suharto led a military coup d'état that removed the authoritarian civilian government and installed a military-led dictatorship, with Suharto as its head. During the 32 years that followed, Suharto strengthened his power, while preventing most forms of opposition from expressing themselves through often violent political repression. By 1998, however, the economic state of Indonesia had become so weakened by Suharto's corrupt regime that public uprisings against his rule began to erupt. Beginning with student protests at Indonesia's universities, these protests swept through the country, as general strikes and mass protests stopped the remaining industry and demanded Suharto's immediate resignation. Suharto stepped down in May, as rioters had taken over the Indonesian parliament, and all sectors of government and industry called for his resignation. Following this, an interim civilian government came into power, paving the way for democratic elections.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The protesters were successful in overthrowing the Suharto regime.
Sources: Hadiz, Vedi. "Reformasi Total? Labor after Suharto." *Indonesia* 66 (1998): 109-125.

Papuan Bougainville Revolt against government regime, 1988-1998
Summary/Description: The Bougainville region of Papua New Guinea is a culturally distinct group of islands in the eastern section of the country. Starting in the late 1980s, the Bougainville province saw a mass uprising intended to bring about the establishment of a separate independent state for the Bougainville people. The uprising quickly became disorganized and chaotic, due to the number of competing groups attempting to

become the leaders of the revolt; however the conflict lasted until 1998, after which a peace agreement was reached that granted Bougainville limited autonomy within Papua New Guinea starting in 2000.
Presence of Loyalty Shifts: No loyalty shifts took place.
Outcome: The revolt fails to overthrow the government regime.
Sources: Regan, Anthony. "Causes and Course of the Bougainville Conflict." *The Journal of Pacific History* 33 (1998): 269-285.

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