

Mass Mobilization and the Durability of New Democracies

Appendix

This appendix provides information about the occurrence and influence of episodes of popular mobilization in instances of democratic transition since 1950. For each transition, the summary mentions over how many calendar years armed or unarmed mobilization occurred and also reports the exact years during which mobilization happened. A year of popular mobilization is counted for a country if the accounts of transition report the occurrence of public protest during that year. The mere occurrence of a protest event has not been enough for counting an episode of violent or nonviolent campaign in the dataset. Contentious events have been counted only if they somehow positively contributed to the democratic transition. Finally, the dataset only includes contentious campaigns that have occurred within a country. Instances of anti-government campaigns against a government influence outside the country such as inter-state wars or anti-colonial struggles are not accounted for in this dataset.

Albania 1992

Unarmed Mobilization: 3

Armed Mobilization: 0

The protest wave leading to democratic transition in Albania started in 1990 with anti-communist demonstrations and silent protest events by students. The biggest protest event occurred in July 1990 when thousands of Albanians stormed foreign embassies in an attempt to flee the country. The regime responded by introducing limited political reform. However, after students organized protests in November and December 1990, the regime for the first time accepted to the existence of independent political parties. The protests and labor unrest continued in 1991, and communists agreed to hold a multi-party election. The communist party won this election, but protests continued in the wake of the election. After a protest episode in March 1992 communists agreed to a new round of election, in which they lost the opposition Democratic Party (Biberaj 1999; Haggard, Kaufman, and Teo 2012).

Argentina 1974

Unarmed mobilization: 2

Armed Mobilization: 0

The democratic transition in 1974 mostly happened because of the splits and disagreements within the military regime between the military junta and the government. After 1966 coup General Juan Carlos Onganía acted as the first president and initiated economic reform to establish a corporatist economic order. However, he failed to retain

political support from the armed forces and was toppled by the junta in 1970. An uprising by workers and students in the city of Cordoba was also influential in military's move against Ongania. General Roberto Marcelo Levingston led the government as president but again was overthrown by the military due to military's dissatisfaction and again similar to Ongania after an episode of civil unrest again after an uprising by students and workers in Cordoba. Subsequently, the military junta took control of the government with general Alejandro Lanusse as the president. The junta promised to hold democratic elections in 1971. Elections were held in 1974. Although military was hoping to manipulate the election, but this plan failed and the Peronist candidate won the election (Arceneaux 2002).

Argentina 1984

Unarmed Mobilization: 7

Armed Mobilization: 0

Popular mobilization played an influential role in Argentina's democratic transition in 1984. In 1976 a military coup toppled the democratically elected government in Argentina and commenced another period of military dictatorship in the country. The first challenge to the military regime emerged in a wave of labor strike in 1977 throughout the country. This wave of mobilization encouraged union leaders to take a more confrontationalist approach. In 1978, an oppositionist labor union the Commission of "25" was formed. The leaders of the group from the beginning specified that the country's problems could only be solved through free elections and establishment of full democracy. In 1979, "25" organized a national strike around the country. Labor protest exacerbated divisions within the military regime about how to deal with the labor issue and financial matters. Throughout this time the labor movement was divided, however, between the collaborationist and confrontationalist approach. Despite attempts to unify the unions around a more oppositionist approach, the unity again collapsed when one wing tried to achieve demands through negotiations with government in 1980. In 1981, confrontational unions organized another general strike. The strike was so massive that it led to the resignation of general Viola, the military leader of the country at the time. Protest continued after the ouster of Viola. From 1981 protests were coordinated between labor unions and political parties. In 1982 the largest demonstration since 1976 coup was organized. In 1982, Argentina's military lost the Malvinas war to the Britain, which was a big blow to the military's credibility. According to one interpretation, the military launched this war to gain nationalist credibility in response to opposition's massive mobilization. Discredited by massive protest and military defeat, the military decided to extricate from political power in 1983. Protest and strikes by the parties and the labor unions also continued in 1983 until an agreement was reached about the conditions of the democratic transition (Collier 1999; Munck 1998).

Armenia 1991

Unarmed Mobilization: 4

Armed Mobilization: 0

In Armenia popular mobilization started in 1987, as activists organized demonstrations in support of Armenians in Nagorno-Karabagh. In 1988 workplace committees were formed to convey information to the population about this issue. Along with several new informal groups, an umbrella group, Armenian National Movement also emerged in 1988 to unify and coordinate activities in the movement. Street demonstrations then continued from 1988 to 1990. Similar to other republics parliamentary elections were held in 1990. Following the failed putsch in August 1991 and dissolution of the Soviet Union, Armenia gained independence (Dudwick 1997).

Azerbaijan 1992

Unarmed Mobilization: 3

Armed Mobilization: 1

In Azerbaijan a short democratic interval started with a relatively fair and free presidential election in 1992. The election happened after tumultuous years of rapid political change in Azerbaijan since 1987 with the dispute over Nagorno-Karabagh with Armenia. The dispute started in 1987 with an Armenian campaign to annex the region to Armenia. In 1988 Azeris demonstrated for the first time in protest to inactivity of the government in dealing with dispute. The government, however, deployed tanks and troops to put down the strikes and demonstrations. In July 1989 Azerbaijan Popular Front was formed. In December 1989 Armenia announced the annexation of Nagorno-Karabagh to Armenia. Azeris demonstrated again in protest to government's inactivity. The protesters, however, resorted to violence in 1990 and killed dozens of Armenians in Baku. The Azeri government allegedly did not try to stop the violence. In a week after the unrest, Moscow sent tanks and troops to Azerbaijan and in a bloody crackdown occupied Baku. The first secretary Vezirov was sacked, and Ayaz Mutalibov was appointed as the first secretary. In 1991 presidential election, Mutalibov let no opponent to run against him. However, Mutalibov was pressured to resign after the loss of the town of Khojaly and a massacre there in February 1992. A Mutalibov crony Yakub Mamedov became acting president, and Mutalibov stayed as the speaker of the Azerbaijan Congress. However, as Azerbaijan still suffered defeats from Armenia, Mutalibov again was restored to presidency in a contentious session in the parliament in May 1992. He immediately cancelled the presidential election scheduled for March 1992. Popular Front supporters protested this decision and demonstrated at night. The next day a pro-Front military unit moved toward the presidential palace. Mutalibov fled and Popular Front forces took control of the capital. They held presidential election in June 1992 (Altstadt 1997).

Bangladesh 1992

Unarmed Mobilization: 3

Armed Mobilization: 0

Democratic transition in Bangladesh is marked by in 1991 when the interim government held by the chief justice Shahabuddin. When the military dictator general Ershad resigned

in the wake of massive mobilization by students and political parties, an interim government was formed in 1991. Earlier political parties had mobilized multiple strikes in 1987 and 1988 and called for Ershad's resignation, but that campaign did not succeed due to disagreement about the leadership of the opposition alliance. In 1990 students organized initial protests against the military regime. The government announced curfew and heavily cracked down on protesters. The bloody crackdown, nonetheless, backlashed. The outrage created by the killing of protesters increased the size of the protest and shamed brought the political parties also to the line of protesters. In December 1990 senior military commanders decided to withdraw support from Ershad. Ershad resigned on the same day, and handed the power to an interim government (Maniruzzaman 1992).

Bangladesh 2009

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

A democratic transition occurred in Bangladesh after the caretaker government held elections considered fair and free in 2008 after 2 years of being in power. the caretaker government had been installed in a soft military coup in 2007 with a mandate of fighting against corruption and return to democracy. Although the caretaker government was not very successful in its anti-corruption mission, it kept the promise of holding elections. Pressures from Indian and United States also helped to carry out the election on time (Alamgir 2009).

Benin 1992

Unarmed Mobilization: 1 year

Armed Mobilization: 0

The presidential election in 1991 marked the democratic transition in Benin after 19 years of dictatorial rule of President Mathieu Kerekou. Benin experienced an economic crisis through the end of 1980s. The austerity program led to a massive wave of protest in 1989 by teachers and public servants who had not been paid for months. In response to the protest wave, Kerekou proposed to hold a national conference including delegates from all major collectivities in the country. Although holding national conference was Kerekou's strategy to present him as a reformer and to curb the opposition, the conference, held in February 1990, announced sovereignty and set the agenda for transition to a multi-party democracy with basic political rights (Bratton and Walle 1992; Decalo 1997; Levitsky and Way 2010).

Bolivia

Unarmed Mobilization: 8 years

Armed Mobilization: 0

To legitimize his rule the military dictator general Benzer announce a six years presidency starting in 1974, following by an election in 1980, that he was confident to win and constitutionalize his personal rule. Due to pressures from Carter's administration that election date, however, was changed to 1978. Labor also commenced on oppositional mobilization in 1975. In the following year, the federation of mine workers organized a strike to demand wage increases, which was brutally repressed by the military. In December 1977, wives of four miners went on hunger strike to demand amnesty and military withdrawal from mines. The hunger strike rapidly turned to a national protest against the regime, and in a month after its start more than 1000 people were on strike. Presidential election was held in July 1978, but Benzer resorted to fraud to announce his candidate victorious. Unions threatened to strike and political parties refused to accept the result. Benzer's project then had failed. Opposition mobilization continued through next year when a rather healthy election was held in July 1979. The democratic regime resulted from the election, however, was overthrown in a coup led by General Alberto Natusch in November 1st. Trade unions immediately reacted to the coup and called for strikes. Natusch's reaction was bloody and brutal. Nonetheless, the strikes continued until Natusch resigned. In 1980 trade unions and political parties formed "Call for the Defense of Democracy" to coordinate mass mobilization in the fear of further coup attempts. Elections were held in 1980, but again in two weeks military launched another coup. Unions again went on strike but military reacted harshly and killed many strikers. From 1981 to 1982 miners organized a series of strikes. Under the pressure from mass mobilization, the government agreed to restore the 1980 congress and to hold elections in 1982 (Collier 1999; Dunkerley 1984).

Brazil 1986

Unarmed Mobilization: 6 years

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1974 soft-liners in Brazilian military initiated a process of political liberalization, and provided limited legislative and electoral space for officially recognized political parties. The goal of the liberalization project was to design an electoral system that favors government party and secures its dominance. The labor movement, however, derailed this project. Large waves of strikes emerged in 1977, 1978, 1979, in which millions of workers participated. This strike wave expanded the pro-democracy forces beyond the electoral arena. Labor activism also extended beyond workplace and diffused to working-class neighborhoods. Also, to support the strikers an alliance was formed between grass-roots organizations, social movement organizations affiliated with the Catholic Church, and labor unions. When government quit the project of two party system, union leaders formed an explicitly socialist Workers' Party (PT). The strike movement also organized a strike in 1980 that lasted for 45 days. The level of strikes, nonetheless, dropped in 1980 but the new union movement continued organizing pro-democracy movements around lower-class neighborhoods. In 1983 the labor movement resurged again with organizing a strike, in which 3 million workers participated. In 1984-85 labor and social movements organized a campaign using demonstrations and strikes for direct presidential election. Although the movement failed to achieve this goal in the short term, it led to an important

defection from the official National Alliance Renewal Party to the opposition party Brazilian Democratic Movement party. As a result, in the following year the opposition leader Tancredo Neves was indirectly elected as Brazil's president, which was the first time since 1960 that the military's candidate did not win the election (Collier 1999; Haggard and Kaufman 1995).

Bulgaria 1991

Unarmed Mobilization: 2

Armed Mobilization: 0

The transition in Bulgaria started when members of the communist party toppled Zhikov the Bulgaria's dictator since 1956 in a bloodless palace coup on November 10 1989. The United of Democratic Forces was created immediately by opposition figures, and immediately turned to the main opposition force. Mass rallies by students, workers, and others followed the coup. In January delegates of different groups came together and agreed on national roundtables to decide over an agenda for transition. The Roundtable Talks ended in April 1990. Reform Communists won the elections in June 1990. UDF supporters, however, called the election results fraudulent and massive protests took place in the capital Sofia. UDF leadership, however, recognized the results of the election. Although the election results were not annulled, in the face popular protest and a general strike, the communist prime minister elected by the Grand Assembly resigned, and impartial politician was elected as prime minister, and the same communist-dominated assembly elected a UDF leader as president (Kralevska-Owens 2010).

Burundi 1994

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed mobilization: 3

In 1988, a violent rebellion by Hutus against Tutsi's led to a massacre of Hutus by the Tutsi-dominated government. The massacre created huge international and domestic pressure on the Tutsi government to initiate political reforms. Violent clashes in 1991-92 between Hutu rebels and Tutsi military was an important part of this domestic pressure. As a result of these pressures, the government first appointed a commission in 1988 to examine the question of national unity. A new constitution was ratified in a referendum in 1992, and a presidential election was held in 1993 (Lemarchand 1996).

Burundi 2006

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 10

The first democratic transition in Burundi in 1993 immediately failed when Tutsi officers assassinated the first majority Hutu president that was democratically elected a few months after his election. The coup led to a bloody civil war between Hutus and Tutsis in

Burundi. The United Nations from the beginning made continuous attempts since 1993 to end the civil war. Finally, Nelson Mandel, former South African president brokered a peace accord between many Hutu and Tutsi parties in 2000. However, the civil war did not immediately end because there were insurgent Hutu groups that continued the rebellion. Finally in 2002 the government and these groups reached an agreement about remaining military and political issues, and the insurgent groups joined the government. An interim government held parliamentary elections in 2005, in which Hutu parties won, and multi-party democracy returned to Burundi (Brown and Kaiser 2007).

Central African Republic 1994

Armed Mobilization: 0

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Due to pressure from France and deteriorating economic situation, the Central African Republic dictator Kolingba held “National Debate” in 1992 to discuss political reforms in the country. Presidential election was held in October 1992, in which Kolingba was defeated. However, he canceled the election results and rescheduled another election for 1993. This was despite some opposition protests in 1991 and 1992. Again in 1993, two days before the release of the elections results, Kolingba announced changes in the electoral law. This was after polls had shown that an opposition candidate was ahead. This time, however, the French president, within hours, suspended all bilateral aids. As a result, Kolingba backed off from changing electoral rules, the real results were announced, according to which Kolingba lost the election. Since, he had repressed the opposition before, it seems that the crucial factor in enforcing the election results was the French pressure (Anonymous 1993; Haggard et al. 2012; O’Toole 1997).

Chile 1990

Unarmed mobilization: 6

Armed Mobilization: 0

After 1973 coup in Chile General Pinochet tried to institutionalize his dictatorial rule in Chile. Accordingly, he held a referendum in 1980, in which a new constitution was ratified. According to the new Constitution his rule was legalized and extended until a plebiscite in 1988. Opposition to the military rule existed in Chile in 1970s, but it escalated a massive level in 1982, when labor along with other groups organized mass rallies and strikes. The protests continued until 1986, but then petered out due to heavy repression from the region. While at that point the pro-democracy movement did not achieve its goals, it led the foundation for a broader social movement and coordination of different political organizations. In 1988 when Pinochet decided to hold a plebiscite about extension of his rule, these groups organized a no campaign. The No Campaign won the plebiscite, but Pinochete initially tried to announced the victory for the Yes vote. However, after military commanders did not support this decision, he accepted his defeat.

In 1989 election was held, in which a left-wing candidate was elected as president (Collier 1999; Nepstad 2011).

Colombia 1959

Unarmed Mobilization: 1

Armed Mobilization: 0

Colombia's dictator Rojas Pinilla who had come to power in a coup in 1953 was planning to institutionalize and extend his rule by standing in an election in 1958. Unsure about his victory, he ordered the arrest of the opposition candidate Leon Valencia. The arrest order was challenged by Valencia and followed by protests and student strikes in Bogota and in Cali. Valencia was released later, but demonstrations and riots continued for a week. The military dispersed the protestors and a curfew was imposed. Nonetheless, soon after the opposition organized a general strike that paralyzed commercial activity in Capital. The strike spread to other cities in the country. Pinilla, then, summoned his puppet legislature to revise the constitution and re-elect him for 1958-62. After this event, the Roman Catholic Church also joined the opposition and denounced the government. Military commanders immediately realized that the situation is hopeless and decided to oust the president. Pinilla was forced to resign on May 10 1957, and a junta took charge of an interim government with the promise of holding election in 1958. The two major parties in Colombia reached an agreement about the details of the transition, and election was held in 1958 (Martz 1962).

Congo 1993

Unarmed Mobilization: 1

Armed Mobilization: 0

The process of change started in Congo with discussions within the dominant party of the country, Congo's Labor Party about political reform in the first half of 1990. While initially the military leader of the country Colonel Denis Sassou was trying to control the contours of the political reforms, a general strike called by the country's sole official labor union forced the regime to hold a national conference and conceded to the demands of the workers and the political opposition. The national conference was formed in 1991. It appointed an interim government and scheduled legislative and presidential elections for 1992 (Clark 1994).

Costa Rica 1950

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 1

In 1948 a presidential election was held in Costa Rica, in which ex-president Calderon competed with the opposition candidate Utale. Utale won the election but the government party challenged the results. The negotiations between the two parties did not go

anywhere. The impasse resulted in a civil war between the government and rebel forces led by Figueres, a politician who had been expelled from Costa Rica in 1942. The rebel forces won the civil war and a junta ruled the country for 18 months. The junta handed the power to president elect Utale in 1949 (Lehoucq 1991).

Croatia 1992

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

Growing conflict between the ranks of the Yugoslavia's communist party led to the disintegration of Yugoslavia's Federal party in 1990. The dissolution of the federal party opened the way for reform communists in each region to hold regional multi-party elections. In Croatia Tudjman a nationalist dissident won the election on a nationalist, anti-Serb and anti-communist campaign, and Croatia announced independence in 1991 (Haggard et al. 2012).

Czech 1990

Unarmed Mobilization: 1 year

Armed Mobilization: 0

Routine repression of a student demonstration in November 1989 led to widespread protest and formation of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence as the main organizational vehicle of the opposition. The movement soon organized a general strike through the nation in the same month. With the success of the general strike the opposition forces escalated their demand to the resignation of president Husak and the removal the article from the Constitution that monopolizes power under the Communist party. The Civic Forum and the government agreed on an interim government to rule the country until free elections the next year (Glenn 2003).

The Dominican Republic 1963

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

Dominican dictator Trujillo was assassinated in 1961. Balaguer, Trujillo's protégé, ruled the country with a seven members council, including Trujillo's assassins. An air force general Rodriguez, however, overthrew the council in 16 days. He was, also, overthrown by less senior officers, who restored the council minus Balaguer. The council then led the country to elections in 1963 (Hartlyn 1989, 1998).

Dominican Republic 1979

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1978 incumbent president Balaguer entered in competition with the opposition candidate Antonio Guzman from Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD). PRD had organized a campaign of electoral mass mobilization to challenge the incumbent president, and managed to win the vote in May 1978. As it became clear that PRD is the winner of the election, a group of military officers tried to thwart the PRD victory through a coup attempt. However, due to domestic and international pressure the coup attempt failed and real election results were announced. Particularly, Carter's administration firmly position, backed up by a naval deployment, was influential in the failure of the coup and the success of the democratic transition (Hartlyn 1989, 1998).

Ecuador 1969

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

A military junta that had come to power in 1963 stepped down in the wake of a general strike in the country in 1966. The Chamber of Commerce initially organized the strike in protest to increasing taxes, and student groups and labor unions immediately joined the strike. A bloody attack to a university campus on on March 29 1966 demoralized the junta and led to its resignation. An interim government led by civilians then ruled the country and held presidential elections in 1968 (Rudolph 1989).

Ecuador 1980

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1976 General Rodriguez Lara, the military leader of the country, was overthrown in a bloodless coup. Supreme Council of Government replaced him and put the return to civilian rule on the agenda. A national referendum was held In January 1978 to choose the constitution, and then the presidential election was held in July (Rudolph 1989).

El Salvador 1995

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 12

The end of civil war with FMLN was an influential part of democratization in El Salvador in 1994 election. FMLN was a revolutionary group with leftist ideology that started armed operations against the military government in 1980. As part of their Cold

War foreign policy, the US supported military counterinsurgency operations against the gorillas, and also pushed for political liberalization in the country. A new constitution then was adopted in 1983 and presidential election was held in 1984, in which a Christian Democrat candidate won. However, FMLN as the main opposition party was excluded from these elections. In 1989 FMLN proposed a peace accord, according to which they would participate in 1989 presidential election if the election would be postponed. When the government held the election without delay, FMLN escalated the conflict and went on offensive. This guerilla offensive, a massacre of Jesuit students by the government, and the end of cold war convinced the US to opt for a negotiated settlement. A peace agreement then was reached in 1992, and FMLN for the first was allowed to compete in 1994 election (Booth, Wade, and Walker 2014; Montgomery and Wade 2013).

Estonia 1992

Unarmed Mobilization: 5

Armed Mobilization: 0

Estonia one of the three Baltic republics within the former Soviet Union was among the early risers in the popular mobilization within the Soviet. The mobilization started first in 1987 in the form of ecological protests. As demonstrations continued in 1988, the Popular Front was formed as a popular movement in support of perestroika. Mass demonstration grew in size, as in 1989 a human chain of over 600 kilometers was formed with the participation of over one million people to support independence. In 1990 the radical faction of the movement held elections for the Estonian Congress. The Communist party of the Estonia also disintegrated and the Popular Front took over the Supreme Soviet of Estonia. When the August coup in Soviet temporarily ousted Gorbachev, the leaders of the Estonian Soviet and Congress released a statement, stressed the independence of Estonia, and agreed on the formation of a constituent assembly. Demonstrations activities continued throughout these years (Beissinger 2002; Johnston and Aareleid-Tart 2000).

Georgia 2005

Unarmed Mobilization: 2

Armed Mobilization: 0

The transition in Georgia occurred as the incumbent president Shevardnadze resigned in 2003 as a result of post-election protests against electoral fraud, and as the new parliamentary election was held in 2004. From 2000 the regime started to show signs of weakness. Among these signs was the 2001 student protests that successfully stopped Shevardnadze to crack down on a TV station. Protests continued in 2003. The target of protests was government's resistance to reform a corrupt election commission. These protests led to defection from the ruling coalition to the opposition. Most importantly, Mikheil Saakashvili, minister of justice, resigned and joined the opposition. He led the opposition against Shevardnadze later in 2003. Parliamentary election was held in November 2003, and according to the announced results the coalition supporting the

incumbent president Shevardnadze won the election. However, the opposition called the election fraudulent, and organized protest demonstrations. On November 22, Saakashvili and his supporters stormed the parliament and forced Shevardnadze to resign. Fresh parliamentary elections were held in March 2004 (Bunce and Wolchik 2011).

Ghana 1957

Unarmed Mobilization: 4
Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1947, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) was founded as the first nationalist movement with the goal of self-government in Ghana. The first major protest against the colonial rule then was organized in 1948 in the form of boycotts, protest gathering, and rallies. In 1949, Kwame Nkrumah a major leader of the movement left UGCC and founded Convention's People Party (CPP). He soon gathered a massive following. In 1950 Nkrumah initiated a campaign of "Positive Action" to organize strikes, demonstrations, and other methods of Unarmed resistance. He was, then, arrested, after some incidents of violence occurred. While in prison, Nkrumah won a seat in the parliamentary election in 1951. He was immediately released and received an invitation to be the leader of the government. As prime minister, he started to cooperate with the British rule. During the next year, the political system in Ghana gradually turned to a full parliamentary democracy. In 1954 a constitutional change ended election of the assembly by tribes and direct elections became the norm. In 1956 the British crown agreed to grant independence to Ghana, and general elections were held in July 1956 (McLaughlin and Owusu-Ansah 1994).

Ghana 1970

Unarmed Mobilization: 0
Armed Mobilization: 0

A group of military officers overthrew the government of Kwame Nkrumah in 1966. They accused the government of corruption and non-democratic behavior. Coup leaders formed the National Liberation Council (NLC) to take charge of the executive. NLC appointed a civilian government a promised a return to democratic government. An assembly was appointed to draft a new constitution. Ban on political parties was lifted in 1968, and democratic elections were held in 1969 (McLaughlin and Owusu-Ansah 1994; Pinkney 1972).

Ghana 1980

Unarmed Mobilization: 2 years
Armed Mobilization: 0

The military rule in Ghana started in 1972, but this time military rulers decided to establish a military dominated regime rather than a return to civilian rule. A referendum

was held on a union government, which was supposed to be a combination of military and civilian rule. Although the referendum confirmed the union government, the opposition organized demonstrations and contended that the election was not fair and free. The government cracked down on the protests, but in a surprise move in July the military leader Acheampong was deposed in another coup. The opposition, nonetheless, continued. In the absence of continuing strikes, the new military leader Akuffo legalized the formation of political parties. While a constitutional assembly was working on the draft of a new constitution, a new coup occurred in 1979 and overthrew Akuffo's government. Nevertheless, a new parliamentary election was finally held in September 1979 (McLaughlin and Owusu-Ansah 1994).

Ghana 2001

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

2000 election in Ghana marked the end of Jerry Rawling's rule in Ghana for about 20 years. Rawlings who had come to power in a coup d'état won elections in 1992 and 1996. However, he was not able to run according to 1992 elections. The elections in 2000 were fair and free, and the opposition conducted an effective electoral campaign. This was the first democratic turnaround in Ghana's history (Gyimah-Boadi 2001).

Greece 1975

Unarmed Mobilization: 2

Armed Mobilization: 0

General Papadopoulos who was leading Greece since a coup in 1967 announced the end of Monarchy in the country in 1973, and held a plebiscite on the presidential system. His presidency was confirmed in the plebiscite, and he started to relax some repressive measures. As a result, criticism to the regime took public manifestation. Specifically, the level of student protests increased. The reimposition of martial and brutal suppression of protests of the Athens Polytechnic students made the student opposition popular in the country. In November 1973 Papadopoulos was overthrown in a coup for violating the principles of the 1967 coup. In 1974 escalation of conflict with Turkey over Cyprus and general mobilization left military leaders in Greece with no choice but the transfer of power to civilians. An exiled politician Karamanlis came back to country to serve as prime minister. Legislative elections were held in November 1974 (Veremis 1985).

Guatemala 1996

Unarmed Mobilization: 1

Armed Mobilization: 32

A process of political liberalization started in Guatemala in 1985. Part of the liberalization plan was to end the civil war with Marxist rebel groups that had started in 1961. In 1993 president Serano illegally dissolved the Supreme Court and Congress, and attempted to conduct a full-fledged “self-coup”. However, civil society organizations responded in energetic protests, and Serano’s plan failed. Thus, the civilian government stayed on track to push forward the peace process. In 1994 peace negotiations gained more momentum by United Nations mediation. The negotiations led to agreements on human rights, resettlement of displaced people, and indigenous rights. In 1995 presidential elections were held. URNG the rebel umbrella group, also, suspended military action in 1995, and an indefinite cease-fire between URNG and army followed in 1996 (Booth et al. 2014).

Guinea Bissau 2001

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1998, Nino Viera, Guinea Bissau’s president, tried to retire the Chief of Armed Forces, Brigadier Ansumane Mane. This led to a military uprising against the president, which continued for nine months. With international mediation and rounds of negotiations, an agreement was reached in November 1998. Attempts to form a unity government, however, failed in 1999 when the military deposed president Viera. The junta stressed that it has no intention of assuming power. The security situation improved in 1999 and last peacekeeping forces left the country. The interim government improved the human rights situation and held legislative and presidential elections at the end of 1999 and early 2000 (Ferreira 2004).

Guinea Bissau 2006

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

President Yala who had been elected in 2000 dissolved the parliament in 2002 and started to rule by decree. He also postponed parliamentary elections four times. The military intervened in 2003, deposed Yala, and introduced Transitional National Council to return to democratic rule. Legislative election, then, was held in 2004, and presidential election was carried out in 2005. Former president Vieira won as Guinea Bissau’s president once again (Freedom House 2006a).

Haiti 1991

Unarmed Mobilization: 4 year

Armed Mobilization: 0

Two years of mass uprising led to the collapse of the dictatorial rule of Jean-Claude Duvalier in Haiti in 1986 but failed to bring democracy to the country. Instead the country entered a period of chaos and instability from 1986 to 1990, during which different military juntas ruled. Colonel Avril who had come to power in 1988 promised to hold elections in 1990, but prior to the election date postponed the election. Riots broke out in response to this decision, however, and Avril fled the country. A civilian government took over and held elections with international monitors in December 1990, in which opposition leader Jean-Bertrand Aristide won (Fatton 2002; Haggard et al. 2012).

Haiti 1995

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

Coup leaders that deposed Aristide's elected government in 1991 transferred power to a civilian government. General Cedras agreed to this process, after became clear that a US-led military force of the United Nations is ready to be deployed to Haiti if the junta does not agree to the power transfer to the democratically elected government of Aristide. Following the power transfer Aristide came back to country from exile and was restored as country's legal president (Haggard et al. 2012).

Haiti 2006

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 1

Aristide won presidential election in 2000, while all opposition parties boycotted the election. Former army officers and political gangs led an armed uprising against Aristide in 2004. When France and the United States declined to send peace keeping forces, Aristide resigned and went to exile. An interim government was replaced Aristide according to the constitutional procedure. The he National Resistance Front for the Liberation of Haiti, led by the controversial Guy Philippe, a former soldier and the U.S.-trained chief of police of Cap Haitie entered the capital in March. Existing peace keeping forces did not stop the armed group, and looting continued in the capital. The UN peace keeping force expanded by contributions from Brazil and other South American countries. Elections were initially scheduled for 2005, but were postponed later. Finally elections were held in February 2006 (Freedom House 2006b).

Honduras 1958

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1954 Honduras entered a constitutional crisis, when none of the contenders in presidential election gained enough vote to elect as president and also because they failed to reach any agreement about the procedure to. Vice president Lozano Diaz, then, stepped up, suspended the legislature, and announced that he would act as president until new elections. Elections were held in October 1956, but boycotted by most parties since they called the process rigged. Although Diaz won the election, he was toppled in the same month in a military coup. A junta took charge of the executive and held elections in October 1957 (Haggerty and Millet 1993).

Honduras 1972

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

To cope with the devastating conditions of the short 1969 war with El Salvador and a hurricane at the same year, the military rule in Honduras called for a national conference in which delegates from political parties, labor, and peasant organizations participated. A pact was reached in conference that included free and fair elections in 1971. Elections were held in March 1971, in which Ernesto Cruz from the National Party was elected as Honduras president (Haggerty and Millet 1993; Morris 1984).

Honduras 1982

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

Warned by the revolution in Nicaragua and civil war in El Salvador, the military rulers in Honduras decided to initiate political reforms in early 1980s. An election was called for a constituent assembly. The Liberal Party won the majority of seats in the assembly and played the main role in drafting the new constitution. Contrary to general expectations, the military led rather fair and free elections to be hold in 1981, in which the Liberal Party won the presidency (Haggerty and Millet 1993; Morris 1984).

Hungary 1991

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In a May 1988 meeting of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party Kadar, the long-time leader of the communist party was replaced. Pro-reform communists overcame the hardliner in the party and started a series of political reform such as revising the electoral law, parliamentary procedure, and legalizing independent social groups. Roundtable negotiations were held in 1989 between the regime and the opposition, in which they

agreed upon different conditions of the transition. Parliamentary elections then were held in May 1990 (Tökés 1996).

Indonesia 2000

Unarmed Mobilization: 2

Armed Mobilization: 0

The massive upheaval that brought democratization in Indonesia started in 1998, while Indonesia was struggling with Southeast Asia economic crisis. Students started the wave of protest calling for the fall of Suharto. Later, one of the two massive religious organizations in the country joined the demonstrations. Following the clashes between the students and the security forces, urban poor joined the protests, and demonstrations escalated to rioting. The riots discredited the regime's claim about the main guardian of order. Following the clashes between the students and the security forces, urban poor joined the protests, and demonstrations escalated to rioting. Cracks within the ruling elite followed the riots. Suharto's allies abandoned him and called for his resignation. While the wave of mobilization was strong enough to bring down Suharto, the fragmented opposition failed to push all elements of the ruling elite out of power. Habibie, Suharto's vice-president stepped in as the new president, but the wave of protest continued and forced Habibie to immediately introduce political reform. In 1999 presidential election, the dominant Golkar party was defeated after 32 years incumbency in Indonesia (Aspinall 2005).

Kenya 2003

Unarmed Mobilization: 2

Armed Mobilization: 0

Kenyan transition to democracy happened through a protracted process. Massive protests in addition to international pressure in 1990 led to the constitutional change and the end of one-party rule. Despite the occurrence of multi-party election, the incumbent president was able to win the election in 1992. In 1997 the opposition again organized demonstrations and called for constitutional change. An agreement was, eventually, reached between the government and the opposition, but the opposition was divided, and Moi again managed to win the election. In 2002, Moi was not able to run according to the Constitution adopted in 1992. Although some of his supporters advocated the idea of removing the ban from the Constitution on running for the third term, Moi decided not to run. He picked a successor instead to run for the incumbent party, Kanu. Kanu, however, was divided about Moi's picked successor. On the other hand, opposition parties for the first time were united behind one candidate. While in the last stage of the transition popular mobilization did not play a role, earlier mass mobilization was crucial in installing multi-party elections and putting a constitutional ban on presidency for more than two terms (Brown 2004b; Ndegwa 2003).

South Korea 1961

Unarmed Mobilization: 1

Armed Mobilization: 0

In March 1960, Rhee Syngman South Korea's strong man and president since 1948 resorted to massive rigging to win the presidential election. Students launched demonstrations in protest to the rigging. Anti-regime rapidly spread throughout the country. Rhee's regime, first, resorted to repression and relied on its anti-communist propaganda, but repressive measures failed to curb the protest wave. Although the regime announced martial law the military refused to fire on demonstrators. Under pressure from the US, and faced with military defection, Rhee resigned on April 26th 1960. An interim government was replaced and carried out general elections in July 1960 (Kim 2000).

South Korea 1988

Unarmed Mobilization: 2

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1984 the military regime in South Korea started a stage of limited political liberalization out of confidence about its power to control the opposition. Students and laborers started organizing in different associations, and new oppositional political parties were also formed. These groups started building coalitions in 1985. The prodemocracy movement made public statements, collected signatures against the regime, and organized mass rallies in 1986. In April 1987 when the regime announced its decision to end debates about constitutional changed a huge wave of protest erupted. Government's crackdown on protestors, even, escalated the mobilization. Facing with nationwide protest, the government made concessions to the opposition in June and held direct presidential election in December 1987 (Kim 2000).

Laos 1953

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 7

Laos as a French colony was occupied by Japan in 1945, and reoccupied again 1946 by France. In 1949 a General Convention was signed between France and Laos that provided partial independence to Laos within French Union. At the same time, also, there were nationalist groups in exile that were demanding independence for Laos. They formed a government in exile in Bangkok, and launched guerilla insurgency against French domination over Laos. After 1949 convention, moderate members of the opposition in exile declared that the convention satisfies their main demands about independence and declared the dissolution of the government in exile. Radicals in exile, nonetheless,

continued their insurgency against the French presence in Laos. The first multi-party election was held in August 1951 for the National Assembly. In 1953, insurgents made several victories against the French military. It was widely recognized then that France would not be able to win the war. At the same time, a new government formed in June 1953 in France that recognized Laos's independence in exchange with reaffirmation of Laos's membership in the French Union (Stuart-Fox 1997).

Latvia 1992

Unarmed Mobilization: 5

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1986 a small dissident group Helsinki-86 was formed to pursue the independence of Latvia. In 1987 they called for ceremonial laying of flowers on the Freedom Monument in Riga on the anniversary of the day Stalin exiled many Latvians to Siberia. Despite all the efforts by the security apparatus, about five thousands people participated in the event. This event led to a series of coordinated protest demonstrations in the three Baltic States. In 1988 Latvian intelligentsia joined the demonstrations. The idea of a popular front was brought up, and the Latvian Popular Front first congressed was convened in October 1988. In July 1989 the popular pressure pushed the Latvian Supreme Soviet to declare a declaration of sovereignty and economic independence. Parliamentary election was held in 1990, and then two third of the delegates in the new legislature voted for transition to democratic and independent Latvia. Latvia eventually declared independent after the 1991 August coup in the Soviet Union. Demonstrations continued throughout the whole period (Beissinger 2002; Lieven 1994).

Lebanon 2005

Unarmed Mobilization: 1

Armed Mobilization: 0

Following the assassination of the Lebanon's Prime Minister Refiq Hariri, a wave of street protest against Syrian occupation of Lebanon swept across the country. These protests were called "Independence Intifada" or "Cedar Revolution." Syrian troops had been present in Lebanon since the end of the civil war in 1992. Following the protest wave, and under heavy international pressure Syrian military departed Lebanon in April 2005 (Blanford 2005).

Lesotho 1966

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In September 1961 Lesotho's legislative Council passed a motion about the country's self-government. At the time, Lesotho was still a British colony. Subsequently, a Constitutional Commission was formed to collect suggestions about the constitution from all over country. The Commission completed its report in 1962 and brought it to the Legislative Council. A delegate then went to London in 1963 to deliver the results of the constitutional discussions and negotiate the independence conditions. An agreement was reached in London and Lesotho was granted independence. General elections were held on April 29 1965 and the new Constitution became effective on April 30 1965 (Machobane 1990).

Lesotho 1994

Unarmed Mobilization: 1

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1986 the military overthrew the government of the dominant Basotho National Party (BCP). A power-sharing alliance was emerged between the military and King. The legislature was dissolved and all political activities were suspended in Lesotho. However, cracks soon appeared in this alliance over different issues. Workers strikes, particularly a 13 weeklong teacher strike, were among one of the events that deepened the split between the king and military. Due to such pressures, the alliance between the king and the military broke down. In 1990 the military decided to dethrone the king and sent him to exile in London. In 1991 the military formed a new Constituent Assembly with the participation of political parties to draft a new constitution for return to civilian rule. The Constituent Assembly finished its work in September 1991. International organizations then supervised elections in March 1993. BCP won the election, and the military handed the power to the new elected civilian government (Matlosa and Pule 2001).

Liberia 2006

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 4

After long years of civil war a peace accord in 1995 led to elections in 1996, in which Charles Taylor, a major guerilla leader in the civil war, was elected as president. The peace accord and Taylor's policy were not successful however, as armed rebellion again broke out in the country in 2000. With rebel's immanent threat o capturing the capital and under pressure from the United Sates, Taylor resigned in 2003. The civil war immediately ended with Taylor's resignation, and negotiations were conducted to for a peace accord and a large UN peacekeeping force supervised demobilization and disarmament. Delegates to the peace-talks chose an interim government that ruled the country until elections in 2005 (Freedom House 2006c).

Lithuania 1992

Unarmed mobilization: 4
Armed Mobilization: 0

Similar to other Baltic republics, in Lithuania also the protest movement started around ecological issues in 1988, when Moscow tried to build another nuclear reactor in the area. In that same year, Lithuanian intellectuals formed “Movement for Perestroika in Lithuania,” or Sajudis. Sajudis organized big demonstrations that awakened Lithuanian nationalism. The number of demonstrations increased in 1989 and continued through 1990 and 1991. Elections for the Supreme Soviet was held in 1989, in which the nationalist Popular Front won. In 1990 Lithuania declared session and independence. After the failed coup of 1991 the Soviet recognized Lithuanian independence (Beissinger 2002; Haggard et al. 2012; Lieven 1994).

Macedonia 1992

Unarmed Mobilization: 0
Armed Mobilization: 0

The communist party of Yugoslavia adopted a collective method of leadership after Tito’s death. Implementing IMF reforms exacerbated the conflict between the liberal elites in the federal government and the regional elite. By Mid 1980s Slovenia stopped paying taxes to the federal government. Croatia, then, started doing the same thing. Escalation of conflict between the regional branches of the communist party led to the dissolution of the Communist League of Yugoslavia in 1990. Reform members of each region then held multi-party election in 1990. In Macedonia the nationalist party won a majority, but the ex communist party formed a majority coalition. In 1991 Macedonia declared independence (Haggard et al. 2012).

Madagascar 1994

Unarmed mobilization: 2
Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1980s withdrawal of Soviet economic assistance created an economic and political crisis for Madagascar. In 1989 Didier Ratsiraka, country’s president since 1975, legalized political parties, and held a presidential election to legitimize his rule. He won the election, but the election was considered highly fraudulent. In response, a broad civic opposition, the Vital Force, emerged under the leadership of the Christian churches. The new opposition organized strikes and demonstrations in 1990-1. Repression failed to put down the protest, and appeared more of damage to Ratsiraka’s legitimacy. In 1991, he finally agreed to a pact that transferred power to the Vital Force and scheduled Constitutional Convention and presidential election for 1992. Clean elections were held in 1992-3, in which Vital Force’s candidate defeated Ratsiraka (Haggard et al. 2012; Levitsky and Way 2010).

Malawi 1995

Unarmed mobilization: 1

Armed Mobilization: 0

Hastings Banda had ruled Malawi since independence in 1963. In 1992, Catholic bishops issued a critical pastoral letter about regime's corruption and human rights abuses that was read aloud in Churches. The letter led to strikes and student protests. The protest wave led to the formation of two opposition parties for the first time. International donors also suspended aid and demanded political reform. Banda scheduled a referendum on multi-party elections for 1993, which the opposition easily won. Opposition, then, also won the presidential and national assembly election in 1993 and 1994 (Brown 2004a; Haggard et al. 2012; Levitsky and Way 2010).

Mali 1993

Unarmed mobilization: 2

Armed Mobilization: 0

Musa Traore had served as the head of state in Mali, since a coup in 1968 by a group of young Malian young officers who named Traore as president of the military council. During 1980s Malian economics deteriorated and a program of economic liberalization was put in place with policies recommended by World Bank and Western donors. The economic policies led to a high level of social dissatisfaction. Three new opposition parties were formed in 1990 and organized massive demonstrations in capital Bamako. In January 1991 the official union of the country linked to the ruling party organized a series of strikes. At the same time military was splitting between conservative supporters of Traore and advocates of the democratic movement. Following the strikes and demonstrations, the regime prohibited all political activities. The repressive measures were not successful. Students organized bigger and more defiant demonstrations. Although student demonstrations were brutally repressed, they followed with a large protest by women, and then general strikes by unions. The protest wave made Traore very isolated. In that context, a group of military officers overthrew him on March 26 1991. A transition committee was immediately appointed with 10 military and 15 civilian members from the opposition (Villalón and Idrissa 2005b).

Mauritania 2008

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 2005, a military coup overthrew the government of Maaouya Ahmed Taya, who had come to power in Mauritania through a coup in 1984. The junta issued amnesty for political prisoners and promised fair and free elections within a two years timeframe. A constitutional amendment was approved, then, in a referendum in 2006. Legislative and

municipal elections were held in 2007, which were regarded generally fair and free by international observers (Freedom House 2008a; N'Diaye 2009).

Mauritius 1969

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

Mauritius independence and democratization were achieved through a series of constitutional reforms starting in 1947. The 1947 Constitution considerably increased the number of voters. Elections for the Legislative Council under then new Constitution was held in 1948. After 1958 election the Legislative Council extended the franchise even further. In 1961 a Constitutional Conference was held in London with the participation of all Mauritius parties. The Conference agreed on achieving self-government for Mauritius in two stages. Another Constitutional Conference was held in 1965 in London to negotiate independence. A new electoral system was adopted in 1966. Elections under the new system were held in 1967, in which supporters of independence gained majority. Mauritius started self-governance in August 1967, and the British government passed a resolution about Mauritius independence in 1968 (Addison and Hazareesingh 1984).

Mexico 2000

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed mobilization: 1

In 2000 the dominant party in Mexican politics since in 1929, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) lost the presidential election to the opposition party conservative National Action Party (PAN). This turnover occurred as a result of gradual electoral reforms that were implemented in Mexico since 1987. Economic liberalization, defection from PRI, and Zapatista rebellion in 1994 were among different factors that pushed the process of electoral reform (Schedler 2000; Trejo 2014).

Moldova 1992

Unarmed Mobilization: 1

Armed Mobilization: 1

Major demonstrations took place in Moldova over Romanian language rights created the nationalist Popular Front movement. The Popular Front won the elections for Supreme Soviet in 1990. Mircea Snegur, a former communist, was elected as the head of the Soviet, and then in September he was elected as the president of republic. In the same year, also, violent clashes occurred between Romanian ethnic nationalists and Slavic-speaking regions supported by Russia. During the 1991 August coup in Soviet, Soviet troops tried to impose a state of emergency in Moldova, but the Moldovan government

overruled them. When the coup attempt failed, Moldova declared independence from Soviet Union (Crowther and Fedor 1995).

Mongolia 1994

Unarmed Mobilization: 1

Armed Mobilization: 0

Following the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe the first opposition group in Mongolia, the Mongolian Democratic Union, formed in 1989. The group organized mass demonstrations and called for the end of the communist regime. The communist party became divided over whether to respond to protests with force or concession. Finally, the reformist faction won, the whole central committee of the party resigned, and two months later the parliament announced it would amend the Constitution to remove the leading role of the Communist Party in 1990. A new Constitution was ratified, and multi-party legislative elections were held in 1992, in which the communist party won the majority. In the 1993 presidential, the opposition defeated the communists, uniting behind Ochirbat, the initial candidate of the communist whom they had abandoned due to internal conflicts in the party (Ginsburg 1995).

Montenegro 2007

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

When Yugoslavia collapsed in 1992, Montenegro voted to stay as a part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In 1997, a new group of prime minister Milo Djukanovic put Montenegro on a slow track toward independence. In 2002, under pressure from European Union two republics signed an agreement and made their ties weaker. Yugoslavia then was replaced with the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro in 2003. Eventually, a referendum in 2006 approved Montenegro's independence (Freedom House 2007a).

Myanmar 1961

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1958 the civilian government of Prime Minister U Nu was toppled. Nu was from the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) the dominant party in Myanmar that had ruled the country since the end of Japanese occupation in 1945. The coup occurred after internal conflicts within AFPFL spilled to the military. Following the coup a military government ruled the country until 1960. In that year, a combination of certain factors such as military's growing unpopularity and the increasing friction between field and staff officers convinced the generals to return to barracks in order to protect military's

prestige. A competitive election was held in February 1960. Despite alleged attempts by military to fraud Nu's new opposition party of Pyidaungsu won the election (Callahan 2005).

Nepal 1992

Unarmed Mobilization: 1 year

Armed Mobilization: 0

In late 1989, the Nepalese Congress party forged alliance with several leftist parties to push for democratic reforms in the country. The alliance organized campaigns of civil disobedience throughout the country, and announced the formation of the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) in February 1990. MRD organized different massive demonstrations and strikes and mobilized various segments of the population. King Birendra, who at the time, had all the executive power in the country started negotiations with the opposition, and then lifted the ban on political parties. In November 1990 a new Constitution for a parliamentary monarchy was promulgated, and parliamentary elections, then, were held in 1991 (Schock 2005).

Nepal 2007

Unarmed Mobilization: 3 years

Armed mobilization: 10 years

In 2001 the crown prince Gyanendra ascended to Nepals throne, after he shot king Birendra and nine other members of the royal family. In 2002 Prime Minister Deuba dismissed the parliament and called for fresh elections. After Deuba asked king Gyanendra to postpone the election, Gyanendra dismissed him, postponed elections indefinitely, and assumed executive power. Political parties called this decision illegal and organized protest demonstrations against this decision. In 2003 the cease-fire between government and Maoist insurgents also collapsed, and the rate of killing by both sides rose rapidly. In 2005, the king announced a state of emergency, shut down a lot of media outlets, and arrested thousands of party activists. Civil society groups continued to protest, however. The seven main political parties forged an alliance in support of a "road map" for restoration of parliamentary democracy, and organized protest demonstrations. In October 2005, political parties made an alliance with the Maoist insurgents. Protests and insurgent operations continued in early months of 2006. Finally after 19 days of protest in April by political parties, and a general strike organized by Maoists, the king ended his direct rule, and restored parliamentary government. Following the return of the parliament, a ceasefire was also reached between the government and Maoist rebels (Freedom House 2007b).

Nicaragua 1991

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 11

The incumbent Sandinista party held presidential elections in 1990, in which opposition candidate Violetta Barrios de Chamorro defeated Sandenista's Daniel Ortega. Economic sanctions and contra insurgency sponsored by the US had deteriorated Nicaraguan economy. The opposition capitalized on this situation and emphasized on ending the war with contras and normalizing relations with the US (Booth et al. 2014). Contras sponsored by the US conducted armed operations against Nicaraguan government since the revolution in 1979. This armed insurgency potentially had a flank effect on the transition in 1990.

Niger 1994

Unarmed Mobilization: 2

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1987 when president Kountche died, the army appointed General Ali Saibou as the new president of Niger. Although labor unions were under tight control by the government, during 1980s some they started to distance themselves from the dominant party and become more independent. At the same time, the conditions for labor deteriorated due to structural adjustments programs. Clandestine oppositional movements were forged during 1980s in opposition to the regime, and made linkages with the labor unions. Throughout 1989 and 1990 the major union in the country called for a series of strikes, and students demonstrated against the government acceptance of policies recommended by the World Bank. Government's use of force against protestors made their demands explicitly political and focused on the democratization of regime. With the escalation of the protest wave, the government announced revision of the constitution and formation of a National Conference. The National Conference then dismissed the government and held general elections in March 1993 (Charlick 2007).

Niger 2000

Unarmed Mobilization: 3

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1996 presidential election, the incumbent president Bare stopped the vote counting in the middle of the process, replaced the electoral commission, and then announced himself the winner of the election. The opposition and labor unions did not accept these decisions. Protests, strikes, and clashes then continued with no compromise. Protests continued in 1997, and as a result, Bare dismissed the government. Finally, in 1999 members of his presidential guard killed Bare. The new military rulers promised to hold free and fair elections, while protest activities continued. New presidential elections were held in November 1999 (Charlick 2007; Davis and Kossomi 2001; Villalón and Idrissa 2005a).

Nigeria 1961

Unarmed Mobilization: 2

Armed Mobilization: 0

By the end of the World War II and the growth of nationalism in Nigeria, the British government initiated a series of constitutional reform in 1946, 1950, and 1954 that granted independence to Nigeria at the end. One year before the first constitutional change, a general strike by labor unions effectively paralyzed the colonial government. The strike was supported through demonstrations and in the press. The general strike for the first time showed the ability of Nigerians to impose reforms on the colonial administration. Labor organization expanded after 1945 and a successful large strike happened in 1950. Other than labor unions political parties were active forces in Nigerian nationalism. Major constitutional changes were introduced through negotiations with Nigerian political parties through different national conferences. In a national conference held in Britain in 1957-8 delegates from different parties and regions discussed the Constitution for an independent Nigeria. Elections were held for a House of Representatives in December 1959. In October 1960 the British Parliament granted independence to Nigeria (Coleman 1971; Falola and Heaton 2008; Lovejoy 1991).

Nigeria 1980

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1975 a group of young officers overthrew the military government of General Gowon. The coup leaders chose General Murtala Mohammed as the head of state. Mohammed promised restoration of military's prestige and return to democratic rule. Nonetheless, he was assassinated in a coup attempt in 1976. The second in command General Olusegun Obasanjo ascended to power and led the transition to the civilian rule. A draft constitution then was published in October 1976. A constituent assembly started discussing the constitution in 1977, and the new constitution was adopted in 1979. The first election under this constitution was held in July and August 1979 (Falola and Heaton 2008; Lovejoy 1991).

Nigeria 2000

Unarmed Mobilization: 3

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1993, Nigerian political parties nominated candidates that had been approved by military in a presidential election. The results showed the victory for Moshood Abiola of the center-left Social Democratic Party. However, the regime voided the election within days. Riots erupted in Lagos and southwester cities, in which security forces killed about 100 people. Under pressure from the opposition and elements in military, the military regime agreed to transfer power to a civilian council. The civilian council, however, was

forced to resign in three months by General Abacha. In the anniversary of the 1993 election, a multi-ethnic coalition between politicians and notables emerged under the title of the National Democratic Coalition. Abiola also declared himself the legal president of the country. After the military regime arrested Abiola petroleum worker unions went on strike. Riots erupted and scattered protests happened in several southwestern cities. The government heavily cracked down on protestors. While Abacha was preparing the stage for a transition to civilian rule, in which he will serve as president, he died of heart attack in 1997. Military Provisional Ruling Council as Abacha's successor appointed General Abubakar. Abubakar announced a new plan for democratic transition. While the government was negotiating the transition conditions with the opposition, Abiola died during a meeting allegedly from heart attack. Riots erupted in the wake of Abiola's death. Abiola's supporters reproached the military government for his persecution and medical neglect. The authorities this time showed moderation in handling the unrest. Subsequently, legislative and presidential elections were held in 1999 (Lewis 1999).

Pakistan 1972

Unarmed Mobilization: 3

Armed Mobilization: 0

General Ayub Khan the military dictator and president of Pakistan who had been in power since 1958 resigned in 1969 after a wave of student and labor protest that had started in 1968. Pakistan People Party (PPP) led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto also had an active role in organizing and supporting the protests. General Yaha khan the new head of state in the country announced his plan for country's return to constitutional government. Elections were held in 1970. Awami League led by Mujib won the majority in East Pakistan and PPP gained majority in West Pakistan although with fewer seats. When these two parties failed to achieve an agreement about which party to form the government, the political stalemate led to violent clashes and military confrontation between East and West Pakistan. India entered the war in support for East Pakistan forces, and by December 1970 defeated the Pakistani Army, and East Pakistan declared independent as Bangladesh. At the eve of the military defeat demonstrations broke out against the military government. General Yahya resigned, and Bhutto assumed power as president (Baxter 1994; Talbot 2010).

Pakistan 1989

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1988, General Zia the military dictator of Pakistan died in an air crash. Following his death, the military decided to hand power to civilians. Following negotiations with Benazir Bhutto the leader of the opposition Pakistan People Party, elections were held in November 1988, in which PPP won the election and Bhutto became prime minister (Talbot 2010).

Pakistan 2009

Unarmed Mobilization: 1

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 2007, General Pervez Musharraf president and chief of Pakistan's military tried to dismiss chief justice Chaudhry. Musharraf was afraid that the judiciary would persecute members of his regime for corruption. Chaudhry, nonetheless, refused to resign and lawyers launched large protest demonstrations. The Supreme Court ruled against Musharraf's suspension of Chaudhry. Musharraf announced a state of emergency and arrested about 6000 activists and politicians. Feeling increasingly isolated, Musharraf cut a power-sharing deal with the former prime minister and leader of Pakistan People Party in exile Benazir Bhutto. The US also was pushing for this deal to make an anti-terror alliance in Pakistan. Bhutto was assassinated following her return to the country. Her husband Asif Ali Zardari assumed the leadership of PPP and made an alliance with Nawaz Sharif's Pakistan Muslim League. The alliance defeated Musharraf's party in the election, and planned to impeach him as the president, which led to Musharraf's resignation (Freedom House 2009; Khan 2008; Nelson 2009).

Panama 1953

Unarmed mobilization: 2

Armed Mobilization: 0

In response to the increasing corruption of police force in Panama and its interference in politics, president Chanis dismissed the first commandants Remon in 1949. Remon refused to resign; instead, he asked for president Chanis resignation, and threatened to attack the presidential palace. President Chanis resigned, and Roberto Chiari was sworn to president office. Strikes and protests broke out in support of Chanis and civilian rule. In the next Assembly session Chanis took his resignation back, and claimed that the resignation had been issued with force. The Assembly also endorsed Chanis as president. Chiari still maintained that he is the legal president. The Supreme Court, however, voted in favor of Chiari. In a preemptive move, Remon introduced Arnulfo Arias as the new president, claiming that he was the real winner of 1948 election. The movement for civilian rule continued its protest. In 1951 Arias suspended the 1946 and replaced it with his own decrees. Opposition protested the decision. The National Assembly convened impeached Arias and elevated Vice President Arosemena to president. Arias refused this decision. The police force attacked the presidential palace and Arias armed supporters and presidential guard resisted the attack, although eventually Arias and his supporters surrendered after a bloody clash between the two sides. The Arosemena administration held presidential elections in 1952 that was considered rather fair and free. Remon resigned from the police force and won the presidential election (Pippin 1964).

Panama 1956

Unarmed Mobilization: 0
Armed Mobilization: 0

President Remon who had taken repressive measures against the opposition since 1953 was assassinated in 1955. Following his death, the dominant party was divided about who has assassinated Remon. The new administration did not continue Remon's authoritarian rule and supervised competitive elections in 1956 (Geddes, Wright, and Frantz 2012; Pippin 1964).

Panama 1990

Unarmed Mobilization: 0
Armed Mobilization: 0

General Noriega the head of Panama Defense Force (PDF) was Panama's de facto military ruler during most of the 1980s, while the country had civilian puppet presidents or as Panamanians called it "Kleenex president." In 1987 a coalition of civilian forces, the National Civic Crusade, launched a nonviolent campaign to oust Noriega through protest demonstrations and general strikes. Noriega responded to the protest with heavy repression. The protests continued in 1988 and also after the stolen election of 1989. There were also coup attempts from within PDF to overthrow Noriega that failed. Although Noriega was in CIA payroll and initially supported by the US, the relationship between Noriega and Reagan administration deteriorated as Noriega declined to cooperate with the US government about issues related to supporting contras in Nicaragua, and hosting deposed Philippines dictator Marcos among others. US froze Panama's assets and issued economic sanctions on Panama, but Noriega was able to deal with the sanctions through support from countries such as Cuba and Nicaragua. Eventually, in December 1989 in the operation known as Just Cause US troops invaded Panama, arrested Noriega, and disbanded PDF. Guillermo Endara the opposition candidate and the real winner of 1989 election was sworn into office (Fishel 2000; Perez 2000).

Paraguay 1994

Unarmed Mobilization: 0
Armed Mobilization: 0

A palace coup in 1988 overthrew General Alfredo Stroessner who had served as president since 1954. The coup leader announced transition to democracy as a main goal of the coup d'état. Three months after the coup, a presidential election was held, in which General Rodriguez who led the coup was elected as president. Colorado party, the dominant party in the country during Stroessner's rule, nominated Rodriguez. Election for the Constituent Assembly was held in December 1991. Then new presidential election was held in 1993, in which again Colorado candidate won. The election was considered free and competitive, but not necessarily fair. Despite this victory for Colorado, it had to deal with an opposition that majority in the Congress for the first time (Lambert 2000).

Peru 1957

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1956 president Manuel Odira who had come to power in a coup in 1948 held competitive presidential elections in Peru, while many suspected that he would just continue his rule. By the time, Odira had lost the support of elements within military and also oligarchy in Peru. With the support of the opposition APRA, Manuel Prado managed to win the election. APRA put his support behind Prado, when he signaled that APRA would be legalized under his presidency (Klarén 1992).

Peru 1964

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1962 presidential election, none of the candidates managed to win one third of the vote specified in the Constitution. As a result, the Congress had to elect the president. APRI's candidate, Haya Dela Torre, the second candidate in the race cut a deal with Odira who had ended third. According to this deal, Odira would become president and an APRI member would serve as vice president. APRI made this pact because it was known that the military would not tolerate an APRI president. To preempt this deal, the military launched a coup in 1962. A junta ruled the country until 1963, when they held a multi-party election, in which both Odira and Dela Torre participated, but this time Blaunde from Accion Popular won the election (Klarén 1992).

Peru 1981

Unarmed Mobilization: 4

Armed Mobilization: 0

The military regime in Peru faced increasing labor activism by mid 1970s as a result of a severe economic downturn, regime's attempt to subjugate labor unions, and illness of the military dictator Velasco. In 1975, strikes and protests led to the fall of the Velasco's government. When the new government adopted new labor policies and announced a state of emergency in 1976, strikes by fishermen, municipal, and telepostal workers followed. Government responded by repression, but at this time labor protest took a political character and democratic restoration became a main demand of the labor movement. The strike wave also revived the confrontational approach within the movement. The most important event, nonetheless, was the general strike of 1977, which united all the labor unions in the country. In the wake of the strike, traditional parties and economic elite also called for a return to democratic rule. Nine days after the strike Morales Bermudez the military ruler of the country announced the election of Constituent Assembly for 1978. Strikes and protests continued until the election in 1978. With the

new constitution in place, elections in 1980 inaugurated the civilian government in Peru (Collier 1999).

Peru 2002

Unarmed Mobilization: 1

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 2000 Alberto Fujimori ran for his third presidential term in Peru. The first round of voting ended very tightly with 49.87 for Fujimori and 40.24 for his main rival Alejandro Toledo. The opposition, however, called the election fraudulent and street protests erupted at the eve of the election. Toledo demanded certain electoral reforms to ensure a fair and free second round. Nonetheless, when the government did not respond to any of his proposals, he withdrew from the second round of the election. Fujimori then won the second round without a contender. The opposition protest continued, and street demonstrations and riots occurred at the day of Fujimori's inauguration. Three months after the election, a video tape was leaked that showed a security chief bribing an opposition congress member. The video showed what the opposition had been claiming for years. Fujimori then announced decreasing his third term to one year and announcing new elections. By November 2000 Fujimori was removed from presidency, opposition took charge of the congress, and an interim government head by a respected opposition figure took charge. New presidential elections were held in 2001 in which Toledo was elected as president (Taylor 2001).

Philippines 1987

Unarmed Mobilization: 4

Armed Mobilization: 0

In August 1983, the oppositional politician Benigno Aquino, Jr. came back to country to lead a campaign against Marcos dictatorship. However, upon his return he was assassinated in the airport. From Aquino's assassination in August through April 1984 about two hundreds demonstrations and mass actions took place. The assassination was a turning point in the formation of mass opposition against Marcos. Massive protests and labor strikes continued in 1985. Although the opposition was divided in 1984 election over electoral participation or boycott, different opposition groups tried to unify behind one single candidate in 1986 presidential election. As it was expected the election was rigged and Marcos was announced as the winner. However, this time he faced with massive civic revolt against electoral fraud. Elements within the military also defected to the opposition. As massive resistance continued and defection rapidly spread within military, Marcos finally realized he has no option but to leave country. Corazon Aquino the real winner of the election started her turn as Philippines 11th president (Franco 2001; Schock 2005).

Poland 1990

Unarmed Mobilization: 6
Armed Mobilization: 0

Transition to democracy in Poland occurred when Communists lost the legislative election to the Solidarity movement in 1989. The origin of the Solidarity movement goes back to 1980 worker strikes, in response to which the government agreed to the creation of independent self-organizing unions. Then from August 1980 to December 1981 “Solidarity” as an independent union with a central organizing committee expanded throughout the country. The membership estimation at this time approaches 3 million. Solidarity operated as an umbrella organization, under which different groups such as farmers, artisans, and students became organized. Institutionalization of solidarity was also an impetus for other groups to organize. After martial law and crackdown on the movement in 1981, the movement went underground. From this point until April 1989, the movement continued its activities underground. The movement’s repertoire of action in this period includes clandestine publications, strikes, walkouts, boycotts, and skirmishes with the riot police, and underground lectures. During these years, the central coordinating structure of Solidarity was also restored. Millions of Poles participated in these protest campaigns and developed protest. In 1985 a group of students also formed a new opposition movement Freedom and Peace that staged local protest demonstrations around environmental issues in 1986 and 1987. A new wave of strikes in April 1988 brought the communists to the negotiation table once again. In this historic “round table” communists agreed to open the electoral process to Solidarity. Solidarity formed local Citizens’ Committees to mobilize the vote. Solidarity won a landslide in the election, and on June 4th 1989 communism ended in Poland (Kenney 2002; Kubik and Ness 2009; Osa 2003).

Portugal 1977

Unarmed Mobilization: 3
Armed Mobilization: 0

A coup by a group of officers in Portuguese military, Armed Forces Movement, brought down the dictatorial regime Salazar-Caetano. The coup followed by massive mobilization of workers and peasants in form of strikes, factory occupation, and land seizures as well as street demonstrations from 1974 through 1976. The multi-faction junta governing the country immediately announced a timetable for democratic transition and held Constituent Assembly election in 1975 and general election in 1976 (Maxwell 1986).

Romania 1991

Unarmed mobilization: 2 years
Armed mobilization: 1 year

The rebellion against Nicolae Ceausescu started in Timisoara in December. Protestors took control of the city and disarmed army units. The protest wave rapidly spread to the

adjacent cities and Bucharest. Ceausescu tried to repress the rebellion and counter-mobilize workers in his support. A mass gathering was organized in Bucharest for Ceausescu to address the crowd. The audience however booed Ceausescu and the images of the disruption broadcasted in the country. The crowd also tried to storm the building, from which he was giving his speech. The following days were the bloodiest days in the Romanian uprising. Ceausescu tried to flee the country but he was captured and sentenced to death in a military trial. The execution was immediately followed the trial. Violent clashes subdued after the execution. Following Ceausescu's departure, a group of Communist reform elite, the National Salvation Front (NSF), took control of the government. In January demonstrations occurred by students and opposition against the NSF. Parliamentary elections were held in May 1990, in which NSF won an overwhelming majority (Siani-Davies 2005).

Russia 1992

Unarmed Mobilization: 5

Armed Mobilization: 0

As a result of Michael Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union, hundreds or even thousands of associations came into being around 1986-7 around local issues. By 1988, these associations turned to explicitly political activities and held demonstrations, in which the protestors expressed their demand for democratization of the Soviet. The first large wave of protest occurred in 1989. The associations came together in the electoral campaigns of 1989 legislative elections, and shortly after that a host of new political parties came into the being. In September 1989, Democratic Party of Russia, Social Democratic Party of Russia, and the Democratic Platform, three of the leading organizations of the democratic movement, announced that they are forming Democratic Russia, an umbrella organization to coordinate activities of democratic associations. In 1989 Russia' Congress of Deputies started its session as the first elected legislative authority after decades. Boris Yeltsin the most prominent advocate of the democratic movement was elected as the chairman of the parliament. One year later, presidential election was held in Russia for the first time, and Yeltsin this time was elected in relatively faire and free election as the first president of the Russian republic. During this presidential race Democratic Russia organized electoral campaigns for Yeltsin. In August 1991, hardliners in the Communist Party launched a coup to oppose Gorbachev's political reforms and negotiations for a treaty that would decentralize the Soviet Union. The coup, however, failed due to the popular resistance spearheaded by the Russian president Yeltsin, and Russian parliamentarians. In the aftermath of the putsch, Yeltsin emerged as the politician with the most prestige and authority in the Soviet Union with a great measure of power at hand. He disbanded the Communist Party, and the Soviet Union was dissolved within a year (Beissinger 2002; Brovkin 1990; Fish 1995).

Senegal 2001

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In march 2000 presidential election, Abdou Diouf of the Socialist Party to the opposition candidate Abdoulaye Wade. The Socialist Party had ruled Senegal under different names since the independence in 1960. This electoral defeat was the result of the unraveling of the dominant party's patronage system and defections from the ruling coalition prior to the 2000 election. Some electoral reforms had been also introduced in Senegal after opposition protested the results of the 1988 elections (Galvan 2001; Levitsky and Way 2010).

Serbia 2001

Unarmed Mobilization: 4

Armed Mobilization: 0

The incumbent president Slobodan Milosovic lost the 2000 presidential election but refused to accept the result. However, a general strike and massive street protest forced him to accept the results. Protest activities were a common feature of the Serbian politics in 1990s. Important waves of protest erupted in 1991, 1992, 1996-7, and 1999. The 1996-7 protests were specifically important as they were massive, brought students and political opposition together, and showed the core of Milosovic base is defecting. This wave of protest also led to the formation of a youth group Otpor that focused on organizing and crafting innovative protest tactics against the regime. Otpor also pressured the political opposition to unite behind one candidate in the 2000 election. One year before 2000 election, a wave of spontaneous and organized protest also happened in the countryside that showed the depth of grievances to the both opposition and the regime (Bunce and Wolchik 2011; Meyers 2009).

Sierra Leone 1962

Unarmed Mobilization: 3

Armed Mobilization: 0

Promises made by Americans and British during World War II raised Sierra Leoneans hope for independence and decolonization. However, instead of granting immediate independence Britain started a series of administrative and political reforms in 1946. Riots that broke out in 1948, 1949, and 1951 were crucial in forcing Britain to implement proposed reforms. General elections were held in 1951 and 1957 and Sierra Leone was granted independence in 1961 (Esedebe 1973).

Sierra Leone 1997

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 6 years

In 1991, Revolutionary United Front of Liberia (RUF) expanded their armed insurgency to Sierra Leone. RUF was initially a millenarian movement supported by Libya that was trying to find an audience within the disenfranchised population in Sierra Leone. In 1996, Brigadier Maada Bio ousted Captain Valentine Strasser the leader of the National Provisional Ruling Council the incumbent military junta in the country in a coup. Bio started negotiations with rebels, and held elections in February 1996. Sierra Leone People Party with the leadership of Ahmed Tejan Kabbah won the election (Bangura 2000; Haggard et al. 2012; Zack-Williams 1999).

Sierra Leone 1999

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed mobilization: 8 years

In 1997, the army overthrew the civilian government of Ahmed Tejan Kabbah. A new authoritarian government formed led by Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) with members from RUF and civilian elements from Kabbah's government. In 1998 an international alliance invaded Sierra Leone and reinstated Kabbah's government. President Kabbah signed a peace accord with the RUF rebels and gave amnesty to participants of the civil war since 1991. Leaders of the 1997 coup were also given key position in the new coalitional government (Bangura 2000; Haggard et al. 2012; Zack-Williams 1999).

Slovakia 1993

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

Demonstrations against communism in Slovakia started in June 1989 in Bratislava. New political parties and civic groups such as Public against Violence and the Christian Democratic Movement were formed in 1989. Elections were held in June 1990. When the Federal Assembly debated the return of a hyphen to the official name of Czechoslovakia, demonstrations followed in the streets of Bratislava. Debates about Slovak independence continued in Slovak National Council, Czech National Council, media, and public demonstrations. A series of demonstrations occurred throughout 1990 and 1991 in support of Slovak independence in Bratislava and other cities. In 1992 parliamentary election, Movement for Democratic Slovakia with the leadership of Vladimir Meciar won a majority in Slovakia. Meciar negotiated the independence with Klaus who had won a majority with his Civic Democratic Party in Czech. Representative of both parties eventually agreed on the dissolution of Czechoslovakia on January 1st 1993 (Kirschbaum 2005).

Slovenia 1992

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

The communist party of Yugoslavia adopted a collective method of leadership after Tito's death. Implementing IMF reforms exacerbated the conflict between the liberal elites in the federal government and the regional elite. Due to these economic pressures the Republic started breaking down to its six republic members. Among these republics Slovenia's communist party was more tolerant than others and allowed more dissent and space for civil society and media activities. By Mid 1980s Slovenia stopped paying taxes to the federal government. Beginning in 1989 various political parties came into being in Slovenia and in 1990 the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in Belgrade recognized that the single-party system is dead. Reform communists in Slovenia held a free multi-party election in April 1990. With anonymous agreement of all parties in Slovenia's parliament a referendum was scheduled for December 1990. Voters confirmed the independence with 95% majority, and Slovenia was announced independent in June 1991 (Bebler 2002; Haggard et al. 2012).

Somalia 1961

Unarmed Mobilization: 5

Armed Mobilization: 0

By the end of World War II Somalia was under British rule. In 1945 in the Potsdam Conference, Britain assigned a commission of four powers Britain, United States, Soviet Union, and France, and suggested different Somalia territory unite in a single government. In 1948, commission representatives went to Somalia to decide over the fate of the colony. The commission decided to united all the protectorates under one administration in a ten-year trusteeship overseen by an international body to lead the country to independence. The commission of four countries, nonetheless, failed to agree on a plan. They referred to matter to the United Nations in 1949, which decided to put Southern Somalia under Italian rule for 10 years. When British rule took over in Somalia they fired and imprisoned members of SYL. SYL also worried about Italy's colonial plans waged a campaign of civil disobedience and protest over 1950-53. The conflict ended by introduction of a seven years development plan in 1954. In 1956 for the first time territory wide elections were held in Somalia, in which SYL won the majority of seats. Abdullaahi Iise, the leader of SYL, became prime minister for the period of 1956-1960. In 1958 the franchise was expanded to women. In British Somaliland, political protests in 1956 made the British to introduce representative government. Small Legislative Council was formed in 1957 and expanded the next year to represent different tribes. In 1960 elections with secret ballot was held for the first time. Finally popular demands compelled the leaders of the two territories to agree on unification plans. British Somaliland received independence from Britain in 1960 and the joined the Somali Republic in July 1960 (Samatar 1992).

South Africa 1995

Unarmed mobilization: 13 years

Armed Mobilization: 7 years

The anti-apartheid movement in South Africa is perhaps one of the longest struggles for democratic rights in the World. In 1950 African National Congress (ANC) launched the Defiance Campaign in protest to racist policies enacted by the apartheid regime. This campaign involved series of stayaways and mass strikes. This campaign and other similar campaigns at the time failed to achieve their immediate political goals. Facing with sever repression, ANC changed its strategy to armed struggle led mostly from outside the country in early 1960s. ANC in exile expanded its organizational infrastructure, and became gigantic. However, external armed struggle failed to pose a serious threat to the apartheid regime. 1970s instead witnessed the revival of internal resistance led by students, unions, and civics (neighborhood committees). Large strikes started in 1973 and ended a period of labor calm and inactivity. In 1974 the strike wave faced employers' clampdown. In the face of this defeat, workers activists directed their attention to organizing and founded several important trade unions in 1979. Important waves of strikes again occurred in 1979-1980. In 1976, students carried out a protest in Soweto, which led to a bloody crackdown by the government. The isolated instance of protest in 1970s coalesced into the United Democratic Front, an umbrella organization, found in 1983. UDF took an inclusive strategy and affiliated with several workers, youth, church-related, and colored organizations. UDF also worked closely with the largest trade union federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), founded in 1985. With a vast repertoire of protest, UDF was successful in engaging a massive number of South African in the struggle as well as popularizing the ANC leadership in exile and in prison in Robben Island. As a result of strikes in 1970s and organizing efforts labor militancy was on a peak from 1982 onward. A new wave of protest in the form of rent-boycotts and stay-aways started in 1984 in objection to the new constitution introduced by the apartheid regime. A general strike was also organized in the country that was one of the biggest actions of this form in the history of South Africa. In 1985 ANC called for making the townships ungovernable. Reacting the wave of unrest, the regime announced state of emergency in 155 townships. The mobilization, however, continued, and the state of emergency was widened in 1986. In 1987 about three million workers participated in a three days strike that paralyzed the industry. In 1989 a new Defiance campaign was organized with the multiracial peace marches in different cities. ANC was allowed to carry out a rally of 70000 people though the end of the year. As a result of these massive protests, ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) were legalized again in 1990 and their leaders were released. UDF was disbanded then, and ANC took the leadership again from within the country. In 1994 the apartheid ended in South Africa after several rounds of negotiations between the regime and the opposition leaders. ANC also launched armed operations against the apartheid regime. The operations started in 1981 and ended in 1988. The operations were not successful in bringing down the apartheid regime but had important influences on the internal dynamics of the anti-apartheid movement (Seidman 2001; Wood 2000; Zunes 1999).

Spain 1978

Unarmed mobilization: 6 years
Armed mobilization: 11 years

Labor strike and protest played an influential role in Spain's transition to Democracy. Both legal and illegal unions became a site of oppositional activities against Spain's authoritarian regime. By mid 1960s the agenda of labor movement switched from economic demands of workers to political issues. In 1967, illegal unions held a large demonstration in Madrid, in which workers were chanting "Franco no, Democracy yes". The Communist party and affiliated also decided to change their strategy from limited protest tactics to attempts for regime change. Labor unrest divided the regime about the method of dealing with the opposition. In 1970 strikes occurred in remarkable numbers. Prime minister Carrero Blanco initially decided to respond with repression. On the other hand, soft-liners emphasized on political opening as a preferred policy to address the unrest. Through 1972 and 1973, then, Franco and Blanco tried to introduce some political opening to the country. High level of labor protest in 1973 kept the regime in defensive. In the same year, Carrero Blanco was assassinated, and Franco appointed the moderate Carlos Arias Navarro as prime minister. Labor strikes, nonetheless, increased in 1974 to its highest level in Spanish history until that year. In 1975, strikes even broke a new record. It was in this context that Franco died. Labor demonstration and strike again reached a new and unprecedented level in 1976. The policy of limited liberalization seemed to be failing. Adolfo Suarez was appointed as prime minister at this point. In the context of instability created by labor unrest, Suarez negotiated Spain's transition to democracy with the regime and the opposition. Suarez convinced the Cortes to annul itself, and free legislative elections were held in 1977. Terrorist activities by Basque separatists contributed in destabilization of the country. Democratic transition was also an attempt to empower moderates and marginalize radical separatists (Collier 1999; Bermeo 1997; Maravall and Santamaría 1986).

Sri Lanka 1995

Unarmed Mobilization: 0
Armed mobilization: 19

In 1993 Sri Lanka's president Ranasinghe Premadasa was assassinated. He was the leader of Unity National Party (UNP) that had ruled the country that had ruled the country for 17 years. Parliamentary and Presidential elections held in August and November 1994 won by People Alliance and PA's Bandaranaike Kumaratun was elected as president. Ending the civil war with Tamil Tigers was a central theme in PA's campaign while UNP's campaign rejected any negotiations with Tamil rebels. Tamil Tigers had waged a civil war in Sri Lanka for 19 years at that point (DeVotta 2002; Keerawella and Samarajiva 1995).

Sudan 1956

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1948 and after World War II following nationalist demands, Britain permitted an elected nationally representative assembly replace advisory executive council. The nationalist movement in Sudan was divided between a group advocating Sudanese independence, and a group favoring unification with Egypt. National Unionist Party (NUP) the main pro-Egypt party boycotted 1948 elections. As a result, pro-independence Umma party dominated the legislature. In 1952 the legislature negotiated the Self-Determination Agreement with Britain. Egypt objected to the self-determination plan, and announced King Faruk, the king of Sudan. In 1953 Colonel Naguib overthrew king Faruk in Egypt. He accepted Sudan's right for self-determination and signed an accord with Britain that specified a three years plan for Sudan's transition from condominium to a sovereign country. According to this plan, Sudanese and British troops would leave Sudan in three years and then Sudanese will decide about the political future of country in a plebiscite. In 1952, pr-Egypt NUP won a majority in the parliamentary election. A new government was formed with Azhari of NUP as prime minister. Azhari government initially halted the independence plan, in the hope of unification with Egypt. However, when Azhari realized that the public opinion has changed in favor of Sudan's independence switched party's policy and endorsed independence. In 1955 Sudanese parliament passed the declaration of independence. Southern Sudan was not happy about unification with the Arab north. Some southern battalions rebelled against the independence but were suppressed by the north (Ofcansky 1991).

Sudan 1966

Unarmed mobilization: 1

Armed mobilization: 5

The parliamentary democracy that was in practice since 1954 and especially since the independence in 1956 was overthrown by a coup d'état in 1958. The grievances in the south had taken the form of terrorist activities and armed insurgency against the military government, and military's repressive measures were not also successful in suppressing the insurgency. In October 1964 when police attacked an illegal student meeting in the university of Khartoum, several students and police were wounded. When one of the students died from injuries the next day, angry demonstrations and riots broke out in Khartoum. Military's measures to crack down on riots failed and strikes by rail workers and airport and radio employees followed the protests. Eventually, General Abboud the military ruler of the country announced the dissolution of the Supreme Council of Armed Forces and started negotiations with the opposition about the formation of a caretaker government. The caretaker government was formed on October 30th, and the constitution of 1956 was reinstated until the election of the new Constitutional Assembly. In November again riots broke out in response to alleged coup by Abboud who had stayed as the head of the state and the commander in chief of armed forces. In December another riot broke out in Khartoum regarding the grievances of southern Sudanese. Finally elections were held on April 21 1965 (Haddad 1973).

Sudan 1987

Unarmed mobilization: 1

Armed mobilization: 4

In 1985 Gaafar Nemeiri, Sudan's president was ousted in a coup d'état. Nemeiri had come to a power in a coup in 1969. Different forces in Sudan opposed Nemeiri's government. In the south separatist grievances culminated in armed insurgency against the central government. Introduction of sharia law in 1983 was also received by discontent and resistance from civil society forces. In 1985 demonstrations and riots broke out in Khartoum in protest to rising food and gasoline prices. Following the demonstrations Nemeir was ousted in a coup. Abd ar Rahman Siwar adh Dhahab the leader of the coup released hundreds of political prisoners, promised to end the civil war, and relinquish power to civilians within a year. General elections were held in April 1986 (Ofcansky 1991).

Syria 1955

Unarmed Mobilization: 1

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1949 the post-independence parliamentary government was overthrown in a series of military coups. By the end of the year, Colonel Adib Shishakli was in control of military while a civilian government was still in place. In 1951 he committed another coup and toppled the civilian government. A referendum in July 1953 changed the government from parliamentary to a republic with Shishakli as president of the republic. In the same year, however, opposition parties agreed to resist Shishakli's rule. Student strikes broke out in December. Shishakli announced martial law and cracked down on the opposition, but factions of the army allied with opposition parties staged a coup against him in February 1954. The constitution of 1950 was reinstated, civilian government of 1951 came back to power, and competitive elections were held in 1954 (Haddad 1971; McGowan 1987).

Syria 1962

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1958 Syria united with Egypt under the title of United Arab Republic. The division of power, however, was putting the Syria in an inferior position, and Syrians felt unsatisfied about this situation. In 1961 a coup was staged in Damascus that put an end to the United Arab Republic. In December 1961 a competitive election was held for the constituent assembly, in which all factions and political parties participated (McGowan 1987).

Taiwan 2001

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 2000, the dominant Kuomintang party lost after being in power for 55 years. Martial law had been lifted in 1987, and viable opposition to Kuomintang had been emerged in 1991 first multiparty election. The Democratic People's Party (DPP) won several seats in the national assembly. In 1997 local elections Kuomintang's support had been weakened because of its corruption, alleged engagement with organized crime, and Factionalism. DPP defeated the Kuomintang in this election and set the stage for its victory in presidential election of 2000 (Freedom House 2001).

Tanzania 1961

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

Tanganyika was a United Nation trust territory under British administration after World War II. In 1954 Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) was formed with the leadership of Julius Nyerere. The organization's goal was to pursue country's independence. TANU's membership soon expanded and Nyerere was recognized as the leader of the independence movement. He visited the UN and was appointed to the Tanganyika's legislative council. In 1957 the British authority held elections that gave equal representation to Africans, Asians, and Europeans, although Africans were the absolute majority in the country. TANU's candidates won all of the seats even among Asians and Europeans. Following this election Nyerere negotiated the expansion of franchise and abolishment of tripartite system of voting. In the new system each citizen could vote for anyone regardless of race. General election under the new system was held in 1960 and TANU won the majority of seats. Nyerere was elected as prime minister and Tanganyika was announced independent in December 1960. Tanganyika changed name to Tanzania after its unification with Zanzibar in 1964 (Hempstone 1961; Spalding 1993).

Thailand 1976

Unarmed Mobilization: 1

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1973, Thanom Kittikachorn's dictatorial rule in Thailand ended with public protests and demonstrations organized mainly by students. Field Marshal Thanom had ruled Thailand since 1963, when Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat the military dictator and prime minister of Thailand died. After an experience with a limited democracy, Thanom staged a coup against his civilian government in 1971 and replaced it with military junta. In December 1972 he announced a new interim constitution. This new decision faced popular demonstrations by students. Thanom resigned as prime minister, and king Bhumibol appointed a civilian prime minister favored by student demonstrators. A new constitution went into effect in 1974, and parliamentary elections were held in January 1975 (Race 1974; Seekins 1987).

Thailand 1989

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In March 1988 Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda dissolved the parliament and called for multi-party parliamentary elections. This decision was the result of the fragmentation of the dominant party between the ruling faction and dissident factions. The election resulted in the first civilian prime minister since the army ousted the civilian parliamentary government in 1976 (Niksich 1989).

Thailand 1993

Unarmed mobilization: 1 year

Armed mobilization: 0 year

In February 1991 the Thai military ousted the elected government in Thailand, abrogated the constitution, and dissolved the parliament. The military junta promised to hold elections and return the power to civilians in a year. Parliamentary elections were held in March 1991, in which pro-military parties won a majority. However, after General Suchinda the leader of the junta was nominated as prime minister in May 1992, demonstrations broke out, in the largest protest wave since 1973. The military initially tried to suppress the protests, but the mobilization escalated. The King interfered and military agreed to some of the demands of the protestors. A general election was held in September 1992 (Bunbongkarn 1992, 1993).

Thailand 2008

Unarmed Mobilization: 1

Armed Mobilization: 0

A coup in September 2006 overthrew the government of Prime Minister Thaksin, who was struggling in a political impasse with the opposition. A junta was established, the Constitution was abrogated, and the parliament was dissolved. An interim constitution was introduced in October that promised drafting a new constitution in a year. Although the coup was initially popular, the legitimacy and popularity of the junta declined in 2007. The Democratic Alliance Against the Dictatorship (DAAD), the alliance of groups opposing the coup started organizing daily demonstrations against the junta. The junta took steps to limit the participation of Thaksin and his supporters in politics. Thaksin's party was dissolved but his supporters formed People's Power Party (PPP). Bans on political parties were lifted in June, and voters confirmed a new constitution in August. Parliamentary election then was held in December, and PPP won the won 223 out of 480 seats (Freedom House 2008b; Ockey 2008).

Togo 1964

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

The end of World War II divided the territory of Ewe people divided between a British mandate, a French mandate, and the Gold Coast. A pan-Ewe movement failed to unify these territories. In 1954, Britain made it clear that it will not continue administering British Togo, which meant the British Togo would unify with the Gold Coast as independent Ghana. This made it difficult to justify continuation of its rule over the French Togo. France tried to tackle this predicament through a referendum. In 1955 in a UN-administered plebiscite people in British Togo confirmed unification with independent Ghana. France held a referendum in Togo in 1956 that confirmed Togo's ties with France, but the referendum did not receive international recognition. The option for independence did not exist in the referendum. Under international pressure, a referendum occurred in 1958 under UN supervision. This referendum confirmed Togo's independence (Digre 2004).

Turkey 1951

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1945 as a result of an internal dispute in the Turkey's dominant party Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP), 4 members of the party including Prime Minister Menderes left the party and formed Demokrat Parti (DP). In 1946 DP gained some seats in the parliament and played the role of the opposition to CHP. In 1950 DP made a huge victory in the general election, which ended the dominance of CHP since the inception of the Turkish Republic (Glazer 1996).

Turkey 1962

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1960 Turkish military ousted the civilian government of Demokrat Parti that had taken an authoritarian method of ruling since 1957. Coup leaders appointed the Committee of National Unity (CNU) instead of the government consisted of coup leaders and a few civilians. General Gursel, Chief of General Staff, who had led the coup announced initially that CNU rules temporarily and the power will be returned to civilians. In January a Constituent Assembly was formed, which ratified the new constitution in May. The new constitution was affirmed in a referendum in July 1961. Parliamentary election was held in October 1961, in which 14 parties participated. Although DP was dissolved, Adalet Partisi, considered the heir of DP, participated in the election (Glazer 1996).

Turkey 1984

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

In 1980 Turkish military once again ousted the civilian government, abrogated the constitution, and dissolved the parliament in a coup. Many activists and politicians were arrested and all politicians from pre-coup era were banned from politics. Western European countries demanded the military to restore democracy, and European Community suspended financial assistance to Turkey. A new constitution was affirmed in a popular referendum in 1982. A new law for political parties became effective in 1983, and new parties were invited to form, but from fifteen parties that requested certification, the military only approved three. Parliamentary election was held in November 1983, in which Motherland party won against Nationalist Democratic Party that was perceived as the party of generals (Glazer 1996).

Uganda 1963

Unarmed Mobilization: 0

Armed Mobilization: 0

With Indian independence, spread of nationalism in west Africa, and more liberal policies in the British Colonial Office, started moving toward granting independence to Uganda in Early 1950s. The Legislative Council was reorganized to include African representatives elected from districts throughout Uganda in addition to unrepresentative interest groups selected by the British authority. There were oppositions from the kingdom of Buganda about unification with the rest of Uganda. However, separatist attempts for an independent Buganda failed, and Baganda agreed on participation in a national federal government. A coalition government was formed after April parliamentary election of 1962. Uganda was announced independent in October 1962 (Rowe 1990).

Ukraine 1992

Unarmed mobilization: 4

Armed Mobilization: 0

Following reforms initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union, informal and formal associations also came into being in Ukraine starting in 1987. These associations organized demonstrations both with environmental as well as political themes in 1988. Ukraine's Popular Front (Rukh) also was formed in 1988. Miners went on strike in July 1989 and labor unrest and some connections were made between the labor movement and the political opposition. Following the strikes a large number of worker unions were also formed. The size of protest events increased in 1989, and massive demonstrations continued in 1990 and 1991. Similar to other republics parliamentary elections Ukraine also held parliamentary election in 1990. Following the failed putch in August 1991, Ukraine declared independence (Kuzio 2000).

Uruguay 1985

Unarmed Mobilization: 2
Armed Mobilization: 0

The military regime in Uruguay in power since 1973 decided to implement a plan for return to a limited democracy in late 1970s. In 1980 a plebiscite was held on a new constitution, which was rejected by the voters. Limited political liberalization occurred after the plebiscite and social movements reactivated and unions began organizing in Uruguayan politics. Inter-Union Plenary of Workers (PIT) organized a big demonstration in 1983 and demanded the return of democratic liberties. A general strike organized by PIT in 1984 was also a key opposition action. Under such pressures military gave up its plans for transition to civilian regime under military control. In July after series of negotiations military made important concession, legalized several political parties, and agreed on holding multi-party elections (Collier 1999).

Venezuela 1959

Unarmed mobilization: 1 year
Armed Mobilization: 0

General Pérez Jiménez who had come to power in Venezuela in a coup in 1948. In 1952 he cancelled a scheduled election and called himself president. An election then was scheduled for 1957. However, afraid from losing the election Pérez cancelled the election and instead held a fraudulent referendum that confirmed him as president. The referendum, nonetheless, outraged both civilians and military. In January 1958 a military faction tried to oust Pérez but the coup failed. Political parties, however, organized mass demonstrations in Caracas. Under pressure from streets, military officers forced Pérez to resign. Pérez was then replace by a military junta, but as demonstrations continued civilian members joined the ruling junta. The junta supervised elections in December 1958 (Karl 1987; Rudolph 1990).

Zambia 1965

Unarmed mobilization: 3
Armed Mobilization: 0

North Rhodesia, along with South Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (later Malawi) became part of the African Central Federation in 1953. This was against aspirations of North Rhodesians and a big defeat for African nationalists. The biggest fear for North Rhodesians was the domination of European settlers in South Rhodesia over the majority Africans in the whole federation and especially north. The federation was a semi-independent entity under the authority of the British crown. At the time, African National Congress led by Harry Nkumbula was the major political organization representing African political demands in the north. The advent of the Federation was a political failure for ANC and marked an era of disintegration and decline for the organization. ANC, nonetheless, started reorganizing and also connecting with the major

labor movement organization in the North, African Mine Workers Union (AMWU). ANC then collaborated with AMWU in organizing strikes in 1955 and 1956. In 1958 militancy within ANC was on the surge. In crease in house rents led to riots in that year. Although Nkumbula denied ANC's involvement with the riots, Court proceedings in the following month confirmed ANC's involvement. Tactical differences within ANC led to its fragmentation. Kenneth Kaunda a major leader of ANC split from the organization and formed Zambia's African National Congress (ZANC), which had a more radical stance than ANC. In 1959 British government appointed the Monckston Commission to prepare the ground for a constitutional conference in 1960. The commission's report recognized the right of session for individual entities, despite European's opposition. While ANC supported the new constitution, ZANC boycotted the constitution and 1960 election. Kaunda was arrested for fomenting trouble and ZANC was banned. After Kaunda was released he formed United National Independence Party (UNIP). UNIP participated in 1962 election and gained a considerable number of seats. UNIP and ANC made an alliance and Kaunda formed the cabinet in Northern Rhodesia. A new constitution was introduced and became effective in 1964. The Federation finally dissolved, and Zambia announced independence (Mulford 1967; Ukpabi 1970).

Zambia 1992

Unarmed Mobilization: 1

Armed Mobilization: 0

Zambia was under one-party rule of United National Independence Party of president Kenneth Kaunda since 1973. In March Fredrick Chiluba, a major opposition figure and the leader of Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, called on president Kaunda and asked him to hold a referendum for democratic pluralism in Zambia. Kaunda in a preemptive action agreed on the referendum, confident of his victory in an early election. In June 1990 riots broke out in the capital city of Lusaka in response to price increases. In July 1990, A National Inerim Committee for Multiparty Democracy formed. This was a coalition of different civil society forces with labor movement at its core. The group demanded multiparty elections rather than a referendum, and held opposition rallies across country. In September 1990 Kaunda agreed to hold multiparty elections. Presidential and parliamentary elections were held in October 1991, in which the ruling party lost to the opposition and Chiluba was elected as president (Bratton 1992).

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