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# Patterns of Regime and Leadership Change in the Third World



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# **Patterns of Regime and Leadership Change in the Third World**



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This paper was prepared by the Political Instability  
Branch, Office of Global Issues. Comments and  
queries are welcome and may be addressed to the  
Chief, Foreign Subversion and Instability Center,  
OGI, 

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**Patterns of Regime and  
Leadership Change  
in the Third World**



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**Preface**

*Information available  
as of 30 June 1986  
was used in this report.*

This Reference Aid examines patterns of regime and leadership change in the Third World since 1955. It is based on a computerized chronology of leadership and regime changes in 101 countries with populations greater than 1 million. To illustrate the versatility of our data base, we included a series of graphics in this paper that track levels of regime and leadership change over time, regime duration, and mechanisms of regime change in specific regions—Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, Near East–South Asia, and East Asia—and in the Third World as a whole.

The data base, the chronologies, and the maps are current through 30 June 1986, but, for presentational purposes, the other graphics are current only through the end of 1985. The data base is maintained by the Political Instability Branch in the Office of Global Issues and can be accessed on any IBM personal computer. Analysts are encouraged to exploit the data base in conducting their research.



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**Key Terms**

- Leadership Change** A process whereby a country's chief executive leaves office—by either constitutional or unconstitutional means—and is replaced by another individual or group.
- Regime Change** A process by which the structure of the government in power is removed and replaced by another form of government, as when a military junta overthrows a democratic government and establishes a military dictatorship.
- Regime Type**
- Democratic.* A presidential or parliamentary system characterized by open elections, lawful transitions of power, broad suffrage, and a political opposition that has relatively equal opportunity for gaining power through elections.
- Military Authoritarian.* A government headed by a military officer or junta that has come to power by means of a coup or other violent means, a fraudulent election, or succession from a previous military leader.
- Civilian Authoritarian.* A government led by an individual or group of civilians who gained power through violent means, a fair or fraudulent election, or succession, and who rule without reference to constitutional procedures. This category includes monarchies and theocracies as well as civilian dictatorships and single-party regimes.
- Marxist-Leninist.* A government led by one or more avowed Marxist-Leninists or a group dominated by Marxist-Leninists who gained power through a fair or fraudulent election, succession, a coup, or political violence.
- Mechanisms of Regime Change**
- Independence.* A transition from possession or protectorate status to full political autonomy.
- Constitutional.* A transition from one leader or governing group to another characterized by lawful and constitutionally approved procedures.
- Government Fiat.* An arbitrary order or decree made by the existing government that changes the nature of the government, often giving the leader or leaders extraordinary powers.
- Military Coup.* A violent overthrow of the existing leadership—by a group led by or closely associated with the military—that results in a government dominated by the military.
- Other.* Includes leadership changes that are the result of revolution, civil war, or foreign intervention.

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## Patterns of Regime and Leadership Change in the Third World

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### Overview

Since the mid-1960s the number of regime changes in the Third World has declined, while the frequency of leadership change has remained fairly constant. Latin America is the only region that has deviated significantly from this trend, reflecting a surge in the number of democratic governments during the past five years. Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa have experienced the greatest turnover in both regimes and leadership during the last 30 years. The Near East-South Asian and East Asian regions have experienced the fewest changes.

### Regime Types

As of 31 December 1985, of the 101 Third World countries in our data base, more than 25 percent of the regimes were democratic, 40 percent were civilian authoritarian, less than 20 percent were military authoritarian, and about 15 percent were Marxist-Leninist.

These percentages are the result of significant shifts in numbers during the past three decades (*figure 1*):

- The number of civilian authoritarian regimes had increased steadily since the mid-to-late 1950s but since 1973 has declined to about 40 percent. This category had accounted for approximately 45 percent of all Third World regime types since the early 1960s.
- Democratic regimes have maintained a relatively constant share of the total—about 25 percent—except for a surge in the early 1960s when many African states became independent.
- The proportion of military authoritarian regimes grew in the 1960s and early 1970s, accounting for as much as 20 percent of all regimes since 1955. Since 1974 the category's proportion has been declining.
- Marxist-Leninist regimes have gradually increased since 1955 but still account for only a small proportion of the total.

Since 1968, there has been a clearly discernible inverse relation between democratic and military regimes, with both types fluctuating between one-fifth and one-third of the total.

### Frequency of Change

The overall number of regime changes in the Third World has steadily declined since 1965 (*figure 2*). From 1960 to 1965, 72 regime changes occurred, compared with 28 in the early 1980s. The decrease results from the establishment and persistence of constitutional regimes in Latin America as well as the relative stability of regimes in Sub-Saharan Africa.

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Trends in leadership change have been more volatile—both over time and from region to region. Latin America has experienced more leadership changes than any other region—averaging 15 changes per country since 1955. Near East–South Asia has accounted for the fewest changes—averaging six per country over the past 30 years.

### **Regime Change by Region**

Over the last three decades, Sub-Saharan Africa has experienced the greatest number of regime changes (109), followed by Latin America (90). The Near East–South Asia and East Asia regions, respectively, have recorded significantly fewer regime changes (63 and 46).

Since the mid-1970s, Latin America has seen a dramatic increase in the number of regime changes, while the number of such changes in the Near East–South Asia and East Asia—especially during the past five years—has dropped markedly (*figure 3*). Most of the changes in Latin America have been in democratic regimes; in Sub-Saharan Africa most of the changes have been in civilian authoritarian regimes.

### **Mechanisms of Regime Change**

Independence was the primary mechanism of regime change in the Third World from 1955 to 1965. In the mid-1970s, constitutional transitions and military coups took the lead, accounting for more than four-fifths of all regime changes (*figure 4*). While the significant proportion of military coups has remained constant, the proportion of constitutional transitions has fluctuated widely, accounting for from as little as 14 percent of all changes in any five-year period to more than 40 percent in others. Regime change by government fiat has consistently accounted for 15 percent of all regime changes throughout the period of this study.

### **Frequency of Coups**

Although the frequency of coups has been declining in all four regions since the early 1970s, the Near East–South Asia and East Asia regions stand out as the least coup-prone (*figure 5*), with five in any five-year period in East Asia and six in the Near East–South Asian region. Our data base shows:

- Latin America accounting for 35 percent of all Third World coups, while comprising more than 20 percent of the countries. The frequency of coups in this region has declined sharply, however, from a high of 13 in the early 1960s to only three in the early 1980s.
- Sub-Saharan Africa accounting for about 33 percent of all coups, while comprising 37 percent of the countries. As is the case with Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa has shown a dramatic decline in the frequency of coups, decreasing from a high of 12 in the early 1970s to only five in the early 1980s.

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- The Near East–South Asia region accounting for about 25 percent of all Third World coups, while comprising 28 percent of the countries.
- East Asia accounting for only 10 percent of all Third World coups, while comprising 13 percent of the countries.

**Durability of Regimes**

This measure compares the longevity and durability of the four general regime types (*figure 6*). Military authoritarian regimes constitute the largest number of regimes in our data base, but they tend to be the least durable. Conversely, Marxist-Leninist regimes are few in number but by far the most durable:

- Only about 10 percent of all military regimes have lasted more than 10 years, fewer than 40 percent have remained in power for five years.
- Democratic and civilian authoritarian regimes have fared much better; both regime types have a significant proportion—well over one-fourth—and have remained in power for more than 10 years.
- Marxist-Leninist regimes account for less than 5 percent of all regimes, and all of the regimes have been in power for at least six years.

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**Confidential****Methodological Note**

This Reference Aid—and the computer data base that supports it—tracks patterns of leadership and regime change in 101 Third World countries with populations greater than 1 million since 1955. It includes 718 entries. Information was collected from a variety of unclassified sources, such as *Facts on File* and *The New York Times Index*, and verified by analysts in the Office of Leadership Analysis and in the appropriate regional offices.

The data base consists of a textual chronology of each event (organized by region) and a series of numerically coded computer entries that correspond to the chronologies. The computer package is compatible with the standard IBM personal computer.

Leadership changes are coded by the cause of the change (such as coup, assassination, and loss of parliamentary support) and the mechanism by which the new leader is selected (election, succession, imposition by the military, and so forth). Elections are termed fraudulent if the sources are in general agreement that the outcome was manipulated by such actions as ballot box stuffing, selling votes, misrepresenting the vote count, or preventing eligible voters from casting ballots. In addition, both the process of change and the selection mechanisms are aggregated to facilitate the sorting of scheduled versus unscheduled changes, as well as constitutional versus illegal selection mechanisms.

Each leadership change is recorded with the regime type noted. Regime changes are aggregated into three broad categories—authoritarian, democratic, and oligarchic—and then divided into more discrete groups. In addition, each event is coded by region, subregion, country, date, and duration. In cases where the type of regime changed but the leader did not, the regime change is entered as a new event.

The data base can be used to:

- Answer historical questions about leadership succession.
- Generate a list of coups by region, date, and the ranks of the officers involved.
- Develop a subset of events to test, for example, whether links exist between corruption and instability.
- Determine the frequency of coups versus other kinds of leadership changes over the last three decades.

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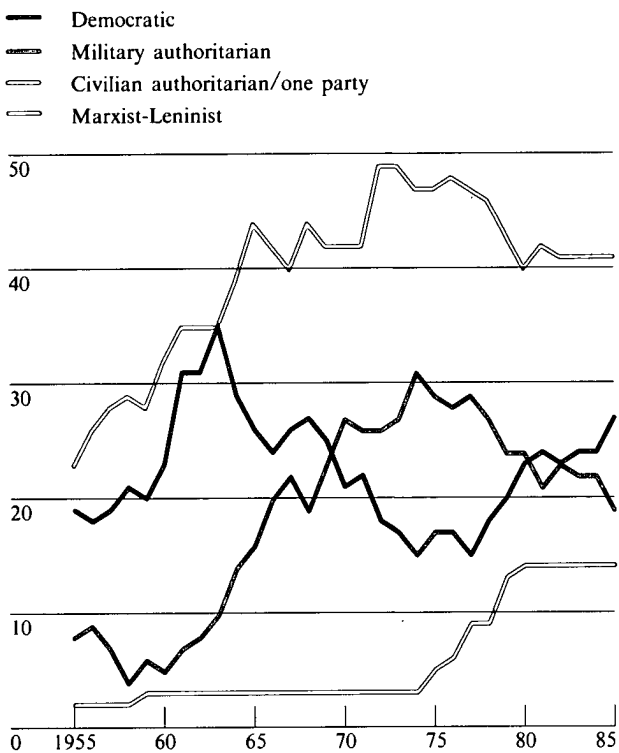
- Generate a list of heads of state who have been assassinated or died in office.
- Sort scheduled versus unscheduled, or constitutional versus unconstitutional leadership changes.

The data also are entered in an SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) file, allowing an analyst to perform simple sorting and crosstab operations as well as more sophisticated statistical manipulations, including correlation and regression analysis.

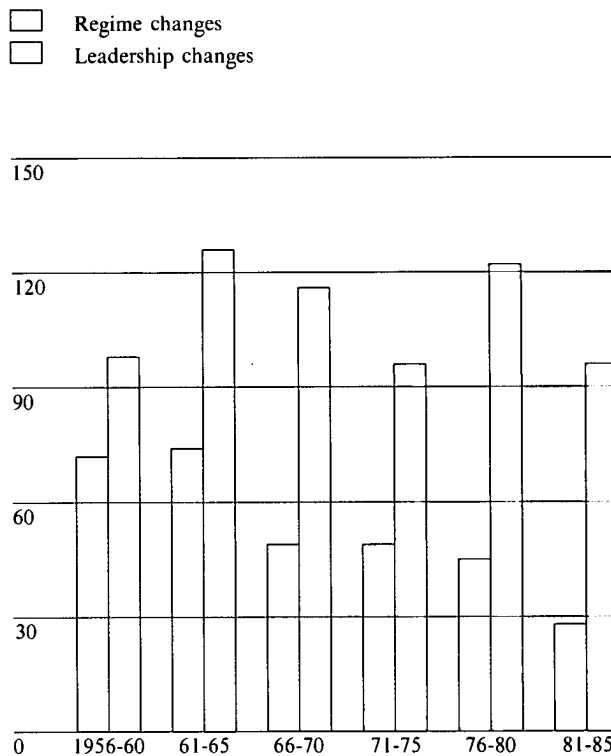
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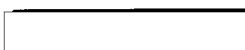
**Figure 1**  
**Third World: Major Regime Types**  
**by Year, 1955-85**



**Figure 2**  
**Third World: Frequency of Regime and**  
**Leadership Changes, 1956-85**



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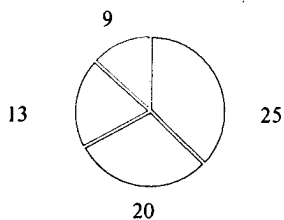
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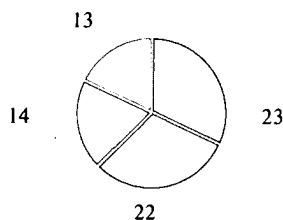
**Figure 3**  
**Third World: Frequency of Regime Change**  
**by Region, 1956-85**

- Latin America
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- Near East-South Asia
- East Asia

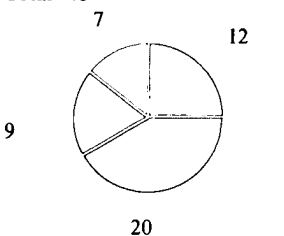
**1956-60**  
 Total: 67



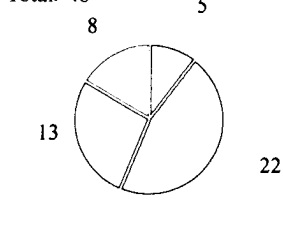
**1961-65**  
 Total: 72



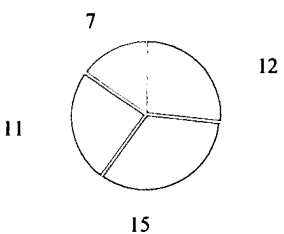
**1966-70**  
 Total: 48



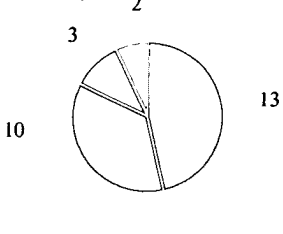
**1971-75**  
 Total: 48



**1976-80**  
 Total: 45



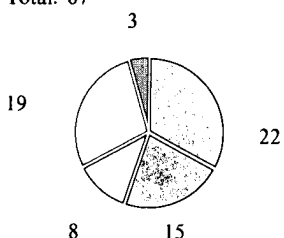
**1981-85**  
 Total: 28



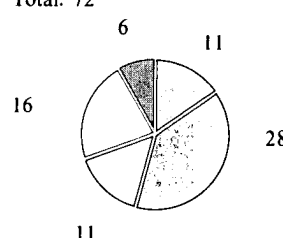
**Figure 4**  
**Third World: Regime Change Process,**  
**1956-85**

- Democratic
- Military coup
- Government fiat
- Independence
- Other

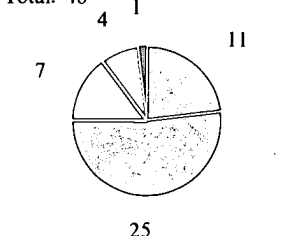
**1956-60**  
 Total: 67



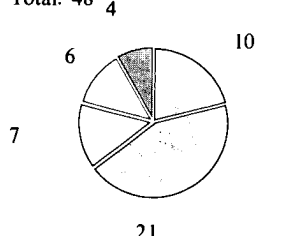
**1961-65**  
 Total: 72



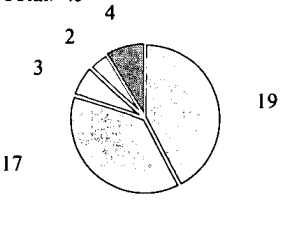
**1966-70**  
 Total: 48



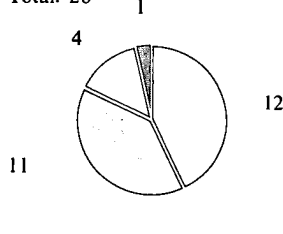
**1971-75**  
 Total: 48



**1976-80**  
 Total: 45



**1981-85**  
 Total: 28



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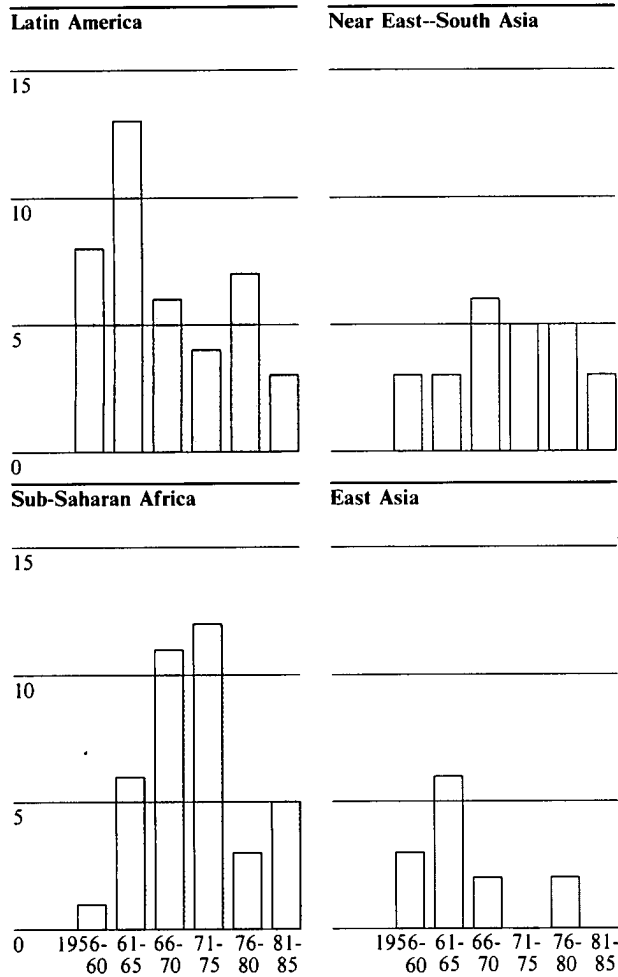
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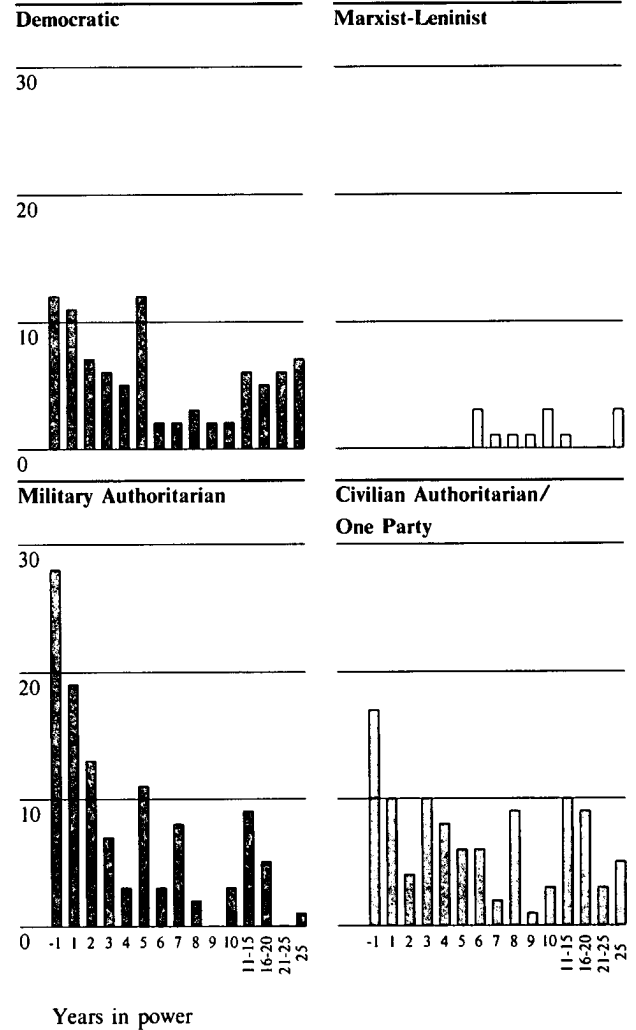


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**Figure 5**  
Third World: Frequency of Coups  
by Region, 1956-85



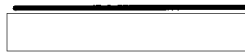
**Figure 6**  
Third World: Regime Duration  
by Type, 1956-85



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Latin America

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### Latin America

Latin American countries have experienced only half as many regime changes during the past 10 years as during the first 10 years of this study. The number of leadership changes has also declined—albeit less dramatically. These trends—as well as the decline in the number of military coups—are consistent with overall Third World patterns. Latin America is unique, however, in the surge of transfers to civilian rule noted during the past five years.

#### Regime Types

Latin American regimes have become predominantly democratic in recent years. As of June 1986, 15 of the 22 Latin American countries in our data base were classified as democratic regimes (*figure 7*). By comparison, less than one-fifth was military regimes—including the junta now governing Haiti. Mexico represents the only civilian authoritarian regime, and Cuba and Nicaragua the only Marxist-Leninist regimes in the region.

Over the past three decades, the number of democratic and military regimes has varied inversely, reflecting much the same pattern observed for the Third World as a whole (*figure 8*). Since the mid-1970s, the number of military regimes has been decreasing sharply, while the number of democratic regimes has been increasing.

Both civilian authoritarian and Marxist-Leninist regimes have persisted at low levels. Civilian authoritarian regimes generally have accounted for from less than 5 percent to a high of 25 percent of all Latin American regimes. The Marxist-Leninist camp has been represented by Cuba, and more recently by Nicaragua.

#### Frequency of Changes

The numbers of regime and leadership changes in Latin America declined sharply from the mid-1950s until the mid-1970s but have increased steadily since then—a trend that runs counter to the general pattern in the Third World (*figure 9*). Most of the regime and leadership changes in the last 10 years, however, have been achieved by constitutional means as more countries adopted democratic forms of government (*figure 10*).

#### Mechanisms of Regime Change

Since 1956, 85 percent of all regime changes in Latin America have been by either constitutional means or military coup. Both means of regime change have varied widely over the last 30 years, with constitutional transition undergoing the greater fluctuations. The number of military coups in Latin America has declined sharply, particularly over the last five years. In general, coups by general officers have outnumbered coups by lower-grade officers, but only by a narrow margin (*figure 10*).

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**Durability of Regimes**

Military authoritarian and democratic regimes have accounted for a large majority of all regimes in Latin America over the last three decades (*figures 11 and 12*). One-third of all Latin American military regimes have remained in power for less than a year, and nearly three-quarters of them have lasted for no more than three years. Only one-sixth of them lasted longer than 10 years.

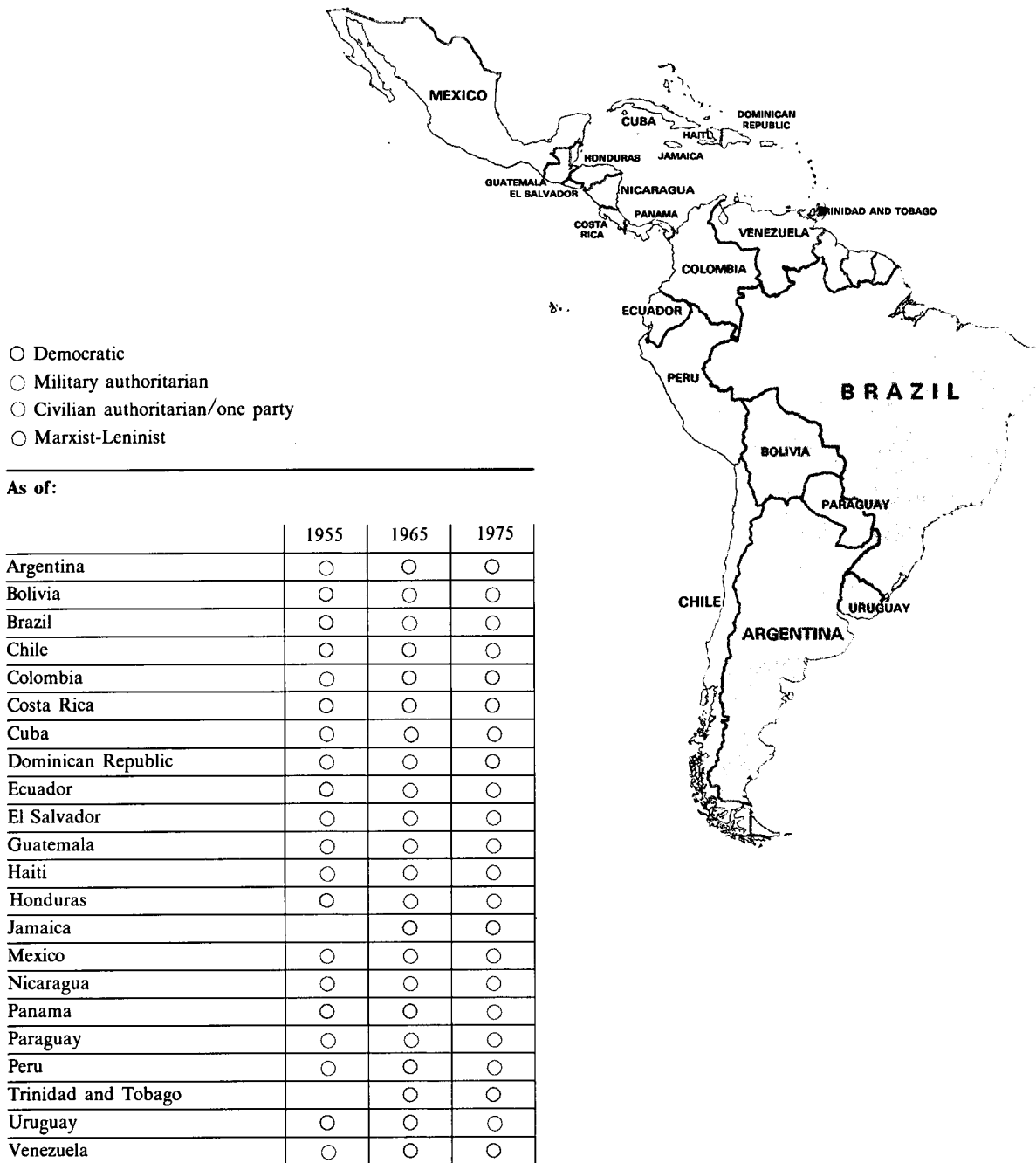
Latin American democratic regimes, like their military counterparts, have accounted for more than 25 percent of all regimes in power in Latin America since 1955, and they have been more durable. In fact, three democratic regimes—in Colombia, Costa Rica, and Venezuela—have remained in power for more than 25 years. Moreover, Jamaica and Trinidad-Tobago have enjoyed democratic rule since gaining their independence in the early 1960s.

Of the civilian authoritarian regimes, only three—Mexico, Nicaragua, and Haiti—held power for more than 25 years, and two of these—Nicaragua and Haiti—are no longer in power. Of the Marxist-Leninist countries, Cuban President Castro has remained in power for more than 25 years and the Sandinista Directorate in Nicaragua for over six years.

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**Figure 7**  
**Latin America: Regime Types in Power as of 31 June 1986**



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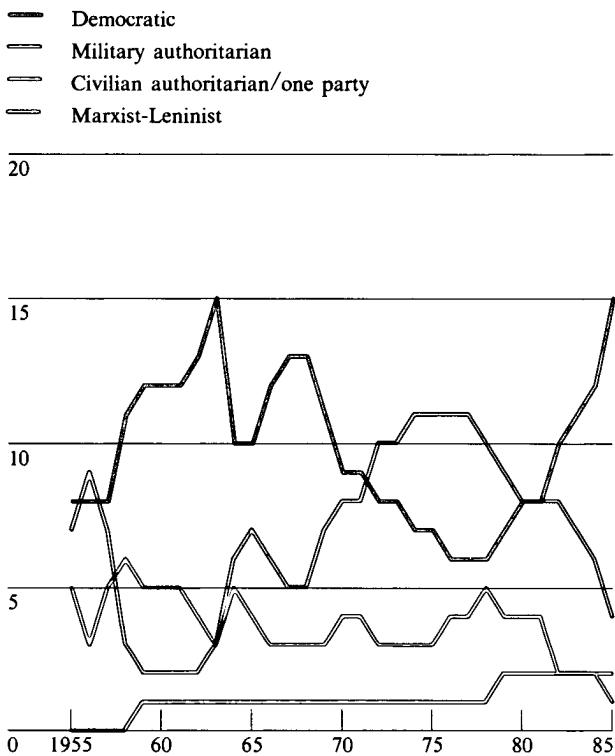
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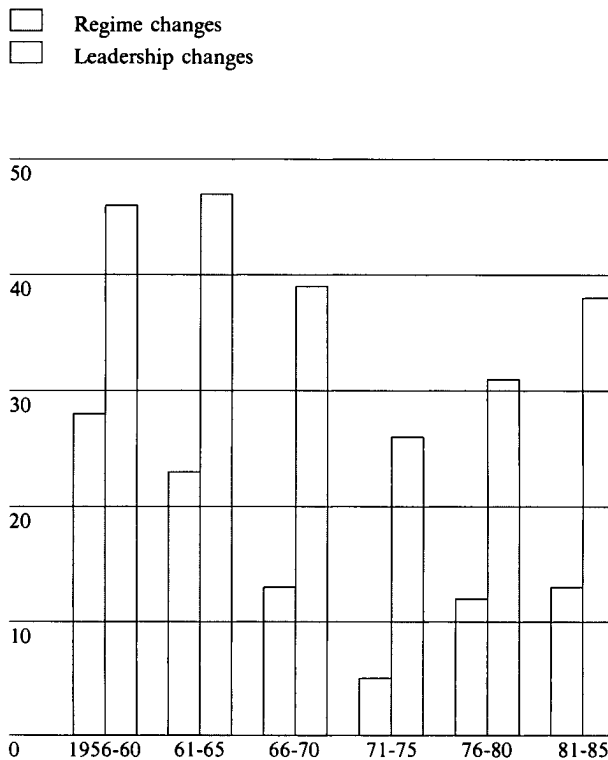
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**Figure 8**  
**Latin America: Major Regime Types**  
**by Year, 1955-85**

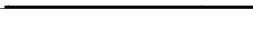


**Figure 9**  
**Latin America: Frequency of Regime and**  
**Leadership Changes, 1956-85**

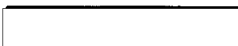


Indicates the type of regime in power for the longest period in a given year. Countries are included at independence.

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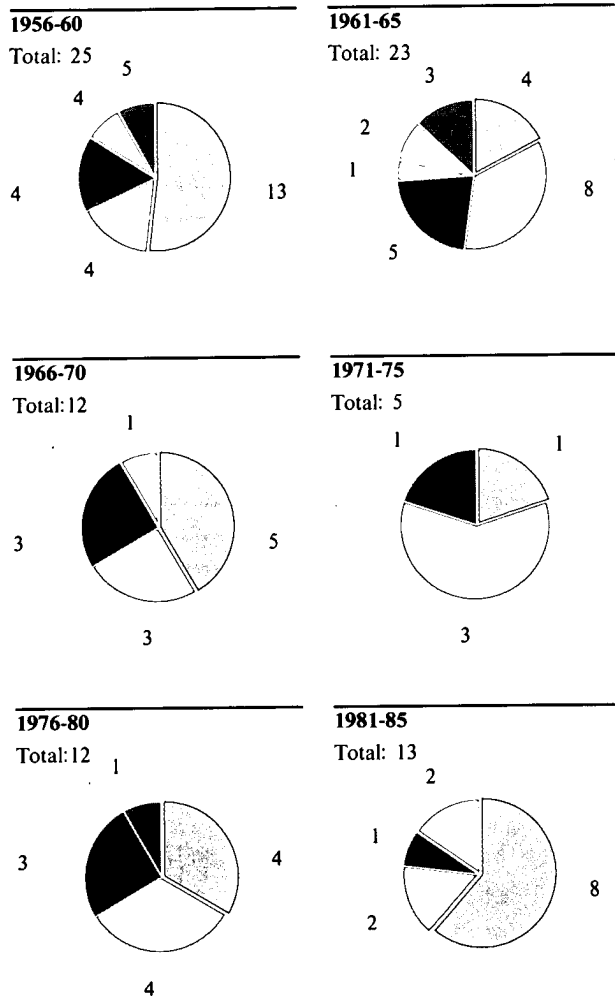
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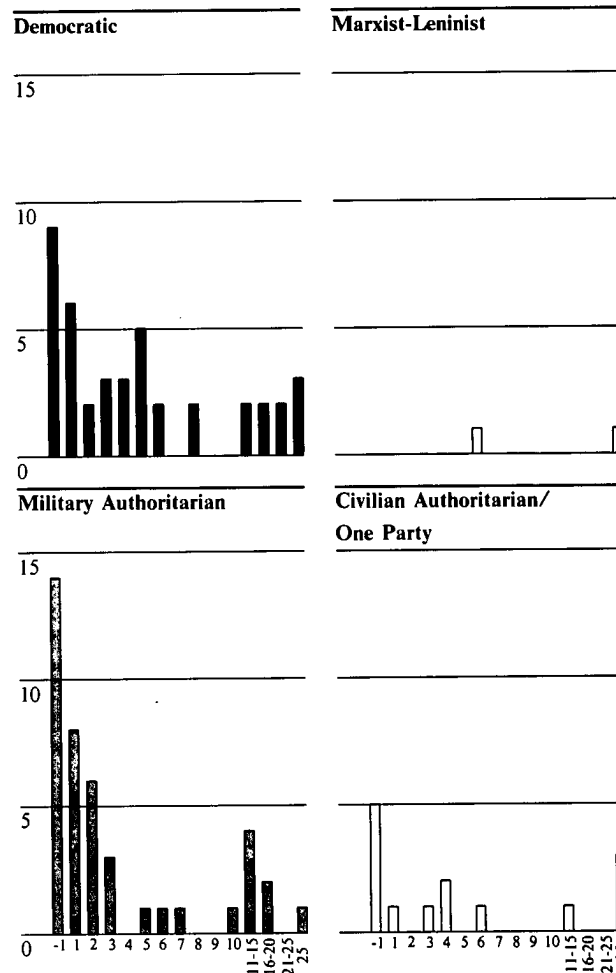
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**Figure 10**  
Latin America: Regime Change Process, 1956-85

- Democratic
- Coup by general officer
- Coup by lower grade officer
- Government fiat
- Independence
- Other



**Figure 11**  
Latin America: Regime Duration by Type, 1956-85



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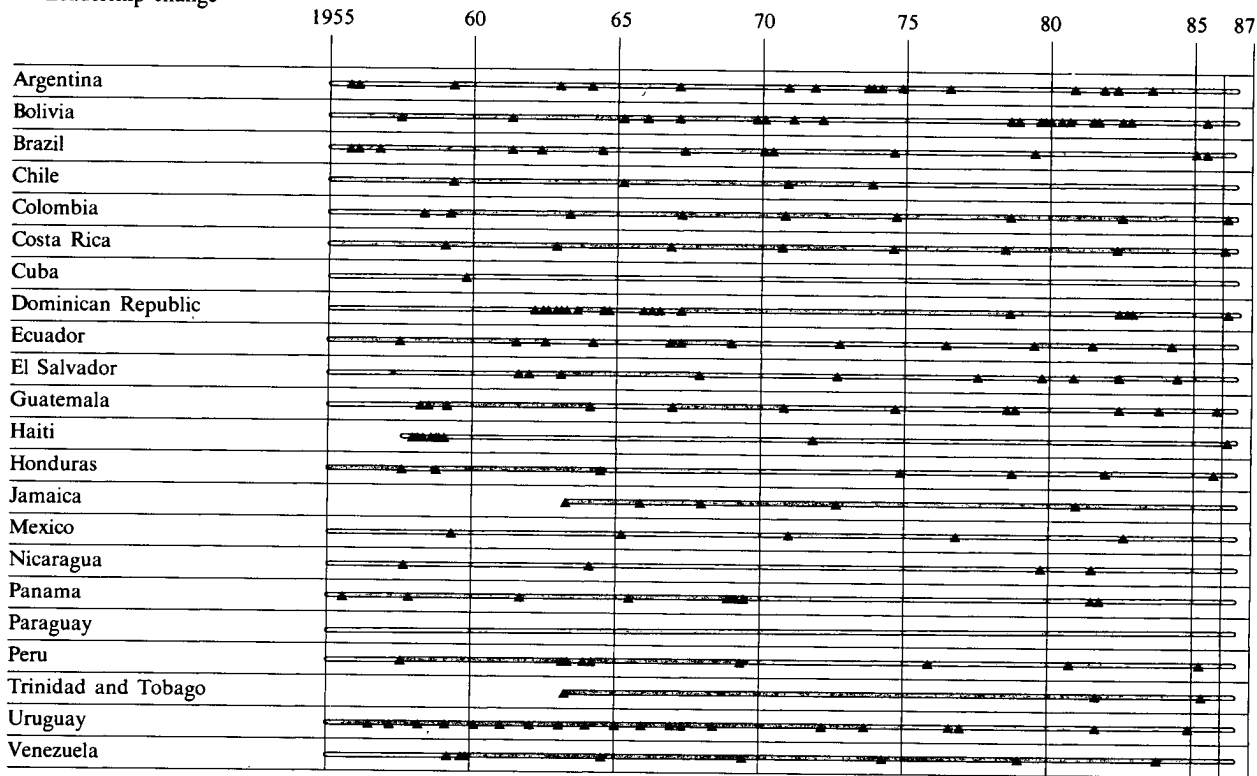
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**Figure 12**  
**Latin America: Leadership and Regime Change, 1955-86**

- Democratic
- Military authoritarian
- Civilian authoritarian/one party
- Marxist-Leninist
- ▲ Leadership change



This graph may not agree with the appendix of leadership and regime changes because in many cases nominal leadership changes hands but a former leader or group retains actual authority.



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**Leadership Change in Latin America, 1955-86****Argentina**

1983	30 October	Raul Alfonsin elected President.
1982	22 June	Gen. Reynaldo Bignone named President by junta.
1981	22 December	Lt. Gen. Galtieri named President by junta.
1980	3 October	Gen. Roberto Viola named President by junta.
1976	29 March 24 March	Lt. Gen. Jorge Videla named President by junta. Lt. Gen. Jorge Videla and Brig. Gen. Orlando Agosti assume power after coup.
1974	1 July	Vice President Isabel Peron succeeds to presidency after death of her husband.
1973	23 September 13 July 11 March	Juan Peron elected President. Chamber of Deputies Chairman Raul Lastiri constitutionally becomes Interim President after resignation of predecessor. Dr. Hector J. Campora elected President.
1971	23 March	Lt. Gen. Alejandro A. Lanusse named President by junta after coup.
1970	9 April	Brig. Gen. Roberto Marcelo Livingston assumes power after coup.
1966	29 April	Lt. Gen. Juan Carlos Ongania assumes power after coup.
1963	31 July	Arturo Illia elected President; fraudulent election.
1962	30 March	Senate President Jose Maria Guido constitutionally succeeds to presidency after coup led by Gen. Raul Alejandro Poggi, Adm. Augustine Penas, and Brig. Gen. Cayo Antonio Alsena.
1958	23 February	Arturo Frondizi elected President; fraudulent election.
1955	14 November 17 September	Gen. Pedro Eugenio Aramburu assumes power after coup. Gen. Eduardo Lonardi heads junta after coup deposes Juan Peron.

**Bolivia**

1985	5 August	Victor Paz Estenssoro elected President by Congress in runoff after failing to get a majority in fair election in July.
1982	5 October 21 August	Civilian Hernan Siles Zuazo elected President by Congress; military returns power to Congress (elected in May), which in turn elects Siles Zuazo. Gen. Guido Vildoso Calderon named President by junta.

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1981	September 4 August	Gen. Celso Torrelio Villa named President by junta. Gen. Waldo Bernal Pereira heads junta after senior officers revolt.
1980	17 July May	Maj. Gen. Luis Garcia Meza Tejada assumes power after coup. Hernan Siles Zuazo elected President.
1979	16 November  1 November 6 August	Civilian Lydia Gueiler Tejada named President by civilian and military factions after resignation of predecessor. Col. Alberto Natash Busch assumes power after coup. Walter Guevara Arze elected Interim President by Congress after general election fails to produce a majority.
1978	24 November 21 August	Gen. David Padilla Arancibia assumes power after junior officers' coup. Gen. Juan Pereda Asbun seizes power after his earlier election to presidency in July is annulled by Supreme Court.
1971	22 August	Col. Hugo Banzer Suarez assumes power after coup.
1970	7 October	Gen. Juan Jose Torres assumes power after coup.
1969	27 September 28 April	Gen. Alfredo Ovando Candia assumes power after coup. Vice President Luis Adolfo Siles Salinas constitutionally succeeds to presidency after death of predecessor.
1966	6 August	Gen. Rene Barrientos Ortuno elected President; fraudulent election.
1965	5 May	Gen. Alfredo Ovando Candia and Gen. Rene Barrientos Ortuno assume power after coup; Ovando holds power from June to August.
1964	31 May	Victor Paz Estenssoro reelected President; Gen. Rene Barrientos Ortuno holds power from November 1964 to May 1965.
1960	8 August	Victor Paz Estenssoro elected President.
1956	8 August	Hernan Siles Zuazo elected President.

**Brazil**

1985	21 April	Jose Sarney Costa constitutionally succeeds to presidency after death of Tancredo de Alameda Neves.
	15 January	Tancredo de Alameda Neves elected President.
1979	15 March	Gen. Joao Baptista Figueiredo elected President; fraudulent election.
1974	21 February	Gen. Ernesto Geisel elected President; fraudulent election.
1969	7 October	Gen. Emilio Garrastazue Medici named President by military.

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1969	31 August	Gen. Lyra Tabares, Air Marshal Marcio de Souza e Mello, and Gen. Augusto Cezar de Castro Moniz de Aragao assume power after President incapacitated by stroke.
1966	3 October	Gen. Arthur da Costa e Silva elected President by parliament; fraudulent election.
1964	3 April	Gen. Humberto de Alencar Castello Branco named President by purged Chamber of Deputies after civilian-military coup.
1961	26 August	Vice President Joao Goulart constitutionally succeeds to presidency after resignation of predecessor.
1960	2 October	Janio da Silva Quadros elected President.
1956	31 January	Juscelino Kubitschek inaugurated President (from 1955 election).
1955	11 November	Gen. Baptista Teixeira Lott assumes power after coup; Nereu Ramos elected Interim President by Congress; fraudulent election.
	8 August	Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies Carlos Coimbra da Luz constitutionally succeeds as Acting President after predecessor (Cafe Filho) takes indefinite sick leave.
	3 October	Juscelino Kubitschek elected President (does not assume office until 1956).

**Chile**

1973	11 September	Gen. Augusto Pinochet Ugarte heads junta after coup.
1970	5 September	Dr. Salvador Allende Gossens elected President.
1964	4 November	Eduardo Frei Montalva elected President.
1958	4 November	Jorge Alessandri elected President.

**Colombia**

1986	25 May	Virgilio Barco Vargas elected President.
1982	31 May	Belisario Betancur Cuartas elected President.
1978	4 June	Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala elected President.
1974	22 April	Alfonso Lopez Michelsen elected President.
1970	20 April	Misael Pastrana Borrero elected President.
1966	8 August	Carlos Lleras Restrepo elected President.
1962	8 August	Leon Guillermo Valencia elected President.

**Confidential**

**Confidential**

1958 4 May Alberto Lleras Camargo elected President.

1957 10 May Maj. Gen. Garriel Paris heads junta after predecessor forced to resign following riots.  
April Gustavo Rojas Pinilla reelected by Constituent Assembly; fraudulent election.

**Costa Rica**

1986 2 February Oscar Arias elected President (democratic regime).

1982 7 February Luis Alberto Monge Alvarez elected President.

1978 5 February Rodrigo Carazo Odeco elected President.

1974 3 February Daniel Oduber Quiros elected President.

1970 1 February Jose Figueres Ferrer elected President.

1966 7 February Jose Trejos Fernandez elected President.

1962 4 February Francisco Jose Orlich Bolmareich elected President.

1958 2 February Mario Echandi Jimenez elected President.

**Cuba**

1959 1 January Fidel Castro comes to power through rural insurgency and urban rebellion; declares himself a Marxist-Leninist in 1961.

1958 3 November Fulgencio Batista reelected; fraudulent election.

**Dominican Republic**

1986 16 May Joaquin Balaguer elected President.

1982 4 July Vice President Jacobo Majluta Azar succeeds to presidency after suicide of predecessor (Antonio Guzman) during interim between Blanco's election to presidency and assumption of office in August.  
16 May Salvador Jorge Blanco elected President.

1978 16 May Antonio Guzman elected President.

1974 16 May Joaquin Balaguer reelected President.

1970 16 May Joaquin Balaguer reelected President.

1966 1 January Joaquin Balaguer elected President.

**Confidential**

**Confidential**

1965	3 September	Hector Garcia Godoy becomes Provisional President with US support after resignation of predecessor.
	7 May	Antonio Imbert Barrera assumes power of civilian-military government; Francisco A. Caamano Deno is Constitutional President.
	24 April	Jose Rafael Molina Urena becomes Acting President with US support in context of civil war.
1963	22 December	Donald Reid Cabral named President by junta after resignation of predecessor.
	25 September	Civilian Emilio de los Santos named head of junta after coup led by Gen. Antonio Imbert Barreras and Gen. Luis Amiama Tio.
1962	20 December	Juan Bosch elected President.
	18 January	Rafael Bonnelly named President after Air Force senior officers' coup returns Council of State to power.
	16 January	Gen. Pedro Rodrigues Echavarría leads coup that deposes Council of State and figurehead President Joaquin Balaguer.
	1 January	Council of State assumes power with US support; Joaquin Balaguer again becomes figurehead President.
1961	18 November	President Joaquin Balaguer inherits executive power after Hector and Arismendi Trujillo go into exile.
	14 November	Hector and Arismendi Trujillo assume power after Rafael Trujillo goes into exile; Joaquin Balaguer remains figurehead President.
	30 May	Rafael Trujillo Jr. assumes power after assassination of his father; Joaquin Balaguer is figurehead President.
1960	4 August	Vice President Balaguer constitutionally succeeds to presidency after resignation of predecessor; Rafael Trujillo retains power.
1957	16 May	Hector Trujillo reelected President; fraudulent election; Rafael Trujillo retains power.

**Ecuador**

1984	6 May	Leon Febres Cordero elected President.
1981	24 May	Vice President Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea constitutionally succeeds to Presidency after death of predecessor.
1979	29 April	Jaime Roldos Aguilera elected President.
1976	11 January	Adm. Alfredo Paveda Burbano, Gen. Luis Guillermero Duran Arcentales, and Gen. Luis Franco Anibal Leoro assume power after coup.
1972	15 February	Gen. Guillermo Rodriguez Lara assumes power after coup.
1968	2 June	Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra elected President; assumes dictatorial powers in 1970.

**Confidential**

**Confidential**

1966 17 November Otto Arosemena Gomez elected President by Constituent Assembly.  
29 March Clemente Yeroui Indaburu named consensus Provisional President by political factions.

1963 11 July Cpt. Ramon Castro Jigon heads junta of senior officers after coup.

1961 8 November Vice President Carlos Julio Arosemena Monroy assumes power after coup led by Air Force officers.

1960 1 September Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra elected President.

1956 1 September Camilo Ponce Enriquez elected President.

**El Salvador**

1984 6 May Jose Napoleon Duarte elected President.

1982 29 April Alvaro Alfredo Magana Borja elected President by Constituent Assembly.

1980 13 December Jose Napoleon Duarte named President by civilian-military junta.

1979 15 October Col. Adolfo Arnaldo Majano and Col. Jaime Abdul Gutierrez head civilian-military junta after coup.

1977 20 February Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero elected President; fraudulent election.

1972 20 February Col. Arturo Armando Molina elected President; fraudulent election.

1967 5 March Gen. Fidel Sanchez Hernandez elected President.

1962 29 April Col. Julio Adalberto Rivera elected President; fraudulent election.

1961 26 January Col. Anibal Portillo and Col. Julio Adalberto Rivera head anti-Communist military junta after coup.

1960 27 October Col. Cesar Yanes heads leftist civilian-military junta after coup.

1956 4 March Lt. Col. Jose Maria Lemus elected President; fraudulent election.

**Guatemala**

1985 8 December Marco Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo elected President (democratic regime).

1983 8 August Brig. Gen. Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores assumes power after senior officers' coup.

1982 23 March Gen. Efraim Rios Montt heads junta after junior officers' coup.  
7 March Gen. Anibal Guevara elected President; fraudulent election.

**Confidential**

**Confidential**

1978	5 March	Romeo Lucas Garcia elected President; fraudulent election.
1974	3 March	Gen. Kjell Laugerud Garcia elected President; fraudulent election.
1970	21 March	Col. Carlos Arana Osorio elected President by Legislature after general election fails to produce a majority; fraudulent election.
1966	10 May	Civilian Julio Cesar Mendez Montenegro elected President by Legislature after general election fails to produce a majority.
1963	1 April	Col. Enrique Peralta Azurdia assumes power after coup.
1958	19 January	Gen. Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes elected President after popular demonstrations force the government to void results of election in October 1957.
1957	October 27 July	Miguel Ortiz Passarelli elected President; fraudulent election. Vice President Luis Arturo Gonzales Lopez assumes power after assassination of predecessor by palace guard.
<b>Haiti</b>		
1986	8 February	Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy named head of military-civilian governing council after President-for-Life Jean-Claude Duvalier flees the country during a series of popular demonstrations (military authoritarian).
1971	21 April	Jean-Claude Duvalier becomes President after death of his father.
1964	14 June	Francois Duvalier elected President for Life; fraudulent election.
1961	5 May	Francois Duvalier reelected President; fraudulent election.
1957	22 October 14 June 26 May 21 May 6 April 7 February	Civilian Francois Duvalier elected President; fraudulent election. Brig. Gen. Antonio Kebreau heads junta after coup. Piere Eustache Daniel Fignole named President by military-civilian coalition. Gen. Leon Cantave assumes power after forced resignation of predecessor. Civilian junta assumes power after forced resignation of predecessor. Civilian Frank Sylvain named Provisional President by Army after resignation of predecessor.
1956	12 December	Chief Justice Joseph Nemours Pierre-Louis succeeds to presidency after resignation of predecessor following general strike.

**Confidential**

**Confidential****Honduras**

1985 25 November Jose Azcona Hoyo elected President (democratic regime).

1981 29 November Roberto Suazo Cordova elected President.

1978 7 August Gen. Policarpo Paz Garcia, Gen. Domingo Alvarez, and Gen. Almicar Alaya assume power after coup.

1975 22 April Gen. Juan Alberto Melgar Castro assumes power after junior officers' coup.

1972 4 December Gen. Oswaldo Lopez Arellano assumes power after coup.

1971 28 March Ramon Ernesto Cruz elected President; fraudulent election; Gen. Oswaldo Lopez Arellano retains power.

1965 6 June Gen. Oswaldo Lopez Arellano elected President by Constituent Assembly; fraudulent election.

1963 3 October Brig. Gen. Oswaldo Lopez Arellano assumes power after coup.

1957 21 December Dr. Ramon Villeda Morales elected President by Constituent Assembly.

1956 21 October Gen. Roque J. Rodriguez heads junta after coup.

**Jamaica**

1980 30 October Edward Philip George Seaga elected Prime Minister.

1972 29 February Michael Manley elected Prime Minister after resignation of predecessor.

1967 11 April Hugh L. Shearer succeeds as Prime Minister after resignation of predecessor.  
22 February Donald Sangster elected Prime Minister.

1965 January Donald Sangster succeeds as Prime Minister after resignation of predecessor.  
28 November Sir Alexander Bustamante reelected Prime Minister.

1962 6 August Independence; Sir Alexander Bustamante previously elected Prime Minister.

**Confidential**



**Confidential****Mexico**

1982 4 July Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado elected President; de facto one-party state.

1976 4 July Jose Lopez Portillo elected President; de facto one-party state.

1970 5 July Juis Echeverria Alvarez elected President; de facto one-party state.

1964 5 July Gustavo Diaz Ordaz elected President; de facto one-party state.

1958 6 July Adolfo Lopez Mateos elected President; de facto one-party state.

**Nicaragua**

1981 4 March Jose Daniel Ortega Saaveda named Coordinator of Junta; Sandinista National Directorate holds executive power.

1979 19 July Sandinista National Directorate assumes power; Marxist-Leninist state.

1974 1 September Anastasio Somoza Debayle reelected President; fraudulent election.

1967 5 February Anastasio Somoza Debayle elected President; fraudulent election.

1966 3 August Lorenzo Guerrero Gutierrez elected President by Congress after death of predecessor; fraudulent election; Somoza retains power.

1963 3 February Rene Schick elected President; fraudulent election; Somoza retains power.

1957 3 February Luis Somoza Debayle elected President; fraudulent election.

1956 30 September Luis Somoza Debayle assumes power after assassination of his father, Gen. Anastasio Somoza Garcia.

**Panama**

1985 28 September First Vice President Eric Arturo Delvalle named President after Nicolas Ardito Barletta deposed; Gen. Antonio Noriega retains power.

1984 6 May Nicolas Ardito Barletta elected President; fraudulent election; National Guard under Gen. Antonio Noriega retains power.

February Vice President Jorge Illueca succeeds to presidency after resignation of predecessor; National Guard under Gen. Antonio Noriega retains power.

1982 31 July Vice President Ricardo de la Espriella succeeds to presidency after resignation of predecessor; Gen. Antonio Noriega becomes head of National Guard.

March Gen. Ruben Dario Paredes del Rio assumes power of National Guard.

**Confidential**

**Confidential**

1981 31 July Gen. Florencio Florez becomes head of the National Guard after the death of Gen. Omar Torrijos.

1978 11 October Aristides Royo Sanchez elected President; fraudulent election; Gen. Omar Torrijos retains power.

1969 19 December Demetrio Basileo Lakas Bahas named President by junta headed by Col. Omar Torrijos; Torrijos retains power.

1968 11 October Col. Omar Torrijos Herrera heads junta after coup led by himself and Col. Jose Maria Pinilla; Torrijos holds power.  
12 May Arnulfo Arias Madrid elected President.  
5 April Marcos A. Robles reinstated as President after impeachment ruled unconstitutional.  
24 March Vice President Max Delvalle succeeds to presidency after impeachment of predecessor.

1964 2 October Marcos A. Robles elected President.

1960 2 October Roberto F. Chiari elected President.

1956 2 October Ernesto de la Guardia elected President.

1955 2 January Second Vice President Ricardo Arias succeeds to presidency after assassination of predecessor, Jose Antonio Remon (First Vice President impeached and jailed).

**Paraguay**

1983 February Alfredo Stroessner Mattiauda reelected President; fraudulent election.

1978 12 February Alfredo Stroessner Mattiauda reelected President; fraudulent election.

1973 11 February Alfredo Stroessner Mattiauda reelected President; fraudulent election.

1966 1 February Alfredo Stroessner Mattiauda reelected President; fraudulent election.

1963 16 August Alfredo Stroessner Mattiauda reelected President; fraudulent election.

1958 November Alfredo Stroessner Mattiauda elected President; fraudulent election.

**Confidential****Peru**

1985 14 April Alan Garcia Perez elected President.

1980 18 May Fernando Belaunde Terry elected President.

1975 29 August Gen. Francisco Morales Bermudez assumes power after coup.

1968 4 October Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado assumes power after coup.

1963 9 June Fernando Belaunde Terry elected President.  
3 March Gen. Nicholas Lindley Lopez assumes power after dispute with other members of ruling junta.

1962 18 July Maj. Gen. Ricardo Perez Godoy heads junta after coup.  
29 June Victor Raul Haya de la Torre elected President by Congress after general election fails to produce a majority.

1956 29 June Manuel Prado y Ugarteche elected President.

**Trinidad and Tobago**

1981 10 November George Chambers elected Prime Minister.  
9 March George Chambers succeeds as Prime Minister after death of predecessor.

1976 13 September Eric Williams reelected Prime Minister.

1971 24 May Eric Williams reelected Prime Minister.

1966 7 November Eric Williams reelected Prime Minister.

1962 31 August Eric Williams elected Prime Minister at independence.

**Uruguay**

1984 25 November Julio Maria Sanguinetti elected President.

1981 1 September Gen. Gregorio Alvarez Armellino named President by junta.

1976 1 September Civilian Aparicio Mendez named President by junta.  
13 June Vice President Alberto Demicheli named Interim President by junta.

1973 8 February Junta headed by Gen. Cesar Augusto Martinez and Brig. Gen. Jose Perez Caldas assume power; Juan Maria Bordaberry remains figurehead President.

**Confidential**

**Confidential**

1971	29 November	Juan Maria Bordaberry elected President.
1967	6 December	Vice President Jorge Pacheco Areco constitutionally succeeds to presidency after death of predecessor.
1966	27 November	Oscar Daniel Gestido elected President; National Executive Council replaced by single chief executive.
	1 March	Alberto Helen Usher succeeds to presidency.
1965	7 February	Washington Beltran succeeds to presidency after death of predecessor.
1964	1 March	Luis Giannattasio succeeds to presidency.
1963	1 March	Daniel Fernandez Cresop succeeds to presidency.
1962	1 March	Faustino Harrison succeeds to presidency.
1961	1 March	Eduardo Victor Haedo succeeds to presidency.
1960	1 March	Benito Nardone succeeds to presidency.
1959	1 March	Martin R. Echegoyen succeeds to presidency.
1958	1 March	Carlo L. Fischer succeeds to presidency.
1957	1 March	Arturo Lezama succeeds to presidency.
1956	1 March	Alberto Zubiria succeeds to presidency.
1955	2 March	Battle Berres becomes President (National Executive Council supercedes presidential system—each member of the majority party on the council serves in rotation as president).

**Venezuela**

1983	4 December	Jaime Lusinchi elected President.
1978	3 December	Luis Herrera Campins elected President.
1973	9 December	Carlos Andres Perez elected President.
1968	1 December	Rafael Caldera Rodriguez elected President.
1963	1 December	Raul Leoni elected President.

**Confidential**

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1958	7 December	Romulo Betancourt elected President.
	14 November	Dr. Edgar Sanabria named head of junta.
	23 January	Adm. Wolfgang Larrazabal heads junta after civilian-military coup.
1957	16 December	Gen. Marcos Perez Jiminez reelected; fraudulent election.

Note: Leadership change can involve both a change in the leadership and in the regime type, but all regime changes do not necessarily involve a change in leadership.

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### Sub-Saharan Africa

Between 1955 and 1965, the number of independent regimes in Sub-Saharan Africa increased dramatically, from only three—Ethiopia, Liberia, and South Africa—in 1955 to 37 in 1965 (*figure 13*). Nearly two-thirds of the newly independent African regimes began as democracies, but only a handful of these democracies remain.

Sub-Saharan African regimes have experienced the greatest turnover in the Third World, but the pace of change has slowed considerably in recent years. For example, the number of Marxist-Leninist regimes in the region grew rapidly in the 1970s but has not increased since 1979.

### Regime Types

Civilian authoritarian governments became the dominant regime type in 1965 and remain so to this day (*figure 14*). As of June 1986, one-half of all regimes in Sub-Saharan Africa were civilian authoritarian. Democratic and military regimes, respectively, account for about one-tenth and one-fifth of all regimes in the region. More than one-tenth of all Sub-Saharan African regimes are Marxist-Leninist.

Democratic regimes were well represented in the early 1960s, accounting for over one-half of all regimes in the region. Since then, the proportion of democratic regimes has declined to about one-tenth. As is the case in Latin America, the number of military regimes has varied inversely with democratic regimes since the late 1960s. The number of military regimes peaked at 16 in 1974 but has declined markedly since then.

The first Marxist-Leninist regime came to power in Benin only in 1972. Congo, Mozambique, Angola, and Ethiopia joined the Marxist-Leninist camp in the middle and late 1970s, and all remain in power.

### Frequency of Change

During the period from mid-1950 to 1970 the level of regime change remained fairly constant, while the number of leadership changes varied from a low of 17 (1956-60) to a high of 45 (1966-70) (*figure 15*). From 1981-85, the number of regime changes slowed appreciably, dropping from 20 to 10 per year, but the number of leadership changes remained high.

### Mechanisms of Regime Change

Independence was the dominant means of regime change in Africa until the mid-1960s. Since then, military coups and government-riated changes have come to dominate (*figure 16*). From 1956 to 1965, independence accounted for about 60 percent of all regime change. Thereafter, independence declined as a major factor of regime change, with Djibouti and Zimbabwe achieving independence in 1977 and 1980, respectively.

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Military coups have been an important mechanism of regime change in the region, accounting for about half of all regime changes during the past five years. Neither general officers' nor junior officers' coups have tended to dominate, although the former have outnumbered the latter over the past decade.

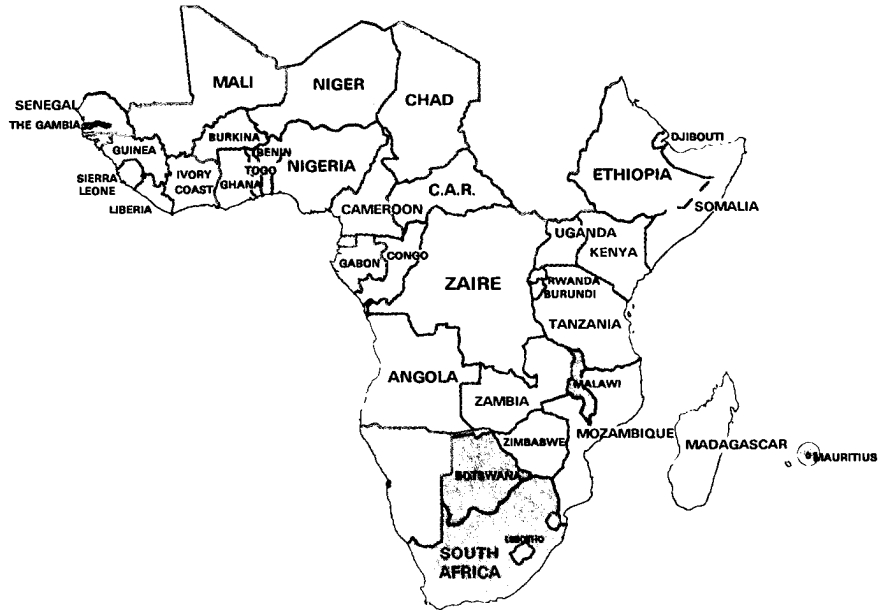
**Durability of Regimes**

More than one-third of all African regimes during the past 30 years have been civilian authoritarian; they also have tended to be the most durable in the Third World, with nearly half of the civilian authoritarian regimes remaining in power for 10 years or more (*figure 17*). Democratic regimes have accounted for more than one-fourth of all regimes in Africa, but only one-fifth of these have remained in power for 10 or more years. Marxist-Leninist regimes conform to the general Third World pattern—few in number, but highly durable. All five Marxist-Leninist regimes have been in power for at least six years. By contrast, military authoritarian regimes account for nearly one-third of all African regimes, and slightly more than half have lasted for five years or more.

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**Figure 13**  
**Sub-Saharan Africa: Regime Types in Power as of 31 June 1986**



- Democratic
- ◌ Military authoritarian
- ◌ Civilian authoritarian/one party
- ◌ Marxist-Leninist

As of:

	1955	1965	1975
Angola			◌
Benin		◌	◌
Botswana			◌
Burkina		◌	◌
Burundi		◌	◌
Cameroon		◌	◌
Central African Republic		◌	◌
Chad		◌	◌
Congo		◌	◌
Djibouti			
Ethiopia	◌	◌	◌
Gabon		◌	◌
Gambia, The		◌	◌
Ghana		◌	◌
Guinea		◌	◌
Ivory Coast		◌	◌
Kenya		◌	◌
Lesotho			◌
Liberia	◌	◌	◌

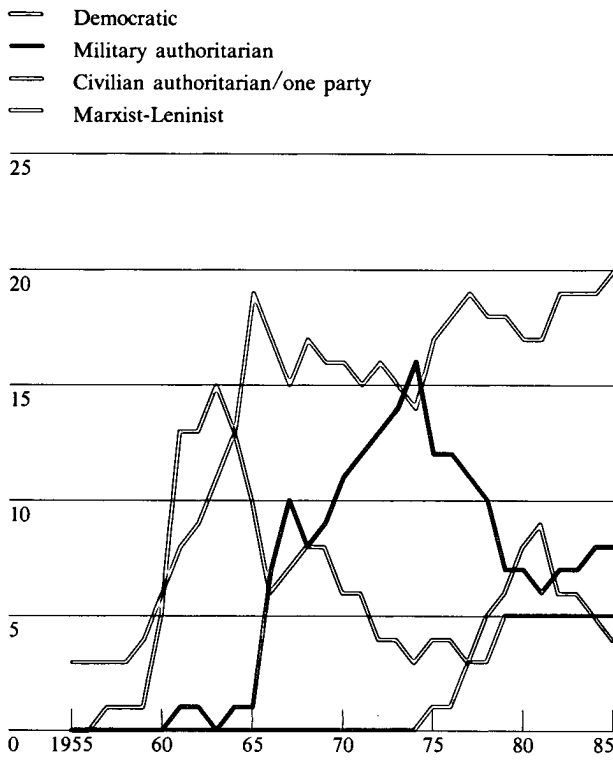
	1955	1965	1975
Madagascar		◌	◌
Malawi		◌	◌
Mali		◌	◌
Mauritius			◌
Mozambique			◌
Niger		◌	◌
Nigeria		◌	◌
Rwanda		◌	◌
Senegal		◌	◌
Sierra Leone		◌	◌
Somalia		◌	◌
South Africa	◌	◌	◌
Tanzania		◌	◌
Togo		◌	◌
Uganda		◌	◌
Zaire		◌	◌
Zambia		◌	◌
Zimbabwe			

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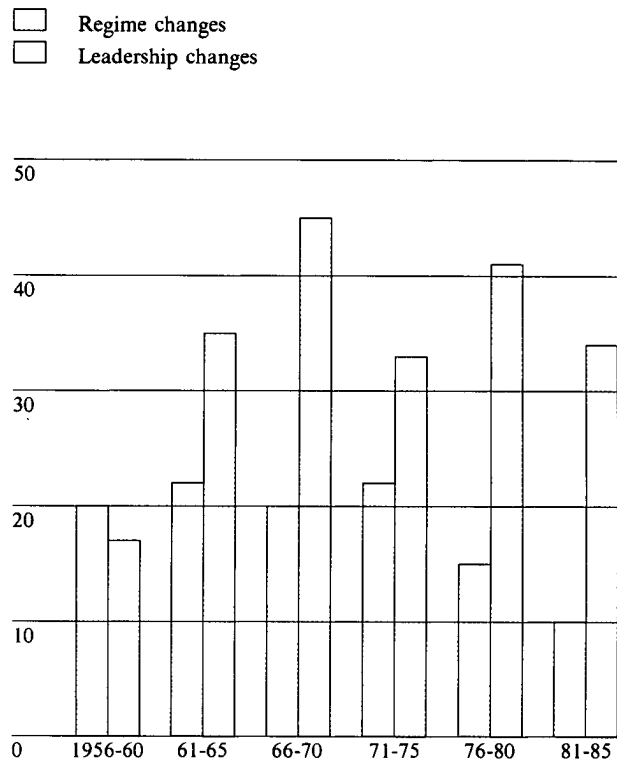
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**Figure 14**  
**Sub-Saharan Africa: Major Regime Types**  
**by Year, 1955-85**



**Figure 15**  
**Sub-Saharan Africa: Frequency of Regime and**  
**Leadership Changes, 1956-85**



Indicates the type of regime in power for the longest period in a given year. Countries are included at independence.

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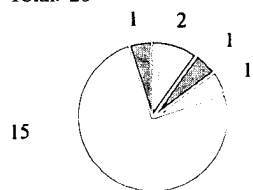
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**Figure 16**  
**Sub-Saharan Africa: Regime Change Process, 1956-85**

- Democratic
- Coup by general officer
- Coup by lower grade officer
- Government fiat
- Independence
- Other

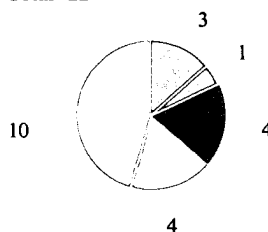
**1956-60**

Total: 20



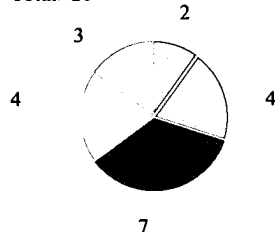
**1961-65**

Total: 22



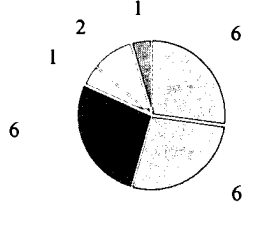
**1966-70**

Total: 20



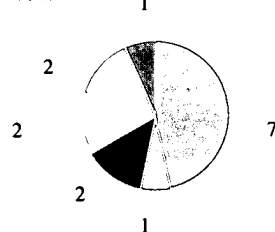
**1971-75**

Total: 22



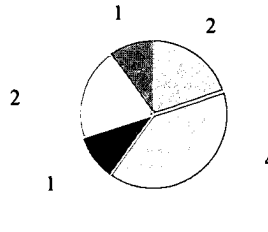
**1976-80**

Total: 15



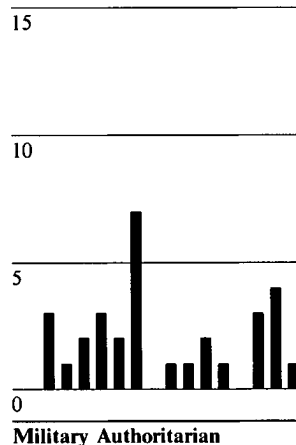
**1981-85**

Total: 10

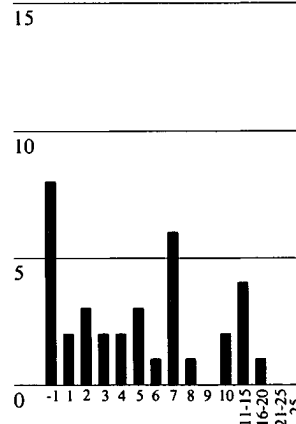


**Figure 17**  
**Sub-Saharan Africa: Regime Duration by Type, 1956-85**

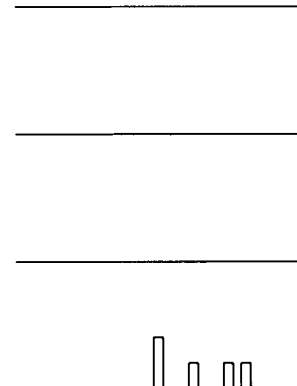
**Democratic**



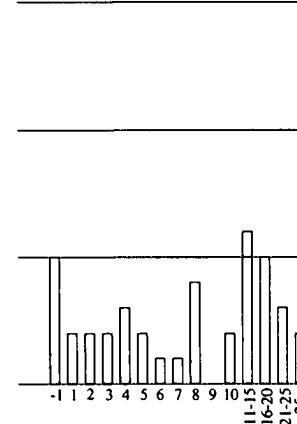
**Military Authoritarian**



**Marxist-Leninist**



**Civilian Authoritarian/One Party**



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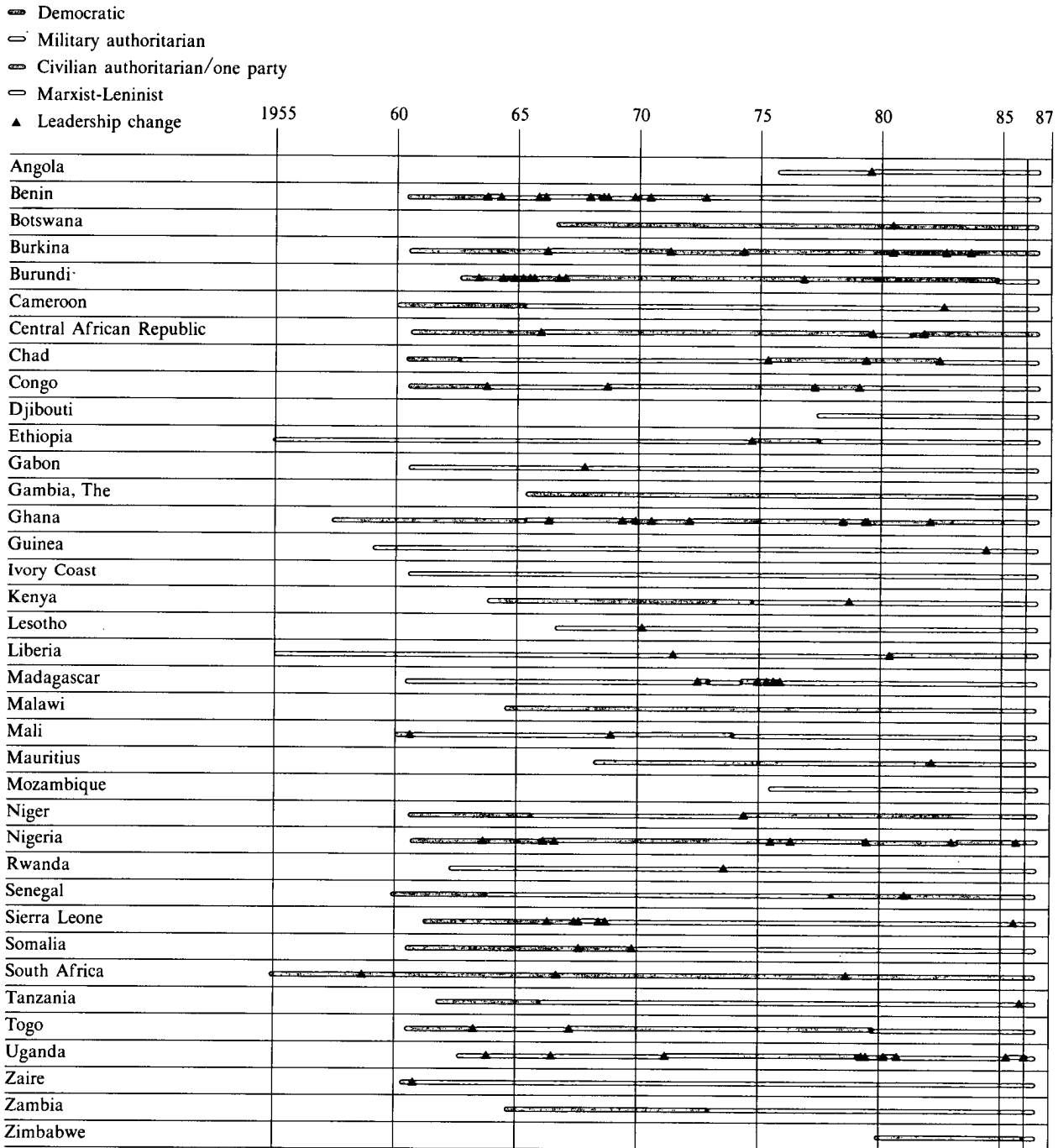
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**Figure 18**  
**Sub-Saharan Africa: Leadership and Regime Change, 1955-86**



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**Confidential****Leadership Change in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1955-86****Angola**

- 1979 20 September Jose Eduardo dos Santos elected President by legislature after death of predecessor; Marxist-Leninist state.
- 1975 11 November Independence; Dr. Agostinho Neto named President by Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (Labor Union).

**Benin**

- 1980 February Mathieu Kerekou elected President by National Assembly; Marxist-Leninist state.
- 1972 27 October Maj. Mathieu Kerekou assumes power after coup; declares Marxist-Leninist state in 1975.
- 1970 1 May Hubert Maga named President by junta.
- 1969 14 December Lt. Col. Emile de Souza, Lt. Col. Benois Sinzogan, and Lt. Col. Maurice Kouandete head junta after coup.
- 1968 28 June Civilian Emile Zinsou named compromise President by Army after Col. Alphonse Alley annuls May election.  
5 May Dr. Basile Adjou Moumouni elected President.
- 1967 17 December Col. Alphonse Alley named President after junior officers' coup led by Maj. Maurice Kouandete.
- 1965 22 December Gen. Christophe Soglo assumes power after coup.  
29 November Justin Ahomadegbe named President after coup led by Gen. Christophe Soglo.
- 1964 19 January Sourou Apithy and Justin Ahomadegbe elected President and Vice President; no single executive authority; fraudulent election.
- 1963 28 October Col. Christophe Soglo assumes power after coup.
- 1960 12 December Hubert Maga elected President.  
1 August Independence; Hubert Maga previously elected Prime Minister.

**Confidential**

**Confidential****Botswana**

1980 3 July Quett Masire elected President after death of predecessor.

1979 20 October Sir Seretse Khama reelected President.

1974 19 November Sir Seretse Khama reelected President.

1969 18 October Sir Seretse Khama reelected President.

1966 30 September Independence; previously elected Prime Minister Seretse Khama becomes President.

**Burkina**

1983 5 August Former Premier Thomas Sankara assumes power after junior officers' coup.

1982 7 November Maj. Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo assumes power after coup.

1980 25 November Col. Saye Zerbo assumes power after coup.

1966 4 January Lt. Col. Sangoule Lamizana assumes power after coup.

1965 3 October Maurice Yemeogo reelected President.

1960 8 December Maurice Yemeogo elected President.  
5 August Independence; Maurice Yemeogo previously elected Prime Minister.

**Burundi**

1976 1 November Lt. Col. Jean-Baptiste Bagaza assumes power after coup.

1966 29 November Cpt. Michael Micombero assumes power after coup.  
9 July King Mwami Ntare V leads palace coup and assumes power; declares one-party state.

1965 14 July Leopold Biha elected Prime Minister after death of predecessor.  
15 January Joseph Bamina elected Prime Minister after death of predecessor.

1964 December Pierre Ngendandumwe elected Prime Minister.  
April Albin Nayamoya elected Prime Minister.

1963 18 June Pierre Ngendandumwe elected Prime Minister.

1962 1 July Independence; Andre Muheriva previously elected Prime Minister; King Mwami Mwambutsa IV, constitutional monarch.

**Confidential**

**Confidential****Cameroon**

1982 6 November Prime Minister Paul Biya constitutionally succeeds to presidency after voluntary resignation of predecessor; one-party state.

1980 5 April Ahmadou Ahidjo reelected President; one-party state.

1975 Ahmadou Ahidjo reelected President; one-party state.

1970 3 March Ahmadou Ahidjo reelected President; one-party state.

1965 20 March Ahmadou Ahidjo reelected President; declares one-party state in 1966.

1960 5 May Ahmadou Ahidjo elected President.  
1 January Independence; Ahmadou Ahidjo previously elected Prime Minister.

**Central African Republic**

1981 1 September Gen. Andre Kolingba assumes power after coup.  
15 March David Dacko elected President.

1979 20 September David Dacko assumes power after French-supported coup.

1965 31 December Col. Jean-Bedel Bokassa assumes power after coup; one-party state.

1960 13 August Independence; David Dacko previously elected Prime Minister.

**Chad**

1982 7 June Hissein Habre assumes power during civil war.

1979 23 March Gen. Goukouni Weddeye assumes power during civil war.

1975 15 April Gen. Felix Malloum assumes power after military revolt.

1969 15 June N'Garta Tombalbaye reelected President; one-party state.

1962 11 March N'Garta Tombalbaye elected president; one-party state.

1960 11 August Independence; N'Garta Tombalbaye becomes President; previously elected Prime Minister.

**Confidential**



**Confidential****Congo**

1979 8 January Col. Denis Sassou-Nguesso assumes power after coup; Marxist-Leninist state.

1977 20 March Col. Joachim Yoahim-Opango assumes power after assassination of predecessor.

1970 3 January Maj. Marien Ngouabi named President by junta.

1968 4 September Cpt. Alfred Raoul named President by junta after coup led by Cpt. Marien Ngouabi; Ngouabi retains power; declares one-party state in 1969.

1963 19 December Alphonse Massamba-Debat elected President; one-party state.  
16 August Civilian Alphonse Massamba-Debat heads junta after coup; declares one-party state.

1961 April Abbe Fulbert Youlou reelected President.

1960 15 January Independence; Abbe Fulbert Youlou previously assumed power with French support.

**Djibouti**

1981 June Hassan Gouled Aptidon reelected President; declares one-party state in 1982.

1977 27 June Independence; Hassan Gouled Aptidon previously elected President.

**Ethiopia**

1977 3 February Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile-Mariam assumes power; Marxist-Leninist leaders.

1974 23 November Gen. Teferi Bante named President by junta; Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile-Mariam retains power.  
12 September Gen. Aman Michael Andom named chief executive by junta headed by Maj. Mengistu Haile-Mariam after junior officers' coup deposes Emperor Haile Selassie.

**Gabon**

1979 30 December Albert-Bernard Bongo reelected President.

1973 25 February Albert-Bernard Bongo reelected President.

**Confidential**

**Confidential**

1967 2 December Albert-Bernard Bongo succeeds to presidency after death of Leon M'ba.  
19 March Leon M'ba elected President.

1960 17 August Independence; Leon M'ba previously elected Prime Minister.

**Gambia, The**

1982 5 May Sir Dawda Jawara reelected President.

1977 5 April Sir Dawda Jawara reelected President.

1972 29 March Sir Dawda Jawara reelected President.

1970 4 April Sir Dawda Jawara elected President by House of Representatives.

1965 18 February Independence; Sir Dawda Jawara previously elected Prime Minister.

**Ghana**

1981 21 December Flight Lt. Jerry Rawlings assumes power after coup.

1979 10 June Hilla Limann elected President.  
4 June Flight Lt. Jerry Rawlings assumes power after coup.

1978 6 July Lt. Gen. Frederick Akuffo assumes power after coup.

1972 13 January Col. Ignatius Acheampong assumes power after coup.

1969 1 October Dr. Kofi Busia elected Prime Minister.

1966 25 February Col. Emmanuel Kwashie Kotoka assumes power after coup.

1960 1 July Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah elected President when Ghana becomes a republic; declares one-party state in 1964.

1957 6 March Independence; Kwame Nkrumah elected Prime Minister.

**Guinea**

1984 3 April Col. Lansana Conte assumes power after junior officers' coup following the death of Ahmed Sekou Toure.

1982 10 May Ahmed Sekou Toure reelected President; one-party state.

1975 January Ahmed Sekou Toure reelected President; one-party state.

**Confidential**

**Confidential**

1968 1 January Ahmed Sekou Toure reelected President; one-party state.

1961 15 January Ahmed Sekou Toure reelected President; one-party state.

1958 2 October Ahmed Sekou Toure named President by National Assembly; one-party state.  
28 September Independence; Ahmed Sekou Toure previously elected Prime Minister.

**Ivory Coast**

1985 27 October Felix Houphouet-Boigny reelected President; one-party state.

1980 12 October Felix Houphouet-Boigny reelected President; one-party state.

1975 16 November Felix Houphouet-Boigny reelected President; one-party state.

1970 29 November Felix Houphouet-Boigny reelected President; one-party state.

1965 7 November Felix Houphouet-Boigny reelected President; one-party state.

1960 27 November Prime Minister Felix Houphouet-Boigny elected President; one-party state.  
7 August Independence; Felix Houphouet-Boigny previously elected Prime Minister.

**Kenya**

1983 27 September Daniel T. arap Moi reelected President; one-party state.

1979 10 October Vice President Daniel T. arap Moi elected President; fraudulent election; declares one-party state in 1982.

1978 23 August Vice President Daniel T. arap Moi succeeds to presidency after death of predecessor.

1974 14 October Jomo Kenyatta reelected President; fraudulent election.

1966 12 December Jomo Kenyatta reelected President.

1964 12 December Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta elected President when Kenya becomes a republic.

1963 12 December Independence; Jomo Kenyatta previously elected Prime Minister.

**Confidential****Liberia**

1985 29 December Samuel K. Doe declared winner of presidential election after two months of deliberation; fraudulent election.

1980 13 April Master Sgt. Samuel K. Doe assumes power after coup.

1975 November William R. Tolbert reelected President; fraudulent election.

1971 23 July Vice President William R. Tolbert constitutionally succeeds to presidency after death of predecessor.  
20 January William V. S. Tubman reelected President; fraudulent election.

1967 13 December William V. S. Tubman reelected President; fraudulent election.

1963 8 May William V. S. Tubman reelected President; fraudulent election.

1959 5 May William V. S. Tubman reelected President; fraudulent election.

1955 3 May William V. S. Tubman reelected President; fraudulent election.

**Lesotho**

1986 March Maj. Gen. J. M. Lekhanya heads military council after coup.

1966 4 October Independence; Chief Leabua Jonathon elected Prime Minister; King Moshoeshoe II constitutional monarch; Prime Minister Jonathon suspends constitution in 1970 and assumes sole power.

**Madagascar**

1982 26 November Didier Ratsiraka reelected President; fraudulent election.

1975 15 June Didier Ratsiraka elected President; fraudulent election.

1974 31 December Lt. Comm. Didier Ratsiraka assumes power after coup.

1972 19 May Gen. Gabriel Ramanatsoa assumes power following riots.

1960 30 June Independence; Philibert Tsiranana previously elected President.

**Confidential**

**Confidential****Malawi**

1976 31 May Hastings Kamuzu Banda reelected President; one-party state.

1971 6 July Hastings Kamuzu Banda elected Life-President; one-party state.

1966 21 May Hastings Kamuzu Banda elected President; one-party state.

1964 6 July Independence; Hastings Kamuzu Banda previously elected Prime Minister.

**Mali**

1979 19 June Moussa Traore elected President; one-party state.

1968 19 November Col. Moussa Traore assumes power after coup; declares one-party state in 1974.

1960 22 September Mali declares itself an independent republic after Senegal secedes from Federation of Mali; Modibo Keita becomes President.

**Mauritius**

1983 21 August Aneerood Jugnauth reelected Prime Minister.

1982 11 June Aneerood Jugnauth elected Prime Minister.

1976 29 December Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam reelected Prime Minister.

1968 12 March Independence; Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam previously elected Prime Minister.

**Mozambique**

1975 25 June Samora Moises Machel assumes power after war for independence; Marxist-Leninist state declared in 1977.

**Niger**

1974 15 April Lt. Col. Seyni Kountche assumes power after coup.

1970 1 October Hammani Diori reelected President; one-party state.

1965 30 September Hammani Diori reelected President; one-party state.

1960 9 November Prime Minister Hammani Diori elected President.

**Confidential****Nigeria**

1985 27 August Maj. Gen. Ibrahim Babangida assumes power after coup.

1983 31 December Maj. Gen. Muhammadu Buhari assumes power after coup.

1983 6 September Alhaji Shehu Shagari reelected President.

1979 12 August Alhaji Shehu Shagari elected President.

1976 13 February Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo named President by junta after assassination of predecessor during coup attempt.

1975 30 July Gen. Murtala Ramat Mohammed heads junta after coup.

1966 1 August Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon assumes power after junior officers' coup.  
16 January Maj. Gen. J. T. Aguyi-Ironsi assumes power after unsuccessful coup attempt by Maj. Chukwuma Nzeogwu and junior officers.

1960 1 October Independence; Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa previously elected Prime Minister.

**Rwanda**

1983 December Gen. Juvenal Habyarimana elected President; one-party state.

1973 5 July Gen. Juvenal Habyarimana assumes power after coup.

1969 October Gregoire Kayibanda reelected President; fraudulent election.

1965 October Gregoire Kayibanda reelected President; fraudulent election.

1962 1 July Independence; Gregoire Kayibanda previously elected President.

**Senegal**

1983 27 February Abdou Diouf elected President.

1981 1 January Prime Minister Abdou Diouf constitutionally succeeds to presidency after voluntary resignation of predecessor.

1978 26 June Leopold Sedar Senghor reelected President.

1973 28 January Leopold Sedar Senghor reelected President; fraudulent election.

**Confidential**

**Confidential**

1968 8 March Leopold Sedar Senghor reelected President; fraudulent election.

1963 December Leopold Sedar Senghor reelected President; fraudulent election.

1960 5 September Leopold Sedar Senghor elected President.  
20 August Secession from Federation of Mali; Leopold Sedar Senghor previously elected President.

**Sierra Leone**

1985 28 November Maj. Gen. Joseph Saidu Momoh succeeds Siaka Stevens as President when Stevens retires from office; one-party state.

1968 26 April Siaka Probyn Stevens named President by junta; declared one-party state in 1978.  
18 April Col. John Bangura assumes power after coup led by noncommissioned officers.

1967 24 March Maj. Charles Blake assumes power after Army revolt and names Col. Andrew Juxon-Smith Head of State.  
17 March Siaka Probyn Stevens elected Prime Minister.

1966 28 April Albert Margai succeeds as Prime Minister after death of predecessor.

1962 25 May Milton Margai reelected Prime Minister.

1961 28 April Independence; Milton Margai previously elected Prime Minister.

**Somalia**

1980 January Maj. Gen. Siad Barre elected President by National Assembly; one-party state.

1969 15 October Maj. Gen. Siad Barre assumes power after coup; declares one-party state in 1976.

1967 10 June Ali Abdar-Rashid Shermarke elected President by National Assembly.

1960 1 July Independence; Aden Abdulleh Osman elected President.

**South Africa**

1978 29 September Pieter W. Botha elected Prime Minister after resignation of predecessor.

1974 24 April B. J. Vorster reelected Prime Minister.

Confidential

1970 22 April B. J. Vorster reelected Prime Minister.

1966 13 September B. J. Vorster succeeds as Prime Minister after assassination of predecessor.

1961 18 October Dr. H. F. Verwoerd reelected Prime Minister.

1958 2 September Dr. H. F. Verwoerd succeeds as Prime Minister after death of predecessor.  
16 April J. G. Strijdem reelected Prime Minister.

**Tanzania**

1985 27 October Ali Hassan Mwinyi elected President when Julius K. Nyerere left office; one-party state.

1980 26 October Julius K. Nyerere reelected President; one-party state.

1975 26 October Julius K. Nyerere reelected President; one-party state.

1970 31 October Julius K. Nyerere reelected President; one-party state.

1965 30 September Julius K. Nyerere reelected President; declares one-party state in 1965.

1964 29 October Name changed to Tanzania; Julius K. Nyerere remains President.  
26 April Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and Pemba combine to form United Republic of Tanzania.

1962 8 November Julius K. Nyerere elected President of Tanganyika.

1961 1 May Independence; Julius K. Nyerere previously elected Prime Minister.

**Togo**

1967 13 January Lt. Col. Gnassingbe Eyadema assumes power after coup; declares one-party state in 1969.

1963 16 January Civilian Nicolas Grunitzky named President by junta after noncommissioned officers' coup.

1961 9 April Sylvanus Olympio elected President.

1960 27 April Independence; Sylvanus Olympio previously elected Prime Minister.

**Uganda**

1986 24 January Yoweri Museveni assumes power after civil war.

1980 10 December Milton Obote elected President; fraudulent election.  
14 May Brig. Gen. David Oyite Ojok assumes power after coup.

Confidential



**Confidential**


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1979 20 June Godfrey Binaisa named head of caretaker government by temporary Parliament.  
11 April Yusufu K. Lule named head of caretaker government by temporary Parliament after invasion by Ugandan rebels with Tanzanian aid.

1971 25 January Maj. Gen. Idi Amin Dada assumes power after coup.

1966 22 February Prime Minister Milton Obote suspends constitution and assumes sole power.

1962 29 October Independence; Milton Obote previously elected Prime Minister.

**Zaire**

1960 14 September Col. Mobutu Sese Seko assumes power after Army mutiny by noncommissioned and junior officers, civil war, and UN intervention; declares a one-party state in 1971.  
30 June Independence; Patrice Lumumba and Joseph Kasavubu previously elected Prime Minister and President; no single executive authority.

**Zambia**

1983 27 October Kenneth David Kaunda reelected President; one-party state.

1978 12 December Kenneth David Kaunda reelected President; one-party state.

1973 5 December Kenneth David Kaunda reelected President; one-party state.

1964 24 October Independence; Prime Minister Kenneth David Kaunda becomes President; declares one-party state in 1972.

**Zanzibar**

1964 26 April Zanzibar, Pemba and Tanganyika merge to form United Republic of Tanzania with Julius K. Nyerere as President.

1963 10 December Independence; Muhammed Shamte Hamadi previously elected Prime Minister.

**Zimbabwe**

1980 18 April Independence after civil war; Robert Mugabe elected Prime Minister.



Confidential

### Near East–South Asia

The Near East–South Asia region of the Third World has been dominated by civilian authoritarian regimes—including monarchies—for more than two decades. This regime type accounts for approximately two-thirds of all regimes in the region; many countries have experienced only civilian authoritarian rule. This continuity of regime type—and leadership—has made the Near East–South Asia region the most politically consistent in the Third World. Since 1981, the region, which includes 28 countries, has experienced only three regime changes and 13 leadership changes.

#### Regime Types

As of June 1986, military authoritarian and democratic regimes accounted for slightly more than half of all regime types. Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, India, and Sri Lanka were the only democratic regimes in the region, and Afghanistan and South Yemen the only Marxist-Leninist regimes (*figure 19*). The number of civilian authoritarian regimes increased slowly during the 1960s and reached a high of 23 in 1972 and 1973 (*figure 20*).

#### Frequency of Changes

The patterns of both regime change and leadership change have been relatively erratic, although the number of regime changes has decreased steadily in the last 15 years from a high of 13 in the early 1970s to only three in the early 1980s (*figure 21*). The number of leadership changes has fluctuated more widely over the last three decades, but has shown a marked decrease in recent years.

#### Mechanisms of Regime Change

Almost two-thirds of all regime changes in the Near East–South Asia region have been by authoritarian means (*figure 22*). Military coups have accounted for a gradually increasing share of all regime changes since the mid-1950s, while the number of regime changes by government fiat has been declining. Since the mid-1960s, more than two-thirds of all coups in the region have been launched by officers below the rank of general.

#### Durability of Regimes

Civilian authoritarian regimes have been long lived, with one-fifth remaining in power for more than 10 years (*figures 23 and 24*). About one-fourth of the civilian authoritarian regimes have been monarchies—the most stable regime type in the Third World.

Military authoritarian regimes, on the other hand, have been highly unstable. Although these regimes account for more than one-third of all regimes during the past 30 years, only one-fourth has stayed in power beyond five years—most notably in Libya and Pakistan.

The record for democratic regimes is mixed. While a handful of regimes—for example, in Algeria and Syria—have lasted two years or less, some regimes, including Israel and India, have lasted much longer.



**Figure 19**  
**Near East-South Asia: Regime Types in Power as of 31 June 1986**



- Democratic
- Military authoritarian
- Civilian authoritarian/one party
- Marxist-Leninist

As of:

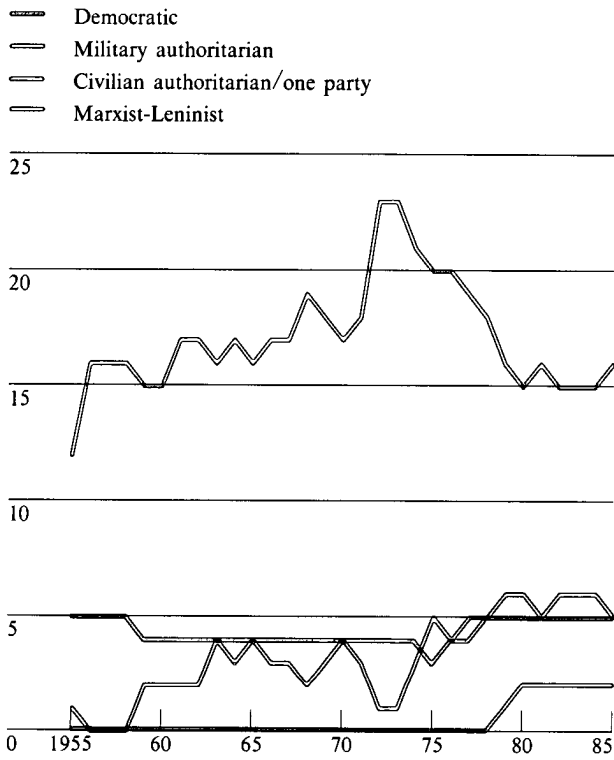
	1955	1965	1975
Afghanistan	○	○	○
Algeria		○	○
Bahrain			○
Bangladesh			○
Bhutan	○	○	○
Egypt	○	○	○
India	○	○	○
Iran	○	○	○
Iraq	○	○	○
Israel	○	○	○
Jordan	○	○	○
Kuwait		○	○
Lebanon		○	○
Libya	○	○	○

	1955	1965	1975
Mauritania		○	○
Morocco		○	○
Nepal	○	○	○
North Yemen	○	○	○
Oman	○	○	○
Pakistan	○	○	○
Qatar			○
Saudi Arabia	○	○	○
South Yemen			○
Sri Lanka	○	○	○
Sudan		○	○
Syria	○	○	○
Tunisia		○	○
United Arab Emirates			○

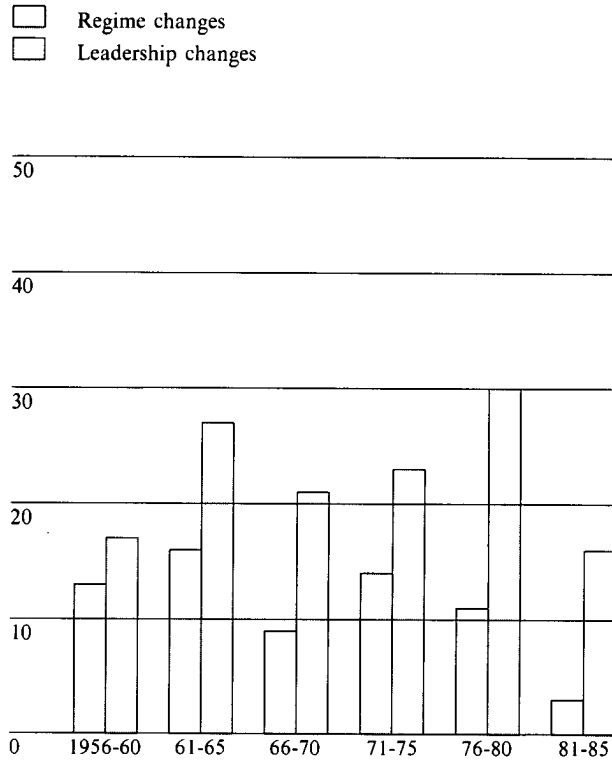


**Confidential**

**Figure 20**  
Near East-South Asia: Major Regime Types  
by Year, 1955-85



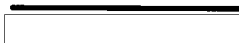
**Figure 21**  
Near East-South Asia: Frequency of Regime and  
Leadership Changes, 1956-85



Indicates the type of regime in power for the longest period in a given year. Countries are included at independence.



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310530 11-86

**Confidential**

25X1

25X1

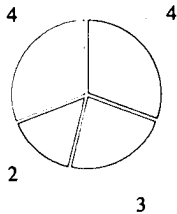
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**Figure 22**  
Near East-South Asia: Regime  
Change Process, 1956-85

- Democratic
- Coup by general officer
- Coup by lower grade officer
- Government fiat
- Independence
- Other

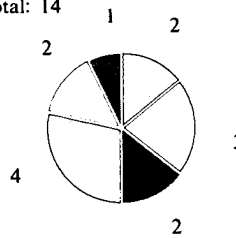
**1956-60**

Total: 13



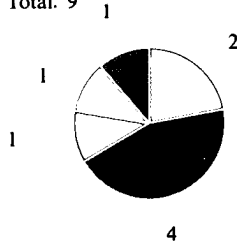
**1961-65**

Total: 14



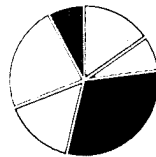
**1966-70**

Total: 9



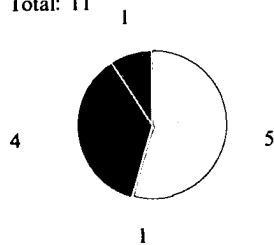
**1971-75**

Total: 13



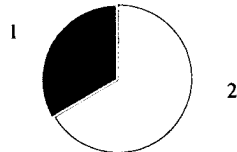
**1976-80**

Total: 11



**1981-85**

Total: 3



**Figure 23**  
Near East-South Asia: Regime  
Duration by Type, 1956-85

**Democratic**

15

10

5

**Military Authoritarian**

15

10

5

0 -1 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11-15 16-20 21-25

**Marxist-Leninist**

**Civilian Authoritarian/  
One Party**

25X1

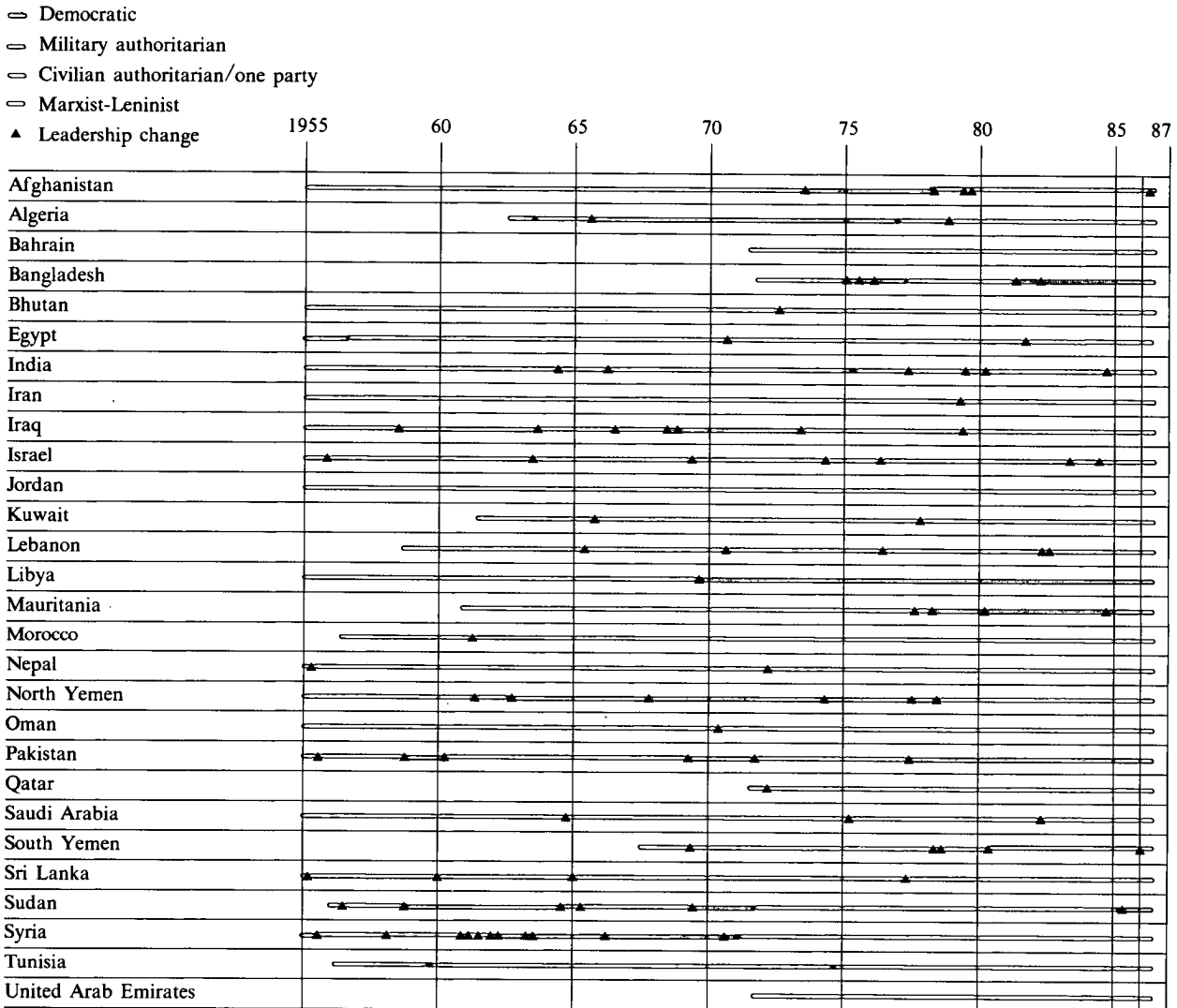
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25X1

Confidential

**Figure 24**  
**Near East-South Asia: Leadership and Regime Change, 1955-86**



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25X1

Confidential



**Confidential****Leadership Change in the Near East-South Asia, 1955-86****Afghanistan**

1986	1 May	Sec. Gen. Sayid Mohammed Najibullah becomes Prime Minister after forced resignation of Karmal.
1979	27 December	Deputy Prime Minister Babrak Karmal designated President and Prime Minister after Soviet invasion and assassination of President Hafizullah Amin; Marxist-Leninist regime.
	16 September	Prime Minister Hafizullah Amin assumes power after coup against President Nur Mohammed Taraki; Marxist-Leninist regime.
1978	30 April	Nur Mohammed Taraki designated President and Prime Minister after military coup led by Deputy Air Force Commander, Col. Abdul Qader; Marxist-Leninist regime.
1973	19 July	Gen. Mohammed Daoud assumes power after coup against King Mohammed Zahir.

**Algeria**

1984	12 January	Col. Chadli Bendjedid reelected President; one-party state.
1979	27 February	Col. Chadli Bendjedid elected President; one-party state.
1978	27 December	Col. Chadli Bendjedid succeeds President Houari Boumedienne after Boumedienne dies (Rabah Bitat, Speaker of the National People's Assembly, assumes the constitutional role of Acting President prior to formal election of Bendjedid).
1976	10 December	Col. Houari Boumedienne elected President; one-party state.
1965	19 June	Defense Minister Houari Boumedienne assumes power after coup led by senior officers; heads Council of the Revolution.
1963	15 September	Ahmed Ben Bella elected President; fraudulent election; one-party state declared.
1962	25 September	Independence; Ferhat Abbas elected President and Ahmed Ben Bella elected Prime Minister.

**Bahrain**

1971	15 August	Independence; the United Kingdom relinquishes sovereignty to Shakyh Isa bin Sulman Al Khalifa.
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**Confidential**

**Confidential****Bangladesh**

- 1982 24 March Lt. Gen. Hussain Mohammed Ershad assumes power as Chief Martial Law Administrator after coup led by senior officers.
- 1981 15 November Acting President Abdus Sattar elected President.  
31 May Vice President Abdus Sattar constitutionally succeeds Gen. Ziaur Rahman as President after assassination of Rahman in abortive Army coup.
- 1978 3 June Gen. Ziaur Rahman formally elected President.
- 1977 21 April Gen. Ziaur Rahman formally assumes presidency after Abu Sadat Mohammed Sayem resigns because of ill health (Ziaur Rahman had previously assumed the title of Chief Martial Law Administrator in November 1976).
- 1975 6 November Gen. Ziaur Rahman assumes power after assassination of Maj. Gen. Khalid Musharef in counter coup; Abu Sadat Mohammad Sayem designated figurehead President and Chief Martial Law Administrator.  
3 November Maj. Gen. Khalid Misharef assumes power after military coup.  
15 August Minister Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed designated President and Chief Martial Law Administrator after junior officers' coup in which Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is assassinated.
- 1971 23 December Sheikh Mujibur Rahman declared President by rebel leaders when Bangladesh secedes from Pakistan.

**Bhutan**

- 1974 2 June Jigme Singye Wangchuck crowned King.
- 1972 24 July Crown Prince Jigme Singye Wangchuck assumes throne after death of father, Maharaja Jigme Dorji Wangchuck.

**Egypt**

- 1981 24 October Mohammad Hosni Mubarak elected President.  
6 October Mohammad Hosni Mubarak succeeds President Anwar Sadat after Sadat's assassination (Abu Talib, Speaker of the People's Assembly, holds nominal power as Acting President).
- 1979 16 June Anwar Sadat reelected President; one-party state ends; fraudulent election.
- 1970 15 October Anwar Sadat elected President.  
28 September Anwar Sadat constitutionally succeeds to presidency after death of Gamal Abd al-Nasir; one-party state.

**Confidential**

**Confidential**

1965	16 March	President Gamal Abd al-Nasir reelected; one-party state.
1956	24 June	Head of State Gamal Abd al-Nasir elected President following announcement of new constitution; one-party state.
<b>India</b>		
1984	4 November	Rajiv Gandhi elected Prime Minister.
	31 October	Indira Gandhi assassinated; Rajiv Gandhi designated Prime Minister in emergency cabinet meeting.
1980	15 January	Indira Gandhi elected Prime Minister.
1979	28 July	Charan Singh constitutionally succeeds Prime Minister Morarji Desai after Desai resigned.
1977	24 March	Morarji Desai, Janata leader, elected Prime Minister; state of emergency revoked.
1975	26 June	Indira Gandhi assumes temporary dictatorial powers; state of emergency declared.
1971	17 December	Indira Gandhi reelected Prime Minister.
1967	15 January	Indira Gandhi elected Prime Minister.
1966	19 January	Indira Gandhi constitutionally succeeds Lal Bahdur Shastri after Shastri's death.
1964	2 June	Lal Bahdur Shastri constitutionally succeeds Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru after Nehru's death.
<b>Iran</b>		
1979	6 January	Ayatollah Khomeini assumes power as head of Revolutionary Council when Muhammed Reza Shah Pelavi abdicates his throne and leaves the country.
<b>Iraq</b>		
1979	17 July	Saddam Husayn succeeds President Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr after Bakr resigns (Husayn had previously gained de facto power as Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and vice chairman of the Ba'th party).

**Confidential**

**Confidential**

- 1973 7 July Saddam Husayn becomes coleader after abortive coup attempt by Chief of the Security Police, Nazim Kazzar (Husayn's civilian leadership role had been steadily growing for several years preceding the Kazzar uprising).
- 1968 30 July President Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr ousts Col. Abd al-Razzaq al-Nayif in military coup.  
17 July Maj. Gen. Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr and Col. Abd al-Razzaq al-Nayif seize power after military coup.
- 1966 16 April Maj. Gen. Abd al-Rahman Arif succeeds his brother who is killed in a plane crash.
- 1963 18 November President Abd al-Salam Arif ousts Prime Minister Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr and other Ba'thists after senior officer's military coup and establishes Revolutionary Command Council.
- 1958 14 July Brig. Gen. Abd al-Karim Qasim seizes power from King Faysal II after military coup.

**Israel**

- 1984 9 September Shimon Peres becomes Prime Minister, forms a loose coalition government nearly three weeks after close parliamentary elections give no clear winner.
- 1983 10 October Yitzhak Shamir sworn in as Prime Minister after Manachem Begin resigns.
- 1977 21 June Manachem Begin elected Prime Minister.  
22 April Shimon Peres assumes power after Yitzhak Rabin resigns.
- 1974 10 April Yitzhak Rabin succeeds Prime Minister Golda Meir after Meir resigns.
- 1969 17 March Golda Meir sworn in as Prime Minister after death of Levi Eshkol.
- 1963 19 June Levi Eshkol becomes Prime Minister after David Ben-Gurion resigns.
- 1955 3 November David Ben-Gurion confirmed as Prime Minister.

**Jordan**

- 1952 11 August King Hussein assumes throne replacing his father, King Talal, who is deposed by parliament on grounds of mental incompetence.

**Confidential****Kuwait**

- 1977 31 December Crown Prince Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah assumes throne after his cousin Shaykh Saban dies.
- 1965 27 November Shaykh Saban al-Salim al-Sabah appointed monarch after Shaykh Abdullah dies.
- 1961 19 June Independence; Shaykh Abdullah al-Salim al-Sabah assumes power as ruling monarch (Amir).

**Lebanon**

- 1982 21 September Amin Gemayel elected President by National Assembly after Bashir Gemayel assassinated.
- 23 August Bashir Gemayel elected President by National Assembly.
- 1976 8 May Ilyas Sarkis elected President by National Assembly.
- 1960 17 June Sulayman Franjiyah elected President by National Assembly.
- 1964 18 August Charles Hilu elected President by National Assembly.
- 1958 1 August Gen. Fuad Shibab elected President by National Assembly.

**Libya**

- 1969 1 September Col. Muammar Qadhafi assumes power as head of a 12-member Revolutionary Command Council after junior officers' coup deposes King Idris I.

**Mauritania**

- 1984 12 December Col. Maaouiya Ould Sid Ahmed Taya assumes power after coup.
- 1980 4 January Lt. Col. Mohammed Khouna Ould Haidalla assumes power after coup.
- 1978 11 July Lt. Col. Mustapha Ould Salek assumes power after coup; names Lt. Col. Mohammed Mahmoud Ould Loly President in 1979.
- 1966 7 August Moktar Ould Dadah reelected President; fraudulent election.
- 1961 20 August Moktar Ould Dadah elected President; fraudulent election.
- 1960 28 October Independence; Moktar Ould Dadah previously elected Prime Minister; fraudulent election.

**Confidential**

**Confidential****Morocco**

- 1961 3 March King Hassan II assumes throne after the death of his father King Mohamed V.
- 1956 2 March Independence; France and Spain relinquish sovereignty to King Mohamed V.

**Nepal**

- 1973 31 January Prince Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev assumes throne after death of his father, King Mahendra.
- 1955 14 March Crown Prince Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev assumes throne after death of his father, King Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah Dev.

**North Yemen**

- 1978 17 July Col. Ali Abdallah Salih elected President by Assembly after Ahmad Husayn al-Ghashmi assassinated.
- 1977 12 October Lt. Col. Ahmad Husayn al-Ghashmi assumes power as head of three-man Presidential Council after Col. Ibrahim al-Hamdi assassinated.
- 1974 13 June Lt. Col. Ibrahim al-Hamdi assumes power as head of seven-man Military Command Council after military coup.
- 1967 5 November Civilian Abd al-Rahmin al-Iryani assumes power as head of three-man Presidential Council after military coup.
- 1962 29 September Col. Abdallah Sallal assumes power after military coup.
- 1961 26 June Prince Saifal Islam al-Badr designated Imam and Prime Minister by his father, Imam Saifal Islam Ahmad al-Badr.

**Oman**

- 1970 23 July Qaboos bin Said ousts his father, Sultan Said bin Taimur Al Bin Said, in civilian coup.

**Pakistan**

- 1985 31 December Gen. Zia-ul-Haq becomes President as martial law ends; Mohammed Khan Junejo designated Prime Minister.

**Confidential**

1977	5 July	Gen. Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq assumes power as Chief Martial Law Administrator after Army coup.
1973	14 August	Zulfikar Ali Bhutto designated Prime Minister under new constitution.
1971	20 December	Zulfikar Ali Bhutto designated President and Chief Martial Law Administrator by military leaders after resignation of Yahya Khan.
1969	25 March	Gen. Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan assumes power as Chief Martial Law Administrator after resignation of President Ayub Khan.
1965	2 January	President Ayub Khan reelected President; fraudulent election (constitutional government based on indirect election had been formally reinstated in June 1962).
1960	14 February	Prime Minister Mohammed Ayub Khan elected President; fraudulent election.
1958	27 October	Field Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan assumes power as Chief Martial Law Administrator after coup against Iskander Mirza.
1955	15 August	Maj. Gen. Iskander Mirza constitutionally succeeds Governor General Ghulam Mohammed after Mohammed requests a two-month leave of absence for health reasons.
<b>Qatar</b>		
1972	22 February	Prime Minister Shaykh Khalifa bin Hamad Al Thani assumes power as Amir following coup approved by the royal family.
1971	3 September	Independence; Shaykh Hamad bin Ali bin Abdallah Al Thani inherits supreme power as Amir.
<b>Saudi Arabia</b>		
1982	13 June	Crown Prince Fahd bin Abd al-Aziz Al Saud assumes throne after his half brother, King Khalid, dies.
1975	25 March	Crown Prince Khalid bin Abd al-Aziz Al Saud assumes throne after his half brother, King Faysal, assassinated.
1964	28 March	Crown Prince Faysal bin Abd al-Aziz assumes power after his brother King Saud abdicates.

**Confidential**

**Confidential****South Yemen**

- 1986 26 February Prime Minister Haydar Abu Bakr al-Attas named President after Ali Nasir Muhammed al-Hasani is overthrown by the extreme faction of the Yemeni Socialist Party.
- 1980 23 April Prime Minister Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani constitutionally succeeds President Abd al-Fattah Ismail after Ismail resigns.
- 1978 27 December Abd al-Fattah Ismail elected President of Supreme People's Council; Marxist-Leninist state declared in mid-October 1978.
- 27 June Prime Minister Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani designated President by Supreme People's Council after Salim Rubayi Ali is executed during coup led by rival faction of the ruling National Liberation Front.
- 1969 23 June Salim Ali assumes power as Chairman of five-member Presidential Council after coup (led by the Supreme General Command of the National Liberation Front).
- 1967 29 November Independence; Qahtan al-Shabi designated President by National Liberation Front.

**Sri Lanka**

- 1982 20 October Junius R. Jayewardene reelected President.
- 1978 5 February Prime Minister Junius R. Jayewardene elected President when government changed to presidential system.
- 1977 23 July Junius R. Jayewardene elected Prime Minister.
- 1970 27 May Sirimavo Bandaranaike elected Prime Minister.
- 1965 22 March Dudley Senanayakje elected Prime Minister.
- 1960 20 July Sirimavo Bandaranaike elected Prime Minister.
- 1959 26 September Wijeyananda Dehanayake becomes Prime Minister after assassination of Solomon Bandaranaike.
- 1956 10 April Solomon W. R. D. Bandaranaike elected Prime Minister.

**Confidential**



**Confidential****Sudan**

- 1986 6 March Sadiq Siddiq al-Mahdi elected Prime Minister by Constituent Assembly.
- 1985 6 April Transitional Military Council led by Gen. Suwar El Dahab assumes power after senior officers' coup.
- 1977 20 April Gaafar Nimeiri reelected President; one-party state.
- 1971 12 October Gaafar Nimeiri elected President; one-party state declared.
- 1969 25 May Col. Gaafar Nimeiri assumes power after military coup.
- 1965 8 July Ismail al-Azhari elected President of Supreme Council by parliament.
- 1964 15 November Five-man Council of Sovereignty (civilian) assumes power after resignation of Gen. Ibrahim Abboud.
- 1958 17 November Gen. Ibrahim Abboud assumes power after Army coup.
- 1956 5 July Abdallah Khalil succeeds Prime Minister Ismail al-Azhari after Azhari resigns.  
1 January Independence; civilian Ismail al-Azhari designated Prime Minister by five-member Supreme Council.

**Syria**

- 1978 8 February Hafiz al-Assad reelected President; fraudulent election.
- 1971 12 March Hafiz al-Assad formally elected President; fraudulent election.
- 1970 18 November Lt. Gen. Hafiz al-Assad assumes power after military coup.
- 1966 27 February Nur al-Din al-Atassi designated President after military coup led by Maj. Gen. Salah al-Jadid.
- 1963 27 July Gen. Amin al-Hafiz succeeds Lt. Gen. Luwai Atassi as Chairman of the Revolutionary Council after Atassi resigns.  
8 March Col. Luwai Atassi assumes power as Chairman of the Revolutionary Council after military coup.
- 1962 13 April Deposed former President Nazim al-Qudsi released from Army custody and reinstated as President after rebellion led by Col. Luwai Atassi.  
28 March Gen. Abd al-Karim Nahlawi assumes power after coup led by Nahlawi and Maj. Gen. Abd al-Karim Zahreddin.

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1961	14 December	Dr. Nazim al-Qudsi elected President by National Assembly following national elections.
	20 November	Izzat al-Nus designated head of 10-man transitional cabinet by military high command.
	29 September	Dr. Ma'mun al-Kuzbari designated Prime Minister after Syria secedes from the United Arab Republic following military coup led by Lt. Col. Abd al-Karim Nahlawi.
1958	22 February	Gamal Abd al-Nasir designated President after vote to unite Syria and Egypt in the United Arab Republic; one- party state.
1955	6 September	Shurki al-Quwatli elected civilian President by Syrian parliament after resignation of Hashim Atassi.

**Tunisia**

1974	2 November	Habib Bourguiba elected President for Life.
1969	2 November	Habib Bourguiba reelected President.
1964	8 November	Habib Bourguiba reelected President.
1959	8 November	Habib Bourguiba reelected President.
1956	8 April 21 March	Habib Bourguiba elected President by National Assembly; one-party state. Independence; Premier Tahan ben Ammar and Habib Bourguiba, president of Neodestour Party, share power; one-party state carries over from independence.

**United Arab Emirates**

1981	2 December	Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan Al Nuhayyan reelected President by Supreme Council.
1976	2 December	Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan Al Nuhayyan reelected President by Supreme Council.
1971	2 December	Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan Al Nuhayyan elected President by Supreme Council made up of six original Amirs.

Note: Leadership change can involve both a change in the leadership and in the regime type, but all regime changes do not necessarily involve a change in leadership.



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### East Asia

Although no particular regime type has been dominant in East Asia—which includes 14 countries—civilian authoritarian governments account for the largest number of regimes in the region over the last three decades (*figure 25*). Democratic regimes are also well represented, and the number of Marxist-Leninist regimes has increased significantly since the mid-1970s.

#### Regime Types

Civilian authoritarian regimes represent almost 30 percent of all regimes in the region (*figure 26*). The number of military regimes peaked in the mid-to-late 1960s, but since then has steadily declined to two in the early 1980s. As of June 1986, Marxist-Leninist regimes represented more than one-third of all regimes in the region, and democratic regimes just over one-fifth.

Before 1975, the only Marxist-Leninist regimes were North Korea and North Vietnam. By 1977, South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia had become Marxist, replacing authoritarian governments.

After declining in the latter part of the 1950s, the number of democratic regimes in East Asia remained steady over the last three decades.

#### Frequency of Changes

The frequency of regime change in East Asia has shown a general pattern of decline, with a high of 13 regime changes recorded from 1961 to 1965 and a low of two from 1981 to 1985. The frequency of leadership change has varied more widely, declining from 20 in the late 1970s to eight in the early 1980s (*figure 27*).

#### Mechanisms of Regime Changes

Half of all regime changes in East Asia have resulted from coups or government fiat; constitutional transitions account for only one-third of all regime changes. Over the past decade, however, constitutional change was the primary mechanism of regime change (*figure 28*).

#### Durability of Regimes

Civilian authoritarian regimes generally have proved to be durable in East Asia, with more than 20 percent lasting for 10 years or more (*figures 29 and 30*). Conversely, military regimes, which have constituted nearly 30 percent of all East Asian regimes during the past 30 years, have been highly unstable. Only in Burma and Thailand have military regimes remained in power for more than 10 years.

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Democratic regimes have been relatively durable, with Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, and the Philippines—in earlier years—experiencing democratic rule for 10 or more years. On the other hand, democratic rule has been short lived in some countries—lasting less than two years, for example, in South Korea and Thailand. The Marxist-Leninist regimes have proved exceptionally stable. The North Korean and Vietnamese regimes have been in power for more than 25 years, and the Marxist regimes in Laos and Cambodia have been in power for 10 years or more.

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**Figure 25**  
**East Asia: Regime Types in Power as of 31 June 1986**



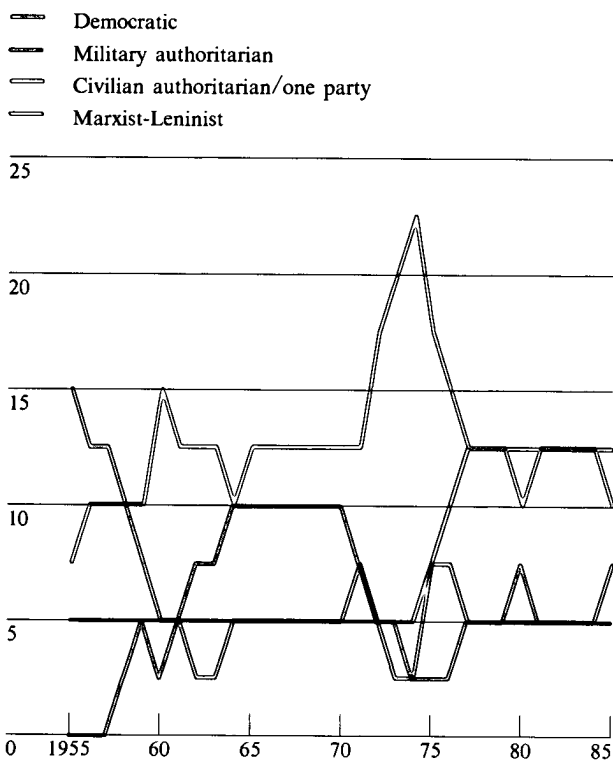
- Democratic
- Military authoritarian
- Civilian authoritarian/one party
- Marxist-Leninist

As of:

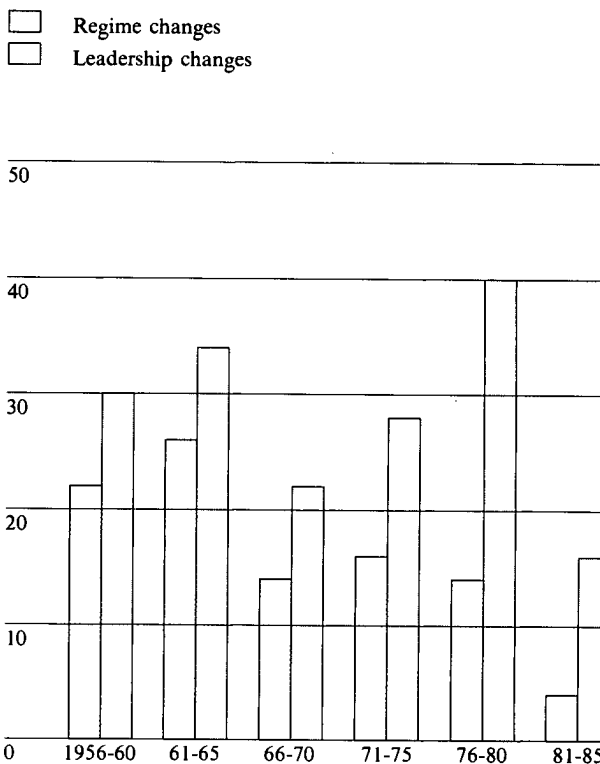
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South Vietnam	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Taiwan	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Thailand	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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**Figure 26**  
East Asia: Major Regime Types  
by Year, 1955-85



**Figure 27**  
East Asia: Frequency of Regime and  
Leadership Changes, 1956-85



Indicates the type of regime in power for the longest period in a given year. Countries are included at independence.

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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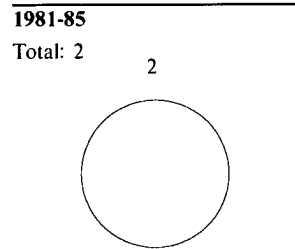
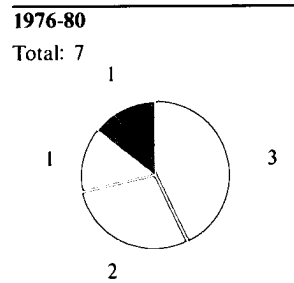
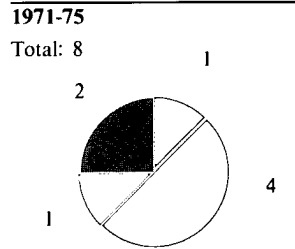
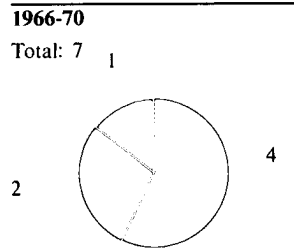
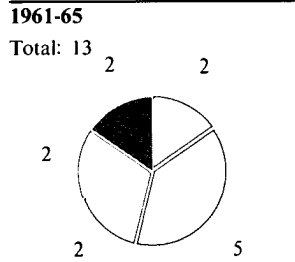
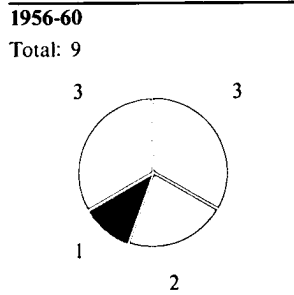
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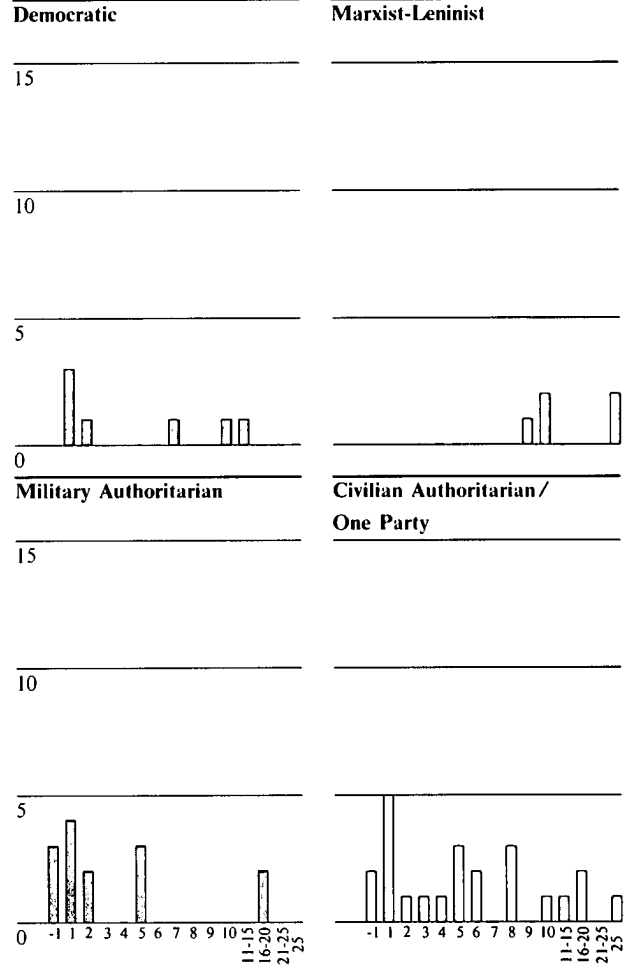
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**Figure 28**  
East Asia: Regime Change Process, 1956-85

- Democratic
- Coup by general officer
- Coup by lower grade officer
- Government fiat
- Independence
- Other



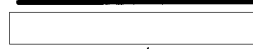
**Figure 29**  
East Asia: Regime Duration by Type, 1956-85



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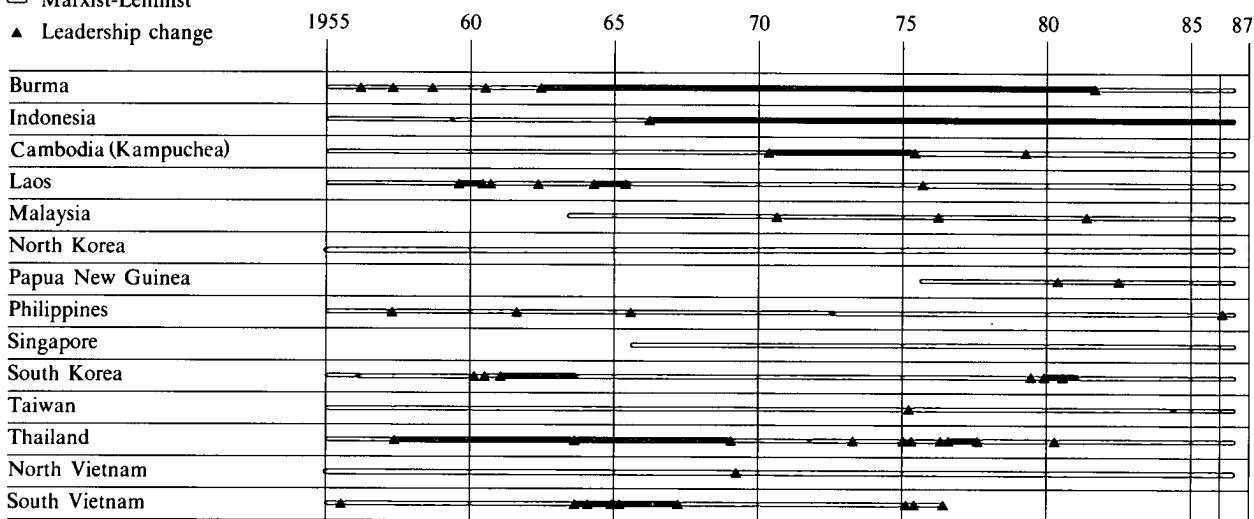
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**Figure 30**  
**East Asia: Leadership and Regime Change, 1955-86**

- Democratic
- Military authoritarian
- ◐ Civilian authoritarian
- ◑ Marxist-Leninist
- ▲ Leadership change



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25X1

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**Confidential****Leadership Change in East Asia, 1955-86****Burma**

1981	9 November	Vice President San Yu, former Army chief who had been second in command, succeeds President Ne Win after Ne Win resigns.
1978	15 January	Ne Win reelected President; one-party state.
1974	3 March	Ne Win assumes title of President after ruling Revolutionary Council dissolved; one-party state declared.
1962	2 March	Gen. Ne Win assumes power after military coup.
1960	5 April	U Nu elected Prime Minister.
1958	30 October	Gen. Ne Win designated head of caretaker government by Prime Minister U Nu, after popular discontent forces U Nu resignation.
1957	12 March	U Nu elected Prime Minister.
1956	13 June	U Ba Sue succeeds Prime Minister U Nu (then known as Thakin Nu) after U Nu resigns.

**Cambodia**

1979	8 January	Heng Samrin installed in power by Vietnam following defeat of Kampuchean forces by invading Vietnamese Army; Marxist-Leninist regime.
1975	17 April	Pol Pot assumes power as Prime Minister after insurgency; Marxist-Leninist regime.
1970	18 March	Gen. Lon Nol assumes power from King Norodom Sinanouk after coup.

**Indonesia**

1983	10 March	Gen. Suharto reelected President.
1973	22 March	Gen. Suharto reelected President; fraudulent election.
1968	27 March	Gen. Suharto elected President; fraudulent election.
1967	12 March	Gen. Suharto designated Acting President by the Indonesian People's Provisional Consultative Congress.

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1966 12 March Gen. Suharto assumes power after military takeover by senior officers following an abortive Communist-led coup in the fall of 1965.

1959 6 July President Sukarno declares Indonesia a "guided democracy," abolishes political parties, and assumes dictatorial powers after serving for 10 years as a constitutional President.

**Laos**

1975 2 December Kaysone Phomvihane, Secretary General of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, designated Prime Minister by the Supreme People's Council after Prince Souvanna Phouma is deposed by Communist-led insurgency; Marxist-Leninist regime.

1965 18 July Prince Souvanna Phouma elected Prime Minister following international pressure to reinstate neutralist government.

1964 19 April Brig. Gen. Siho Lanpoutacoul and Brig. Gen. Kouprasith Abhay assume power after coup; martial law declared.

1962 23 June Prince Souvanna Phouma designated Prime Minister in tripartite power-sharing arrangement with Prince Boun Oum and Prince Souphanouvong after international diplomatic intervention.

1960 25 December Prince Boun Oum Na Campassak assumes power after coup led by Gen. Phoumi Nosavan.

9 August Prince Souvanna Phouma reinstated by military after coup led by Cpt. Kong Le.  
24 April Gen. Phoumi Nosavan elected Prime Minister by National Assembly; fraudulent election.

1959 31 December Gen. Phoumi Nosavan assumes power as head of caretaker government after he forces Premier Phoui Sananikoni to resign.

**Malaysia**

1986 3 August Mahathir bin Mohammed reelected Prime Minister.

1982 August Mahathir bin Mohammed elected Prime Minister.

1981 16 July Mahathir bin Mohammed constitutionally succeeds Prime Minister Hussein Onn after Onn resigns.

1978 8 July Hussein Onn elected Prime Minister.

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- 1976 16 January Deputy Prime Minister Hussein Onn constitutionally succeeds Prime Minister Abdul Razuk after Razuk dies.
- 1970 22 September Abdul Razuk constitutionally succeeds Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman after Rahman retires.
- 1969 14 May Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman suspends the constitution following election defeat; emergency rule declared.
- 1963 6 September Creation of Malaysia; Tunku Abdul Rahman—previously elected—continues as Prime Minister.

**North Korea**

- 1972 27 December Kim Il Song elected President by Supreme People's Assembly under new constitution; Kim's unchallenged authority confirmed.
- 1948 9 September Kim Il Song, General Secretary of the Korean Worker's Party (Communist Party), assumes power as Head of State after establishment of Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

**Papua New Guinea**

- 1985 11 November Pias Wingti elected Prime Minister.
- 1982 2 August Michael Somare constitutionally succeeds Prime Minister Julius Chan after Chan resigns.
- 1980 11 August Julius Chan constitutionally succeeds Prime Minister Michael Somare after Somare government receives no-confidence vote.
- 1977 9 August Michael Somare reelected Prime Minister.
- 1975 16 September Independence; Chief Minister Michael Somare elected Prime Minister.

**Philippines**

- 1986 25 February Corazon Aquino becomes President when Ferdinand Marcos is forced to leave the country after declaring himself the winner of the presidential election; military rebellion and civilian demonstrations follow the fraudulent election.
- 1981 16 June Ferdinand Marcos reelected; fraudulent election.
- 1972 23 September President Marcos imposes martial law and suspends the constitution.

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1969 11 November Ferdinand Marcos reelected President.  
 1965 9 November Ferdinand Marcos elected President.  
 1961 14 November Diosdado Macapagal elected President.  
 1957 18 March Vice President and Foreign Minister Carlos P. Garcia constitutionally succeeds President Ramon Magsaysay after Magsaysay dies in plane crash.

**Singapore**

1965 9 August Independence; Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew continues in office (first elected Prime Minister following full independence in 1963).

**South Korea**

1981 25 February Chun Doo Hwan reelected President; fraudulent election.  
 1980 27 August Maj. Gen. Chun Doo Hwan elected President by legislature after resignation of Choi Kyu Hah; fraudulent election.  
 1979 6 December Maj. Gen. Chun Doo Hwan assumes power as head of four-member military junta.  
 26 October Prime Minister Choi Kuy Hah constitutionally succeeds President Park Chung Hee as Acting President after Park assassinated.  
 1971 27 April Park Chung Hee reelected President; fraudulent election.  
 1967 3 May Park Chung Hee reelected President; fraudulent election.  
 1963 15 October Park Chung Hee reelected President; fraudulent election.  
 1961 16 May Maj. Gen. Park Chung Hee assumes power after coup.  
 1960 12 August Yun Po Sun elected President by parliament; Chang Myon named head of government under new cabinet system.  
 26 April Hun Chung succeeds President Syngman Rhee after popular pressure forces Rhee to resign.  
 15 March Syngman Rhee reelected President; fraudulent election.  
 1956 5 May Syngman Rhee reelected President (first elected in 1948); fraudulent election.

**Confidential**

**Confidential****Taiwan**

- 1978 21 March Premier Chiang Ching-kuo elected President; fraudulent election.
- 1975 6 April Premier Chiang Ching-kuo assumes power after his father, Chang Kai-shek, dies (Vice President Yen Chia-kan holds only nominal power as Chiang's constitutional successor).

**Thailand**

- 1986 5 August Gen. Prem. Tinsulanon elected Prime Minister.
- 1980 3 March Gen. Prem. Tinsulanon designated Prime Minister by Revolutionary Council after forced resignation of Gen. Kriangsak Chamanan.
- 1977 11 November Gen. Kriangsak Chamanan, Commander of the Armed Forces, designated Prime Minister by 23-member Revolutionary Council.  
20 October Adm. Sa-ngat Chaloyu heads junta after coup.
- 1976 6 October Adm. Sa-ngat Chaloyu heads Administrative Reform Council after coup deposes Seni Pramot; Thanin Kraiwichian designated Prime Minister.  
4 April Seni Pramot elected Prime Minister.
- 1975 14 March Kikrit Pramot succeeds Prime Minister Seni Pramot.  
26 January Seni Pramot elected Prime Minister.
- 1973 14 October Acting Premier Sanya Thammasal appointed Prime Minister by King after fall of Thanom government following student unrest.
- 1971 17 November Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn suspends the constitution.
- 1969 10 February Thanom Kittikachorn elected Prime Minister.
- 1963 9 December Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn designated Prime Minister by military leadership after death of Sarit Thanarat.
- 1957 16 September Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat deposes Plaek Phibunsongkhram; martial law declared.

**Vietnam, Socialist Republic**

- 1976 2 July North and South Vietnam reunited; Le Duan designated Communist Party Chairman by Party Congress; Marxist-Leninist regime.
- 1969 24 September Le Duan succeeds Ho Chi Minh as General Secretary after Ho dies, Marxist-Leninist regime.

**Confidential**

**Confidential**

- 1954 21 January Ho Chi Minh, General Secretary of the Worker's Party of Vietnam (Communist Party), remains in power when 1954 Geneva Conference agreement results in division of Indochina into North and South Vietnam; Marxist-Leninist regime.
- Vietnam, South**
- 1976 2 July North and South Vietnam reunited; Le Duan designated Communist Party Chairman by Party Congress; Marxist-Leninist regime.
- 1975 28 April Doung Van Minh succeeds President Tran Van Huong after Tran resigns.  
22 April Vice President Tran Van Huong succeeds President Nguyen Van Thieu after Thieu resigns.
- 1971 3 October President Nguyen Van Thieu reelected.
- 1967 3 September Brig. Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu elected President.
- 1965 21 February Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu designated Secretary General by 25-member Armed Forces Council after unanimous vote to oust Gen. Nguyen Khanh.  
27 January Lt. Gen. Nguyen Khanh assumes power after coup against Prime Minister Tran Van Huong.  
9 January Tran Van Huong designated Prime Minister after negotiations between Vietnamese leaders and US officials.
- 1964 26 August Military triumvirate (Generals Khanh, Minh, and Khiem) assumes power after Military Revolutionary Council revokes the new constitution.  
12 August Lt. Gen. Nguyen Khanh announces a "reorganization" by Military Revolutionary Council and formally assumes title as President.  
30 January Lt. Gen. Nguyen Khanh assumes power after coup; Gen. Duong Van Minh remains figurehead President.
- 1963 1 November Gen. Duong Van Minh assumes power after military coup in which Ngo Dinh Diem assassinated.
- 1961 19 October Ngo Dinh Diem reelected President; fraudulent election.
- 1956 4 March Ngo Dinh Diem elected President; fraudulent election.
- 1955 26 October Ngo Dinh Diem assumes power after civil war in which forces loyal to Emperor Bao Dai are defeated.

Note: Leadership change can involve both a change in the leadership and in the regime type, but all regime changes do not necessarily involve a change in leadership.

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**Confidential**

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