

Authoritarian Regime and Transition Type Dataset

Dataset User's Manual

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**In Conjunction with the Transitional Justice Data Base Project
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I. INTRODUCTION

The Authoritarian Regime and Transition Type Dataset (ARTT) potentially has numerous applications. It is designed to, in particular, to test whether the type of authoritarian regime, the length of that regime, or the type of transition to democracy affect specific components of the democratization process or decisions of new democratic leaders. The data are in an Excel file. The sections of this coding manual below outline the case section, coding definitions for each variable, and case summaries from which the coding decisions are made. A bibliography of sources follows at the end of the document.

II. COVERAGE

ARTT includes data on 91 transitions occurring in 74 countries from 1970-2004. The start year corresponds to the approximate the beginning of the global third wave of democratization. The end year corresponds to the most recent coverage of Polity IV, the source for transition coding. All countries in the world, with the exception of microstates under one million in population, are examined. The coding for democratic transitions comes from Polity IV's regime transition category code (REGTRANS). A democratic transition occurs in cases in which REGTRANS is either a Major Democratic Transition (+3) or Minor Democratic Transition (+2), and where a shift occurs from autocracy (i.e., a negative or zero POLITY score) to a partial democracy (POLITY values +1 to +6) or full democracy (POLITY values +7 to +10). Second, a transition occurs in all cases in which REGTRANS is 77 (State Failure) or 66 (Authority Interruption) and is followed by a partial or full democracy. Finally, a transition occurs in all cases in which REGTRANS is 97 (State Transformation) or 99 (State Creation), and the previous state (or one

of the previous states) was an autocracy, and the new state is a partial or full democracy. For transitions of multiple years, the last year is used. A list of all transitions is below:

Country	Transition Year
Albania	1992
Albania	1997
Algeria	2004
Argentina	1973
Argentina	1983
Armenia	1991
Armenia	1998
Azerbaijan	1992
Bangladesh	1972
Bangladesh	1991
Belarus	1991
Benin	1991
Bolivia	1982
Brazil	1985
Bulgaria	1990
Burkina Faso	1978
Cambodia	1993
Central African Republic	1993
Chile	1989
Congo, Republic of the	1992
Côte d'Ivoire	2000
Croatia	2000
Czechoslovakia	1990
Dominican Republic	1978
Ecuador	1979
El Salvador	1984
Estonia	1991
Ethiopia	1995
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	2000
Georgia	1991
Germany	1990
Ghana	1970
Ghana	1979
Ghana	1996
Greece	1975
Guatemala	1986
Guinea-Bissau	1994
Guinea-Bissau	2000

Haiti	1990
Haiti	1994
Honduras	1982
Hungary	1990
Indonesia	1999
Iran	1997
Kenya	2002
Latvia	1991
Lesotho	1993
Lesotho	2002
Liberia	1997
Lithuania	1991
Macedonia	1991
Madagascar	1992
Malawi	1994
Mali	1992
Mexico	1997
Moldova	1991
Mongolia	1992
Mozambique	1994
Nepal	1990
Nicaragua	1990
Niger	1992
Niger	1999
Nigeria	1979
Nigeria	1999
Pakistan	1973
Pakistan	1988
Panama	1989
Paraguay	1989
Peru	1980
Peru	1993
Philippines	1987
Poland	1991
Portugal	1976
Romania	1990
Russia	1992
Senegal	2000
Sierra Leone	1996
Sierra Leone	2002
Slovenia	1991
South Korea	1988
Spain	1978
Taiwan	1992
Thailand	1974

Thailand	1978
Thailand	1992
Turkey	1973
Turkey	1983
Uganda	1980
Ukraine	1991
Uruguay	1985
Zambia	1991

III. VARIABLES

The ARTT codes three distinct variables for each country: the type of authoritarian regime, the length of that regime, and the type of transition to democracy. Detailed descriptions of these variables are below.

Regime Type

The first basic distinction is between those regimes led by one person and those ruled by an institution. The second distinction is whether the regime is civilian or military. This leads to four types of regimes. A unique fifth category also exists in which internal conflict has led to a complete collapse of state authority. For newly independent states, the coding refers to the previous authoritarian state of which it was a part. In addition to the five categories outlined below, the dataset also includes dichotomous variables for whether the regime was military or civilian, and individual or institutional.

- 1) **Civilian-Individual**: The ultimate power of the regime lies in the hands of one individual who governs as a dictator. The individual is not a member of the military, but otherwise may have strong ties to the military and act as commander-in-chief. The key

distinction is that the leader derives his locus of power from politics – a political power, or heredity – not military service. This individual may be a member of a party, but rises above the institution and makes all key decisions for the state on his own. At times civilian dictatorships may be considered sultanistic regimes where there is often is a cult personality built up around the leader and there exists only a very narrow base of social support. A system of personal rewards and fear of violence on behalf of the ruler sustains his rule. In such scenarios, the distinction between state and regime is often a blurred (Chehabi and Linz 1998).

- 2) Civilian-Institutional: A single party dominates the political arena and does not share power with other political actors. One-party states almost surely have the backing of the military and may feature a prominent spokesperson or figurehead, but a collective of party elites determines all major decisions. The ultimate power of the state rests in the hands of the party as an institution.
- 3) Military-Individual: The ultimate power of the regime lies in the hands of one individual who governs as a dictator. The individual is a member of the military, and derives his power from it. This individual rises above the institution and makes all key decisions for the state on his own.
- 4) Military-Institutional: The military as an institution or a junta of military leaders controls the regime and makes all key decisions governing the state.

- 5) Civil War: Internal conflict has reached a level where there is a complete collapse of central authority in the state.

Regime Length

The length of time, in years, that the authoritarian regime that immediately precedes the transition to democracy held power.

Transition Type

The literature on types of transitions is extensive, ranging from simple dichotomous distinctions (e.g. Linz 1978) to complex typologies including as many as eight divisions (e.g. Stepan 1986). The typical typology that has emerged as the most durable and useful has been trichotomous – combining elements of collapse/defeat, liberalization initiated by the authoritarian regime, and a push-and-pull scenario between the regime and society. Since most typologies deal with some post-transition phenomena, these three categories account for the regime or society having the upper hand in the post-transition environment, or both retaining significant sway in creating the new rules of the game (Share and Mainwaring 1986; Huntington 1991; Karl 1990).

The typology of transition types here has seven categories. The regime may be overthrown, whereby its power is taken by force from others outside of the regime – either by domestic or foreign elements. The regime may experience a collapse, in which case its power disintegrates and is lost. Lastly, the regime may come to a negotiated end where the power it loses is willingly seceded as part of a negotiated process with democratic elements of civil society. Most transitions incorporate elements of multiple categories, but each case is categorized according to the main impetus for the transition to democracy. Two other types of

transitions fall outside of this framework – democracy emerging from periods of civil war (where the central authority of the state has collapsed) and democratization that occurs as part of the creation of a new state. In addition to the seven categories outlined below, the dataset also includes dichotomous variables for whether the transition was gradual (two, three, or six) or sudden (one, four, or seven).

- (1) Collapse: An authoritarian regime is no longer able to sustain itself. The loss of legitimacy due to civil unrest, an external military defeat, or similar situation, may directly contribute to such a collapse. A power vacuum results and is filled by democratic elements.
- (2) Negotiated-Regime-Led: The ruling regime recognizes that the costs of repression have exceeded the costs of toleration and seeks to liberalize/transition on its own terms. The regime sets the tone, pace, and agenda of the transition process.
- (3) Negotiated-Opposition-Led: The opposition, either in the form of individual groups or a large pact of parties, equals or exceeds the authoritarian regime in strength. The opposition sets the tone, pace, and agenda of the transition process.
- (4) Overthrow-Foreign: A foreign power or powers takes military action, or seriously threatens military action to the point of imminent attack against the ruling regime, resulting in its downfall.

- (5) Overthrow-Domestic: Elements of the military outside of the ruling regime stage a coup and unseat the existing government, or civil society organizes, gathers arms, and strikes against the existing government, ushering in its demise. In either case, domestic, not foreign, actors overthrow the regime.
- (6) Emergence from Civil War: A period of civil war, in which the central state has collapsed, ends with the installation of a democracy.
- (7) State Creation: A newly created state is democratic upon independence. This can be in the form of a state breaking away from a larger entity (e.g. former Soviet Union), or two states combining to form one state (e.g. Germany).

IV. CASE SUMMARIES (ALPHABETICAL)

Albania

Polity Transition Year:	1992
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	46
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Opposition-Led

Following World War II the Communist Party took control of Albania. The fall of Communist regimes elsewhere caused the leader, Ramiz Alia, to push for some degree of economic liberalization, and allow parties to have a greater role (Goldman 2000). After further protests, Alia responded with promises for free parliamentary elections and the separation of the party from the state (Biberaj 1999). Mass protests, however, continued, and Alia conceded to protesters' demands for a multiparty system and early elections in March 1991. Despite a good showing by the opposition, the Communist Party received enough votes to hold power. Massive street protests, strikes, and demonstrations followed. They forced the communist leaders to give in to demands for new elections within one year. In the new elections, the Democratic Party won an overwhelming majority of the votes, and its leader Sali Berisha became the first non-Communist president in 45 years.

Albania

Polity Transition Year: 1997
Authoritarian Regime Type: Civilian-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length: 1
Transition Type: Negotiated-Opposition-Led

After the collapse of the Communist regime in 1992, the Democratic Party took power. By 1996, however, Sali Berisha had taken over the government as a dictator (Biberaj 1999, 168). Berisha replaced former officials with his cronies (Fowkes 1999, 74). International observers considered the 1996 elections to be unfair and rigged for the Democratic Party to win. Massive street protests followed and in late February 1997, a quasi-civil war broke out when civilians stormed police and army stations and took up arms. In a desperate attempt to restore stability, Berisha signed agreements with all the political parties, creating a unity government and announcing elections for June 1997. In the June 1997 elections, the Socialists took 101 seats, while the Democratic Party only gained 29 seats, ending authoritarian rule.

Algeria

Polity Transition Year: 2004
Authoritarian Regime Type: Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length: 13
Transition Type: Negotiated-Regime-Led

In December 1991, Algeria held elections in which the Islamic Salvation Front performed well and was on its way to gaining a majority in Parliament in the second round of voting that was to follow in January 1992. The Algerian military, viewing the success of an Islamist political party as a threat to the state, seized power on 11 January 1992. The military nullified the results of the December election, suspended all political activity, and staffed the six-person High Security Council with serving senior military officers. The situation quickly worsened and conflict between Islamists and the military intensified. The regime engaged in extreme brutality—including massacres and the use of torture—in the name of combating terrorism. Violence against civilians was commonplace. In 1999, despite the continuing civil war, executive civilian authority was restored with the election of Abdelaziz Bouteflika to the presidency. Bouteflika ran with the explicit support of the military, and the election was marred by allegations of fraud that prompted all other candidates to withdraw from the race before Election Day. The 2004 presidential election better marks the beginning of the return to civilian government, as international observers considered it more legitimate.

Argentina

Polity Transition Year:	1973
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	8
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

By the end of 1965, relations between the government and the military had deteriorated, and amidst worker unrest and increased activity of the Peronists, the military initiated a coup in 1966. The military ruled as an institution under three different presidents. Under the leadership of the last president, General Alejandro Lanusse, the military decided to allow civilian rule. Peronism returned for a short period (1973-1976) before the military once again took over.

Argentina

Polity Transition Year:	1983
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	8
Transition Type:	Collapse

After a brief interlude of Peronism, ruled at the end by Juan Peron's wife Isabel, the military once again took over in a coup in 1976. A ruling junta of military leaders, which called itself the *Proceso de Reorganizacion Nacional*, led a highly repressive state that reigned terror on its own people in the Dirty War. Having come under immense pressure to the conduct of the Dirty War and having failed to rebuild the economy, the military soon found itself lacking legitimacy. In April 1982, the military invaded the Malvinas/Falkland Islands – a territory disputed between Argentina and Great Britain. After successfully occupying the islands, the British attacked and reclaimed the islands in June. The Argentine military was forced to surrender in disgrace, allow elections, and step down from politics.

Armenia

Polity Transition Year:	1991
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	71
Transition Type:	State Creation

Armenia was part of the Soviet Union, where the Communist Party ruled from 1920-1991. Gorbachev's "openness" policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika* weakened the Soviet Union's hold on its national federations by decreasing levels of repression and opening the political system to competition by other parties. The opening strengthened the possibility that Armenians could exercise control over their political, economic, and social life, and was accompanied by an increase in nationalist and reformist movements. The 1989 elections for the Congress of Peoples' Deputies shifted parliamentary power away from the Communist Party to the Armenian

National Movement, further denigrating Moscow's control of Armenia. A referendum on independence held on 21 September 1991 saw high voter turnout and over 99 percent approval, after which the international community recognized the state as independent.

Armenia

Polity Transition Year:	1998
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	7
Transition Type:	Collapse

In 1992, Levon Ter-Petrosian was elected president. Since election in 1992, Ter-Petrosian and his Armenian Pan National Movement consolidated their power, suspending the principal opposition party in 1994 and adopting a new, "hyperpresidential" constitution by referendum in 1996. Although the 1995 legislative elections were widely considered rigged and political competition was suppressed, the elections still maintained elements of party competitiveness. However, the government was becoming progressively more authoritarian, engaging in political suppression, arrests, killings, and restrictions on press freedom. Official election results determined that Ter-Petrosian won the 1996 presidential elections, although four members of the electoral committee later came forward to declare that his opponent, Vazgen Manoukian, had actually won with 60 percent of the vote. This announcement led to a mass protest held on 23 September 1996. In addition to the authoritarian approach Ter-Petrosian and the APNM adopted toward governance and elections, they also presided over a collapsing economy and had failed to meet many of the key domestic and foreign policy goals pursued during his administration. His political failures and drift toward authoritarianism significantly damaged Ter-Petrosian's legitimacy in civil society and with society's elites. Internal party strife deepened after the 1996 elections and eventually resulted in the resignation of all but one powerful deputy governors. "At this point, having lost his parliamentary majority, the president had no choice but to resign" (Astourian 2001, 53). This forced resignation took place on 3 February 1998. Parliamentary elections were in 1999, and Prime Minister Robert Kocharian was elected president amidst reports of electoral irregularities.

Azerbaijan

Polity Transition Year:	1992
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	2
Transition Type:	Collapse

Large nationalist demonstrations and a failed coup against Mikhail Gorbachev in August 1991 were followed by a declaration of independence by Azerbaijan's Communist Party, led by Ayaz Mutalibov. Elections were held within a week of independence and resulted in little change of political actors from the previous Communist regime. The government was replaced with a National Council, whose posts were split equally between Communists and nationalists, and

controlled by Mutalibov, who won the presidency. Mutalibov was forced to resign in March 1992 after losing domestic legitimacy and party support in a disastrous confrontation between Azeris and Armenians in Karabagh (Kamrava 2001). In accordance with the Soviet era constitution that was still in effect, the former president of the Supreme Soviet, Yacub Mamedov, became president. However, Mamedov did not have sufficient support to remain in power and he was forced to resign after further conflict in Karabagh. Civil protest followed, and Mutalibov attempted an extra-constitutional comeback. Mamedov resigned, and following citizen protest, Mutalibov fled. A leader of the opposition Azerbaijan Popular Front became speaker of the parliament and acting president for three weeks remaining before elections took place on 7 June 1992 (Ottaway 2003).

Bangladesh

Polity Transition Year:	1972
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	15
Transition Type:	State Creation

Bangladesh, formerly East Pakistan, was governed in a parliamentary system under a federal constitution since the Pakistani state achieved independence in 1947. General Ayub Khan seized power in a coup in 1958, and ruled until his resignation in 1969, when he handed power to Chief of Army Staff Yahya Khan. Although ostensibly a democracy, power was concentrated in the hands of the West Pakistani elite and the military, and there were no elections in the first 11 years of parliamentary democracy. East Pakistan had very little voice in the federal government, and experienced severe economic and political exclusion. By the 1960s, this perceived maltreatment engendered political unrest and East Pakistan saw a growing nationalist sentiment, and the Indo-Pakistan War of 1965 contributed to the deterioration of relations between the two Pakistans. Although Yahya Khan implemented political reform, including free elections in East Pakistan, the atrocities committed against unarmed Bengalis by the Pakistan Army in the Bangladesh Liberation War ensured that reconciliation would be impossible. Indian intervention ended the war on 16 December 1971, at which point East Pakistan became the nation of Bangladesh (Choudhury 1972). A new democratic constitution took effect on 16 December 1972, and elections were scheduled for March 1973.

Bangladesh

Polity Transition Year:	1991
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	9
Transition Type:	Domestic Overthrow

General Muhammad Ershad's National Security Council took power from a caretaker president in January 1982, following a 1981 military coup that deposed and killed then-president Ziaur Rahman and his advisors. Ershad ruled Bangladesh from 1982-1990. "He created an

authoritarian, military-bureaucratic state dominated by an all-powerful president supported by the military... [and] dominated the decision-making process” (Kochanek 2000, 533). During his rule, Ershad established his own political party, persuaded opposition parties to participate in elections, and founded a loyal opposition party that would compete in elections. He built elaborate patronage networks to ensure the support of the military, civilian communities and business interests, and used these to undermine the strength of opposition parties. Opposition to Ershad remained cohesive throughout his eight years of rule. Opposition parties regularly boycotted parliamentary elections, and in the 1986 presidential election that confirmed Ershad’s position as head of state, all major political parties boycotted the election. The 1988 parliamentary elections saw voter turnout of only ten percent. In November and December 1990, student associations and civic organizations in most major cities demonstrated against Ershad’s rule. Ershad contemplated using force to crush the demonstrations, but senior officers refused to back him, and Ershad was forced to resign. Wilkinson (2000) likens this move to an “extrication coup,” necessary to preserve military prestige, internal unity, and other permanent interests (213), which were threatened by the corruption and division under Ershad’s rule. Ershad resigned in December 1990, and a neutral caretaker administration stepped in to supervise new elections to the parliament, which were held on 21 February 1991.

Belarus

Polity Transition Year:	1991
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	71
Transition Type:	State Creation

Belarus was part of the Soviet Union, where the Communist Party ruled from 1920-1991. The parliament of the republic declared the sovereignty of Belarus on 27 July 1990, and Belarus declared independence on 25 August 1991 becoming a parliamentary democracy (although the country adopted a presidential system beginning in 1994).

Benin

Polity Transition Year:	1991
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	18
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Opposition-Led

On 26 October 1972, Mathieu Kérékou took power of Benin in a military coup. He centralized power in the presidency, consolidating power over the single party’s central committee, and reorganized the army, placing it and the state militia under his command. The Kérékou regime banned parties, and excluded former local supporters from new institutions. By the end of the 1980s, the Kérékou regime had lost most of its legitimacy within the country. Poor economic policies and corruption left the state nearly bankrupt. Strikes occurred across wide swaths of society, including teachers, students, plantation workers, medical staff, and civil servants. The

state initially repressed the strikers, but this furthered undermined the regime's legitimacy. The press became increasingly free and confident, and political parties, repressed since 1972, began to reemerge. Key political institutions agreed to end single-party rule, abandon Marxism as the official ideology, and call a national conference of representative bodies to discuss a new constitution. On 25 February, the conference declared autonomy and the executive power of its decisions in what was essentially a civil coup d'état. Conference members assumed control of the government and took control of negotiating the transition to democracy. With the exception of Kérékou, who remained president, conference members removed the government and appointed a new prime Minister, Nicephore Soglo. Soglo appointed in interim government to act as a legislative body for a one-year transition period. A series of elections occurred under the interim government, including local elections in November 1990 and a referendum in December 1990 on a new constitution, which was adopted. Soglo won the first round of presidential elections on 10 March, and defeated Kérékou in the run-off elections held on 24 March. He took power on 4 April 1991.

Bolivia

Polity Transition Year:	1982
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	2
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

The Bolivian elections in 1978, 1979, and 1980 were marked by fraud. In 1980, General Luis Garcia Meza carried out a coup. After a military rebellion forced out Garcia Meza in 1981, three other military governments occurred in 14 months. Unrest forced the military to convoke the Congress elected in 1980 and allow it to choose a new chief executive. In October 1982, Hernan Siles Zuazo became President.

Brazil

Polity Transition Year:	1985
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	21
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

On 31 March 1964, the military initiated a coup against President João Goulart. On April 15, 1964, fifteen days after the coup, the army chief of staff, Marshal Humberto de Alencar Castello Branco became the appointed president. A series of military presidents followed during a time of severe state repression, including Artur da Costa e Silva (1967–69) and Emilio Garrastazu Medici (1969–74). Retired General Ernesto Geisel (1974-79) later came to the presidency with Médici's approval. He replaced several regional commanders with trusted officers and labeled his political program *distensão*, meaning a gradual relaxation of authoritarian rule. Geisel attempted in April 1977 to restrain the growing strength of opposition parties by creating an electoral college that would approve his selected replacement. He imposed General João

Figueiredo (1979-85) as his successor in March 1979. Figueiredo signed a general amnesty into law and turned Geisel's *distensão* into a gradual *abertura* (the opening of the political system). Millions of Brazilians took to the streets in all the major cities demanding a direct vote in the choice of the next president. In April 1984, Congress failed to achieve the necessary numbers to give the people their wish, and the choice was left to an electoral college. On 15 January 1985, Tancredo Neves was elected to the Presidency by a majority of the members of the Electoral College. However, just one day before he was scheduled to take the oath of office he became severely ill and died on 21 April 1985. He was succeeded by Jose Sarney, a member of the opposition. A new and democratic constitution was promulgated in 1988, and in the following year, the first direct elections since 1960 were held.

Bulgaria

Polity Transition Year:	1990
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	45
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

The Soviet invasion and occupation of Bulgaria during World War II allowed the national communist party to dominate the country at the end of the war, and in 1946, the Bulgarian monarchy was abolished and the country became a "people's republic" by national referendum. The following year, a new constitution was established, and Bulgaria was officially declared communist by the national leadership. The early regime was characterized by internal party purges. Vulko Chervenkov was closely aligned with the wishes of Moscow, and with Stalin's death in 1953, Chervenkov lost his main base of support. By 1956, he had been demoted within the party, and Todor Zhivkov became the new party leader. Over the following decades, Zhivkov consolidated his power through purges, political maneuvering, and maintaining a general state of fear in the country. Bulgaria remained under one-party communist control until 1990. Because of Zhivkov's "fidelity to the Soviet Union," he accepted Gorbachev's principles of *perestroika*, albeit begrudgingly (Dawisha and Parrot 1997, 357). Small efforts at political liberalization resulted in local and regional elections, but these were mostly non-competitive or heavily manipulated to guarantee the defeat of opposition candidates. Nevertheless, the serious challenges to stability in the Soviet Union and pressures for regime change could not be stopped. The communist party forced Zhivkov out of office and "pledged to welcome and promote the development of pluralism in the country and to respect the rule of law" (Dawisha and Parrot 1997, 360). By 1990, the regime had peacefully negotiated its way out of power, approving laws allowing political parties, participation, and elections. The following year, the country adopted a new democratic constitution.

Burkina Faso

Polity Transition Year:	1978
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	13
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Opposition-Led

Colonel Sangoulé Lamizana took power in Burkina Faso in 1966 following the loss of legitimacy of then-president Yaméogo. Most politicians expected him to implement a quick return to civilian rule, but in late 1966 Lamizana banned the activities of all political parties and announced that the army would retain power for four years. On 14 June 1970, a new constitution was approved by referendum; it stated, among other things, that the most senior-ranking military officer would be the head of state and that the military would be represented in all political institutions for a period of four years. Legislative elections were held in 1970, and Lamizana chose his prime minister, Gérard Kango Ouédraogo, from the victorious party. Strikes and political strife led Lamizana to suspend the constitution, dissolve the National Assembly and ban all political activities (and later, all political parties), and dismiss the Ouédraogo government. In 1975, Lamizana created a new single state party. This action met strong resistance from trade unions, who carried out a general strike and demanded the return to a civilian system. Lamizana lacked the political support to follow through with his plan and he was forced to give into the unions' demands. In 1976, a new constitution was drafted, establishing limited competition, in which only three parties were permitted. Legislative and presidential elections were held in April and May 1978. Lamizana won the second round presidential elections (Englebert 1996).

Cambodia

Polity Transition Year:	1993
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civil War
Authoritarian Regime Length:	14
Transition Type:	Emergence from Civil War

Cambodia became independent in 1953 following a period of French colonial rule and the country was established as a constitutional monarchy under Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The prince, however, was overthrown in a coup in 1970 by Lon Nol who formed the Khmer Republic. This regime had a short life span as Pol Pot overthrew him in April 1975 setting the stage for the reign of the Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge's cross border attacks against Vietnam eventually led to the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia. Vietnamese troops entered the capital of Phnom Penh on 7 January 1979. This put an end to the repressive regime of Pol Pot, but plunged the country into civil war (Kiernan 2007). In Phnom Penh, a pro-Vietnamese regime led by Heng Samrin was installed and the country was named the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Vietnamese troops continued partaking in the civil war between the Heng Samrin forces and the forces of Prince Sihanouk and the Khmer Rouge. By late 1980s, Vietnam began negotiating the withdrawal of their troops with the UN. The Paris Peace Agreement was signed in October 1991 and led to the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and the instatement of the UN peacekeeping force (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia). This was an

enormous undertaking by the UN, the goal of which being the holding of elections and a return to democracy and peace in Cambodia. The peacekeeping operation lasted from November 1991 to September 1993. Elections were held relatively peacefully in May 1993. The Khmer Rouge boycotted the elections and tried to sabotage them with intimidations and even killings, but they failed to prevent them elections from taking place. The elections were won by the royalist FUNCINPEC headed by Norodom Ranariddh (Prince Sihanouk's son) with 45 percent of the vote. The Cambodian People's Party, CPP, headed by the former prime minister Hun Sen, won 38 percent of the vote. Despite losing the elections, the CPP pressured for a governing coalition in which they would partake. Hence, Cambodia got two prime ministers, Hun Sen and Ranariddh, and the government was formed by the CPP, FUNCINPEC, along with the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party and the Molinaka Party in a four party coalition. Alongside the formation of the new government, Prince Sihanouk was crowned King and the country was renamed the Kingdom of Cambodia.

Central African Republic

Polity Transition Year:	1993
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	13
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Opposition-Led

André-Dieudonné Kolingba took power in the Central African Republic in a bloodless coup on 1 September 1981. He suspended the constitution and ruled in a military junta until 1985. In 1986, Kolingba introduced a new presidential constitution, which was adopted by a nationwide referendum. In 1987, he held semi-competitive parliamentary elections, but the two main opposition opponents boycotted these elections because their parties were not allowed to compete. By 1990, the pro-democracy movement became forceful, especially among trade unions, human rights activists, intellectuals, and political parties. In May, 253 prominent citizens requested that a National Assembly be convened. Initially Kolingba refused and detained several opponents. However, he named a prime minister and agreed to hold free elections in October 1992. In the run-up to the elections, economic problems constrained the state's ability to pay its civil servants, resulting in strikes and demonstrations that were violently suppressed. When irregularities in the elections surfaced, Kolingba had the elections suspended and the results annulled by the Supreme Court. The international community pressed Kolingba to share power with his main opponents through a variety of institutional arrangements that included all of the political parties, and he appointed a competitor as prime minister. Elections were held again in 1993, in which Kolingba placed fourth. He tried to modify the electoral code and the composition of the Supreme Court, but the international community, and particularly donor countries, opposed this action. The president-elect, Ange-Félix Patassé, took power in 1993.

Chile

Polity Transition Year: 1989
Authoritarian Regime Type: Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length: 17
Transition Type: Negotiated-Regime-Led

On 11 September 1973, Augusto Pinochet led a military coup that overthrew the regime of President Salvador Allende. The military regime quickly declared a state of siege, suspended the Constitution, dissolved Congress, and banned political parties. A new constitution was approved in a fraudulent national plebiscite held in September 1980, and came into force in March 1981. It established that in 1988 there would be another plebiscite in which the voters would accept or reject a single candidate proposed by the Military Junta. Pinochet was, as expected, the candidate proposed, and he was denied a second 8 year term by 54.5 percent of the vote. After Pinochet's defeat in the 1988 plebiscite, the Constitution was amended to ease provisions for future amendments to the constitution, and Patricio Aylwin won a sweeping victory in the democratic elections held in December 1989.

Congo, Republic of the

Polity Transition Year: 1992
Authoritarian Regime Type: Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length: 14
Transition Type: Negotiated-Regime-Led

Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso was handed power in 1979 by then-President Colonel Joachim Yhombi-Opango in the midst of economic problems and inter-party strife. He ruled in a one-party state until the late 1980s, at which time the economy had deteriorated significantly and political trends in Africa were leaning toward multiparty democracy, leading Sassou-Nguesso to begin political liberalization. In 1990, Sassou-Nguesso announced plans for the introduction of a multiparty system, although he opposed the National Conference demanded by the opposition and refused to allow political parties to form until a new constitution was approved. The government ended Marxist-Leninism as the official ideology and legalized multipartyism, but it also extended Sassou-Nguesso's term until 1994. A general strike led by Congolese trade unions demanding higher wages and multipartyism followed these changes. Sassou-Nguesso was then forced to convene a National Conference, in which over half of the delegates were from the opposition. The Conference declared itself sovereign, suspended the constitution and National Assembly, and drafted a new constitution. Under the new constitution, the president was replaced, as head of state by a prime minister would lead the transitional government. Sassou-Nguesso retained the title of commander of the armed forces. A new constitution was approved in a referendum on 15 March 1992, and municipal and legislative elections were held between May and July 1992. The first round of presidential elections occurred on 2 August 1992, in which twelve candidates participated, and Sassou-Nguesso came in a distant third. Pascal Lissouba won the second-round elections with 60 percent of the vote. Sassou-Nguesso declared fraud and withdrew his party from Lissouba's coalition, leaving him with a minority in the

National Assembly, where he received a vote of no confidence. Lissouba dissolved the national assembly and held new legislative elections in 1993 (Azevedo 1999)

Côte d'Ivoire

Polity Transition Year:	2000
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	7
Transition Type:	Domestic Overthrow

After 30 years of single-party rule, President Félix Houphouët-Boigny lifted a constitutional ban on opposition parties in May 1990, triggering a proliferation of political parties and other institutions of civil society. The ruling government held presidential and parliamentary elections in October, and the president was re-elected with 81.7 percent of the vote. His ruling party, the Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire, retained 163 out of 175 seats (Daddieh 2001, 16). Social unrest followed the elections of 1990 and continued through early 1992 as students and faculty protested dim employment prospects and changes in university curricula. After the death of President Houphouët-Boigny on 7 December 1993, Henri Konan Bédié, president of the National Assembly, seized power in accordance with Article 11 of the Constitution. While in office, Bédié instituted the ultranationalist policy of *Ivoirité*, which required contenders for public office to be citizens of native-born parents. The new electoral system also mandated a five-year continuous residency in Côte d'Ivoire prior to one's candidacy (Daddieh 2001, 17). Interethnic violence and demonstrations punctuated the remainder of the president's tenure, until General Robert Gueï overthrew Bédié in the country's first military coup d'état on 24 December 1999. General Gueï cited widespread corruption, financial mismanagement, and the detention of political prisoners as reasons for the coup, after which Gueï ushered in two transitional governments over a ten-month span. Despite calls for a democratic opening and a return to the economic policies under Houphouët-Boigny, Gueï committed to the nationalist platform of *Ivoirité* and was successful in amending the Constitution in July 2000 to tighten electoral eligibility requirements further. On 22 October 2000, Gueï lost the presidential election but nonetheless declared victory. This sparked a popular uprising for several days, forcing General Gueï to flee the capital city and leading to the swearing in of opposition leader Laurent Gbagbo as president on 26 October 2000 (Daddieh 2001, 18).

Croatia

Polity Transition Year:	2000
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	8
Transition Type:	Collapse

In 1990, Croatia approved a new constitution and held parliamentary elections in which the nationalist party under Franjo Tudjman won against the communists. The following year, Croatia declared its independence from Yugoslavia. In 1992, Tudjman was elected president in

the midst of the war between Croats and Croat Serbs. Persistence of an authoritarian political culture and the fear produced by the conflicts in the region marginalized civil society and allowed Tadjman to rule in an exclusionary manner. “His domestic policy saw the closing down of newspapers or television programmes that offended him and the manipulation of the electoral process” (BBC 1999). Tadjman died in 1999, allowing for considerable change in the national political system. In 2000, Croatia amended its constitution to weaken the executive branch. The same year, Tadjman’s HDZ party was defeated in parliamentary elections.

Czechoslovakia

Polity Transition Year:	1990
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	42
Transition Type:	Domestic Overthrow

In the years immediately following World War II, Czechoslovakia was restored as a parliamentary democracy, though with some limitations on political participation from socialist parties and those labeled as having been Nazi collaborators. Nevertheless, the new government, under Eduard Benes, was forced to allow the Czechoslovakian Communist Party (KSC) to exist due to its own strength and support from the Soviet Union. In 1946, the KSC won a plurality in parliament, making KSC leader Klement Gottwald prime minister and giving the party control over key ministries and the national police forces, which they proceeded to use to suppress the activities of non-communist parties. Two years later, the non-communist members of the cabinet resigned in protest in part, to induce Benes to call for early elections, but he did not and the KSC seized power. The KSC implemented Soviet-style, one-party rule and carried out purges and widespread arrests. The political environment continued in this vein until Alexander Dubcek became head of the KSC in 1968. Dubcek announced a program of liberalization, lifted media censorship, and promised to democratize the electoral system. This plan met with serious opposition from the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia was threatened with military intervention from its fellow Warsaw Pact members. Crisis was averted through a series of negotiations, but it became clear that the more ambitious elements of Dubcek’s plans would not come to fruition. As with other states in the Soviet sphere of influence, liberalization there in the mid 1980s had a deep impact on Czechoslovakia. The new policies out of Moscow put the Czechoslovak regime in opposition to the Soviet government. The regime had been so invested in the “normalization” efforts after the 1968 crisis that they could not relinquish their traditional position. Organized dissent grew and became more vocal. Demonstrations were met with repression, yet they continued anyway. In 1988, “some 10,000 demonstrators...marched through the center of Prague chanting slogans in favor of freedom” (Wheaton and Kavan 1992, 25). Similar protests occurred until the peaceful overthrow of the communist regime. On 17 November 1989, a 15,000-strong student protest in Prague was dispersed by force. Several hundred of the protesters were injured by the police, and students began to speak of a “massacre”—an intentional effort to “arouse public indignation” (Bradley 1992, 70). Word spread, crowds grew, and within days, protestors’ numbers reached 500,000. On 27 November, virtually the entire country participated in a general strike in support of democracy. The following day, the communist government announced it was stepping down.

Dominican Republic

Polity Transition Year:	1978
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	12
Transition Type:	Collapse

Following the assassination of General Rafael Trujillo, a military dictator who had ruled the Dominican Republic from 1930-1961, the Dominican government entered a tumultuous period that devolved into civil war in 1965. Facing a likely victory by communist-aligned forces, Lyndon Johnson sent in the U.S. Marines, who supervised elections in 1966 and ensured Joaquín Balaguer would win. He was reelected in 1970 and 1974, although these elections were perceived fraudulent by the international community. Balaguer governed in an authoritarian civilian-institutional regime. Congress was completely subordinated to the executive, state and paramilitary forces repressed political parties, and consultations with handpicked individuals replaced institutionalized decision-making (Conaghan and Espinal 1990, 562). The Balaguer government had lost legitimacy and was close to collapse as the regularly scheduled 1978 elections approached. Balaguer's base of support had eroded among estranged business groups and the Catholic Church, and he faced increasing international pressure to abandon the electoral corruption that produced his 1970 and 1974 victories. Economic problems disillusioned the popular classes – unemployment hovered around 25 percent and inflation soared in the second half of the decade. As his government lost legitimacy, support for a transition increased, leaving little chance that Balaguer might remain in power. Legitimate political opposition had emerged in the PRD, which ran on a platform of change that appealed to the elites. Antonio Guzmán Fernández won the 1978 elections and Balaguer relinquished power.

Ecuador

Polity Transition Year:	1979
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	8
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

The overwhelming favorite to win the presidency in 1972 was Asaad Bucaram Elmhalm. Both the military and the business community regarded Bucaram as dangerous and unpredictable. On 15 February 1972, four months before the scheduled elections, the military overthrew President Velasco, who was replaced by a three-man military junta headed by the Army chief of staff, General Guillermo Rodríguez Lara. In August 1974, in an effort to resolve its balance-of-payments difficulties, the regime decreed a 60 percent duty on imported luxury items. Economic elites protested and a week later, a bloody attempt to overthrow the regime was led by the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Raúl González Alvear. This coup attempt failed, but on 11 January 1976, a second, bloodless coup was successful in removing Rodríguez Lara. He was replaced by a Supreme Council of Government consisting of the commanders of the three armed services. Virtually the only item on the agenda of the new military triumvirate was to preside over a return of the government to constitutional, civilian rule. The national

referendum to choose the constitution was finally held on 15 January 1978. After it was approved, five candidates then campaigned for the presidency. After no one achieved a majority in the first round of elections, a run-off was held on 29 April 1979, with the Roldós-Hurtado ticket sweeping to an overwhelming 68.5 percent victory. Democratization occurred, but the military did retain unprecedented powers to name representatives to the boards of directors of major state corporations and to participate directly in the naming of the minister of defense. The outgoing government also made it clear to Roldós that it would not tolerate any investigation into the behavior of the military with respect to human rights. With his autonomy thus diminished, Roldós finally assumed the presidency on August 10, and thus Ecuador returned to constitutional, civilian rule after almost a decade of dictatorship.

El Salvador

Polity Transition Year:	1984
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	6
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

On 15 October 1979, the Revolutionary Government Junta ousted the government of the President, General Carlos Humberto Romero. PDC leader José Napoleón Duarte joined the junta in March 1980, leading the provisional government until the elections of March 1982. During this period, political parties were allowed to function again, and on 28 March 1982, Salvadorans elected a new constituent assembly. Following that election, authority was transferred to Álvaro Alfredo Magaña Borja, the provisional president selected by the assembly. A new constitution was drafted in 1983 and Duarte won the 1984 presidential election and became the first freely elected president of El Salvador in more than 50 years.

Estonia

Polity Transition Year:	1991
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	71
Transition Type:	State Creation

Estonia was part of the Soviet Union, where the Communist Party ruled from 1920-1991. It became independent on 20 August 1991 as a parliamentary democracy.

Ethiopia

Polity Transition Year:	1995
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	19
Transition Type:	Domestic Overthrow

The long reign of Dictator Heile Selassie ended in a military coup in 1974 and Ethiopia was declared a socialist state by the military junta, the Derg (Cohen 1975). Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam came to power in 1977 when he took control of the Derg by eliminating many of its members (Hilsun 1989). Mengistu consolidated the one-party state by furthering the Marxist reform agenda and establishing the Worker's Party of Ethiopia (Clapham 1989). Preceding the Mengistu regime and continuing throughout, Ethiopia was marred in conflict and revolutionary warfare (Young 1996). The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, EPRDF, together with the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, EPLF, overthrew the Mengistu Haile Mariam regime in May 1991 after many years of armed struggle. On the question of Eritrean independence, an inclusive National Conference held in 1991 decided to accept the outcome of an internationally supervised referendum. In April 1993, Eritreans voted for independence and the state of Eritrea was created (Lyons 1996). The National Conference also agreed on the new political structure of Ethiopia, and a broad interim government was established, the Transitional Government of Ethiopia. The EPRDF came to control the interim government and the terms of the transition by virtue of its military power and superior organization (Lyons 1996). The party was challenged by some political groups but largely managed to control the terms of the transition. In May 1995, elections were held in which the EPRDF consolidated its power in Ethiopian politics. Meles Zenawi, who had been president of the interim government, became prime minister and the Government of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia was sworn in August 1995 (Lyons 1996).

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Polity Transition Year:	2000
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	9
Transition Type:	Domestic Overthrow

While Slobodan Milosevic became president of Serbia in 1989, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) was not formed until 1992, after the secession of Slovenia, Macedonia, Croatia, and Bosnia. After the fall of Milosevic, the FRY was renamed—without changes to territorial boundaries—as Serbia & Montenegro. The arrangement lasted only from 2003-2006. Milosevic's entire period in the uppermost positions of power (1989-2000) is characterized by consistent use of secret police forces to carry out harassment, detention, and murder of his political opposition—even those who once were his allies in the communist party. Similarly, Milosevic's time in office was dominated by the many nationalist wars as virtually every former republic of Tito's Yugoslavia asserted its independence. Widespread ethnic conflict sparked NATO intervention in the form of bombing campaigns against Serbia in 1999. He was simultaneously charged with war crimes and crimes against humanity. The following year, opposition candidates performed well in national elections (including for the office of the presidency). Milosevic refused to recognize the results, provoking mass demonstrations that persisted for months. On 5 October 2000, protestors set fire to the parliament building. When the armed forces stood aside, refusing to support Milosevic, he accepted his opponent's presidential electoral victory and publicly stepped down.

Georgia

Polity Transition Year:	1991
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	71
Transition Type:	State Creation

Georgia was part of the Soviet Union, where the Communist Party ruled from 1920-1991. On 9 April 1991, Georgia declared independence, and on 26 May 1991, Zviad Gamsakhurdia was elected as a first President of independent Georgia. Democracy would not last long, however, as he was soon deposed in a coup in December 1991.

Germany

Polity Transition Year:	1990
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	42
Transition Type:	State Creation

After German surrender in the Second World War, Germany was split into four zones of occupation with the Potsdam Agreement in August 1945 between the four allied powers, the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and France. The Soviet sector of Germany became the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). The Socialist Unity Party of Germany governed the country until 1990, in close cooperation with the Soviets. The German Democratic Republic lost the backing of the Soviet Union and popular support in the late 1980s. In 1989 developments, such as the fall of the Berlin Wall and the removal of Erich Honecher, the communist hard-line leader, led to the possibility of German unification (Harris 1991). In elections in East Germany on 18 March 1990, 80 percent expressed a wish for reunification with the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) by voting for non-communist parties (Frowein 1992). Several agreements were needed to accomplish unification, both dealing with matters of German status under international law and internal issues between East and West. Because of the unclear status of Germany under international law after the Second World War, the four Allied powers' signature was needed for unification. On 12 September 1990, they signed the Treaty on Final Settlement with Respect to Germany. With this act, Germany regained full sovereignty. Practically, the reunification of Germany took place on October 3 when the German Democratic Republic ceased to exist and the territory became part of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Ghana

Polity Transition Year:	1970
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	3
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

The National Liberation Council (NLC) took power in a coup in 1966 when they toppled the civilian government of Nkrumah. The NLC was a coalition of army and police officers – four from each institution and headed by Lt.-General Ankrah. A major factor in the coup was the dislike of the civilian CPP government headed by Nkrumah. The military junta had all along stated that it would hand over power to an elected civilian government as soon as it was politically feasible. When the regime had reached its objective of weakening the CPP, they lifted the ban on political parties and allowed for elections. The elections held on 29 August 1969 were won by Kofi Busia. The military handed power over in October 1969.

Ghana

Polity Transition Year:	1979
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	8
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

In January 1972, the civilian government was toppled in a coup by General Acheampong. In 1978, Acheampong was ousted from power in an internal coup by his deputy, General Akuffo (Baynham 1985; Lumsden 1980). Akuffo and others in the army were concerned with re-establishing the image of the army and that this led to the removal of Acheampong. The regime ended in 1979 when Flight-Lieutenant Rawlings led a military coup against the military junta. This coup was made up of lower ranking junior officers. The prior regime had been planning on holding elections, however, growing discontent within the lower ranks of the army led Rawlings to oust the regime before the elections took place. Despite this, the elections were conducted as planned. Hilla Limann won these elections – held on 18 June 1979, and the transition regime of Rawlings handed power over to the new civilian government on 24 September. In the aftermath of the coup, Rawlings purged the armed forces and executed top ranking officers of the prior regime. Rawlings made the handing over of power conditional upon the indemnity of individuals involved in the prior coups and forbade investigations and proceedings against the individuals involved in the Rawlings' coup. These conditions were written into the new constitution (Baynham 1985).

Ghana

Polity Transition Year:	1996
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	15
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

On 31 December 1981, Lieutenant Rawlings orchestrated a coup against the civilian government of Limann, whom he had ceded power to in 1979. This time Rawlings seized power for himself. In the government of the Provisional National Defense Council, Rawlings included both military and civilians (Jeffries 1998). Political parties were banned between January 1982 and May 1992.

The democratization project was begun on the district level in the late 1980s elections for local assemblies. In 1991, Rawlings announced a timetable for a return to constitutional rule. Presidential elections were held 1992. The regime of the Provisional National Defense Council formed into the political party the National Democratic Congress for the elections. They won the elections and Rawlings became the elected civilian president. The opposition parties largely boycotted the legislative elections, on 28 December 1992, because of their claim of election malpractice in the presidential elections. The new elected civilian government was thus a de facto one party state headed by the former authoritarian leader. In the 1996 elections, by contrast, the political opposition parties participated and the elections were perceived as free and fair (Jeffries 1998). However, Rawlings was re-elected president, but the parliamentary seats were more evenly distributed, constituting a return to multiparty democracy.

Greece

Polity Transition Year:	1975
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	9
Transition Type:	Collapse

In July 1965, the Prime Minister, Georgios Papandreou, resigned after a series of poor political decisions and a constitutional disagreement with the king over control of the military. Caretaker governments held office until the military stepped into this power vacuum in 1967. The military junta garnered little support from the civilian political leadership and resorted to considerable repression to consolidate its power. The junta's aims and policies were a mixture of populist reforms and paternalistic authoritarianism backed by propaganda and terror. The regime lacked a base of popular support and remained in power through terror. The military government targeted mostly Communists and their supporters, committing numerous human rights abuses in the process, including the use of torture. Widespread arrests of political activists took place. In 1968, nearly 1000 civil servants were fired by the junta. Internal opposition to the junta formed and persisted during military rule, but Greek meddling in Cyprus brought the regime's downfall. Seeking to stoke nationalist sentiment and rally the population behind the otherwise faltering military government, the junta engineered a coup against President Makarios of Cyprus, prompting Turkey to invade the island. The disaster precipitated the exit of the military from politics. Constantine Karamanlis returned from exile to resume his position as Prime Minister. The monarchy, however, was not restored, and Greece became a republic in December 1974.

Guatemala

Polity Transition Year:	1986
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	13
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

In disputed elections in 1974, General Kjell Lauguerud García assumed power, to be followed in 1978 by General Romeo Lucas Garcia. On 23 March 1982, army troops commanded by junior officers staged a coup to prevent the assumption of power by General Angel Anibal Guevara, the handpicked candidate of outgoing President Garcia. The coup leaders asked retired General Efraim Rios Montt to negotiate the departure of Lucas and Guevara. Rios Montt formed a three-member military junta that annulled the 1965 constitution, dissolved Congress, suspended political parties, and canceled the electoral law. Soon Rios Montt assumed the title of President of the Republic. During his reign in office, the civil war in the country intensified. On August 8, 1983, Rios Montt was deposed by his own Minister of Defense, General Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores, who succeeded him as the de facto President of Guatemala. General Mejia allowed a managed return to democracy in Guatemala, starting with a 1 July 1984 election for a Constituent Assembly to draft a democratic constitution. On 30 May 1985, the Constituent Assembly finished drafting a new constitution, which took effect immediately. Vinicio Cerezo, civilian candidate of the Christian Democracy Party, won the first presidential elections held under the new constitution with almost 70 percent of the vote, and took office on 14 January 1986.

Guinea-Bissau

Polity Transition Year:	1994
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	15
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

Guinea-Bissau declared its independence in 1973 and was universally recognized in 1974 following the end of the Portuguese occupation after a decade long liberation war (Rudebeck 1997 and 1998). The first 6 years after independence, Guinea-Bissau was ruled as a one-party state under the party PAIGC. However, discontent with the government grew and on 14 November 1980, João Bernardo Nino Vieira, the Prime Minister, overthrew President Amilcar Cabral in a bloodless coup (Forrest 1987). Cabral had not long before proposed amendments to the constitution that among other changes would make the president head of the army, a position that previously resided with the Prime Minister Vieira. Many believe that this sparked the coup (Forrest 1992). Vieira declared martial law, thereby abolishing the position of prime minister. Instead, a Revolutionary Council was established as the center of decision-making; this was a nine-member cabinet, seven of which were from the military. Many institutional changes were made to bolster the power of the president and Vieira managed to gain control over much of the PAIGC, who had previously been loyal to Cabral. In 1984, a new constitution was ratified to reflect the new institutional structure. It replaced the Revolutionary Council with the Council of State. Vieira appointed and controlled the Council of State and became Chairman of this body (Forrest 1992). The constitution also re-established the Popular National Assembly, and elections to this body were held in March and April 1984, and in June 1989. At the beginning of the 1990s, the opposition movement, including exiles, made calls for democracy. The ban on political parties was lifted in 1991. Finally, after years of negotiations and opposition demands the parliamentary and presidential elections were held on 3 July 1994, with the presidential elections requiring a second round completed 7 August 1994 (Rudebeck 1997). Six parties

ended up being elected to Parliament; however, the old ruling party PAIGC won the majority of seats. After the second round of presidential elections, Vieira emerged the winner. International observers found the elections mostly free and fair (Rudebeck 1997).

Guinea-Bissau

Polity Transition Year:	2000
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civil War
Authoritarian Regime Length:	2
Transition Type:	Emergence from Civil War

President João Bernardo Nino Vieira suspended General Ansumane Mané from his post as head of the armed forces in January 1998 on accusations of illegal arms dealing (Rudebeck 1998). Then on 5 June, Vieira appointed another head of the armed forces, which led to military fighting breaking out on the June 7. The armed forces loyal to Mane were dissatisfied with the corruption of the president, and throughout the conflict required Vieira to step down. Mane had superior military force, but Vieira had outside military support from Senegal and Guinea, with the approval of France (Misser 1999). Several cease-fire agreements were signed during the civil war, but all were violated. In March, the Senegalese and Guinean troops left Guinea-Bissau and were replaced by West African peacekeepers, who were unarmed and less than 600. In this situation, Vieira was unable to hold onto power, and Mane and his forces ousted him in May 1999. The military junta appointed Maladan Bacai Sanha as interim president and established a timetable for a return to democracy through elections. Mane declared that he would not seek the presidency. Elections to parliament and the presidency were held in November 1999, and a second round of presidential elections was held in mid-January 2000. Kumba Yala won these over Sanha and became the new democratically elected president.

Haiti

Polity Transition Year:	1990
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	5
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

Jean-Claude Duvalier came to power in 1971 in what became a personalistic regime controlled by him and his family. Antigovernment riots occurred in 1984 and 1985 and soon spread. A plot to remove him had been well under way long before the demonstrations began, but violence in the streets prompted Jean-Claude's opponents to act. The leaders of the plot, Lieutenant General Henri Namphy and Colonel Williams Regala, confronted the Duvaliers and demanded their departure. Left with no base of support, Jean-Claude consented. After hastily naming a National Council of Government made up of Namphy, Regala, and three civilians, Jean-Claude and Michèle Duvalier departed from Haiti on 7 February 1986. The CNG annulled the Duvalierist constitution and held elections for a constituent assembly in October 1986. This assembly produced a new constitution in 1987. Haitians overwhelmingly ratified the document

by popular vote on 29 March 1987. The 1987 elections were a debacle, with two candidates being assassinated. A new electoral council, controlled by the government, was formed and scheduled new elections for 17 January 1988. The CNG's electoral council declared Leslie F. Manigat the winner and he took office on 7 February; but Namphy and the army deposed him on June 20, following a dispute over army appointments. Namphy formally rescinded the 1987 Constitution in July 1988. Under heavy U.S. pressure, a weak civilian caretaker government was installed under the inexperienced Ertha Pascal Trouillot. Presidential and legislative elections were held on 16 December where Aristide won 67 percent, far outpacing his rivals. It was the first time in Haitian history that a president had been freely and fairly elected, and it was the first time since the fall of the Duvaliers that someone from outside the ruling class had been so elevated. Aristide took office in February 1991, but was the victim of a military coup in September of the same year.

Haiti

Polity Transition Year:	1994
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	4
Transition Type:	Foreign Overthrow

A military government headed by Lt. General Raoul Cédras governed Haiti from 31 September 1991, when it deposed democratically elected President Jean Bertrand Aristide, until 14 October 1994. The new military regime committed numerous human rights abuses, including arbitrary arrests, torture, rape, beatings, and extortion. Although the military perpetrated the coup and exercised veto power, it also installed civilian presidents, ostensibly to legitimize its actions. These include Joseph Nerette (8 October 1991 – 19 June 1992), a Supreme Court justice installed as a provisional president in 1991, Marc-Louis Bazin (acting president from 19 June 1992 – 15 June 1993), and Judge Emile Jonassaint (12 May 1994 – 12 October 1994), appointed provisional president by parliamentarians allied with the army (Jefferson 1995, 5). The Organization of American States and United Nations Security Council condemned the coup and ordered economic sanctions. On 16 June 1993, the U.N. Security Council declared an oil and arms embargo on Haiti. The U.S. began negotiating to reinstall Aristide as president. On 3 July 1993, Aristide and Cédras signed the Governor's Island Agreement, which would reinstall Aristide, give amnesty to the coup leaders, and allow Cédras to retain his position as Army Chief until Aristide returned to power on 30 October 1993. This and subsequent negotiations were carried out with little or no input from Aristide (Morley and McGillion 1997, 382). By 15 January 1994, the date set in the Governor's Island Agreement for Cédras to resign, the military had failed to meet any of the conditions of the Agreement (Morley and, McGillion 1997, 372) and negotiations with the regime broke down. Human rights abuses increased significantly following this point (HRW 1992, 4). On 31 July 1994, the U.N. Security Council passed Resolution 940, authorizing member states to form a multinational force and to use "all necessary means to facilitate the departure from Haiti of the military leadership ... the prompt return of the legitimately elected President [Aristide] and the restoration of the legitimate authorities of the Government of Haiti..." (Judge Advocate General 1995, 12). U.S. President Clinton publicly announced that the United States would use military force to remove the

military regime from power. With the threat of force as a backdrop, former president Jimmy Carter led a negotiating team composed of Senator Sam Nunn and Colin Powell, former head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Carter brokered an agreement with the military leaders that included concessions to top-ranking military leaders and a general amnesty for all human rights abuses committed by military officials against civilian noncombatants since the 1991 coup. In an agreement signed by Carter and Jonassaint, the military-appointed civilian president of Haiti, Haitian military leaders agreed to step down. A multinational force authorized by Resolution 940 enforced this transition, and U.S. troops began entering Haiti in large numbers on September 19 (Judge Advocate General 1995, 13). Aristide returned to power on 15 October 1994.

Honduras

Polity Transition Year:	1982
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	11
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

In 1963, conservative military officers preempted constitutional elections and deposed President Ramon Villeda Morales in a bloody coup. The armed forces, led by General Lopez Arellano, governed until 1970. A civilian President took power briefly in 1970 but in 1972, General Lopez staged another coup. Lopez's military regime was brought down in the mid-1970s by corruption scandals. The regimes of General Melgar Castro (1975-78) and General Paz Garcia (1978-82) followed. After the overthrow of Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua in 1979 and general instability in El Salvador at the time, Hondurans elected a constituent assembly in 1980 and voted in general elections in 1981. A new constitution was approved in 1982, and the Liberal Party government of President Roberto Suazo Cordoba took office.

Hungary

Polity Transition Year:	1990
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	41
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Opposition-Led

As with most Eastern European countries after the Second World War, Hungary was under considerable influence from the Soviet Union. The communist takeover there was meant to be more gradual than elsewhere, though, to deflect Western criticism of rapid communist takeovers in Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, and the Soviet zone of Germany. Nevertheless, the deteriorating relationship between the Soviet Union and the West prompted Stalin's regime to reverse this attitude, and by 1949, the Hungarian Communist Party was firmly in control of government. The new regime, under Matyas Rakosi, carried out purges, widespread arrests and consolidated power in the one-party Stalinesque communist government. The regime was not without opposition, though. In 1956, Hungarian support for Polish autonomy—in the form of street rallies—prompted police forces to suppress the demonstrations, but the protestors fought back

and the Hungarian Army joined the uprising. Hungary briefly formed an inclusive government with plans for democratization and liberalization, but the Soviet Union invaded the country and restored communist control. The repression that followed was severe. The Soviet Union secretly tried and executed the leadership of the Hungarian Revolution. As many as 2000 more executions were carried out and 25,000 people were imprisoned. Repression continued—though with some efforts at market reform—until Soviet liberalization under Gorbachev. In 1988, Hungary began liberalizing as well. The political opening encouraged protests for democracy, and by 1989, opposition to the communist government had reached a level at which the regime announced it would be giving up power and holding free elections.

Indonesia

Polity Transition Year:	1999
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	35
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Opposition-Led

Suharto came to power in 1965 following the aborted coup attempt on 30 September-1 October 1965 by leftist military forces alongside communist party leaders, PKI. In the coup attempt, many of the leftist army forces were killed. Suharto, then the head of the army's strategic command, took control and defeated the uprising. Suharto and the military began curbing the civilian president Sukarno's powers. Suharto also began purging the army of pro-Sukarno forces. He also oversaw the anti-communist crackdown between October 1965 and early 1966 in which 500,000 communist party members and sympathizers were killed (Lee 2001). In 1959, Sukarno had reinstated the 1945 constitution, which gave the president increased power. It also called for elections every five years with no term-limits (Liddle 1999). Thus, what proved to be Suharto's last term, began in March 1998, and in this "election," he appointed Habibie as vice-president. Habibie was widely unpopular within the army, which was Suharto's source of support. The catalyst for the resignation of Suharto was the Asian Financial Crisis, which caused many problems in the poor country, and Suharto was apparently out of touch with the reality of the population's struggles. Students became particularly dissatisfied. In 1998, students began protesting against the Suharto regime and in May 1998, it came to violent crackdowns against students. Students began calling for the resignation of Suharto, and the elite also began turning against him; both the Muslim hierarchy and the army's chief General Wiranto wanted Suharto to step down (Bird 1998). In addition, Golkar, the political party that traditionally supported Suharto, wanted him to resign. On 21 May 1998, Suharto resigned and Habibie was sworn in as president. Violent upheavals continued in Indonesia through 1998 and the army was becoming increasingly unpopular among the population. Their "dual function" role (providing for internal stability and involved in every aspect of governance) began being criticized. Habibie remained as president until the elections in 1999. Parliamentary elections were held on 7 June 1999; these were the first democratic elections since 1955. Golkar, the party that had been supportive of Suharto, gained only a minority of seats in the parliamentary elections. As called for by the 1945 constitution, in October the People's Consultative Assembly, which consists of the members of parliament plus a number of unspecified delegates from the regions, elected the president and

vice-president for the 1999-2004 term. These elections were conducted in a democratic fashion. Gus Dur was elected president.

Iran

Polity Transition Year:	1997
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	19
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

The Islamic Revolution of 1979 ended the 37-year Shah regime and brought about the Islamic Republic of Iran. All authority was now vested in the spiritual leader, the Walid Faqih. The spiritual leader is the ultimate decision maker, and head of the armed forces and internal security forces. He can also legally dismiss the president (Roy 1998). The Council of Guardians assists the spiritual leader in overseeing elections and that legislation complies with Islamic law. It has to approve all candidates for elected office. The Council of Guardians consists of 12 members, 6 are appointed by the spiritual leader and 6 by the judiciary and confirmed by the legislature. According to the constitution, the elected Assembly of Experts is to appoint, supervise and can dismiss the spiritual leader. In reality, the spiritual leader has never been dismissed (Ansari 2006). From 1979 to his death in 1989, Ayatollah Khomenei enjoyed the position of spiritual leader. He handpicked his successor Ayatollah Ali Khomenei, who was the former president from 1979-1989. The president has daily administrative authority (Ansari 2006). In 1989, elections were held for the presidency to find a replacement for Khomenei. The religious hierarchy controlled the outcome by allowing their preferred candidate to run against a few weak candidates. Rafsanjani, the former Speaker of parliament, won the 1989 elections and was re-elected in 1993. Rafsanjani was unable to run for re-election in 1997 (Ansari 2006). Leading up to the May 1997 presidential election, four candidates made it through the vetting procedure of the Council of Guardians. The Council favored Nateq Nuri, but also allowed the more reformist Mohammad Khatami to run, as he was without much initial support and perceived to be a weak candidate. Yet Khatami went on to win the elections by a landslide. On 3 August 1997, Khatami was confirmed as the new president in a ceremony in Tehran (Ansari 2006).

Kenya

Polity Transition Year:	2002
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	40
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

Jomo Kenyatta became President in 1963 with Kenya's independence and led the country until his death in 1978. Upon his death the vice-president, Daniel arap Moi, took power and quickly began repressing dissent by harassing and jailing critics and by controlling the press. Both Kenyatta and Moi were from the dominant party the Kenya African National Union, KANU. Kenya had been a de facto one-party state since independence, however, in 1982 Moi amended

the constitution to make KANU the only legal political party (Brown 2001). Likewise, in 1987 the constitution was amended to give Moi the power to fire civil servants and judges. The system of governance created by Moi and his predecessor was highly centralized and personalized. The president appointed officials through which he had enormous power in all levels of government compared to elected officials. Moi employed a wide-ranging patronage system, which effectively undermined the rule of law and led to widespread corruption. The regime was also involved in human rights abuses. Due to domestic opposition and international donor pressure, the constitution was amended in 1990 to legalize political parties and to instate a two-term limit on the executive. In addition, voting procedures were amended to provide for secret ballots in elections. In both the 1992 and 1997 elections, voting irregularities and election manipulation favored Moi, and the government began cracking down on pro-democracy forces (Brown 2001). Therefore, Moi won both elections easily. The opposition was unable to come together to further the transition to democracy (Brown 2001). However, in the 2002 elections, Moi was unable to run because of constitutional term-limits. His chosen successor caused a split within the party at the same time that the opposition managed to come together in a broad and ethnically inclusive alliance. In the 2002 elections, Kibaki from the NARC alliance (who had served under Moi previously) won by a landslide and Moi ceded power.

Latvia

Polity Transition Year:	1991
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	71
Transition Type:	State Creation

Latvia was part of the Soviet Union, where the Communist Party ruled from 1920-1991. It became independent on 21 August 1991 as a parliamentary democracy.

Lesotho

Polity Transition Year:	1993
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	8
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

In 1986, the military seized power from a one-party dictatorship that had governed since 1970. However, internal conflicts between the military and monarchy strained the military's hold on power, and in 1990, the alliance between the military and monarchy dissolved. In the late 1980s, the military government began political liberalization in the face of increasing conflicts in civil society and pressure from the international donor community. The government revoked the prohibition on political activities, allowed political exiles back into the country, and began planning elections for the return to civilian rule. Elections took place in 1993, and were deemed free and fair by international observers (Matlosa 1997).

Lesotho

Polity Transition Year: 2002
Authoritarian Regime Type: Civil War
Authoritarian Regime Length: 4
Transition Type: Emergence from Civil War

After the May 1998 election, the ruling Lesotho Congress for Democracy was accused of electoral fraud. Demonstrations followed and an army mutiny broke out in September 1998 when junior officers rebelled. Continued civil unrest followed. The Southern African Development Community (SADC), which includes South Africa, Botswana, and Zimbabwe, sponsored peace talks between the ruling LCD party and the three opposition parties that felt cheated in the election. They also dispatched troops to quell the violence, although tensions with the South African troops caused further rioting. The Interim Political Authority was formed and it worked to reconfigure Lesotho's electoral system. In May 2002, the first elections under the new system were held and proved peaceful.

Liberia

Polity Transition Year: 1997
Authoritarian Regime Type: Civil War
Authoritarian Regime Length: 7
Transition Type: Emergence from Civil War

After a long period of civil war and numerous aborted peace attempts, the July 1997 elections, in which Charles Taylor won the presidency, were deemed free and fair by many observers. Shortly thereafter, however, Taylor consolidated power as a dictator and war resumed.

Lithuania

Polity Transition Year: 1991
Authoritarian Regime Type: Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length: 71
Transition Type: State Creation

Lithuania was part of the Soviet Union, where the Communist Party ruled from 1920-1991. A national plebiscite on 9 February 1991 saw more than 90 percent of those who took part in the voting (and 76 percent of all eligible voters) vote in favor of an independent, democratic Lithuania. The country soon received recognition of its independence by Western countries and finally recognized by Russia in September 1991.

Macedonia

Polity Transition Year:	1991
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	47
Transition Type:	State Creation

Macedonia was part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and was ruled by the Communist Party in a one-party state since 1945. At the death of Josef Broz Tito in 1980, the power of the Yugoslav government was re-centralized, in response to the Croat movements toward greater decentralization. Intense Serbian nationalism, headed by President Slobodan Milosevic, who came to power in 1989, threatened Macedonia's national identity and ethnic and territorial integrity (Perry 1997, 233). Political liberalization took place in Macedonia in the 1980s, culminating in the first multiparty parliamentary elections in Macedonia's history in 1990. Kiro Gligorov, the country's first president, was elected by parliament and supported a sovereign Macedonia. On 8 September 1991, Macedonia voted to separate from Yugoslavia, and on 21 November 1991, declared independence.

Madagascar

Polity Transition Year:	1992
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	18
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Opposition-Led

After the 1972 Malagasy revolution, three years of internal turmoil ensued. In 1975, the officer Didier Ratsiraka emerged as leader when the Military directorate named him president after many changes of power. Ratsiraka introduced a new constitution in 1975 that was to build an institutional base of support for him, which he lacked. He founded the Arema party and banned other parties. Arema, however, did not function as a typical socialist party. Throughout the 1980s, the Arema party became factious, and late in the 1980s there were several coup-attempts against Ratsiraka. Throughout 1990 and into 1991 the opposition called for a new constitution and transition to multiparty democracy. The Malagasy Council of Christian Churches, FFKM, was a driving force behind the calls for democracy. Public protests grew and the opposition gained momentum and strength. Negotiations between President Ratsiraka and the opposition took place, and in May 1991 Ratsiraka finally amended the constitution to, among other things, allow for political parties. However, the opposition was unsatisfied and public protests continued. In July 1991, Ratsiraka dismissed his cabinet and established a new one, which included opposition figures unresponsive of Ratsiraka to accommodate opposition demands. This did not seem to satisfy any party to the conflict. The country was in a political stalemate: nobody appeared to be in control of the country, as the opposition had control of the capital, but Ratsiraka was still president and had control of some provinces. Meanwhile the economic situation worsened, general strikes were called, and public protests grew. Finally, on 31 October 1991 the Panorama Agreement was negotiated by the French (Madagascar still having ties with the former colonial power). The agreement allowed Ratsiraka to remain Head of State, but

instated an 18-month transitional government that was to be followed by multiparty elections. The interim government was headed by Prime Minister Razanamasy's coalition, which governed from November 1991 to mid-1993. In 1992, a new constitution was promulgated, and in November 1992, elections were held, to parliament and the presidency. Ratsiraka lost the first round 29 percent to Albert Zafy's 45 percent. In the second round run-off elections in February 1993 Ratsiraka was finally ousted from the presidency when he lost by 33 percent to Zafy's 67 percent. Zafy was inaugurated as president in March 1993, while fighting between pro and anti-Ratsiraka forces continued throughout the country.

Malawi

Polity Transition Year:	1994
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	31
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Opposition-Led

Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda took power at independence in 1964 and declared himself president for life. "The Malawian state was a strong and authoritarian, one-party state, dominated by a small, autocratic and dictatorial political clique and characterized by 'top-down' flow of policy directives and government decrees... ministerial and parliamentary structures were purely nominal," intended to provide the illusion of democracy (Ihonvbere 1997, 225). Banda ran a highly personalistic state; there was hardly a separation between public and private funds, as Banda himself owned almost half the economy, and he created a culture of sycophancy. By the early 1990s, Malawi was mired in economic and political trouble, which diminished Banda's legitimacy and led to calls for multiparty elections. Unemployment, crime, and hunger were at record levels. Economic troubles accumulated over the years from poor economic management and IMF structural adjustments and limited the government's ability to pay state employees, dispense patronage, and alienated the poor. The withdrawal of international aid due to human rights abuses further hurt the economy. The Catholic Church condemned the Banda government for repression and human rights abuses. Students and workers throughout the economy, emboldened by the Catholic Church's condemnation led strikes for pay increases and openly called for the introduction of multiparty politics, and succeeded in extracting pay raises. Foreign-based opposition groups began to organize, and formed links within the country to pressure for a political liberalization (Ihonvbere 1997). Internal and external pressure greatly diminished Banda's legitimacy and led to political liberalization, including the legalization of opposition parties, and strong demands for multiparty elections. On New Year's Eve 1992, Banda announced a referendum on the introduction of multiparty democracy, which 63 percent of voters supported when it was held in June 1993, under the supervision of UN elections observers. Although Banda maintained that he would continue in power until the presidential elections, he ceded significant power in the planning process. A National Consultative Council (NCC) was established with a limited brief to work out the transitional arrangements, and was composed of representatives of the pressure groups and other institutions, including the University of Malawi. In 1994, opposition candidate Bakili Muluzi won the presidency with an absolute majority.

Mali

Polity Transition Year:	1992
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	25
Transition Type:	Domestic Overthrow

In 1968 General Moussa Traore seized power in a military coup d'état. "Traore ruled through his control of the military, as head of the one official party, and through repression of all dissent" (Clark 1995). He governed over what was essentially a police state. In 1990 and 1991, various sectors of society undertook a series of strikes, primarily centered in the capital of Bamako. On 22 March 1991, the army massacred several hundred protesting civilians. Following this event, Amadou Toumani Touré, a young army officer, arrested Traoré, and turned over power to a provisional government. This government convened a National Conference, which endorsed democracy as the official political system and approved a new constitution. Presidential elections were held in 1992; these were won by Alpha Konaré, who took office on 8 June 1992 (Pringle 2006).

Mexico

Polity Transition Year:	1997
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	70
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

The founding of the National Revolutionary Party in 1929 marked the beginning of single-party authoritarian rule in Mexico. It was renamed the Party of the Mexican Revolution in 1938, and again its name changed to the Institutional Revolutionary Party in 1946. In that year, Congress granted power to the PRI to cancel the registration of political parties and directly oversee elections through control of the Federal Electoral Commission (Klesner 2001, 107). From its inception until 1989, the PRI won every gubernatorial election it entered and controlled all thirty-one state governments (Klesner 1998, 480). As Mexico shifted its development strategy in the 1980s from import-substitution industrialization to neoliberalism, electoral reforms followed. President Carlos Salinas de Gortari created the Federal Electoral Institute as well as a new seat allocation formula for the Chamber of Deputies. However, these electoral reforms as well as intra-party divisions over development strategies weakened the PRI's cohesion, leading to factions within the party (Klesner 1998, 487). In the July 1997 midterm elections, the Institutional Revolutionary Party lost its majority in the Federal Chamber of Deputies and the National Congress (lower house). It also lost control of two state governorships and Mexico City's local government. Although the PRI retained the presidency, it was the first time the party failed to retain power across all political levels.

Moldova

Polity Transition Year:	1991
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	72
Transition Type:	State Creation

Moldova was part of the Soviet Union, where the Communist Party ruled from 1920-1991. On 27 August 1991, Moldova declared its independence

Mongolia

Polity Transition Year:	1992
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	69
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

Mongolia's modern political history is closely tied to that of the Soviet Union. White Army forces from Russia invaded Mongolia and drove out the Chinese in 1921. The White Army, in turn, was driven out by communist Bolsheviks in 1922, leaving Mongolia allied with the Soviet Union. In 1924, the country formally adopted a new constitution and was declared the Mongolian People's Republic with a one-party political system under the control of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP). Mongolia grew increasingly close to the Soviet Union. The communist regime carried out Stalin-style purges of political opponents, feudal landholders, and religious groups in the 1930s. The regime persisted until liberalization policies in the Soviet Union prompted pro-democracy demonstrations in 1989. The following year, the MPRP agreed to constitutional change that gave up its monopoly on power, and elections were held in July 1990. In 1992, the country approved a new democratic constitution.

Mozambique

Polity Transition Year:	1994
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	19
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Opposition-Led

The Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo), a Marxist-Leninist party, was formed by three nationalist organizations in 1962, while the country was still under colonial rule. It waged an armed struggle against the colonial government, which ended in 1974 at the signing of the Lusaka Accords. In 1975, following a nine-month transition, Mozambique was declared independent. In 1976, a civil war broke out between Frelimo, then in control of the government, and the rebel movement Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo), which was supported by Mozambique's capitalist neighboring states and Western powers (Moran and Pitcher, 2004). During the war, social and economic conditions deteriorated. Frelimo lost much legitimacy and

popularity, while changes in regional politics “forced Renamo to rethink its position” (Mazula 2004, 192). In light of these issues, and at the urging of both internal and international actors, Frelimo and Renamo entered into negotiations, called the Rome Peace Talks, mediated by the Catholic Church. On 4 October 1992, presidents of both parties signed the Rome Peace Accords, ending the conflict and agreeing to hold multi-party elections within two years.

Nepal

Polity Transition Year:	1990
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	32
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Opposition-Led

Nepal was ruled as an absolute monarchy between 1960 and 1990. In 1960, King Mahendra dismissed the cabinet, disbanded parliament and prohibited all political parties that had competed in the first Nepalese elections in 1959. In 1962, the King introduced a one-party system termed the “partyless panchayat” (Khadka 1993). During the period since 1960, all power rested in the King, as he was head of both state and government. In 1980, a constitutional reform allowed for direct voting but banned political parties, until then voting had been indirect. While the position of Prime Minister was also created as part of these reforms, the King still had ultimate power. When King Mahendra died in 1972 his son, Birendra, succeeded him. During the lifespan of the absolute monarchy, opposition forces challenged the regime. In 1990, the Nepali Congress and the United Left Front parties managed to join forces to bring down the panchayat system (Koirala 1991). A non-violent pro-democracy movement began in mid-February 1990, headed by these parties. A few weeks of violent protests and suppression of these ensued. The movement was called off when the King lifted the ban on political parties after widespread public protests in which many people were killed. After lifting the ban on parties on April 8, the King met with the opposition forces to discuss a return to multiparty democracy. Institutions of the former panchayat regime were dissolved, and an interim government headed by Bhattarai was established. The newly established Constitutional Recommendation Committee submitted a draft constitution to the King on September 10 and following some delay, King Birendra promulgated the new constitution on November 9, 1990. This constitution vested power in the people and established Nepal as a constitutional monarchy.

Nicaragua

Polity Transition Year:	1990
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	12
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

The Sandinista revolutionaries (FSLN) captured the state in July 1979. Daniel Ortega won presidential elections held in 1984 that were not considered free and fair. During this time civil war intensified in the region between the Contras and the Sandinista regime. After Oscar Arias

Sánchez was elected to the presidency of Costa Rica in 1986, he designed a regional plan to bring peace to Central America. The Arias Plan, officially launched in February 1987, was signed by the presidents of the five Central American republics (Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica) at a presidential summit held in Esquipulas, Guatemala in August 1987. This agreement, also known as Esquipulas II, called for amnesty for persons charged with political crimes, a negotiated cease-fire, national reconciliation for those countries with insurgencies, and democratic reforms leading to free elections in Nicaragua. On 15 January 1988, President Daniel Ortega agreed to hold direct talks with the Contras, to lift the state of emergency, and to call for national elections. In March the FSLN, government met with representatives of the Contras and signed a cease-fire agreement. The Sandinistas granted a general amnesty to all Contra members and freed former members of the National Guard who were still imprisoned. President Ortega also agreed to move the next national elections, scheduled for the fall of 1990, up to February 1990. In the 25 February 1990 elections, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro carried 55 percent of the popular vote against Daniel Ortega's 41 percent, ending the regime.

Niger

Polity Transition Year:	1992
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	7
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Opposition-Led

Ali Saibou took power in Niger following the death of Lieutenant Colonel Senyi Kountche, Prolonged protest by social groups and an economic crisis that neared collapse led to political liberalization reforms under Saibou. This meant returning to “democratic one-party rule,” under the Mouvement Nationale pour la Societe de Developpement (MNSD). A new constitution was approved by referendum in October 1989, and, in accordance with its provisions, Saibou had himself approved as president, and the 93 deputies of the MNSD were elected from a single list. In the months following the elections, massive protests arose in response to efforts to implement IMF structural adjustment programs. Protests escalated after violent government repression of a student demonstration in February 1990. By the middle of 1990, the first independent newspaper was published, which called for a National Conference and a multiparty democratic system. In November, Saibou agreed. The National Conference was effectively controlled by the opposition, dominated by newly formed political parties. It established a transitional government, in which Saibou remained president in a ceremonial role. A new constitution was approved by referendum on 26 December 1992, and the new government, which had been elected between January and March 1993, took office on 16 April (Villalon 2005).

Niger

Polity Transition Year:	1999
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	4
Transition Type:	Domestic Overthrow

On 26 January 1996, Colonel Ibrahim Mainassara Bare led a military coup deposing democratically elected president Mahamane Ousmane, who had governed in a troubled presidency. Bare dissolved the democratic institutions, promising a quick return to civilian rule. A new constitution was written and adopted in a national referendum, and on 14 July 1996. Bare ran in presidential elections in July 1996, but when early counting revealed he was not winning, he dissolved the electoral commission and instated a new one, which declared him the winner. On 7 August 1996, Bare was inaugurated as president. His presidency was plagued by illegitimacy and protest, which were heightened by opposition boycotts of subsequent elections. In April 1999, a member of the presidential guard killed Bare at the Niamey Airport. The head of the guard was pronounced head of state and announced a nine-month transition under the control of the military Council of National Reconciliation. During the transition, the prime minister retained his position, as did the majority of the government. First-round presidential elections were held on 17 October 1999, and on 24 November 1999, legislative elections and the second round of presidential elections took place (Villalon 2005).

Nigeria

Polity Transition Year:	1979
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	5
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

Nigeria's turbulent post-independence history has been characterized by a series of military dictators, coups d'état, and premature government turnovers. Lieutenant General Olusegun Obasanjo (in power from 1976-1979) oversaw the transition from military to civilian rule, but the decision to give power to civilian authority was made under Obasanjo's predecessor, Murtala Muhammad, in 1975. Muhammad instituted a multi-stage plan for creating civilian government but was killed in an unsuccessful coup d'état against him the year after he took power. The plan involved rapid changes in government, including targeting corruption in the civil service by firing as many as 10,000 employees. Similarly, the regime planned to demobilize 40 percent of the 250,000-man army (Beckett and Young 1997). The regime empowered a Constitutional Drafting Committee—headed by a civilian lawyer—to write a new constitution that would subsequently be presented to an elected Constituent Assembly for approval. Nevertheless, the final word on the constitution would be given by the Supreme Military Council. Despite Muhammad's death, the program proceeded as planned, and the military exited government in 1979. The decision to turn power over to civilians coincided with the nation's oil boom, reducing apprehension about the shift in government.

Nigeria

Polity Transition Year:	1999
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	6
Transition Type:	Collapse

General Sani Abacha seized power in a coup in 1993. His regime employed brutal tactics to silence political opposition, harass human rights and pro-democracy activists, and manipulate the transition process, itself (HRW 1997b). Even members of the armed forces were often detained on accusations of opposition to Abacha or discharged from the military for political reasons. On 1 October 1995, Abacha announced that government would be returned to civilian authorities in 1998, yet, like his predecessor, Ibrahim Babangida, Abacha routinely postponed promised elections and generally sought to delay the transition. Abacha died of a heart attack on 8 June 1998, prompting considerable change in the prospects for civilian government. General Abdulsalami Abubakar took over after Abacha's death, and apparently had no designs on power, as he successfully handed over the reins of government to an elected civilian government in May 1999. Former General and Military President who oversaw the 1979 transition, Olusegun Obasanjo, was elected the country's new president.

Pakistan

Polity Transition Year:	1973
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civil War
Authoritarian Regime Length:	4
Transition Type:	Emergence from Civil War

The military government headed by Yahya Khan lost much of its legitimacy after its defeat in the East Pakistan war for independence in 1971. This regime ceded power to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Bhutto and his Pakistan People's Party, both elected in 1970 to the National Assembly, quickly consolidated power, removing a number of high-ranked military leaders and retiring over 1000 civil servants. The new government instituted a number of economic reforms and began liberalizing the political system – reforms included greater freedom of the press and the writing of a new constitution (La Porte 1972). The new constitution, which took effect in 1973, established the country as a parliamentary democracy. In the new constitution, the presidency held less power than in the past, while considerable powers were vested in Prime Minister and the National Assembly, in which seats were allotted in proportion to population (Tepper 1974).

Pakistan

Polity Transition Year:	1988
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	12
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

General Mohammed Zia ul-Haq came to power in a military coup in July 1977 after months of public protests and dissatisfaction with the results of the February elections, in which Zulfikar Ali Bhutto claimed to have been re-elected as Prime Minister. Bhutto from the Pakistani People's Party, PPP, had chosen Zia to head the army only a year earlier (Burki 1988). Zia was opposed to the politics of the PPP, and allowed for the execution of Bhutto. After the coup, Zia declared martial law, but promised to hold elections within 90 days. The elections, however, were postponed for years. In 1985, Zia lifted the martial law, but continued as President and also as chief of the army staff. Constitutional amendments were passed that shifted the balance of power from the Prime Minister toward the President (Rais 1988). With the lifting of martial law, party-less elections were held to the National Assembly in 1985. Mohammad Khan Junejo was appointed prime minister after the elections. He asserted some independence from Zia, and liberalized the country, by allowing, for example, a free press and political parties (Rais 1988). On 29 May 1988, Zia dismissed Junejo as Prime Minister and dissolved the national and provincial assemblies (Burki 1988). The Supreme Court found the dissolution unconstitutional, and opposition mounted against Zia. Zia announced that elections would be held in November (Rais 1989). Then, on 17 August 1988 Zia died in a plane crash. A constitutional transfer of power to the chairman of the Senate, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, took place. Khan assured that free and fair elections would be conducted in November as planned. In the November elections, the Pakistan People's Party emerged as the winner, despite the ability of the opposition to unite in an alliance and strong opposition to the PPP rule. Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of the former prime minister, whom Zia had overthrown, became the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Panama

Polity Transition Year:	1989
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	7
Transition Type:	Foreign Overthrown

After the death of Omar Torrijos in 1981, power passed to various military leaders until 1983 when General Manuel Noriega took control. Tensions grew throughout the decade with the United States. When national elections were held in May 1989, Panamanians voted for the anti-Noriega candidates by a margin of over three-to-one. The Noriega regime annulled the election and embarked on a new round of repression. On 20 December 1989, President George H.W. Bush ordered the U.S. military into Panama to protect U.S. lives and property, to fulfill U.S. treaty responsibilities to operate and defend the Panama Canal, to assist the Panamanian people in restoring democracy, and to bring Noriega to justice. The U.S. troops involved in Operation Just Cause achieved their primary objectives quickly, and troop withdrawal began on 27

December 1989. Noriega eventually surrendered voluntarily to U.S. authorities. On 27 December 1989, Panama's Electoral Tribunal reinstated the results of the May 1989 election and confirmed the victory of opposition candidates under the leadership of President Guillermo Endara and Vice Presidents Guillermo Ford and Ricardo Arias Calderon.

Paraguay

Polity Transition Year:	1989
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	36
Transition Type:	Domestic Overthrow

In May 1954, Alfredo Stroessner ordered his troops into action against the government in a coup. About two months later, a divided Colorado Party nominated Stroessner for president. He was able to remain in office by using the state of siege and creating a vast network of patronage within the ruling Colorado Party. By the mid-1980s, however, the economy began to suffer and foreign governments and the Catholic Church began to condemn his repression. A split occurred within the party. On the night of 2 February 1989, forces loyal to First Corps commander Major General Andrés Rodríguez staged a coup d'état against the government. After several hours of heavy fighting, Stroessner surrendered and offered his resignation. The Rodríguez government organized free and fair elections. Opposition figures, including long-time human rights activists, won a significant number of seats. As the newly elected president, Rodríguez instituted political, legal, and economic reforms.

Peru

Polity Transition Year:	1980
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	13
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

Dissatisfied with the 1962 election results, the Peruvian military intervened and announced new elections for the following year. Fernando Belaunde won and held power for five years. Toward the end of his term in office, the country experienced severe economic difficulties, and the military took power for themselves in a coup in 1968 (Skidmore 2001). The military was headed by General Juan Velasco Alvarado, although the decisions were made by the military as an institution that was very much autonomous from the rest of society (Skidmore 2001). The regime was primarily concerned with the pursuit of economic development, a big part of which was undertaking land reforms. The military was revolutionary and nationalist (Malloy 1972). The regime repressed its dissenters, but not to such an extent as was evident in most other authoritarian regimes of the southern cone in Latin America. The military began being met with resistance from unions and the peasantry, who found the top-down organizations unresponsive to their demands. Moreover, the elite of the country disapproved of the regime and its policies, which were to their disadvantage. To quell the dissent, the regime took control of the media.

However, these actions only made the dissent grow stronger. In addition, the military regime began running into economic difficulties in the early 1970s, and Velasco himself fell ill. The joint chiefs of the military replaced him with Francisco Morales Bermúdez in August 1975. Bermudez began to dismantle the project of Velasco and in 1977 unveiled Plan Tupac Amaru, which was to lead to the reinstatement of democracy in Peru. The military regime announced that elections to a constituent assembly would be held in mid-1978. One of the purposes of this assembly was to produce a new constitution. Elections for congress and the presidency were to be held in 1980. In 1980 the president from 1963-1968, Belaunde, from the party Popular Accion, was again elected president.

Peru

Polity Transition Year:	1993
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	2
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

Since the transition from authoritarian rule in 1980, Peru functioned as a democracy. However, the presence of two revolutionary groups brought the state to near civil war. Moreover, the debt problem of the 1980s also hit Peru and led to poor economic growth. It was in this setting that the virtually unknown Alberto Fujimori came to power in the 1990 elections, although he only obtained 25 percent of the vote in the first round of the presidential elections (Skidmore 2001). Fujimori promised to restore the Peruvian economy and had run his campaign on a somewhat populist platform. However, Fujimori soon reneged on these electoral promises and instead implemented technocratic, neoliberal policies that reduced inflation but also induced a recession (Mauceri 1997). Although the exact reasons for the coup remain unclear, Fujimori shut down Congress on April 5, 1992 and suspended the constitution. Congress had until that day for the most part enacted Fujimori's policies, but he had run into increased opposition by late 1991. Fujimori had never thought highly of the old political parties and he might have viewed Congress as an obstacle to his policies (Mauceri 1997). Thus, Fujimori "temporarily suspended" democracy (Mauceri 1995). He had strong military support for the coup, and had the support of many Peruvians, who viewed the old political parties as corrupt and inept (Skidmore 2001). At the outset, Fujimori appeared to do not intend to return to democratic rule, but instead to rule by decree. Strong international pressure from the US, other Latin American countries and international organizations such as the OAS (Organization of American States) eventually led Fujimori to accept a return to democracy. Fujimori first wanted to enact constitutional changes by holding elections to the constitutional assembly (Valenzuela 2004). The elections were held in November of 1992 and proved a success for Fujimori's party, Cambio-90. The following months they drafted a new constitution, which was sent to a referendum and approved in October 1993. The constitution provided for a more personalistic and centralized rule. The acceptance of the new constitution effectively reinstated democracy in Peru. Political institutions had been altered, a process shaped largely by Fujimori's own supporters from his political party Cambio-90. The new constitution served to augment Fujimori's own power. However, most Peruvians supported his actions. The high-profile capture of the leader of the Shining Path in the summer

of 1992 only led to further support. Because of the new constitution, Fujimori was able to run for re-election, and in 1995, he was re-elected with 64 percent of the vote.

Philippines

Polity Transition Year:	1987
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	16
Transition Type:	Collapse

Ferdinand Marcos, who had been democratically elected president in 1965, declared martial law on 22 September 1972. He used the emergency provisions to build his own personal rule by giving friends and select members of the military and bureaucracy access to economic rents. The KBL party Marcos built in 1978 was not particularly loyal to him, only those people that benefited by gaining access to wealth supported Marcos. In the late 1970s, the economy began to deteriorate leading to a decrease in the legitimacy of the regime (Smith 2005). In 1981, Marcos terminated martial law in the country; however, he still had vast power and continued to rule by decree. Along with the end to martial law, the constitution was amended to set up a French-style system. The end of martial law encouraged opposition movement activity. They boycotted the parliamentary and presidential elections held in mid-1981 because of unfair practices by Marcos and the media. Marcos won the 1981 elections with 88 percent of the vote and continued as president (Youngblood 1982). According to the amended constitution, the regime held parliamentary and presidential elections in February 1986. The opposition forged an alliance in the elections, led by Corazon Aquino and Salvador Laurel. The elections were mired with malpractice. Marcos claimed that he won the presidential elections, but the opposition voiced its discontent. Countries such as New Zealand and Canada also rejected Marcos' victory, and Aquino spelled out her 7-point Non-Violent Protest Program. Former supporters began defecting from the Marcos regime, including the defense minister and the Vice Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces. People began blockading the Camp Aguinaldo that the defectors occupied to protect them from attack. President Marcos declared a state of emergency. From 22-25 February, armed forces and former supporters defected from Marcos in large numbers. In addition, the "People Power" blockade protecting Camp Aguinaldo held its position, and troops refused to fire against it. On 25 February, Aquino and Laurel took their oaths of office simultaneously with Marcos. The day ended with Marcos fleeing the presidential palace, thereby ending his presidency and beginning the presidency of Aquino. These events are referred to as EDSA revolution – Epifanio de los Santos Avenue – or the February Revolution (Villegas 1987).

Poland

Polity Transition Year:	1991
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	44
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

The Soviet Union installed a Communist government in Poland in 1947 following World War II. Beginning in 1980, the state began to experience a crisis and opposition forces began to grow stronger. The government's inability to forestall Poland's economic decline led to waves of strikes across the country in 1988. In an attempt to take control of the situation, the government gave de facto recognition to Solidarity, and Interior Minister Kiszczak began talks with Lech Walesa on August 31. These talks broke off in October, but a new series, the "roundtable" talks, began in February 1989. These talks produced an agreement in April for partly open National Assembly elections, where the opposition did well. The failure of the communists at the polls produced a political crisis. The roundtable agreement called for a communist president, and on July 19, the National Assembly elected General Jaruzelski to that office. Two attempts by the communists to form governments, however, failed, and on 19 August, President Jaruzelski asked journalist/Solidarity activist Tadeusz Mazowiecki to form a government; on September 12, the Sejm voted approval of Prime Minister Mazowiecki and his cabinet. For the first time in more than 40 years, Poland had a government led by non-communists. The Communist Party dissolved in January 1990. The May 1990 local elections were entirely free. Candidates supported by Solidarity's Citizens' Committees won most of the races they contested. In October 1990, the constitution was amended to curtail the term of President Jaruzelski. In December 1990, Lech Walesa became the first popularly elected President of Poland.

Portugal

Polity Transition Year:	1976
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	45
Transition Type:	Domestic Overthrow

Antonio de Oliveira Salazar came to power 5 July 1932. He had been appointed finance minister by the military, which had overthrown the Old Republic in 1926. In 1928 he was given extraordinary powers in to deal with the financial problems the country was suffering from. Salazar formed his own political party in 1930, the National Union; however this was not the locus of decision-making power (Lewis 1978). Salazar was the prime minister of Portugal and was appointed by the president, who was elected for 7-year terms according to the 1933 constitution. The president also had to approve of the council members that the Prime Minister, i.e. Salazar, appointed. However, the president never threatened Salazar's rule. Salazar died in office on 27 September 1968. After his death, Marcello Caetano took his place. Caetano failed to liberalize the country, which eventually led to a military overthrow. On 25 April 1974 the regime was overthrown in a military coup (Bermeo 1987). The military held power for the next two years in order to draft and ratify a new constitution and hold elections. The years following the coup were unstable. For example, on 11 March 1975 right-wing military forces orchestrated a counter-coup, which was unsuccessful. A constituent assembly was elected 25 April 1975 in order to produce a new constitution. Many political parties competed in these elections. The project of writing a new constitution was finished on 2 April 1976, but was not submitted to popular referendum. Instead the assembly was dissolved and elections to parliament were held on 25 April 1976. The Socialist Party and the Communists received 53 percent of the vote

combined, but were unable to form a coalition government. Instead the Socialist Party leader, Mario Soares, was sworn in as prime minister in July without a stable majority in parliament.

Romania

Polity Transition Year: 1990
Authoritarian Regime Type: Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length: 43
Transition Type: Domestic Overthrow

Before World War II had even ended, Romanian communists successfully gained de facto control over the country. The Romanian Communist Party (PCR) carried out arrests of competing political party leaders and put many of them on trial for conspiring to overthrow the government. In 1947, they forced the king to abdicate his throne, and formally established a people's republic the following year. More arrests, executions, and purges followed. Under Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Romania experienced a horrific reign of terror with arrests in the early years of the regime reaching nearly 100,000. The police state also engaged in acute persecution of religious institutions. In a series of conflicts with the Soviet Union's Nikita Khrushchev, Romania asserted its autonomy. By the time Gheorghiu-Dej died in 1965, Romania was able to chart a more independent course, allowing the new leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, to position himself as a nationalist communist leader that was relatively accepted in the West. At the same time, though, he was presiding over "easily the poorest and most oppressed nation in Europe" (Almond 1988, 5). Ceausescu consolidated his authority and began blending party and state structures and named individuals to hold dual party and state posts. Ceausescu's harsh reign ended in the closing days of 1989. An uprising in Timisoara was forcibly repressed by security forces, but it exposed cracks in the regime's ability to maintain control and empowered dissidents to greater mobilization. Ten days of increasingly severe, widespread rioting culminated in a rally-turned-demonstration in Bucharest that forced Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, to flee the city. They were captured in the town of Targoviste, put on trial, and executed on 25 December 1989.

Russia

Polity Transition Year: 1992
Authoritarian Regime Type: Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length: 72
Transition Type: State Creation

Russia was part of the Soviet Union, where the Communist Party ruled from 1920-late 1991. The first year in which Russia is registered as an independent state by Polity is 1992.

Senegal

Polity Transition Year:	2000
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	41
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

Senegal gained independence in 1960 and Leopold Senghor became president. Since 1963 Senegal functioned as a de facto one-party state under the UPS and Senghor. In 1974 incremental liberalizations began when Senghor recognized the opposition party PDS led by Abdoulaye Wade. Increased calls for opposition parties made Senghor amend the constitution in 1976 to allow for a three party state, however, the opposition parties were closely monitored by Senghor and were required to fit specific ideological positions. In 1978 the UPS became the Parti Socialiste, and on the last day of 1980 Senghor handed over power to Abdou Diouf, who had been prime minister for a decade. Diouf lifted the ban on political parties. Senegal's transition to democracy was a long process of institutional reform and the decline of the PSS. Already in 1970s the PS began liberalizing without allowing the opposition to become a real threat. Partially free elections were held for many years, without being a threat to the PS party's hold on power. Since 1978, elections were held every five years (1983, 1988) in which the opposition competed against the PS, and in which Wade competed against the incumbent president from PS, first Senghor and then Diouf. The PS party used patronage, electoral fraud, and political intimidations if necessary to maintain its support. However, at the end of the 1980s the PS legitimacy weakened moderately due to popular demands for democratization. The 1988 elections were followed by political violence due to popular discontent with the still hegemonic PS party (Villalón 1994). In early 1991, the PS party and Diouf initiated electoral and constitutional reforms breaking the stalemate with the opposition since the 1988 elections. A prime minister post was re-created and a coalition government with Wade and other opposition parties was formed. Diouf listened to most of the opposition demands and negotiated with them. A commission was created to reform the electoral code, which the opposition viewed as largely illegitimate and favoring the PS. The reform proposal passed by consensus in the National Assembly in 1992, and both opposition and PS were satisfied with the result. The electoral code reform lowered the voting age to 18, made the secret ballot mandatory and changed the term of the president to 7 years with a two-term limit. In the 1993 elections the opposition was largely split and Diouf managed to win comfortably. In 1997 another institutional change took place, establishing the National Electoral Observatory (ONEL) that was to oversee that elections were free and fair. In the 2000 presidential elections, the opposition gained enough votes to enable a second round run-off between Diouf and Wade. Though Diouf had garnered the most support of any candidate in the first round, the opposition candidate Wade won the second round vote with 58.7 percent of the vote. Diouf handed over the presidency to Wade, constituting Senegal's transition to a full democracy.

Sierra Leone

Polity Transition Year: 1996
Authoritarian Regime Type: Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length: 5
Transition Type: Negotiated-Opposition-Led

Because of the RUF rebel insurgency and tensions within the army, a segment of the military orchestrated a coup on 29 April 1992. The new military government was a very young and inexperienced group headed by Valentine Strasser. Originally the new regime had support among the people as it promised to clean up the rampant corruption of the prior government (Keen 2005). In May 1992 Strasser and other top military officials, Musa and Benjamin, formed the National Provisional Ruling Council, NPRC, which included civilians (Zack-Williams and Riley 1993). NPRC began investigations into the corruption of the prior government. They also went on the offensive against the RUF and promised to end the war. However, soon the NPRC became involved in corruption, including money laundering, smuggling, and aid siphoning. They also abused the anti-corruption drive against the former APC, and instead began confiscating their possessions and property for their own personal benefit. The civil war continued to rage in Sierra Leone and the military used this as a pretext for its rule. They argued that it was necessary to obtain peace before elections could be held (Zack-Williams 1997). Many criticized this position and wanted a full return to democracy. With increased opposition to its rule, a schism grew within the junta itself leading to the overthrow of Strasser by Julius Maada Bio on 16 January 1996. A conference, held in August of 1995 between civil society organizations, old party leaders and the Election Commission, recommended elections and a return to democracy. Both the APC and NPRC opposed elections, and they had a common economic interest in continuing the war (Keen 2005). The NPRC and RUF were involved in intimidation and threats to civilians prior to the elections. The NPRC put pressure on civil society not to hold elections, but a new conference among the opposition held on 12 February 1996 confirmed that they would follow through with elections. Parliamentary and presidential elections were thus held on 26 February 1996 and many Sierra Leoneans defied the intimidation by the army and rebels by showing up to vote. SLPP won the majority in parliament and after the second round of presidential elections, Tejan Kabbah, of the SLPP, emerged as president (Keen 2005). NPRC reluctantly ceded power at the end of March 1996, but not without passing a decree granting the army immunity from prosecutions for acts committed after the 1992 coup. In June of 1996, Kabbah amnestied the RUF forces. A peace accord was signed in November 1996, but in 1997 the RUF and NPRC forces staged a joint coup. Thus the return to civilian rule was short-lived (Keen 2005).

Sierra Leone

Polity Transition Year: 2002
Authoritarian Regime Type: Civil War
Authoritarian Regime Length: 5
Transition Type: Emergence from Civil War

General elections scheduled for early 2001 were postponed in February 2001, due to the insecurity caused by the civil war. In May 2001, UN peacekeepers began to disarm the various factions, and by January 2002 most of the estimated 45,000 fighters had surrendered their weapons. Government and rebel leaders declared the civil war to have ended, and elections were finally held in May 2002.

Slovenia

Polity Transition Year:	1991
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	47
Transition Type:	State Creation

Slovenia was part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and was ruled by the Communist Party in a one-party state since 1945. The 1980s saw the liberalization of the Communist Party in Slovenia; in 1986 the liberal Communists took control of the party leadership from the conservatives. Civil society questioned continued Communist rule and began looking for greater integration with the West. In response to increasing Slovene demands for greater democracy, the Belgrade government broke off economic relations with Slovenia and initiated a military intervention in 1990. In the spring of 1990 and following an announcement by the ruling national Communist party that it would abide by any electoral results, Slovenia held its first democratic elections since World War II. The anti-communist coalition DEMOS won with 55 percent of the vote, having run on a platform of human rights, democracy, and independence. A plebiscite held at the end of 1990 demonstrated strong support for independence, which was declared on 25 July 1991. The Belgrade government of Yugoslavia briefly intervened militarily, but backed down quickly under strong international pressure (Fink-Hafner and Ramet 2006).

South Korea

Polity Transition Year:	1988
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	9
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Opposition-Led

After General Park Chung-hee's assassination in 1979, South Korea faced serious political instability in light of the consistent protests for democracy—particularly among the national student population. General Chun Doo-hwan staged a coup and seized power in 1980, intensifying the outcry for democracy. The regime maintained tenuous control over the country only through widespread repression, including the use of torture against activists. The military committed massacres and routinely fired on protesting crowds. Opposition parties won a majority in Parliament in the 1985 elections as Chun continued to falter. In 1987, Chun named Roh Tae Woo—a key member of his government—as his successor. Roh Tae Woo, in turn, agreed to the enactment of a new constitution that embodied all the opposition's demands.

Spain

Polity Transition Year:	1978
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	43
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

Born of the Nationalist victory in the Spanish Civil War, Francisco Franco's regime was characterized by military control of national politics and the constant pursuit of stability at the expense of political contestation. The Franco government was particularly interested in continuing the fight against communist interests in the country, and as such, routinely suppressed labor activity and student agitation. From 1936 to 1948, the country remained under martial law. Slight efforts at liberalization—principally in the form of greater rights to free expression—were made in the 1960s, but an economic downturn in 1969 prompted protests, and the regime once again tightened its grip on the citizenry. Until the time of Franco's death in 1975, the regime was in conflict with itself between hardliners who refused any attempts at liberalization and those who recognized the need for change in the face of increasing external opposition. Strikes and student protests were commonplace in the final years of Franco's rule. Franco had chosen Prince Juan Carlos as his successor in 1969, and in 1975 he became king of Spain, giving de facto restoration of the monarchy. Most importantly, though, he was then Head of State, and as his rule demonstrated, he was interested in a transition away from the Franco era and toward civilian democracy. As a relative political unknown, he was able to bridge serious divisions within Spanish society and keep the military loyal, even while legalizing communist and socialist political parties—the military's main target of repression for the preceding 45 years. The transition also included an amnesty passed in October 1977. In December 1978, Spain approved its new democratic constitution by popular referendum.

Taiwan

Polity Transition Year:	1992
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	44
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

Taiwan had been under Chinese nationalist control since the Japanese surrender in 1945. In 1948 and 1949, the Kuomintang (KMT) leadership and nationalist soldiers and refugees fled to the island in the wake of their defeat in the civil war against the communists. In 1949, the Republic of China capital was formally moved to Taipei. The KMT concentrated political power and established firm one-party control over the government. "There was little distinction between the KMT and the government, as most high-ranking ROC officials were KMT members, and government policies privileged the KMT" (Roy 2003, 77). The KMT repressed political contestation and generally invoked the threat of invasion from communist forces in an effort to maintain control. Taiwan remained under martial law from 1948 to 1986. During this period, provincial elections were allowed, but the KMT manipulated the constitution to avoid

holding national elections. In 1975, Chiang Kei-shek died and his son, Chiang Ching-kuo assumed the presidency. The new president made some efforts at political reform and liberalization, but was not averse to cracking down on political activism when it seemed to go too far. Nevertheless, when independent (non-KMT) politicians formed the Democratic Progressive Party in 1986—in violation of ROC law that forbade the creation of new political parties—Chiang Ching-kuo allowed it to exist, and in that year the first legal two-party Legislative Yuan election was held. The KMT's monopoly on power was over. In 1988, Chiang Ching-kuo died and his vice president, Lee Teng-hui succeeded him, marking an end to the hereditary selection of the president. Finally, the ROC constitution was revised in 1992, and again in 1994, to allow for direct popular election of all members of government, including the president and vice president. In 1996, Lee became the first popularly elected president in Taiwan's history, and the long transition from authoritarianism was complete.

Thailand

Polity Transition Year:	1974
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	4
Transition Type:	Domestic Overthrow

On 17 November 1971 a military junta orchestrated a coup that ended a short period of democracy. The military junta, the National Executive Council, consisted of 5 military men and one civilian. On 15 December 1972 they dissolved the NEC by issuing a new interim constitution, which gave the prime minister, Thanom, who maintained his position from the NEC, widespread power. The same people retained power in the new government and the military retained control over parliament by appointing 200 military officers and 99 civilians. Beginning in 1972 and continuing through 1973, students protested against the authoritarian government. Initially they demanded minor concessions; however the protests began to escalate when the government began repressing dissent and arresting students. On 14 October 1973 widespread clashes between government forces and student protesters occurred, lasting several days. The students began demanding the resignation of the prime minister. The King intervened to end the violence and announced the resignation of the Prime Minister, Thanom, who fled into exile together with other top figures from the military, such as Praphat. The King appointed a new government headed by a new prime minister, Sanya Thammasak. A new constitution was promulgated in 1974, and elections were held on 26 January 1975. The outcome of the elections led to Kukrit Pramoj becoming Prime minister and forming a cabinet.

Thailand

Polity Transition Year:	1978
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	3
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

On 6 October 1976 the military carried out a coup against the civilian government headed by Seni Pramoj, who was elected in the April 1976 elections. They introduced a new constitution that gave the military complete control over appointing members of parliament. The new prime minister appointed by the military was Thanin Kraivichien, who was a civilian. However, on 20 October 1977 the military carried out another coup, this time against Thanin, and replaced him with General Kriangsak Chomanand. On 12 November, Kriangsak was officially approved by the King. After the October 1977 coup, the military promised a return to parliamentary rule and a new constitution, which was to be drafted by an appointed cabinet. In late 1978 the new constitution was promulgated, it allowed for elections the following spring to a two-chamber assembly, the lower being elected by the people and the upper chamber being appointed by the prime minister. In addition, the constitution allowed that the prime minister need not have been elected to parliament. On 12 May, Kriangsak was elected prime minister in a joint session between the lower and upper cabinet, and most of his support came from the upper cabinet. It took him two weeks to form a cabinet, which was announced on 25 May. Thus, Kriangsak became the elected prime minister of Thailand.

Thailand

Polity Transition Year:	1992
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	2
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Opposition-Led

The military junta, the National Peace-keeping Council (NPKC), came to power 23 February 1991 by orchestrating a coup and thereby ending a decade of democracy in Thailand. General Sunthorn led the military junta, which was comprised of army, navy, and air force chiefs. The military quickly drafted an interim constitution that established a national assembly to draft a new constitution and that also empowered the NPKC to dismiss the prime minister. The NPKC also promised that elections would be held no later than April 1992. The NPKC appointed the civilian Anand Punyarachun as prime minister. The cabinet was established by the prime minister and consisted mostly of civilians and some military officers. Punyarachun had no previous connection with the military and was appointed to improve the image of the NPKC (Bunbongkarn 1992). The prime minister was also able to deny requests from the military such as additional funding and cabinet posts, thereby limiting their influence. The NPKC had from the beginning of its rule promised to give power back to the people as soon as possible. A new constitution was promulgated at the end of 1991 and elections were held in March of 1992. The interim Prime Minister Punyarachun was able to conduct the elections freely and fairly. However, the military played a big role in the elections by forming a political party. The elections on 22 March were won by pro-military parties. The parties ended up appointing General Suchinda as prime minister, who thus reneged on his promise not to seek the premiership. The appointment led to massive demonstrations demanding Suchinda's resignation and resulted in violent military suppression. The repression led to more public disaffection, and finally the King pushed for a peaceful solution, leading to Suchinda's resignation. Anand Punyarachun was asked to lead the government again and conducted another round of

parliamentary elections, which were held on 13 September 1992. In these, the pro-democracy parties won and Chuan Leekpai was appointed prime minister.

Turkey

Polity Transition Year:	1973
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	3
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

Through a series of defections, Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel was faced with rapidly deteriorating control over Parliament and a loss of legitimacy in government. Economic downturns spurred political violence, and in March 1971, the Turkish military—exercising its tutelary role in politics—demanded the installation of a strong and credible government. Demirel resigned and the military was effectively in control of government, appointing a series of caretaker cabinets that would rule the country until elections in 1973 that would return the country to full, formal civilian control.

Turkey

Polity Transition Year:	1983
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	4
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

As the most extensive military intervention among the many Turkey has experienced in its modern history, the 1980 takeover resulted in massive arrests and political repression. In pursuit of restoring order to the country, the regime committed serious human rights abuses and carried out trials against the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP)—a quasi-fascist political party that engaged in political violence. The country was systematically depoliticized, as the military banned political parties and labor unions. At the same time, though, a Consultative Assembly was convened to write a new constitution. In 1982, having achieved its goals of maintaining secular government, restoring order, and promoting economic growth, the military submitted the new constitution to a public referendum, and in 1983, allowed the reformulation of political parties—albeit only those that received military approval to exist and participate in electoral contests. Though General Evren, instigator of the 1980 coup, would remain in power until 1989 (technically, as a civilian president elected as part of the 1983 referendum), the November 1983 parliamentary elections mark the formal end of the military intervention in politics.

Uganda

Polity Transition Year:	1980
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	9
Transition Type:	Foreign Overthrow

Idi Amin, who was head of the army under Milton Obote, came to power in a coup d'état in 1971 (25 January) against Obote. Obote was granted asylum in Tanzania. Idi Amin upheld his regime through government patronage, as the state was the source of wealth, and the threat of the use of force (Glentworth). Immediately after the coup, Ugandans began fleeing into neighboring countries, such as Tanzania, Kenya, and Zambia. These exile communities played an important role in the aftermath of the overthrow of Amin (Nyeko 1997). For a few months in 1979, Uganda and Tanzania accused each other of invasions of national territory. The Tanzanian president Nyerere stated that he would not overthrow Amin, as it was the business of Ugandans, but that he would drive Amin from Tanzanian territory (Chatterjee 1981). However, in March 1979 he changed his mind. Tanzanian troops and Ugandan exiles organized as the UNLF (Uganda National Liberation Force), entered Uganda and fought a one-month war that eventually led to the overthrow of Idi Amin in April 1979. The UNLF was set up hastily in March by the exile community in Tanzania, and this body was to lead the war effort and post-war reconstruction. The National Consultative Council was also organized by exiles, and this body came to function as the parliament in Uganda before elections could be held.

On 13 April 1979 Yusuf K. Lule and his cabinet were sworn into office. He was a civilian handpicked by the military, but was removed on 20 June 1979 and replaced with Godfrey Binaisa. The military again became dissatisfied with the civilian president and removed Binaisa in May 1980. Between May and September, the country was ruled by a six member Military Commission that from the outset declared that elections would be held at the end of September. However, the elections were rescheduled to December. A compounding problem during the period after Amin's overthrow was the lack of a constitution defining the political rules of the game. The elections in December were held in a climate of chaos, with many voting irregularities. Despite this, the election results were accepted. The former president Obote, whom Amin had overthrown in 1971, won these and he was sworn in on 15 December.

Ukraine

Polity Transition Year:	1991
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	71
Transition Type:	State Creation

Ukraine was part of the Soviet Union, where the Communist Party ruled from 1920-1991. On 24 August 1991, the Ukrainian parliament adopted the Act of Independence in which the parliament declared Ukraine as an independent democratic state. A referendum and the first presidential elections took place on 1 December 1991. More than 90 percent of the Ukrainian people

expressed their support for the Act of Independence, and they elected the chairman of the parliament, Leonid Kravchuk to serve as the first President of the country.

Uruguay

Polity Transition Year:	1985
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Military-Institutional
Authoritarian Regime Length:	13
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

In the mid-1950s, a growing trade deficit and rising debt triggered an economic downturn in Uruguay that led to political instability. A leftist guerrilla movement took root while the ruling Colorado party shifted to the right with the backing of the military (Sondrol 1997, 111). By 1973, the military had established full political control of the executive powers of government, largely in the absence of weak political parties and rising civil violence. Most attempts by the military junta to re-structure political and economic policies failed, including the privatization of state-sponsored industries and reduction of the foreign debt. In November 1980, Uruguayans rejected a military-drafted constitutional referendum in a plebiscite. In accepting defeat, the military announced plans for return to civilian rule, and reached out to the opposition in an attempt to retain some power during the post-transition period (Sondrol 1997, 111). In the November 1984 national elections, Colorado Party leader Julio María Sanguinetti was elected to a five-year term as president. During his term, Sanguinetti focused on trade liberalization and consolidating democracy. In a 1989 constitutional referendum, he secured amnesty for military leaders under the military regime (Sondrol 1997, 117).

Zambia

Polity Transition Year:	1991
Authoritarian Regime Type:	Civilian-Individual
Authoritarian Regime Length:	28
Transition Type:	Negotiated-Regime-Led

Kenneth Kaunda ruled Zambia as a one-party state from independence in 1964 until 1991. “Kaunda relied on repression; but opposition was often tolerated within the party as well as from non-governmental platforms, and he co-opted it as much as possible” (Kees van Donge 1995, 195). In the 1980s, opposition began to grow, and several coups d’état were attempted. By 1990, under pressure from various social actors, trade unions, and the Catholic Church, Kaunda agreed to hold multi-party elections. He established a Commission of Enquiry to delineate the introduction of multipartyism. The Commission was balanced and included representatives from the major opposition parties. Despite this, Kaunda retained control over the transition, denying opposition demands for, among other things, an interim government. Elections took place on 31 October 1991, and they were won by the opposition candidate, Frederick Chiluba.

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