ARCHIGOS

A Data Set on Leaders 1875–2004

Version 2.9*

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August 13, 2009

*We sincerely thank several users and commenters who have spotted errors or mistakes. In particular we would like to thank Kirk Bowman, Jinhee Choung, Ursula E. Daxecker, Tanisha Fazal, Kimuli Kasara, Brett Ashley Leeds, Nicolay Marinov, Won-Ho Park, Stuart A. Reid, Martin Steinwand and Ronald Suny.

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1 Codebook

Archigos is a data base of political leaders. For each state considered an independent state in the Gleditsch and Ward (1999) compilation of independent states, we identify the effective primary ruler. The data identify the manner by which rulers enter and leave political power, the post-tenure fate of the ruler, as well as other personal characteristics. This case description file often contains additional information. No claim of completeness of such additional information for the whole data set is made, except for information on potential family relations to previous rulers. Additional documented information is of course always welcome. The current version of Archigos covers 1875–2004. For their excellent research assistance, we thank Jinhee Choung, Martin Steinwand, and users who have pointed out discrepancies, problematic codings or raised questions.

Notes on coding

Many countries have multiple heads of states. In some cases, the formal head of a state may be a primarily a ceremonial position (as in most present day monarchies in Europe), where executive power is delegated to another position such as a prime minister. In other cases, a strongman (or woman) may formally step down but remain the effective leader of a state.

We have tried to identify the actual effective ruler based on our knowledge of the particulars of each state. In most cases, identifying effective rulers is relatively clear and uncontroversial, but in other cases the coding may be more contentions. The case description file identifies our rationale and reasoning for handling potentially controversial cases in particular ways.

In general we have followed a couple of simple coding rules. In Parliamentary regimes, the Prime Minister is coded as the ruler, in Presidential systems, the president. In communist states we generally code the Chairman of the Party as the effective ruler. There are, inevitably, exceptions to these broad rules.

Nota bene, we base our universe of cases on the Gleditsch and Ward data set of countries. When a country is conquered and occupied, but the government is by autochtone leaders, as in the cases of Denmark 1940–1943, Vichy France, and Estonia 1940, those leaders are included in our data. This may create some minor compatibility issues with Polity IV which codes regime transitions in these cases. We recommend changing the exit code to "removal by foreigners" in such cases.

We employ the **CCODE** and **IDACR** variables from the *Correlates of War* project to identify countries. The **LEADER** variable records the leader's name. In many cases, different spellings are used. The case description file below often provides those different spellings and more detail on the leader's name. The **STARTDATE** and **ENDDATE** variable indicate the beginning and end of one leader-spell. Since leaders may enjoy more than one spell in office, the same leader may have more than one **STARTDATE** and **ENDDATE**.

Archigos codes the manner in which transfers between rulers occur. Our main interest is whether transfers of power between leaders take place in a regular or irregular fashion. We code transfers as regular or irregular depending on the political institutions and selection mechanisms in place. We identify whether leaders are selected into and leave political office in a manner prescribed by either explicit rules or established conventions. In a democracy, a leader may come to power through direct election or establishing a

sufficient coalition of representatives in the legislature. Although leaders may not be elected or selected in particularly competitive processes, many autocracies have similar implicit or explicit rules for transfers of executive power. Leader changes that occur through designation by an outgoing leader, hereditary succession in a monarchy, and appointment by the central committee of a ruling party would all be considered regular transfers of power from one leader to another in an autocratic regime. Future versions of Archigos will provide much more finer-grained codings on how leaders entered and exited office.

Leader transfers have two components, entry and exit into power. The variable **ENTRY** identifies the manner with which a leader reaches power. The variable can take the following values:

0 Leader reached power through regular means
1 Leader reached power through irregular means
2 Leader directly imposed by another state

In order for a leader to qualify as entry = 2, we need direct imposition. It is not sufficient that another state supports a particular choice of leader or tries to influence leader selection indirectly. Note also that cases where a previous leader exits in an irregular fashion but a vice president takes over or an interim leader is appointed by the legislature as prescribed by rules and procedure the latter will be coded as entry=0. However, in cases such as Afghanistan 1979, where Prime Minister Amin stages a coup against President Taraki, and takes over power, we do code this entry as irregular, even though technically he was supposed to be next in line. In cases where the perpetrator of the coup takes over power as a result of the coup, we always code this as an irregular entry, regardless of the legal position of this person. In future versions of Archigos, we will provide much finer-grained codings on how leaders entered office. There are 3 cases where we could not identify how a leader came into power, these are considered missing and coded -666. These are Fevzi Bej of Albania (1914) and Smetona and Mindaugas II of Lithuania (1917 and 1918). Any additional information on these will be much appreciated.

The variable **EXIT** indicates the manner with which a leader lost power. It can take on the following values

-888 Leader still in power
1 Leader lost power through regular means
2 Leader died of natural causes while in power
2.1 Leader retired due to ill health
2.2 Leader lost office as a result of suicide
3 Leader lost power through irregular means
4 Leader deposed by another state

Removal from office is coded as Regular when the leader is removed in accordance with explicit rules or established conventions of his or her particular country. Examples of Regular removal include voluntary retirement, term limits and defeat in elections. Removal from office is coded as Irregular when the leader was removed in contravention

of explicit rules and established conventions. Most Irregular removals from office are done by domestic forces (see below for more). Irregular removal from office is overwhelmingly the result of the threat or use of force as exemplified in coups, (popular) revolts and assassinations.

Note that assassinations are coded as removal by irregular means. Assassinations may or may not have a clear political motivation, and we prefer to make no judgments about the "real" intention behind assassinations. In some cases, whether a leader dies of natural causes or is assassinated may be disputed. We identify our judgments in the case descriptions when potentially controversial. These case descriptions are presented below.

To follow up, our coding of foreign removal includes only cases where a foreign state directly removes a foreign leader, for example through invasion or kidnapping. In particular, cases where someone is seen as orchestrating a removal of a leader through a coup carried out by domestic forces (for example, Allende or Mossadeq) are not coded as foreign removal, but exit==3.

There are 4 cases where we could not identify how a leader left power, these are considered missing and coded -666. These are Fevzi Bej of Albania (1914), Oskars Borkovskis of Latvia (1919) and Smetona and Mindaugas II of Lithuania (1917 and 1918). Any additional information on these will be much appreciated.

The variable **EXITCODE** records in more detail how the leader lost power. We offer a finer coding scheme for all leaders who were coded EXIT = 3 or EXIT = 4, in other words, all leaders who were removed irregularly or deposed by a foreign state.

-999 Missing (currently only before 1919)
0 Leader lost power in a regular manner
1 Leader lost power as a result of domestic popular protest with foreign support
2 . . . without foreign support
3 Leader removed by domestic rebel forces with foreign support
4 . . . without foreign support
5 Leader removed by domestic military actors with foreign support
6 . . . without foreign support
7 Leader removed by other domestic government actors with foreign support
8 . . . without foreign support
9 Leader removed through the threat or use of foreign force
11 Leader removed through assassination by unsupported individual
16 Leader removed in a power struggle within military, short of coup, i.e. without changing institutional features such as a military council or junta
111 Leader removed in an irregular manner through other means or processes

In the current version of Archigos, this data is complete for all leaders who lost power after 1918. The great majority of irregular removals (257) are the result of action by domestic military actors without foreign support, the classic "military coup." (Code 6.) The second most cases are where (??) leaders are removed through the threat or use of foreign force. Only ?? leaders are currently coded "111".

The variable **PREVIOUS TIMES IN OFFICE** records the number of times a leader has previously been in office. Some leaders have been in office before Archigos starts collecting date (1875). These leaders may therefore start with values for this

variable greater than zero.

The variable **POST TENURE FATE** indicates the fate of the leader in the period up to one year after the leader lost power. This period is chosen to exclude as much as possible that the leader's behavior after he or she lost office rather than his or her behavior in office is responsible for any form of punishment.

-999 Missing because lost office in 2004, before 31 December. No year has passed.
-888 Missing because the leader is still in power.
-777 Missing because the leader died a natural death, up to six months after losing office.
-666 Missing because no information could be found.
0 OK
1 Exile
2 Imprisonment (including house arrest)
3 Death

Note: Refuge in foreign Embassy is exile; embassy is foreign soil, and house arrest is imprisonment. We record the highest level of punishment; there are many cases of relatively brief house arrest followed by exile. The case description file below also notes in some instances if a leader was exiled, imprisoned or killed in the period after one year beyond his or her loss of office. No claim is made here to a comprehensive coding of the leader's fate beyond one year after he or she lost office. On some leaders no information could be found on their post tenure fate, they are considered missing and coded -666. Any information on such missing cases will be very much appreciated. Leaders who died while in office are coded as missing (-777) as are leaders who died less than six months after they left office. Leaders who are still in office are also coded as missing (-888).

The variable **BORNIN** records the leader's birthdate or birthyear. Whenever possible, we record the more precise birthdate. For 32 leaders we could not find information to identify either birthyear or birthdate, they are considered missing and coded -999. Any additional information will therefore be very much appreciated. This variable can be used to construct the leader's age.

The variable **DIED** records the leader's death date. Missing values are coded -999, leaders still alive or presumed to be alive are coded -777.

The variable **GENDER** records the leader's gender, 0 = male, 1 = female.

2 CASE DESCRIPTIONS

Country-year ccode idacr leader eindate eoutdate

2.1 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The main effective ruler is the president. Term limits are introduced in the 22nd Amendment (ratified February 27, 1951).

USA-1869 2 USA Grant 04/03/1869 04/03/1877

USA-1877 2 USA Hayes 04/03/1877 04/03/1881

USA-1881-1 2 USA Garfield 04/03/1881 19/09/1881
Charles J. Guiteau ("a half-crazed, pettifogging lawyer, who has been an unsuccessful applicant for office under the Government, and who has led a precarious existence in several of the large cities of the country") shoots President Garfield July 3. See *The New York Times*, July 3, 1881, p. 1 "A Great Nation in Grief." President Garfield lies ill for eleven weeks before he succumbs and dies.

USA-1881-2 2 USA Arthur 19/09/1881 04/03/1885

USA-1885 2 USA Cleveland 04/03/1885 04/03/1889

USA-1889 2 USA Harrison 04/03/1889 04/03/1893
Benjamin Harrison, grandson of William Henry Harrison (b. Feb. 9, 1773, Berkeley Plantation, Charles City county, Virginia [now in U.S.] - d. April 4, 1841, Washington, D.C., U.S.), president of the United States (1841).

USA-1893 2 USA Cleveland 04/03/1893 04/03/1897

USA-1897 2 USA McKinley 04/03/1897 14/09/1901
Shot on 6 September, by the anarchist Czolgosz, who stated "I am an Anarchist, and I did my duty." Chicago Tribune, September 7, 1901, p.1 "Attempt to Murder President M'Kinley."

USA-1901 2 USA Roosevelt, T. 14/09/1901 04/03/1909

USA-1909 2 USA Taft 04/03/1909 04/03/1913

USA-1913 2 USA Wilson 04/03/1913 04/03/1921

USA-1921 2 USA Harding 04/03/1921 03/08/1923

USA-1923 2 USA Coolidge 03/08/1923 04/03/1929

USA-1929 2 USA Hoover 04/03/1929 04/03/1933

USA-1933 2 USA Roosevelt, F. 04/03/1933 12/04/1945

Natural death while in office (hemorrhage). Genealogists have determined that Franklin Delano Roosevelt was related to the following eleven previous American presidents: George Washington, John Adams, James Madison, John Quincy Adams, Marvin Van Buren, William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor, Ulysses S. Grant, Benjamin Harrison, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Howard Taft.

USA-1945 2 USA Truman 12/04/1945 20/01/1953

USA-1953 2 USA Eisenhower 20/01/1953 20/01/1961

USA-1961 2 USA Kennedy 20/01/1961 22/11/1963

Assassinated by Lee Harvey Oswald. Speculations if Oswald was acting alone persist to this day. Lentz 1994, p. 804.

USA-1963 2 USA Johnson 22/11/1963 20/01/1969

USA-1969 2 USA Nixon 20/01/1969 09/08/1974

Withdrew under threat of being impeached. We code Nixon's exit as regular since he withdrew voluntarily and in accordance with procedures.

USA-1974 2 USA Ford 09/08/1974 20/01/1977

USA-1977 2 USA Carter 20/01/1977 20/01/1981

USA-1981 2 USA Reagan 20/01/1981 20/01/1989

USA-1989 2 USA Bush 20/01/1989 20/01/1993

USA-1993 2 USA Clinton 20/01/1993 20/01/2001

De Telegraaf (prominent Dutch newspaper) reports (16 December 2007, "Blair verdient fortuin met lezingen") in the last four years Bill Clinton earned 21 million Euro with speeches. In the 2008 election campaign, the Clinton's released their tax records which revealed that since 2000 they had earned $109 million.

USA-2001 2 USA G.W. Bush 21/01/2001 31/12/2004

Son of George Herbert Walker Bush (#41), President 1989–2004.

2.2 CANADA

From the *Encyclopedia Britannica*: "In 1867 the British North America Act created a confederation from three colonies (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada) called the Dominion of Canada. . . . Dominion status allowed Canada a large measure of self-rule, but matters pertaining to international diplomacy and military alliances were reserved to the British crown. Canada became entirely self-governing within the British Empire in 1931, though full legislative independence was not achieved until 1982, when Canada obtained the right to amend its own constitution."

CAN-1873 20 CAN Mackenzie 07/11/1873 17/10/1878
Mackenzie Bowell was forced to resign as prime minister by his own cabinet the Manitoba Schools Question on minority education rights. Mackenzie Bowell later called his cabinet a "nest of traitors". We have coded his removal from power as a constitutional exit, as the cabinet appears to have acted within its domain of authority.

CAN-1878 20 CAN Macdonald 17/10/1878 06/06/1891
Macdonald died of natural causes.

CAN-1891 20 CAN Abbott 16/06/1891 05/12/1892
Abbott resigned due to ill health.

CAN-1892 20 CAN Thompson 05 /12/1892 12/12/1894
Thompson died of a hearth attack.

CAN-1894 20 CAN Bowell 21/12/1894 01/05/1896
Bowell was forced to resign by his own cabinet.

CAN-1896-1 20 CAN Tupper 01/05/1896 11/07/1896

CAN-1896-2 20 CAN Laurier 11/07/1896 10/10/1911

CAN-1911 20 CAN Borden 10/10/1911 10/06/1920
Borden was in power from 1911 to 1920. Lentz notes: "Borden retired on July 10, 1920 due to poor health, and was succeeded as prime minister by Arthur Meighen." Thus the variable "exit" is coded according to this information.

CAN-1920 20 CAN Meighen 10/07/1920 29/12/1921

CAN-1921 20 CAN King 29/12/1921 28/06/1926

CAN-1926-1 20 CAN Meighen 29/06/1926 25/09/1926

CAN-1926-2 20 CAN King 25/09/1926 07/08/1930
King was appointed by governor general, defeated in no confidence vote.

CAN-1930 20 CAN Bennett 07/08/1930 23/10/1935

CAN-1935 20 CAN King 23/10/1935 15/11/1948

Lentz notes: "King resigned as prime minister on November 15, 1948, due to ill health. He died of pneumonia on July 22, 1950." Thus the variable "exit" is coded according to this information.

CAN-1948 20 CAN St. Laurent 15/11/1948 21/06/1957

CAN-1957 20 CAN Diefenbaker 21/06/1957 22/04/1963

CAN-1963 20 CAN Pearson 22/04/1963 20/04/1968

CAN-1968 20 CAN Trudeau 20/04/1968 04/06/1979

CAN-1979 20 CAN Clark 04/06/1979 03/03/1980

CAN-1980 20 CAN Trudeau 03/03/1980 30/06/1984

CAN-1984-1 20 CAN Turner 30/06/1984 17/09/1984

CAN-1984-2 20 CAN Mulroney 17/09/1984 25/06/1993

CAN-1993-1 20 CAN Kim Campbell 25/06/1993 04/11/1993

CAN-1993-2 20 CAN Chretien 04/11/1993 12/12/2003

CAN-2003 20 CAN Paul Martin 12/12/2003 31/12/2004

2.3 BAHAMAS

Former British colony. Became an independent nation in 1973. Member of the Commonwealth.

BHM-1967 31 BHM Pindling 16/01/1967 21/08/1992

BHM-1992 31 BHM Ingraham 21/08/1992 03/05/2002
See Rulers.org on Hubert Ingraham.

BHM-2002 31 BHM Christie 03/05/2002 31/12/2004

2.4 CUBA

CUB-1902 40 CUB Palma 20/05/1902 28/09/1906

On September 28, 1906, Tomas Estrada Palma, still refusing to negotiate, and seeing no military aid forthcoming from the US abruptly resigned. With no government, intervention by the US was inevitable and, the next day, 200 US marines landed near Havana. Estrada left Havana for Matanzas on October 2, 1906. He died on November 4, 1908. He was OK after he lost power, thus the variable exit is coded accordingly.

CUB-1909 40 CUB Gomez 28/01/1909 20/05/1913

Lentz notes: he rebeled against Menocal when he ran for reelection in 1917. He was then captured and imprisoned for a year.

The New York Times, May 30, 1913, p.2 notes "Ex-President Gomez has arranged to go to New York on June 15. *The New York Times*, Aug. 24, 1913, p. C3: "INTERLAKEN, Aug. 23 notes that Gen Porfirio Diaz, ex-President of Mexico, accompanied by his wife and other members of his family and Gen. José Miguel Gomez, ex-President of Cuba, have left here for Lucerne and will proceed to Paris. See also *The New York Times*, Jan. 4, 1914, p. for his enthusiastic reception on his return to Cuba on Jan. 3.

CUB-1913 40 CUB Menocal 20/05/1913 20/05/1921

Lentz notes: He is defeated in a reelection bid in 1924. He made an unsuccessful attempt to oust President Gerardo Machado in 1931. He was arrested and imprisoned for over six months before going into exile in the United States where he remained until 1933. See *The New York Times*, May 23, 1921, p. 9: "General Menocal sailed away for a well-earned vacation in Europe." See also Wall Street Journal, Jun 11, 1921, p.7. (His brother also left for US. *The New York Times*, Feb. 14, 1922, p.14) See also his obituary, The *Washington Post*, Sept. 8, 1941, p.2.

CUB-1921 40 CUB Zyas y Alfonso 20/05/1921 20/05/1925

Zayas Y Alfonso. Lentz notes that Alfonso retired to a private life. *The New York Times*, Sep. 26, 1925, p.27, notes that he was visiting Washington on a pleasure trip.

CUB-1925 40 CUB Machado Morales 20/05/1925 12/08/1933

Machado Y Morales, fled or forced on a plane to Nassau, the Bahamas. Later he went to Montreal and then New York, Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Europe, Bermuda, and Canada, Miami. He was exiled after a military coup. Lentz 1999, p. 114.

CUB-1933-1 40 CUB de Cespedes 12/08/1933 05/09/1933

Carlos Manuel de Cespedes y Quesada, (1871-1939). On September 6, 1933, after he had been in office for less than a month, the so-called "revolution of sergeants" led by Fulgencio Batista, demanded and received his resignation. Céspedes then became ambassador to Spain until August 1935, when he finally returned to Cuba. *The New York Times* 6 September, 1933, p. 1.

CUB-1933-2 40 CUB Grau San Martin 10/09/1933 15/01/1934

Borderline between military coup and power struggle within military. Batista is responsible for president's fall, but everything happens within the framework of the ruling military junta taking decision. The president was named by the junta and removed by

the junta, so I come down on the side of calling this military infighting. Lentz 1999, p. 115; *The New York Times* 16 January, 1934, p. 1.

CUB-1934-1 40 CUB Hevia 15/01/1934 18/01/1934
Carlos Hevia was a provisional president. Batista forces Hevia's departure, Lentz 1999, p. 115.

CUB-1934-2 40 CUB Mendieta 18/01/1934 12/12/1935
See Lentz on Gen. Mendietta.

CUB-1935 40 CUB Barnet 12/12/1935 20/05/1936
See Lentz on Barnet.

CUB-1936-1 40 CUB Gomez y Arias 20/05/1936 28/12/1936
Dr. Miguel Mariano Gomez Y Arias was impeached by Congress. (After machinations by Col. Batista.) See *The New York Times*, Dec. 27, 1936, p.E5.

CUB-1936-2 40 CUB Laredo Bru 28/12/1936 10/10/1940
Lentz notes: Laredo Brú served as Batista's minister of justice from 1940 to 1944.

CUB-1940 40 CUB Batista 10/10/1940 10/10/1944
Lentz notes that: "He left Cuba and eventually settled in Florida". He left the country after he lost power.

CUB-1944 40 CUB Grau San Martin 10/10/1944 10/10/1948

CUB-1948 40 CUB Prio Socarres 10/10/1948 10/03/1952
Military coup be Batista. *The New York Times* 11 March, 1952, p. 1. Sent to exile in the US.

CUB-1952 40 CUB Batista 10/03/1952 01/01/1959
Castro kicks him out of Cuba. *The New York Times* 2 January, 1959. He fled the country and went to exile in Portugal.

CUB-1959 40 CUB Castro 02/01/1959 31/12/2004
BBC News, Tuesday, 9 February, 2008 "Castro: Profile of the great survivor." "Fidel Castro, who has announced he is stepping down as Cuba's president, has run the country for so long that nearly three-quarters of its people have known no other leader. Although the US has tried hard to get rid of him, President Castro outlasted no fewer than nine American presidents since he took power in 1959. In July 2006 President Castro underwent emergency intestinal surgery and has not attended any public events since. Though officials say their leader is recuperating, his prolonged absence has raised questions about his health. On 19 February 2008 he announced: "I neither will aspire to nor will I accept, the position of president of the council of state and commander in chief." He had hinted as much on 17 December, in a letter read out on Cuban television in which he said he had a duty not to cling on to power or stand in the way of a younger generation. While his (also elderly) brother Raul has been acting president since last year, the reference to younger leaders suggests Raul may not automatically succeed him. The question that remains is whether Cuba's Communist Revolution will outlast Fidel Castro. **Wealthy**

family The Communist leader - known for his long-winded anti-American rhetoric - was born Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz in 1926 to a wealthy, landowning family. He received a Jesuit education, and graduated from Havana University as a lawyer. But, shocked by the contrast between his own comfortable lifestyle and the dire poverty of so many others, he became a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary. In 1953, he took up arms against the regime of President Fulgencio Batista. Aiming to spark a popular revolt, on 26 July Mr Castro led more than 100 followers in a failed attack on the Moncada military barracks in Santiago de Cuba. Fidel Castro and his brother Raul survived, but were imprisoned. Amnestied after two years, Mr Castro continued to campaign against the Batista regime while in exile in Mexico, and established a guerrilla force known as the 26 July Movement. His revolutionary ideals attracted support in Cuba and in 1959 his forces overthrew Batista, whose regime had become a byword for corruption, decadence and inequality. Cuba's new rulers - who included the legendary Argentine revolutionary Che Guevara - promised to give the land back to the people and to defend the rights of the poor. **Cold war battleground** Fidel Castro insisted his ideology was, first and foremost, Cuban. "There is not Communism or Marxism, but representative democracy and social justice in a well-planned economy," he said at the time. He was soon snubbed by US President Dwight Eisenhower and claimed he was driven into the arms of the Soviet Union and its leader, Nikita Khrushchev. Cuba became a Cold War battleground. In April 1961, the US attempted to topple the Castro government by recruiting a private army of Cuban exiles to invade the island. At the Bay of Pigs, Cuban troops repulsed the invaders, killing many and capturing 1,000. **Missile crisis** A year later, US reconnaissance planes discovered Soviet missiles on their way to sites in Cuba. The world was suddenly confronted with the possibility of all-out nuclear war. The superpowers stood eyeball to eyeball, but it was the Soviet leader who gave way, pulling his missiles out of Cuba in return for a secret withdrawal of US weapons from Turkey. Fidel Castro, though, had become America's enemy number one. The CIA tried to assassinate him - more than 600 times, according to one Cuban minister. Getting him to smoke a cigar packed with explosives was one idea. Other anti-Castro plots were even more bizarre, including one to make his beard fall out and ridicule him. The Soviet Union poured money into Cuba. It bought the bulk of the island's sugar harvest and in return its ships crammed into Havana harbour, bringing in desperately needed goods to beat the American blockade. Despite his reliance on Russian help, President Castro put Cuba at the head of the newly emerging Non-Aligned Movement. Yet, in Africa especially, he took sides, sending his troops in to support Marxist guerrillas in Angola and Mozambique in the 1970s. **Exodus** But the 1980s era of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev proved catastrophic for President Castro's revolution. Moscow in effect pulled the plug on the Cuban economy by refusing to take its sugar any more. Still under American blockade and with its Soviet lifeline cut off, chronic shortages and empty shelves in Cuba were inevitable. Tempers grew shorter as the food queues grew longer. By the mid-1990s, many Cubans had had enough. Thousands took to the sea in a waterborne exodus to Florida. Many drowned. It was a crushing vote of no-confidence in their leader. Even his own daughter Alina Fernandez prefers a life of exile as a dissident in Miami to rule under her "despotic" father. **State of the nation** President Castro has used US hostility as a reason to reject democratic reforms to his one-party state. But Cuba under his rule has made impressive domestic strides. Good medical care is freely available for all, there is 98% literacy, and Cuba's infant mortality

rates compare favourably with Western nations. Fidel Castro retains his ability to rattle and irritate the US, lately engaging in a diplomatic tussle with the US Interests Section over a propaganda display outside the building. He has also engineered a rapprochement with oil-rich Venezuela, run by his great friend, Hugo Chavez. While many Cubans undoubtedly detest Castro, others genuinely love him. He is the David who stood up to the Goliath of America. Even after nearly 50 years, he remains a divisive figure."

2.5 HAITI

Sources consulted on Haiti include Pascal-Trouillot (2001), Heinl and Heinl (1996), Von Grafenstein (1988), Rotberg (1971), and Fatton (2002). In case of discrepancies we consider the magnificent book by Heinl and Heinl as the authoritative source. Robert Debs Heinl, Jr. and Nancy Gordon Heinl, *Written in Blood; The Story of the Haitian People 1492–1995*, New York: University of America, Inc., 1996, revised and expanded by Michael Heinl. In particular for the pre-1875 Haitian leaders, see also, Bob Corbett's website "Heads of States of Haiti: Presidents, Kings and Emperors," which notes the data is mainly taken from Lyonel Paquin's book *The Haitians, Class and Color Politics in Haiti*. Brooklyn, NY: Multi-Type, 1983. `http://www.webster.edu/~corbetre/haiti/misctopic/leftover/headstate.htm` Ethnicity/race for Haitian presidents until 1966 is available in Rayford W. Logan, *Haiti and the Dominican Republic*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1968, Appendix I, p.201–202.

Plummer (1988), p. 107 claims "Political succession in Haiti thus lacked the arbitrary character often attributed to it. The raising of peasant armies, the marches to the capital, the seizure of executive power as a preliminary to formal inauguration: all of these were meaningful rituals. They served to both contain and direct popular discontent while simultaneously alternating and distributing power among competing segments of the ruling class. As odd as it may see to those acculturated to parliamentarianism, the Haitian process also had mechanistic qualities. The chief beneficiaries of the system rarely lost control of it."

01/01/1804–17/10/1806 41 HAI Jean Jacques Dessalines

Haitian independence is declared on January 1, 1804. Declared himself Jacques I, Emperor on 8 October, 1804. He unsuccessfully invaded Santo Domingo in February 1805. Assassinated at Pont-Rouge, October 17, 1806.

In December Hiati is declared a republic and Christophe first refuses the presidency.

17/02/1807–08/10/1820 41 HAI Henri Christophe

Haiti divided into two kingdoms. Irregular entry. On February 17, 1807, Christophe is proclaimed president of the newly created State of Haiti in the North. Christophe represented the *noirs*, and Pétion the *mulâtres*. On June 2, 1811, Christophe is crowned King Henry I of Haiti. He had a stroke on August 15, 1820. This spurs a revolt. When Henry finds himself physically unable to effectively lead, and seeing his soldiers desert to the enemy, he commits suicide October 8, 1820. Subsequent leader Pierrot is Christophe's brother-in-law.

11/03/1807–29/03/1818 41 HAI Alexander Pétion

Haiti divided into two kingdoms. Irregular entry. On March 11, 1807, Alexandre Pétion is elected president of the republic of Haiti (the West). On June 2, 11816, Pétion is declared President for life. He dies in office on March 29, 1818. (For a while the South was also more or less independent under Rigaud; 3 November 1810, see Heinl & Heinl, (1996), p. 137.)

30/03/1818–13/03/1843 41 HAI Jean Pierre Boyer

Irregular entry. On 30 March 1818, Boyer is 'elected' president for life. On 26 October 1820, Boyer enters Cap, which reunites Haiti. On April 17, 1825 France grants

independence to Haiti. On March 13, 1843 Boyer abdicates under pressure from a revolt and sails for Jamaica. Subsequently to Paris. Overthrown.

13/03/1843–03/05/1844 41 HAI Rivière-Hérard

Irregular entry. Rivière-Hérard first leads a provisional government. He invades Santo Domingo March 10, 1844. He is deposed on May 3, 1844 see Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp.179–180. Sent packing into exile to Jamaica.

03/05/1844–16/04/1845 41 HAI Philippe Guerrier

Irregular entry. He is sworn in as president May 3, 1844, dies in office April 16, 1845. For his entry, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp.179–180.

16/04/1845–01/03/1846 41 HAI Jeon Louis Pierrot

Irregular entry. He is 'elected' president by the Council of State on April 16, 1845, but deposed on March 1, 1846. Heinl & Heinl (1996) note he was the brother-in-law of Henry Christophe. Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 183, note "on the 28th, just as they had pulled won his might brother-in-law, the soldiers of St. Marc declared Pierrot deposed and sent emissaries to General Riché, who had been awaiting just such an invitation in Port-au-Prince." Overthrown. His fate is unknown. He is the father-in-law of the subsequent leader, Pierre Nord Alexis.

01/03/1846–27/02/1847 41 HAI Jean Baptiste Riché

Irregular entry. He is declared president March 1, 1846 and died in office on February 27, 1847. According to Heinl & Heinl, p.184, "on 27 February 1847, Riché died from an overdoes of the aphrodisiac cantharides, seeking, wrote Dorsainvil, "a vigor incompatible with his advanced age.""

01/03/1847–15/01/1859 41 HAI Faustin Soulouque

Irregular entry. Soulouque is 'elected' president, March 1, 1847. He invades Santo Domingo in March 1849. He is proclaimed Emperor Faustin I August 20, 1849. He abdicates January 15, 1859. Overthrown by Geffrard, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp. 200ff. p.201 "Protected by the victors (the imperial guard simply changed names and – still bearing Barton & Cie's badges – became the *Garde Républicaine*, Soulouque and his wife and daughters packed their things, including several heavy coffers of "personal" valuables. Escorted first to the French consulate, where he signed an act of abdication, Soulouque – "very old & getting infirm, much broken in spirits," wrote Byron – walked slowly to Batterie St. Clair, where four of *Melbourne*'s boats lay at the quay. Accompanied by his family, ..., Soulouque on 20 January left his empire behind. Aboard the transport, the captain and ship's officers gave up their cabins to the ex-emperor – a courtesy for which, on arrival at Port Royal, Soulouque was to present them with £2000 from one of the coffers." Exile in Jamaica.

18/01/1859–13/03/1867 41 HAI Fabre-Nicholas Geffrard

Irregular entry. He takes the oath of office on January 18, 1859. Empire declared dead and the constitution of 1846 is reinstated. At least 15 coup attempts against him. Overthrown. Heinl & Heinl (19960, pp. 222-223 "Realizing the end had come, Geffrard took counsel with the French charge, and, after spiriting his family and a few friends on board, himself donned disguise, and at three in the morning on 13 March 1867, stole onto

the French sloop-of-war *Destin*, bound Jamaica and empty years of exile." Fagg (1965), p. 127 writes "In 1867 his guard betrayed him, turning its guns on thepresidential palace and he fled." On p.235 Heinl & Heinl note that "Geffrard was never able to return. He died in Kingston on the last day of December 1878,"

20/03/1867–14/06/1867 41 HAI Nissage Saget

Irregular entry. He is declared president of the provisional government on March 20, an irregular entry. Heinl & Heinl note that at first "Nissage (prudently , as it turned out) declined the honor." On June 14, Salnave is sworn in as president of Haiti. It is not really clear whether Nissage-Saget's exit here is regular or irregular, but it does not seem to follow procedures. Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.225, note that upon Salnave's return executive power was first "assumed by the "Trois Bandits" – Salnave, Nissage, and Chevallier. That arrangement lasted forty-eight hours. On 4 May, Salnave allowed himself to be named "Protector of the Republic" – a development the legislature promptly ratified on 6 May." He launches a revolt, 25 Aril 1868, proclaiming himself general-in-chief of the Artibonite and provisional president of a Republic of the North, so his post-exit fate most likely is OK.

14/06/1867–18/12/1869 41 HAI Sylvain Salnave

For his irregular entry, see Heinl & Heinl, (1996), p. 225. June 14, 1867, Salnave is sworn in as president and the new constitution is ratified. On December 18, 1869, Port-au-Prince is invaded by rebel troops, the National Palace is blown up and Salnave flees into Santo Domingo. On January 15, 1870, Salnave is tried, condemned and executed. Boisrond-Canal leads him to his execution in the palace yard (Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.233).

20/03/1870–12/06/1874 41 HAI Nissage Saget

Irregular entry. After the fall of Salnave, Nissage, Domingue and Nord Alexis for a provisional government and work out a deal among themselves. Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.238 "Nissage would be elected president by the assembly, which would convene in March; Dominque would succeed him four years later; then would come the turn of Nord." They note also that Nissage-Saget was a tailor by profession and sixty years when he entered office. He had been jailed for 9 years. He faced at least three coups. March 20, 1870 Nissage-Saget is 'elected' president. Full term. On June 12, 1874 Domingue succeeds Nissage-Saget. Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 204 record "Nissage-Saget was Haiti's only nineteenth-century ruler to leave office alive and at the close of his constitutional term."

On his post-tenure fate, Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.279 record "fn.5 With a pension of 4000 gourds, three aides, and a personal guard of fifteen men, Nissage lived comfortably in St. Marc until 2 October 1876, when, in an act of singular meanness, Domingue stripped him of pension and emoluments. Thereafter, increasingly addled, the old man lived in poverty until 7 April 1880." Hence, his post-exit fate is safe. The entry is odd, because by 2 October 1876, Domingue is already out of power. Typo for name?

His exit is not as pure as it seems. Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.244 record "... Basset reported to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish (24 February 1874) that Nissage had set his cap at staying on after expiration of his constitutional term on 15 May. "It does not," Bassett perceptively observed, "appear to run in Haitian blood voluntarily to renounce authority once obtained." ... On 9 May, at the head of a large escort, which established

itself just outside the city, Domingue rode in uninvited from the South. Bassett reported "the greatest consternation," but still no word came from the National Palace. Two days later, still hoping to head off Domingue, the Senate petitioned Nissage to remain in office provisionally until his successor had been named. On 12 May, with but three days to go, a self-appointed committee, headed by Thomas Madiou, waited on the aging president. In Bassett's report, "At first he would not listen to them and conducted himself in such an impassioned and boisterous manner that all we about to retire except Mr. Madiou, who with perfect self-command insisted on fulfilling his mission. The President finally listed and they then told him he must retire at the end of his term." Nissage, mindful of Domingue and his army, faced the facts. Next morning, still in close secrecy, he appointed Domingue commander-in-chief of the army and then submitted his immediate resignation, thus bypassing the legislature and enabling the cabinet to function as a provisional executive."

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HAI-1874 41 HAI Dominique 11/06/1874 15/04/1876

He enters power, after a peaceful transfer, on June 12, 1874. His entry is irregular, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.244, who record (following directly where the entry on Nissage-Saget ends): "Domingue, meanwhile, took no chances. On 14 May, wrote Bassett, "the capital awoke to find that several thousand of Domingue's troops had entered the city and stationed themselves on the Champs de Mars. ..." To the credit of each, Nissage and Domingue arranged the transfer of power with dignity and good order." On p.245 they note "To no one's astonishment, the new Constituent Assembly unanimously elected Michel Doumingue president of Haiti." He is deposed on April 15, 1876. Michel Domingue was sent into exile after he lost power. President Dominique died in exile in Kingston Jamaica, on June 24, 1877. See *The New York Times*, Aug 10, 1877. p.5.

In his stead we consider Rameau the effective leader:

HAI-1874 41 HAI Rameau 11/06/1874 15/04/1876

He enters power, after a peaceful transfer, on June 12, 1874. His entry is irregular, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.244, who record (following directly where the entry on Nissage-Saget ends): "Domingue, meanwhile, took no chances. On 14 May, wrote Bassett, "the capital awoke to find that several thousand of Domingue's troops had entered the city and stationed themselves on the Champs de Mars. ..." To the credit of each, Nissage and Domingue arranged the transfer of power with dignity and good order." On p.245 they note "To no one's astonishment, the new Constituent Assembly unanimously elected Michel Doumingue president of Haiti." He is deposed on April 15, 1876. Michel Domingue was sent into exile after he lost power. President Dominique died in exile in Kingston Jamaica, on June 24, 1877. See *The New York Times*, Aug 10, 1877. p.5.

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.245, suggest that the real ruler of Haiti was not Domingue but his nephew: "At the president's elbow, no longer in the shadows, stood his *noir* nephew, Septimus Rameau, one of the most feared men in Haiti. Educated, vain, cruel, suspicious, rapacious, and corrupt, Rameau, at forty-eight, was Haiti's true ruler. Within two months, by 6 August 1874, the new constitution, based on the 1816 model, was out. The presidential term would run eight years, and there would be a vice-president

(Rameau, of course), seized of plenary executive powers." They give more evidence of Rameau's role pp. 246–248.

The usual revolt of a disgruntled 'General,' Louis Tanis Boisrond-Canal, leads to his downfall, Rameau's 'General' Lorquet joins the rebels and Rameau orders the killing of the hostages. Instead the jailers threw open the jails and the prisoners flee for asylum. (Heinl & Heinl, p. 246–6.) Whether the 'generals' that overthrow Rameau and other leaders in Haiti qualify as real military men is debatable. These men better fit the description of warlords or *caudillos*, with mixed control of private or regional armies.

On their exit, Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.248, record "At 4:30, braving a furious crowd led by Momplaisir Pierre's son and Brice's devoted sister, Pauline, the two envoys linked arms with Rameau between them and Domingue clutching de Vorges. Sweating from terror and exertion, Rameau could barely walk: his boots, his pockets, his belt, his shirt front, were logged down with gold coin. Fifty yards from the safety of the French legation, someone managed to trip Rameau. In a shower of gold pieces the tyrant stumbled and the crowd pounced. There was a sputter of shots, then the thud-crunch of musket butts on flesh and bone, and Pauline Brice, tears streaming, held aloft a handkerchief drenched in Rameau's blood. What was left, the crowd dragged by its heels through the streets, and left to rot in the Grande Rue, penis stuffed between teeth locked in rigor mortis. The worse for a bayonet stab and a butt stroke, Domingue reached safety." Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.279, record that "Still under de Vorges's protection, Domingue was put aboard ship for Kingston, where he died, 24 May 1877."

HAI-1876 41 HAI Canal 23/04/1876 17/07/1879

Pierre Théoma Boisrond-Canal enters irregularly. Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp.246 ff note that Boisrond-Canal, seen as a threat by Domingue and Rameau, managed to flee to the American minister's residence, and (finally) allowed to leave on board an American brigantine on 4 October 1875. He subsequently launches a filibustering expedition from St. Thomas. But forced to withdraw back to Kingston. Heinl & Heinl (1996), note that he returns from Jamaica, at the head of one hundred followers on Easter Tuesday (17 April 1876). See *The New York Times*, Jul 19, 1879, p.2 on Canal. For his exile also see *The New York Times*, Aug. 2, 1879 p.2. Fled to Jamaica.

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.254 write "Not exactly overthrown but rather pushed aside by hi sown class, Boisrond-Canal did the only thing he could. With a year of his term to go – after at least eighteen separate uprisings in three years, against the most moderate regime since the days of Pétion – he stood down. On 17 July 1879, at six in the evening, accompanied by his family had his military suite, the luckless president walked from the National Palace to the quay, where boats awaited to take them aboard a French steamer for St. Thomas. People cheered him all the way (there was a sense he had done the best he could). He raised his hat and bowed left and right. Then, as the boats made for the steamer, the Nationalists made ready for the return of Salomon"

HAI-1879-1 41 HAI Herrise 17/07/1879 26/07/1879

General Herissé, irregular entry. Central Committee of Public Safety: 17 July 1879 - 26 July 1879. This was a period of multiple leadership led by General Herissé of the Artibonete Department, as President, according to *The New York Times*, Aug 9, 1879, p.8 ; also *The New York Times*, Aug. 6, p.2 and Aug. 2, 1879, p.2. Also, reaffirming Herissé, is *The New York Times*, Aug 15, 1879. See *The New York Times*, Oct.21, 1879,

p.1.

HAI-1879-2 41 HAI Lamothe 26/07/1879 02/10/1879

Joseph Lamothe was was the President of Provisional Government. Irregular entry. See *The New York Times*, Aug 9, 1879, p.8. *The New York Times*, Sept. 24, 1879,p.2 on him. For coup and the president's fate see *The New York Times*, Oct. 21, 1879, p.1. He lost power as a result of a coup.

HAI-1879-3 41 HAI Salomon 23/10/1879 10/08/1888

Louis-Félicité Lysius Salomon-jeune. Heinl & Heinl (1996) describe the period from Boisrond-Canal's exit to Salomon's entry as follows (p.256-7): "When Salomon returned this time, on 19 August 1879, there was little doubt as to who the next president would be. In the wake of Boisrond-Canal's abrupt departure, a caretaker government marked time. Elections were scheduled, or, one might say, arranged, to fill vacant seats in the legislature. On 29 September the returns validated events. The Liberals were utterly defeated. Within seventy-two hours, the elections were in turn validated by a coup d'état. Headed by General Richelieu Duperval, a loyal front-man for Salomon, a cabal of *noir* officers overthrew the *gouvernement provisoire* during the night of 2–3 October and had the two leaders under lock and key before dawn broke. Next morning, Port-au-Prince discovered it had a new *gouvernement provisoire*, whose chief minister was Lysius Salomon. Within three weeks, the National Assembly had fulfilled its two initial tasks: to revise the constitution so as to give the next president a seven-year term, and to select that official. To no one's astonishment, on 23 October Salomon was chosen by a vote of 74–13. Three days later, he was inaugurated." He was born in 1815. He had been earlier condemned to twenty years exile, and had served as ambassador-in-exile in Paris and London. In the seventeen years since 1862, "political foes in power had shot his two brothers, two uncles, his adopted son, and his brother-in-law." (Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.257.) He had been Soulouque's Finance Minister for eleven years.

His reign includes the bloody rampage known as *semaine sanglante* in September 1883, which basically was an orgy of burning, looting and killing. It is estimated that maybe even 4,000 people (mostly *jaunes*) were killed. In 1886, Salomon changes the constitution, as Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 274 note "the 1879 constitution was handily edited so as to remove the clause prohibiting self-succession and to substitute simply the words "and his is re-eligible." This formality attended to, Salomon was re-elected on 30 June 1886 for a second seven-year term, ending 15 May 1894."

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.276 "By Thursday, Salomon could see the game was up. Sadly, the told Thompson he would resign. But events moved faster. Next morning, 10 August, 1888, just after nine, Charles Héraux, a Port-au-Prince gentleman, dashed into the American legation, crying, "Mr. Thompson! Mr. Thompson! For God's sake go to the palace and save the old man's life!" ... the three ministers – British, French, and American – joined by the Spanish consul, went to the palace." The party is safely embarked. Then "Captain Beaumont of *Canada* ... coldly announced that he had no accommodations for the deposed president, and sent him, minus baggage, over to the immobilized hulk of a broken-down British merchantman S. S. Alps, where he and Mme. Salomon were held incommunicado in virtual custody of Zohrab, their old foe."

Lysius Salomon (jeune) sails for France on 10 August, 1888. See *The New York Times*, Aug 25, 1888, p.8. See also Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.282. He died from an operation in

Paris, 19 October 1888. Also see the *Washington Post*, Oct. 20, 1888, p.1 on him.

HAI-1888-1 41 HAI Canal 10/08/1888 16/10/1888

Pierre Théoma Boisrond-Canal gained power, in an irregular manner, on 10 August 1888. Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.283, record "For the moment, debonair as ever, Boisrond-Canal was in charge." A provisional government is formed composed of several leaders, Boisrond-Canal, Légitime and Télémaque most prominent. New elections are set for 17 September, Télémaque clearly wins, but when trying to gain the palace, he is cut down in a hail of gunfire from the machine gun. (Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.285.) Since Boisrond-Canal is Légitime's sponsor and backs him in the civil war, his exit should probably be regular. Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.290 record that "Boisrond-Canal took the 14 June [1889] steamer for Le Havre, leaving Légitime on his own." His post-exit fate therefore is exile.

HAI-1888-2 41 HAI Légitime 16/10/1888 22/08/1889

His entry is irregular. Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.286 record that "On 16 October, convening a rump assembly (33 out of 84 original *constituants*), he allowed himself to be elected *chef du pouvoir executif*. They also note (p.284) that Boisrond-Canal was Légitime's sponsor. Irregular entry. His rule is an extended period of civil war. For his irregular exit and exile, since Hyppolite's forces won, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp. 291–2.

"Legitime's prosperity fast began to wane. A devastating war was waged between the two factions, and now Legitime has given up the vain struggle and followed in the path of the great army of his predecessors. It is thought that he will go to Paris, as did his predecessor, poor old Solomon, and General Hippolyte will begin his career as ruler of a people who will hardly uphold him more than a year or two." See the *Washington Post*, Sept. 1, 1889, p.16. See also, *The New York Times*, Aug 25, 1889, p.1. He was forced out office.

HAI-1889 41 HAI Hippolyte 25/08/1889 24/03/1896

An irregular entry as a result of an extended revolt against Légitime; see Heinl & Heinl (1996) 284–292. Louis Mondestin Florvil Hippolyte was sworn in as president after victory over Légitime on October 17, 1889. Note, entry date differs from both `www.rulers.org` and `www.worldstatesmen.com`. See *The New York Times*, Aug 27, 1889, p. 1; message from US Consul, mentions Hyppolyte as Provisional President. See in particular. *The New York Times*, Sept 3, 1889, p. 5. Gen. Monpointe (jeune) was Hippolyte's representative. Dies in office, apoplexy.

When his time runs out, he tries to keep himself in power, this results in some disturbances, Hyppolite wants to teach the revolutionaries a lesson but suffers a stroke. Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp.302–303 "Just short of Portail Léogane, Hyppolite suddenly shuddered, slipped sidewise from his saddle, and fell with a thud – dead of apoplexy before he hit the ground."

HAI-1896 41 HAI P. A. T. Simon 31/03/1896 12/05/1902

Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp.303 notes "General Tirésias Augustin Simon Sam, another *noir* of the North, enjoyed the best possible credentials to succeed Hyppolite; he was incumbent Minister of War and popular with the army; and he was Salomon's nephew by marriage and Séïde Télémaque's brother in law. ... Simon Sam gained office in consequence of a three-way impasse among *mulâtres* seeking to restore Boisrond-Canal; an ultra-*noir* pro-French faction grouped around Manigat; and an anti-Manigat coalition

headed by Callisthène Fouchard, one of the country's ablest men." Entry therefore looks relatively regular, by Haitian standards of the day ....

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.306 present an interesting anecdote about the structure of electoral power in Haiti. "Soldiers performed one essential civic function. They voted. In the words of the American minister, Dr. H. W. Furniss, in 1907: "The voters are the soldiers ... IN Port-au-Prince I have seen soldiers come up in companies and remain all day voting and repeating at command of their officers, while none of the better or middle classes were trying to vote, if indeed, it had been possible.""

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.307 report on his exit: "Simon Sam could read the omens as well as any other Haitian. On 12 May, three days before his term expired, the president abdicated – a maneuver meant to avert an election and throw the choice of a successor to the incumbent assembly (forty-eight of whose members were relatives of Simon Sam), where, generously bank-rolled by German merchants, Cinicinnatus Leconte had the electoral votes in his pocket. The arrangement was too raw: Leconte, fellow Nordist and ally of Simon Sam, symbolized a regime whose mandate had run out. On the evening of 12 May, as the assembly prepared to vote, armed crowds gathered outside. Within, some hothead drew his pistol and fired. ... As in the days of Salnave, the mob swept the Chamber while others tried to storm the palace and arsenal. After bloody fighting that left a hundred killed or wounded, the Presidential Guard beat back the attacks, but the game was up. Next morning at six, Simon Sam and his cabinet placed themselves under protection of the diplomatic corps. Five hours later, escorted by the ministers and consuls, Sam and Leconte and their families safely ran the gauntlet to the wharf, and a steamer from France, where, besides a snug *pied-à-terre* at 39 Avenue des Champs Elysées, the outgoing president had $2.5 million consolidated in private accounts."

Difficult call whether this is a regular exit (he abdicates near the end of his term), or an irregular exit, under the threat and/or use of force. Based on the above quote from Heinl & Heinl, we code this as a regular exit, because he abdicates, albeit in a clever maneuver and because there is no evidence he tried to extend his term. Also known as Tiresias Simon Sam. Some sources list him as father of Vilebrun Guillaume Sam, but Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.344 note that "General Vilbrun Guillaume ... who from his cousin, the late president, sometimes took the surname Sam ...."

HAI-1902-1 41 HAI Canal 26/05/1902 17/12/1902

As Heinl & Heinl (1996) note (p.307) "Boisrond-Canal, veteran midwife of regimes, was at hand to assume his accustomed role. It was the last time: he would be dead in three years." He died of diabetes in Port-au-Prince on 6 March 1905. (ibid, p.328) His entry was irregular. Nord Alexis (see below) is included in the *gouvernement provisoire* proclaimed 26 May. His exit is irregular, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.310 and below, but his post-exit fate seems to have been safe.

HAI-1902-2 41 HAI Nord 17/12/1902 20/12/1908

For his irregular entry, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp.307–310. On p. 310 they note "After a few weeks spent in mopping up the North and the Artibonite, Tonton Nord marched South again, this time all the way to Port-au-Prince, and entered the capital on 14 December. Three days later, the army acclaimed its leader president and escorted him to the *Palais National*. Then the assembly convened briefly on 21 December and, with no dissenting voice, ratified the army's decision. Pierre Nord Alexis, eighty-three,

born in 1820 when Henry Christophe still ruled the North was the last leaf in Henry's mighty tree. His wife, "Mère Alexis," daughter of Pierrot and a *mambo*, was the nice of Christophe."

Plummer (1998), p.106 notes "Nord Alexis spent the autumn of 1902 wiping out residual rebel resistance in the North. He came to Port-au-Prince in the middle of December. In the legislature, his soldiers training cannon and rifles on its members, he was quickly elected president."

Heinl & Heinl (1996) record that on December 17, 1902, Nord Alexis is acclaimed president. They have him leaving office on December 20, 1908, at which date they have Antoine Simon elected president. President Nord Alexis goes into exile on board French Cruiser, with enough money that the rabble could steal $30,000 from it (Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 321). Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.330, fn. 47 notes "According to Marcelin, the president's luggage contained $41,000 gold, 20,000 to 25,000 gourdes, diamonds, and large quantities of jewelry, all lost to looters. Nord Alexis went to Kingston and died in 1910." Plummer (1988), p. 129, records he died on May 1, 1910.

For his exit see also The *Washington Post*, Dec. 26, 1909, p.1.

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 322 note the effect of political instability: in the one day interval between Nord Alexis' exit and Antoine Simon's entry into the capital, "an indication of how the foreign community viewed Tonton Mord's downfall – the gourd's dizzy rate of exchange subsided from 850 to the U. S. dollar back to 500. In the words of one German banker, "*Le Gouvernement tombe, la prime tombe*" (The Government falls and so does the rate of exchange).

For the report of his death, see also *The Washington Post*, May 2, 1910, p. 1 "Death of Nord Alexis."

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 217 note that "General Pierre Nord Alexis [was] Christophe's nephew by marriage to the daughter of Pierrot."

HAI-1908 41 HAI A. Simon 20/12/1908 03/08/1911

General Antoine Simon. Irregular entry. More or less provoked into rebelion after Nord Alexis dismisses him on 15 November 1907 after General Simon had held peaceful sway over the South. (Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.321)

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.344 note, "It was midafternoon on 3 August when the president, fortified by the thought of $1.2 milion on deposit abroad and surrounded by family, Ministers, and by the last of his trusty 17th Regiment from Les Cayes, set out for the wharf .... Making their way out to a Dutch steamer, the party then embarked for Kingston ...."

For his exile, see also *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 6, 1911, p. B4. "Simon's Fatal Mistake."

HAI-1911 41 HAI Leconte 07/08/1911 08/08/1912

For his irregular entry, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.344–345, who put his entry more or less around 7 August. He was the great-grandson of Jean Jacques Dessalines, born on 29 September 1859. Lentz records that he was probably murdered before he was blown up in an arms cache explosion. This is confirmed by Heinl & Heinl (1996) who note that when the National Palace was blown up an additional 300 soldiers were killed.

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.348 "At 3:00 A.M. on the hot night of 7 August 1912, Port-au-Prince was shaken by an enormous explosion, followed by a volcano of flame soaring

skyward from the National Palace. Whether by accident or design, the *Antoine Simon*'s Italian powder in the palace basement had finally gone off, taking with it a million rounds of ammunition and assorted other explosives squirreled away by presidents who felt safer with them under their feet than out of sight." They continue on p. 386, footnote 13 "While deterioration of the *Antoine Simon*'s powder presents a more than plausible explanation for the palace explosion, Furniss confidentially reported the curious circumstances that, when Leconte's body was found, the head, arms, and legs were severed from the trunk, which of course suggests murder by enemies followed by detonation of the magazines."

According to *The Washington Post*, August 9, 1912, p. 1 "Ruler of Haiti Killed by Blast." he "belonged to the legal profession."

HAI-1912 41 HAI Tancred Auguste 08/08/1912 12/05/1913

His entry should probably count as regular: Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.348 "Before the palace rubble cooled, the National Assembly voted in a a new president. Tancrède Auguste, fifty-six, a *Capois mulâtre* who ten farmed a fine sugar estate at Châteaublond ...." They clearly note that he owed his election to the Lecontists, hence, regular entry.

Lentz notes: "His death on May 2, 1913, was thought to be the result of poisoning." The *Washington Post*, May 10, 1913, p. 1 "Haiti President Poisoned" records "Kingston, Jamaica, May 9.-News received here by mail from Haiti is to the effect that President Tancrede Auguste died from poison which was administered in his food. The other members of the family were revived after much difficulty." For further confirmation of his poisoning, see also *The New York Times*, Dec. 28, 1913, p. SM11 "Two dozen men and women of note have met violent deaths in 1913."

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.351 however, note that it most likely was a case of syphilis. They have him dying on 12 May. "Dr. Furniss had reason for his [bad] prognosis. On 29 April he had been asked to participate in a consultation with the president's physician: the problem was not poison by advanced anaemia. To Washington, Furniss reported clinically and confidentially, "Samples of the President's blood give the characteristic reaction for syphilis and it is doubtless due to having this disease in the third stage that the anaemia is so pronounced and persistent." At 9:00 P. M., 3 May it was over."

HAI-1913 41 HAI Michel Oreste 12/05/1913 27/01/1914

Heinl & Heinl (1996) have Auguste's death and Oreste's entry on May 12. Oreste is a laywer and Haiti's first civilian president. He enters in a a regular manner as a result of an election between two lawyers, but, as Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.352 note "The election, however, had not wholly shattered precedent: each elector received Oreste's due bill for $600 gold, redeemable from the national treasury." Under pressure from Zamor's revolutionary army Michel Oreste resigned—an irregular exit—and flees to Jamaica.

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 387, fn. 16 note "Michel Oreste left for Colombia aboard the S. S. *Eitel Freidrich* on 28 January. He died, still in exile, in New York City on 28 October 1918.

HAI-1914-1 41 HAI Oreste Zamor 08/02/1914 19/10/1914

As Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 356 put it with their usual understatement "Within less than twenty-four hours the National Assembly, routed out of hiding, chose Oreste Zamor as president." An irregular entry. For his civil war struggle with Théodore, see Heinl &

Heinl (1996), p. 358–361. For his exit date see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 360. Zamor who had first escaped to Santo Domingo, slips back into Haiti is arrested and thrown in jail by Guillaume and slaughtered (executed would describe the event with too much dignity) on 27/7/1915, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.378.

HAI-1914-2 41 HAI Théodore 19/10/1914 22/02/1915

For the date of his irregular entry, 19 October, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 360–1. He is, as was usual, elected unanimously. For his irregular exit, see ibid, pp.367–8, and especially p.370. There, U.S. Admiral Caperton described the events to the Senate Committee as follows.

> ADMIRAL CAPERTON: They made quite an imposing march down the street and wharf with their long frock coats and silk hats. [The president] was then going aboard the *Prins Frederik Hendrik* leaving the country I know it to be a fact that the old man, Mr. Davilmar Théodore, had hardly a sufficient amount of money to buy his ticket out of the country, as he appealed for money to help him go where he wished to go, and as it turned out he only went to Santo Domingo . . . THE CHAIRMAN: In a plug hat, on a Dutch ship? ADMIRAL CAPERTON: Yes, sir; leaving the city without any government whatever, and the only people with any authority were Gen. Praedel [sic] and Gen. Polynice, who appointed themselves a committee of safety . . . .

J. Davilmar Théodore was exiled after he lost power. Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.368, fn. 21 note his is born in 1847, and dies in Port-au-Prince on 13 January 1917.

Note, again, the effect on political instability on the exchange rate. Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 370 write "The gourde, which had skated to 12.5 cents gold in Théodore's last hours, promptly revived to 17.5 cents."

HAI-1915 41 HAI Velbrun-Guillaume 04/03/1915 26/07/1915

For his irregular entry, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp.366–8.

For an anecdote, describing a meeting between American Admiral William B. Caperton, and Guillaume, on 25 January 1915, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.368 who quote from a description of the meeting by the admiral:

> We were met at the door by a tatterdemalion soldiery, while inside a very gorgeous black gentleman, arrayed like a head bellhop at the Waldorf, directed us through a room and then up a pair of steps. He then suddenly disappeared, to appear again, still resplendent, at the head of the stairs, where he took our caps and gloves and ushered us into a a large reception room, saying the General would be pleased to see us in a a moment. Once upstairs in the reception room, a large portrait caught my eye. It seemed to be of some familiar face. In a moment General Guillaume Sam had appeared. Greatly to my surprise, I recognized him as the bellhop; only this time he had discarded his coat for another but more elaborate one, and an enormous sword clanked around his heels. A glance at the portrait on the wall convinced me. It was also Guillaume Sam.

For his horrible exit and fate, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp. 376–381. (p.377) "With a few faithful followers, the president and his family held out past daybreak. Then,

clutching a carbine in one hand and a monstrous old key, Guillaume Sam led a dash through the haze and smoke toward an iron door in the ten-foot wall that separated the palace from the French compound. Dodging and flinching as shots spattered about, the president tried to turn the stubborn lock: it was rusted tight. Agile with terror despite a leg wound, he clawed over the wall. Ironically, Charles Zamor, still waiting to see how things would come out, was at this moment in the legation and, according to H. P. Davis, actually helped Guillaume Same inside." Guillaume then writes a note to the jailor of the hostages he kept against revolution.

> Mon Cher Oscar, La partie est perdue, j'abandonne le pouvoir. Faites ce que votre conscience vous dictera. VILBRUN GUILLAUME

Oscar Etienne then proceeds to slaughter the hostages. This enraged the families of these hostages. Under siege at the legation, the Ambassador and his daughter manage to hold off several attempts to storm the legation. In vain. Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.380 report "an enraged party of eighty men, the best blood in Port-au-Prince ... swarmed over a side wall onto the legation porch and burst inside. ... At bay in the W/C, its doorway camouflaged by the minister's high-backed bed, Guillaume Sam crouched as he heard the cries and tramp of the searches. All might have gone well but for the iodoform on his dressing [to dress his wound]. One of the pack sniffed the aroma and, shoving aside the bedstead, nosed him out. His back to a rack of chamber pots, each immaculately polished, Guillaume Sam mustered all his courage. "Messieurs," he said simply, "achèvez moi." ["finish me"]"

The party then kills him in a most brutal manner, the deadly blow from a machete. His body is then dragged out of the legation and literally ripped to shreds. (The description in Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.380–1 is a bit too graphic, perhaps.)

Also known as Vilebrun-Guillame Sam. Cousin, not son, of Simon Sam (Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.344).

HAI-1934 41 HAI Vincent 15/08/1934 15/05/1941

Sténio Vincent was elected in 1930. By the constitution under which he entered, his term would end in May 1936. He organizes a plebiscite and re-writes the constitution so he can be reelected. This might already qualify as an Auto-golpe. US troops left in 1934.

He restores a dictatorship in December 1938, when he announced on 18 December 1938 there would be an end to plebiscitary selection of presidents "told the people their mentality was too "arrested" for democracy, flayed the elite as "tourists in their own country, and ... said Toussaint's system of forced agricultural labor was perfectly valid for twentieth-century Haiti." A clear auto-golpe?

For his exit, he had first hoped to run again, but pressure from the U.S. forced him to decline an invitation from senators to run another five year term. Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 506, "on 5 April, pleading ill health, Vincent told the leaders of the two Chambers that he did not wish to be considered. The way was clear for Elie Lescot." A regular exit, he clearly was not really ill.

For his post-exit fate, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 550 where they record in footnote 16 "Vincent left Haiti immediately after his successor's inaugural. Feeling against him had soured to such an extent that Lescot felt it necessary, in the old style, to escort Vincent personally to the wharf. He remained abroad in virtual exile until 1943. On his

return to Haiti, the former president lived quietly in Port-au-Prince until his death in Pétionville, on 3 September 1959 ...."

HAI-1941 41 HAI Lescot 15/05/1941 11/01/1946

Elie Lescot previously had been the Haitian minister in Washington. For his regular entry see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 505-6; they note he was on Trujillo's payroll. He tries to amend the constitution and run for another term.

He was overthrown by Col. Frank Levaud, the Army Chief of Staff (Head of the *Garde*. *The New York Times* 1 December, 1946, p. 1. See also Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 514, which reports that the president was held under house arrest. Lescot goes into exile fist to Miami, then by train to Montreal. and dies 21 October 1974, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp. 551-2.

HAI-1946-1 41 HAI Lavaud 11/01/1946 16/08/1946

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 514 report, "Calling themselves the *Comité Executif Militaire*, the *Garde* junta that, with genuine reluctance, had taken hold of what looked like a runaway situation, was headed by Colonel Lavaud, a hefty professional from Jérémy, second by Major Antoine Levelt of the Artibonite ... and the compact, decisive commander of the *Garde Présidentielle*, Major Paul E. Magloire, of Quartier Morin."

For his regular exit, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 517 "With *Comité* backing, alarmed moderates moved to resurrect the liberal 1932 constitution so quickly dispensed with by Vincent. ON 12 August 1946, this compromise carried, and elections were thereupon scheduled four days hence. ... On the first ballot, Estimé – a lower-middle-class Artibonite *noir*, and perhaps more significantly, a friend of Major Magloire's with Vincent connections and a war chest from the distiller Alfred Vieux took the lead with 25 ballots, trailed by Pierre-Louis with 8 .... With time out for a bit of jockeying, the second ballot commenced. When the skips were tallied, Estimé had an even greater plurality ... and was thereupon declared winner."

Some argue Lavaud was the real power behind Estimé, based on below, we put in Estimé as a separate leader. Lavaud was exiled in the US.

HAI-1946-2 41 HAI Estimé 16/08/1946 10/05/1950

For his regular entry, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 517 "With *Comité* backing, alarmed moderates moved to resurrect the liberal 1932 constitution so quickly dispensed with by Vincent. ON 12 August 1946, this compromise carried, and elections were thereupon scheduled four days hence. ... On the first ballot, Estimé – a lower-middle-class Artibonite *noir*, and perhaps more significantly, a friend of Major Magloire's with Vincent connections and a war chest from the distiller Alfred Vieux took the lead with 25 ballots, trailed by Pierre-Louis with 8 .... With time out for a bit of jockeying, the second ballot commenced. When the skips were tallied, Estimé had an even greater plurality ... and was thereupon declared winner."

They report (p.518), that Estimé was "born on 21 April 1900, schooled by the Christian Brothers at St. Marc and then in the *Lycée Pétion* at Port-au-Prince, he taught mathematics for a time until, inopportunely crossing Borno's bow, he lost both job and platform. Vindication came in the 1930 elections, when he was elected deputy rising to presidency of that Chamber and then to successive portfolios under Vincent."

For description of a plot by Trujillo to invade Haiti in 1949, partially out of fear that the Dominican Republic could never be secure unless it controlled Haiti, see Heinl & Heinl (1966), p. 526–7.

The New York Times, May 8, 1950, p.3 records: "Port au Prince, Haiti, May 7-The Haitian Cabinet resigned early today as the climax of a dispute over the political future of President Dumarsais Estimé. The Cabinet had proposed that Haiti's Constitution be amended to enable Senor Stimé to seek re-election in 1952. The proposal met strong opposition in the Senate and there were some signs of public protest despite the state-of-siege regulations in force here. The present Constitution provides that no President may serve two consecutive terms." *Christian Science Monitor*, May 11, 1950, p.18. "Military rulers have seized the government after almost four years on the sidelines. They came back to power after President Estimé tried unsuccessfully tried to insure his own re-election. M. Estimé resigned and was succeeded by the same three-man military junta which threw out his predecessor in January, 1946. The junta, which had ruled the country until M. Estimé's election in August, 1946, announced the President and his family had been placed under its "protection." ... The junta which returned to power is made up of Brig. Gen. Frank Lavaud, leader of the 1946 coup, Maj. Antoine Levelt, and Maj. Paul Magloire. They said in a proclamation their return was asked by the army general staff because M. Estimé had "lost control" of a "complicated and dangerous situation which stopped the life of the nation."

Heinl & Heinl, (1996), pp. 529–530 reports unrest and mobs forming both pro and against Estimée running for another term. "At 9:00 A. M. on Wednesday, 10 May [1950], the general staff, headed by Lavaud, Levelt (though Magloire, *primus inter pares*, had emerged as the strongman), and Marcaisse Prosper, the stuttering chief of police, waited on the president. In their hands was a proclamation announcing his resignation. One hour later, on the stroke of ten, Fort National boomed a salute, and Port-au-Prince learned that the junta that had steered the republic through the stormy hours of Lescot's fall was again at the helm."

President Estimé, was first held under house arrest, later sent to exile. See *The New York Times*, May 28, 1950, p.61. For exile in Paris, see *The New York Times*, May 20, 1950, p.31. Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 553 record his post-exit fate as follows: "Estimé and his family went to Jamaica, where like Soulouque ..., they were shunned by the exile colony. From there they went to New York and lived for three embittered years at the old Franconia Hotel on upper Broadway. Estimé died on 20 July 1953 of uremic poisoning.

DELETED

HAI-1950-1 41 HAI Lavaud 10/05/1950 06/12/1950

Heinl & Heinl, (1996), pp. 529–530 reports unrest and mobs forming both pro and against Estimée running for another term. "At 9:00 A. M. on Wednesday, 10 May [1950], the general staff, headed by Lavaud, Levelt (though Magloire, *primus inter pares*, had emerged as the strongman), and Marcaisse Prosper, the stuttering chief of police, waited on the president. In their hands was a proclamation announcing his resignation. One hour later, on the stroke of ten, Fort National boomed a salute, and Port-au-Prince learned that the junta that had steered the republic through the stormy hours of Lescot's fall was again at the helm. ... Lavaud's name appeared at the top of the list, but it was Magloire who assumed the portfolio as Minister of Interior and National Defense and thus stood

forth at the *gros nèg'*." Hence, Lavaud should be deleted and Magloire coded as entering 10 May.

The *Chicago Defender*, Dec. 23, 1950, p. 12. reports that Brig. Gen. Frank Lavaud was appointed Ambassador to France by Magloire, while the other former junta member, Colonel Antoine Levelt "has been promoted to the rank of Brigadier General and elevated to the post of Chief of the Army, formerly held by Gen. Lavaud." Lavaud's appointment as Haitian Ambassador to France is confirmed by Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 553.

HAI-1950-1 41 HAI Magloire 10/05/1950 12/12/1956

Heinl & Heinl, (1996), pp. 529–530 reports unrest and mobs forming both pro and against Estimée running for another term. "At 9:00 A. M. on Wednesday, 10 May [1950], the general staff, headed by Lavaud, Levelt (though Magloire, *primus inter pares*, had emerged as the strongman), and Marcaisse Prosper, the stuttering chief of police, waited on the president. In their hands was a proclamation announcing his resignation. One hour later, on the stroke of ten, Fort National boomed a salute, and Port-au-Prince learned that the junta that had steered the republic through the stormy hours of Lescot's fall was again at the helm. . . . Lavaud's name appeared at the top of the list, but it was Magloire who assumed the portfolio as Minister of Interior and National Defense and thus stood forth at the *gros nèg'*." Hence, Lavaud should be deleted and Magloire coded as entering 10 May.

However, perhaps Lavaud's ouster as figurehead on 6 December 1950 should be counted as an '*auto-golpe*'.

For Magloire's entry as a result of an election, see The Chicago Defender, Dec. 23, 1950, p. 12. Which records that he is a graduate of the Military School of Port-au-Prince, and was elevated to the rank of Colonel in 1946, "He came from a military background, his father having been a General in the Army. President Magloire studied law for two years and headed the military tribunal trying President Lescot's political enemies. . . . Later, when the military junta, of which has was a member, came to power, he commuted all of the prison terms and freed the men." Military decides the president should resign after an effective general strike. The president resumes his position as commander in chief of the army. *The New York Times* 13 December, 1956, p. 1, Lentz 1994, p. 355 notes that Magloire was forced to resign under pressure from the military on December 12, 1956 following general strikes that occurred throughout the country. See also *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 13, 1956, p. D3 "Army Forces President of Haiti To Quit." The Daily Defender, Dec. 13, 1956, p. 1 notes that "Magloire's constitutional six-year term had expired the Thursday before. He stepped down as president then, but quickly took power again in the name of the Army as chief of State."

Duvalier starts a bombing campaign to destabilize Magloire. (See Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 538 ff.) "On 6 December – it was Thursday – the president assembled his cabinet, the general staff, and what amounted to the national establishment. To this groups and listeners of station Radio Commerce Magloire announced that, six years having elapsed since he took office (there was no mention this time of the Gonaïves constitution) ne now stood down. Since, under Chief Justice Nemours Pierre-Louis, the Cour de Cassation nimble-footed as in 1950, had again declined the honor, the army ("always the vigilant protector of the people's rights") had again accepted its responsibilities. Then came the clear, familiar voice of Level: the army, guardian of patriotism

and public order, now called on its senior soldier, Major General Paul. E. Magloire, to accept the heavy burden of provisional president "to avert crisis and take all necessary measures." "It is my duty," slowly replied General Magloire, "and I must, if reluctantly, accept."" There then is a massive, coordinated strike (p.540), but no organized violence. Magloire, though, figures out he will have to use force if he wants to stay in power. "On Wednesday, Magloire turned again to the chief justice. This time Nemours Pierre Louis accepted executive power, and Magloire ceased to be *président provisioire*." Two days later "Lieutenant Auguste was sent to tell the Magloires that one of the army's DC-3s would be waiting at Bowen Field. Taking what he could with him, imperturbable and self-possessed to the end, Haiti's ablest president since Salomon climbed, with his wife and a few associates, aboard the plane, greeted the pilot, Major Roy, as if embarking for an inspection, and watched sunset gild the mountains and green slopes and sleepy Jacmel as he flew South over the darkening sea to Kingston and to exile." (Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp. 540–1.) Subsequently he moves to New York and Queens.

For his exile, see also the *Chicago Defender*, Dec. 22, 1956, p.1 which reports Magloire was sent to exile to the US, and his property was seized.

HAI-1956 41 HAI Pierre-Louis 12/12/1956 03/02/1957

Joseph Nemours Pierre-Louis, President of the Supreme Court. For his entry, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 13, 1956, p. D3. "Army Forces President of Haiti To Quit." Which notes "[Magloire] and Pierre-Louis, and Gen. Antoine Levelt, chief of staff joined in a broadcast transferring powers. ... Gen. Levelt said in the broadcast that Haiti's political crisis had worsened and that the army staff in a conference decided to transfer governmental power to Pierre-Louis." However, The *Washington Post* and Times Herald, Dec. 7, 1956, p. A14, notes: "To cover the interval until the April 30 presidential election Zephirin said, Magloire offered to turn the presidency over to Judge Nemours Tierre-Louis, head of Haiti's Supreme Court, as specified in the constitution. But Tierre-Louis refused the post, Zephirin said ..." Hence we code his entry as regular. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Feb. 4, 1957, p. B12 records, "Feb. 3-Provisional President Joseph Nemours Pierre-Louis has resigned, informed quarters said tonight. ... Pierre-Louis' resignation followed reports that a movement was underway to unseat him." See also Daily Defender, Feb. 5, 1957, p. 2 and *The New York Times*, Feb. 5, 1957, p. 1. See also above, entry for Magloire. Heinl & Heinl (p. 543) have him resigning due to a massive, coordinated strike much like the one that ousted Magloire.

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.541 note of the following months "the truly ephemeral governments of 1957 represented surface phenomena while the real contests went on below the surface. Three, or at most four, serious presidential candidates – Déjoie, Jumelle, Duvalier, and Fignolé – battled for succession. The army which would ordinarily have settled matters, was itself split into factions, one of which supported the new chief of staff, Colonel Cantave ..., the other – mostly *mulâtres* as the former were mostly *noirs* – supported Louis Déjoie."

HAI-1957-1 41 HAI Sylvain 07/02/1957 02/04/1957

Franck Sylvain. Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.541 note of the nine months between the fall of Magloire and the entry of Duvalier "the truly ephemeral governments of 1957 represented surface phenomena while the real contests went on below the surface. Three, or at most four, serious presidential candidates – Déjoie, Jumelle, Duvalier, and Fignolé – battled

for succession. The army which would ordinarily have settled matters, was itself split into factions, one of which supported the new chief of staff, Colonel Cantave . . . , the other – mostly *mulâtres* as the former were mostly *noirs* – supported Louis Déjoie." They note (p.543) he was a forty-six-year-old Catholic lawyer and journalist from Grand-Goâve.

On his entry, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Feb. 8, 1957, p. 6, voted in by the legislature. CDT reports "Before naming him, the senate and chamber of deputies voted to ignore constitutional procedure [sic, HG] for naming a provisional president." Sylvain was a specialist in constitutional law. On his fate see *Christian Science Monitor*, Apr. 3, 1957, p.20. *The New York Times*, April. 3, 1957, p.1. and *The New York Times*, April. 7, 1957, p. 14. He was placed under house arrest and forced to resign the presidency. According to Lentz, "Haiti was beset by another general strike in March 1957. Sylvain was placed under house arrest and forced to resign the presidency on April 2, 1957." See also `http://www.geocities.com/francesco.chirico/country/hai.htm`. Forced to resign by the military.

Heinl & Heinl (1996) p.543 note "on April 2, when an astounded capital learned that, following discovery of the Martissant bomb factory, with its fatal consequences for two police officers, President Sylvain had resigned and was under house arrest on charges that he had known about the bombs and bombings and, worse still, had prior knowledge of a plot to assassinate the principal candidates in their homes. One candidate apparently not on the bombers' list was Dr. Duvalier. This was hardly surprising, because the four persons directly implicated were his close supporters, a fact the "mild-mannered doctor" (as the *New York Times* and other U. S. media kept describing him) blandly denied."

HAI-1957-2 41 HAI Cantave 02/04/1957 06/04/1957

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.541 note of the nine months between the fall of Magloire and the entry of Duvalier "the truly ephemeral governments of 1957 represented surface phenomena while the real contests went on below the surface. Three, or at most four, serious presidential candidates – Déjoie, Jumelle, Duvalier, and Fignolé – battled for succession. The army which would ordinarily have settled matters, was itself split into factions, one of which supported the new chief of staff, Colonel Cantave . . . , the other – mostly *mulâtres* as the former were mostly *noirs* – supported Louis Déjoie."

General Leon Cantave, army chief of staff. It could be argued that he was the real power behind the throne of both Pierre-Louis and Sylvain. See *The New York Times*, June 16, 1957, p. E8 "More Bad News From Haiti."

HAI-1957-3 41 HAI Executive council 06/04/1957 20/05/1957

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.541 note of the nine months between the fall of Magloire and the entry of Duvalier "the truly ephemeral governments of 1957 represented surface phenomena while the real contests went on below the surface. Three, or at most four, serious presidential candidates – Déjoie, Jumelle, Duvalier, and Fignolé – battled for succession. The army which would ordinarily have settled matters, was itself split into factions, one of which supported the new chief of staff, Colonel Cantave . . . , the other – mostly *mulâtres* as the former were mostly *noirs* – supported Louis Déjoie."

Executive Council was in power from 6 April 1957 to out 20 May 1957. See *The New York Times*, April. 7, 1957, p. 14. Duvalier, Déjoie, Fignolé.

HAI-1957-4 41 HAI Cantave 20/05/1957 26/05/1957

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.541 note of the nine months between the fall of Magloire and the entry of Duvalier "the truly ephemeral governments of 1957 represented surface phenomena while the real contests went on below the surface. Three, or at most four, serious presidential candidates – Déjoie, Jumelle, Duvalier, and Fignolé – battled for succession. The army which would ordinarily have settled matters, was itself split into factions, one of which supported the new chief of staff, Colonel Cantave . . . , the other – mostly *mulâtres* as the former were mostly *noirs* – supported Louis Déjoie."

Cantave came to power in an irregular manner. Out after violent infighting in military. Lentz 1994, p. 356; *The New York Times* 27 May, 1957, p. 1. Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 545. Sent to exile.

HAI-1957-5 41 HAI Fignolé 26/05/1957 14/06/1957

For Pierre Eustache Danile Fignolé's irregular entry see Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp. 545–6. Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.541 note of the nine months between the fall of Magloire and the entry of Duvalier "the truly ephemeral governments of 1957 represented surface phenomena while the real contests went on below the surface. Three, or at most four, serious presidential candidates – Déjoie, Jumelle, Duvalier, and Fignolé – battled for succession. The army which would ordinarily have settled matters, was itself split into factions, one of which supported the new chief of staff, Colonel Cantave . . . , the other – mostly *mulâtres* as the former were mostly *noirs* – supported Louis Déjoie."

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 546. Cantave appoints Colonel Antonio Kébreau, the department commander at Les Cayes (and father of seven), and a fried of both Trujillo and Duvalier to take hold of the divided army. "14 June, the nineteenth [evening] since Fignolé took office while the Port-au-Prince garrison raptly follwed a new Western being screened at the casernes, a group of officers led by General Kébreau marched upstairs in the *Palais*, slammed open the door of the council chamber, silenced the cabinet with a look, and marched off the president before even he could utter a word." Fignolé is immediately put together with his wife and children and put aboard an airplane and shipped off to Miami. He was sent to exile in Colombia or Panama. See *The New York Times*, Jun. 15, 1957, p.1.

HAI-1957-6 41 HAI Kebreau 14/06/1957 15/10/1957

He is an ally of Duvalier. As Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 548 note "Perhaps because Kébreau administered it, the state of siege seemed to inhibit all candidates save Duvalier. . . . On Sunday, 22 September, some 950,000 Haitians went to the polls for a vote that had been thoroughly organized by the army. In what author Jean-Pierre Gingras called "the perfect peacefulness of fixed bayonets," the elections came off smoothly enough. Duvalier received 679,884 votes, Déjoie trailed with 266,992."

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 566 note that he was first appointed for a six-year term as chief of staff. "At 5:30 on the afternoon of 12 March, while driving up the Pétionville road, the general was startled at that hour to hear the boom of Fort National's battery. At the thirteenth gun, the salute ended. There could be only one explanation: quickly Kébreau ordered the driver to cut directly across the back road via Musseau to the Dominican embassy. Within four days, on Trujillo's safeconduct, he reached Ciudad Trujillo, where he received another decoration, a Mercedes-Benz, and other emoluments from *El Benefactor*." Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 628, footnote 6 note "After a cooling-off period, Kébreau came home to accept appointment as Haitian ambassador to the

Vatican." They note he died in 1962 "hours before an appointment with one of the authors of this history."

HAI-1957-7 41 HAI Duvalier, François 15/10/1957 22/04/1971

As Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 548 note "Perhaps because Kébreau administered it, the state of siege seemed to inhibit all candidates save Duvalier. . . . On Sunday, 22 September, some 950,000 Haitians went to the polls for a vote that had been thoroughly organized by the army. In what author Jean-Pierre Gingras called "the perfect peacefulness of fixed bayonets," the elections came off smoothly enough. Duvalier received 679,884 votes, Déjoie tailed with 266,992."

He holds elections in April 1961, when "by a vote of 1,320,749 to 0, [Haiti] had reelected François Duvalier, unopposed, for a second six-year term, commencing 22 May 1961. What could the president do but accept? Idle to protest (none inside Haiti did) that this "re-election" for a constitutionally forbidden second term even more expressly contradicted Duvalier's own constitution of 1957: "The term of the present President of the Republic, who was elected on 22 September 1957, shall end on 15 May 1963.""

Father of Jean-Claude Duvalier.

HAI-1971 41 HAI Duvalier, Jean-Claude 22/04/1971 07/02/1986

Son of François Duvalier. On the surface it looks like he resigns after public protests, Lentz 1994, p. 357; *Washington Post*, 8 February, 1986, p. A1. However, Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp. 695–702 document a behind-the-scenes coup by Army Chief of Staff Henri Namphy. p.701 "Finally, almost casually, the president agreed to see Henri Nampy. He still had no idea of the intricate web that had been woven around him in the preceding weeks. Namphy and Regala showed their hand to the Duvaliers in the president's office. As the outlines of what had really taken place became clear, Michèlle Bennet began to scream hysterically. Here was a moment of supreme danger. The Palace was full of *macoutes* still unaware of the drama that was unfolding. Prosper Avril, restored to the Army and promoted to full Colonel only the week before, delivered a stunning left hook to the First lady, temporarily knocking her out. The time for niceties was over. As Michelle Duvalier came to, whimpering, arrangements for the transfer of power were quickly finalized."

Exile in France.

HAI-1986 41 HAI Namphy 07/02/1986 07/02/1988

For his irregular entry, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp. 695–702. He has "good" intentions, but by next year, as Heinl & Heinl (1996) p. 720 note"In the Palace, the once seemingly genial Namphy, who only a year earlier had threatened to "strangle at birth" any movement that tried to thwart democracy, was at daggers drawn with the leaders of what had become known as the "popular movement." Embittered by his summer of confrontation, seeing nothing but trouble ahead, the General presided over a a campaign of terror designed to disrupt the elections scheduled for November 29." On election day, massacres provide the excuse to cancel the election.

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 724 [Of the three men who were willing to collaborate with the Army junta, Manigat stood out] "Afer a day of very light turnout at the polls (independent observers thought 5% of the electorate, the *CNG* said 35%) the *CNG*-sponsored electoral council retired behind closed doors to count the ballots. To no one's

surprise, the well-upholstered *noir* intellectual [e.g., Manigat, HG] had won the election. The margin, at 50.27% of the vote, seemed contrived. Sworn in on February 7, 1988, two years after the ousting of Jean-Claude Duvalier, the new president seemed almost lost amidst the sea of uniforms and medals around him." This implies a regular exit, based on elections.

For his imprisonment, and subsequent takeover, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 725 and below, the next entry on Manigat.

HAI-1988-1 41 HAI Manigat 07/02/1988 20/06/1988

Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.338 record that Leslie Manigat was a historian. For his entry Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 724 record [Of the three men who were willing to collaborate with the Army junta, Manigat stood out] "After a day of very light turnout at the polls (independent observers thought 5% of the electorate, the *CNG* said 35%) the *CNG*-sponsored electoral council retired behind closed doors to count the ballots. To no one's surprise, the well-upholstered *noir* intellectual [e.g., Manigat, HG] had won the election. The margin, at 50.27% of the vote, seemed contrived. Sworn in on February 7, 1988, two years after the ousting of Jean-Claude Duvalier, the new president seemed almost lost amidst the sea of uniforms and medals around him."

Wucker (199), p. 125 notes "The armed forces had imagined that Manigat would be a weak puppet. Thinking himself a real President nonetheless, Manigat in June 1988 tried to assert his power over them. He fired General Henri Namphy as head of the armed forces, put him under house arrest, and replaced him with the notorious drug trafficker Colonel Jean-Claude Paul. But the army was loyal to Namphy and in three days made it clear to Manigat who really ran the country. It gave Namphy his job back and toppled the puppet president, sending him across the border out of the country."

On his irregular exit, Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 725 note: "Boxed in all sides, already compromised in the eyes of those with whom he had spent most of his life, Manigat did what any tactician would do. He made an alliance. That he chose as his partner the even more disgraced Col. Paul was perhaps an unfortunate choice, but unlike the Pope, Col. Paul did indeed have the divisions. Opportunity came when Namphy, perhaps sensing that something was afoot, ordered Paul's transfer. In response, Manigat had Namphy put under house arrest. The alliance was short-lived. Angering Namphy subordinates (and, some said Prosper Avril, whose hand they saw behind all this) who had initially sat on the sidelines while Namphy was removed, within two days had Manigat the tables turned on him. Namphy, angry and depressed, was in his cups when informed of the sudden resurgence of his fortunes. not even taking time to sober up, he made an angry TV announcement in the early hours of the morning to a weary nation that the army was taking over in name as well as in fact. Leslie Manigat, having been in office barely four months, was promptly packed over the border to Santo Domingo, there to ponder the vagaries of Haitian history in relative comfort of the Concord Hotel." See also *Washington Post* 20 June, 1988. President Manigat, flees to the Dominican Republic.

This produces the resumption of outright military rule.

HAI-1988-2 41 HAI Namphy 20/06/1988 17/09/1988

On his irregular re-entry, Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 725 note: "... Manigat had Namphy put under house arrest. ... Angering Namphy subordinates (and, some said Prosper Avril, whose hand they saw behind all this) who had initially sat on the sidelines while Namphy

was removed, within two days had Manigat the tables turned on him. Namphy, angry and depressed, was in his cups when informed of the sudden resurgence of his fortunes. not even taking time to sober up, he made an angry TV announcement in the early hours of the morning to a weary nation that the army was taking over in name as well as in fact. Leslie Manigat, having been in office barely four months, was promptly packed over the border to Santo Domingo, there to ponder the vagaries of Haitian history in relative comfort of the Concord Hotel."

For his irregular exit, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 725–6: "Under orders from Franck Romain, the *macoute* mayor of Port-au-Prince, a large party of gunmen poured into St.-Jean-Bosco on Sunday, September 11, 1988, during mass. As in the election day massacre ten months earlier, this was hardly a surgical strike, but to the intense annoyance of the *macoutes*, their main target, *Père* Aristide, miraculously escaped. Again, machete-wielding thugs followed those who had done the shooting, mutilating and decapitating. When they had finished their work, a dozen parishioners lay dead. For good measure, they then burned down the church. This was too much even for the army. A week later, younger, lower-ranking soldiers packed Namphy off to Santo Domingo, where he took a suite in the Concord Hotel on the floor below professor Manigat. Franck Romain sought and received asylum in the Dominican Embassy, and from there waited to see how events would pan out. Having gotten rid of Namphy, the putschists were unable to agree on who should lead the new government. Prosper Avril, anathema to the *peuple souverain* two and a half years earlier, because of his Duvalier ties, now emerged as the top man."

General Namphy, lost power as the result of a military coup against military incumbent, *Washington Post* 19 September, 1988, p. A1. He was placed under house arrest June 14, 1988. Then he was freed by troops who storm the palace. See *The New York Times*, Apr. 3, 1989, p. A8. Coup, exile in Dominica.

HAI-1988-3 41 HAI Avril 17/09/1988 10/03/1990

For his irregular entry, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 725–6: "Having gotten rid of Namphy, the putschists were unable to agree on who should lead the new government. Prosper Avril, anathema to the *peuple souverain* two and a half years earlier, because of his Duvalier ties, now emerged as the top man."

There was a coup attempt against General Prosper Avril, on Sunday, April 2, 1989. See *Christian Science Monitor*, 4 April 1989, p. 3 and *The New York Times*, Apr. 4, 1989, p. A5. Avril was forced to resign after a week of violent protests, and exiled in the US. *The New York Times* 11 March, 1990, p. 1.

Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp.730–1 write "To underline the urgency of matters, shops shuttered, schools closed, and people took to the streets. Inevitably, there were casualties, among them an eleven year old girl killed by a stray bullet while studying. Three days later, at the request of Ambassador Adams, Prosper Avril met with the American envoy. Adams, invoking the Nixon resignation (and, more practically, threatening that Avril's U.S. bank accounts would be frozen), prevailed on Avril to step down in order to avert further bloodshed. At 2:40 p.m., on Saturday, March 10, issuing no public statement, Prosper Avril was taken by motorcade to his Pétionville home. ... While agreeing to step down, Avril had not agreed to leave the country, and while there he would inevitably act as a lightning rod for disaffected rightists. To complicate things further, the Justice in line for the Presidency, Gilbert Austin, was regarded as far too close to Avril to be able to govern. Austin disqualified himself, eventually opening the way for Ertha Pascal-

Trouillot, the youngest (at forty-six) member of the court. She had been appointed to the *Cour de Cassation* by liberal Justice Minister François Latotue during his ten month stint with the *CNG*. Avril, prevailed upon again by the good office of *bourik chaje* [U.S. Ambassador Adams], was whisked Monday in the early dawn with his family by U. S. Air Force jet to Florida."

HAI-1990-1 41 HAI Abraham 10/03/1990 13/03/1990

Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp.731 "At 3. p.m. [March 10], General Hérard Abraham, the acting Army Chief of Staff went on television to announce Haiti's fifth change of government in four years. In a one minute speech, Abraham announced that the Army would act as caretaker for seventy-two hours while, in accordance with the 1987 constitution, an as yet unnamed Supreme Court Justice would take power until elections could be held. There then ensued three days of confusion." See also *The New York Times*, Feb 9. 1991.

HAI-1990-2 41 HAI Pascal-Trouillot 13/03/1990 07/02/1991

For her regular and constitutional entry see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 731 "While agreeing to step down, Avril had not agreed to leave the country, and while there he would inevitably act as a lightning rod for disaffected rightists. To complicate things further, the Justice in line for the Presidency, GIlbert Austin, was regarded as far too close to Avril to be able to govern. Austin disqualified himself, eventually opening the way for Ertha Pascal-Trouillot, the youngest (at forty-six) member of the court. She had been appointed to the *Cour de Cassation* by liberal Justice Minister François Latotue during his ten month stint with the *CNG*."

Former President Ertha Pascal-Trouillot says she is released from house arrest but is barred from leaving Haiti while the authorities investigate charges that she was involved in an attempted coup against her own government. See *The New York Times* April 11, 1991, P. A8. Arrested one week earlier. See also, *The New York Times*, Apr. 5, 1991, p. A6 which reports she was brought to the courthouse to be charged, then driven to the national penitentiary. She was also held hostage during Lafontant's attempted coup of Jan 7. Arrested in April 1991. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 37, 1991, reports: "Former interim President Ertha Pascal Trouillot, who had been under house arrest following allegations of her involvement in the January 1991 coup attempt, left for Florida, USA, on Sept. 9." ***Keesing's***, Vol. 37, February 1991 records: "On the day after his inauguration the new President ordered at least 162 people–including his immediate predecessor Ertha Pascal-Trouillot and her entire Cabinet–not to attempt to leave the country for one month." Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.737 notes she was "briefly imprisoned in the *Pénitencier National* [but] soon released for lack of evidence."

HAI-1991-1 41 HAI Aristide 07/02/1991 30/09/1991

For his regular entry, and the attempt by Lafontant to forestall him taking power, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp.732–5.

For his irregular exit, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.738. "By 5:30 [September 30], the mutineers stormed the palace, taking Aristide hostage. Initially, there was a move to hang him on the spot, but calmer heads prevailed, and he was instead hustled the short distance across the square to *FAd'H* headquarters. From there, the Army negotiated with the international community, finally agreeing to allow their prisoner to leave the country. By 10:30, he was on his way to the airport and was met there by the U. S. and

Venezuelan ambassadors. Surrounded by several score jeering soldiers, Aristide retained his composure while waiting for a Venezuelan Air Force plane to arrive, which it did just before 3 A. M. After the short flight to Caracas, he was flown to Washington, there to confer with those elements of his government still under his control."

Keesing's Vol. 37, September 1991. Military Coup. "Fr Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Haiti's first democratically elected President, was deposed in a violent military coup on Sept. 30. He had just returned from addressing the UN General Assembly in New York where he had given an assurance that democracy was now firmly rooted in Haiti. The coup leader, Armed Forces C.-in-C. Brig.-Gen. Raoul Cedras, called for calm and promised that new elections would be held, ... Among those killed was the prominent politician Sylvio Claude, leader of the Christian Democratic Party (PDCH) and consistent critic of Aristide, who was murdered in an apparent backlash by government supporters in the coastal town of Les Cayes, 160 km south-west of Port-au-Prince. Soldiers fired on Aristide's home in the poor suburb of Plains de Cul-de-Sac, where he continued to live, killing his security chief before leading him away to army headquarters. The ambassadors of Canada, France, the United States and Venezuela then successfully intervened and persuaded the coup leaders not to kill Aristide but to allow him to leave the country, in order to prevent widespread bloodshed. Aristide left for exile by air late on Sept. 30 bound for the Venezuelan capital of Caracas. ... Former interim President Ertha Pascal Trouillot, who had been under house arrest following allegations of her involvement in the January 1991 coup attempt, left for Florida, USA, on Sept. 9." Coup on Sept 30. On October 7 army forces lawmakers at gunpoint to ratify coup. Aristide was ousted, and sent to exile.

Arturo Valenzuela (2004), "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted," in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15, No. 4, October, pp.5–19, notes (p.8) "Elected in 1990, deposed in 1991 by military coup. Clashes between presidential supporters and opponents. Majority president, minority in assembly. Replace by military junta."

HAI-1991-2 41 HAI Cedras 30/0/91991 14/10/1994

When Aristide comes to power, he fires six of the army's eight remaining generals and appoints Raoul Cédras as Army Chief of Staff. (Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp.735–5.

For his irregular entry, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), pp. 739–740. They note that "following the form, if not the substance, of the 1987 they [= Cédras, General Biamby and Major Michel François] offer [the Presidency] to Supreme Court Justice Joseph Nerette, who accepted." They also note, however, that "real power was in the hands of Cédras and his fellow officers ...."

For his irregular exit under the direct pressure of a U. S. invasion, and the "freelance" role and deal brokered by Carter, see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.753–9.

Cédras and cohorts receive golden hand-shake from the US and are airlifted into exile. *Washington Post* 10/2/1994, p. C1. In 1998 General Cédras was living in Panama, when Haiti requested extradition. Lt. Col. Joseph Michel François in Honduras & Gen Philippe Biamby in Miami. See *The New York Times*, Mar. 3, 1998, p.A6.

HAI-1994 41 HAI Aristide 15/10/1994 07/02/1996

For his irregular entry at the hands of the U. S., see Heinl & Heinl (1996), p.753–9.

HAI-1996 41 HAI Preval 07/02/1996 07/02/2001

René Préval had been prime minister under Aristide. He was, according to Heinl & Heinl (1996), p. 736 "a bakery owner with European training as an agronomist." Forbidden by law to run for a second consecutive term. (Fredriksen.)

HAI-2001 41 HAI Aristide 08/02/2001 29/02/2004

Exile after rebels control much of country and strong US pressure for resignation. Aristide himself denies having resigned voluntarily. *Washington Post* 3-1-2004, A01; *The New York Times* 3-2-2004, p. 10.

Arturo Valenzuela (2004), "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted," in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15, No. 4, October, pp.5–19, notes (p.8) "Elected again in 2000, resigned 2004 amid uprising by former military and deterioration of authority. Authoritarian style of governance, confrontational politics, allegations of corruption. Replaced by Supreme Court chief justice designated by constitution as provisional president. Prime Minister appointed."

HAI-2004 41 HAI Boniface Alexandre 29/02/2004 31/12/2004

Note that Arturo Valenzuela (2004), "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted," in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15, No. 4, October, pp.5–19, claims (p.8) that Aristide was "Replaced by Supreme Court chief justice designated by constitution as provisional president."

2.6 DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

From the Encyclopedia Britannica: "In the 1830s Juan Pablo Duarte—known as the father of Dominican independence—organized a secret society to fight the Haitians. The rebellion gained strength after a devastating earthquake in 1842, as well as the outbreak of civil war in Haiti itself, and in 1844 independence was finally achieved. However, Duarte and other idealistic freedom fighters were soon forced into exile." Ethnicity/race for Dominican presidents until 1966 is available in Rayford W. Logan, *Haiti and the Dominican Republic*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1968, Appendix II, p.203–204. Pre-1875 leaders and dates come from Logan (1968) and in particular from Sumner Welles (1928), Vols. I & II.

12/11/1844–04/08/1848 42 DOM Pedro Santana

Logan (1968), p. 33 notes"on 27 February 1844 several revolutionaries seized the fortress of the Puerta del Conde in Santo Domingo City and on the following day forced the Haitian commander to capitulate. Thus the Dominican republic won its independence, not from Spain but from Haiti." For details, in particular how Santana outmaneuvers Duarte, see Sumner Welles (1928), pp.63-75. Santana obtains a Constitution with a four year term, and his election for the first two terms.

Welles (1928), p.86–7 notes "If Santana was disheartened by the opposition of the Congress, he was frankly dismayed by the success of his Minister for War, General Jiménez, in partially organizing a conspiracy, the object of which was to force his chief to resign the Presidency in his favour. During Santana's brief absence from the capital in the Seybo where he was recovering from an illness of some months' duration, all the troops favourable to the President were removed from Santo Domingo, which was garrisoned by others whom Jiménez had found means to suborn. Upon Santana's return he found the time had passed when he could have withstood the demands of some of the members of his Cabinet for his resignation. Basing his resignation, however, upon his dispute with Congress, General Santana announced his decision to retire from the Presidency hoping that he would be recalled to power by his fellow-citizens in the not far distant future. ... on August 4, 1848, General Santana presented his formal resignation to the Cabinet, which, under the Constitution, assumed control of the Executive power He himself left the capital at once and proceeded to his estancia, El Prado, in the Province of Seybo, where he determined himself to busy himself withe the care of the cattle and the hogs which he raised there in large numbers until such time as the necessities of the Government might again demand his attention." He is subsequently safe on his farm, see Welles (1928), p.90.

Logan reports that he dies on 14 June, 1864.

08/09/1848–29/05/1849 42 DOM Manuel Jiménez

Welles (1928)m p.91 "On January 21st, 1849, the long-sought-for recognition had been officially extended to the Dominican Republic by the Governments of France and England."

Welles, (1928), pp.87–8 "On September 4, 1848, the Congress, convoked by the Cabinet for that purpose, elected Santana's Secretary of War, General Manuel Jiménez, as President of the Republic. On September 8th, General Jiménez took the oath as President before Congress."

Logan (968), p. 35 notes that "Soulouque invaded the Dominican republic on 5 March 1849." Welles (1928), p.93 notes this brings Santana to the fore again. "On May 12th, the Congress summoned the President before it to request from him an explanation of the lack of preparations made by the Government to repel the Haitian attack. ... Santana, emboldened by the assistance which Baez was rendering him the the Congress, now also, on May 19th, broke openly with Jiménez, and marched upon the capital where Jiménez had surrounded himself with the very small number of persons who still remained loyal to him. On May 29th, after a capitulation had been agreed to by Jiménez, through the intervention of the British and French Consuls and the American Agent, Jiménez resigned his office, and fled from the capital on a British vessel for Curaçao."

His son, Don Juan Isidro Jimémez becomes president later.

20/09/1849–15/02/1853 42 DOM Buenaventura Báez

For áez's entry, see Welles (1928), pp.93–96. p.94 "With the army under the complete domination of Santana, and the Congress responsive to Baez ..." p.95 "Baez, representing that his own activities in the Congress had been responsible in great measure for Jiménez downfall, claimed the Presidency for himself since Santana had already announced his own unwillingness to return to office—and to this contention the Dictator could raise no valid objection." Báez is elected by Congress, while Santana is appointed General-in-Chief of the Armies of the Republic. He is inaugurated September 24, 1849.

For the transition period, Welles (1928), p.99 notes that the U.S. Commissioner, Green, wrote to Secretary Clayton "On the flight of Jiménez, the late President, of which you will have heard before this reaches you, the administration of affairs was placed temporarily in the hands of General Santana. An election was then had, and Santana declining to be a candidate, Buenaventura Baez, late President of the Congress, was chosen President ...."

For his exit, see Welles (1928), p.125–7 [1852 – 1853] "It was, in fact, painfully evident to Baez that Santana had obtained such an effective control over the army and was so strongly supported by the mass of the people that his own continuance in the Presidential chair depended solely upon the whim of the "Liberator" of the Republic. ... As a final bid for Spanish favour, in his farewell address to the Congress, which had assembled January 26, 1843, and had at once elected the "Liberator" President of the Republic, ... On February 15, 1853, General Pedro Santana again took office as President of the Republic, ..."

For his post-tenurefate, Welles (1928), p.134 "Declaring that the safety of the Republic demanded it [July 3,1853], he announced that he had determined to avail himself of the prerogatives vested in him by Article 210 of the Constitution to decree the perpetual exile from the territory of the Republic Buenaventura Baez." Baez goes to St. Thomas.

15/02/1853–26/05/1856 42 DOM Pedro Santana

For his entry, see Welles (1928), p.125–7 [1852 – 1853] "It was, in fact, painfully evident to Baez that Santana had obtained such an effective control over the army and was so strongly supported by the mass of the people that his own continuance in the Presidential chair depended solely upon the whim of the "Liberator" of the Republic. ... As a final bid for Spanish favour, in his farewell address to the Congress, which had assembled January 26, 1843, and had at once elected the "Liberator" President of the Republic, ... On February 15, 1853, General Pedro Santana again took office as

President of the Republic, . . . ”

Logan (1968), p. 37 notes that Santana was “re-elected president on 15 February 1853.”

A new Constitution is approved on February 25, 1854. It provided for a Vice Presidency, with a Vice President to be elected for a term of four years, two yeas after the President's election. Santana obtained an increase in his own tenure of office of two terms of six years each, dating from April 1, 1855. Welles (1928), pp.145–6.

For his exit, see Welles, 168–9. “By the spring of 1856, he had decided to resort to the same manoeuvre which had been successful before. Retiring to El Prado, he announced his decision to resign the presidency, and forced the Senado Consultor, on May 26th, to accept his resignation, leaving the Vice President, General Regla Mota, to assume the Presidency in accordance withe the Constitution then in force.”

See also Logan (1968), p. 37 writes “Santana, probably realizing that he could no longer look to the United States for support, resigned on 26 May 1856, leaving the presidency to Vice-President Regla Mota. . . . Regla Mota resigned and on 8 October 1856, Báez become president for the second time. The game of musical chairs continued; under the influence of Segovia, Báez exile Santana; the Spanish government disavowed Segovia; Santana returned from exile and, after an interim government, became president for the third time on 31 January 1859.”

His post-exit fate is thus exile. See also Fagg (1965), p. 148 who notes that Báez deports Santana. Welles (1928), pp.177–8 provides more detail. “[Baez] ordered General José Maria Cabral to proceed with a body of troops to El Prado, and Santana was arrested and brought to the capital on January 8th. At midnight on the 11th of January, 1857, the Liberator was placed upon the Dominican schooner *Ozama*, and after being later transferred, to the French Frigate *Iphigénie*, finally succeeded reaching St. Thomas, the refuge of so many Dominican exiles.”

26/05/1856–08/10/1856 42 DOM Manuel de Regia Mota

Regular entry, since Logan (1968), p. 37 writes “Santana, probably realizing that he could no longer look to the United States for support, resigned on 26 May 1856, leaving the presidency to Vice-President Regla Mota. . . . Regla Mota resigned and on 8 October 1856, Báez become president for the second time. The game of musical chairs continued; under the influence of Segovia, Báez exile Santana; the Spanish government disavowed Segovia; Santana returned from exile and, after an interim government, became president for the third time on 31 January 1859.” See also Welles, 168–9. “By the spring of 1856, he had decided to resort to the same manoeuvre which had been successful before. Retiring to El Prado, he announced his decision to resign the presidency, and forced the Senado Consultor, on May 26th, to accept his resignation, leaving the Vice President, General Regla Mota, to assume the Presidency in accordance withe the Constitution then in force.”

For his exit, see Welles (1928), pp.170-3. “[Spanish Consul] Segovia obliged Regla Mota to summon the Electoral college to meet September 22nd, to fill the vacancy existing in the Vice Presidency and to send at the same time an invitation to Baez, who was still in St. Thomas, requesting him to return immediately to the Republic. Baez was to return to the Presidency through the Vice Presidency. . . . The sole hope of General Regla Mota and the supporters of Santana lay in some effective demonstration of sympathy by the Government of the United States. . . . deprived of all hope of the American support

upon which they had once confidently counted, Regla Mota and Santana were helplessly obliged to give in to the force of he circumstances Segovia had created. ... Immediately after his return, in accordance with the plans elaborated by the Spanish Consul, Baez was elected Vice President of the Republic. On October 6th, Baez, attended by the President, General Regla Mota ... took the oath of office before the Senate .... The time was now ripe for the last step. Consequently General Regla Mota, who had long since abandoned hope of withstanding the plans of the Spanish Consul, resigned the Presidency on October 8th, leaving Baez once more in the Presidential chair."

08/10/1856–07/07/1857 42 DOM Buenaventura Báez

For his entry, see Welles (1928), pp.170-3. "[Spanish Consul] Segovia obliged Regla Mota to summon the Electoral college to meet September 22nd, to fill the vacancy existing in the Vice Presidency and to send at the same time an invitation to Baez, who was still in St. Thomas, requesting him to return immediately to the Republic. Baez was to return to the Presidency through the Vice Presidency. ... The sole hope of General Regla Mota and the supporters of Santana lay in some effective demonstration of sympathy by the Government of the United States. ... deprived of all hope of the American support upon which they had once confidently counted, Regla Mota and Santana were helplessly obliged to give in to the force of he circumstances Segovia had created. ... Immediately after his return, in accordance with the plans elaborated by the Spanish Consul, Baez was elected Vice President of the Republic. On October 6th, Baez, attended by the President, General Regla Mota ... took the oath of office before the Senate .... The time was now ripe for the last step. Consequently General Regla Mota, who had long since abandoned hope of withstanding the plans of the Spanish Consul, resigned the Presidency on October 8th, leaving Baez once more in the Presidential chair."

Báez subsequently abolishes the Vice Presidency.

For his exit, see Welles (1928), pp.181–6. " on July 7th, the political and military leaders in the Cibao provinces proclaimed themselves in open rebellion against the Government. On that night ... a series of resolutions were drawn up disavowing the authority of the Government in Santo Domingo, and declaring that had usurped the Presidency, since the Constitution of 1854 had stipulated that a period of six years must elapse before a citizen could be reelected as President of the Republic, and that as Baez's first term had only expired on February 27, 1853, he could not have been constitutionally re-elected before 1859. The leaders of the revolt, Don Benigno Filomeno de Rojas and Generals José Desiderio Valverde and Domingo Mallol, at once formed a Provisional Government. General Valverde was selected as its President, with de Rojas as Vice President, ... The revolt spread like wildfire throughout the Republic, ..." Baez is impeached July 26th. "Already, by the first of August, the capital was surrounded by revolutionary troops .... The capitulation demanded by the revolutionary general was contemptuously rejected by Baez, who ordered repeated attempts made to dislodge the besieging forces from around the walls of the city." Santana returns and takes over the command of the besieging forces. The siege lasts for months, until June 12, 1858. A new constitution (the Moca Constitution) is drawn up, which established both universal suffrage and direct elections, signed February 19, 1858. "A transitory provision of the Constitution entrusted the selection of the first President and Vice President under the new Constitution to the Constitutional Convention itself, and General Valverde and Don Benigno de Rojas were confirmed in the offices which they already held, taking the oath of office on the 1st of

March 1858. ... the majority of the President's [= Baez] supporters, in mortal dread of the vengeance Santana would impose, refused to permit Baez to give in. ... a form of capitulation was at length signed on June 12, 1858. The capitulations provided that the President should resign his office and leave the country, while Santana obliged himself to refrain from persecuting any of the supporters of the Baez administration. As soon as the capitulations were signed, Baez, with the members of his Cabinet, fled from the capital on a Government vessel to Curaçao, and Santana, once more at the head of victorious troops, entered Santo Domingo on June 3th. The year-long siege was ended."

Welles, (1928), p. 197 notes "Buenaventura Baez, who after his flight from the capital had been residing in the United States."

07/07/1857–20/08/1858 42 DOM José Desiderio Valverde

For his entry, see Welles (1928), pp.181–6. " on July 7th, the political and military leaders in the Cibao provinces proclaimed themselves in open rebellion against the Government. On that night ... a series of resolutions were drawn up disavowing the authority of the Government in Santo Domingo, and declaring that had usurped the Presidency, since the Constitution of 1854 had stipulated that a period of six years must elapse before a citizen could be reelected as President of the Republic, and that as Baez's first term had only expired on February 27, 1853, he could not have been constitutionally re-elected before 1859. The leaders of the revolt, Don Benigno Filomeno de Rojas and Generals José Desiderio Valverde and Domingo Mallol, at once formed a Provisional Government. General Valverde was selected as its President, with de Rojas as Vice President, ... Already, by the first of August, the capital was surrounded by revolutionary troops .... The capitulation demanded by the revolutionary general was contemptuously rejected by Baez, who ordered repeated attempts made to dislodge the besieging forces from around the walls of the city." Santana returns and takes over the command of the besieging forces. The siege lasts for months, until June 12, 1858. A new constitution (the Moca Constitution) is drawn up, which established both universal suffrage and direct elections, signed February 19, 1858. "A transitory provision of the Constitution entrusted the selection of the first President and Vice President under the new Constitution to the Constitutional Convention itself, and General Valverde and Don Benigno de Rojas were confirmed in the offices which they already held, taking the oath of office on the 1st of March 1858. ... the majority of the President's [= Baez] supporters, in mortal dread of the vengeance Santana would impose, refused to permit Baez to give in. ... a form of capitulation was at length signed on June 12, 1858. The capitulations provided that the President should resign his office and leave the country, while Santana obliged himself to refrain from persecuting any of the supporters of the Baez administration. As soon as the capitulations were signed, Baez, with the members of his Cabinet, fled from the capital on a Government vessel to Curaçao, and Santana, once more at the head of victorious troops, entered Santo Domingo on June 3th. The year-long siege was ended."

A new constitution (the Moca Constitution) is drawn up, which established both universal suffrage and direct elections, signed February 19, 1858.

Welles, (1928), p.187–8 notes "Appointing, on July 30th, a Cabinet of Secretaries ... he awaited the reaction of the Cibao Government to the trend which events had taken. Although General Valverde soon ascertained that the public enthusiasm which had acclaimed his Government outside the Province of Santiago during the revolution against Baez, had been created rather by the general detestation of Baez than by the

popularity of the Santiago administration, he was not at first inclined to give in to Santana, ... Santana soon became impatient, and sending troops from the capital towards the north under the command of General Abad Alfau, forced the towns through which his troops marched to declare themselves favourable to him. La Vega, Moca, and San Francisco de Macoríis withdrew their allegiance from the Santiago Government, and finally, as the result of increasing desertions from his own forces, General Valverde accepted the inevitable and tendered his resignation as President of the Republic on August 28th. Santana's troops entered Santiago on September 1st, and with this, the Liberator's authority was generally recognized throughout the Republic. The members of the Santiago Government [= Valverde], profiting by previous experience, left the country as soon as they could find the means to do so."

DELETED
28/08/1858–30/01/1859 42 DOM Provisional Government
See below.

01/09/1858–18/03/1861 42 DOM Pedro Santana

Based on effective control, see below, we code his entry date as 1 September 1858, and not 31 January 1859 as in Logan (1968). Note moreover that Rulers.org has his entry as 28 July 1858, for the justification of that date see also below. Since it is clear he has only the support of the South at that time, we consider September a more appropriate date.

For his entry, see Welles (1928), pp.181–8. "on July 7th, the political and military leaders in the Cibao provinces proclaimed themselves in open rebellion against the Government. On that night ... a series of resolutions were drawn up disavowing the authority of the Government in Santo Domingo, and declaring that had usurped the Presidency, since the Constitution of 1854 had stipulated that a period of six years must elapse before a citizen could be reelected as President of the Republic, and that as Baez's first term had only expired on February 27, 1853, he could not have been constitutionally re-elected before 1859. The leaders of the revolt, Don Benigno Filomeno de Rojas and Generals José Desiderio Valverde and Domingo Mallol, at once formed a Provisional Government. General Valverde was selected as its President, with de Rojas as Vice President, ... The revolt spread like wildfire throughout the Republic, ..." Baez is impeached July 26th. "Already, by the first of August, the capital was surrounded by revolutionary troops .... The capitulation demanded by the revolutionary general was contemptuously rejected by Baez, who ordered repeated attempts made to dislodge the besieging forces from around the walls of the city." Santana returns, he reaches Santiago by the end of August, 1857, and petitioned the Provisional Government to appoint him commander-in-chief of the besieging forces. Under no illusions, the Provisional Government appoints him to that role on September 18th, 1857. The siege lasts for many months, until June 12, 1858. A new constitution (the Moca Constitution) is drawn up, which established both universal suffrage and direct elections, signed February 19, 1858. "A transitory provision of the Constitution entrusted the selection of the first President and Vice President under the new Constitution to the Constitutional Convention itself, and General Valverde and Don Benigno de Rojas were confirmed in the offices which they already held, taking the oath of office on the 1st of March 1858. ... the majority of the President's [= Baez] supporters,

in mortal dread of the vengeance Santana would impose, refused to permit Baez to give in. ...a form of capitulation was at length signed on June 12, 1858. The capitulations provided that the President should resign his office and leave the country, while Santana obliged himself to refrain from persecuting any of the supporters of the Baez administration. As soon as the capitulations were signed, Baez, with the members of his Cabinet, fled from the capital on a Government vessel to Curaçao, and Santana, once more at the head of victorious troops, entered Santo Domingo on June 13th. The year-long siege was ended. ... On July 27th, a commission of prominent citizens of Santo Domingo, ... waited upon General Santana to advise him that the provinces of the south conferred upon the Liberator full powers to reëstablish immediately the Constitution of 1854, in place of the Constitution of Moca which "catered solely to the interests of the Cibao," and besought him to maintain public order, and to reach an agreement with General Valverde which might guarantee the interests of the entire nation. ... Appointing, on July 30th, a Cabinet of Secretaries ... he awaited the reaction of the Cibao Government to the trend which events had taken. Although General Valverde soon ascertained that the public enthusiasm which had acclaimed his Government outside the Province of Santiago during the revolution against Baez, had been created rather by the general detestation of Baez than by the popularity of the Santiago administration, he was not at first inclined to give in to Santana, ... Santana soon became impatient, and sending troops from the capital towards the north under the command of General Abad Alfau, forced the towns through which his troops marched to declare themselves favourable to him. La Vega, Moca, and San Francisco de Macoríis withdrew their allegiance from the Santiago Government, and finally, as the result of increasing desertions from his own forces, General Valverde accepted the inevitable and tendered his resignation as President of the Republic on August 28th. Santana's troops entered Santiago on September 1st, and with this, the Liberator's authority was generally recognized throughout the Republic. The members of the Santiago Government [= Valverde], profiting by previous experience, left the country as soon as they could find the means to do so. On September 23rd, Santana, who had proceeded to the Cibao to assure himself that effective means were being taken by his subordinates to crush all potential opposition, returned to Santo Domingo, where the populace accompanied him to a Te Deum in the Cathedral to give thanks for the return to power of the Liberator, whom so short a time before they had sped upon his way to exile. ... On January 31, 1859, General Santana, who had naturally enough been elected President by a great majority, was inaugurated as President of the Republic for the third time, and his close supporter, General Abad Alfau, was elected to the Vice Presidency."

For Santana's lengthy machinations to have the Dominican Republic return sovereignty to Spain, see Welles (1928), p.188–228. Once sovereignty is transferred, Santana becomes Captain-General of Santo Domingo. Ibid, p. 245. He resigns, March 28th, 1862. He is granted the title of Marqués de las Carreras, the rank of Senator of the Kingdom and a life-pension of $12,000. "On July 20, 1862, Santana installed his successor, General Felipe Rivero y Lemoyne, as Captain-General, and retired to meditate upon the perversities of fate at his beloved estancia, El Prado." He dies June 14th, 1864 "whether by a stroke or his own hand has never been definitely established." Welles (1928), p.270.

18/03/1861–20/07/1865 **Spanish Occupation**

For Santana's lengthy machinations to have the Dominican Republic return sovereignty to Spain, see Welles (1928), p.188–228.

For the period and end of the occupation, see Welles (1928), Vol. I, Chapter III, "The Spanish Occupation." Ibid, p. 294 "the Queen of Spain had sanctioned, on the first of May [1865], the law approved by the Cortes revoking the decree of March 19, 1861, which authorized the annexation of the Republic to Spain."

25/03/1865–13/08/1865 42 DOM Pedro Antonio Pimentel

For his entry, see Welles (1928), p.290 "Announcing a determination as strong as that of its predecessor to come to no agreement with Spain other than one based upon the unconditional evacuation of the Island, the new Government proceeded to declare in force he Moca Constitution of 1858, and, after the holding of such elections as the times permitted, installed on March 25th a Constitutional Government of the Republic, at whose head were General Pedro Antonio Pimentel as President and de Rojas as Vice-President."

For his exit, Welles (1928), p.300 "The opposition to the Provisional Government became so violent that in the beginning of August armed outbreaks occurred in the capital and in the west, where the military leaders refused further to recognize the Santiago Government, and proclaimed General José Maria Cabral "Protector" of the Republic. Pimentel, cowed and unable to withstand this early rejection of his authority, resigned his office on August 13th, leaving the field clear to General Cabral."

For his fate, see Welles (1928), p.302 "At the end of October, General Pimentel, recovered from the panic into which the unpopularity of his own Government had thrown him, and permitted to return to the capital, seized his opportunity and demanded the removal of all those partisans of Cabral who were opposed to Baez's return." Ibid, p.305 notes that he is appointed Minister of Interior and Police in the new Baez Cabinet.

13/08/1865–08/12/1865 42 DOM José Maria Cabral

For his entry, Welles (1928), p.300 "The opposition to the Provisional Government became so violent that in the beginning of August armed outbreaks occurred in the capital and in the west, where the military leaders refused further to recognize the Santiago Government, and proclaimed General José Maria Cabral "Protector" of the Republic. Pimentel, cowed and unable to withstand this early rejection of his authority, resigned his office on August 13th, leaving the field clear to General Cabral. Cabral, while similar to Pimentel in lacking strength of character and decision, differed radically from him in having at heart, so far as his limited intelligence permitted him to grasp them, the interests of his country."

For his ouster, see ibid, p. 302–3 "Largely due to the manner in which Baez played, through his agents, upon the jealousies and rivalries of the chiefs of the late revolution, the Provisional Government of Cabral fell before many months. One by one the civilians who had rallied about the "Protector" were forced through the pressure of the military chieftains to vacate the posts to which Cabral had appointed them, and the struggle degenerated into the old effort of the followers of Baez to throw out of office the supporters of Santana. At the end of October, General Pimentel, recovered from the panic into which the unpopularity of his own Government had thrown him, and permitted to return to the capital, seized his opportunity and demanded the removal of all those partisans of Cabral who were opposed to Baez's return. Cabral weakly acceded to these demands, ... On the same day upon which the National Assembly after much deliberation had finally agreed upon one of the most liberal constitutions which the Dominican Republic has known,

the Assembly found itself forced, by the threats of a rabble of armed ruffians brought to the capital from the Seybo by General Pedro Guillermo, an illiterate negro partisan of Baez's, to elect the latter President of the Republic. Acting under similar coercion the Assembly was later forced to agree to the election of a new COngress, composed of Baez's followers, and at the same time Cabral agreed further to stultify himself by proceeding to Curaçao at the head of a commission to beseech Baez to return once more as President of the Republic."

Logan (1968), p. 42 notes "a mob led by General Pedro Guillermo, a Negro partisan of Báez, overthrew Cabral, and on 8 December 1865 Báez began his third term as president."

Welles (1928), p.305 notes that in the new Baez Cabinet José Maria Cabral was appointed Minister of War. However, p. p.307 he also notes that the rivalry "between the President [Baez] and Cabral, terminating in the flight of the latter . . . "

08/12/1865–28/05/1866 42 DOM Buenaventura Báez

For his entry, see Welles (1928), p. 302–3 "Largely due to the manner in which Baez played, through his agents, upon the jealousies and rivalries of the chiefs of the late revolution, the Provisional Government of Cabral fell before many months. One by one the civilians who had rallied about the "Protector" were forced through the pressure of the military chieftains to vacate the posts to which Cabral had appointed them, and the struggle degenerated into the old effort of the followers of Baez to throw out of office the supporters of Santana. At the end of October, General Pimentel, recovered from the panic into which the unpopularity of his own Government had thrown him, and permitted to return to the capital, seized his opportunity and demanded the removal of all those partisans of Cabral who were opposed to Baez's return. Cabral weakly acceded to these demands, . . . On the same day upon which the National Assembly after much deliberation had finally agreed upon one of the most liberal constitutions which the Dominican Republic has known, the Assembly found itself forced, by the threats of a rabble of armed ruffians brought to the capital from the Seybo by General Pedro Guillermo, an illiterate negro partisan of Baez's, to elect the latter President of the Republic. Acting under similar coercion the Assembly was later forced to agree to the election of a new Congress, composed of Baez's followers, and at the same time Cabral agreed further to stultify himself by proceeding to Curaçao at the head of a commission to beseech Baez to return once more as President of the Republic. On December 8, 1865, Buenaventura Baez, heralded by his own newspaper as "the angel of peace called to fulfill the patriotic mission of uniting the Dominicans and of making them truly happy under the protection of a government which will guarantee all their rights," was inaugurated for the third time as Constitutional President of the Republic."

Welles (1928), p. 307 He replaces the Constitution of 1865 with the Constitution of 1854 by which the President was granted almost dictatorial power.

For his ouster, see Welles (1928), p.309 "General Pimentel, hoping to outmaneuver his colleagues in the Triumvirate [=General Luperón and Federico de Jesú Garcia], as he had already successfully deceived Baez, deserted Luperón and Garcia and by forced marches appeared alone before the Capital at the end of May. On May 28th, the entrances to the city were forced, and Baez, who had already stationed a Government vessel in the port upon which he hoped to escape in the case of necessity, was obliged to take refuge at midnight, owing to the suddenness of the attack, in the French Consulate, whence he was secretly placed on board a passing steamer and was eventually enabled to reach Curaçao

once more."

Aslo Logan (1968), p. 43 writes "Although Congress granted him almost dictatorial powers, he [Báez] was unable to quell a third revolution; on 28 May 1866, he fled to Curaçao. ... Báez was overthrown on 28 May, 1866."

28/05/1866–22/08/1866 42 DOM Provisional Government

Welles (1928), p.309 "General Pimentel, hoping to outmaneuver his colleagues in the Triumvirate [=General Luperón and Federico de Jesús Garcia], as he had already successfully deceived Baez, deserted Luperón and Garcia and by forced marches appeared alone before the Capital at the end of May. On May 28th, the entrances to the city were forced, and Baez, who had already stationed a Government vessel in the port upon which he hoped to escape in the case of necessity, was obliged to take refuge at midnight, owing to the suddenness of the attack, in the French Consulate, whence he was secretly placed on board a passing steamer and was eventually enabled to reach Curaçao once more."

Welles (1928), p. 310–1 "For a time, the state of open anarchy which threatened was postponed by the agreement of many of the revolutionary chiefs upon a pact, signed on July 12th in Jacagua providing that Buenaventura Baez was deposed from the Presidency and should at no time in the future be permitted to return to office; that until the Dominican people in general elections should select a President all candidacies for the Presidency should be ignored, and that until such time as a President should be constitutionally inaugurated, the Government of the Triumvirate should be generally accepted throughout the country. On August 10 General Luperó and General Garcia joined the third member of the Triumvirate, General Pimentel, in the capital and immediately decrees were issued providing for the election of a Congress and a President of the Republic. The air was filled with rumours of plots and counterplots. A working agreement was soon entered into by Pimentel and Garcia for the capture or assassination of General Luperón, whose increasing popularity they had good reason to fear. But the latter, realizing that his own hopes of obtaining the Presidency must for the time being be laid aside, succeeded in checkmating his colleague by publicly suggesting that the Triumvirate be replaced by General Cabral, to hold office as Provisional President until such time as a Constitutional Government might be elected. Pimentel and Garcia, outplayed in their turn, were forced by the pressure of public opinion to agree, and on August 22nd, a decree was issued appointing General Cabral Provisional President, whereupon the members of the Triumvirate jointly agreed to withdraw their personal followers from the capital. Now that General Cabral had returned in power, as the result of the rivalry between the three members of the Triumvirate, his election as Constitutional President of the Republic was assured. On September 23rd, Cabral was proclaimed elected by a majority of 4,000 votes ... and as soon as the Constitution of 1865 had, with slight modifications, been once more proclaimed in force, the Provisional President, on September 29, 1866, was inaugurated as Constitutional President of the Republic."

22/08/1866–21/01/1868 42 DOM José Maria Cabral

For his entry, see Welles (1928), pp.310–1. "On August 22nd, a decree was issued appointing General Cabral Provisional President, whereupon the members of the Triumvirate jointly agreed to withdraw their personal followers from the capital. Now that General Cabral had returned in power, as the result of the rivalry between the three members of the Triumvirate, his election as Constitutional President of the Republic was

assured. On September 23rd, Cabral was proclaimed elected by a majority of 4,000 votes ... and as soon as the Constitution of 1865 had, with slight modifications, been once more proclaimed in force, the Provisional President, on September 29, 1866, was inaugurated as Constitutional President of the Republic."

Note that his exit date differs from both Logan (1968) and rulers.org. We follow Welles (1928), pp.339–341. "Cabral had delayed too long to make any assistance from the United States effective n preventing the overthrow of his own Government. By the beginning of January, 1868, the situation of his administration had become desperate. ... In December, a Provisional Government of the "Reds" had been installed in Santiago under the leadership of General Hungria, and by the end of January the authority of Cabral had been reduced to the uncertain control of the capital itself. The American Commercial Agent had by now little hope that the Government of Cabral could maintain itself in power. His reports during the month of January made the situation plain:

> The greater part of the country have pronounced against the Government, but the Government still holds the Capital and its environments. The troops stationed without the City were called into the Capital on January 3rd and on that night the insurgents commenced an occasional scattering fire which was replied to from the alls. General Pimentel has arrived and will probably be made Commander in Chief of the army. The Dominican schooner of war *Capotillo* has been captured by a Haitian war steamer near Monte Cristi, this proceeding being due to the Dominican negotiations respecting Saman. There undoubtedly exists a perfect understanding between President Salnave and General Baez to overthrow Cabral's Government, to sell Saman and divide the money.

Finally, having lost all hope of being able to sustain his Government through its own resources, and failing to receive any word from Pujol that an agreement had been reached in Washington, Cabral determined to capitulate:

> On January 21st, Santo Domingo surrendered to the opposition army. No word being received from Señor Pujol, General Cabral lost hope, the appearance of an epidemic of cholera at the same time causing many of the Government troops to desert. Generals Cabral and Pimentel, together with about 150 of the wealthier citizens of the Capital, embarked for Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, and the besieging army took possession of the City today.

[Mr. Somers Smith [American Commercial Agent] to Secretary Seward, February 1, 1868.]"

Welles (1928), p. 345 that "[b]efore the end of May, General Cabral had already entered Dominican territory from Jacmel in Haiti."

21/01/1868–03/29/1868 42 DOM Provisional Government

Note that the entry and exit date differs from both Logan (1968) and rulers.org. We follow Welles (1928), pp.339–341.

For this government, and its composition, see see Welles (1928), pp.340–41. "In December, a Provisional Government of the "Reds" had been installed in Santiago under the leadership of General Hungria, and by the end of January the authority of Cabral had

been reduced to the uncertain control of the capital itself. The American Commercial Agent had by now little hope that the Government of Cabral could maintain itself in power. His reports during the month of January made the situation plain:

> The greater part of the country have pronounced against the Government, but the Government still holds the Capital and its environments. The troops stationed without the City were called into the Capital on January 3rd and on that night the insurgents commenced an occasional scattering fire which was replied to from the alls. ...

[Mr. Somers Smith to Secretary Seward, January 6, 1868.]

Finally, having lost all hope of being able to sustain his Government through its own resources, and failing to receive any word from Pujol that an agreement had been reached in Washington, Cabral determined to capitulate:

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[Mr. Somers Smith [American Commercial Agent] to Secretary Seward, February 1, 1868.]

On February 12th, General Hungria, the head of the Santiago Provisional Government, arrived in Santo Domingo. His Cabinet resigned three days later owing to the distaste of its members for the policy of persecution initiated by the revolutionary generals. Thereupon a Triumvirate composed of Generals Hungria, Gomez and Lucinano was installed, which inaugurated the new régime by casting 100 political prisoners into the jail in the fortress of the capital. Enheartened doubtless by official congratulations from the Haitian Government upon the success of the revolution in overthrowing General Cabral, who "had endeavored to dispose of part of the national territory to foreigners," the Triumvirate sent to Curaçao to bring Baez to the country. On March 29th, Baez returned once more to Santo Domingo, where he was welcomed with every manifestation of apparent popular delight. He was finally inaugurated on May 2d as President of the Republic, an office which, he announced, he had chosen in preference to that of Dictator, offered to him by the National Assembly."

03/29/1868–31/12/1873 42 DOM Buenaventura Báez

We differ with Logan (1968) and rulers.org on Báez's entry date and rely on Welles (1928), p. 341. On February 12th [1868], General Hungria, the head of the Santiago Provisional Government, arrived in Santo Domingo. His Cabinet resigned three days later owing to the distaste of its members for the policy of persecution initiated by the revolutionary generals. Thereupon a Triumvirate composed of Generals Hungria, Gomez and Lucinano was installed, which inaugurated the new régime by casting 100 political prisoners into the jail in the fortress of the capital. Enheartened doubtless by official congratulations from the Haitian Government upon the success of the revolution in overthrowing General Cabral, who "had endeavored to dispose of part of the national territory to foreigners," the Triumvirate sent to Curaçao to bring Baez to the country. On

March 29th, Baez returned once more to Santo Domingo, where he was welcomed with every manifestation of apparent popular delight. He was finally inaugurated on May 2d as President of the Republic, an office which, he announced, he had chosen in preference to that of Dictator, offered to him by the National Assembly."

Logan (1968), p. 46 notes "On 19 February 1870 an overwhelming majority of Dominicans voted for annexation by the United States. ... On 25 November 1873 representatives of both the Blues and the Reds organized a revolution under General Ignacio Maria González which forced Báez to resign on 2 January 1874 and to flee from the country."

Note that with the potential for annexation, US warships were stationed in Dominican waters, which significantly deterred coup activities and revolutions.

Baez reforms the Constitution. Welles (1928), p. 405 "Under the presidency of General Valentín Ramírez Baez, the President's half brother, the Convention concluded its labours on September 14, 1872, having first granted the President a term of six years' duration, with almost dictatorial powers, and having created the Vice Presidency, stipulating that elections for the President and the Vice President be held three years apart. Having succeeded in stemming the disorder within the republic, and having obtained by virtue of the new Constitution, the selection as Vice President of a supporter in whom he felt implicit confidence in the person of General Manuel Altagraciao Cáceres, Baez felt strong enough to turn his attention towards repairing the damage wrought his ambitions by the the definite refusal of the United States to agree to the annexation of the Republic."

For his exit, see Welles (1928), pp.410–2 "On November 25, 1873, in Puerto Plata, before a great public meeting called to protest against the tyranny of Baez, composed of representatives of both parties, General González proclaimed himself leader of the revolution. Within a month the feeble resistance which was all that Baez had been able to interpose was crushed, and on January 2, 1874, Baez resigned his office to the Congress assembled in the capital, and fled from the country." Also see *Daily Evening Bulletin*, (San Francisco, CA). Wednesday February 4, 1874, Issue 101 "Baez The San Domingo Chief in Exile" records "Buenaventura Baez, the deposed President of the Republic of Santo Domingo, came to this city from St. Thomas by the steamer South America on Thursday. ... When asked to give some account of the origin, course, and accomplishment of the revolution which had cost him his authority, he began by setting forth his reasons for retiring from the country without strenuous resistance. The leaders of the new movement, he said, were men of his own party, who owed their positions to him. This was especially true of General I. M. Gonzales, chief of the revolutionary party, who became Provisional President. He yielded from the fear that, by dividing and cutting down this party by a contest with the revolutionary, he would give the Haytian party–that of Luperon and Cabral–opportunity to come in. He has wished, also, to avoid bloodshed. The Haytians, he declared, are the natural enemies of the Dominicans, and the ascendancy of the Luperon-Cabral party would be dangerous to the prosperity of the republic. "Now," he went on, "although I am absent, my party is at the head of affairs." When asked for the cause which had turned his partisans against their chief, General Baez said that the main reason was to be found in the impatient ambition of General Gonzales, who yet wants two years of the age–35 years–required in a candidacy for the Presidency, but was determined to grasp the chief power by means of a revolution. His standing was due to the favor of Baez, who appointed him first Collector at Puerto Plata and afterwards

Governor. The principal pretext chosen by the agitators to excite the people against the President was their assertion to the unconstitutionality and impropriety of the alienation of Samantha Bay. [Sold to a foreign company (!), HG] ... Immediately after the breaking out of the insurrection, insurgents to the number of 150 marched on Santiago, the principal city on the north side. They were met by General Salcedo, who had about 500 men, and who, without orders from President Baez, encountered and defeated the insurgents on the second or third day of December. The movement might then have been put down entirely, General Baez declared, if he had not been determined to avoid bloodshed at any cost. He gave orders in the most positive terms against violent resistance, and announced his willingness that any one whom the people might desire should be chosen President in his place. The condition of my health was such then, added General Baez, that I was very willing to retire. After leaving Santiago, the revolutionists marched to the south side, toward the capitol ... The insurgents had about 150 men with 60 horses, while the Government troops were 1,600 strong, 300 of them being armed with Remington rifles. General Batista, commander of the insurgents, asked General Salcede, the Government General, for an armistice of four days. This was granted, and, as President Baez had made all his arrangements for leaving the country, there was no after opposition to the revolutionary march through the country. In the afternoon of the same day General Baez left Santo Domingo for St. Thomas by the French war vessel Kersaint, arrive at St. Thomas January 4th, and departing for New York ten days after. General Baez declares that he is in no sense an exile, as he left Santo Domingo voluntarily, and no sentence of banishment has been pronounced against him. ... With regard to projects and aspirations toward regaining office in Santo Domingo, he desired to say nothing ... For himself, he had been called four times to the Presidency, each time from a foreign country, and he found no reason for depression in his present position.–Ny. Y. Tribune, Jan. 25th."

DOM-1874 42 DOM Gonzalez 02/01/1874 23/02/1876

Ignacio María Gonzales. Logan (1968) has his entry on 2 January 1874, which is also the date implied by Welles (1928), p. 410. For his entry, see Welles (1928), pp.410–2 "On November 25, 1873, in Puerto Plata, before a great public meeting called to protest against the tyranny of Baez, composed of representatives of both parties, General González proclaimed himself leader of the revolution. Within a month the feeble resistance which was all that Baez had been able to interpose was crushed, and on January 2, 1874, Baez resigned his office to the

He removes Buenaventura Báez, who later yet again returns to power. See *Daily Evening Bulletin*, (San Francisco, CA). Wednesday February 4, 1874, Issue 101 "Baez The San Domingo Chief in Exile" records "Buenaventura Baez, the deposed President of the Republic of Santo Domingo, came to this city from St. Thomas by the steamer South America on Thursday. ... When asked to give some account of the origin, course, and accomplishment of the revolution which had cost him his authority, he began by setting forth his reasons for retiring from the country without strenuous resistance. The leaders of the new movement, he said, were men of his own party, who owed their positions to him. This was especially true of General I. M. Gonzales, chief of the revolutionary party, who became Provisional President. He yielded from the fear that, by dividing and cutting down this party by a contest with the revolutionary, he would give the Haytian party–that of Luperon and Cabral–opportunity to come in. He has wished, also, to avoid bloodshed. The Haytians, he declared, are the natural enemies of the Dominicans, and

the ascendancy of the Luperon-Cabral party would be dangerous to the prosperity of the republic. "Now," he went on, "although I am absent, my party is at the head of affairs." When asked for the cause which had turned his partisans against their chief, General Baez said that the main reason was to be found in the impatient ambition of General Gonzales, who yet wants two years of the age–35 years–required in a candidacy for the Presidency, but was determined to grasp the chief power by means of a revolution. His standing was due to the favor of Baez, who appointed him first Collector at Puerto Plata and afterwards Governor. The principal pretext chosen by the agitators to excite the people against the President was their assertion to the unconstitutionality and impropriety of the alienation of Samantha Bay. [Sold to a foreign company (!), HG] ... Immediately after the breaking out of the insurrection, insurgents to the number of 150 marched on Santiago, the principal city on the north side. They were met by General Salcedo, who had about 500 men, and who, without orders from President Baez, encountered and defeated the insurgents on the second or third day of December. The movement might then have been put down entirely, General Baez declared, if he had not been determined to avoid bloodshed at any cost. He gave orders in the most positive terms against violent resistance, and announced his willingness that any one whom the people might desire should be chosen President in his place. The condition of my health was such then, added General Baez, that I was very willing to retire. After leaving Santiago, the revolutionists marched to the south side, toward the capitol ... The insurgents had about 150 men with 60 horses, while the Government troops were 1,600 strong, 300 of them being armed with Remington rifles. General Batista, commander of the insurgents, asked General Salcede, the Government General, for an armistice of four days. This was granted, and, as President Baez had made all his arrangements for leaving the country, there was no after opposition to the revolutionary march through the country. ...–Ny. Y. Tribune, Jan. 25th."

Welles (1928), p. 412 notes that "González sought to eliminate the sole opposing candidate who had any chance for success in the popular elections which the Provisional Government had decreed. Baez had fled into exile; Cabral, Pimentel and Luperón had been exiled by decree of the Provisional Government."

Logan (1968), pp.46–7 writes "Since the leaders of both the Blues and the Reds who had made González president opposed him, he resigned on 21 February 1876, after proclaiming general elections which would again permit the people to elect a president. After a brief interim period, the people in March elected Ulises Francisco Espaillat."

Welles (1928), p.417 notes "Notwithstanding the fact that the Congress in the capital had, on February 21, 1876, declared unfounded the charges of corruption, tyranny and treason levelled by the "League of Peace" against the President, General González, realizing that he lacked the means wherewith to withstand the opposition to his Administration which had now become almost universal, determined to heed the advice tendered him by representatives of both the "Blue" and the "Red" factions, and resigned his office. He thereupon entrusted the Executive power to the members of his cabinet until a new Government could be organized, and prior to his resignation proclaimed the holding of general elections in order that the people might once more be afforded the opportunity of selecting their Chief Magistrate."

DOM-1876-**NEW** 42 DOM Villanueva 24/02/1876 03/03/1876

Rulers.org lists Pablo López Villanueva, with unknown birthdate or year, who died in 1902. Welles (1928), p. 418 notes "From February 24th until March 7th, General

Villanueva assumed entire control of affairs with the intention of preparing the way for the return of Baez. At length, on March 7th, realizing that public opinion, and more especially the opinion of his colleagues in the Cabinet, was overwhelmingly against him, and learning that troops were march on the city from east and west, Villanueva concluded to resign and fled from the capital to Haiti. Immediately thereafter the capital city was peacefully surrendered to the control of the leaders of the revolutionary forces."

DOM-1876-1 42 DOM Espaillat 29/04/1876 05/10/1876

For his entry see Logan (1968), pp.46–7 writes "Since the leaders of both the Blues and the Reds who had made González president opposed him, he resigned on 21 February 1876, after proclaiming general elections which would again permit the people to elect a president. After a brief interim period, the people in March elected Ulises Francisco Espaillat." See also Welles (1928), pp. 418–9. "The result of the elections of March, 1876, proved that the general longing for a reform government had not spent itself as the result of the ill success of the González Administration. The choice of the populace, guided thereto, it must be admitted, by the admonitions of Luperón, fell upon a man who had never been an active partisan in politics and who had no claim to military glory beyond his participation in the overthrow of Spanish domination. By an overwhelming majority, Don Ulises Francisco Espaillat was elected President and toook office in the capital on May 29, 1876."

Rebellions in the south and the east forced Espaillat to resign, see *The New York Times* Nov 12., 1876, p.7. "Gen Gonzales [upon his return, HG] has not imprisoned nor banished a single partisan of the fallen government." *The New York Times* Oct 25, 1876, p.5. "A pronunciamento took place in the Capitol on the 5th inst., in favor of ex-President Gonzales. President Espaillat made no resistance. He was accompanied from his residence by the British Consul to the French Consulate, passing through the armed multitude, and not one shot was fired." Clearly fled to the French consulate and thus 'exile' but see below.

See also for his exit Welles (1928), pp.425–6 "On October 5th, a group of malcontents in the capital seized the seat of Government and proclaimed themselves a national Dictatorship, announcing their intention to maintain their posts until General González could return. Espaillat was thus forced to resign. On December 20th, Espaillat issued a farewell message to his people, and returned to his home in the Cibao where he died soon after, profoundly disillusioned, a broken-hearted man."

DOM-1876-2 42 DOM Gonzalez 05/10/1876 09/12/1876

For his entry, see Welles (1928), pp.425–6 "On October 5th, a group of malcontents in the capital seized the seat of Government and proclaimed themselves a national Dictatorship, announcing their intention to maintain their posts until General González could return. Espaillat was thus forced to resign.... González's return to power lasted barely forty days.

> González and his gang were no more than the spider which ensnared Espaillat; Baez was the hawk. González and his followers were the rats which ran to devour the skeleton of the Republic; but behind them came Baez who was the cat.[fn.: Luperón, "Notas Autobiográficas," Vol. II, p. 354.]

Immediately after his return to the capital, General González had sent his Minister for War, General Villanueva, to the Cibao, where the latter entered into a conspiracy with

General Cáceres and other Baecista leaders, who declared themselves supporters of Baez rather than of González. Puerto Plata was captured by these chieftains; the revolutionary troops marched upon the capital, and González again fled from the country. Then, for the last time, Buenaventura Baez, the "Great Citizen" returned to power."

Logan (1968) p.47, suggests he held power from 5 October on, but Welles (above) suggest he was out of the country, or otherwise could not have been effective ruler.

Gonzalez was sent to exile. See *The New York Times*, Dec. 25. 1876, p.4 "President Gonzalez, who was called back to power when President Espaillat was deposed, again resigned his office on the 9th inst., and embarked for Mayaguez, Porto Rico." Welles, (1928), p. 427 notes that "General González ... had taken refuge at Port-au-Prince."

DELETED

DOM-1876-3 42 DOM Cabral 10/12/1876 26/12/1876

Marcos Antonio Cabral, President of the Provisional Governing Junta of the Dominican Republic. **Nota Bene**: This leader and his entry and exit date come from rulers. org. Welles (1928) does not mention him for this period (nor does Logan (1968)), and only refers to one Cabral. His relation to the other Cabral, José Maria Cabral, is unclear. His removal is unlikely to be in an irregular manner since he was a placeholder for the people who removed González on behalf of Baez. However, previously we had him removed in a coup. This whole entry is dodgy; Based on Welles (1928), pp. 425–427, it is extremely unlikely that he *effectively* ruled *anything*.

DOM-1876-4 42 DOM Buenaventura Báez 26/12/1876 02/03/1878

For his entry, see Welles, (1928), p.426 "Immediately after his return to the capital, General González had sent his Minister for War, General Villanueva, to the Cibao, where the latter entered into a conspiracy with General Cáceres and other Baecista leaders, who declared themselves supporters of Baez rather than of González. Puerto Plata was captured by these chieftains; the revolutionary troops marched upon the capital, and González again fled from the country. Then, for the last time, Buenaventura Baez, the "Great Citizen" returned to power. Installed as Dictator on December 27, 1876, Baez once more formed a Government .... In March of the following year he was declared elected President of the Republic by a National Convention, selected *ad hoc*, on the dubious constitutional ground that

> The heroic Dominican people, in the exercise of their inherent sovereignty, had unanimously proclaimed the Great Citizen, Buenaventura Baez, President of the Republic.

Baez's inaugural address was, as ever, replete with assurances."

Rulers.org "He began his political career in 1843 by helping lead the revolt that established the independence of the Dominican Republic from Haiti, with which it shares the island of Hispaniola. At this time, Báez believed that his nation could maintain its independence only by becoming a French protectorate, and to secure that end he was sent to Europe in 1846; the French, however, were not interested. During his first term as president, Báez tried unsuccessfully to have his country annexed by the United States

(1850). His second term ended when his government was overthrown by a coup d'état because of his involvement in corrupt financial transactions. He then invited Spain to occupy the Dominican Republic, and in return he was exiled to a comfortable life in Europe, financed by the Spaniards. When Spain abandoned the Dominican Republic in 1865, Báez returned to begin a third presidential term, but in May 1866 he was removed by another coup. In 1868 he was again made president, this time determined to gain annexation by the United States. He succeeded in persuading the United States to send warships, ostensibly to protect his country from Haiti; in reality he sought to protect his own business interests. But the U.S. Senate refused to ratify the annexation treaty, and in 1874 Báez again was forced to leave office. He served his last term in 1876-78 and was then exiled permanently to Puerto Rico."

For his exit, see *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Friday, March 1, 1878, Issue 52 "West Indies End of the San Domingo Revolution; Flight of Baez and Surrender of San Domingo City" records "New York, Feb. 28-A merchant of San Domingo in this city has received letters from Port-au-Prince of February 14. Generals Cabral and Billini (sp.?) had arrived at San Domingo and demanded the surrender of Baez in order, they said, to prevent further bloodshed. Baez, seeing his position no longer tenable, surrendered the city to them. Baez embarked on a vessel and left San Domingo. Cabral and Billini then assumed provisional government of the republic under the leadership of Manuel J. de Galvan. Elections for the presidency are expected soon, with de Galvan and J. Delmonte as candidates." Buenaventura Báez was exiled permanently to Puerto Rico.

See *The New York Times*, Mar. 16, 1878, p.1 "News had been received at St. Thomas that President Baez, of San Domingo, with his family, arrived at Mayaguez, in the Island of Porto Rico, on March 5. The fact of his arrival is all that was known in St. Thomas, when the steamer left. No further particulars had been received from Porto Rico to explain the President's departure from San Domingo." See also, *The New York Times*, Aug. 10, 1882, p.4. The period after Baez was forced into exile on 2 March 1878 is one where leaders of different regions compete.

Logan (1968), p. 47 notes "A new revolution, inspired by Father Fernando Arturo de Meriño and led by the Negro general Cesáreo Guillermo, forced Báez on 2 March 1878 to leave the country for the last time. He allegedly took with him some $300,000 of government money. General Luperón effected a reconciliation between Guillermo and González, and the people in May elected the latter president for the third time."

Welles (1928), p.430–1 "on February 18th, the Governmental detachment in Pajarito, across the Ozama River from the city of Santo Domingo, was almost annihilated by the troops under Guillermo. Baez now reached the conclusion that he had not the wherewithal to hold out any longer. Delaying for a few days the final negotiation of his capitulation with the leaders of the insurgents, the Dictator collected all the customs revenues which he could force the local merchants to pay in advance, amounting to some $70,—, and then, on March 2nd, abdicated his authority and set sail once more to Puerto Rico. Turing this last period in the Presidency the Great Citizen was enabled,

> by withholding the salaries both from civil officials and the soldiers in the field, to accumulate a sum of more than $300,000, which was sent abroad for deposit. [Mr. Paul Jones to the Secretary of State, March 19, 1878.]

On March 3rd, the revolutionists commander by General Guillermo marched into the capital, where a Provisional Government headed by their chieftain was at once established."

Báez dies March 14, 1884 in Puerto Rico.
(Rulers.org) Father of Ramon Báez, provisional ruler from 28/8/1914 to 5/12/1914.

DOM-1878-1 42 DOM Guillermo 05/03/1878 06/07/1878

For his entry, see Welles (1928), p.430–1 "On March 3rd, the revolutionists commander by General Guillermo marched into the capital, where a Provisional Government headed by their chieftain was at once established. For a while an anomalous situation existed, since at the same time that the Provisional Government of General Guillermo was functioning in the capital and controlling the more important seaports of the republic, a second Provisional Government of which General González had been proclaimed the chief was functioning in Santiago, and controlling the Cibao. ... it was determined to resort to the polls in determining the choice for the Presidency. A reconciliation was likewise effected between General González and General Luperón, resulting in a joint manifesto addressed by them to the people, urging the support of all classes and of all parties for the candidacy of the Chief of the Santiago Government. Consequently, in the general elections held in May of the same year General González was once more elected President."

See *The New York Times* Nov. 13, 1878, p.5. Elections were held so we coded that power transfer is constitutional. See *The New York Times*, Jun. 7, 1878, p.1 & The *Washington Post*, Jun. 19, 1878, p.1,

DOM-1878-2 42 DOM Gonzalez 06/07/1878 02/09/1878

Ignacio María Gonzalez was in power for the fifth time.

For his entry, see Welles (1928), p.431 "For a while an anomalous situation existed, since at the same time that the Provisional Government of General Guillermo was functioning in the capital and controlling the more important seaports of the republic, a second Provisional Government of which General González had been proclaimed the chief was functioning in Santiago, and controlling the Cibao. ... it was determined to resort to the polls in determining the choice for the Presidency. A reconciliation was likewise effected between General González and General Luperón, resulting in a joint manifesto addressed by them to the people, urging the support of all classes and of all parties for the candidacy of the Chief of the Santiago Government. Consequently, in the general elections held in May of the same year General González was once more elected President. Immediately after his inauguration, which occurred in the first days of the month of July, 1878, General González attempted to secure the continued support of General Luperón, ..."

Gen Gonzalez is therefore elected constitutionally. See *The New York Times*, Jun. 7, 1878, p.1 & The *Washington Post*, Jun. 19, 1878, p.1 & *The New York Times*, Aug. 17, 1878. The *Washington Post*, June 7, 1878. p.1 Runs for president, May 24-6, plus receives plurality. "The Camera has fixed the presidential term at one year." See also The Daily Constitution, August 17, 1878, p.1 "San Domingo" reports "Havana. August 16-Intelligence from Sandomingo to the 7th instant states that another revolution has broken out-the partizans of Baez and Luperan [sic, HG] having united against Gonzalez. Puerto Plata, Santiago and Moca are reported in the hands of revolutionists. The latter say the whole republic will soon join them."

For his exit, see *The New York Times* Sept. 25, 1878, p.1. "Havana, Sept. 24 - Advices from Santo Domingo by the St. Thomas steamer confirm the report of the success of the revolutionists, the capitulation of President Gonzalez and his departure

from the country on the 2d inst. for Curacao." See also Welles (1928), pp. 442–3 "By August 24th, Guillermo's forces had invested the capital both from the east bank of the Ozama River and from the western side of the city. On the following day, an engagement resulted, but as the President had only some 200 men to defend the city and no prospects of obtaining additional forces, he was forced on September 2nd to abdicate, and sailed for Curaçao."

Logan (1968), p. 47 also notes "on 2 September González left for Curaçao." While he serves under Heureaux, he flees aborad a Spanish warship to Puerto Rico. (Welles (1928), p. 500.)

DOM-1878-3 42 DOM del Rosario de Castro 07/09/1878 29/09/1878

Jacinto del Rosario de Castro.

Welles (1928), pp. 432–3: "On September 3rd, Guillermo entered the city [= the capital] ... For the time being, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was permitted to hold office as Provisional President, ..." We assume that del Rosario de Castro was this Justice.

DOM-1878-4 42 DOM Guillermo 30/09/1878 06/12/1879

Welles (1928), pp. 432–3: "On September 3rd, Guillermo entered the city [= the capital], to quote the American Commercial Agent,

> at the head of some 600 of the most villainous looking ruffians it was ever my misfortune to behold [Mr. Paul Jones to Secretary of State, April 2, 1878]

For the time being, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was permitted to hold office as Provisional President, General Guillermo assuring his own control of the situation by seizing the Portfolio of War in the Provisional Cabient; and finally, as the result of further elections held on January 26th, 27th, and 28th, General Guillermo forced his own election as Constitutional President, and was inaugurated on February 27th, 1879."

President (Gen.) Guillermo was removed unconstitutionally, and was sent to exile in Porto Rico. See *The New York Times*, Oct.24, 1879, p.5; *The New York Times*, Dec. 11, 1879, p.2. (Killed November 1885, see *The New York Times*, Dec. 1, 1885, p.2). See also *The New York Times* Aug. 21, 1881, p.7. For his unconstitutional ouster, see also Logan (1968), p. 47; on p. 49. Logan notes that Guillermo committed suicide in 1885 or 1886.

For his exit also see Welles (1928), pp. 434–5 "The movement for Guillermo's overthrow was instigated by Luperón, who returned from Europe in the autumn. Proclaiming a new revolution in Puerto Plata on October 6, 1879, Luperón constituted a Provisional Government and called to his support his chief adherents, appointing as members of the Provisional Cabinet Generals Heureaux and Lithgow, Alfredo Deetjen and the brothers Maximillian and Eliseo Grullón. ... After the city [=the capital] had been reduced to the point of starvation, President Guillermo realized that his time had come, and failing to obtain the assistance from the Spanish Captain-General of Puerto Rico for which he had secretly negotiated, he took refuge on December 6th upon a Spanish man-of-war which lay conveniently outside the harbour of Santo Domingo and fled to Puerto Rico."

DOM-1879 42 DOM Luperon 06/12/1879 01/09/1880

Gregorio Luperón. For his entry, see Welles (1928), pp.435–6 "The movement for Guillermo's overthrow was instigated by Luperón, who returned from Europe in the

autumn. Proclaiming a new revolution in Puerto Plata on October 6, 1879, Luperón constituted a Provisional Government and called to his support his chief adherents, appointing as members of the Provisional Cabinet Generals Heureaux and Lithgow, Alfredo Deetjen and the brothers Maximillian and Eliseo Grullón. ... After the city [=the capital] had been reduced to the point of starvation, President Guillermo realized that his time had come, and failing to obtain the assistance from the Spanish Captain-General of Puerto Rico for which he had secretly negotiated, he took refuge on December 6th upon a Spanish man-of-war which lay conveniently outside the harbour of Santo Domingo and fled to Puerto Rico. The Government of the republic was now vested in the hands of General Luperón, who insisted upon retaining the seat of his authority at Puerto Plata, delegating General Heureaux as his representative in the capital."

See also *The New York Times*, Aug. 10, 1882, p.4 records that General Luperón has returned from Paris, having satisfactorily completed his mission for the renewal of the treaties with the principal European governments. Looks OK-ish but slightly fishy. Rulers.org records that when Ulises Heureaux becomes president in 1882, he exiles Gregorio Luperon. On Luperón, Meriño & Heureaux, see *The New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1882, p.6.

For his regular exit, see Welles (1928), pp. 436–440. "On May 29, 1880, General Luperón addressed a public manifesto to the Dominican people urging upon them the election as their President of Padre Meriño. Granted this immense support, Padre Meriño was elected without opposition, and was inaugurated President of the Republic on September 1, 1880." He, too, flees under the Heureaux dictatorship. (Welles, (1928) p. 518).

DOM-1880 42 DOM de Merino 01/09/1880 01/09/1882

Padre Fernando Arturo De Meriño. For his regular entry, see Welles (1928), pp. 439–440. "On May 29, 1880, General Luperón addressed a public manifesto to the Dominican people urging upon them the election as their President of Padre Meriño. Granted this immense support, Padre Meriño was elected without opposition, and was inaugurated President of the Republic on September 1, 1880."

See *The New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1882, p.6. The *Washington Post*, Nov. 12, 1912, p.3, which records "In 1880 Archbishop Fernando Arturo de Merino, having received permission from the Pope to accept the position of chief executive in Santo Domingo. He served in the capacity for two years." *The New York Times*, Jul 27, 1899, p.1 says Merino served 3 terms. On Luperon, Merino & Heureaux, see *The New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1882, p.6.

He launches an *auto-golpe*: Welles (1928), p. 442 "President Meriño, on May 30, 1881, issued a decree announcing his assumption of power temporarily as Dictator of the nation. On the same day, a proclamation was issued abolishing the right of asylum in foreign consulates, ..."

For his exit, see Welles (1928), p. 443 "At length the time came for the Government to prepare for the national elections in which Padre Meriño's successor in the Presidency was to be selected. On May 31, 1882, the President promulgated a decree convoking the elections for the following July 1st, 2nd and 3rd. ... Inasmuch as the candidacies of General Ulises Heureaux as President and of General Casimiro N. de Moya as Vice President were supported by both President Meriño and by General Luperón and his adherents, the Governmental ticket was naturally elected by a great majority. On September 1, 1882, the new President and Vice President were inaugurated ... Thus, for the first time in

the history of the Republic save one, a President was regularly elected and installed in accordance with the Constitution."

DOM-1882 42 DOM Heureaux 01/09/1882 01/09/1884

Ulises Heureaux, nicknamed "Lilís." Welles (1928), p. 445 write "[t]hat he had no Dominican blood in his veins has always been well established ...." Ibid, p.446 "It is generally accepted ... that he was born on October 21, 1845 in the city of Puerto Plata, the illegitimate son of a Haitian, d'Assas Heureaux, by a negress of St. Thomas named Josefa Lebel."

For his constitutional entry, through an election, see Logan (1968), p. 48. See also Welles (1928), p. 443 "On May 31, 1882, the President promulgated a decree convoking the elections for the following July 1st, 2nd and 3rd. ... Inasmuch as the candidacies of General Ulises Heureaux as President and of General Casimiro N. de Moya as Vice President were supported by both President Meriño and by General Luperón and his adherents, the Governmental ticket was naturally elected by a great majority. On September 1, 1882, the new President and Vice President were inaugurated ... Thus, for the first time in the history of the Republic save one, a President was regularly elected and installed in accordance with the Constitution."

Heureaux "lost" power on Sept. 1884. Rulers.org notes that in 1884 and 1885 he selected his country's presidents while he continued to direct the government; from 1887 to his death he ruled almost uninterruptedly after abolishing the constitutional barrier against reelection. On Luperon, Merino & Heureaux, see *The New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1882, p.6.

See also Welles (1928), pp. 453–6 where he lays out how Heureaux manipulates the elections to get Billini elected, all the while trying to sooth and deceive General Luperón. This is a regular exit for Heureaux.

DOM-1884 42 DOM Billini 01/09/1884 16/05/1885

For Francisco Gregorio Billini's entry, see Welles (1928), pp. 453–6 where he lays out how Heureaux manipulates the elections to get Billini elected, all the while trying to sooth and deceive General Luperón. Welles (1928) p.455 "Heureaux, through his agents, had stuffed the ballot boxes in many of the districts where the election was close. Even so, in the capital, where every measure was resorted to in order to defeat the Imbert ticket, Billini received a sparse majority of 400 votes. ... Upon the inauguration of General Billini as President on September 1, 1884, the unity of leadership in the "Blue" party which had persisted without serious impairment during a period of twenty years had been shattered. It now remained for Heureaux to obtain the confidence of the leaders of the various factions into which his party had been split, and then to cause the disappearance from the scene of General Billini, who, he soon found, was not as tractable as he had supposed." We code this as a regular entry.

Since Heureaux was trying to manipulate affairs behind the scenes, expecting both Billini and Woss y Gill to be pliant puppets, it might be argued that the effective leader remained Heureaux. However, as noted above, Welles notes that Billini "was not as tractable as he had supposed." Similarly, Logan (1968), p. 49 notes "since Billini refused to be the puppet of Heureaux, he was compelled to resign on 16 May 1885. In accordance with the constitution, Vice-President Woss y Gil succeeded him."

Francisco Gregorio Billini resigned on May 16, 1885. Crisis was provoked by Heureaux.

DOM-1885 42 DOM Woss y Gil 16/05/1885 06/01/1887

For his entry However, Logan (1968) p.49 notes "since Billini refused to be the puppet of Heureaux, he was compelled to resign on 16 May 1885. In accordance with the constitution, Vice-President Woss y Gil succeeded him."

It could well be argued that both Billini and Woss y Gill were Heureaux puppets, see Logan (1968), pp. 49 ff.

Alejandro Woss Y Gil is Consul General in the US in 1899. See *The New York Times*, Sept. 2, 1899, p.7.

DOM-1887 42 DOM Heureaux 06/01/1887 26/07/1899

For his entry, see Logan (1968), p. 49 "Heureaux, after crushing an insurrection led by Guillermo, who committed suicide, manipulated the elections of 1886, this time to secure the presidency for himself. Since Congress could not assemble because of a revolution by the defeated candidate, Heureaux had to wait until 6 January 1887 before he took office." See also Welles (1928), p. 469.

For his exit, see Logan (1960), p. 52 "On 26 July 1899 a group of Dominicans headed by Ramón Caceres assassinated the dictator. Welles alleges that not one penny of the increased public debt had been expended for the public profit." Heureaux had served 4 consecutive terms, just reelected in 1897. His successor is his Vice President, Gen. Wenceslao Figuereo. See *The New York Times*, Jul 27, 1899, p.1. Welles (1928), p.535 notes that the idea of assassination "was at once cauht up with enthusiasm by Cáceres who had been led from early childhood to believe that Heureaux had been involved equally with Cesáreo Guillermo in the murder of his father, General Manuel Cáceres, and who was elated at the opportunity to distinguish himself in the minds of his countrymen by ridding the Republic of the tyrant."

DOM-1899-1 42 DOM Figuereo 27/07/1899 31/08/1899

Gen. Wenceslao Figuereo was Vice-President to Heureaux, and enters regularly. For his entry see Welles (1928), p.541 11The news of Heureaux's assassination dumbfounded the Dictator's satellites. Consternation seized the capital. It was only under protest that the aged Vice President, General Wenceslao Figuereo, whose initiative his chief had long since crushed, was finally persuaded to take up the reins of government. But fortified by the assurances of those surrounding him that the murder of Heureaux met with no popular response, Figuereo in turn encouraged the Congress, declaring in the official announcement of his Constitutional succession to the Chief Magistracy, that the indignant protests of the inhabitants of Moca made it certain that the assassination of Heureaux was devoid of any connection with an attempted rebellion against the Government." Which is not true.]

See also *The New York Times*, Jul 27, 1899, p.1. See also *The New York Times*, Aug. 3, 1899. He accepts becoming president on July 31, but as the *The New York Times* of Aug 3 reports that the Constitution of The Dominican Republic provides that in the event of the death of the President, the VP shall be empowered to exercise the functions of the Chief Magistrate.

For his exit, see Welles (1928), p. 547–8 "On the night of August 29th, the revolutionary generals gathered in the Governor's official residence in Santiago unanimously proclaimed General Vasquez Provisional President of the Republic. At once the Government was organized. ... On the following day, a commission sent by President Figuereo,

headed by General Vasquez's brother, Don Leonte Vasquez, reached Santiago to attempt to parley with the Provisional Government. Refusing to hear of any conditions other than those of absolute surrender on the part of the Government in Santo Domingo, General Vasquez set out at the head of his forces for the capital. Before he reached Santo Domingo, General Figuereo had already accepted the inevitable and resigned the Presidency, leaving control of the Government in the hands of those members of his Cabinet who had remained in the Capital. The cabinet itself had, however, been forced to resign on the following day, August 31st, by an uprising in the city, and upon General Vasquez's arrival at the gates of the capital on September 4th, the entry of the member s of the Provisional Government was unanimously acclaimed."

See also *The New York Times*, Sept. 1, 1899, p.7 reports that Figeureo retired to Azua in the interior. Revolts occurred but he was ok after he lost power.

DOM-1899-2 42 DOM Vasquez 01/09/1899 14/11/1899

For his entry, see Welles (1928), p. 547–8 "On the night of August 29th, the revolutionary generals gathered in the Governor's official residence in Santiago unanimously proclaimed General Vasquez Provisional President of the Republic. At once the Government was organized. ... On the following day, a commission sent by President Figuereo, headed by General Vasquez's brother, Don Leonte Vasquez, reached Santiago to attempt to parley with the Provisional Government. Refusing to hear of any conditions other than those of absolute surrender on the part of the Government in Santo Domingo, General Vasquez set out at the head of his forces for the capital. Before he reached Santo Domingo, General Figuereo had already accepted the inevitable and resigned the Presidency, leaving control of the Government in the hands of those members of his Cabinet who had remained in the Capital. The cabinet itself had, however, been forced to resign on the following day, August 31st, by an uprising in the city, and upon General Vasquez's arrival at the gates of the capital on September 4th, the entry of the member s of the Provisional Government was unanimously acclaimed."

Logan (1968) p. 52 "General Horacio Vásquez crushed a revolution and had himself proclaimed provisional president, on 4 September 1899. Vásquez supported Isidro Jiménez for the presidency; on 20 October Jiménez was elected president and Vásquez vice-president. They took office on 7 November."

For his exit, see Welles (1928), p. 549. Vasquez's "next step was the issuance on September 19th, of a decree convoking the people to national elections for the election of a Constitutional Government, and upon the same day General Vasquez announced his own support of Don Juan Isidro Jiménez as a candidate for the Presidency ...."

Welles (1928), p. 523 notes that General Ramón Cáceres (who subsequently became President 25/12/1905–19/11/1911), was Vasquez's cousin and closest friend. Ramón Cáceres probably was the son of Manuel Altagracia Cáeres who headed transitional governments either alone (31 Jan 1868 – 13 Feb 1868) or with González (22 Jan 1874 – 6 Apr 1874). See Rulers.org. This would mean that Vasquez is of course then also related to the previous ruler Manuel Altagracia Cáeres.

DOM-1899-3 42 DOM Jimenez 15/11/1899 02/05/1902

For his entry see Welles (1928), p. 549. Vasquez's "next step was the issuance on September 19th, of a decree convoking the people to national elections for the election of a Constitutional Government, and upon the same day General Vasquez announced his own

support of Don Juan Isidro Jiménez as a candidate for the Presidency ....” Ibid p. 554 “In the elections held October 20th, Jiménez was elected President without opposition and General Vasquez Vice President .... Called into special session on November 7th, the Congress declared Jiménez and Vasquez to be legally elected, and the date of their inauguration was set for November 15th.” For his entry also see Logan (1968) p. 52 “General Horacio Vásques crushed a revolution and had himself proclaimed provisional president, on 4 September 1899. Vásquez supported Isidro Jiménez for the presidency; on 20 October Jiménez was elected president and Vásquez vice-president. They took office on 7 November.” We go with both Welles and Rulers.org who both claim inauguration on the 15th.

Welles (1928) p. 523, describes how, under Heureaux's Dictatorship 1895–5, a Junta dedicated to the overthrow “addressed a cable to D0n Juan Isidro Jiménez, the wealthiest merchant of the Dominican Republic, who had been forced to flee the country through the enmity of Heureaux, and who was then residing temporarily in Paris, urging him to accept their offer of support as chief of the revolution.”

For his exit, see Welles (1928), 581–3. [April 30–May 2 1902] “The defense of the city was so feeble that the Vice President sent messages to the commanding generals within the capital announcing that unless the Government at once surrendered he would capture the city by assault. Through the customary intervention of the members of the Diplomatic Corps, Jiménez thereupon entered into an agreement with General Vasquez providing for the peaceful capitulation of the city. In return for the surrender of his troops and his own resignation as President of the Republic, the revolutionary commander conceded full guarantees of life and property to all, as well as assurances of protection to President Jiménez and to his Ministers, with the stipulation, however, that the officials of the former Government were not to be permitted to leave the Republic until all of its authorities and troops should have surrendered. ... Jiménez, who had at first taken refuge in the French Consulate, consequently returned peacefully to his own private residence, where he remained until he left the Republic some days later for Cuba.”

President Jiménez, lost power on 2 May 1902. He took refuge and shelter in the French and United States Legations. See *The New York Times*, May 8, 1902, p.8 and *The New York Times*, May 10, 1902. Dateline May 9. “Former President Jimenez of the Dominican Republic and his Ministers have left the foreign legations here, where they had sought refuge. *The New York Times* May 10, p.9 reports “Ex-President Jimenez of Santo Domingo has embarked on board a French steamer and is expected here (=Haiti).”

Don Juan Isidro Jiménez was son of previous President Manuel Jimenez (8 Sep 1848–29 May 1849). (Welles (1928), p. 551.)

DOM-1902 42 DOM Vasquez 02/05/1902 18/04/1903

For his entry see Welles (1928), 581–3. [April 30–May 2 1902] “The defense of the city was so feeble that the Vice President sent messages to the commanding generals within the capital announcing that unless the Government at once surrendered he would capture the city by assault. Through the customary intervention of the members of the Diplomatic Corps, Jiménez thereupon entered into an agreement with General Vasquez providing for the peaceful capitulation of the city. ... As soon as General Vasquez had taken over command of the capital, a Provisional Government was installed. Assuming office himself once more as Provisional President, rather than as President, to which office he had constitutionally succeeded after the resignation of Jiménez, General formed

a Cabinet . . . ."

Horacio Vasquez, according to Logan (1968) p. 52 overthrew Jiménez in April 1902, but faced a revolution in October." Ibid, p.53 "General Woss y Gil . . . forced Vásquez to flee to Cuba."

Welles (1928), p. 590 notes that Vasquez "issued a decree upon January 30, 1903, fixing the election date as before the end of February."

For his exit, see Welles (1928), pp. 594–600. Welles (1928) p.594 notes that "Through the influence of the Vice President of the Improvement Company, Judge Abbott, General Woss y Gil had been released by order of General Vasquez from the custody of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo and permitted to return to his own home. This freedom from supervision had enabled General Woss y Gil to seize the opportunity which he had long been seeking.

General Vasquez, whose illness by this time had become so grave that it was only with difficulty that he could be transported, returned to Santiago. The fortresses of the city were then provisioned and plans were made to hold them against the expected attack from the south. The situation proved untenable, however. Even those of his friends who at first urged resistance soon counselled General Vasquez to give in. Weary of struggle, disillusioned, the whole country appeared willing to accept the rule of those whom so short a time before it had rejected upon the downfall of Heureaux. In less than four years the hopes and ideals of liberalism seemed to have been dispelled. Ill, broken, profoundly discouraged, General Vasquez, with a small group of friends, among them General Cáceres, set sail from Puerto Plata upon the *Independencia*, to take refuge in Cuba."

Welles (1928), p. 523 notes that General Ramón Cáceres who subsequently becomes President himself (25/12/1905–19/11/1911), was Vasquez's cousin and closest friend.

DOM-1903-1 42 DOM Woss y Gil 18/04/1903 04/11/1903

For his entry, see Welles (1928), pp.594–602. "[p.601] Upon the withdrawal from the country of the chief figures in the former Administration, General Woss y Gil rapidly obtained the nominal recognition of his supremacy with the Republic. He determined to establish himself at once as Constitutional President through recourse to general elections. Notwithstanding the fact that the group supporting Woss y Gil was far smaller than the number of Jiménez's partisans, the strategic position of the former was infinitely superior. Not only was WOss y Gil firmly entrenched in the capital, with an ample armed force at his disposal, but the customs houses, the sole source of revenue, were under his control. . . . Upon the inauguration of General Woss y Gil as President of the Republic, on August 1, 1903, Don Juan Isidro Jiménez was in part compensated for his sacrifice [withdrawing his name from the Presidential election] by his appointment as Financial Agent of the Dominica Government in New York."

For Alejandro Woss y Gil's irregular entry see Logan (1968) p.53 "General Woss y Gil . . . forced Vásquez to flee to Cuba. Harassed by the claims of foreign bondholders and unable to crush an insurrection headed by General Carlos F. Morales, Woss y Gil resigned on 24 November 1903. Morales, as provisional president sought to restore peace by appointed to his cabinet both Jimenistas and Horacistas (supporters of Horacio Vásquez)."

Welles (1928) p.594 notes that "Through the influence of the Vice President of the Improvement Company, Judge Abbott, General Woss y Gil had been released by order

of General Vasquez from the custody of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo and permitted to return to his own home. This freedom from supervision had enabled General Woss y Gil to seize the opportunity which he had long been seeking. "

For his exit, see Welles (1928), p. 605–. "the Struggle of the Woss y Gil Administration was short-lived. A revolution was launched on October 24, 1903, in Puerto Plata, by General Carlos Morales, who immediately constituted a Provisional in that city and imprisoned the Vice President of the Republic, General Deschamps, who had arrived in Puerto Plata to treat with the revolutionaries. Within a week the revolution had spread throughout the Cibao, ... Upon the announcement by General Morales that his Provisional Government had been constituted in order to pave the way for the election of Don Juan Isidro Jiménez to the Presidency, it seemed for a while as if the Jimenistas and Horacistas participating in the revolution might postpone their attempt to overthrow the Government in the capital until they had annihilated one another. ... Against the force of some 4,000 men, composed of Horacistas and Jimenistas led by Generals José Bordas and Manuel de Jesús Camacho and by General Ramón Tavares and Demetrio Rodriguez, the Government could oppose but a scant force of 900 men. Once more American, French and Italian sailors were landed from warships summoned to the capital, to protect the lives of the foreigners within the city. After a brief resistance, the Woss y Gil Government capitulated, and on November 24th, the revolutionaries entered the city. As the result of the revolution, the indebtedness of the Republic had been further increased by some $700,000."

For Alejandro Woss Y Gil's exile, see *Los Angeles Times*, November 25, 1903, p. 1 "Wos Y Gil Yields and Takes Refuge." "President Wos y Gil and his ministers took refuge on board a German warship."

DOM-1903-2 42 DOM Morales 04/11/1903 25/12/1905

For his irregular entry, see Welles (1928), pp.605–7. "The chief of the revolution, General Carlos F. Morales Languasco, had long been identified as a prominent Jimenista. A native of Puerto Plata, in his early days he had taken holy orders, and as a priest had taken part in the campaign which had prefaced the election of Jiménez to the Presidency. He had, however, later cast aside his cassock, had married, and had raised a numerous family. ... The facile triumph of the revolution proved too great a temptation to Morales to resist. In this ambition he readily found supporters among the Horacistas, who had already announced their irrevocable determination to prevent the return of Jiménez to the Presidency. Persuaded at length that he could secure the Presidency himself, Morales sought to placate both parties by appointing to his Provisional Cabinet members of both groups. In a decree issued December 8th, the Provisional President then convoked elections for the following January 16th and 17th, and formally announced his own candidacy for the Presidency, together with that of General Ramón Cáceres for the Vice Presidency, notwithstanding the fact that the candidacies of Don Juan Isidro Jiménez and General Miguel Andrés Pichardo had already been launched." See also Logan (1968) p. 52 p.53 "Harassed by the claims of foreign bondholders and unable to crush an insurrection headed by General Carlos F. Morales, Woss y Gil resigned on 24 November 1903. Morales, as provisional president sought to restore peace by appointed to his cabinet both Jimenistas and Horacistas (supporters of Horacio Vásquez)."

Welles (1928) p. 6087 that soon a revolution broke out, and Morales was for a while in possession of only the Capital and the town of Moca, but little by little the Morales

Government gained ground. By a decree of April 23, 1904, he convokes elections for the latter part of May. Welles (1928), pp. 613–4 notes "In the national elections held after the suppression of the insurrections, General Morales and General Cáceres had been elected President and Vice President, and upon their inauguration in the capital on June 19, 1904, a great demonstration acclaimed them, ..."

Carlos F. Morales is forced to resign and wounded in the leg after he fled. Has all the markings of a coup. The *Washington Post*, January 13, 1906, p.3 also records that he fled on a US Gunboat going to Porto Rico. (In jail in the US (?) in 1912. See *The New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1912, p.C4). *The New York Times*, March 31, 1912, p. C4. "Gen. Carlos Morales, also an ex-President of Santo Domingo, is now in prison."

For his exit, see Welles (1920), pp.634–9 "Reaching a secret agreement with the Jimenista leaders installed in Monte Cristi, Morales resolved by a bold stroke to overthrow his own Administration and rely for support in the revolution which would ensue upon his former political associates. ON Christmas night, giving no evidence of his intentions to anyone within the capital, ..., President Morales walked alone from the city to a point some two miles distant, where he was met by thirty of his associates in the conspiracy. The party thereupon rode to the Haina River which they reached late at night. Joined there by two Jimenista chieftains who had been able to raise a few followers, the President attempted to launch a revolution. ... The astonishment of the Cabinet upon ascertaining the President's flight was naturally extreme. Announcing that the President had secretly abandoned the capital, leaving the Government without an Executive head, the Cabinet at once summoned General Cáceres to take control of the Government as Vice President. ... The plight in which the President now found himself was deplorable. ... ON January 3rd, the American Minister received a letter written by the President from his place of hiding:

> The miserable circumstances in which I find myself impose upon me the painful necessity of making an appeal to the inexhaustible kindness of your heart. Today more than ever I need your powerful aid to save my life and my reputation, menaced by senseless rage. I do not want power. I renounce everything. But I desire to be permitted to live abroad beside my children—the two little ones. Provided that you can obtain from my adversaries guarantees for me and those who accompany me, I will present myself in your Legation in order to embark for a foreign country in a warship of the United States ... I am completely sick of political life and if by your valued coöperation I obtain the happiness of returning to the peaceful tranquility of my own home, I can assure you that never again will I take part in the political affairs of my country. MORALES L.

At once, the American Minister, Mr. Dawson, sought and obtained guaranties from the Cabinet of Morales' personal security. At nine o'clock on the night of January 11, 1906, the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, who had gone out from the city to find him, located the President at a distance of some seven miles from the capital. From there he conducted him to the American Legation where, on January 12th, the President signed the following formal resignation, addressed to the President of the National Congress:

> By virtue of the provisions of the Constitution, I communicate through you to the high Body over which you preside, that I resign the Presidency of the Republic with which the votes of my fellow-citizens honored me.

On the following day, stretched out upon a litter in an open carriage, Morales was driven from the American Legation through the streets of the capital, where a great crowd had gathered silently to enjoy his humiliation, to embark upon the United States warship *Dubuque*, which conveyed the former President to Puerto Rico."

DOM-1905 42 DOM Caceres 25/12/1905 19/11/1911

For his entry, see Welles (1928), pp. 634–9. After the fall of Morales revolutionists of Monte Cristi attempted to capture Santiago and Puerto Plata. This is crushed with the help of Vasquez who had returned. "When the revolution had been crushed, and General Cáceres had succeeded to the Presidency, the question was at once raised whether General Cáceres would remain in office, or would by his resignation permit the historic leaders of the Horacista party to return once more to the Presidency." Vasquez, however, decides not to pursue the Presidency but instead support Cáceres. "The decision now taken by General Vasquez was final, and although the Governors of the Cibao united to protest and to urge General Vasquez to become a candidate, the latter rejected all further overtures. Thereupon General Cáceres, on February 20, 1906, announced his intention to continue in office as President of the Republic, as the successor under the Constitution of President Morales."

Welles (1928), pp. 661–2 details how he reforms the Constitution (Fall 1907] and increases the Presidential term to six years, abolishes the Vice Presidency "and arranged for the replacement of the President in the event of his death, resignation or disability, by the provision that his successor should be elected by the National Congress, to take office as a Provisional President, obligated within a limited period to hold general elections in which a Constitutional President might be elected. ... Under the new Constitution, the college of electors was elected in popular elections held on the first and second days of May 1908. The Electoral College, in turn, on May 30th, re-elected President Cáceres, and at the same time elected the Senators and Deputies in the two Legislative Bodies now created. On July 1st, General Cáceres was inaugurated for the term ending in 1914."

Ramón Cáceres, the assassin of Heureaux, was in turn assassinated himself. See Fagg, (1965), p.153. For details, see Welles (1928), pp. 676–680.

Welles (1928), p. 523 notes that General Ramón Cáceres is the cousin and closest friend of previous President Horacio Vasquez (02/05/1902–18/04/1903). Ramón Cáceres probably was the son of Manuel Altagracia Cáeres who headed transitional governments either alone (31 Jan 1868 – 13 Feb 1868) or with González (22 Jan 1874 – 6 Apr 1874). See Rulers.org. This would mean that Vasquez is of course then also related to the previous ruler Manuel Altagracia Cáeres.

DOM-1911 42 DOM Victoria 02/12/1911 28/11/1912

Eladio Victoria. Note: as Sumner Welles (1928), p.680–1, makes clear, the real power after Cáceres' death lay with Colonel Alfredo Victoria, the Commander of the Armed Forces in the capital. Eladio Victoria was the uncle of Alfredo Victoria. Sumner Welles does not support claims elsewhere that Victoria was Cáceres' Vice-President–he could not have been since Cáceres had abolished the office. "Unable, by reason of the fact that he himself had not yet reached the constitutional age, to secure the Presidency himself, Colonel Victoria at first attempted to persuade Don Manuel Cáceres, the late President's brother, to accept election to the Presidency. Failing in this, he determined to force the Congress to elect his own uncle, Don Eladio Victoria, a former member of the Cáceres

Cabinet and at the time Senator from Santiago, Provisional President. Don Eladio Victoria, while a man generally esteemed and of excellent antecedents, lacked entirely the forceful personality of his nephew, and Colonel Victoria was sure that by this maneuver he could retain within his own grasp the practical control of the Administration. The plan was successfully carried out; not only was Don Eladio elected Provisional President for a term of two months by the Congress, but he was likewise, in the general elections held shortly thereafter, elected Constitutional President of the Republic."

Recall that Cáceres had re-written the Constitution with the new rules for succession. This is a bit of a judgment call, on the one hand he is elected, but on the other hand, his nephew "forced" the Congress to elect him. Because of the role of his nephew Alfredo, we code this as an irregular entry.

By then Gen. Alfredo Victoria is still a major player in the Dominican Republic in 1913, hence is post-tenure fate is most likely OK.

President Eladio Victoria, lost power on 28 November 1912. This is the result of revolutionary domestic and US pressures. Announced he would resign in 1914. Looks very much like an unconstitutional change. *The New York Times*, Nov. 14, 1912. (On the date: *The New York Times*, Nov. 29, 1912, p.4) See also *The New York Times*, Nov 23, 1912, p. 4. "Santo Domingo - a decree is published here, calling Congress into special session on November 26, when President Eladio Victoria will resign. Pending the President's retirement there will be a cessation of hostilities between the revolutionists and the Government forces." See also Lentz who mentions US pressure. Fagg (1965), p. 154 notes"Late in 1912 the United States forced the resignation of President Eladio Victoria by withholding the Dominican share of the customs. His successor was a neutral figure, Archbishop Adolfo Noel, who was expected to hold the government together in the face of riotous factions."

Sumner Welles (1928), p. 699 notes "Realizing, although reluctantly, that the execution of the American ultimatum must of necessity cause the eventual downfall of the Government, the Victorias at length determined to select the lesser of two evils. The apparently voluntary resignation of the Government was preferable to its gradual supervision or to the imposition upon the republic of a government selected by American officials. Consequently on November 26, President Victoria submitted his resignation to Congress, which at once accepted it. On December 2nd, the Senate and the House of Deputies unanimously elected Monseñor Adolfo A. Nouel, Archbishop of Santo Domingo, as Provisional President for a period of two years.

DOM-1912 42 DOM Nouel y Bobadilla 01/12/1912 31/03/1913

For Adolfo Nouel y Bobadilla' s entry, see Sumner Welles (1928), pp. 698–9 "the American Commissioners had determined to propose to the party leaders within the Republic the election as President of Monseñor Adolfo A. Nouel .... Grasping the grave possibilities involved in the situatin, General Vasquez at once signified his willingness to confer with the Delegates of the United States Government, who proceeded upon the U.S.S. *Prairie*, together with Monseñor Nouel, to Sánchez, where General Vasquez agreed to accept the Archbishop as President and to instruct his followers in the National Congress to vote for him. As soon as the determination of General Vasquez was made known, the revolution subsided. ...On December 2nd, the Senate and the House of Deputies unanimously elected Monseñor Adolfo A. Nouel, Archbishop of Santo Domingo, as Provisional President for a period of two years." See also *The Washington Post*, Nov.

30, 1912, p.6. Fagg (1965), p. 154 claims "the clerical president had a nervous collapse and quit."

For his exit, see Welles (1928), p.708 "Caught between the upper and the nether millstones, the unfortunate Archbishop saw but one solution, and that lay in his immediate resignation of the Presidency. Travelling secretly to Barahona on the ostensible pretext that he needed a change of scene in order to recuperate his health, Monseñor embarked at that port for Europe, sending, however, before his departure, his formal resignation to the Dominican Congress, which the latter officially accepted on March 31st, 1913."

DOM-1913 42 DOM Bordas y Valdes 13/04/1913 27/08/1914

For his entry, see Welles (1928), p.709 "For two weeks the balloting continued The agitation within the Republic increased as time went on, ... Elected finally, unanimously, by the Senate, General Bordas was still rejected as a candidate by the majority of the House of Deputies. At length, a week later, he was likewise elected by the lower House although by only a bare majority. On April 14th, General José Bordas Valdez was consequently inaugurated as Provisional President, having been elected by the Congress with the express proviso that his Presidential term should not exceed one year, and that he should convoke within that period general elections to provide for the election of a Constitutional President of the Republic."

Elections are first scheduled for mid-December, but not held. Bordas' term expires but he stays in office. Welles (1928), p.733 "General elections which General Bordas had at length determined to hold took place early in June, but owing to the open disorder which prevailed throughout the country it had only been possible to make even the appearance of holding elections in five of the twelve provinces."

Jose Bordas Valdez "reigned from April until August, when revolution broke out again. Bordas's former revolutionary compadres being opposed to him." *The New York Times* Jun 10, 1916, p.11. *Christian Science Monitor* Aug 27, 1917, p.6. "It is now more than a year that there has been continuous trouble both in Santo Domingo and in Haiti. The United States exercises a protectorate over the Dominican Republic." See also The *Washington Post*, Aug. 22, 1914, p.2. Apparently he 'agreed' to resign. *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 28, 1914, p.5. "President Bordas of San Domingo has agreed to resign today and Ramon Baez, head of the National University of San Domingo will succeed him. This agreement by all factions was reached Thursday at the conference with American peace commissioners." *Christian Science Monitor*, Jul. 26, 1916 records that "At present former Presidents Borda and Jimenez are both on this island (== Porto Rico)." We don't know exactly when he left, but given SD history, we code him as exile. Resigned, exiled.

President Wilson drafts the following project for a solution of the Dominican problem, quoted in Welles (1928), p. 737 I. "(1) ... If these candidates can agree in this matter, the Government of the United States will recognize and support the man of their choice as Provisional President. I f they cannot agree, the Government of the United States will itself name a Provisional President, sustain him in the assumption of office, and support him in the exercise of of his temporary authority. The Provisional President will not be a candidate for President."

DOM-1914-1 42 DOM Ramón Báez 27/08/1914 05/12/1914

For his entry, see Welles (1928), p. 742–3 Don Juan Isidro Jiménez, through his

representative, proposed the name of Dr. Ramón Baez. ... Dr. Baez was declared the unanimous choice of the conference. On August 27th, after the resignation of General Bordas had been made public, Dr. Baez was inaugurated as Provisional President and was promptly officially recognize as such by the Government of the United States. ... Immediately after his inauguration, President Baez entered into an official agreement with the American Commissioners providing that national elections for a Constitutional President and Congress should be held six weeks late, and that at those elections observers appointed by the United States should be present at all the voting booths and should be afforded the fullest opportunity to observe the casting, and the counting of the votes." For his entry see also *The New York Times*, Jun 10, 1916, p.11. "This revolution (which removed Valdez) was 'settled' by the commission headed by ex-Governor Fort of New Jersey. In addition to 'seating' Dr. Báez as Provisional President, this commission 'whitewashed' Sullivan. Dr. Báez continued until an 'election' proclaimed Juan I. Jiminez as the 'Constitutional President."'

Welles (1928), p. 745–7 "The elections were finally held on October 25th, and continued for two additional days. By the first of November, as the returns slowly came in, it was apparent that Jiménez had been elected by a small majority ...."

Ramon Báez, son of former President Buenaventura Báez of The Republic. See Welles (1928), p.744.

DOM-1914-2 42 DOM Jimenez 05/12/1914 08/05/1916

For his entry, see Welles (1928), p. 745–7 "The elections were finally held on October 25th, and continued for two additional days. By the first of November, as the returns slowly came in, it was apparent that Jiménez had been elected by a small majority, owing partly to the fact that in supplementary elections which were held in Santiago as the result of the annulment by the courts of the results of the elections earlier held there, only the Jimenistas went to the polls, since the members of the Horacista party protested that owing to the flagrant partiality of the electoral authorities they were without valid protection. The total vote cast was finally computed to be 40,076 for Jiménez, while the total number of votes cast for General Vasquez and for General Vidal amounted to 39,632. ... On December 5, 1914, Don Juan Isidro Jiménez was again inaugurated President of the Dominican Republic."

For his exit, see Welles (1928), pp. 766–771 "On May 1st, the long-threatened resolution of impeachment was passed by the Congress. President Jiménez was impeached by the House of Deputies "for violations of the Constitution and laws," and two days later his impeachment was approved by the Dominican Senate. The control of General Arias within the capital was absolute and the President, unable to enter the city, was forced to remain at Babelén surrounded by a small body of troops still loyal to him. Required by the Senate to appear before it to reply to the resolution of impeachment, the President was induced by his advisers to refuse to comply with this demand .... Secretary Lansing at once instructed the American Minister to notify all factions that the President would be supported by the Government of the United States, and in complying with this instruction the American Minister insisted that President Jiménez requested the assistance of the forces of American marines, ... As soon as fighting had broken out between the two contending parties, American marines were landed .... Recognizing his inability to capture the capital without the assistance of the American forces, constantly being landed in increasing numbers, for which he refused to ask, the President determined at

last to resign. The influence of the members of his family was strongly exerted towards this end, and President Jiménez had neither the inclination nor the will to overcome the crisis in which he was inextricably involved. On the 7th of May , in a proclamation addressed to the nation, he announced his resignation ....

Jiménez, ousted 8 May 1916. *Christian Science Monitor*, Jul. 26, 1916 records that "At present former Presidents Borda and Jimenez are both on this island (== Porto Rico)." US occupation.

Dominican Republic 1916–1925 ***U.S. Occupation***

DOM-1925 42 DOM Vasquez 01/01/1925 27/02/1930

Horacio Vazquez. Has held office for 2 terms, and had his second term extended for two years. See *The New York Times*. Feb. 26, 1930, p. 11. & *The New York Times*, Feb 27, 1930. Elections organized by US administrator. Military uprising widens to popular uprising as weapons are handed out. Still coded as a military coup, because military leader takes office, and the military provides the backbone in terms of hardware and troops. *The New York Times* 1 March, 1930, p. 1.

DOM-1930-1 42 DOM Estrella Urena 02/03/1930 16/08/1930

Estrella Urena. First is VP under Trujillo. Then later he is sent into exile, says Lentz. *Christian Science Monitor*. Aug 27, 1931. p.5. Urena leaves for the US and Europe 'on a vacation' but, "it was generally predicted that he would not return while the present administration is in office." Note that this is more than a year after losing office. Sent into exile by Trujillo.

DOM-1930-2 42 DOM Rafel Trujillo 16/08/1930 30/05/1961

Elected after coup. Assassinated by a band of military officers. Could also be labeled as exit by rebel force, as the officers act by themselves and do not make use of the units they command. New York Times 1 June, 1961, p. 1; Lentz 1994, p. 229.

For evidence suggesting this is not a coup, see *Los Angeles Times*, June 1, 1961, p.1 "Dominican Strongman Trujillo Slain." "The National Broadcasting Co. reported in New York that a disgruntled army general seeking revenge carried out the assassination. In a telephone call from Ciudad Trujillo, NBC correspondent John Hlavacek said Trujillo was shot from ambush by a band of seven men headed by Gen. Juan Thomas Diaz. One of the assassins was killed and several others captured, Hlavacek reported. But Diaz and several survivors escaped to the mountains, where the general is reported to have 1,000 troops loyal to him. Hlavaceck said the assassination was not believed to be connected with an impending coup but with a grudge Diaz bore against the dictator."

DOM-1961 42 DOM Balaguer 30/05/1961 17/01/1962

Joaquin Balaguer is removed in a military coup. See Lentz and *Christian Science Monitor*, Jan 17, 1962, p.3, "Dominican Ouster Leaves Questions." See also *The New York Times*, Jan 17. 1962, p.1; The *The New York Times*, Jan 18, 1962, p.1, and p.3 and *The New York Times*, 19 January, 1962, p. 1. Born 1 September, 1907. Lentz: "Balaguer was forced to resign as president on January 17, 1962, and was replaced by a military junta following riots in Santo Domingo." Civil-military junta under leadership of Gen. Rodriguez Echavarria deposes president after clashes between troops and demonstrators. Since coup leader is a military figure, coded as military coup.

For his post-tenurefate, see *The Christian Science Monito*, January 22, 1962, p. 10 which notes "Ex-President Balaguer has taken refuge with the papal nuncio and asked the new Dominican Governing Council for permission to follow other leaders of the Trujillo regime into exile." For his subsequent exile, see *The New York Times*, March 8, 1962, p. 9 "Ousted Leaders Leave the Dominican Republic." "SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic, March 7 (UPI) – Former President Joaguin Balaguer and the former Defense Minister, Maj. Gen. Pedro Rodriguez Echavarria, left the country secretly tonight abour separate Dominican planes, airport officials said. They were said to be going to Puerto Rico."

DOM-1962-1 42 DOM Echavarria 17/01/1962 19/01/1962

For Major General Pedro Rafael Rodriguez Echavarria's entry, see *The New York Times*, Jan. 18, 1962, p. 1 & p. 3. "Street Fighting Erupts." Bogaert is listed in Rulers.org and Lentz, but he was a front man for Maj. Gen. Rodriguez Echavarria. (After the coup fails, Bogaert is jailed. See *The New York Times*, Jan 19, 1962, p.1.) "Although Senor Bogaert was described as the President of the junta, General Rodriguez Echavarria, not a member of the junta, appeared last night to be directing operations at the Presidential Palace." On the same page, but in a different article, it is also noted "Officials had no doubt that the man who was behind yesterday's coup d'état and who forced the resignation of President Balaguer was Maj. Gen. Rafael Ramon Rodriguez Echavarria, chief of the armed forces." See also `http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/kennedyjf/xii/35159.htm`, which notes "On January 18, General Echavarria's coup ended when he was arrested by his own men. The original Council of State was reinstated and Rafael Bonnelly was sworn in as its President." For Echavarria's arrest, see *Christian Science Monitor*, Jan. 19, 1962, p. 1 and *The New York Times*, 1962, p.1 "Dominican Junta Ousted." This article also lists him as 37 -years old, and "imprisoned in a military counter-coup d'état." For his subsequent exile see *The New York Times*, March 8, 1962, p. 9 "Ousted Leaders Leave the Dominican Republic."

Note that Echevarria had threatened a coup several days prior. *The New York Times*, January 15, 1962, p. 4 "Dominicans At Odds On Charges Of Plot." The article notes "A storm of controversy blew up today over Maj. Gen. Pedro Rafael Rodriguez Echavarria's charges of a navy plot to overthrow the Government and bring back dictatorship. The National Civic Union denounced what it termed the "poorly disguised totalitarian ambitions" of General Rodriguez Echavarria, who is the Dominican Republic's Secretary of the Armed Forces."

Apparently he was the military strongman backing up Balaguer in the first place. See *The New York Times*, January 18, 1962, p. 28 "The Dominican Coup." "All available information points to this being a typical, old-fashioned Latin-American military grab by a would-be dictator. He is General Rodriguez Echavarria, head of the Air Force. It was his troops who opened fire from tanks on demonstrators in Santo Domingo. It is General Rodriguez who at all times has been behind President Balaguer, keeping him in place until it became impossible to hold him up any longer in front." *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 19, 1962, p. 1 "Santo Domingo Coup Smashed" notes "General Rodriguez Echavarria's consolidation of dictatorial military power since November and his Jan. 17 coup were not enough to stem that tide of anti-dictatorial sentiment. ... Dominican Air Force officers, backed by the overwhelming antidictator [*sic*] penchant of Dominicans, were able to perform a dramatic turnabout. Robert Berrellez, Associated Press correspondent,

writing from Santo Domingo, told of the critical point in the turnover. He transmitted a brief account which Rafael Bonelly, the new Dominica President, gave him. INSIDE THE PRISON General Rodriguez Echavarria had come to visit the imprisoned council members. "While he (the general) was there a group of officers came and asked us if we were prisoners and when we said 'yes' they pointed their guns at Rodriguez Echavarria and made him prisoner. He offered no resistance.""

On the question whether he was effectively in charge, see See Lentz and *Christian Science Monitor*, Jan 17, 1962, p.3, "Dominican Ouster Leaves Questions." It notes "The power-play position of General Echavarria was unclear early Wednesday because news dispatches from the island nation had been censored. It was he, however, who had made the announcement of the Balaguer resignation and the government changes, so it was assumed he was still in control of the military." *Christian Science Monitor*, January 19, 1962, p. 18 "Pyrrhic Coup." "Major General Pedro Rodriguez Echavarria managed to execute the very model of a a Pyrrhic coup in the Dominican Republic. And his downfall – after receiving instant and massive disapproval from Washington–provides a useful object lesson to would-be autocrats hoping to bluff their way into American good graces. General Rodriguez Echavarria held the Dominican republic for only a day because he took a calculated risk and lost. He apparently felt it necessary to seize power before democratic parties emerging from the long winter of Trujilloism grew any stronger. He must have counted on delayed—and then only verbal—opposition from Washington. Instead he got instant disapproval and the threat of a complete diplomatic break and sugar quota severance."

For his imprisonment, see *The New York Times*, January 20, 1962, p. 1 "Dominican Regime Considering Trial Of Ousted Chiefs." "General Rodriguez Echavarria was ousted and jailed last night in a counter-coup against the junta, which assumed power Tuesday night." For his subsequent exile, see *The New York Times*, March 8, 1962, p. 9 "Ousted Leaders Leave the Dominican Republic." "SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic, March 7 (UPI) – Former President Joaguin Balaguer and the former Defense Minister, Maj. Gen. Pedro Rodriguez Echavarria, left the country secretly tonight abour separate Dominican planes, airport officials said. They were said to be going to Puerto Rico."

DOM-1962-2 42 DOM Filiberto Bonnelly 19/01/1962 27/02/1963

We code Bonelly as entry is regular as he had been elected vice president of the Council of State under Joaquin Balaguer. See also `http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/kennedyjf/xii/35159.htm`. Lentz notes: "Bonnelly was briefly arrested before the junta was overthrown. He succeeded to the presidency." For his arrest at San Ysidro Air Force Base, see *The New York Times*, Jan. 18, 1962. p.3

DOM-1963-1 42 DOM Bosch 27/02/1963 25/09/1963

Removed in a military coup, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 9, November 1963 and also Lentz 1994, p. 232. Exile.

DOM-1963-2 42 DOM de los Santos 26/09/1963 22/12/1963

Dr. Emilio de los Santos, former president of the Electoral Commission. For his entry, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 9, November 1963. Resigns in protest to army's harsh tactics against leftist rebels. Chicago Tribune, Dec. 23, 1963, p. 14. notes that he resigns. See also *The New York Times* 25 December, 1963, p. 13; Lentz 1994, p. 232. "Memo

to Charge in DR on appointment of Casasnovas as provisional President and on U.S. efforts to reconcile triumvirate and Casasnovas." Memo. Department of State *Declassified Documents Reference System*. Farmington Hills, Mich.: Gale, 2008. Document Number: $CK3100079326$. This memo reports that agreements has been reached that del Rosario shall become Ambassador.

DOM-1963-3 42 DOM Cabral 22/12/1963 25/04/1965

Donald Joseph Reid Cabral, 29 Dec 1963 - 25 Apr 1965, OK. See *The New York Times*, April 26, 1965, p.1; The *Washington Post*, April 29, 1965, p. G6. Military coup, with inter-service fighting, *The New York Times* 26 April, 1974, p. 1965, p. 1. It deserves note that the diplomatic correspondence suggests that it is really Cabral's colleague in the junta, Manuel Enrique Tavares Espaillat, who is considered in charge by the Americans. See 'Memo to Charge in DR on appointment of Casasnovas as provisional President and on U.S. efforts to reconcile triumvirate and Casasnovas." Memo. Department of State *Declassified Documents Reference System*. Farmington Hills, Mich.: Gale, 2008. Document Number: $CK3100079326$.

For more details, see "Sequence of events which led up to the coup in the Dominican Republic which ousted the government of Donald Reid Cabral on 4/25/65. Memo. Department of State. SECRET. Date Declassified: Nov 26, 1996. Unsanitized." Reproduced in *Declassified Documents Reference System*. Farmington Hills, Mich.: Gale, 2008. Document Number: $CK3100135101$. This document reports: "1. The coup which ousted the govermnent of Donald Reid Cabral began on 24 April with the arrest of the army chief of staff, the staging of a pro-Bosch demonstration in Santo Domingo and the seizure of three radio stations which immediately broadcast announcements that the coup was to return Joan Bosch to power. 2. The coup attempt succeeded in deposing Reid on 25 April, mainly because Brigadier General Wessin y Wessin and the air force and navy chiefs of staff were reluctant to follow Reid's orders to act against the rebelling elements. 3. The coup cause gradually took on more radical and extremist complexion as time went on. Communists-Castroists were not in the forefront initially but became conspicuous as leaders of mobs and irregulars who had been armed by the military. 4. Brigadier General Wessin y Wessin, air for chief of staff Brigadier General de los Santos and Navy Commodore Revera Caminero began to have second thoughts on the advisability of not attacking the coup leaders stronghold when it became apparent that the coup leaders could not be deterred from their intentions of reinstalling Juan Bosch, Wessin y Wessin's bitter enemy, as president. The service leaders were also stirred to action by the increasing realization that Communists and Castroists were taking charge of the coup and that the more moderate PRD were losing control. 5. The initial attacks against the rebel positions began on 27 April. Air and naval bombardments were followed by apparently successful attempt [*sic*] of Brigadier General Wessin y Wessin and his tanks to cross the strategic Ozama River bridge would would enable his infantry to come to grips with the coup forces. ...6. After it appeared the counterrevolution was successful, a Dominican military junta was formed to "prepare the nation for free and democratic elections and the installation of a constitutional government." It was composed of Colonel Pedro Benoit, representing the air force and probably strongman General Wessin y Wessin; Colonel Enrique Casado Saladin, for the army; and Captain Manuel Santana, for the navy. ...20. Col. Francisco Caamano has emerged as the strongest rebel military leader. The original coup leader, Lt. Colonel Miguel Angel Hernando Ramirez, took asylum in the Ecuadoran

Embassy."

See also *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 11, July, 1965 Dominican Republic, Page 20813. "The three-man civilian junta which had ruled the Dominican Republic since the overthrow in September 1963 of President Juan Bosch, the first freely-elected President of the Republic for 38 years [see 19711 A, 19381 A], was itself overthrown on April 25-26 by a military revolt headed by supporters of Señor Bosch. Almost immediately, however, civil war broke out between Señor Bosch's supporters, led by Colonel Francisco Caamano, and military units headed by Brigadier Elias Wessin y Wessin, an officer of extreme right-wing views who was one of the leaders of the coup which overthrew President Bosch. With the collapse of all central authority, and heavy fighting in progress between the rival factions, strong forces of U.S. marines and parachute troops were sent to the Dominican Republicoriginally with the aim of evacuating American and other foreign nationals from Santo Domingo but later, as announced by President Johnson, to prevent the seizure of power by "Communist and Castroist" elements. These and subsequent developments in the Dominican crisis are described below under cross-headings. A broadcast from Santo Domingo on April 25 announced that supporters of ex-President Bosch had overthrown the three-man junta headed by Señor Donald Reid Cabral, who was said to be under detention in the National Palace together with his co-triumvir, Señor Ramón Caceres Troncoso. The leader of the insurgents, Colonel Francisco Caamano (32), said that the Dominican people had rid themselves of a "corrupt oligarchy" and announced that ex-President Bosch would be brought back within the shortest possible time and free elections held. Señor Bosch, who had lived in Puerto Rico since his overthrow, welcomed the news of the revolt and declared his readiness to return to the country and his support for democratic institutions. Although there were no reports of bloodshed in the uprising against the junta, crowds of Bosch supporters were reported to have set fire to the headquarters of two political parties opposed to Señor Bosch's Party of the Dominican Republic (P.R.D.) and also to the offices of the pro-Government newspaper Prensa Libre. No violence was offered to Seor Reid Cabral or Softer Caceres Troncoso, both of whom announced their return to private life. Softer Reid Cabrala wealthy automobile dealer and the son of a Scottish immigranthad headed the three-man junta for 19 months since Señor Bosch's removal in 1963. Although Colonel Caamano was supported by most of the Army, he was opposed by the Air Force and an armoured unit at the San Isidro Air Base (25 miles N.E. of Santo Domingo), and also by the small Dominican Navy. In consequence, heavy fighting broke out on April 26 when planes from the San Isidro base bombed and strafed positions held by the insurgents, which were also shelled by Dominican naval vessels. The forces opposed to Colonel Caamano and his supporters were led by Brigadier Elias Wessin y Wessin (41), the commander of the San Isidro base. Described by the New York Times as "a fierce anti-Communist," Brigadier Wessin is the son of a Lebanese trader who settled in Santo Domingo in 1920; a strong opponent of Señor Bosch, he was one of the officers who forced the ex-President's resignation in 1963. After 48 hours' heavy fighting, with casualties in killed and wounded reported as running into many hundreds, the pro-Bosch factioni.e. Colonel Caamano's forceswere holding the central part of Santo Domingo and some of the suburbs, while Brigadier Wessin's forces controlled the rest of the capital and the San Isidro base. On April 28 a three-man military junta pledged to oppose the return of Señor Bosch was installed at San Isidro, drawn from the three armed services and

headed by the Air Force representative, Colonel Pedro Benoit. By this date organized government had ceased to exist in the Dominican Republic and the country was in a state of civil war between Colonel Caamano's forces and those of Brigadier Wessin."

DOM-1965-1 42 DOM Molina Urena 25/04/1965 27/04/1965

For the confused state of affairs, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 11, July, 1965 Dominican Republic, Page 20813. "The three-man civilian junta which had ruled the Dominican Republic since the overthrow in September 1963 of President Juan Bosch, the first freely-elected President of the Republic for 38 years [see 19711 A, 19381 A], was itself overthrown on April 25-26 by a military revolt headed by supporters of Señor Bosch. Almost immediately, however, civil war broke out between Señor Bosch's supporters, led by Colonel Francisco Caamano, and military units headed by Brigadier Elias Wessin y Wessin, an officer of extreme right-wing views who was one of the leaders of the coup which overthrew President Bosch. With the collapse of all central authority, and heavy fighting in progress between the rival factions, strong forces of U.S. marines and parachute troops were sent to the Dominican Republicoriginally with the aim of evacuating American and other foreign nationals from Santo Domingo but later, as announced by President Johnson, to prevent the seizure of power by "Communist and Castroist" elements. These and subsequent developments in the Dominican crisis are described below under cross-headings. A broadcast from Santo Domingo on April 25 announced that supporters of ex-President Bosch had overthrown the three-man junta headed by Señor Donald Reid Cabral, who was said to be under detention in the National Palace together with his co-triumvir, Señor Ramón Caceres Troncoso. The leader of the insurgents, Colonel Francisco Caamano (32), said that the Dominican people had rid themselves of a "corrupt oligarchy" and announced that ex-President Bosch would be brought back within the shortest possible time and free elections held. Señor Bosch, who had lived in Puerto Rico since his overthrow, welcomed the news of the revolt and declared his readiness to return to the country and his support for democratic institutions. Although there were no reports of bloodshed in the uprising against the junta, crowds of Bosch supporters were reported to have set fire to the headquarters of two political parties opposed to Señor Bosch's Party of the Dominican Republic (P.R.D.) and also to the offices of the pro-Government newspaper Prensa Libre. No violence was offered to Seor Reid Cabral or Softer Caceres Troncoso, both of whom announced their return to private life. Softer Reid Cabrala wealthy automobile dealer and the son of a Scottish immigranthad headed the three-man junta for 19 months since Señor Bosch's removal in 1963. Although Colonel Caamano was supported by most of the Army, he was opposed by the Air Force and an armoured unit at the San Isidro Air Base (25 miles N.E. of Santo Domingo), and also by the small Dominican Navy. In consequence, heavy fighting broke out on April 26 when planes from the San Isidro base bombed and strafed positions held by the insurgents, which were also shelled by Dominican naval vessels. The forces opposed to Colonel Caamano and his supporters were led by Brigadier Elias Wessin y Wessin (41), the commander of the San Isidro base. Described by the New York Times as "a fierce anti-Communist," Brigadier Wessin is the son of a Lebanese trader who settled in Santo Domingo in 1920; a strong opponent of Señor Bosch, he was one of the officers who forced the ex-President's resignation in 1963. After 48 hours' heavy fighting, with casualties in killed and wounded reported as running into many hundreds, the pro-Bosch factioni.e. Colonel Caamano's forceswere holding

the central part of Santo Domingo and some of the suburbs, while Brigadier Wessin's forces controlled the rest of the capital and the San Isidro base. On April 28 a three-man military junta pledged to oppose the return of Señor Bosch was installed at San Isidro, drawn from the three armed services and headed by the Air Force representative, Colonel Pedro Benoit. By this date organized government had ceased to exist in the Dominican Republic and the country was in a state of civil war between Colonel Caamano's forces and those of Brigadier Wessin. ...By April 27, the day before U.S. troops landed, a provisional government formed by Dr. Rafael Molina Urena comprised members who were either known Communists or Castroists or had histories of association with the extreme left. It had been reported in the early stages of the uprising that supporters of Señor Boschi.e. Colonel Caamano's factionhad installed Dr. Jose Rafael Molina Urena, president of the Chamber of Deputies before the coup which overthrew President Bosch [i.e. Colonel Caamano's factionshad installed Dr. José Raiael Motina Urena, president of the Chamber of deputies before the coup which overthrew President Bosch in 1963, as "Provisional President" of the Republic. With the outbreak of civil war, however, Dr. Molina Urena was reported to have taken refuge in the Colombian Embassy."

Army coup leaders are brought down by Air Force units, see above. No US military involvement yet. Refuge in Colombian Embassy.

DOM-1965-2 42 DOM Bartolome Benoit 27/04/1965 07/05/1965

For his entry, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 11, July, 1965 Dominican Republic, Page 20813. "The three-man civilian junta which had ruled the Dominican Republic since the overthrow in September 1963 of President Juan Bosch, the first freely-elected President of the Republic for 38 years [see 19711 A, 19381 A], was itself overthrown on April 25-26 by a military revolt headed by supporters of Señor Bosch. Almost immediately, however, civil war broke out between Señor Bosch's supporters, led by Colonel Francisco Caamano, and military units headed by Brigadier Elias Wessin y Wessin, an officer of extreme right-wing views who was one of the leaders of the coup which overthrew President Bosch. With the collapse of all central authority, and heavy fighting in progress between the rival factions, strong forces of U.S. marines and parachute troops were sent to the Dominican Republicoriginally with the aim of evacuating American and other foreign nationals from Santo Domingo but later, as announced by President Johnson, to prevent the seizure of power by "Communist and Castroist" elements. These and subsequent developments in the Dominican crisis are described below under cross-headings. A broadcast from Santo Domingo on April 25 announced that supporters of ex-President Bosch had overthrown the three-man junta headed by Señor Donald Reid Cabral, who was said to be under detention in the National Palace together with his co-triumvir, Señor Ramón Caceres Troncoso. The leader of the insurgents, Colonel Francisco Caamano (32), said that the Dominican people had rid themselves of a "corrupt oligarchy" and announced that ex-President Bosch would be brought back within the shortest possible time and free elections held. Señor Bosch, who had lived in Puerto Rico since his overthrow, welcomed the news of the revolt and declared his readiness to return to the country and his support for democratic institutions. Although there were no reports of bloodshed in the uprising against the junta, crowds of Bosch supporters were reported to have set fire to the headquarters of two political parties opposed to Señor Bosch's Party of the Dominican Republic (P.R.D.) and also to the offices of the pro-Government newspaper Prensa Libre. No violence was offered to

Seor Reid Cabral or Softer Caceres Troncoso, both of whom announced their return to private life. Softer Reid Cabrala wealthy automobile dealer and the son of a Scottish immigranthad headed the three-man junta for 19 months since Señor Bosch's removal in 1963. Although Colonel Caamano was supported by most of the Army, he was opposed by the Air Force and an armoured unit at the San Isidro Air Base (25 miles N.E. of Santo Domingo), and also by the small Dominican Navy. In consequence, heavy fighting broke out on April 26 when planes from the San Isidro base bombed and strafed positions held by the insurgents, which were also shelled by Dominican naval vessels. The forces opposed to Colonel Caamano and his supporters were led by Brigadier Elias Wessin y Wessin (41), the commander of the San Isidro base. Described by the New York Times as "a fierce anti-Communist," Brigadier Wessin is the son of a Lebanese trader who settled in Santo Domingo in 1920; a strong opponent of Señor Bosch, he was one of the officers who forced the ex-President's resignation in 1963. After 48 hours' heavy fighting, with casualties in killed and wounded reported as running into many hundreds, the pro-Bosch factioni.e. Colonel Caamano's forceswere holding the central part of Santo Domingo and some of the suburbs, while Brigadier Wessin's forces controlled the rest of the capital and the San Isidro base. On April 28 a three-man military junta pledged to oppose the return of Señor Bosch was installed at San Isidro, drawn from the three armed services and headed by the Air Force representative, Colonel Pedro Benoit. By this date organized government had ceased to exist in the Dominican Republic and the country was in a state of civil war between Colonel Caamano's forces and those of Brigadier Wessin."

Pedro Bartolomé Benoit, (chairman military junta). New junta formed that contains civilian elements, seen as surprise move aimed to assuage popular feelings, *The New York Times* 8 May, 1965, p. 8. See also the entry under Reid Cabral above from *Declassified Documents Reference System*. Farmington Hills, Mich.: Gale, 2008. Document Number: *CK*3100135101. Benoit was fine after he lost power. See *The New York Times*, May 8, 1965, p. 8. Replaced by five man junta. See also *Los Angeles Times*, May 8, 1965, p. 1 which reports he is a member of the new junta as well. Some form of "auto-golpe." New Junta takes over, but coded as regular exit.

DOM-1965-3 42 DOM Berreras 07/05/1965 30/08/1965

For Gen. Antonio Imbert Barreras' entry, see *The New York Times*, May 8, 1965, p.8. This is one of some form of "auto-golpe." Chicago Tribune, May 2, 1967, p. A10 "Dominican General to Be Treated in US" notes: "Dominican Republic, May 1 (AP)-Gen. Antonio Imbert Barrera, shot in the should in an assassination attempt March 21, left to day to undergo an operation at Walter Reed Army Hospital in Washington. Imbert-Barrera, who took part in the assassination of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo on May 30, 1961, also was a leading figure in the revolt here in 1965 which led to armed intervention by the United States in the Dominican Republic."

DOM-1965-4 42 DOM Godoy 03/09/1965 01/07/1966

Godoy, out 1 July 1966. Lentz.

DOM-1966 42 DOM Balaguer 01/07/1966 01/07/1978

On his post tenure fate see *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 10, 1978 and Lentz. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 24, September 1978: "Dr Balaguer had held office for three consecutive terms since 1966 and contested the 1978 election despite his undertaking in August 1974,

when he began his third term of office, that in future no President would be permitted to serve more than two consecutive terms. Sr Guzman a landowner and former Minister of Agriculture under President Juan Bosch (in 1962), gave an assurance that his Government would amend the constitution to prevent future Presidents from serving more than one term of office."

DOM-1978 42 DOM Guzman Fernandez 01/07/1978 04/07/1982

Guzmán Fernandez committed suicide. Lentz notes: Guzman died of a self-inflicted gunshot wound when he shot himself in the head at his office in Santo Domingo on July 4, 1982. Fernandez had run on ticket of limiting himself to one term. Wucker (1999), p.71 notes that "Guzmán killed himself forty-three days before his term ended."

DOM-1982-1 42 DOM Majluta Azar 04/07/1982 16/08/1982

Jacobo Majluta Azar takes over constitutionally. In the subsequent election he runs as the candidate for his own Independent Revolutionary Party, trailer a very distant fourth in the elections.

DOM-1982-2 42 DOM Blanco 16/08/1982 16/08/1986

Salvador Jorge Blanco enters constitutionally. Also exits constitutionally in 1986. Wucker (1999), p.71 notes that "[t]he second PRD President, Salvador Jorge Blanco, openly absconded with considerable sums of money from the national accounts." Lentz: Gets indicted on charges of misappropriation of funds. Convicted and sentenced to twenty years imprisonment in August 1991. He was convicted of misappropriation of public funds. Sentenced to twenty years imprisonment in August 1991.

DOM-1986 42 DOM Balaguer 16/08/1986 16/08/1996

Balaguer can't be thrown in jail because of "laws limiting punishment of the elderly." See *The New York Times*, Nov. 24, 1996, p.14. Term shortened by agreement.

Arturo Valenzuela (2004), "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted," in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15, No. 4, October, pp.5–19, notes (p.8) "Reelected to the presidency in 1994 in highly contested election marred by fraud. Massive protests paralyzed country. Agreed to support constitutional changes shortening his term in office by two years. Majority president. No military role. Replaced by elected successor."

DOM-1996 42 DOM Fernandez Reyna 16/08/1996 16/08/2000

Fernandez Reyna out 2000. Barred by law from running again.

DOM-2000 42 DOM Hipolito Mejia 17/08/2000 16/08/2004

DOM-2004 42 DOM Fernandez Reyna 16/08/2004 31/12/2004

2.7 JAMAICA

JAM-1962 51 JAM Bustamante 06/08/1962 22/02/1967

Original name William Alexander Clarke. Chirico records that both Bustamante and Manley stepped down because of health reasons. Lentz also notes: Bustamante suffered a major stroke in the spring of 1965 and relinquished most of his duties to Donald Sangster. Bustamante retired from office on February 22, 1967. He died on August 6, 1977. Bustamante is the cousin of pre-independence PM Norman Manley, and (?) first cousin, once removed, to Michael Manley.

JAM-1967-1 51 JAM Sangster 22/02/1967 11/04/1967

JAM-1967-2 51 JAM Shearer 11/04/1967 02/03/1972

JAM-1972 51 JAM Manley 02/03/1972 01/11/1980

Michael Manley is the son of Norman Manley who had been Prime Minister before Independence, 1959-1962. Norman Manley, in turn, had been a cousin of Alexander Bustamante. Thus, Michael Manley is Bustamante's first cousin, once removed.

JAM-1980 51 JAM Seaga 01/11/1980 10/02/1989

Retired due to bad health.

JAM-1989 51 JAM Manley 10/02/1989 30/03/1992

Keesing's Vol. 38, March 1992 notes: "Prime Minister Michael Manley, 68, announced his resignation on March 15, on grounds of ill-health. His resignation took effect from March 28 when delegates of the ruling People's National Party (PNP) elected a new party president who automatically became Prime Minister." Manley dies on March 6, 1997.

JAM-1992 51 JAM Patterson 30/03/1992 31/12/2004

2.8 TRINIDAD & TOBAGO

TRI-1962 52 TRI Williams 31/08/1962 29/03/1981
Dies a natural death.

TRI-1981 52 TRI Chambers 30/03/1981 18/12/1986

TRI-1986 52 TRI Robinson 18/12/1986 07/12/1991
Chief Minister A. Robinson faces a coup that starts on July 27, 1990. The coup fails August first. Robinson is shot in the leg. He was kidnapped for a month after a coup attempt, later defeated in elections.

TRI-1991 52 TRI Manning 16/12/1991 09/11/1995
Appointed due to split parliament.

TRI-1995 52 TRI Panday 09/11/1995 24/12/2001

TRI-2001 52 TRI Manning 25/12/2001 31/12/2004

2.9 BARBADOS

BAR-1966 53 BAR Barrow 18/11/1966 08/09/1976
Barrow died in office, natural death.

BAR-1976 53 BAR Adams 08/10/1976 11/03/1985
Adams died on 11 March 1985. He died in office, natural death.

BAR-1985 53 BAR St. John 11/03/1985 29/05/1986

BAR-1986 53 BAR Barrow 29/05/1986 01/06/1987

BAR-1987 53 BAR Sandiford 01/06/1987 07/09/1994

BAR-1994 53 BAR Arthur 07/09/1994 31/12/2004

2.10 MEXICO

Lentz lists fate of most of the leaders.

MEX-1872 70 MEX de Tejada 19/07/1872 21/11/1876
Exiled.

MEX-1876 70 MEX Diaz 23/11/1876 25/05/1911
Exiled to Paris.

MEX-1911-1 70 MEX de la Barra 26/05/1911 06/11/1911
Diplomatic missions after out of office.

MEX-1911-2 70 MEX Madero 06/11/1911 19/02/1913
Arrested, murdered.

MEX-1913 70 MEX Huerta 19/02/1913 15/07/1914

Rulers.org records "Confronted with revolution at home (led by Venustiano Carranza, Álvaro Obregón, Pancho Villa, and Emiliano Zapata) and hostility from the United States (Pres. Woodrow Wilson refused him recognition, seized Veracruz, and permitted arms to reach the anti-government forces), Huerta resigned and fled to Spain. He went to the U.S. in 1915, was arrested on charges of fomenting rebellion in Mexico, and died in custody at Fort Bliss." We do not know when he moves to the US and when he is arrested there, hence, his post tenure fate up to one year after losing office is coded as exile.

MEX-1915 70 MEX Carranza 19/10/1915 06/05/1920

State of Sonora claims removes itself from Mexican federal state, but falls short of declaring itself a republic. The central government reacts with sending federal soldiers. The revolt widens, with more and more states siding with the rebels. Obregon, a presidential candidate, enters the picture only at a later stage (e.g. L.A. Times 21 April, 1920, p. I1), and leads the thrust at Mexico City. This is a civil war situation. Lentz (1999, p. 298, see below) says its a military coup, but most of the fighting on the rebels side is down by state troops, not federal troops. Thus coded as removed by rebel forces.

Lentz notes: "Carranza attempted to secure Ignacio Bonnillas as his successor in the presidential election of 1920. However, the military supported Alvaro Obregon and led a coup that ousted Carranza. He fled Mexico City for Veracruz on horseback. He was ambushed and killed by troops under Rodolfo Herrera at Tlaxcalaltongo, Puebla State, on May 21, 1920." Thus he was killed while fleeing after the coup.

MEX-1920-1 70 MEX de la Huerta, A 24/05/1920 01/12/1920

De la Huerta "was chosen as provisional president on June 1, 1920, after Carranza's ouster and murder. De la Huerta's government conducted elections and he relinquished office to Alvaro Obregon on December 1, 1920. He served in Obregon's cabinet as secretary of the treasury from 1920 to 1923." He was sent to exile in 1923

MEX-1920-2 70 MEX Obregon 01/12/1920 01/12/1924

On Obregon see *The New York Times*, Mar 1., 1925, p.19 & The *Washington Post*, Mar 2, 1925, p.5. He was killed when he won the 1928 election, 17 July 1928. He was assassinated.

MEX-1924 70 MEX Calles 01/12/1924 01/12/1928

Calles forced into exile in 1936. More than 6 years after out of power. Exile, but 6 years out of power.

MEX-1928 70 MEX Portes Gil 01/12/1928 05/02/1930

MEX-1930 70 MEX Ortiz Rubio 05/02/1930 04/09/1932

Retires to California for a couple of years after he lost power.

MEX-1932 70 MEX Rodriguez 04/09/1932 01/12/1934

MEX-1934 70 MEX Cardenas 01/12/1934 01/12/1940

MEX-1940 70 MEX Avila Camacho 01/12/1940 01/12/1946

MEX-1946 70 MEX Aleman Valdes 01/12/1946 01/12/1952

Aleman Valdes becomes head of airline. See *The New York Times*, Dec. 28, 1952. Goes to Paris 20 Feb 1953. See *The New York Times*, 20 Feb, 1953, p.4. Still is there when graft allegations get aired. See also *The New York Times*, Apr 9. 1952, p.14. Still in Europe May 15, now visiting behind the Iron Curtain. June 27 visiting the Dutch Queen. Returns October 6 to Mexico city. Corruption charges while in Europe.

MEX-1952 70 MEX Ruiz Cortines 01/12/1952 01/12/1958

MEX-1958 70 MEX Lopez Mateos 01/12/1958 01/12/1964

MEX-1964 70 MEX Diaz Ordaz 01/12/1964 01/12/1970

MEX-1970 70 MEX Echeverria Alvarez 01/12/1970 01/12/1976

See `www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A57581-2005Jan7.html`. "Facing Charges, Not Discomforts. Former Latin American leaders Live the Good Life While in Confinement". *Washington Post*, Saturday, January 8, 2005, Page A10. "In Mexico, former president Luis Echeverria is the target of a special prosecutor's probe into the killings of students and other anti-government activists during his term from 1970 to 1976. Last summer, the prosecutor asked a judge to issue an arrest warrant charging Echeverria with genocide. The judge refused. While the prosecutor has vowed to continue pressing criminal charges, Echeverria, 82, lives in his comfortable home in Cuernavaca, a plush weekend retreat south of Mexico City." Ambassador at large from 1977 to 1978.

See also: Thursday 22 September 2005. BBC News, World Edition. `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4270658.stm` A Mexican judge has refused to issue an arrest warrant for a former president accused of genocide. "The judge said the charges against Luis Echeverria did not amount to genocide. Mr Echeverria, now 83, was accused of ordering a massacre of student protesters in 1968, days before the Olympic Games opened in Mexico City. As many as 300 people may have died when government agents hidden among regular soldiers opened fire on students, prosecutors allege. Judge Ranulfo Castillo said several other officials charged with Mr Echeverria over the massacre could not be prosecuted because the statute of limitations - a legal time limit for bringing a case to trial - had expired. In Mr. Echeverria's case, Judge Castillo said the 1968 killings could not be classed as genocide, which is defined as an attempt to destroy an entire ethnic or

national group. “I won,” defence lawyer Juan Velasquez told the Reuters news agency. “It’s the end of the process.” A spokesman for Special Prosecutor Ignacio Carillo told the agency they would appeal against the ruling. Mr Echeverria also faced a kidnapping charge over the 1969 disappearance of activist Hector Jaramillo, but this was thrown out by the judge because of a lack of evidence.” Snipers

Mr Echeverria is the first former Mexican president to have faced the possibility of charges for human rights abuses allegedly committed during his time in office. He was serving as interior minister and head of national security at the time of the massacre. Mr Carrillo filed the charges after a judge ruled in July that Mr Echeverria could not be charged over separate killings in 1971. Mr Carrillo said his investigations had exonerated the Mexican army of responsibility for the massacre, and said he hoped to end 37 years of “impunity and injustice”. Mr Echeverria has acknowledged that some died in Tlatelolco Square in 1968. He denies prosecution allegations that he posted snipers on scores of buildings to fire into the crowd and gave orders to fire. Mexico’s current President, Vicente Fox, has vowed to punish public figures found to be responsible for killings and oppression in the past.

BBC, 8 July 2006, reports that “Luis Echeverria has been cleared of genocide charges after a judge ruled the alleged events took place too long ago. Mr. Echeverria, 84, has been released from the house arrest that was ordered on 30 June, his lawyer said.”

MEX-1976 70 MEX Lopez Portillo 01/12/1976 01/12/1982

MEX-1982 70 MEX de La Madrid 01/12/1982 01/12/1988
De La Madrid Hurtado

MEX-1988 70 MEX Salinas 01/12/1988 30/11/1994

Salinas de Gortari. Electoral fraud alleged, exile

MEX-1994 70 MEX Zedillo 01/12/1994 30/11/2000
Ernesto Zedillo; born in 27 December 1951. At Yale, but not exile.

MEX-2000 70 MEX Vicente Fox Quesada 01/12/2000 31/12/2004

2.11 BELIZE

BLZ-1961 80 BLZ Price 07/04/1961 17/12/1984

BLZ-1984 80 BLZ Esquivel 17/12/1984 07/11/1989

BLZ-1989 80 BLZ Price 07/11/1989 03/07/1993

BLZ-1993 80 BLZ Esquivel 03/07/1993 28/08/1998

BLZ-1998 80 BLZ Musa 28/08/1998 31/12/2004

2.12 PROVINCIAS UNIDAS DEL CENTRE DE AMERICA

This list of presidents comes from **?**, 13, who on subsequent pages also lists the presidents of the independent Central American states until 1950.

1825 – 1827 General don Manuel José Arce

1827 Dr. don Mariano Beltranena
Por depósito.

1827 – 1828 General don Manuel José Arce

1828 – 1829 Dr. don Mariano Beltranena
Por depósito.

1829 Dr. don Francisco Barrundia
Interino

1829 – 1833 General don Francisco Morazán

1833 – 1834 General don J. Gregorio Salazar
Por depósito.

1834 – 1838 General don Francisco Morazán

2.13 GUATEMALA

Declared independence in the decree of March 21, 1847, signed by Rafael Carrera. See Bancroft (1877), p.207.

GUA-1831 90 GUA José Mariano Gálvez 28/08/1831 03/03/1838

Burgess (1926) p.42 notes "Finally the liberals opposed to Gálvez rose in rebellion against him, and feeling themselves unable to overthrow him alone, called in the aid of Carrera. Guatemala City fell into the hands of this strange army, made up of the most advanced liberals and the most reactionary clericals, on February 2, 1839. The liberal regime did not fall with the fall of Gálvez. Carrera was as yet too much of a novice in politics to take advantage of his position. The liberals who had called in his aid gave him gold and made him a general in the army, placing him in command of the district of Mita in eastern Guatemala. José Francisco Barrundia became the dominating character in the State again, with Pedo Valenzuela as nominal chief."

Nota bene: the date of 2 February 1839 is wrong, as indicated by multiple other sources. I generally rely on Woodward (1993) as the most authoritative account. José Mariano Gálvez was born in 1794, died in 1862. Irregular exit, post-exit fate is probably OK, see Woodward (1993), p. 205.

GUA-1838-1 90 GUA José Francisco Barrundia 03/03/1831 29/07/1838

Based on a combination of Burgess (1926), p. 42 and Rulers.org, I code Barrundia and not Valenzuela as effective leader of Guatemala at this time. Birth and death date unknown. Irregular entry. Irregular entry, exit type unknown. Post-exit fate unknown, but probably OK, see Woodward (1993), p.200..

GUA-1838-2 90 GUA Mariano Rivera Paz 29/07/1838 30/1/1839

Other sources have him entering on 23 July, instead of 19 July. He was born in 1804, died in 1849. He was the son of a respectable, but not very prosperous creole family from the capital. He entered the federal army as a simply soldier, but rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel by 1829. Irregular removal from office, with the assistance of other government actors. Post-exit-fate is OK. See below

GUA-1839-1 90 GUA Carlos Salazar 30/1/1839 13/04/1839

Woodward (1993), pp.94–5 notes that the liberals convened the regular assembly without government sanction. "On 30 January 1839 this assembly then replaced Rivera Paz as chief of state with Carlos Salazar, who, although a Salvadoran, enjoyed some popularity in Guatemala City .... Rivera Paz and his cabinet protested vehemently against this coup, but they had no force to sustain themselves. Rivera Paz resumed his position as president of the Council of State, but the legislative assembly, under the guidance of Morazn and Salazar, were in control."

This constitutes an irregular entry, exit also irregular, led by domestic rebels. Post-exit fate unknown.

GUA-1839-2 90 GUA Mariano Rivera Paz 13/04/1839 19/03/1840

Mariano Rivera Paz returns to power (2nd time in office). Woodward (1993), p.97 notes that Carrera entered Guatemala City on 13 April 1830 and directly rode to the house of Rivera Paz and proclaimed him restored as chief-of-state. Thus, he enters irregularly. His exit is also irregular, but his posttenurefate is OK.

Note that both Rulers.org and Woodward (1993), p.97 concur on the entry date.

GUA-1840 90 GUA Rafael Carrera 19/03/1840 16/08/1848

While Mariano Rivera Paz remained president in hame, Woodward (1993), p.121 notes that as a result of Carrera's victory against Morazán on 19 March 1840, "Carrera was now undisputed master of Guatemala. Rivera Paz exercised power only at Carrera's please and at times was clearly uncomfortable in the position."

Woodward (1993), p. 174–5 notes that in 1844 "[p]ublic disorders and apparent new attempts of the ultraconservatives to regain control of the country prompted Carrera to seize full power at the end of this eventful year. .... The Constituent Council, later called Constituent Congress, which had been called off the preceding April, now convened on 8 December. It elected the moderately liberal Jose Venacio Lopez, as its president and under his direction on 11 December chose Carrera to succeed Rivera Paz. ldots. Carrera took office on 14 December. ldots. Rivera Paz, so long the puppet of Carrera, now retired to private life."

Rafael Carrera was born 24 October 1814. He dies a natural death on 14 April 1865. He voluntarily resigns office on 16 August 1848. This is thus a regular exit but he flees across the border, close to Guatemala, to Mexico.

Hall and Brignoli (2003), pp.182–3 note "Meanwhile the Conservative caudillo of Guatemala, Rafael Carrera, was facing the greatest crisis of his long rule. In 1846 heavy rains diminished harvests, provoking food shortages and banditry in the countryside. The following year, the popular Revolt of the Lucios, named after one of its leaders, José Lucio, spread over a large area in La Montaña in eastern Guatemala. In July 1848 Colonel José Dolores Nufio, commandant of Chiquimula, repudiated Carrera, declared himself a Liberal, and the following month led his troops into Guatemala City. Carrera's authority was also being undermined in other parts of the country. On August 26, Los Altos again declared its independence. Government troops suppressed the separatist movement in October. Carrera faced a third setback in the capital, where his opponents won the July elections and inaugurated the "Liberal Revolution" of 1848. On August 15 Carrera resigned as president and went into exile. He traveled no farther than Chiapas." See also Woodward (1993), Chapter 9.

GUA-1848-1 90 GUA Juan Antonio Martínez 16/04/1848 28/11/1848

A regular entry and a regular exit. Posttenurefate unknown, but most likely OK. Birthdate unknown, died in 1854. Relatively liberal. He is incapable of effectively dealing with the rebellion. See Woodward (1993), p.204–12. "He cited his failing health and incapacity for the office as he begged to be relieved of the presidency. He said that the army and the people in this time of crisis needed firmer leadership than he could give. He called for a hard-line policy against the rebels and chastised the assembly for not putting the army in the hands of a strong leader. The assembly had no choice but to accept the resignation and name the president of the assembly, José Barnardo Escobar, to succeed him. Escobar took over on the twenty-eight." Thus, a regular exit.

GUA 1848-2 90 GUA José Bernardo Escobar 28/11/1848 01/01/1849

He was the president of the Assembly, a regular entry and a regular exit. His posttenurefate is unknown, but most likely OK. Woodward (1993), p.212 notes that Escobar "was a stronger liberal than Martínez. See also pp.213–4 "Escobar presented his resignation again on 29 December, citing his ineptitude and failure to stem the violence

and rebellion. His "good intentions" had not been enough. The assembly accepted his resignation on the first day of the new year and elected Manuel Tejada, a moderate, to succeed him, but Tejada refused. There was growing support for a military man to bring an end to the continued rebellion. The mantle feel upon Colonel Mariano Paredes, who took the oath of office on 3 January."

He was born in 1797, died in 1849.

GUA 1849-1 90 GUA Mariano Paredes 3/1/1849 03/08/1849

He was a career officer, unrelated to the Mexican President of the same name. He enters regularly, but leaves irregularly, as a result of Carrera's rebellion. Posttenurefate is unknown. Rulers.org lists his birthdate as 1800?, he died in 1856.

Woodward (1'993), p. 214 notes "Paredes was a career office who had a reputation for loyalty to the government and of being relatively apolitical."

GUA 1849-2 90 GUA Rafael Carrera 03/08/1849 14/04/1865

For his return to office, see Woodward (1993), Chapter 9, pp.216–225. Dies a natural death 14 April 1865. Woodward (1993), p.332 "On his death bed the caudillo named Field Marshall Cerna to succeed him, trusting Cerna's long record of competent and loyal service to continue Guatemala's authoritarian stability. Cerna remained in Chiquimula, however. During Cerrera's illness Pedro Aycinena, as the ranking minister, had been running the government, and he continued to do so after the president's death. ...."

On May 2 Cerna wins the ballot in the assembly.

GUA 1865 90 GUA Vicente Cerna 14/04/1865 29/06/1871

Takes over regularly after Carrera dies. Overthrown, irregular exit. See Burgess (1926), p.122.

Woodward (1993), p.346–7 "Mexican assistance proved to be crucial to the Guatemalan liberals of 1871. With help from the Jurez government, they gained territory and confidence early in that year, forcing the government to put more and more resources into its defense. By late May the rebels controlled most of Los Altos and readied themselves for an attack on the capital. On 24 May they finally made clear their anticlerical biases with a decree expelling the Jesuits from Guatemala, a decree promptly implemented after the revolution succeeded. At Patzica, on 3 June, Barrios met with other rebel officers and drew up a manifesto formally declaring the overthrow of Cerna and establishing García Granados as provisional president, authorizing him to organize a government along the lines of his 8 May manifesto. .... The end was near. For with the fall of Duenas in El Salvador in April 1871, the liberals were able to launch a revolt in the East. In June insurgents took Jutiapa. General Gregorio Solares, who had broken with Cerna, entered Guatemala from Santa Ana and brought eastern Guatemala quickly into the struggle in alliance with García Granados. Although Cerna still had the larger army, the rebels were now able to outmaneuver his forces. They were also better armed, with new Winchester and Remington rifles. The climax came quickly when on 29 June Barrios routed Cerna's army near San Lucas on the heights to the west of the capital. The following day Barrios led his army into the capital without opposition. Significantly, José Victor Zavala intervened to prevent further bloodshed and secure a peaceful transition to the new government. Cerna and most of his officers and ministers fled to Honduras. ...."

He is born in 1810, died 1885.

GUA 1871 90 GUA Miguel García Granados 29/06/1871 04/06/1873

García Granados was born in Space in 1809. Burgess (1926), p. 106–7 notes that Granados handed power over to take command of the army to fight Honduras on May 8, 1872. Burgess, p. 111 also notes that "On June 9th Granados returned to Guatemala City and the following day (June 10th) Barrios handed over the post of President to the rightful owner." Granados again hands power over to Barrios, this time to fight an insurgency, for about two months in 1873. Burgess (1926) p. 117 "After an absence of less than two months Granados returned to Guatemala City and took over the presidency again. His first act was to issue a decree (No. 95), calling an election for President. [fn. 8: dated March 17, 1873]"

Rodriguez (1965), p.94–5 "An elderly general, Miguel Garca Granados, headed the Guatemalan revolution of 1871. Having befriended Carrera in the 1830s, the Spanish-born liberal accommodated himself to the rule of the conservatives and led what little opposition was permitted during the regimes of Carrera and Vicente Cerna. Forced into exile after Cerna's bald attempt to prolong his rule, Garca Granados outfitted a revolutionary army in Mexico and joined forces with the popular rebel from the highlands of Guatemala, Justo Rufino Barrios. On June 30, 1871, the revolutionaries entered Guatemala City in triumph and the old general took over the provisional government, assigning Barrios, who was only in his mid-thirties, to the military district of Los Altos. .... Yet in [Granados'] statesmanlike ways and spirit of compromise did not placate the extreme conservatives, who plotted incessantly to overthrow the regime. Resistance was especially fierce among the devout Catholics of eastern Guatemala, the traditional stronghold of clericalism that had produced Rafael Carrera. As a result, Garca Granados spent his rule on the battlefield, and his constructive projects were held in abeyance. Justo Rufino Barrios was of a different mold, and it was he who dominated the revolution from its inception with his actions and counsels during the absence of Garca Granados on the battlefield. By June 1873 he had replaced Garca Granados as president of Guatemala and the old General accepted the inevitable. Also a liberal, educated in law at the University of San Carlos, the "Giant of Los Altos" was a proud chivo (goat) who resented the discriminatory practices of the well-to-do families in Guatemala City."

Woodward (1993), p.347 "García Granados would not long survive as chief of state, for his conciliatory attitude toward his relatives and friends among the elite of the capital prevented the more sweeping revolution that Barrios and others not connected to the capital elite desired. Barrios thus replaced García Granados in 1873."

Hence, an irregular entry, a regular exit, and posttenurefate is OK. He is born 1809 and died 1878.

GUA-1873 90 GUA Justo Rufino Barrios 04/06/1873 23/06/1882

Formally elected in 1873, but instigated 1871 coup. Regular entry.

Burgess (1926), p.120–1 "Finally Barrios returned to Guatemala City. June 4th was the day set for the inauguration of the new President. ... It was an event worthy of note that the change of government took place without any friction and that a really cordial feeling seemed to exist between the retiring and the incoming Presidents. Such events are so rare in Central America as to be real historical landmarks. Having handed over the presidency in the manner described, Granados retired to private life [fn. 11: Just before giving up his post, the Constituent Assembly conferred upon Granados the tile of Benemérito de la Patria (well-deserving of the country) by a decree which bears the

signature of Barrios and several members of this assembly. He spent the remaining years of his life as a private citizen, and lived peacefully in Guatemala City until his death in 1878.]")

Rodriguez (1965), p.93 "This [horsewhip] is the constitution I govern by." Justino Rufino Barrios [fn. 1 Paul Burgess (1926), Justo Rufino Barrios: A Biography (Dorrance and Co., Philadelphia, 1926), p.134.]

He promulgates a new constitution in 1879. Articles 64–84 refer to the executive. The latter is elected by popular vote for a period of six years. He must be a native of Central America, over twenty-one years of age and not a clergyman. Two Vice-Presidents are provided for. They do not, however, fill out the President's term in case the latter dies or is unable to continue in office. Their function is simply to arrange immediately for the election of a new President and to keep the Government going until he takes charge. (See Burgess (1926), pp. 184–8.)

He hand over power to take a trip to the US and Europe in 1882, see below. This is a regular exit, with posttenurefate OK.

GUA-1882 90 GUA José Maria Orontes 23/06/1882 05/01/1883

Barrios hands over power temporarily at least twice, once to take a trip to America and Europe. Should he still be coded as leader for those periods? Note that Rulers.org does not list Orontes. He simply can not be the effective ruler while out of the country.

Burgess (1926) p.207–216 "On June 23rd [1882] he called General José Maria Orontes to act as President during his absence and set out for the United States. ... Barrios had come to the United States for the purpose of settling the dispute in regard to the boundary of his country with Mexico. This was definitely accomplished on September 12th. The occasion seemed to be ripe for the Dictator to take a vacation. He accordingly left the United States for Europe, visiting France first. ... In October we find him back in the United States again. ... Before leaving Guatemala in the month of June, 1882, ... Barrios continued his trip from New York, going west to Chicago and thence to San Francisco, and returning to Guatemala in November by way of the Pacific, he landed in San Jos de Guatemala."

Burgess (1926) p.222 "But the character of a ruler is known by the way he handles all these details of Government, and as we look through the business of the second half of the year 1882 transacted by the Government of Guatemala, it is evident there was a capable man at the helm. José Maria Orontes has nothing to be ashamed of as we look over his record. ... Barrios spent the months of November and December in visiting different parts of Guatemala, among them his old home town, San Lorenzo. Everywhere he was received with enthusiasm. He returned to Guatemala at the beginning of 1883 and took over the reins of Government on January 5th."

GUA-1883 90 GUA Justo Rufino Barrios 05/01/1883 06/04/1885

Regular entry, takes over power again from Orontes, see above. Notice that this is therefore his second time in office.

Barrios proclaims the Union, and goes to war against El Salvador and Zaldivar who had promised to support him. Bográn of Honduras does support him. When Barrios goes to the front, Burgess (1926) p.284 "In Guatemala City Alexander Sinibaldi, the first Vice-President, took up the duties of President for a few hours. When he tried to come to a direct understanding with Zaldivar the other members of Barrios' cabinet opposed him

and he gave way to Manuel Lisandro Barillas, who found more than enough to occupy him in consolidating his own power without attempt to carry forward the cause of Union."

He was killed in war against El Salvador. *Los Angeles Times*, September 26, 1897, p.20 (By line: Irving King) "General Jose Barrios" reports "The Salvadorian army was now a fleeing mob, and the dictator dismounted from his horse and walked beside the animal in the wake of his victorious army. Up in a tree, left by his comrades when they began their retreat, was a Salvadorian sharpshooter. He saw Barrios, and taking careful aim killed him. It was the last act of the man's life, for he at once fell, riddled with bullets, but his shot saved his country, for at once the cry spread through both armies. "Barrios is dead! Barrios is dead! What is there left to fight for??" In twenty minutes that victorious Guatemalan army was changed into a disordered rabble, and the Salvadorians, rallying, came on and drove them from the field."

For more info, see Daily Evening Bulletin, (San Francisco, CA), Friday March 27, 1885, Issue 145, Col. G. "Barrios of Guatemala." "Gen. Justo Rufino Barrios was born on the 17th of July 1835, in the town of San Lorenzo, Department of San Marcos, Republic of Guatemala. ... Barrios, desirous of pleasing his parents, determined to study law. ... In 1862, after graduating, he returned to his home to attend to his personal and family matters, ..." This article has great detail on his rise to power and struggles with other "generals." He dies 6 April, 1885, on the battlefield. Is thus an irregular removal.

GUA-1885 90 GUA Barillas 06/04/1885 15/03/1892

Manuel Lisandro Barillas.

Los Angeles Times, September 26, 1897, p.20 (By line: Irving King) "General Jose Barrios" reports that Barillas was Vice-President to Barrios. Also "Reyna [Barrios, J.R. Barrios' nephew, HG] was made Minister of War. ... Later Reyna [Barrios, HG] was elected Vice-President. While Vice-President he excited the jealousy of Barrillas, and one night a file of soldiers took him from his house to the military prison, charged with treason. He was liberated at the demand of the Supreme Council of War, and soon after came to the United States.

Parker (164), p.96 "For a time after the death of [Justo Rufino, HG] Barrios, Guatemala's constitution took on some meaning, only to fall into the hands of two men in succession who could not bring themselves to renounce presidential power. Manuel Lisandro Barillas, president from 1885 to 1892 (from 1886 by election), did not seek a second term but permitted a real campaign in which Lorenzo Montúfar, one of Central America's outstanding liberals of the nineteenth century, went down to defeat and José Maria Reyna Barrios, nephew of the renowned Justo Rufino Barrios, won the chair."

General Barillas, after he lost power on 15 March, 1892, was appointed as Inspector General of the forces. See *The New York Times*, Apr. 22, 1892. He was assassinated in April 7, 1907.

Palmer (1910), p.73 "Manuel Barrillas held office for four years, or a full term, but was to weak to prevail against the cabal formed to vote the districts for Reina Barrios, nephew of the hero. Thereafter, Barrillas became an active revolutionist, who was assassinated in 1907 by a Guatemalan in the City of Mexico, in pursuance of a plot formed, it is alleged, with the knowledge of the ruling powers in Guatemala City."

GUA-1892 90 GUA Reina Barrios 15/03/1892 08/02/1898

José Maria Reina Barrios was the nephew of Just Rufino Barrios. Parker (164), p.96 notes "Manuel Lisandro Barillas, president from 1885 to 1892 (from 1886 by election), did not seek a second term but permitted a real campaign in which Lorenzo Montúfar, one of Central America's outstanding liberals of the nineteenth century, went down to defeat and José Maria Reyna Barrios, nephew of the renowned Justo Rufino Barrios, won the chair. Reyna Barrios was assassinated six years later as a consequence of one man's resentment against him, but at a time when he had already secured an extension of his term without re-election by the people."

He was assassinated. Boston Daily Globe, August 5, 1895, p. 10, "May Unite", "The presidency of Guatemala is now filled by a nephew of the distinguished dictator." Los Angeles Times, September 26, 1897, p.20 (By line: Irving King) "General Jose Barrios" reports "Romance runs in the Barrios veins, and the present representative of the family, who has just outwitted his rivals and secured a new grip as dictator of Guatemala, is one of the most interesting characters in Latin America. ... In full, he is José Maria Reyna y Barrios, nephew of that remarkable man, Rufino Barrios, who so long held power in Guatemala, and lost his life in battle for the unification of Central America. ... Rena has been in office since 1892 and has just had his subservient Congress elect him to a second term of six years. There was to have been an election next January and many candidates had appeared against Reyna. So to save the country the trouble and expense and himself the uncertainty of a general election, he suddenly summoned Congress the other day, and Congress dutifully elected him President. This is by on [sic] means an unusual proceeding in a Central or South American republic. It has been done time and time again, and always results in the death or exile of the President, or in his getting a new lease of power. It is even betting on the exile and the power, but as for the shooting, a Latin President generally "lights out" for Paris, where he has laid up treasure against the time of his downfall, when he sees that the game is about played out. ... He began his career as a soldier of fortune in 1866, when he was only 10 years old, going with his uncle in the disastrous campaign in which the latter tried for the first time to seize the government. ... Reyna was made Minister of War. ... Later Reyna was elected Vice-President. While Vice-President he excited the jealousy of Barrillas, and one night a file of soldiers took him from his house to the military prison, charged with treason. He was liberated at the demand of the Supreme Council of War, and soon after came to the United States."

Palmer (1910), p. p73–4 notes "On the night of February 8, 1899, Reina Barrios was shot in the street by Oscar Zollinger, a German. Estrada Cabrera, who had just returned from a mission to Costa Rica, appeared at once in the palace and getting the Cabinet to recognize him as first Designado, became President of Guatemala until an election for that office could be held. Barrios' friends said that Zollinger was in San Jos de Costa Rica for eight days at the same time that Cabrera was there, and that his expenses were paid by Cabrera. Later, Cabrera, who is a clever lawyer, elected himself by force, and is still in office."

GUA-1898 90 GUA Estrada-Cabrera 08/02/1898 15/04/1920

Palmer (1910), p. p73–4 notes "On the night of February 8, 1899, Reina Barrios was shot in the street by Oscar Zollinger, a German. Estrada Cabrera, who had just returned from a mission to Costa Rica, appeared at once in the palace and getting the Cabinet to recognize him as first Designado, became President of Guatemala until an election for

that office could be held. Barrios' friends said that Zollinger was in San Jos de Costa Rica for eight days at the same time that Cabrera was there, and that his expenses were paid by Cabrera. Later, Cabrera, who is a clever lawyer, elected himself by force, and is still in office."

Parker (164), p.96 "Manuel Estrada Cabrera, who succeeded to office when Reyna Barrios died and quickly consolidated his power, was the winner of farcical re-elections for terms beginning in 1905, 1911, and 1917, showing no sign of quitting as long as he lived. ... Just as Estrada Cabrera did not hesitate to shoot those who displeased him, he was a target for assassination several times himself as public life in Guatemala sank to its lowest level. After he had survived every such attempt, his final removal from office in 1920 came on a wave of public emotion which swept him out as a mental incompetent."

Frederick Palmer, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 26, 2909, p. 1 "Weyler Outdone by Guatemalan" describes his entry as follows: "When President Reino Barrios was assassinated nine years ago, Estrada Cabrera, an obscure, half breed country lawyer, who had risen to the vice presidency, sprang into the middle. With the army he made his position secure. Of course there was no election. He calls congress together once a year to ratify his decrees, which it does in fear of the bayonet. ... Twice he has escaped assassination only by the sheerest luck. The first time a mine was exploded under his carriage as he drove through the streets. ... The second time his own cadets, the young men of Guatemala's west Point which he had fondly organized, planned his death. A spy apprised him of the plot in time to have the ammunition removed from most of the rifles. But acting as his guard of honor, they fired on him, nevertheless, and he escaped by ducking under the folds of the flag."

Rebellion against president Cabrera breaks out April 12, 1920 (Boston Daily Globe 13 April, 1920, p. 7). President seems to remain in command of the federal army (*The New York Times* 14 April, 1920, p. 4), so this is a rebel victory. He was under arrest in the Polytechnic School. See *The New York Times*, April 18, 1920, p.1, *The New York Times*, April. 20, 1920 and the *Washington Post*, May 30, 1920, p.22. See *The New York Times*, Dec. 9, 1921, p.16. He was overthrown. For him fleeing to the American legation in Orellana's coup, see *Washington Post*, Dec. 12, 1921, p. 6 "Herrera To Quit Guatemala."

GUA-1920 90 GUA Herrera y Luna 15/04/1920 07/12/1921

Carlos Herrera, *The New York Times*, April 16, 1922 argues that Herrera was arrested and imprisoned by armed forces under the command of Ubico. Herrera y Luna was removed by coup by J. Orellana. Lentz notes "... he was ousted in a military coup the following year on December 9, 1921.... Orellana was a leader of the military coup that ousted Herrera on December 9, 1921." For the date of his ouster, see Boston Daily Globe, Dec. 8, 1921, p. 12 which has the coup occurring on 7 December. *Christian Science Monitor* December. 8, 1921, p. 4 "Guatemala Revolt Led By Minority" also has the date on 7 December, and reports "President Carlos Herrera and the members of his Cabinet, including Luis P. Aguirre, Minister of Foreign Affairs, are prisoners. President Herrera is under guard in his home ..." For his subsequent exile, first in the Salvadorian legation, see *Washington Post*, Dec. 12, 1921, p. 6 "Herrera To Quit Guatemala."

GUA-1921 90 GUA Orellana, J. 07/12/1921 26/09/1926

General Jose Maria Orellana, Chief of Staff of the Guatemalan Army. Later organizes

elections and gets legally elected President. And recognized as such by the US. See *The New York Times*, April 16, 1922, p. 18. Heart attack.

GUA-1926 90 GUA Chacon 27/09/1926 13/12/1930

Chacon was in power from 1926 to 1930. Lentz notes: "Chacon resigned on December 12, 1930, after suffering a stroke. He went to the United States for medical treatment and died at his home in New Orleans on April 10, 1931." He died less than 6 months after he lost power.

GUA-1930-1 90 GUA Palma 13/12/1930 17/12/1930

Palma takes over Unconstitutionally, he was Second Designate, the Secretary of War, Gen Mauro de Leon, killed in street fighting later, is First Designate. The *Washington Post*, Dec. 18, 1930, p.1. Lentz records that he dies in San Salvador June 20, 1946. Probably exile. *The New York Times*, records his death on 20 June 1944 in San Salvador. See *The New York Times*, Jun. 22, 1944, p.19. Removed in a military coup by Orellana, Lentz 1999, p. 214, *The New York Times* 18 December, 1930, p. 1.

GUA-1930-2 90 GUA Orellana, M. 17/12/1930 31/12/1930

Manuel Orellana. According to *The New York Times* (Jan 1, 1931, p. 23, Lentz just notes that he resigns, without giving causes), he resigns after being informed the US would not recognize his government on the basis of the Central American Treaty 1928, because he came to power by force. His resignation is seen as way to find a constitutional solution. This is no threat of foreign military force, but also does not involve domestic actors. See *Christian Science Monitor*, Jan 2, 1931, p.4; *The New York Times*, Jan 8, 1931, p.26. No evidence anywhere that he is related in any way to J. Orellana, hence we assume he's not.

GUA-1931-1 90 GUA Reina Andrade 01/01/1931 14/02/1931

Reina Andrade in constitutionally. *Christian Science Monitor*, Jan 2, 1931, p.4 Also Lentz. Born in 1860.

GUA-1931-2 90 GUA Ubico Castaneda 15/02/1931 01/07/1944

Student demonstrations escalate into general public protest against the govt and a general strike, which eventually forces the the president to resign. See *The New York Times* 2 July, 1944. *The New York Times*, Oct. 22, 1944, p.30 notes: "Ubico, who had been accused of continuing control of Guatemala through his successor, General Ponce, was reported already out of the country, en route to New Orleans. ... Senor Ponce is now interned in the Mexican Embassy." Subsequent exile in Mexico.

GUA-1944-1 90 GUA Ponce Valdez 01/07/1944 21/10/1944

Federico Ponce Valdez, head of Revolution junta. Removed in a military coup. *The New York Times* 21 October, 1944, p. 5. *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 21, 1944, p.13. "In Mexico City Vicente Saenz, General Secretary of the Union Democratica Centroamericana, said he received a telegram saying that President Ponce and all members of his Cabinet had found refuge in the United States Embassy in Guatemala City." See also: *The New York Times*, Oct.21, 1944. "The triumvirate issued a statement guaranteeing the safety of General Ponce and his Cabinet, who are to be exiled, ..." See *The New York Times*, Oct. 24, 1944, p.12. Ponce arrives in Mexico City on Oct. 23. Coup by

Arbenz. *The New York Times*, Oct. 22, 1944, p.30 notes: "Ubico, who had been accused of continuing control of Guatemala through his successor, General Ponce, was reported already out of the country, en route to New Orleans. ... Senor Ponce is now interned in the Mexican Embassy." Hence, may be a figure heard. However, Lentz notes: "Ponce attempted to retain the presidency and was ousted in a military coup ..."

GUA-1944-2 90 GUA Arbenz Guzman 21/10/1944 15/03/1945

The New York Times, Oct. 22, 1944, p.30 records, "The new regime is headed by Maj. Francisco Javier Arana, 32; Capt. Jacobo Arbenz, 28 and Jorge Toriello, a civilian. The triumvirate began forming a Cabinet today." Lentz notes he was in exile under the Ponce regime. Junta announces elections. He lets elections take place and hands over power.

GUA-1945 90 GUA Arevalo 15/03/1945 01/03/1951

For his entry, elected as president, see *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 21, 1944, p. 3 "Arevalo Is Elected Guatemala President." Which also notes he "will be inaugurated March 15, when the present revolutionary junta, ..., will retire.Decrees by the Junta have limited the Presidency to one four-year terms, established women's suffrage and mandatory voting by all literate persons, and called for a constitutional convention to write a new Constitution before March 15." Apparently, according to the *Washington Post*, April 1, 1845, p. B6, he has a Ph.D. in education, and had been a professor at the University of Tucman in Argentina. Constitution was put in force March 11 by the constituent assembly. A after removal in 1951, Arevalo serves as "ambassador-at-large in the government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman." Later out of the country and secretly returns in 1963. "Arevallo entered from Mexico, where he has spent much of his self-imposed 13-year exile." The *Washington Post*, Mar. 31, 1963, p.A10. Self-imposed exile in Mexico.

GUA-1951 90 GUA Arbenz Guzman 01/03/1951 27/06/1954

Arbenz, in 1954 is removed in a coup organized by the CIA. See *The New York Times*, Dec. 1996, p.8 CIA led military coup, *The New York Times* 29 December, 1996, p. 8; Lentz 1994, p. 342. Exile in France

GUA-1954-1 90 GUA Diaz 27/06/1954 29/06/1954

Carlos Diaz de Leon, (Col.). The *Washington Post*, Jun 30, 1954, p.1. Removed in a military coup. New York Times 30 June, 1954, p. 1; Lentz 1994, p. 342. Diaz was part of the Arbenz government. However, Monzon overthrows Diaz and then negotiates with the rebels. So this was a domestic coup without US involvement. Diaz is arrested.

GUA-1954-2 90 GUA Monzon 29/06/1954 08/07/1954

Under US pressure and US led coup, hands over leadership of Junta, but remains a member, *The New York Times* 9 July, 1954, p. 1; Lentz 1994, p. 343.

GUA-1954-3 90 GUA Castillo Armas 08/07/1954 20/07/1957

According to Lentz shot to death by leftist sympathizer, according to `http://www.biografiasyvidas.com` it was a soldier of its guard. Lentz 1994, p. 343; `http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/c/castillo.htm`.

GUA-1957-1 90 GUA Gonzalez Lopez 20/07/1957 24/10/1957

Ousted after elections that the public contested as fraudulent by military coup, Lentz 1994, p. 343, *The New York Times* 25 October, 1957, p. 1.

GUA-1957-2 90 GUA Mendoza Azurdia 24/10/1957 27/10/1957

Mendoza Azurdia, second Vice President. For entry, see *The New York Times*, October 26, 1957, p. 8 "U.S. Defers Reply to Guatemala Bid." See *The New York Times*, Oct. 25, 1957, p.1 & The *Washington Post*, Oct, 27, 1957. , p. A5. Guatemala was ruled by a military Junta headed by Mendoza Azurdia. *The New York Times*, October 26, 1957, p. 8 "U.S. Defers Reply to Guatemala Bid." records "The United States has deferred action on a request for recognition by Guatemala's military junta until the power struggle in that country takes clearer shape. An oral request that Washington recognize the three-man junta has been put before the State Department, but this Government's present inclination is to move slowly.

Under pressure from inside the military, the Junta puts interim civilian government into power. *The New York Times* 27 October, 1957, p. 1. The pressure comes from inside the military, specifically General Ydigoras, who gives a radio speech. See *The New York Times*, October 26, 1957, p. 8 "U.S. Defers Reply to Guatemala Bid."

GUA-1957-3 90 GUA Flores Avendano 28/10/1957 02/03/1958

Flores Avendano, second Vice President. See *The New York Times*, October 26, 1957, p. 8 "U.S. Defers Reply to Guatemala Bid." See Lentz and *The New York Times*, Mar 4, 1958, p.8.

GUA-1958 90 GUA Ydigoras Fuente 02/03/1958 31/03/1963

Gen. Ydigoras survives an air force coup attempt by the air force in 1962. See *The New York Times*, April 1, 1963, p.1. Finally removed in a military cop, *The New York Times* 1 April, 1963, p. 1. Ydigoras first taken into custody, then allowed to leave for Nicaragua. Later US.

GUA-1963 90 GUA Peralta Azurdia 31/03/1963 01/07/1966

Gen. Peralta Azurdia, Lentz

GUA-1966 90 GUA Mendez Montenegro 01/07/1966 01/07/1970

Mendez Montenegro, not a military man. After his tenure, he serves as Guatemala's ambassador to Mexico. Lentz.

GUA-1970 90 GUA Arana Osorio 01/07/1970 01/07/1974

Arana Osorio is a colonel again. Lentz.

GUA-1974 90 GUA Laugerud Garcia 01/07/1974 01/07/1978

Gen. Laugerud Garcia, Lentz. Gen Kjell Eugenio Laugerud. It appeared that the opposition candidate had won the vote by a wide margin, but the govt later declared that the candidate of the ruling right-wing coalition, Laugerud had won. The *Washington Post*, Mar. 24, 1982, p.A17.

GUA-1978 90 GUA Lucas Garcia 01/07/1978 23/03/1982

A General. He lost power as a result of a coup led by junior officers, and he was held under house arrest (see: Chicago Tribune, April 4, 1982, p. A1, A5 "U.S. Falters

in Central America.) Lentz records that "junior officers led a coup that ousted Lucas Garcia on March 23, 1982. Lucas Garcia and Anibal Guevara were put under house arrest." Coup by young officers March 23, declare the elections null and void. Election had been 7 March. BBC News, Monday 29 May 2006 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/5026948.stm reports "Guatemalan former President Romeo Lucas Garcia, whose 1978-1982 government was accused of rights abuses, has died aged 81 in a hospital in Venezuela. Under his rule in 1980, police raided the Spanish embassy which had been occupied by student and labour activists, killing 37 people. Spain unsuccessfully applied for his extradition from Venezuela to try him.

Gen Lucas Garcia was overthrown in 1982 by Gen Efrain Rios Montt, whose rule was among the bloodiest in Guatemala. Gen Lucas Garcia had lived in Venezuela since the 1980s. Last year, Venezuelan authorities refused to extradite him to Spain to face charges of human rights abuses."

GUA-1982 90 GUA Rios Montt 23/03/1982 08/08/1983

For his entry in what the Chicago Tribune calls an "auto-golpe" see: Chicago Tribune, April 4, 1982, p. A1, A5 "U.S. Falters in Central America." On Rios Mont. See http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A57581-2005Jan7.html. He is held under house arrest in Guatemala's capital since 2004. He is investigated for the killings of thousands during the 1980s military campaign against the Marxist rebels. "But several weeks ago, the retired general threw a grand bash for his daughter's wedding at his mansion in this colonial city at the foot of postcard-perfect volcanoes. Fine scotch flowed, and the guest list included both the U.S. ambassador and a member of the U.S. Congress, who happened to be the groom. Rios Montt is one of more than a dozen former Latin American leaders who are under investigation on criminal charges ranging from murder to embezzlement, yet who continue to enjoy the comforts of home and even high-profile social lives, arousing the ire of ordinary citizens and human rights groups across the country." "Here in Antigua, renowned for its cobblestone streets and stunning views of high volcanoes, news of Rios Montt hosting a wedding bash while under house arrest was particularly galling. Rios Montt's daughter, Zury Rios Sosa, a Guatemalan senator, married Rep. Gerald C. Weller (R-Ill.), in November, and Rios Montt hosted the party at his expansive weekend home. John Hamilton, the U.S. ambassador, was among those in attendance. "People with power can buy the law," said Miguel Angel Lopez, 49, who was standing outside the former dictator's mansion, which is guarded by a 250-foot-long stone wall capped by a double coil of razor wire. A sprawling lawn is visible when guards open the gate. There was nothing illegal about Rios Montt hosting the party. Victor Hugo Herrera, the judge in the case, said in an interview that Rios Montt asked for permission to travel 30 miles from his house in Guatemala City to the mansion in Antigua for "political reasons." He said he later saw in a newspaper that Rios Montt had gone there for his daughter's wedding. Herrera said he granted the request because Rios Montt had "been complying with the rules" of his confinement. He said the rules allow him to leave his house, provided he stays within Guatemala City, but that travel outside the capital requires permission. He is under house arrest, the judge said, after being charged with organizing a riot by thousands of his supporters in Guatemala City in July 2003 in which a Guatemalan journalist died. Human rights activists here said that charging Rios Montt in that "Black Thursday" riot was akin to charging Al Capone with tax evasion. "He is a symbol of genocide," said LaRue, the human rights

official. But the attorney general's three-member task force, which is looking into what many have called Rios Montt's "scorched-earth campaign" to root out anti-government insurgents, faces a daunting task. One of the prosecutors, Sandra Sosa Stewart, said the task force was working with declassified U.S. government documents and examining bones unearthed in ongoing exhumations of mass graves found throughout the country. "We don't have enough people," she said. "We don't even have Internet access." Despite the difficulties, Juan Luis Pons, another human rights activist, said criminal investigations of former Latin American leaders, including Rios Montt, constitute a "a small light giving people hope" that presidents are no longer above the law. Still, he added, the sight of a former dictator under criminal investigation and house arrest hosting a wedding for 300 people, including an A-list of Guatemala's elite, "shows that justice is still politicized in Latin America."" See *Washington Post* Foreign Service, Saturday, January 8, 2005; Page A10. He lost power with a coup and hold under house arrest.

BBC News: Tuesday 31 January 2006 reports "A court in Guatemala has dismissed manslaughter charges against former military ruler Efrain Rios Montt. He was accused of orchestrating a violent protest by his supporters against a ruling which banned him from standing for president in 2003. A journalist died of a heart attack while running away from protesters. ... The 2003 protests, which caused chaos in Guatemala City, became known as Black Thursday. Gen. Rios Montt eventually contest the election this year, but he was defeated. He took part in the poll despite a constitutional rule that no-one who had overthrown a government could stand for the presidency."

Volkskrant (nl), 8 Juli 2006, reports that a Spanish judge order the arrest of two ex-presidents of Guatemala. Those charged, for crimes such as genocide, terrorism and torture include Efraín Ríos Montt and Oscar Humberto Mejía Víctores, general Benedicto Lucas García, ex-minister of Defense Angel Aníbal Guevara, ex-minister of the Interior Donaldo Alvarez Ruíz .... The military dictator Romeo Lucas García (1924-2006), brother of Benedicto, also was on the list of those charged but he died in may in Venezuela. The Spanish court also determined that the assets of the ex-Guatemalan leaders are to be frozen, even if under the control of third parties.

BBC New Saturday 23 December 2006. "Spain seeks Guatemalan ex-rulers": "Spain has called for the extradition from Guatemala of seven former members of that country's government on charges of genocide and torture. Human rights groups want the seven - including two former military rulers - to face trial in Spain. Guatemala has rejected extradition requests made this year. Spain's highest court has ruled that cases of genocide committed abroad could be judged in Spain, even if no Spanish citizens have been involved. The seven men sought by Madrid include former military rulers Efrain Rios Montt and Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores. They are wanted in connection with a series of kidnappings, mass murders and torture of Mayan Indians committed during Guatemalan's 36-year-long civil war, which ended 10 years ago. They have faced charges in Spain since 1999, when the Guatemalan indigenous leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner Rigoberta Menchu presented a complaint against them." Removed in a military coup, *Washington Post* 9 August, 1983, p. A1.

GUA-1983 90 GUA Mejia Victores 08/08/1983 14/01/1986

Lentz. See above, Mejia Vitores is charged by Spanish court in 2006 for genocide, torture and terrorism. And Spain's court asks for extradition. See above.

GUA-1986 90 GUA Cerezo 14/01/1986 14/01/1991
Cerezo Arevalo non military man. Survived attempted coup in May 1988. Lentz

GUA-1991 90 GUA Serrano Elias 14/01/1991 31/05/1993

Serrano Elias attempts "auto-golpe" 27 May 1993, by enlisting the army to help him abolish Congress, the courts and the Constitution. See *The New York Times*, May 27, 1993, p.A26. "Guatemala's Do-It-Yourself Coup." "It's the latest fashion in Latin American authoritarianism, and it seems to be catching. Following the path marked out by President Alberto Fujimori of Peru 13 months ago, President Jorge Serrano of Guatemala enlisted the army Tuesday to help him abolish Congress, the courts and the Constitution. ... The Clinton Administration, which quickly condemned the coup, should now move to halt Guatemala's $60 million in U.S. aid. Meanwhile, the Organization of American States is preparing for an emergency meeting. But that probably won't be enough to turn the tide. Similar moves after the Peruvian coup brought only a small concession, the election of a new constituent assembly. Mr. Serrano has already promised to take that step on his own."

Military ousts president, but only after mounting popular pressure from all societal groups against president's grab for dictatorial powers, *The New York Times* 31 May, 1993, p. 5; 1 June, 1993, p. 7; 2 June, 1993, p. 8.

Serrano Elias flees after a failed attempt to dissolve parliament and supreme court.

The New York Times, June 3, 1993, p.A22 "Guatemala: Democracy Recouped?" "As a rule, military coups do not produce wholly positive results, and the Guatemalan Army's ouster of President Jorge Serrano on Tuesday is unlikely to prove the exception. Yet for Guatemala, and its army, the removal of a would-be civilian dictator is a big step forward from the brutal military interventions of the recent past. Outside pressure – especially the Clinton Administration's threat to suspend lucrative trade and investment incentives – helped undermine Mr. Serrano's ambitions. But it was the widespread hostility of Guatemalan civil society that assured his early downfall. ... the army sent Mr. Serrano packing to El Salvador. Understandably, many who opposed him are now hesitant to trust an army that has inflicted as many as 100,000 civilian casualties in three decades of intermittent civil war. But if Gen. José Domingo Garcia Samayoa, the Defense Minister who engineered Mr. Serrano's removal, and Vice President Gustavo Espina Salguero, who takes over for now as Acting President, keep their promises to restore full constitutional rule, they will surely gain broad public approval." See also *The New York Times*, June 3, 1993, p. A3 "Guatemala's Counter-Coup: A Military About-Face."

Valenzuela (2004, p.8) dates the self-coup to 25 May, 1993. "On 25 May, 1993, Guatemala's President Jorge Serrano tried to break a perceived stalemate with the 116-member legislature (in which his party held only 18 seats) by means of a Fujimori-style self-coup. He arrested congressional leaders, Supreme Court judges, and the national ombudsman, and then announced elections for a constituent assemble to be held within six months. It all soon went sour, however, as the international community, party leaders, business groups, the armed forces, and thousands of students and civic-group demonstrators limed up against him. On June 1, senior officers who had been in touch with the opposition told Serrano that he and his supportive vice-president would have to go. Congress chose the former human rights ombudsman to fill the presidency."

GUA-1993-1 90 GUA Espina Salguero 31/05/1993 01/06/1993

Gustavo Espina Salguero, Vice President to Jorge Serrano Elias.

Military ousts president, but only after mounting popular pressure from all societal groups against president's grab for dictatorial powers, *The New York Times*, 31 May, 1993, p. 5; 1 June, 1993, p. 7; 2 June, 1993, p. 8.

For his entry see *The New York Times*, June 3, 1993, p.A22 "Guatemala: Democracy Recouped?" "As a rule, military coups do not produce wholly positive results, and the Guatemalan Army's ouster of President Jorge Serrano on Tuesday is unlikely to prove the exception. Yet for Guatemala, and its army, the removal of a would-be civilian dictator is a big step forward from the brutal military interventions of the recent past. Outside pressure – especially the Clinton Administration's threat to suspend lucrative trade and investment incentives – helped undermine Mr. Serrano's ambitions. But it was the widespread hostility of Guatemalan civil society that assured his early downfall. ...the army sent Mr. Serrano packing to El Salvador. Understandably, many who opposed him are now hesitant to trust an army that has inflicted as many as 100,000 civilian casualties in three decades of intermittent civil war. But if Gen. José Domingo Garcia Samayoa, the Defense Minister who engineered Mr. Serrano's removal, and Vice President Gustavo Espina Salguero, who takes over for now as Acting President, keep their promises to restore full constitutional rule, they will surely gain broad public approval." See also *The New York Times*, June 4, 1993, "Guatemala Army Names Vice President as Leader." `http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9F0CE1DB1F3AF937A35755C0A965958260`

For the irregularity of his entry see *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 11, 1993, "Costa Rica to Shield Guatemala Vice President." `http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=99&did=67067182&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt=3&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1209686396&clientId=17941`. The article notes "Espina, 47, tried to assume the presidency on June 2 when the army turned against the President Jorge Serrano, who had seized near-dictatorial powers on May 25. But Congress refused to confirm Espina's rise to power, arguing that the had backed Serrano in an unconstitutional act. It selected the country's human rights prosecutor, Remiro de Leon Carpio, instead. On Wednesday, a judge ordered the arrest ofEspina and former Interior Minister Francisco Perdomo Sandoval on charges that they tried to help Serrano subvert the constitution."

For his exit see *The New York Times*, June 7, 1993, p.A1. "In Startling Shift, Guatemala Makes Rights Aide President." "Guatemala, June 6 – In a turn that astonished many Guatemalans even after days of political turmoil, the Government's crusading Human rights ombudsman, a frequent critic of the military, was sworn in as President early today. ...[p.A9] ...As late as Saturday afternoon, business and political leaders said they were confident of having obtained the votes in Congress to elect a more moderate candidate, Arturo Herbruger Asturias, the 81-year-old head of the federal electoral court. But with Mr. de Le[o]n Car[p]io's name ringing from the galleries of the somber stone chamber built by one of Guatemala's many military dictators, legislators gave him a narrow majority on their first secret ballot. He was still more than a dozen votes short of the required two-thirds vote in the 116-seat legislature. But as congressional leaders recessed to negotiate, Mr. Herbruger telephoned to withdraw. ...[students and union members] shouted as well for the prosecution of military leaders who supported Mr. Serrano's seizure of power and then ousted him, then backed an attempted takeover by his Vice President, Gustavo Espina Salguero, only to force Mr. Espina to resign."

For his exit, see also *The New York Times*, June 5, 1993, "Guatemala's Vice President Is Said to Resign." By-line: Tim Golden. The article notes " Under pressure from the same business, political and social groups that backed the military overthrow of President Jorge Serrano Elias on Tuesday, Mr. Serrano's Vice President renounced his claim to the presidency tonight, politicians said. The opponents of the Vice President, Gustavo Espina Salguero, effectively turned aside the powerful army leadership, which had surprised and angered many Guatemalans by publicly endorsing Mr. Espina's attempt to take over as President. The failure of Mr. Espina's strange candidacy appeared to mark the beginning of the end of 10 days of political turmoil set off when Mr. Serrano dissolved the Congress and suspended constitutional rights on May 25 with the military's support. Mr. Espina's resignation still had not been made public late tonight. But besides the assurances of politicians that he had given a resignation letter to military commanders, there was ample evidence that Mr. Espina's brief tenure as the country's acting leader was over. Court Rules Against Espina In a ruling this afternoon, the country's highest judicial body, the Constitutional Court, held that Mr. Espina was ineligible to be President because he had "participated notoriously in illegitimate acts carried out by the executive." The court ordered the Congress to choose a new President and Vice President within 24 hours, and the head of the Congress, Jose Lobo Dubon, called the legislators to a special session on Saturday to do just that. Political leaders said there were at least four possible candidates to take over as the country's interim leader. All of them were described as nonpartisan public officials, and the name most mentioned was that of an 80-year-old lawyer who has headed the country's electoral tribunal for the last decade, Arturo Herbruger Asturias. In an interview this afternoon, Mr. Herbruger said he did not aspire to become President but did not rule out the possibility entirely. "The country is in a state of near anarchy," he said. "Something has to be done." Politicians and others who joined in the broad coalition that rejected Mr. Espina's claim to the presidency said it was likely that new elections would be held by the end of 1994, a year earlier than scheduled. In a statement tonight they also called for the immediate "cleansing and restructuring" of the Congress, the courts and the executive branch of Government, all of which have been accused of widespread corruption. "What you are seeing here is a recognition by all the civilian leaders of Guatemala that we have not been able to manage the democratic system," one of the business leaders involved in the coalition, Juan Luis Bosch, said. "Our failure hasn't been the result of the stereotypical orangutans of the Latin American military, but of our own incapacity to give the people a working democracy that resolved their problems." When the military ousted Mr. Serrano, the Defense Minister, Gen. Jose Garcia Samayoa, said Mr. Espina had already presented his resignation. But when Mr. Espina abruptly announced his intention to take over as President, General Garcia Somayoa threw the military behind him, calling Mr. Espina's move "a consummated act." Leaders of the coalition against Mr. Espina had been openly nervous about the army's possible response to their announcement, saying they had left it only two choices: either to abandon Mr. Espina or to put him in the presidency by force. In response to efforts by the acting attorney general to prosecute Mr. Serrano, Mr. Espina and their Minister of Government, Francisco Perdomo, on charges of corruption and violating the Constitution, the Supreme Court issued a warrant for Mr. Serrano's arrest today."

See also `http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/guatemala/profiles.php` and *St. Louis Post Dispatch* June 5, 1993, p. 07 A. "Guatemalan Court Order Arrest of Ousted

President," at http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=75&did=53212539&SrchMode=1&sid=1\&Fmt=3&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1209686357&clientId=17941.

Wikipedia http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gustavo_Espina_Salguero notes that "He spent the following years in exile, and in 1997 returned voluntarily to stand trial for his involvement in the coup. He was convicted of violating the constitution, but his sentence was commuted to a small fine."

For his exile in Costa Rica, see *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 11, 1993, "Costa Rica to Shield Guatemala Vice President." http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=99&did=67067182&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt=3&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1209686396&clientId=17941. The article notes " Costa Rican President Rafael Angel Calderon told the daily newspaper la Nacion in San Jose that his government had granted asylum to Espina, who sought refuge Wednesday at the Costa Rican embassy in Guatemala City."

He is born in 1946? http://www.economicexpert.com/a/Gustavo:Adolfo:Espina:Salguero.htm. A second source also has his birth year as 1946 and provides some more details about his 1997 return and conviction and minor punishment: http://www.upto11.net/generic_wiki.php?q=gustavo_adolfo_espina_salguero

GUA-1993-2 90 GUA Leon Carpio 01/06/1993 14/01/1996

Leon Carpio, was Government's human rights ombudsman. *The New York Times*, June 7, 1993, p.A1. "In Startling Shift, Guatemala Makes Rights Aide President." "Guatemala, June 6 – In a turn that astonished many Guatemalans even after days of political turmoil, the Government's crusading Human rights ombudsman, a frequent critic of the military, was sworn in as President early today. ... [p.A9] ... As late as Saturday afternoon, business and political leaders said they were confident of having obtained the votes in Congress to elect a more moderate candidate, Arturo Herbruger Asturias, the 81-year-old head of the federal electoral court. But with Mr. de Le[o]n Carpio's name ringing from the galleries of the somber stone chamber built by one of Guatemala's many military dictators, legislators gave him a narrow majority on their first secret ballot. He was still more than a dozen votes short of the required two-thirds vote in the 116-seat legislature. But as congressional leaders recessed to negotiate, Mr. Herbruger telephoned to withdraw. ... [students and union members] shouted as well for the prosecution of military leaders who supported Mr. Serrano's seizure of power and then ousted him, then backed an attempted takeover by his Vice President, Gustavo Espina Salguero, only to force Mr. Espina to resign. ... Mr. de Leó Carpio ... called on foreign governments to renew and increase the aid to Guatemala that they suspended after Mr. Serrano – who was elected to a five year term in January 1991 – dissolved Congress and the Supreme Court on May 25. Mr. de Leó Carpio also asked that the countries lift their threats of economic sanction. United States Officials responded almost immediately. "We welcome a legal and peaceful constitutional resolution of this crisis, and we're looking forward to working with this Government," the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Bernard W. Aronoson, told reporters."

GUA-1996 90 GUA Arzu Yrigoyen 14/01/1996 14/01/2000

Arzu Yrigoyen, former businessman.

GUA-2000 90 GUA Alfonso Portillo Cabrera 15/01/2000 14/01/2004

See The *Washington Post*, May 23, 2004. p. B01. "According to Guatemalan news reports, he was tipped off to the imminent loss of his Parliamentary immunity. He fled to Mexico, where he remains, pending Guatemala's extradition request." See `www.nytimes.com/aponline/international/AP-Mexico-Guatemala-Former-Leader.html`. AP, August 29, 2004 and also see the article `http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A57581-2005Jan7.html`. "Facing Charges, Not Discomforts. Former Latin American leaders Live the Good Life While in Confinement. Washington Pose, Saturday, January 8, 2005, Page A10. "Another former president of Guatemala, Alfonso Portillo, is also under criminal investigation and has fled to Mexico. Guatemalan authorities have asked the United States for help in tracking Portillo's financial transactions. Meanwhile, his vice president, finance minister and other top officials in his administration are in jail on corruption charges." When his political immunity was revoked on February 19, 2004 Portillo immediately fled to Mexico. On August 16, 2004, immigration authorities there granted him a year-long work visa. He lives in Mexico City in an apartment in one of the city's most exclusive neighborhoods.

GUA-2004 90 GUA Berger Perdomo 14/01/2004 31/12/2004
He was born in 1946.

2.14 HONDURAS

http://www.honduraseducacional.com/presidente.htm lists the following presidents in 1839:

José Lino Matute 12/11/1838 09/01/1839

Juan Francisco de Molina 09/01/1839 13/04/1839

Felipe Nery Medina 13/04/1839 15/04/1839

Jun José Alvarado 15/04/1839 27/04/1839

José Maria Guerrero 27/04/1839 10/08/1839

Mariano Garrigó 10/08/1839 20/08/1839

José Maria Bustillo 20/08/1839 27/08/1839

Council of Ministers. Mónico Bueso, Francisco de Aguilar 27/08/1839 21/09/1839

HON-1839 Franciso Zelaya y Ayes 21/09/1839 31/12/1840

This basically was a period of chaos, with no real executive authority.

See http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Francisco\%20Zelaya\%20y\%20Ayes.htm.

He was born in 1798 and died 20 October 1848. His posttenurefate seems to be OK.

HON-1841 91 HON Francisco Ferrera 01/01/1841 12/02/1847

Bancroft (1877), p. 309–10 notes "The house of representatives of the Estado Libri y Soberano de Honduras, on the 30th of December 1840, chose Francisco Ferrera president,[fn.1: He had been the sole candidate, obtaining 3,400 votes, which did not constitute a majority.] and he took possession of the office on the 1st of January 1841. ... Elections were held, and arrangements made so that he [Ferrera] could continue in power as minister of war with the chief command of the forces. Guardiola had been also dubbed a benemérito, and his friends wished to raise him to the presidential chair, but did not succeed. No candidate obtained the requisite majority, and the legislature chose Coronado Chavez president. "

According to the constitution of 1839, Ferrera's second term ended 31 December 1844, and he could not be re-elected a second time. Note that Bancroft's wording strongly suggests that Ferrera might actually be the effective leader and not Coronado Chavez, although not president but chief of the forces. This is confirmed by Bancroft (1887), pp. 311–12 "Guardiola's atrocities at La Union and San Miguel, spoken of in a former chapter, won him additional honors from the subservient assembly of Honduras. He was a second time declared a benemérito, and awarded a gold medal. Chavez, the tool of Ferrera, was not neglected. He was given the title of Padre conscripto de la patria, with an accompanying medal. The assembly closed on the 23d of March, well satisfied of the wisdom of its measures. Another presidential election came up, and no one having the requisite number of votes, the assembly, January 14, 1847, chose Ferrera, who declined the position, and Juan Lindo was then appointed, Ferrera continuing as war minister,

with the command of the troops annexed, which was what he desired. Guardiola was retained in the office of minister of foreign relations, though unfit for it."

Hence I consider *Coronado Chávez 08/01/1845 31/12/1847* a figurehead.

Ferrera was born 29 January 1794 and died 10 April 1851, in El Salvador. His entry and exit are both regular. After he lets Juan Lindo take power, he leaves the country and moves to El Salvador, where he dies. When exactly he leaves is unknown, but `http://www.angelfire.com/ca5/mas/bio/bio10.html` strongly suggests this was soon after Lindo took over and that Lindo had "suggested" he leave. Hence, posttenurefate is exile. Not a military man, initially was supposed to musician but later became a sacristan of Cantarrans, see Bancroft (1887), p. 309, fn.1.)

HON 1847 91 HON Juan Lindo 12/02/1847 01/02/1852

Full name Juan Nepomuceno Fernández Lindo y Zelaya. He was born 16 May 1790 in Honduras and died 23 April 1857. He previously was president of El Salvador from 1841–1842. His posttenurefate is OK.

Bancroft (1887), pp.311-2 "Another presidential election came up, and no one having the requisite number of votes, the assembly, January 14, 1847, chose Ferrera, who declined the position, and Juan Lindo was then appointed, Ferrera continuing as war minister, with the command of the troops annexed, which was what he desired. Guardiola was retained in the office of minister of foreign relations, though unfit for it."

See also `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Juan\%20Lindo.htm`

Bancroft (18871), p. 321 "President Lindo, having been a third time elected to the presidency for the term to begin February 1, 1852, published on the 25th of November 1851, a manifesto to the people, suggesting the expediency of calling some other citizen to the executive chair, pleading at the same time need of rest. The people took him at his word, and chose Trinidad Cabañas president, who was inducted into office at Camayagua on the 1st of March 1852, and on the next day in his address to the assembly pledged his word to pursue a liberal policy in observance of the principals that had guided him throughout his career."

Woodward, (1993) p.242 "Honduran President Juan Lindo had been more successful than other Central American leaders in achieving some accord between conservatives and liberals within his state, but he was disillusioned and his role as a mediator in the other states had failed as often as they had succeeded. In November 1851 he won election to a third term but then announced that he did not wish to continue and asked that someone else be elected. The result was the election of the charismatic Morazanista, Trinidad Cabañas, who succeeded Lindo on 1 March 1852. Often cited as a rare example of a peaceable and constitutional transition from conservative to liberal rule in Central America, it more accurately reflected Lindo's estrangement with the conservatives owing to his distrust of and difficulties with the Guatemalan conservatives. Moreover, Lindo recognized that Cabañas commanded the army and thereby held the real power in the state."

His posttenurefate is OK.

NON-1852-1 91 HON Francisco Gomez y Argúelles 01/02/1852 01/03/1852.

See `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Francisco\%20Gomez.htm`

Interim, caretaker president. Born in Juticalpa, married to the sister of General Trinidad Cabañas. Birth date unknown. He died 25 July 1854. Posttenurefate is OK.

HON-1852-2 91 HON Trinidad Cabañas 01/03/1852 06/10/1855

Bancroft (1887), p. 321 "President Lindo, having been a third time elected to the presidency for the term to begin February 1, 1852, published on the 25th of November 1851, a manifesto to the people, suggesting the expediency of calling some other citizen to the executive chair, pleading at the same time need of rest. The people took him at his word, and chose Trinidad Cabañas president, who was inducted into office at Camayagua on the 1st of March 1852, and on the next day in his address to the assembly pledged his word to pursue a liberal policy in observance of the principals that had guided him throughout his career. His election was hailed as an auspicious event, and a safeguard against Guatemala's encroachments."

Bancroft (1887), pp.321–3 "The state was at peace in the interior, and with the other states of Central America, except Guatemala, with which the relations were not harmonious, owing to the usurpation by the latter of a portion of Honduran territory on the Copan side. This, with divergence in political principles between the two rulers, soon brought about a bloody war [fn: 51: Astaburuaga attributes this war to Cabañas' attempt to promote an insurrection in Guat. Against his old enemy Carrera. ....] What Guatemala's superior resources failed to accomplish on the field of battle was, however, brought about by means of intrigue, with the cooperation of the party opposed to Cabañas in Honduras, headed by General Santos Guardiola, which received efficacious aid from Carrera. General Juan Lopez supported the revolutionary movement with 700 men, and Cabañas was overthrown on the 6th of July, 1855. At last, being unable to cope with the daily increasing forces of the enemy, he abandoned the field, and retreated to Salvador. The serviles again took possession of the government under Lopez.[fn. 55: The executive office went, Oct. 14, 1855, into the hands of Vice-President S. Bueso, who pleading ill health left it in charge of Senator Francisco Aguilar.] The presidential election took place amid this turmoil. The state was divided into two factions, one supporting Lindo and the other Guardiola. The friends of Lindo, not feeling certain of success, proposed Lopez as a compromise candidate, he being credited with the expulsion of Cabañas, but finally abandoned the plan and cast their votes for Guardiola, who assumed the executive office, February 17, 1856, on his return from Nicaragua, where he had been defeated by William Walker. Lindo had meantime been in charge of the government. A system of despotism was now established, Guardiola being but a satellite of Carrera."

See also `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/josetrinidadcabanas.htm`. He was a military man, serving with Dionisio de Herrera at a very early age. Apparently, he was residing in El Salvador when he was elected president of Honduras. Also see `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Jose\%20Santiago\%20Bueso.htm`, which I take as authoritative on dates. This site notes: "En 1855, las agresiones guatemaltecas son reiteradas. El general Rafael Carrera declara que su objetivo en Honduras, es derrocar al general José Trinidad Cabañas. Derrotado por las fuerzas guatemaltecas en Los Llanos de Santa Rosa y Gracias, el 6 de julio de 1855. Su ejercito es aplastado en la acción de Masaguara (Cerca del Valle de Jesús de Otoro), el 6 de octubre de 1855 por el ejército encabezado por el general Juan López. Se refugia en El Salvador, viajando a Nicaragua a solicitar apoyo para recuperar la Presidencia de Honduras. No obtuvo apoyo, por cuanto el Presidente Patricio Rivas se encontraba influenciado por el aventurero Williams Walker. Regresó a El Salvador donde permaneció muchos años. En 1867 regresa a Honduras e inicia campaña contra la presencia del Filibustero Williams Walker

en Centro América. El vencedor de la Acción de Masaguara, general Juan López llama al Vicepresidente José Santiago Bueso a desempeñar la titularidad del Ejecutivo, el 18 de octubre de 1855. Argumentando razones de enfermedad, deja la Presidencia en la persona del senador Francisco de Aguilar, el 8 de noviembre de 1855."

He was born 9 June 1805 and died 8 January 1871. Posttenurefate is exile. As noted in the previous entry, he was the brother-in-law of Francisco Gomez.

HON-1855-1 91 HON José Santiago Bueso 18/10/1855 08/11/1855

Rulers.org and `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/presidente.htm` have Bueso entering on the 18th of October. He was Cabañas' Vice President. Hence a regular entry.

see `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Jose\%20Santiago\%20Bueso.htm`, which I take as authoritative on dates. This site notes: "En 1855, las agresiones guatemaltecas son reiteradas. El general Rafael Carrera declara que su objetivo en Honduras, es derrocar al general José Trinidad Cabañas. Derrotado por las fuerzas guatemaltecas en Los Llanos de Santa Rosa y Gracias, el 6 de julio de 1855. Su ejercito es aplastado en la acción de Masaguara (Cerca del Valle de Jesús de Otoro), el 6 de octubre de 1855 por el ejército encabezado por el general Juan López. Se refugia en El Salvador, viajando a Nicaragua a solicitar apoyo para recuperar la Presidencia de Honduras. No obtuvo apoyo, por cuanto el Presidente Patricio Rivas se encontraba influenciado por el aventurero Williams Walker. Regresó a El Salvador donde permaneció muchos años. En 1867 regresa a Honduras e inicia campaña contra la presencia del Filibustero Williams Walker en Centro América. El vencedor de la Acción de Masaguara, general Juan López llama al Vicepresidente José Santiago Bueso a desempeñar la titularidad del Ejecutivo, el 18 de octubre de 1855. Argumentando razones de enfermedad, deja la Presidencia en la persona del senador Francisco de Aguilar, el 8 de noviembre de 1855."

Bancroft (1887), p. 322 "The serviles again took possession of the government under Lopez.[fn. 55: The executive office went, Oct. 14, 1855, into the hands of Vice-President S. Bueso, who pleading ill health left it in charge of Senator Francisco Aguilar.]"

Regular entry, regular exit, birthdate, death date and posttenurefate are unknown.

HON-1855-3 91 HON Francisco de Aguilar 08/11/1855 17/02/1856

He was a senator. See `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Francisco\%20de\%20Aguilar.htm`. Becomes Supreme Court in 1858, so his posttenurefate is OK. No birth or death date could be found.

HON-1856 91 HON José Santos Guardiola 17/02/1856 11/01/1862

See `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Jose\%20Santos\%20Guardiola.htm`.

He was born 1 November 1816, and died, murdered by his presidential guard, 11 January 1862. A graduate from the Military Academy.

For his entry, see Bancroft (1887), pp.322–323.

Woodward (1993), p. 317. "Then, on 11 January 1862, an unidentified assassin cut down Honduran dictator Santos Guardiola. Although evidence was lacking, rumor blamed [Gerardo] Barrios for the act, and Guatemalan-Salvadoran relations deteriorated further. Adding to the speculation regarding Barrios's complicity was the fact that Guardiola's vice-president, Victoriano Castellanos, was in El Salvador at the time of the assassination, and he promptly concluded a military alliance with El Salvador shortly after taking office

as the new president of Honduras." Woodward continues on p.318 "The Salvadoran foreign minister promptly denied that his government had any part in the murder of Guardiola. It announced on 10 February that those responsible had been apprehended in Honduras and were awaiting punishment. The following day, in Comayagua, a firing squad executed the six prisoners held for the crime. Whether or not Barrios had any complicity in Guardiola's murder, the event tipped the scales in favor of the liberals."

HON-1862-1 91 HON José Francisco Montes 11/01/1862 04/02/1862

Bancroft (1887), p.324 "Guardiola's constitutional successor, Victoriano Castellanos, was in Salvador, and much against his will was pushed by Barrios to accept the position. He repaired to the frontier, and had the oath of office administered to him by the alcalde of the little town of Guarita; which was considered a strange proceeding on his part by Senator José María Medina, who had received the executive office from J. P. Montes, and invited him to the capital to enter upon his duties.[fh. 62: Feb. 4, 1862.]

See also `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Francisco\%20Montes.htm`

Regular entry, regular exit, posttenurefate is OK.

HON-1862-2 91 HON Victoriano Castellanos 04/02/1862 04/12/1862

Regular entry. Bancroft (1887), p.324 "Guardiola's constitutional successor, Victoriano Castellanos, was in Salvador, and much against his will was pushed by Barrios to accept the position. He repaired to the frontier, and had the oath of office administered to him by the alcalde of the little town of Guarita; which was considered a strange proceeding on his part by Senator José María Medina, who had received the executive office from J. P. Montes, and invited him to the capital to enter upon his duties.[fn. 62: Feb. 4, 1862.]

See `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Victoriano\%20Castellanos.htm`

Woodward (1993), p.318 "Whether or not Barrios had any complicity in Guardiola's murder, the event tipped the scales in favor of the liberals. The Salvadoran Government made clear its support of Castellanos, and Trinidad Cabanas, who had been serving in Barrios's government in San Salvador, now returned to his native Honduras to become a minister in the new government. Reports that the provisional president, José Maria Medina, who had succeeded Montes, would attempt to hold on to power proved to be unfounded when Medina met Castellanos at Santa Rosa, Honduras, and transferred the presidential authority on 5 March 1862." Woodward (1993), p.318 notes that Castellanos was "a moderate liberal."

For reasons of health, Castellanos returns power to Montes on 4 December 1862, and dies a week later. He is born 23 March 1795 and dies 11 December 1862.

HON-1862-3 91 HON José Francisco Montes 04/12/1862 21/06/1863

He returns to office when Castellanos resigns for reasons of health.

Bancroft (1887), p.324 "Guardiola's constitutional successor, Victoriano Castellanos, was in Salvador, and much against his will was pushed by Barrios to accept the position. He repaired to the frontier, and had the oath of office administered to him by the alcalde of the little town of Guarita; which was considered a strange proceeding on his part by Senator José María Medina, who had received the executive office from J. P. Montes, and

invited him to the capital to enter upon his duties.[fn. 62: Feb. 4, 1862.] Castellanos concluded soon after an alliance offensive and defensive with Barrios, and at a time when their states were at peace with the other governments of Central America. This step and the diatribes of the press in Salvador and Honduras //p.325// against the governments of Guatemala and Nicaragua, paved the way for fresh troubles in Central America. Castellanos held the government about ten months, nearly all the time in a turmoil; and at his death was temporarily succeeded by José Francisco Montes, who followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, continuing the alliance with Barrios, and hostilities against Guatemala and Nicaragua. The serviles, assisted by the troops of these two states, being victorious, overthrew him, and on the 21st of June, 1863, placed at the head of affairs, as provisional president of the republic of Honduras, the senior senator, José María Medina, who issued a decree of outlawry against Montes.[fn. 65: This decree is signed by Medina ... July 20, and rescinded Sept. 8, 1863.]"

`http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Francisco\%20Montes.htm` notes that he surrenders, unconditionally, to Medina on 7 September. The next day the decree of outlawry is rescinded. Close call whether he is punished or not. He becomes Minister of War in the administration of José Maria Medina. Since he unconditionally surrendered, I take this as an indication he was arrested and imprisoned, at least temporarily, one day? This is a difficult call.

HON-1863 91 HON José María Medina 21/06/1863 26/07/1872

Note that `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/presidente.htm` also has 21 of June 1863 as his entry date, in contrast to Rulers.org which lists 7 September, the official date.

He was born 19 March 1826, `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Jose\%20Maria\%20Medina.htm` notes he is the son of Antonia Medina, which suggests he was illegitimate. In June 1877, he was accused of participating in a conspiracy against the government of Aurelio Soto. All conspirators were tried by an ad hoc court and sentenced to death. He was executed by firing squad on 23 January, 1878. But the same site also has him shot 8 February 1878. Bancroft (1887), p.464 also records February 8th, 1878, as the date of his execution.

Under constitution of 1865, the President can not be immediately re-elected. (Art. 33). Bancroft (1887), p. 454 notes "Medina was chosen president for another term of four years [1870, HG]. In order to do this, the clauses in article 33 of the national constitution forbidding reëlection for the next immediate period was repealed, which Medina's partisans affect through a constituent assembly convoked ad hoc. He was accordingly reinaugurated February 1, 1870."

I do not include Francisco Inestroza (31/12/1863–15/03/1864) as effective leader, since Medina handed him power just for the electoral period, and Medina remained the effective leader. He lost power as a result of a war with Guatemala and El Salvador an was imprisoned by Arias. See Bancroft (1887), pp. 457–8. Medina is released from confinement when Arias is defeated 13 January 1874.

HON-1872 91 HON Céleo Arias 26/07/1872 13/01/1874

Bancroft (1887), p.457 "Further trouble was impending, this time between Medina and the liberal governments lately established in Salvador and Guatemala. He claimed of Salvador an indemnity for his services in overthrowing Dueñas, which that government

deemed preposterous and disallowed. The two governments, which had entered into an alliance offensive and defensive, on the other hand accused Medina of having formed a coalition with the oligarchs to restore the latter to power.[fn. 12: [HG: convention also signed by ex-Nicaraguan Prez. Martinez; this is evidence that Medina had formed such a coalition]] Medina closed official relations with Salvador March 25th; and this act, being looked upon by Salvador and Guatemala as a declaration of war, they invaded Honduras, and soon after a victory over Medina's general Velez, occupied the principal towns, all of which revolted against Medina, and a provisional government was set up with Céleo Arias at the head of affairs."

Note that `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes` explicitly mentions he was imposed by Guatemala and El Salvador.

`http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Celeo\%20Arias.htm` indicates he was born 2 February 1835. He studied Latin Grammar at the Central University of Honduras. He died 28 May 1890. Arias wa overthrown by Ponciano Leiva and he is forced to capitulate on 13 January 1874. He was held prisoner at the 'Colegio Tridentino' from 13 January to 1 May 1874, subsequently exiled to El Salvador. He died 28 May 1890.

Bancroft (1887), p.460–1 "The presidents of Guatemala and Salvador, after the insurrection in the former republic had been quelled, held conferences at Chingo on the situation in Honduras, and came to the conclusion that Arias' government, being unpopular, could not sustain itself without their material as well as moral support, which would be a heavy burden. He was then asked tin a joint note to give up the executive office to some one more in the confidence of the people. He refused to accede to the demand, and allied troops approached Comayagua to carry out their suggestion. The first notice of their intent wast the proclamation in the town of Aguanqueterique, of Ponciano Leiva as provisional president, who organized his administration at Choluteca on the 23d of November, and on the 8th of December declared all the acts of Arias null.[fn. 26: The constituent congress, called by Arias, assembled Dec. 14th, and refused to accept his resignation.] The allied forces of Leiva under his minister of war, General Juan Lopez, of Guatemala under Solares and of Salvador under Espinosa, laid siege to Comayagua on the 6th of January, 1874, and after seven days' resistance, Arias, together with his ministers and chief supporters, had to capitulate on the 13th. Ex-president Medina was released from confinement, and eventually, having recognized the new ruler, was set free when he went to live in La Paz. Leiva's government was soon recognized by the other states. It was of course expected to pursue a policy in accord with the governments that gave it existence. But it seems that Leiva preferred to follow an independent course, Leiva's government was soon recognized by the other states. It was of course expected to pursue a policy in accord with the governments that gave it existence. But it seems that Leiva preferred to follow an independent course, and in short time the two powers that so elevated him were in antagonism, Guatemala using her influence against and Salvador for him, ..."

Rodriguez (1965), p.96–7 "To secure the revolution, Barrios also found it expedient to intervene in neighboring states; in fact, he took Carrera's place as president-maker of Central America. In June 1871 Guatemala recognized the spoiler of Costa Rica's families, General Tomás Guardia. Since El Salvador was safe–the liberal revolution of April 1871 had put Santiago González in control there-Barrios' immediate problem was the conservative Honduran government of José Maria Medina, Carrera's puppet, which

was permitting Guatemalan exiles to recoup their forces on its territory. Medina fell in 1872, and Celeo Arias, a liberal of strong convictions, took his place. Thus did Barrios starve the revolt of eastern Guatemala. .... González [of EL Salvador], who despised Arias of Honduras, wanted him replaced by Ponciano Leiva, and Barrios foolishly accepted the proposal. Then, Leiva and González, who seemed to be leading their governments toward conservatism, aroused Barrios' suspicions. The result, with the details eliminated, was the war of 1876 between El Salvador and Guatemala-a defeat for the challenging liberal adversaries. Barrios then selected Rafael Zaldivar and Marco Aurelio Soto to head the governments of El Salvador and Honduras respectively."

HON-1874 91 HON Leiva 13/01/1874 08/06/1876

Bancroft (1887), p.460 "The presidents of Guatemala and Salvador, after the insurrection in the former republic had been quelled, held conferences at Chingo on the situation in Honduras, and came to the conclusion that Arias' government, being unpopular, could not sustain itself without their material as well as moral support, which would be a heavy burden. He was then asked tin a joint note to give up the executive office to some one more in the confidence of the people. He refused to accede to the demand, and allied troops approached Comayagua to carry out their suggestion. The first notice of their intent wast the proclamation in the town of Aguanqueterique, of Ponciano Leiva as provisional president, who organized his administration at Choluteca on the 23d of November, and on the 8th of December declared all the acts of Arias null.[fn. 26: The constituent congress, called by Arias, assembled Dec. 14th, and refused to accept his resignation.] The allied forces of Leiva under his minister of war, General Juan Lopez, of Guatemala under Solares and of Salvador under Espinosa, laid siege to Comayagua on the 6th of January, 1874, and after seven days' resistance, Arias, together with his ministers and chief supporters, had to capitulate on the 13th. Ex-president Medina was released from confinement, and eventually, having recognized the new ruler, was set free when he went to live in La Paz. Leiva's government was soon recognized by the other states. It was of course expected to pursue a policy in accord with the governments that gave it existence. But it seems that Leiva preferred to follow an independent course, Leiva's government was soon recognized by the other states. It was of course expected to pursue a policy in accord with the governments that gave it existence. But it seems that Leiva preferred to follow an independent course[fn. 28: Leiva seemed to be a non-partisan, a man of intelligent and liberal views, and a popular favorite], and in short time the two powers that so elevated him were in antagonism, Guatemala using her influence against and Salvador for him, ..."

Ponciano Leiva, provisional leader. Leíva is forced to resign the presidency. *The New York Times*, Mar. 28, 1876, p.1 records: "It is said that Salvador continues to afford an asylum to Leiva, the deposed President of Honduras, and that Guatemala has sent 1,000 men, under Marco A. Soto, into Honduras to pacify that state." `http://dodgson.ucsd.edu/las/honduras/1821-1899.html`. Cites from a 1979 book, however, argues that Lieva was toppled from power in 1875. Apparently Leiva was forced to resign the presidency, "by the intrigues of President Barrios of Guatemala."

In the interim between June and August, the country is not effectively ruled by any Honduran. See below. Guatemalan troops still dominate the scene.

HON-1876 91 HON Soto 27/08/1876 19/10/1883

Bancroft (1887), p.461–3 [Shortly after Leiva is firmly in power, 1975] "The people of Honduras were not allowed, however, to enjoy the benefits of peace but for a short time, for Ex-president Medina instigated, as it was generally believed, by President Barrios of Guatemala, raised at Gracias, on the 21st of December, the standard of revolution, proclaiming himself provisional president. He afterward suffered for his lack of wisdom. The government at once prepared to meet the emergency. Salvador organized a force to support it, and Guatemala resolved to sustain Medina, whose real plan was to hurl Gonzalez from the executive chair of Salvador as well as Leiva from that of Honduras. The revolutions assumed proportions and Medina had come to believe himself master of the situation. The presidents of Salvador and Guatemala arranged at Chingo, on the 15th of February, 1876, to intervene in Honduras and stop the revolution. At this time it was thought that Leiva could not hold his own, ...But the battle of Naranjo changed the aspect of affairs, Leiva's troops gaining there a decisive victory, which restored his authority over almost the whole extent of the republic. There was no further need of Guatemala and Salvador pacifying Honduras . But soon after another contestant for the presidential office appeared on the field, namely Marco Aurelio Soto, ex-minister of foreign relations of Guatemala, whom a Guatemalan force supported. A treaty of peace was concluded, however, with the mediation of Salvador, at Los Cedros June 8, 1876, and the executive office went into the hands of Crescencio Gomez by transfer from Marcelino Mejía, to whom the treaty had given it. Gomez decreed August 12 to turn over the office to Medina, who declined accepting it; but as the republic was thereby left without a chief magistrate, he concluded on the 18th to call Marco Aurelio Soto, to fill the position, denying in a manifesto that Guatemala purposed controlling the affairs of Honduras. Soto announced August 27th, from Amapala, his assumption of the executive duties, ..."

Rodriguez (1965), p. 97 "Soto, a sincere liberal who had served as a minister in Barrios' government brought long-needed reforms to Honduras and government well. Barrios, however, forced him to resign in 1883 when he learned that Soto had advocated Central American union without the services of Guatemala's leader."

Burgess (1926) p.223–6 "While Barrios was in the United States and Europe, President Soto, of Honduras, had taken up the matter of Central American Union, seeking to accomplish it in such a way as to eliminate Barrios and Guatemala as decisive factors. Even before taking over the presidency anew, while he was still visiting the towns of the Republic, Barrios had talked with Zaldivar and written to Soto in regard to the steps proposed. Barrios was greatly concerned. The fact that Soto was promoting the matter of Central American Union nettled him, and as soon as he had the direction of affairs in hand in 1883 he took decisive steps to give the negotiations for union a turn which would place the initiative in his own power. With this end in view, he sent a special commissioner to Zaldivar in El Salvador, who was later to go on to Honduras, proposing a plan whereby in case all Central America could not be united, Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador should at least be joined into one strong state. Zaldivar, at this time quite subservient to Barrios (for his efforts were primarily directed to breaking up Soto's plan for union), agreed to stand behind him. Soto could hardly be expected to do so in view of the initiative he had taken, so Barrios prepared to bring special pressure to bear, concentrating a formidable force on the frontier of Honduras at the town of Escipulas, and in Chiquimula. Soto sought to enlist the aid of Nicaragua, but obtained nothing definite, and so decided that wisdom was the better part of valor and signed the agreement Barrios

laid before him. Realizing that his situation was very precarious, he took advantage of the first opportunity to call the Congress of Honduras together and asked permission to go to the United States "to receive much needed medical attention." Having obtained the permission, he sold out everything he had in Honduras, except some mining stocks, and took himself and his family to San Francisco, California. From this safe refuge he wrote an open letter to Barrios, making him responsible for his flight and offering to resign the presidency to avoid the useless shedding of blood, for, he said, "My heart is in Honduras." Barrios answered it was fortunate Soto had left his heart in Honduras, for he had taken everything else out of the country, took all the credit to himself for having made him President of Honduras and sustained him in the position for the past seven years, and told him that if he was really a man he had better return and die at his post instead of running away with all the riches of the country. Barrios used his influence to have Luis Bogran named President of Honduras and Soto continued to live on his simple income in San Francisco."

For his exit from power in **July** 1883, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 7, 1883, p. 5 "Central America." The article reports "San Francisco, Cal., July 6.–special. Marco Aurelio Soto, President of the Republic of Honduras, leaves for Europe, via New York, tomorrow, accompanied by his friend, Mr. Lombard."

Exile. *The New York Times*, September 6, 1883, p. 4 "Two Presidents" has a scathing article on him. "President Soto, of Honduras, is in San Francisco, whence he has sent a letter of President Barrios, of Guatemala, charging him with trying to stir up civil war in Honduras. So confident was President Soto that his enemy would succeed in his fiendish purpose that, in order to avoid bloodshed, the self-sacrificing President of Honduras left his country with the resolution not to return to it until the Guatemalan President should repent and reform. To this letter President Barrios replies that President Soto, having stolen all the portable property in Honduras, has run away in order to enjoy it at his ease, and has invented an excuse for his flight the absurd story that President Barrios was intriguing against him. President Barrios unhesitatingly informs President Soto that is a liar as well as a thief, and threatens to thrash him in case the two ever meet. ... If president Barrios tells the truth, the situation of President Soto is not an enviable one. Hitherto the Spanish-American President, after accumulating the fortune which every one who engages in the business expects to accumulate, has always waited for the next annual revolution before leaving the country. Custom has prescribed that not less than one full military company of seventy men shall make a successful revolution, but any President ready to retire from business and desiring the credit of being driven out of his country by force has always found it easy to hire seventy revolutionists to shoot one policeman and so overturn the Government. Once safely out of the country, the retiring President always issues a manifesto, declaring that he has yielded to the overwhelming force of his enemies, but that he shall hold himself in readiness to return the moment the people send for him, after which he quietly goes to Paris and prepares to enjoy himself. Owing either to the extremely hot weather, which has made the Hondurans unwilling to incur the trouble of a revolution, or to the parsimony of President Soto, who would not pay the usual price for seventy revolutionists, that statesman has been compelled to retire from business in an unusual and discreditable way. Having gathered together all the money in Honduras, he naturally did not want to remain any longer in the Presidential chair. By going to San Francisco on the pretext of attending to business,

and then publishing his intention to remain away from Honduras in order to take away from the wicked BARRIOS the pretext for stirring up strife, President SOTO has incurred the contempt of his fellow-Presidents. Spanish-American public opinion is unanimous in holding that no President can honorably resign his office, except as the result of a revolution; and that it was President SOTO's duty as a high-minded statesmen to hold his office until somebody with seventy men could be hired to ostensibly drive him out. As for President BARRIOS, it is well known that he is wisely attending his own business, there being still a good deal of portable property which has not yet come into his hands."

See also Bancroft (1887), pp. 466-8 "President Soto sent in his resignation to congress on March 10th, pleading ill health. It was not accepted, and instead a leave of absence was granted him with a liberal pecuniary allowance for the expenses." Also, *New York Times*, October 27, 1883, p. 4 "Editorial Article 8 – No Title."

HON-1883-1 91 HON Council of Ministers 19/10/1883 30/11/1883

New York Times, November 4, 1883, p.7, "President Soto To Step Out." "Panama, Oct. 28.–After conferring with Señor Gallegos, the representative of Salvador and Guatemala, the governing Ministers and many members of the Congress of Honduras have determined that Congress shall assemble, and that a change in the Presidency shall be effected, and Señor Soto's resignation be accepted, thus enabling Señor Bogran to come into office. Thus the unity between the three republics will continue undisturbed, much to the disgust of those who hoped that the dispute between Presidents Barrios and Soto would lead to armed outbreak."

HON-1883-2 91 HON Bográn 30/11/1883 30/11/1891

Burgess (1926), pp.225–6 "Barrios used his influence to have Luis Bogran named President of Honduras and Soto continued to live on his simple income in San Francisco."

For his entry, see *New York Times*, November 4, 1883, p.7, "President Soto To Step Out." "Panama, Oct. 28.–After conferring with Señor Gallegos, the representative of Salvador and Guatemala, the governing Ministers and many members of the Congress of Honduras have determined that Congress shall assemble, and that a change in the Presidency shall be effected, and Señor Soto's resignation be accepted, thus enabling Señor Bogran to come into office. Thus the unity between the three republics will continue undisturbed, much to the disgust of those who hoped that the dispute between Presidents Barrios and Soto would lead to armed outbreak."

For his posttenurefate, see *The New York Times*, Aug. 21, 1892. "Ex-President Bogran has suffered a severe attack of illness and is now en route to California for the restoration of his health." *The New York Times*, Aug. 19, 1892. Bogran is in San Fran on his way to Europe. Could be exile, could be real, but note that he dies 9 July, 1926, in Guatemala. See `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Luis\%20Bogran.htm`.

HON-1891 91 HON Leiva 30/11/1891 09/02/1893

Ponciano Leiva in power for the 2nd time. Leiva resigned in January under threat of civil war and a provisional government was established. He was not elected in 1893. See *The New York Times*, Jan 31, 1894, p.3. Fate is relatively unclear, he's disappeared; some note he's in exile in British Honduras.

See `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Ponciano\%20Leiva.htm`.

HON-1893-1 91 HON Rosendo Agüero 09/02/1893 18/04/1893

For his entry, see http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Rosendo\%20Aguero.htm. Was Minister of War under Leiva. He regularly takes over from Leiva. His posttenurefate is OK, since he is Minister of War in 1894. He transfers power regularly to Vazquez. He is born in 1843, and dies in San Salvador 3 November 1895.

HON-1893-2 91 HON Vasquez 18/04/1893 22/02/1894

See http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Domingo\%20Vasquez.htm, which notes that Agüero entrusted him with the executive on a temporary basis, hence regular entry. Domingo Vásquez Toruño, was overthrown in 1894 as the result of a disastrous war (civil war) with Nicaragua. He escaped to San Salvador in March-April 1894, but returned to his country. Born in Tegucigalpa, August 3, 1846; graduate degree in Jurisprudence.

HON-1894 91 HON P. Bonilla 22/02/1894 01/02/1899

President Policarpo Bonilla, (Goemans 2000). Manuel and Policarpo Bonilla are not related: see Frederick Palmer, *The New York Times*, March 1, 1909, p. 8 "Honduras Wants Intervention." This article notes: "Two Presidents, Sierra and Policarpo Bonilla, retired according to the Constitution without trying to hold over by cunning or force of arms. All others were put out by unconstitutional means. Manuel Bonilla, however—no relation of Policarpo—had Policarpo in jail as a manner of home defense for over a year."

Hall and Brignoli (2003), p.224–5 "Zelaya's ally, Policarpo Bonilla, invaded Honduras from Nicaragua and took power in February 1894."

See also *The New York Times*, Nov. 6, 1902, p. 6, "Failed to Elect President." and http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Policarpo\%20Bonilla.htm. Born 17 March 1858. Manuel Bonilla was his VP. In 1900 he marries and leaves for the United States and Europe, but no date given for when he leaves. He returns to become Deputy in 1903. He dies in New Orleans on 11 September 1926.

HON-1899 91 HON Terencio Sierra 01/02/1899 30/01/1903

According to Frederick Palmer, *The New York Times*, March 1, 1909, p. 8 "Honduras Wants Intervention" Sierra left power in a constitutional manner. "Two Presidents, Sierra and Policarpo Bonilla, retired according to the Constitution without trying to hold over by cunning or force of arms." The article also suggests that Sierra "betrayed" Honduras because Sierra apparently was proposed by Zelaya to rule Honduras again after Zelaya removed M. Bonilla.

Other sources, however, clearly establish that Sierra lost power in an unconstitutional manner:

Durón 1982: "Popular elections result in the victory of General Manuel Bonilla, with Juan Angel Arias second, and Marco Aurelio Soto third (page 194). Sierra refuses to give up the presidency, resulting in a battle for the presidency. Congress is called into session, and elects Arias president. Sierra threatens to overthrow Arias, but is himself overthrown by Bonilla who advances on Tegucigalpa and imprisons Arias. The Congress that elected Arias is declared unconstitutional and Bonilla is declared president (page 195). Gives total votes and votes for each candidate."

and

Haggerty and Millet 1995: "Sierra's efforts to perpetuate himself in office led to his overthrow in 1903 by General Manuel Bonilla, who proved to be an even greater friend of the banana companies that Sierra had been . . . ."

Both from UCSD's library site: http://www.ucsd.edu/portal/site/Libraries/menuitem.346352c02aac0c82b9ba4310d34b01ca/?vgnextoid=60d38c58df724110VgnVCM10000045b410acRCRD.

See also http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Terensio\%20Sierra.htm.

Sierra was sent to exile to El Salvador. He dies in Nicaragua 25 September 1907.

HON-1903 91 HON M. Bonilla 01/02/1903 11/04/1907

Rodriguez (1965), p. 111–3 "A second powder keg was lit in Honduras in 1903 when Manuel Bonilla took over the government by force, ending the rule of liberals like Policarpo Bonilla (1893-99) and his hand-picked successor Terencio Sierra (1899-1903), whom Zelaya had aided to power. A conservative, this new Bonilla (who was not related to the former President) constituted another threat to Zelaya's position in Nicaragua and his hopes of united the five states of Central America. The intrigue to undermine Bonilla's rule bore fruit in December 1906, when rebels pronounced against the government, undoubtedly with the support of Zelayistas. In chasing the revolutionaries Honduran troops violated Nicaraguan soil. Zelaya demanded reparations; and when these were not forthcoming, he invaded Honduras in force. On March 18, 1907, at the Battle of Namasigue (incidentally, machine guns made their first appearance in Central America at this time) Nicaraguan troops toppled the Bonilla government, and Zelaya selected Miguel Dvila to head the new regime. . . . In mid-1908 revolutionists moved into Honduras from bases in Guatemala and El Salvador, determined to oust the Dvila government. Zelaya, of course, came to his ally's rescue, and a general war seemed imminent as Honduras and Nicaragua charged El Salvador and Guatemala of duplicity by encouraging the rebels. Fortunately, Costa Rica invoked the Washington treaties and urged the contenders to submit their cases to the Court of Justice in Cartago."

Frederick Palmer, *The New York Times*, March 1, 1909, p. 8 "Honduras Wants Intervention." This article notes: "Manuel increased the length of his own term to six years, and this was the excuse for the revolution of 1907, and Zelaya's excuse for his war on Honduras that forced the revolution. At the battle of Namazique many of the Honduranian troops, who were anti-Manuel, deserted tot he enemy's side, while the Salvador troops who came across the border failed to support the Hondureans–which was a mix-up characteristically Central American. . . . Having taken Tegucigalpa and devastated the country generally, with the help of Hondureans—such is Central American patriotism—Zelaya proposed to make Sierra, who had betrayed Honduras, President. Cabrera insisted on Arias, who, by the way, is no longer a Cabrera man because Cabrera recently had him in jail. A compromise was effected on Davilla, who, nevertheless, is supposed to be under the thumb of Zelaya. To get even, Cabrera began promoting a revolution, which crossed the border from Guatemala. But it had bad luck on its own account, and Secretary Root called attention to the treaty of Washington on which the ink was hardly yet dry when it was broken. Manuel Bonilla is now in the cattle and revolutionary business in Honduras and waiting for his chance, while poor Davila sits up nights scanning the first signs of an outbreak."

Bonilla was sent to exile in Guatemala. http://sshl.ucsd.edu/collections/las/

honduras/1902.html: "Haggerty and Millet 1995: "Sierra's efforts to perpetuate himself in office led to his overthrow in 1903 by General Manuel Bonilla, who proved to be an even greater friend of the banana companies that Sierra had been. Conservative Manuel Bonilla was an opponent rather than a relative or friend of Sierra's liberal predecessor, Policarpo Bonilla. During Manuel Bonilla's term in office, he imprisoned ex-president Policarpo Bonilla for over two years and took other steps to suppress his political opposition, the liberals, who were the only group with an organized political party. ... Manuel Bonilla made some efforts to reorganize the conservatives into a 'national party.' The present-day National Party of Honduras traces its origins to his administration" (page 19)." M. and P. Bonilla are not related: *The New York Times*, Nov. 6, 1902, p. 6, "Failed to Elect President."

HON-1907 91 HON Davila 18/04/1907 28/03/1911

Miguel Rafael Dávila Cuéllar, see http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Miguel\%20Davila.htm.

Palmer (1910), p. 135 "Having taken Tegucigalpa and looted the country generally, with the help of Honduras–such is Central American patriotism–Zelaya proposed to make Sierra President. Cabrera insisted on Arias, who, by the way, is no longer a Cabrera man because Cabrera recently had him in jail. A compromise was effected on Dávila, who, nevertheless, is supposed to be under the thumb of Zelaya. This affair led to Mr. Root's intervention and to the Central American conference in Washington and the establishment of the International Court at Cartago, ..."

Frederick Palmer, *The New York Times*, March 1, 1909, p. 8 "Honduras Wants Intervention." This article notes: "Manuel increased the length of his own term to six years, and this was the excuse for the revolution of 1907, and Zelaya's excuse for his war on Honduras that forced the revolution. At the battle of Namazique many of the Honduranian troops, who were anti-Manuel, deserted tot he enemy's side, while the Salvador troops who came across the border failed to support the Hondureans–which was a mix-up characteristically Central American. ... Having taken Tegucigalpa and devastated the country generally, with the help of Hondureans—such is Central American patriotism—Zelaya proposed to make Sierra, who had betrayed Honduras, President. Cabrera insisted on Arias, who, by the way, is no longer a Cabrera man because Cabrera recently had him in jail. A compromise was effected on Davilla, who, nevertheless, is supposed to be under the thumb of Zelaya. To get even, Cabrera began promoting a revolution, which crossed the border from Guatemala. But it had bad luck on its own account, and Secretary Root called attention to the treaty of Washington on which the ink was hardly yet dry when it was broken. Manuel Bonilla is now in the cattle and revolutionary business in Honduras and waiting for his chance, while poor Davila sits up nights scanning the first signs of an outbreak."

Frederick Palmer, *The New York Times*, March 1, 1909, p.8 "Honduras Wants Intervention" has this great quote from Davila, emphasis added. "Of course I heard of revolutionary possibilities on the way. They are always in the air, and they were in the mind of President Davilla when I talked with him. He is said to be the one clean-handed President in money matters in Central America. ... "*All I ask is to get out alive*," pleaded the old President. "I go to bed every night without knowing what may happen in the morning. I have no one whom I can trust. I have to do all for myself. What hope of peace or development has Honduras, lying between Guatemala and Nicaragua? None, except

by interference by the United States. It is for you to see that the Central American court is not the plaything of Nicaraguan and Guatemalan politicians. Will you not drive out their spies? Will you not use your strong arm to give us peace–peace long enough to learn that continual revolution is not the natural order of a nation's existence?"

Under pressure from the United States, which is supporting General Bonilla's attempts to overthrow the government, Davila tenders his resignation March 28. See the *Washington Post*, Aug. 28, 1911, p.3: "Former President Davila, who was deposed by the recent successful revolution, headed by Gen. Manuel Bonilla, and who is now in Salvador, is supposed to be interested in the plot."

He is born 29 September 1856 and dies in Tegucigalpa 12 October 1927.

HON-1911 91 HON Bertrand 28/03/1911 02/02/1912

Francisco Bertrand Barahona. See `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Francisco\%20Bertrand.htm`. He is 'pirmer designado' thus takes over regularly. Holds elections in October 1911. In 1912 elected as Vice President.

He was born 9 October 1866, and dies 15 July 1926.

HON-1912 91 HON M. Bonilla 02/02/1912 20/03/1913

Rodriguez (1965), p.119 "Thanks to connections with banana company executives, Manuel Bonilla, Zelaya's old enemy, regained power in Honduras. When Bonilla died in 1913, Francisco Bertrand held sway until 1919; armed resistance ended his attempt to put a relative in office."

Dr. Manuel Bonilla dies in office. See *The New York Times*, March 22, 1913, p. 4. Bertrand takes over.

See `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Francisco\%20Bertrand.htm`.

HON-1913 91 HON Bertrand 20/03/1913 28/07/1915

Francisco Bertrand, vice president under Bonilla, enters power as the interim President. For his entry, see See *The New York Times*, March 22, 1913, p. 4. He stepped down to run for president.

HON-1915 91 HON Alberto Membreño 28/07/1915 01/02/1916

Alberto Membreño Vasquez. See `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Alberto\%20Membreo.htm`.

Lentz notes: He was born 12 July 1858, he died in Tegucigalpa on 2 February 1921. *Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 13, 1919 suggests he was involved in the overthrow of Bertrand. Membreño led unsuccessful revolts against the government in October 1919. He was the Vice President under Bertrand. See *Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 19, 1919, p.4 and below. His posttenurefate is OK for the year after he gives up power.

HON-1916 91 HON Bertrand 01/02/1916 09/09/1919

See `http://www.honduraseducacional.com/Presidentes/Francisco\%20Bertrand.htm` notes that upon this election he was elevated to Archbishop of Honduras?

In the run-up to elections the president tries to install a hand-picked successor. Consequently, General Gutierrez, a candidate himself, takes up arms. This is treated as 'rebellion' in the press, but since the contender is a military person and commands troops, I code it as military coup. *The New York Times* 11 September, 1919, p. 17; Lentz 1999,

p. 221. Francisco Bertrand handed power over to a council of ministers and fled. Dr. Francisco Bogran becomes President designate. See the *The New York Times*, Sept. 23, 1919, p.16. Vice President Membreño was first jailed by Bertrand and then fled.

Hall and Brignoli (2003), p.226–7 "Miguel Dávila's hold on Honduras weakened after the overthrow of Zelaya. In 1910 his old adversary Manuel Bonilla, led an unsuccessful conspiracy, supported by the Guatemalan dictator, Estrada Cabrera; a North American mercenary, Lee Christmas; and Samuel Zemurray, already a rising entrepreneur in the banana industry. Bonilla took temporary refuge in New Orleans. He returned to Honduras in 1911, declaring himself provisional president. .... Bonilla won the elections held in October. After eight years of fragile peace, hostilities resumed in 1919 when President Francisco Bertrand attempted to impose his brother-in-law to replace him. Liberal forces led by General Rafael López Gutiérrez invaded from Nicaragua, while General Vicente Tosta pronounced against the government in Tegucigalpa. The rebel armies converged on Tegucigalpa, and the United States persuaded Bertrand to leave the country. López Gutiérrez won the elections of October 1919."

HON-1919 91 HON Bogran 13/09/1919 01/02/1920

For entry and exit, see The *Washington Post*, Oct. 19, 1919, p. ES16., Dec. 8, 1919, p.6, See *The New York Times*, Nov. 2, 1919, p.X2. *The New York Times*, Sept.16, 1919, p.7 "Honduran Rebels' Victory" notes that Bogran has been named as provisional President. He was born in 1849. He handed over power constitutionally. The Atlanta Constitution, Oct. 7, 1919, p. 14 "New Honduran President" records he is inaugurated on 5 October.

HON-1920 91 HON López-Guitiérrez 01/02/1920 01/02/1924

Hall and Brignoli (2003), p.226–7 "After eight years of fragile peace, hostilities resumed in 1919 when President Francisco Bertrand attempted to impose his brother-in-law to replace him. Liberal forces led by General Rafael López Gutiérrez invaded from Nicaragua, while General Vicente Tosta pronounced against the government in Tegucigalpa. The rebel armies converged on Tegucigalpa, and the United States persuaded Bertrand to leave the country. López Gutiérrez won the elections of October 1919."

Rafael Lopez Gutiererez was a general. Lentz notes: "Lopez Gutierrez planned to extend his term of office, but several factions went into revolt and forced him from office. Lopez Gutierrez fled the capital in February 1924 and went to Ampala. He was suffering from diabetes and attempted to go to the United States for Insulin treatment. He died of complications from his condition on March 10, 1924." We follow Lentz, and record his death regularly from diabetes, less than six months after he was ousted. For this leader also see: `http://sshl.ucsd.edu/collections/las/honduras/1902.html` which reports that he died on 10 August, 1924. See also *The New York Times*, March 12, 1924, p. 13 "Honduran Dictator Gutierrez is Dead." See also `http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/l/lopez_gutierrez.htm` "(1854-1924) Militar y político hondureño. Elegido presidente de su país en 1920, se proclamó dictador al terminar su mandato (1924), provocando un alzamiento de los partidos de la oposición."

Gutierrez was elected president in the elections of 31 October, 1919. *Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 1, 1919, p.10.

After elections don't produce winning candidate and Lopez- Guitierrez (the ruling president) assumes dictatorial powers, two of the candidates, both generals, march against

the capital. New York Times 5 February, 1924, p. 14.

HON-1924 91 HON Vicente Tosta 01/02/1924 01/02/1925

For his entry see *Los Angeles Times*, May 3, 1924, p. 1 "Honduras Again Peaceful, With Tosta in Power." Gen. Vicente Tosta was in power from April 30, 1924 to February 1, 1925. He was born in 1876. He stepped down as a result of agreements with rebels.

HON-1925 91 HON Paz Baraona 01/02/1925 01/02/1929

President Miguel Paz Baraona, plans tour of Europe after retiring from office. See *The New York Times*, Jan. 24, 1929, p.10. *The New York Times*, May, 9, 1931, p.18 shows that he was fine after losing power. Note that Paz Baraona was the running mate of General Carias Andino. Paz was apparently chosen "in negotiations sponsored by the United States." *The New York Times*, Dec. 24, 1969, p.25. This article also records that until about 1936, President and Vice President were previously forbidden to win re-election without a gap of at least four years.

HON-1929 91 HON Mejia Colindres 01/02/1929 01/02/1933

Colindres was forced to exile.

HON-1933 91 HON Carias Andino 01/02/1933 01/01/1949

General Carias Andino changes the constitution, around 1936, at the end of his first term. "a new Constitution was enacted that enabled the President and Vice President (who were previously forbidden to win re-election without a gap of at least four years) to remain in office until 1943. The principle of continuismo was invoked three years later to extend the leaders' tenure until January, 1949. See *The New York Times*, Dec. 24, 1969, p.25.

HON-1949 91 HON Galvez 01/01/1949 15/01/1954

Lentz notes: He suffered from poor health during the final year of his term, and his vice president, Julio Lozano Diaz, serve as acting president from January 15, 1954. Galvez left Honduras for medical treatment on December 6, 1954. He died on August 19, 1972. See below on his son being involved in a subsequent Junta (56-7).

HON-1954 91 HON Lozano Diaz 15/01/1954 21/10/1956

Lentz notes that "Lozano went to Miami, Florida, in September 1956 for treatment for hypertension. He was ousted by a military coup on October 21, 1956. He remained in exile in Miami." The *Washington Post* and Times Herald, Aug. 21, 1957, p. B2. "Julio Lozano Diaz, 72; Ex-Chief of Honduras. Miami, Fla. Aug. 20. Former Chief of State Julio Lozano Diaz of the Republic of Honduras died at a hospital here tonight. Lozano, 72, died of cerebral thrombosis complicated by pneumonia. As vice president, Lozano took over the reins of government when the Honduran congress failed to ratify a controversial election majority for Dr. Ramon Villedas Morales. Morales deposed Lozano last October and the former Chief of State came here to live. He had been hospitalized since July 27 when he was stricken with an intestinal ailment. He suffered a stroke five days ago. He had been in ill health before his overthrow. He came here last September to be treated for a heart ailment. He returned to Honduras after that but suffered a heart attack in February, 1957, following his return here to live."

HON-1956 91 HON Caraccioli 21/10/1956 21/12/1957

Col. Hector Caraccioli Moncada, Commander of the Air Force, General Roque J. Rodríguez, head of the military academy. and Maj. Roberto Galvez, son of former President Juan Manuel Galves. We code Caraccioli as leader, and not Rodriguez, see below. On his entry see The *Washington Post* and Times Herald, October 23, 1956, p. A10, which reports "a bloodless coup" and that "A show of force was sufficient to cause the president to resign. ... Villeda Morales, 49-year old exiled Liberal Party leader, called the election a fraud. Villeda Morales, who was exiled to Costa Rica last July on charges of seditious agitation, has asked the Honduran junta for permission to return home." *The New York Times*, Oct. 25, 1956, p.3 notes that Caraccioli voided the October 7, 1956, election is annulled. It also writes: "Last Sunday, a three-man junta led by Colonel Caraccioli ousted Dr. Lozano in the first bloodless coup in the history of Honduras." *The New York Times*, October 22, 1956, p.1 "Honduran Military Junta Ousts Lozano in Bloodless Revolution. ... Colonel Caraccioli was responsible for the coordination between the Air Force and the infantry, military school and the national police. The fact that these groups united made the coup possible. The colonel said that by the action of the military group, the rule of the "strong man and the politician who placed his own welfare above the welfare of the people as at an end." .... General Rodriguez, 55 years old, is an old-time Honduran commander. He is the only one of the three who was not educated in the United States. He was invited to join the junta because he controlled the military school and the two other members of the junta did not want to risk bloodshed." For Rodriguez' removal *The New York Times*, Jul 7. 1957, p.25 "Army ousts member of Honduran Junta. Tegucicalpa, Honduras July 6. ... A statement released to the press and radio stated that ranking officers of the armed forces had invalidated the appointment of General Rodriguez to the junta, made last Oct. 21. The statement also said that a new appointment would not be made, thus reduce the junta to two members, Col. Hector Caraccioli and Major Roberto Galvez Barnes. ..." See also *Los Angeles Times*, Jul. 14, 1957, p. B "Hondurans Seek Stable Government by Ballot. ... On July 6 military supporters of Galvez and Col. Hector Caraccioli, 34, removed from power the third member of the ruling junta ...." Irregular entry. ... Earlier this year a decision by the junta contributed to the series of incidents that set off the brief border war between Nicaragua and Honduras. The military triumvirate created a new State in the Mosquitia area, claimed by Hondurans since 1906as part of their nation and by Nicaragua as territory in dispute. The junta exhorted "20th century pioneers" to settle the new State of Gracias a Dios and transform the isolated jungle Mosquitia area into cotton and coffee plantations." *The New York Times*, Nov.19, p. 21 "Honduran Officer Leave Junta: Tegucigalpa, Honduras, Nov. 18-Maj. Roberto Galvez Barnes withdrew from the Honduran military junta Saturday. He was replaced by the Defense Minister, Col. Oswaldo Lopez. ... Major Galvez said he had withdrawn because of disappointment at the Constituent Assembly's election of Dr. Ramon Villeda Morales, Liberal leader, as President." He hands over power, peacefully, to Villeda Morales, hence regular exit. For the Constitution of 19 December 1957, which he signs, see: `http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/01478404433725684232268/p0000001.htm` Coup attempt against him by Colonel Armando Velasquez Carrato in May 1957. It fails and the colonel finds refuge in the Guatemalan Embassy. He dies, is killed (?) 1975. Had been the first pilot to use an emergency chute in Honduras, 25 January 1945.

HON-1957-2 91 HON Villeda Morales 21/12/1957 03/10/1963

On 11 November 1956, the Junta - see above - sent an Air Force plain to fetch Villeda from Costa Rica. *The New York Times*, September 25, 1957, p.28 notes on what brought him to power: "The man who has once again risen to the top-Dr. Villeda Morales-has given good reasons for hope that he will lead his country with intelligence and ability. He won a plurality of the votes in the 1954 Presidential elections but was unfairly pushed aside. In recent months he was a respected Ambassador to Washington, where he and Senora Morales made friends for themselves and for their country." *The New York Times*, Aug. 3, 1957 records that the two-man junta had accepted the resignation of Villeda Morales as Ambassador to the US. For his entry, see Kirk Bowman, The Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology. "Militarization and Democracy in Honduras, 1954-1963." Although the Junta had declared that there should be a direct election (which Villeda would have easily won), the Junta and the Liberal Party suddenly switch course on 14 November 1957, and "decide that there should be no direct election and that Villeda should be declared president." "The Armed Forces decreed that "due to the difficult circumstances that affect the country, it has not been possible to strictly comply" with our promise to hold a second election (Oquelí 1981, 3). One member of the Ruling Military Junta–Roberto Gálvez–resigned in protest and was replaced by Oswaldo López Arrelano, who quickly became the strong man of the armed forces. The Liberals publicly argued that Villeda had won the two previous elections and that the country could not afford to have another election when the outcome was already known (Becerra 1988, 169). For Villeda to agree to become president without a presidential election appears to be completely irrational. He was wildly popular and revered almost as a saint by the majority of the people. Pictures of the bookish doctor with thick horn-rimmed glasses appeared on newspaper front pages and were hung on the walls of homes throughout the country (Interview with Matías Funes 12 December 1995, Tegucigalpa, Honduras; Interview with Ramón Oquelí 24 July 1997, Tegucigalpa, Honduras). And before the sudden move to have him declared president, Villeda had unequivocally and publicly declared that he would not take the presidency without a direct election by the people (El Cronista 24 September 1957). What happened? A deal was made between Villeda and the military junta, the details of which remain a shrouded mystery of secret meetings, threats, and backroom deals. ... Ramón Oquelí, the noted Honduran scholar and journalist, and an objective and dispassionate fountain of information on the country, provides the most logical explanation. According to Oquelí, the arrangement was masterminded by the calculating strong-man of the military, Oswaldo López. López had previously declared to the people that "on one day not very far off, the (armed forces) will become the maximum representation of the national conglomerate" and that the "armed forces could no longer be considered a fleeting phenomenon in the institutional life of the country" (Funes 1995, 92-93). To make this dream a reality, López tricked Villeda by telling him that the very popular Roberto Gálvez Barnes of the military junta would be the unified candidate of the military, the Nationalists, and the Reformists if a direct election were held. He also warned Villeda that the military would not be able to guarantee a clean and fair election. Villeda was left with no better option than to accept the deal. After the deal was consummated, Roberto Gálvez Barnes left the ruling junta to protest the decision to forego the presidential elections. In a conversation with Villeda, Gálvez told him that he had never contemplated plans to run for the presidency.

Villeda discovered the trick, but it was too late (Interview with Ramón Oquelí, 24 July 1997, Tegucigalpa, Honduras)." Hence entry is irregular. Morales lost power as a result of a military coup by Osvaldo Arellano. He was sent to exile to Costa Rica. Lentz notes that "Two months before Villeda Morales was scheduled to complete his term of office, he was ousted in a military coup by Osvaldo Lopez Arellano on October 3, 1953." See also *The New York Times* 4 October, 1963, p. 1

HON-1963 91 HON Lopez Arellano 03/10/1963 06/06/1971

Gen Oswaldo Lopez Arellano lost power on 6/6/1971. Note that he had been involved in the Junta of 1956-1957, (then as Col.) see *The New York Times*, Nov. 20, 1957, p. 19. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 17 (1971) April notes: "About 16 months after the 1963 coup, a Constituent Assembly had been elected on Feb. 16, 1965, and it elected (the then) Colonel Lopez Arellano President of the Republic for a six-year term on March 23. in the absence of the Liberal Party members who boycotted the Assembly's sessions. Under the new Constitution drawn up by the Assembly, President. Lopez Arellano (who had meanwhile been promoted General) was installed as constitutional President on June 6, 1965; the Constituent Assembly became the country's Parliament as the National Assembly, in which the Liberal Party members took their seats; and a Government consisting of 10 Secretaries of State was appointed." Thus, perfectly fits the six years term. After he lost power Arellano was placed under house arrest in Tegucigalp (the Honduran capital) only relatively briefly. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 21 (1975) May. Oswaldo Lopez Arellano overthrown on 22 April 1975, after he had refused to allow an investigatory commission to examine his foreign bank accounts. General Lopez Arellano was prevented by a court order of May 16 from leaving the country. (***Keesing's***)

HON-1971 91 HON Cruz 06/06/1971 04/12/1972

Cruz also came into power constitutionally. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 17 (1971) April: Senor Ramon Ernesto Cruz, duly elected President for a six-year term, will assume office in June 1971.–(*The New York Times* - Times - *Financial Times* - Le Monde). Removed in a military coup, *The New York Times* 5 December, 1972, p. 15.

HON-1972 91 HON Lopez Arellano 04/12/1972 22/04/1975

Gen. Oswaldo Lopez Arellano. Military removes Lopez Arellano. This move comes after young Lt. Colonels take over the reigns in the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. They actually oust Gen Lopez from his position as Commander in Chief weeks before ousting him from his government office. Since they retain the power structure of the Supreme Council, I code this as power reshuffle short of military coup. *The New York Times* 23 April, 1975, p. 1. He was placed under house arrest in Tegucigalp (the Honduran capital) for a short time. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 21 (1975) May.

According to *The New York Times*, April. 23, 1975, p.89, he was not under arrest. Arellano Implicated in the bribe scandal involving United Brands. Later he was "allowed to remain in the country and subsequently became president of an air transportation service in Honduras."

See Lentz. *The New York Times*, April 24, 1975, p.3, notes he's not allowed to leave the country. *The New York Times*, May, 23, 1975, p.55, notes "Both the former President and Mr. Bennaton Ramos have been under virtual house arrest since the bloodless coup on April 22."

HON-1975 91 HON Castro 22/04/1975 07/08/1978

Col. Alberta Melgar Castro was a former justice minister. Armed Forces Council replaces president, himself a general, with junta, Los Angeles Times 9 August, 1978, p. C4.

HON-1978 91 HON Paz Garcia 07/08/1978 27/01/1982

HON-1982 91 HON Suazo Cordova 27/01/1982 27/01/1986

HON-1986 91 HON Azcona Hoyo 27/01/1986 27/01/1990

HON-1990 91 HON Callejas 27/01/1990 27/01/1994

HON-1994 91 HON Reina 27/01/1994 27/01/1998

HON-1998 91 HON Flores Facusse 27/01/1998 27/01/2002

HON-2002 91 HON Ricardo Maduro 27/01/2002 31/12/2004

Apparently, he was Honduras' second Jewish President, after Juan Lindo. Moreover, Ricardo Maduro is not the first member of his family to become the president of a country. A distant relative, Eric Arturo Delvalle, was sworn in as president of Panama in 1987.

Washington Post "Honduran military ousts president ahead of vote;; "By WILL WEISSERT and FREDDY CUEVAS The Associated Press Sunday, June 28, 2009; 2:19 PM

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras – Soldiers seized the national palace and sent President Manuel Zelaya into exile in Costa Rica on Sunday, hours before a disputed constitutional referendum. Zelaya, a leftist ally of Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, said he was victim of a coup. The Supreme Court said it was supporting the military in what it called a defense of democracy, and the Honduran ambassador to the Organization of American States said the military was planning to swear in Congressional President Roberto Micheletti to replace Zelaya. Zelaya was arrested shortly before polls were to open in a referendum on whether to change the constitution. The Supreme Court ruled the referendum illegal and everyone from Congress to members of his own party opposed it. Critics said Zelaya wanted to remove limits to his re-election. It was not immediately clear who was running the government. Tanks rolled through the streets and hundreds of soldiers with riot shields surrounded the presidential palace in the capital, Tegucigalpa. The constitution mandates that the head of Congress - Micheletti - is next in line to the presidency, followed by the chief justice of the Supreme Court. Zelaya, arriving at the airport in the Costa Rican capital, San Jose, called the military action illegal. "There is no way to justify an interruption of democracy, a coup d'etat," he said in a telephone call to the Venezuela-based Telesur television network. "This kidnapping is an extortion of the Honduran democratic system." Zelaya said he would not recognize any de facto government and pledged to serve out his term, which ends in January. He said he would attend a scheduled meeting of Central American presidents in Nicaragua on Monday. He siad Chavez, which is also going, would provide transportation. Chavez, who along with the Castros in Cuba is Zelaya's top ally, said Venezuela "is at battle" and put his military on alert. President Barack Obama said he was "deeply concerned" by Zelaya's expulsion and U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said the arrest should be condemned. "I call

on all political and social actors in Honduras to respect democratic norms, the rule of law and the tenets of the Inter-American Democratic Charter," Obama's statement read. Zelaya told Telesur that he was awoken by gunshots and the shouts of his security guards, whom he said resisted troops for at least 20 minutes. Still in his pajamas, he jumped out of bed and ducked behind an air conditioner to avoid flying bullets, he said. He said eight or nine soldiers in masks escorted him onto an air force plane that took him to Costa Rica. Chavez said troops in Honduras also temporarily detained the Venezuelan and Cuban ambassadors, beating them. Zelaya called on Honduran soldiers to desist, urged citizens to take to the streets in peaceful protests, and asked Honduran police to protect demonstrators. ... Honduras has a history of military coups: Soldiers overthrew elected presidents in 1963 and 1972. The military did not turn the government over to civilians until 1981, under U.S. pressure. Micheletti has been one of the president's main opponents in the dispute over whether to hold the referendum. The head of the Supreme Court was also opposed to the nonbinding referendum, on whether to ask voters whether they want to convoke an assembly to rewrite the constitution. It appeared that the vote would no longer take place. "

2.15 EL SALVADOR

El Salvador has terms limits for presidents. Sources consulted include Baloyra (1982), Penate and Sanchez (2000), and White (1973). Congress declares the Republic on 30 January 1841. An important website, maintained by the Salvadorean government is `http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/dir2.htm`.

Percy Falcke Martin, *Salvador of the Twentieth Century*, New York: Longmans, Green & Co, 1911, p. 16 notes that General Menéndez promulgated on August 13, 1886 a new Constitution, which holds that President can serve one term, cannot be reelected, until after four years have lapsed.

SAL-1839 92 SAL Francisco Morazán 12/07/1839 04/04/1840

Had served as President earlier, but of the Central American Republic. He was a native of Tegucigalpa, Honduras, born in 3 October 1792, died 15 September 1842, executed in Costa Rica. Regular entry, regular exit. (Could alternatively be coded as irregular, see below.)

Bustamante (1951), p.37–8. Morazán is defeated 19 March 1840 by Carrera, with Francisco Malespin commanding one flank of Carrera's troops. Morazán decides to leave the country to avoid a new confrontation with his neighbors after new plans of war by Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua are revealed.

Rulers.org notes "president of the United Provinces of Central America (1830-34, 1835-39). He began his political career in his native Honduras, becoming its chief of state (1827-29, 1829-30). He led the Liberal Party's forces in a revolt that overthrew Manuel José Arce, first president of the United Provinces, and the Conservatives in 1829. In 1830 Morazán was elected president. He introduced many anticlerical measures, social reforms, and plans to promote economic development, a modernization program that aroused the anger of Conservatives. Although he was reelected to a second term, he had to devote most of his energy to putting down revolts. The federal government lacked the powers to overcome state rivalries, and by 1838 a popular rebellion led by José Rafael Carrera, coinciding with the panic of a cholera epidemic, had torn the federation apart. After the end of his term in 1839 he became supreme chief of state of El Salvador (a post he had also held provisionally in 1832), but he continued to fight for the federation. Carrera's Conservative-backed rebel army defeated Morazán at Guatemala City in March 1840, and in April he resigned and went into exile. Returning in 1842, he attacked and defeated the forces of the Costa Rican dictator Braulio Carrillo and became supreme chief of Costa Rica, but his attempt to follow up this triumph and reunite Central America led to a military revolt; he was betrayed, captured, and executed by a firing squad."

SAL-1840-1 92 SAL José Antonio Cañas 04/04/1840 20/09/1840

Bustamante (1951), p.38 Morazán steps down from power on April 4 1840 and hands over power to Dr. don José Antonio Cañas (the political head of the department). Gerardo Barrios accompanies him on board of the "Izalco" to South America. On September 20 1840, there's an insurrection in San Salvador, which brings to power Dr. don Norberto Ramirez. But he hands over power to Juan Lindo on January 7 1841. Then the Salvadoran congress declares the Republic on January 30 1841, and a constitution is promulgated on April 11 1841.

`http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/dir2.htm`. This site records: "El Lic. Norberto Ramirez nació en León, Nicaragua, a fines del siglo XVIII y murió en esa misma

ciudad, el 11 de julio de 1856. El 20 de septiembre de 1840, estallo una sublevación en los cuarteles de San Salvador, contra el Gobierno del Coronel Antonio José Cañas; sublevación fomentada por el comandante General del Ejercito, General Francisco Malespín, porque el coronel Cañas no se prestaba a ser su instrumento en la Administración. Fue depuesto el Coronel Ca nas e impuso como Jefe del Estado, al Licenciado Norberto Ramirez, por no haber aceptado la designación de Jefe del Estado el Lic. José Damian Villacorta."

Thus, a regular entry and an irregular exit. Post-tenurefate is OK, as indicated on `http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/jlindo1842.htm`.

Official Presidents, but in fact figureheads for Malespín.

SAL-1840-2 92 SAL Norberto Ramirez 20/09/1840 7/01/1841

`http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/dir2.htm`. This site records: "El Lic. Norberto Ramirez nació en León, Nicaragua, a fines del siglo XVIII y murió en esa misma ciudad, el 11 de julio de 1856. El 20 de septiembre de 1840, estallo una sublevación en los cuarteles de San Salvador, contra el Gobierno del Coronel Antonio José Cañas; sublevación fomentada por el comandante General del Ejercito, General Francisco Malespín, porque el coronel Cañas no se prestaba a ser su instrumento en la Administración. Fue depuesto el Coronel Ca nas e impuso como Jefe del Estado, al Licenciado Norberto Ramirez, por no haber aceptado la designación de Jefe del Estado el Lic. José Damian Villacorta. En diciembre de 1840, estalló una asonada en Santiago Nonualco, encabezada por Petronilo Castro, la que fué reprimida por el Gobierno. A pesar de que el Lic. Ramirez gobernó pocos meses, supo equilibrar su corto periodo de Gobierno, ante la dificil situación politica de ese tiempo. Entrego el Mando Supremo el 7 de enero de 1840, al Lic. Juan Lindo. El Lic. Norberto Ramirez, era el padre de doña Mercedes Ramírez de Meléndez, madre de don Carlos y don Jorge Meléndez, que fueron Presidentes de la República de El Salvador. El Lic. Ramírez fué también Presidente de la República de Honduras."

Dr. Norberto Ramirez was born in León, Nicaragua near the end of the Eighteenth Century. He died in the same town, 11 July 1856. Note that the revolt of September 1840, this site notes, was fomented by Malespín because Cañas refused to be his instrument. Note, moreover, that Norberto Ramirez was the father of Doñ Mercedes Ramirez de Meléndez, the mother of the two future presidents of El Salvador, Carlos and Jorge Meléndez. Finally, Ramirez apparently also was President of Honduras. The website of the Government of El Salvador clearly indicates he was a figurehead for the true leader, Malespín.

SAL-1841 92 SAL Juan Lindo 07/01/1841 01/02/1842

Bustamante (1951), p.38 On September 20 1840, there's an insurrection in San Salvador, which brings to power Dr. don Norberto Ramirez. But he hands over power to Juan Lindo on January 7 1841. Then the Salvadoran congress declares the Republic on January 30 1841, and a constitution is promulgated on April 11 1841.

`http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/jlindo1842.htm` notes that "El Licenciado Juan Lindo nació en Tegucigalpa, Honduras, el 16 de mayo de 1770 y murió en la población de Gracias, Honduras, el 23 de abril de 1853. El Lic. Lindo recibió el Mando Supremo del Coronel Antonio Cañas y nombro como Ministro al Gral. y Licenciado Norberto Ramirez. En enero de 1841 se establece en San Vicente, San Miguel, Sonsonate

y San Salvador, juntas de liquidación de la deuda publica, compuesta de tres miembros cada una. ...En febrero 16 de de 1841 con todo el apoyo del Comandante del Ejército, General Francisco Malespín (a pesar de la oposición del Presidente Lic. Lindo) ayuda a la petición de los doctores diputados Coronel Antonio José Cañas y Narcisco Monterrey para la fundación de la Universidad Nacional de El Salvador y del Colegio La Asunción. Este decreto lo dió la Asamblea Constituyente por la Presión del Gral. Francisco Malespín."

Dr. Juan Lindo was born 16 May 1770 in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, and died also in Honduras, 23 April 1853. Against Lindo's wishes but as demanded by Malespín, during his term the National University of El Salvador is founded.

SAL-1842-1 92 SAL José Escolástico Marín 01/02/1842 12/04/1842

Born in San Vicente, dies 11 November 1846, on the battlefield in the war contra the Government of Dr. Eugenio Aguilar. Governs as Senator. Note that the date of losing office differs from Rulers.org and comes from `http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/emarin1842.htm`.

SAL-1842-2 92 SAL Dionisio Villacorte 30/06/1842 19/07/1842

Governs as Senator, while he is organizing elections for President and Vice-President.

SAL-1842-3 92 SAL José Escolástico Marín 19/07/1842 26/09/1842

SAL-1844-4 92 SAL Juan José Guzmán 14/04/1842 01/02/1844

SAL-1844-1 92 SAL Fermín Palacios 01/02/1844 07/02/1844

See `http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/fpalacios1844.htm`.

SAL-1840 92 SAL Francisco Malespín 20/09/1840 22/02/1845

While Rulers.org and the Governmental website list these previous men as Presidents and/or political leader, the question is: Who is the effective leader of El Salvador? Then entry on Ramirez and other sources strongly indicate that Malespín was the effective leader from 1840 onwards.

See `http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francisco_Malesp\%C3\%ADnl`, which notes that Malespín became commander of the armed forces of El Salvador in 1840, after Morazán had been ousted. See also Bustamante (1951), p.39 who notes that Malespín is commander of the Salvadorean Armed Forces, at least in 1842. See also his official biography as posted on the Salvadorean government website: `http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/fmalespin1844.htm`.

Parker (1964), p.149 "After Morazán's departure in 1840 San Salvador became the plaything of Francisco Malespin, commandante de armas introduced to the state by Carrera, and her first bishop, Jorge Viteri Y Ungo. A new constitution was adopted in February 1841, still providing for existence as a state in a union, though an assembly the month before had called the state the republic of El Salvador. .... In 1846, with Malespín murdered and Viteri exiled, a series of two-year terms began under moderate or liberal auspices. Political storms continued to swirl over the isthmus, with El Salvador now considered a friend to ideas repugnant to the neighbouring régimes. Doroteo Vasconcelos (president 1848-51) tried unsuccessfully to force political union with Guatemala and lost his own post as a result. In 1856 the state started referring to itself regularly as

a republic. In 1859, after a revolution and constitutional amendment, Gerardo Barrios began a six-year term as president. But in 1863 Rafael Carrera of Guatemala, engaging in his last intervention, deposed Barrios and left Francisco Dueñas in his place."

See also `http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/dir2.htm`. This site records: "El Lic. Norberto Ramirez nació en León, Nicaragua, a fines del siglo XVIII y murió en esa misma ciudad, el 11 de julio de 1856. El 20 de septiembre de 1840, estallo una sublevación en los cuarteles de San Salvador, contra el Gobierno del Coronel Antonio José Cañas; sublevación fomentada por el comandante General del Ejercito, General Francisco Malespín, porque el coronel Cañas no se prestaba a ser su instrumento en la Administración. Fue depuesto el Coronel Cañas e impuso como Jefe del Estado, al Licenciado Norberto Ramirez, por no haber aceptado la designación de Jefe del Estado el Lic. José Damian Villacorta."

See also Bancroft (1887), p.285–6. "The constituent assembly of Salvdor, installed at Zacatecoluca on the 1st of August, 1839, after a recess reopened its session on the 2d of January, 1841, and on the 4th there was laid before it an address, signed by Colonel Francisco Malespin, as comandante general, and his officers who took part in the revolt of September 20th, spoken of elsewhere. In the document they disclaimed hostility to Jefe Cañas or his minister, or any intent to override the laws, asserting that they were, on the contrary, actuated by a strong desire to give security to the state, and save themselves from impending destruction. This addrewss was regarded by the liberals as a threat, inasmuch as Malespin with the garrison had wrongfully assumed a right to deliberate upon public affairs. Norberto Ramirez, new jefe of Salvador by the grace of Malespin, could no longer brook that officer's interference and resigned, Juan Lindo being called to succeed him on the 7th of January. The assembly and chief magistrate of the state were both now under the sword of Malespin, which in its turn was controlled by Carrera of Guatemala. That body, on the 30th of January, 1841, passed an act to call the state in future República del Salvador. The second constitution of Salvador was adopted on the 18th of February." Bancroft (1997), p. 288, fn. 12 notes that Carrera put Malespin in power of El Salvador.]

Finally, note that Bustamante (1951), p.40 has Carrera declaring war in 1843 against El Salvador, while for the Salvadoreans Malespín gives the reply and retort.

Malespín was born 28 September 1806, died 25 November 1846, trying to stage an invasion of El Salvador to take over power there again. After being ousted by Guzmán, Malespn fled to Honduras where he received protection Honduran President Coronado Chavez. In November 1846, he attempted to invade El Salvador, to regain the presidency, but when going to San Salvador, Malespín was killed in the town of San Fernando, Chalatenango department.

In preparation for the war with Nicaragua Malespín puts executive office in charge of the vice-president Joaquí Eufracio Guzman. Guzman, in turn, gives Malespín unlimited powers for the defense of the state. I code Malespin as still effective leader, not only because of his nearly unlimited power but also because of Bancroft (1887), p. 107, where he notes "In Salvador Malespín had no other rule of conduct than his own will and Bishop Viteri's evil counsels. He believed himself surrounded by enemies, and indeed he was.[fn.29: For his own security, in his absence, he placed his brother, Calixto Malespín, as commandante general, near Vice-president Guzman. This man used to open Guzman's correspondence, and deliver him only such despatches as he thought expedient.]"

For his ouster while fighting against Nicaragua in the course of a civil war with Guzmán. see Bancroft (1887), pp.200–6.

On his death, Bancroft (1887), p. 294 notes "Francisco Malespin was killed at San Fernando, near Honduras, the inhabitants cutting off his head, and carrying it as a trophy to San Salvador.[fn.: 32: The head was for some time exposed in an iron cage, to the disgust of the community. It was finally delivered to the family for internment.]"

Having escaped from the siege at León, Barrios, with the reluctant concurrence of Cabañas spread the false rumor that Malespin had been defeated there, to instigate a revolution. See Bancroft (1877), pp.200–4.

SAL-1845 92 SAL Joaquín Eufracio Guzmán 22/02/1845 01/02/1846

For his irregular entry, see Bancroft (1887), pp.200–6. Born in Cartago, Costa Rica. He was the father of Adelaida Guzmán de Barrios, wife of Captain Gerardo Barrios. He temporarily becomes acting President again in 1859, hence he is probably OK. This is supported by Bancroft (1877), p.201, fn. 21, where Bancroft notes that he returned to private life. He later became Vice President under Miguel Santín del Castillo.

Bancroft (1877), p.201 notes that Guzmán s term expired the first of February and that on that date he surrendered his office to Senator Fermin Palacios. "The assembly did not meet till four days after. The presidential election did not yield a sufficient majority in favor any one, and the assembly then appointed Eugenio Aguilar.[fn.22 A physician by profession, ... Aguilar, in his later years, after losing his wife, was ordained as a priest.]"

SAL-1846 92 SAL Eugenio Aguilar 21/02/1846 01/02/1848

For Dr. Eugenio Aguilar, see `http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/eaguilar1846.htm`. He was born 15 November 1804, and died in San Salvador 23 April 1879.

Bancroft (1877), p.201 notes that Guzmán s term expired the first of February and that on that date he surrendered his office to Senator Fermin Palacios. "The assembly did not meet till four days after. The presidential election did not yield a sufficient majority in favor any one, and the assembly then appointed Eugenio Aguilar.[fn.22 A physician by profession, ... Aguilar, in his later years, after losing his wife, was ordained as a priest.]"

Bancroft (1877), p.294 notes "The presidential term under the constitution being only of two years, elections were orderly effected, and the assembly opened its session on the 25th of Nanuary, 1848. Doroteo Vasconcelos ws the popular choice for the presidential term of 1848, and entered upon his duties on the 7th of February, 1848.

Hence, a regular entry as well as a regular exit.

SAL-1848 92 SAL Doroteo Vasconcelos 07/02/1848 01/03/1851

Bancroft (1877), p.294 notes "The presidential term under the constitution being only of two years, elections were orderly effected, and the assembly opened its session on the 25th of January, 1848. Doroteo Vasconcelos was the popular choice for the presidential term of 1848, and entered upon his duties on the 7th of February, 1848.

For details, see `http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/dvasconcelos1850.htm`. He is born in Sensuntepeque on 6 February 1803, and dies in San Vicente in March 1883. He was with Morazán in Costa Rica when he met his tragic fate, then Vasconcelos went to Europe for three years.

Bancroft (1887), p. 297 "The legislative chambers met on the 5th of February, 1849. The president's term would end with the beginning of 1850, and there could be no re-election under the constitution. But Vasconcelos' friends insisted on his being reelected, necessitating an amendment of the fundamental law, and in spite of opposition obtained an act of the assembly permitting the reelection. This was an unfortunate move, as it divided the liberal party, and encouraged Dueñas, who wanted the presidency, and was not scrupulous as to the means of obtaining it ...."

Bancroft (1887), p.299 "Vasconcelos was not more successful in preserving peace within the state than in forcing Guatemala to abandon the policy she had adopted of maintaining an absolute autonomy. In his invasion of that neighbor's territory early in 1851, as we have seen in the previous chapter, he was worsted, which roused popular indignation against him, followed by a revolt, and his deposal by congress. On the 1st of March, the substitute, J. F. Quiroz was called to occupy the executive chair, and did so. The president for the constitutional terms 1852-3 was Francisco Dueñas, who succeeded in settling the differences between Salvador and Guatemala."

Wikipedia and MSN Encarta suggest that he retired to private life and was subsequently OK. `http://es.encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761586245/Doroteo_Vasconcelos.html` and `http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doroteo_Vasconcelos`.

On his status as a Liberal, see Bancroft (1997), pp. 205–7.

SAL-1851-1 92 SAL J. F. Quiroz 01/03/1851 03/05/1851

Bancroft (1887), p.299 "Vasconcelos was not more successful in preserving peace within the sate than in forcing Guatemala to abandon the policy she had adopted of maintaining an absolute autonomy. In his invasion of that neighbor's territory early in 1851, as we have seen in the previous chapter, he was worsted, which roused popular indignation against him, followed by a revolt, and his deposal by congress. On the 1st of March, the substitute, J. F. Quiroz was called to occupy the executive chair, and did so.[fn.50: During Vasconcelos' absence the office had been in charge of Senator Francisco Dueñas.]"

SAL–1851-2 92 SAL Francisco Dueñas 13/05/1851 01/02/1854

Bancroft (1887), p.299 "Vasconcelos was not more successful in preserving peace within the sate than in forcing Guatemala to abandon the policy she had adopted of maintaining an absolute autonomy. In his invasion of that neighbor's territory early in 1851, as we have seen in the previous chapter, he was worsted, which roused popular indignation against him, followed by a revolt, and his deposal by congress. On the 1st of March, the substitute, J. F. Quiroz was called to occupy the executive chair, and did so.[fn.50: During Vasconcelos' absence the office had been in charge of Senator Francisco Dueñas.] The president for the constitutional terms 1852-3 was Francisco Dueñas, who succeeded in settling the differences between Salvador and Guatemala. ... Toward the end of this term José Maria de San Martín was chosen for the next."

See also `http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/fduenas1851.htm`.

He was born in San Salvador, 3 December 1810, and died in San Francisco, USA on 4 March 1884.

SAL-1854 92 SAL José María de San Martín 15/02/1854 01/02/1856

Elected at the end of Dueñas's term. See Bancroft (1887), p. 299.

SAL-1856 92 SAL Rafael Campo 12/2/1856 01/02/1858

Bancroft (1887), p. 300 "Rafael Campo and Francisco Dueñas were elected president and vice-president, respectively, for the ensuing term of 1856–7; and the latter being in charge of the executive office in January 1856, in Campo's absence, fitted out a contingent of troops to aid Nicaragua in her struggle with Walker's filibusters. Campo dispatched reénforcements in 1857, the Salvador forces being under command of General Gerardo Barrios, who, according to Perez, never went beyond Leon, but undertook to arrange the internal affairs of Nicaragua, convoking a junta de notables, which proclaimed Juan Sacase President. This had no effect, however."

See also `http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/rcampo1856.htm`. He was born in Sonsonate, on 24 October 1813, died in Acajutla on 1 March 1890.

"El partido Repblicano postuló a don Rafael Campo (aún contra su voluntad) como Presidente de El Salvador. Salio victorioso en los comicios y con fecha 30 de enero de 1856 fue declarado Presidente Electo. A pesar de su renuncia fue obligado a aceptar el cargo Supremo el que recibió el 12 de febrero de 1856. En este corto periodo le dió un gran empuje a la reconstrucción de la destruida ciudad de San Salvador. Se iniciaron pláticas con los demas países centroamericanos para contrarrestar la invasión filibustera. El 8 de abril de 1856 el Presidente Campo estableció una junta de Hacienda, que se encargaran de los contratos de obras publicas, compras de armamento y vestuario para el ejercito. El 12 de mayo de 1856 el presidente don Rafael Campo deposita el Mando Supremo en el Vice-Presidente Lic. Francisco Dueñas. El 19 de julio de 1856 asume el mando Supremo don Rafael Campo, lo habia depositado en el Lic. Dueñas."

SAL-1858 92 SAL Miguel Santín de Castillo 15/02/1858 24/06/1858

Birth and death date unknown. `http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/mscastillo1858.htm`. This site notes that Santín, feeling sick, handed over power to the Secundo Designado Gerardo Barrios on 24 June 1858. This case is not entirely clear. It could be that Santin really is sick, and hands over power to Barrios, who is listed as governing as Senador Designado from 24 June to 18 September 1858 on the Salvadorean governmental website, with Santin returning to hold power from 18 September 1858 to 19 January 1859. 18 September 1858. Bancroft suggest that this might have been a coup by Barrios.

Bancroft (1887), pp. 301–2. "Campo's successor was Miguel Santin del Castillo. This president's tenure was of short duration. In 1858 a coup d'etat of Barrios, then a senator, in which he was aided by the vice-president Guzman, his father-in-law, forced Santin to resign. Barrios subsequently obtained from the legislative assembly, sitting from January 17 to February 12, 1859, the sanction of his coup d'etat, as well as the constitutional amendments that he had not been able to carry through legally during Santin's rule, namely, to extend the presidential term from two to six years, and that of the deputies from two to four years."

Woodward (1993), pp.315–6 supports Bancroft, and argues that Barrios took over in June. "Gerardo Barrios had never been completely acceptable to the conservatives, although he had opportunistically cooperated with the stronger conservative forces and he had been an important commander in the campaign against Walker. Upon his return from Nicaragua, however, he involved himself in growing political intrigue. In June 1857 he failed in an attempted coup, but he gained influence in 1858 under the government of Miguel Santn de Castillo. In June 1858 he overthrew Santin in a bloodless coup and

served as acting president until September, when he returned the presidency to Santin, although keeping the real political power himself through control of the military. ... When Santin stepped down because of ill health, Barrios took over the executive power again in March 1859. Carrera actually aided him by persuading Honduran President Santos Guardiola not to encourage Salvadoran exiles to use Honduran territory in efforts to oust Barrios." Since Woodward explicitly notes that Barrios kept "the real political power" I code Santin out after June, and do not consider Santin returns to power in September.

A regular exit; post-exit fate is OK, because Barrios lets him be figurehead for another year or more.

SAL-1858-2 92 SAL Gerardo Barrios 24/06/1858 25/10/1863

`http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/gbarrios1858.htm` notes that Barrios' birthdate is disputed, some say 13 October 1813, while others claim 24 September 1813. Barrios' sister Petronila married General Trinidad Cabañas. Wikipedia lists his birthdate as 24 September. He died on 29 August, 1865, in front of a firing squad.

`http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/gbarrios1858.htm` notes that Barrios' birthdate is disputed, some say 13 October 1813, while others claim 24 September 1813. Barrios' sister Petronila married General Trinidad Cabañas. Wikipedia lists his birthdate as 24 September. He died on 29 August, 1865.

Bancroft (1887), pp. 301–2. "Campo's successor was Miguel Santin del Castillo. This president's tenure was of short duration. In 1858 a coup d'etat of Barrios, then a senator, in which he was aided by the vice-president Guzman, his father-in-law, forced Santin to resign. Barrios subsequently obtained from the legislative assembly, sitting from January 17 to February 12, 1859, the sanction of his coup d'etat, as well as the constitutional amendments that he had not been able to carry through legally during Santin's rule, namely, to extend the presidential term from two to six years, and that of the deputies from two to four years."

Woodward (1993), pp.315–6 supports Bancroft, and argues that Barrios took over in June. "Gerardo Barrios had never been completely acceptable to the conservatives, although he had opportunistically cooperated with the stronger conservative forces and he had been an important commander in the campaign against Walker. Upon his return from Nicaragua, however, he involved himself in growing political intrigue. In June 1857 he failed in an attempted coup, but he gained influence in 1858 under the government of Miguel Santn de Castillo. In June 1858 he overthrew Santin in a bloodless coup and served as acting president until September, when he returned the presidency to Santin, although keeping the real political power himself through control of the military. ... When Santin stepped down because of ill health, Barrios took over the executive power again in March 1859. Carrera actually aided him by persuading Honduran President Santos Guardiola not to encourage Salvadoran exiles to use Honduran territory in efforts to oust Barrios." Since Woodward explicitly notes that Barrios kept "the real political power" I code Santin out after June, and do not consider Santin returns to power in September. This is an irregular entry.

Bancroft (1887), p.306 "Barrios continued his efforts, however, and held out four months at San Salvador [in the fight against Carrera and Guatemala in 1863, HG], though closely besieged and suffering from want of food and ammunition. He had refused to listen to proposals offering him the honors of war, believing that once in Carrera's hands his

fate would be sealed. At last further defence was impossible, and Barrios escaped out of the city early on the 26th of October, and subsequently out of the country. [fn.79: Carrera, Oct. 30th, called it a 'vergonzosa fuga.' .... Barrios was subsequently in 1865 allowed by Costa R. to reside in her territory against the remonstrances of the other Cent. Am. States. These suspended relations with her. Previous to this time he had resided in N. York, where he made many friends. Nic. Reopened, through the mediation of the U.S. of Columbia, on the 31st of May, 1865, relations with Costa R., Barrios having departed.] ... Barrios, having with him arms and ammunition, embarked at Panamá in 1865, on the schooner *Manuela Planas*for La Union, to place himself at the head of a movement initiated by Cabañas in that port and San Miguel in his favor. It was only on arrival that he heard of the failure of that movement, and on his return the schooner was struck by lightning in waters of Nicaragua at the Aserradores. He sent to Corinto for water and provisions, and the consequence was that a Nicaraguan force came on board and captured him. He was taken to Leon on the 30th of June. The government of Salvador demanded his extradition that he might be tried, the national congress having impeached him. The result of this was a convention entered into at Leon July 14, 1865, between Gregorio Arbuzú, minister of Salvador, and Pedro Zeledon, plenipotentiary for Nicaragua, by which the latter government assented to the surrender of Barrios, under the express stipulation that his life should be spared, whatever might be the result of his trial. But the government of Salvador, in disregard of this obligation, had Barrios sentenced to death by a court-martial, and he was executed at 4:30 in the morning of August 29th, against the remonstrances of the representative of Nicaragua."

SAL-1863 92 SAL Francisco Dueñas 26/10/1863 10/04/1871

Bancroft (1887), p.306 "Barrios continued his efforts, however, and held out four months at San Salvador, though closely besieged and suffering from want of food and ammunition. He had refused to listen to proposals offering him the honors of war, believing that once in Carrera's hands his fate would be sealed. At last further defence was impossible, and Barrios escaped out of the city early on the 26th of October, and subsequently out of the country. [fn.79: Carrera, Oct. 30th, called it a 'vergonzosa fuga.' .... Barrios was subsequently in 1865 allowed by Costa R. to reside in her territory against the remonstrances of the other Cent. Am. States. These suspended relations with her. Previous to this time he had resided in N. York, where he made many friends. Nic. Reopened, through the mediation of the U.S. of Columbia, on the 31st of May, 1865, relations with Costa R., Barrios having departed.] The surrender of the city took place the same day, and on the 30th Dueñas, now placed at the head of affairs, decreed thanks to Carrera and Martinez, and their respective armies."

Bancroft (1887), pp.395–7 "... some hoped that peace might yet be consolidated [after January 25th, 1871, HG]. But it proved to be a vain hope; for the government of Honduras on the 7th of February suspended all treaty stipulations between the two republics, and Salvador dispatched in the same month a body of troops to invade her neighbor's territory; in consequences of which President Medina on the 5th of March declared war against Salvador, or rather against Dueñas' government. The liberal party took advantage of the situation to adopt active measures for the overthrow of despotism, and the restoration of democratic principles. General Santiago Gonzalez, who had been called to head a movement, made an address to the people, which produced a great excitement. Dueñas tried to strengthen himself by means of a so-called plebiscite, but this only served to

show that a revolution was impending. Gonzalez applied for aid to the government of Honduras,[fn.7: It was said that Medina was enticed into assisting the liberals, under the delusion that they would call him to rule over the united states of Guat., Salv. And Hond.] which, being then on the point of waging war against Dueñas, was prevailed on to place under command of that officer the forces he had organized to invade Salvador through Sensuntepeque. With his Salvadorans and Honduran allies Gonzalez made himself master of the departments of Santa Ana and Sonsonate, from which he could procure abundant resources. The government forces, ..., and after four days hard fighting, though much superior in numbers, were utterly routed on the 10th of April, with heavy casualties; the main army was put to flight, and the reserve forsook their standard. Gonzalez was then proclaimed provisional president, and Dueñas' government collapsed, he together with Tomás Martinez, ex-president of Nicaragua, who commanded in chief the government's army, and others, seeking a place of safety in the United States legation, then in charge of General A. T. A. Torbert, minister resident. The next day Gonzalez and his army marched into the capital amid the most enthusiastic acclamations. His first step was to protect the person of Dueñas against possible violence from his exasperated enemies, ... Both Dueñas and Martinez were surrendered to the provisional government on its giving a pledge that their lives would not be imperiled. The surrender of Dueñas was made on the 20th of April, with his own acquiescence; he was then transferred as a state prisoner to the military school building. Martinez was released and permitted to leave the republic. Ex-president Dueñas was, on the 13th of April, 1872, declared by the senate legally deposed, and amenable to the laws for acts of usurpation. Murders, among which was reckoned the execution of Ex-president Barrios, unjustifiable executions, and imprisonments of citizens, incendiarism, misappropriation of public moneys, and other misdemeanors. It was further ordered that the accused should be turned over to the jurisdiction of the courts for trial, pursuant to article 71 of the constitution. In July of the same year, while the constitution was in suspense, during a temporary internal disturbance, the supreme court set him at liberty, which caused much agitation in Salvador. He left the country after giving bonds in $100,000 that he would not land in any port of Central America. He went to and remained in Europe some time, then returned to America, residing a while in New York, and afterward in San Francisco, California. Subsequently he was permitted free access to his country, and was treated with high consideration in Salvador and Guatemala."

An irregular entry, imposed by foreigners.

SAL-1871 92 SAL González 10/04/1871 25/04/1876

Santiago González dies in 1887. He transfderred power to Del Vallle. See `http://countrystudies.us/el-salvador/6.htm` and also `http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/sgonzalez1871.htm`. But, as vice president, he remained the effective leader.

He was born 25 July 1818 and died in San Salvador on 1 August 1887.

Bancroft (1887), pp.395–7 "Dueñas tried to strengthen himself by means of a so-called plebiscite, but this only served to show that a revolution was impending. Gonzalez applied for aid to the government of Honduras,[fn.7: It was said that Medina was enticed into assisting the liberals, under the delusion that they would call him to rule over the united states of Guat., Salv. And Hond.] which, being then on the point of waging war against Dueñas, was prevailed on to place under command of that officer the forces he had organized to invade Salvador through Sensuntepeque. With his Salvadorans and

Honduran allies Gonzalez made himself master of the departments of Santa Ana and Sonsonate, from which he could procure abundant resources. The government forces, ..., and after four days hard fighting, though much superior in numbers, were utterly routed on the 10th of April, with heavy casualties; the main army was put to flight, and the reserve forsook their standard. Gonzalez was then proclaimed provisional president, and Dueñas' government collapsed, he together with Tomás Martinez, ex-president of Nicaragua, who commanded in chief the government's army, and others, seeking a place of safety in the United States legation, then in charge of General A. T. A. Torbert, minister resident. The next day Gonzalez and his army marched into the capital amid the most enthusiastic acclamations. His first step was to protect the person of Dueñas against possible violence from his exasperated enemies, ... Both Dueñas and Martinez were surrendered to the provisional government on its giving a pledge that their lives would not be imperiled. The surrender of Dueñas was made on the 20th of April, with his own acquiescence; he was then transferred as a state prisoner to the military school building. Martinez was released and permitted to leave the republic. Ex-president Dueñas was, on the 13th of April, 1872, declared by the senate legally deposed, and amenable to the laws for acts of usurpation."

Parker (1964), p.150 "Dueñas held office until 1871, under a conservative constitution adopted in March 1864 to bring El Salvador's ideology more into line with that of her neighbours. .... A liberal revolution in 1871 brought Santiago González into office three months before the similar liberal triumph in Guatemala. While Guatemala waited eight years after this change to rewrite her constitution, El Salvador adopted a democratic charter in October 1871 and rewrote it (calling for a four-year presidential term) in November 1872. González served out his one term, but new intervention by Guatemala (this time by Justo Rufino Barrios) soon deposed Andrés Valle, his successor.

Valle could be a figurehead for González. Apparently J. Rufino Barrios thought so.

Bancroft (1887), pp.402–6 "The result of this attitude was a renewed assurance by Gonzalez of friendly feeling, and a proposition to hold a verbal conference on Honduran affairs, which Barrios accepted, and such a conference was held now with President Valle at Chingo, and a convention was signed on the 15th of February, under which Marco Aurelio Soto, an Honduran by birth, was to undertake the pacification of his country, backed by equal forces of Guatemala and Honduras. Barrios contended that, though Valle was president, Gonzalez was the real power in Salvador, whom he accused in a public manifesto of hypocrisy and treachery. Angry words continued, the two nations being now armed for conflict, till they agreed to disband their forces. Both governments claimed to have done so, imputing to the other a willful neglect of its obligation. The probability is, that, distrusting one another, they merely pretended compliance, keeping their troops ready for action. Barrios sent 1,500 men into Honduras, and came himself with a force to threaten Salvador on the west, and actually invaded the latter without a previous declaration of war. At last, on the 20th of March, José María Samayoa, minister of war in charge of the executive of Guatemala, formally declared all official relations with Salvador at and end, and then again on the 27th, alleging that Salvadoran troops had invaded Guatemala, decreed the existence of war, giving Barrios unlimited power to make such uses of this declaration as befitted the dignity of Guatemala. The government of Salvador on the 26th of March decreed the treaty of amity and alliance concluded with Guatemala January 24, 1872, to be no longer in force. Barrios' plan for the campaign

was to assail Salvador on the west direct from Gutemala with an army under his personal command, and at the same time by a movement from Honduras under General Gregorio Solares on the eastern departments of San Miguel and La Union. ...

[Barrios] then marched to Atiquizaya, and the next day to Chalchuapa, where the negotiations for peace were held,[fn. 32: The commissioners were José Valle, ... The terms are here epitomized: 1st. Presid. Valle was to resign the executive office to the person hereafter named. 2d. Gen. Gonzalez to give up the command of the forces to Valle. Both were to have full guarantees for their persons and property. 3d. The Salv. Forces now at Santa Ana were to retire to San Salv.; .... 5th. Presid. Valle was to convoke a junta of notables, within four days from the ratification of the convention, to meet at Santa Ana, and choose in accord with Barrios the person in whose hands Valle must resign his offices. 6th. The acting executive must, within ten days convoke the people of Salv. To freely choose, a month later, the president of the republic. 7th. The person designated by the notables shall have organized his government and issued the convocation, the forces of Guat. Will leave the Salv. territory. ....] which resulted in a convention, preliminary to a treaty of peace, concluded on the 25th of April, ratified the next day, and coupled with the condition sine qua non of a complete change in the personnel of the Salvadoran government. Under the preliminary convention of April 25, Rafael Zaldivar was chosen provisional president, and on the 1st of May appointed his cabinet."

Government overthrown. *The New York Times*, June 12, 1876.p.7. records that "Ex-President Falle, of Salvador, has gone to California." (Note search: The Historical *The New York Times*. With "Salvador" entered in "Article Text" and period 1/1/1876 to 1/1/1877.) He fought a war with Guatemala and Guatemala, each invading the other. According to *The New York Times*, May 13, 1876. Guatemala was victorious. Coup, engineered by Guatemalan president Barrios.

Burgess (1926) p. 157 "On April 25th [1876] El Salvador sued for peace and accepted the terms which Barrios dictated. These stipulated that Gonsález and Valle were to abdicate and a president was to be named in accordance with the wishes of Barrios. A group of the principal men of El Salvador agreed on Dr. Zaldivar, whom Barrios accepted and who took over the reins of government on the first of May."

DELETED *Figurehead for Gonzalez*

SAL-1876-1 92 SAL Andrés del Valle 12/02/1876 25/04/1876

Parker (1964), p.150 "González served out his one term, but new intervention by Guatemala (this time by Justo Rufino Barrios) soon deposed Andrés Valle, his successor. Rafael Zaldivar, considered a conservative but a unionist and good friend of Barrios until the latter's last days, then served as president for two terms (1876-84) during which there were two minor rewritings of the basic law...."

Valle could be a figurehead for González. Apparently J. Rufino Barrios thought so.

Bancroft (1887), pp.402–6 "The result of this attitude was a renewed assurance by Gonzalez of friendly feeling, and a proposition to hold a verbal conference on Honduran affairs, which Barrios accepted, and such a conference was held now with President Valle at Chingo, and a convention was signed on the 15th of February, under which Marco Aurelio Soto, an Honduran by birth, was to undertake the pacification of his country, backed by equal forces of Guatemala and Honduras. Barrios contended that, though

Valle was president, Gonzalez was the real power in Salvador, whom he accused in a public manifesto of hypocrisy and treachery. Angry words continued, the two nations being now armed for conflict, till they agreed to disband their forces. Both governments claimed to have done so, imputing to the other a willful neglect of its obligation. The probability is, that, distrusting one another, they merely pretended compliance, keeping their troops ready for action. Barrios sent 1,500 men into Honduras, and came himself with a force to threaten Salvador on the west, and actually invaded the latter without a previous declaration of war. At last, on the 20th of March, José María Samayoa, minister of war in charge of the executive of Guatemala, formally declared all official relations with Salvador at and end, and then again on the 27th, alleging that Salvadoran troops had invaded Guatemala, decreed the existence of war, giving Barrios unlimited power to make such uses of this declaration as befitted the dignity of Guatemala. The government of Salvador on the 26th of March decreed the treaty of amity and alliance concluded with Guatemala January 24, 1872, to be no longer in force. Barrios' plan for the campaign was to assail Salvador on the west direct from Gutemala with an army under his personal command, and at the same time by a movement from Honduras under General Gregorio Solares on the eastern departments of San Miguel and La Union. ...

[Barrios] then marched to Atiquizaya, and the next day to Chalchuapa, where the negotiations for peace were held,[fn. 32: The commissioners were José Valle, ... The terms are here epitomized: 1st. Presid. Valle was to resign the executive office to the person hereafter named. 2d. Gen. Gonzalez to give up the command of the forces to Valle. Both were to have full guarantees for their persons and property. 3d. The Salv. Forces now at Santa Ana were to retire to San Salv.; .... 5th. Presid. Valle was to convoke a junta of notables, within four days from the ratification of the convention, to meet at Santa Ana, and choose in accord with Barrios the person in whose hands Valle must resign his offices. 6th. The acting executive must, within ten days convoke the people of Salv. To freely choose, a month later, the president of the republic. 7th. The person designated by the notables shall have organized his government and issued the convocation, the forces of Guat. Will leave the Salv. territory. ....] which resulted in a convention, preliminary to a treaty of peace, concluded on the 25th of April, ratified the next day, and coupled with the condition sine qua non of a complete change in the personnel of the Salvadoran government. Under the preliminary convention of April 25, Rafael Zaldivar was chosen provisional president, and on the 1st of May appointed his cabinet."

`http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/avalle1876.htm`. He was born in Santa Ana 30 November 1833 and died in the same city on 28 June 1888.

Government overthrown. *The New York Times*, June 12, 1876.p.7. records that "Ex-President Falle, of Salvador, has gone to California." (Note search: The Historical *The New York Times*. With "Salvador" entered in "Article Text" and period 1/1/1876 to 1/1/1877.) He fought a war with Guatemala and Guatemala, each invading the other. According to *The New York Times*, May 13, 1876. Guatemala was victorious. Coup, engineered by Guatemalan president Barrios.

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and who took over the reins of government on the first of May."

SAL-1876-2 92 SAL Zaldivar 25/04/1876 14/05/1885

Burgess (1926) p. 157 "On April 25th [1876] El Salvador sued for peace and accepted the terms which Barrios dictated. These stipulated that Gonsález and Valle were to abdicate and a president was to be named in accordance with the wishes of Barrios. A group of the principal men of El Salvador agreed on Dr. Zaldivar, whom Barrios accepted and who took over the reins of government on the first of May."

Bancroft (1887), pp.405–6 "[Barrios] then marched to Atiquizaya, and the next day to Chalchuapa, where the negotiations for peace were held,[fn. 32: The commissioners were José Valle, ... The terms are here epitomized: 1st. Presid. Valle was to resign the executive office to the person hereafter named. 2d. Gen. Gonzalez to give up the command of the forces to Valle. Both were to have full guarantees for their persons and property. 3d. The Salv. Forces now at Santa Ana were to retire to San Salv.; .... 5th. Presid. Valle was to convoke a junta of notables, within four days from the ratification of the convention, to meet at Santa Ana, and choose in accord with Barrios the person in whose hands Valle must resign his offices. 6th. The acting executive must, within ten days convoke the people of Salv. To freely choose, a month later, the president of the republic. 7th. The person designated by the notables shall have organized his government and issued the convocation, the forces of Guat. Will leave the Salv. territory. ....] which resulted in a convention, preliminary to a treaty of peace, concluded on the 25th of April, ratified the next day, and coupled with the condition sine qua non of a complete change in the personnel of the Salvadoran government. Under the preliminary convention of April 25, Rafael Zaldivar was chosen provisional president, and on the 1st of May appointed his cabinet."

`http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/rzaldivar1876.htm` lists him as born in San Elejo, no date, he died 2 March 1903.

Parker (1964), p.150 "González served out his one term, but new intervention by Guatemala (this time by Justo Rufino Barrios) soon deposed Andrs Valle, his successor. Rafael Zaldivar, considered a conservative but a unionist and good friend of Barrios until the latter's last days, then served as president for two terms (1876-84) during which there were two minor rewritings of the basic law.... Zaldivar began a third term but soon suffered a break with Barrios, who died on Salvadoran soil in the battle between them. Zaldivar resigned after the battle and Francisco Menéndez took his place, calling for another new constitution. The constitution of August 1886, which lasted until 1939, provided for governmental democracy in all of its aspects-rights and guarantees for the citizens, a unicameral legislature to be renewed every year by the people, a president and vice-president popularly elected to serve four years, and a supreme court to be chosen by the legislature. In reality, however, through all this time the president (not the people) ran the country and the president was chosen by himself or by his predecessor in office."

According to Burgess (1926), p.241 Zaldivar went to Europe for a couple of months–to escape pressure from Barrios for union–and returned August 1884. I have no information on who replaced him for those intervening months.

NOTA BENE: He takes a leave of absence for a while, but I do not have specific dates, or any information on his caretaker. Bancroft (1877), p.409 "President Zaldivar was reelected and reinaugurated on the 1st of February, 1884. But obtaining

leave of absence to visit Europe, where his family had been some time, he turned over the executive office to the first designado, Angel Guirola, who was to hold it till his return. He was again in San Salvador in August, and resumed his duties."

Bancroft (1877), p.411 [After defeat of Barrios] "Zaldivar called congress to hold an extra session, and laid before it, May 4th [1885], an account of the campaign and its results, and concluded, asking that body to accept his resignation. This was unanimously refused; nor was his subsequent request for a year's leave of absence granted. But on his declaring his intention of taking the unused time of the leave given him in 1884, that body acceded, and allowed him to be absent twelve months. On the 14th, he placed the executive authority in the hands of the second designado, General Fernando Figueroa, his minister of the treasury, who had the support of Zaldivar's friends; and on the following day departed for Europe. [fn.53: Zaldivar well knew that there was a powerful opposition to him.] An insurrection had already broken out in the west, promoted by political adversaries, whose leader was General Francisco Menendez. The government reported a victory over the insurgents at Armenia the 19th of May, but the revolution gained ground so rapidly that Menendez, who had been proclaimed presidente provisorio, made his triumphal entry in San Salvador on the 22d, midst the acclamations of the populace. The revolution was successful, and the new government was afterward recognized by foreign powers."

Parker (1964), p.150 "Zaldivar resigned after the battle and Francisco Menéndez took his place, calling for another new constitution. .... The constitution of August 1886, which lasted until 1939, provided for governmental democracy in all of its aspects-rights and guarantees for the citizens, a unicameral legislature to be renewed every year by the people, a president and vice-president popularly elected to serve four years, and a supreme court to be chosen by the legislature. In reality, however, through all this time the president (not the people) ran the country and the president was chosen by himself or by his predecessor in office."

This is a judgment call on the manner of leaving office. On the one hand, he clearly voluntarily resigns and forces the issue with congress, on the other hand, he knew of revolution brewing. Overall, since this is so clearly in anticipation of revolutionary trouble, this is coded as an irregular exit.

Zaldivar went to Europe.

SAL-1885-1 92 SAL Figueroa 15/05/1885 22/05/1885

Bancroft (1877), p.411 [After defeat of Barrios] "Zaldivar called congress to hold an extra session, and laid before it, May 4th [1885], an account of the campaign and its results, and concluded, asking that body to accept his resignation. This was unanimously refused; nor was his subsequent request for a year's leave of absence granted. But on his declaring his intention of taking the unused time of the leave given him in 1884, that body acceded, and allowed him to be absent twelve months. On the 14th, he placed the executive authority in the hands of the second designado, General Fernando Figueroa, his minister of the treasury, who had the support of Zaldivar's friends; and on the following day departed for Europe. [fn.53: Zaldivar well knew that there was a powerful opposition to him.] An insurrection had already broken out in the west, promoted by political adversaries, whose leader was General Francisco Menendez. The government reported a victory over the insurgents at Armenia the 19th of May, but the revolution gained ground so rapidly that Menendez, who had been proclaimed presidente provisorio, made

his triumphal entry in San Salvador on the 22d, midst the acclamations of the populace. The revolution was successful, and the new government was afterward recognized by foreign powers."

Entry is regular, exit is irregular. posttenureafate is unknown; although he becomes president again later. Born in 1849, died in 1919.

SAL-1885-2 92 SAL Menéndez 22/05/1885 22/06/1890

Bancroft (1877), p.411 [After defeat of Barrios] "Zaldivar called congress to hold an extra session, and laid before it, May 4th [1885], an account of the campaign and its results, and concluded, asking that body to accept his resignation. This was unanimously refused; nor was his subsequent request for a year's leave of absence granted. But on his declaring his intention of taking the unused time of the leave given him in 1884, that body acceded, and allowed him to be absent twelve months. On the 14th, he placed the executive authority in the hands of the second designado, General Fernando Figueroa, his minister of the treasury, who had the support of Zaldivar's friends; and on the following day departed for Europe.]fn.53: Zaldivar well knew that there was a powerful opposition to him.] An insurrection had already broken out in the west, promoted by political adversaries, whose leader was General Francisco Menendez. The government reported a victory over the insurgents at Armenia the 19th of May, but the revolution gained ground so rapidly that Menendez, who had been proclaimed presidente provisorio, made his triumphal entry in San Salvador on the 22d, midst the acclamations of the populace. The revolution was successful, and the new government was afterward recognized by foreign powers."

Parker (1964), p.150 "Zaldivar resigned after the battle and Francisco Menéndez took his place, calling for another new constitution. .... The constitution of August 1886, which lasted until 1939, provided for governmental democracy in all of its aspects-rights and guarantees for the citizens, a unicameral legislature to be renewed every year by the people, a president and vice-president popularly elected to serve four years, and a supreme court to be chosen by the legislature. In reality, however, through all this time the president (not the people) ran the country and the president was chosen by himself or by his predecessor in office."

Karnes (1961), p. 166 "in June, 1890, President Francisco Menéndez of El Salvador died suddenly under unusual circumstances which were kept secret from the public. Then, instead of the vice president, a military dictatorship under General Carlos Ezeta assumed control of the nation."

Bustamante (1951), pp. 84–5 has more details. On the anniversary of him coming to power some of his Honduran friends and allies present themselves at a ball in his honor and order him to surrender (and the ladies to leave) and Menéndez drops dead from a heart attack. This was an attempted coup led by Ezeta. This is one of those impossibly hard-to-call coding questions: dies as a result of the coup? Dies in the midst? Regular exit as in natural death or irregular exit?

`http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/fmenendez1885.htm` lists him as born on 3 December 1830, dying, obviously, 22 June 1890.

He introduces a new constitution, promulgated on August 13, 1886. President can serve one term, cannot be reelected, until after four years have lapsed.

SAL-1890 92 SAL Ezeta 22/06/1890 10/06/1894

Karnes (1961), p. 166 "in June, 1890, President Francisco Menéndez of El Salvador died suddenly under unusual circumstances which were kept secret from the public. Then, instead of the vice president, a military dictatorship under General Carlos Ezeta assumed control of the nation."

Bustamante (1951), pp. 84–5 has more details. On the anniversary of him coming to power some of his Honduran friends and allies present themselves at a ball in his honor and order him to surrender (and the ladies to leave) and Menéndez drops dead from a heart attack. This was an attempted coup led by Ezeta.

`http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/cezeta1890.htm` lists him as born 14 June 1852, and dying in Mazatlá, México on 21 March 1903.

Carlos Ezeta, for his post tenure fate, see *The New York Times*, Jul. 2, 1894. He was exiled.

SAL-1894 92 SAL Guttierez 10/06/1894 14/11/1898

Rafael Gutiérrez. He lost power because of the government overthrown by General Tomas Regalado in 1898. Guttierez was removed by Regalado because of his and other Salvadorians' opposition to the Federal Union of The United States of Central America which was about to be formed. See Rodriguez (1965), pp. 107–8 and Aquino (1944), p. 82.

See *The New York Times* Dec. 1, 1898. p.5: "Much curiosity is aroused as to the whereabouts of former President Guiterrez [sic, HG], as the reports do not say what has become of him. One of the officials here believes that Guiterrez has been allowed to escape."

See *The Washington Post*, Feb 4, 1899. p.9. "FROM PRESIDENT TO PAUPER. ... Guiterrez was forced to fly to Honduras for safety. All of Guiterrez's property is heavily mortgaged, and his family is forced to subsist on the meager income derived from the mortgaged plantations."

`http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/rguitierres1894.htm` lists him as born 24 October 1845, and dying at 76 years old on 9 January 1921.

SAL-1898 92 SAL Regalado 14/11/1898 01/03/1903

Rodriguez (1965), pp.107–8 "Finally a Salvadorean caudillo, Tomás Regalado, overthrew the Guterrez government and took El Salvador out of the "United States of Central America," the name adopted under the new constitution that went into effect on November 1, 1898." [Costa Rica and Guatemala did not join. This occurred as the result of the British blockade and threat of foreign intervention at Corinto, hg]

Tomas Regolado lost power on Mar 1, 1903. Lentz, notes that he continued to serve in the military and led Salvadoran troops into battle with Guatemala in 1906. He was killed during the fighting at El Jicaro on July 11, 1906. See also *The New York Times*, Jul. 13, 1906, p.1

Frederick Palmer, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 27, 1909, p. 1 "Pocket Republic Minus A Dictator" has further additional information on him. "Ex-President Regallado, for example, had no more official position than Miles or Corbin or any other retired general. Whenever he went on one of his long sprees his cry was for something to break the monotony of orderly government. While he lived the old customs should not die out, and the army thought him a devil of a fellow and unconquerable–especially when drunk. Early one morning in the spring of 1906 he planted the artillery in the plaza and blew

off the front of the Salvadorean White house. His action was due to his personal dislike of Escalon, who was president at the time. Having paid this grudge he set out to pay another. That Cabrera of Guatemala was a mean, half caste Indian, who deserved to have his face slapped. So Regallado led the troops across the Guatemalan frontier without any declaration of war. He had not yet sobered up when he was killed in battle, while the issue of the war was still undecided at the time that Secretary Root offered his "good offices," which is diplomacy's name for the big stick."

`http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/tregalado1898.htm` lists him as born at Santa Ana on 7 November 1861, dying in the war with Guatemala on 11 July 1906. This page also records that he married the daughter of Marshal Santiago Gonzalez, the previous ruler of El Salvador.

SAL-1903 92 SAL Escalón 01/03/1903 28/02/1907

Pedro José Escalón, may have attempted a coup against Figueroa. See *The New York Times*, Jun. 15, 1907. p.4. We could not find anything on him afterwards. Born 25 March 1847, died on September 6, 1923.

See `http://www.casapres.gob.sv/presidentes/pres/pjescalon1903.htm`.

Wikipedia (`http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pedro_Jos\%C3\%A9_Escal\%C3\%B3n`) notes that his posttenurefate was OK "Al término de su per'iodo, en 1907, se alejó de la poltica y vivió retirado en sus propiedades rurales, hasta el momento de su muerte." He is born 25 March 1847 and dies 6 September 1923.

SAL-1907 92 SAL Figueroa 01/03/1907 28/02/1911

Fernando Figueroa, see above, when he took over from Zaldivar; he was a general. Lentz notes that he died on June 18, 1919. He created a government of national reconciliation. See `http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/f/figueroa_fernando.htm`. Schoonover and other sources suggest that he was OK after losing office, mainly by not mentioning what happened to him afterwards. NOt least because his successor Araujo had been his VP.

For more on him and his background (a military career), see Percy Falcke Martin, *Salvador of the Twentieth Century*, New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911, Chapter III, pp.38–40. Written in the reign of Araujo and Figueroa seems to be OK, see especially p.4.

SAL-1911 92 SAL Araujo 01/03/1911 09/02/1913

Manuel Enrique Araujo was elected to office; he had been VP in Figueroa's government. For his assassination, see *The New York Times*, Dec. 28, 1913, p. SM11. See also Percy Falcke Martin, *Salvador of the Twentieth Century* New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911, Chapter III, pp.36–8 which claims that Dr. Manuel Enrique Araujo wasa surgeon and married to Maria Peralta, the daughter of a former president of the Republic, Don José Peralta. The book also claims that he was "always a strong Liberal in politics, ..."

SAL-1913 92 SAL C. Meléndez 11/02/1913 15/08/1914

`http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlos_Mel\%C3\%A9ndez_(El_Salvador)` notes that he was primer designado. Lentz: Steps down 28 August, 1914, in order to run for President again. "He stepped down in favor of his brother-in-law, Alfonso Quinonez y Molina, on August 28, 1914, to become a candidate in the presidential election. He was victorious

and resumed office on February 28, 1915. ... He remained in office until December 21, 1918, when he stepped down for reasons of health after arranging the succession of his younger brother Jorge Melendez. Carlos Melendez died of cancer in a New York City clinic on October 9, 1919."

See also `http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/m/melendez_familia.htm` which reports: Familia que ostentó el poder en El Salvador entre 1913 y 1927. Favorable a los intereses de la aristocracia cafetalera, marginó a las masas populares de la política, empeorando su situación. Carlos (1861-1919) y Jorge (1871-1953), hermanos, ocuparon la presidencia del país, respectivamente, en 1913-1914 (tras el asesinato de Araujo) 1915-1918, y en 1919-1923. Alfonso Quiñones (1874-1950), cuñado de Carlos, fue presidente en 1914-1915, 1918-1919 y 1923-1927.

Norberto Ramirez was the father of Doñ Mercedes Ramirez de Meléndez, the mother of the two future presidents of El Salvador, Carlos and Jorge Meléndez. Thus, his grandfather had been political leader of El Salvador before, however, Norberto Ramirez may have been a figurehead for Malespín.

SAL-1914 92 SAL Quiñónez Molina 29/08/1914 28/02/1915

Alfonso Quiñónez y Molina. See above. Brother-in-law of Carlos Melendez.

SAL-1915 92 SAL C. Meléndez 01/03/1915 21/12/1918

Carlos Meléndez returns to office; he lost power in December 1918. Lentz: Steps down for reasons of health. He died of cancer in New York on October 9, 1919.

Norberto Ramirez was the father of Doñ Mercedes Ramirez de Meléndez, the mother of the two future presidents of El Salvador, Carlos and Jorge Meléndez. Thus, his grandfather had been political leader of El Salvador before, however, Norberto Ramirez may have been a figurehead for Malespín.

SAL-1918 92 SAL Quiñónez Molina 21/12/1918 28/02/1919

See above. Returns to office, brother-in-law of Carlos Melendez.

SAL-1919 92 SAL J. Meléndez 01/03/1919 28/02/1923

Jorge Meléndez was the brother of Carlos. See Lentz.

Norberto Ramirez was the father of Doñ Mercedes Ramirez de Meléndez, the mother of the two future presidents of El Salvador, Carlos and Jorge Meléndez. Thus, his grandfather had been political leader of El Salvador before, however, Norberto Ramirez may have been a figurehead for Malespín.

SAL-1923 92 SAL Quinonez Molina 01/03/1923 28/02/1927

See above. Returns to office, Brother-in-law of Carlos Melendez. He was exiled to Paris by handpicked successor.

SAL-1927 92 SAL Romeo Bosque 01/03/1927 28/02/1931

Romero Bosque. Lentz records him as dying in Managua, Nicaragua, on December 10, 1934. Given the coup, his fate is coded as exile.

SAL-1931-1 92 SAL Arajuo, A. 01/03/1931 02/12/1931

See Lentz and *The New York Times* Dec. 4, 1931, p.1. Removed in a military coup, captured and exiled to Guatemala, assassinated. *Washington Post* 4 December, 1931, p. 1.

SAL-1931-2 92 SAL Hernandez Martinez 04/12/1931 29/08/1934

See Lentz and the *The New York Times* Dec. 4, 1931, p.1. He was not behind coup but was Vice President and constitutional successor. *The New York Times* records that the coup is led by Colonel Osmin Aguirre. Exiled.

SAL-1934 92 SAL Menendez, A.I. 29/08/1934 28/02/1935

Andres Ignacio Menendez was born in 1879.

SAL-1935 92 SAL Hernandez Martinez 28/02/1935 09/05/1944

Resigns after general strike, *The New York Times* 9 May, 1944, p. 8; Lentz 1999, p. 150.

SAL-1944-1 92 SAL Menendez, A.I. 09/05/1944 21/10/1944

Andreas Ignacio Menéndez. *The New York Times*, Oct. 22, 1944, p.30. records that Menendez "led an army coup that overthrew Gen. Hernandez Martinez." See also the *The New York Times*, Mar. 26, 1945, p.8.

Coded as removed in a military coup since the coup leader is a colonel (he also ran for election at the time of the coup). New York Times 22 October, 1944, p. 30; Lentz 1999, p. 151. Sent to exile to Guatemala, but returned to his country in April 1945.

SAL-1944-2 92 SAL Aguirre Salinas 21/10/1944 28/02/1945

Aguirre Salinas tries a revolt against Castaneda Castro, June 1945. See *The New York Times*, Jun. 13, 1945, p.4. Flees to Honduras.

SAL-1945 92 SAL Castaneda Castro 28/02/1945 14/12/1948

He was a general, Dean of the Military Academy. Removed in a military coup. *The New York Times* 15 December, 1948, p. 1. Castaneda Castro was imprisoned after he lost power.

SAL-1948 92 SAL Cordova 15/12/1948 04/01/1949

Manuel de Jesus de Cordova. See *The New York Times*, Jan 7, 1949, p.15. "The Revolutionary Council of Government, which has ruled here since President Salvador Castaneda Castro was forced to resign Dec. 14, announced today the resignation of the head of the Council or Junta, Lieut. Col. Manuel de Jesus Cordoba, who left El Salvador yesterday."

SAL-1949-1 92 SAL Osorio 04/01/1949 22/10/1949

Lentz notes: Steps down to campaign for presidency. His entry isn't really constitutional, but in line with the Junta's rules. He was the real leader of junta before he formally gained power.

SAL-1949-2 92 SAL Oscar Bolanos 22/10/1949 14/09/1950

Oscar Bolanos. Takes over from Osorio. His entry is not really constitutional but in line with the Junta's rules.

SAL-1950 92 SAL Osorio 14/09/1950 14/09/1956

Osorio is elected President, and serves his term. On his regular and "properly constitutional" exit, see *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 25, 1958, p. 6 "Past Offers Hope for Venezuelans." Also `http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/l/lemus.htm`; New York Times September 15, 1956, p. 4; Lentz 1994, p. 254.

SAL-1956 92 SAL Lemus 14/09/1956 26/10/1960

Colonel Jose Maria Lemus. Minister of Interior under Osorio. See on Lemus's policies, *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 5, 1956, p. 19. Coup by civil-military junta – military involvement seems to be the key to gain power in this context, so this is coded as military coup. *The New York Times* 27 October, 1960, p. 1; Lentz 1994, p. 254. Lemus was allowed to leave the country after his overthrow, took refuge in Guatemala, and subsequently flew to Costa Rica. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 6 (1960) November.

SAL-1960 92 SAL Castillo 26/10/1960 25/01/1961

Miguel Angel Castillo, (Lieut.-Col). Military and civilian junta, January 25: Military coup against lefist military-civilian junta, *The New York Times* 26 January, 1961, p. 1. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 7 (1961) February records: The six-man civilian and military junta which seized power in October last by a bloodless coup d'état was itself overthrown on Jan. 25 by the Army; according to press despatches from San Salvador, several people were killed and about 25 injured in clashes following the uprising, while a number of Communists and supporters of Dr. Castro were reported to have been arrested. The members of the former junta were variously reported as under house arrest or in exile in Guatemala; it was also stated that Colonel Oscar Osorio, a former President and leader of the Social Democratic Party, had been arrested and subsequently sent into exile. See also the *Christian Science Monitor* 27 January, 1961: "Two deposed members of the former junta were ordered out of the country by Colonel Portillo." *The New York Times* Times, records that many of the former Junta were exiled. See *The New York Times*, Jan 5, 1962 p.14. Also *Washington Post*, 28 Jan 1961, p.A10. "One of the new junta's first acts was to arrest four members of the previous Government and 30 alleged Communist leaders." Coup.

SAL-1961 92 SAL Portillo 25/01/1961 25/01/1962

Col. Anibal Portillo. Lost power constitutionally. See *Christian Science Monitor*. Jan 26. 1962. "ELECTED LEADER TAKES OVER IN EL SALVADOR. Dr. Eusebio Rodolfo Cordon was sworn in Thursday as Provisional President of El Salvador, and he civil and military directorate which had ruled the country for the past year was dissolved. Dr. Cordon, a former journalist turned lawyer who became a supreme court judge was elected Jan. 10 by a constituent assembly elected last December to complete the term of President Jose Maria Lemus. Dr. Cordon will hold office until July 1, when he will hand over to a new President to be elected in April .... The Cabinet is the same as that under the former civil and military directorate (minor exceptions, HG)

SAL-1962-1 92 SAL Rodolfo Cordon 25/01/1962 01/07/1962

Dr. Eusebio Rodolfo Cordon. Cordon was the former President of the Supreme Court.

SAL-1962-2 92 SAL Rivera 01/07/1962 01/07/1967

See Lentz on Rivera.

SAL-1967 92 SAL Sanchez Hernandez 01/07/1967 01/07/1972

Sanchez Hernandez. See Lentz. Sanchez and his daughter are captured by rebels in 1972, but freed by military. He could not run again because of term limit. President term was limited in 1972.

SAL-1972 92 SAL Molina 01/07/1972 01/07/1977

Molina Barraza is Ruling Party Candidate. The opposition claims vote fraud and that Duarte won. See The *Washington Post*, May 2, 1982 A2. He was elected after questionable recount.

SAL-1977 92 SAL Romero Mena 01/07/1977 15/10/1979

Electoral fraud alleged; defeated in military coup, sent into exile *The New York Times* 16 October, 1979, p. A1.

SAL-1979 92 SAL Majano Ramos 15/10/1979 07/12/1980

Special US diplomatic mission after murder of three American nuns leads to government reshuffle, ***Keesing's*** Vol. 27, 1981, January, El Salvador.

For his exit, see *The New York Times*, December 8, 19080, p. A1 "Salvador's Military Ousts Chief Liberal From Ruling Junta." "Colonel, Who Led '79 Coup, Forced out in 300-to-4 Army Vote – Other Changes Predicted." "SAN SALVADOR, Dec. 7 – The most liberal member of El Salvador's ruling civilian-military junta, Col. Adolfo Arnoldo Majano, has been ousted and another junta member, José Napoleón Duarte, said this afternoon, "There will be many changes in the Government within the next few days." Army officers voted 300 to 4 against Colonel Majano's remaining in the junta. The colonel said he wanted to make it clear he was not resigning, but was being forced out. Colonel Majano led a group of younger officers who deposed President Carlos Humberto Romero in a bloodless coup in October 1979, but has been steadily losing influence to the conservative Defense Minister, Col. José Guillermo García. In May, Colonel Majano was replaced as army commander by Col. Jaime Abdul Gutíerrez, who is considered the most conservative member of the junta. The ouster of Colonel Majano, who barely escaped a bombing attempt on his life last week, is seen as a part of what a foreign diplomat described as a coup by the right that is "being played out over an extended period.""

Majano Ramos was offered a diplomatic position in Spain. He refused it and went underground. He was arrested in Guatemala, and returned to El Salvador. Ramos was briefly imprisoned by the Duarte junta before being sent into exile. See Lentz.

SAL-1980 92 SAL Duarte 13/12/1980 02/05/1982

Duarte was named by the junta. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 36, February 1990, reports in his obituary: "José Napoleon Duarte, 64, President of El Salvador in 1980-1982 and 1984-1989, died on Feb. 23 after suffering for a long time from cancer.

A co-founder of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) in 1960, and three times mayor of the capital San Salvador between 1964 and 1970, Duarte campaigned for democratic reforms as candidate of the National Opposition Union in the February 1972 presidential elections, but was defeated amid allegations of massive electoral fraud and launched an abortive coup in March. Exiled in Venezuela for seven years, he returned to join a military-civilian junta in March 1980 formed in October 1979 as a result of the threat of full-scale civil war. Under United States pressure following the murder of three US nuns by the security forces, the junta appointed Duarte as President in December 1980; he stood down in April 1982 when an interim administration succeeded the civilian-military junta. On his election as President in May 1984, his government relied on the support of the military and was heavily dependent on the USA for military and economic aid. It failed to produce the necessary democratic and economic reforms needed to pacify

and modernize the country. By the time of the PDC's election defeat by the right-wing National Republican Alliance (Arena) in March 1989 Duarte had become an isolated political figure."

SAL-1982 92 SAL Magana Borjo 02/05/1982 01/06/1984
Magana Borjo was elected by parliament, under US pressure.

SAL-1984 92 SAL Duarte 01/06/1984 01/06/1989
Duarte died of cancer at his home in San Salvador on February 23, 1990. Term limited. For his obituary, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 36, February 1990.

SAL-1989 92 SAL Cristiani 01/06/1989 01/06/1994

SAL-1994 92 SAL Calderon Sol 01/06/1994 01/06/1999

SAL-1999 92 SAL Flores 01/06/1999 01/06/2004

SAL-2004 92 SAL Saca González 01/06/2004 31/12/2004

2.16 NICARAGUA

José Dolores Gámez, *Historia de Nicaragua*, Managua: Tipografia de "El Pais," 1889, pp.468–9 notes that a constituent Assembly declared Nicaragua free, sovereign and independent of all other powers on 30 April 1838.

Díaz (1996), p. 32 notes "El 4 diciembre de 1837, en efecto,el Estado de Nicaraguadecretó "*haver lugar al la revisiónm de la Constitución del Estado*", y con este propósito convó a una Asamblea Constituyente, le cual se instaló el 1 de marzo de 1838. Dos meses después, el 30 de abril, "*la Asamblea Constituyente del Estado de Nicaragua, initmamente convencida de que los vicios de la actual Constitución Federativa . . . son los que han causado la miseria y desolación del Estado*" decretó su superación de la Federación."

Bancroft (1887), p. 257 "The legislative assembly rejected, April 30, 1853, a provisional constitution which had been framed and published by the national constituent assembly on the 13th of October, 1852, and at the same time declared the state to be independent and sovereign. This was followed on the 28th of February, 1854, by another decree of the state constituent assembly assuming for the state the title of República de Nicaragua, and giving its executive the name of president."

Bradford Burns (1991), p.27 notes that "it was true that from the 1830s onward, rationally or not, liberalism, whatever it meant, was associated with León; conservatism, however that might be defined, was identified with Granada."

Personal communication from Michel Gobat, U Iowa:

> As to your question about Nicaragua, I can see why things might appear confusing. Not only were there at times competing governments in power but the Liberal and Conservative parties didn't truly emerge until the 1850s. But perhaps most important, the division between Liberals and Conservatives was not always clear-cut. Just to give you two extreme examples: President Zavala did belong to the Conservative party but ideologically he was very much a liberal. In fact, a leading ideologue from the Liberal party once quipped that Conservatives such as Zavala (who belonged to the Progressive faction of the Conservative party) were "more red" than Karl Marx. The other example would be President Juan José Estrada (1910-11). Although he did belong to the Liberal party, his government was dominated by Conservatives (he came to power following the U.S.-supported uprising against the Liberal regimes of Zelaya and Madriz). So for many Nicaraguan historians, Estradas presidency is associated with the restoration of Conservative rule.
>
> As to the specific individuals you asked about, it seems that Rivas, Buitrago, Pérez, Madriz and Saenz were more Liberals than Conservatives (though, as I mentioned, these parties didn't exist at the time) all were presidents at a time when the real strongman of Nicaragua was the liberal caudillo Casto Fonseca. As to Balladares, some scholars claim he was more a Conservative than a Liberal, while others see him as an ally of the liberal caudillo Fonseca.
>
> Pineda is another complicated case. He seems to be a liberal closely associated with Conservatives.

Sandoval and Chamorro were clearly Conservatives (Sandoval is widely seen as the first Conservative president of Nicaragua).

Guerrero and Ramrez appear to be more Liberals than Conservatives (Ramrez participated on the Liberal side in the civil war of 1854-5 and supported Walkers regime).

New constitution is articulated and promulgated in 1838. For a list of leaders see `http://www.radio-corporacion.com/presidentes/presidentes.htm`. This lists begins with Fruto Chamorro Pérez in 1853, supporting the arguments elsewhere that Nicaragua was basically in a state of anarchy from 1839 until about 1853.

NIC-1838 93 NIC Casto Fonseca 30/04/1838 16/12/1844

The source material and U Iowa Historian Michel Gobat both strongly argue that from the late 1830s until his death in 1845, Fonseca was the real effective leader of Nicaragua.

Bancroft (1887), p. 196–9 suggests that Perez was not the effective leader, but Casto Fonseca was. "Nicaragua was in anything but a satisfactory situation. ... The director of the state, Manuel Perez [fn.30: He was the constitutional chief.], lacked the prestige that the occasion required. Casto Fonseca, the commander of the forces, had been given the rank of 'gran mariscal.'] [fn.31: Fonseca is represented as a drunkard, ignorant, and the most brutal tyrant Nicaragua ever had. Life and property were subject to his nod.] ... Malespín and his army against Nicaragua entered Honduras, and at Nacaome made an address to the president and army of Honduras.[fn.33: Octo. 31, 1844. The object of the war, he said, was to avenge the insult inflicted by Nic. On Hond., and it was to be waged till a lasting peace would be secured.] The two allied presidents had a conference as Sauce on the 7th of November, and agreed that Malespín should be recognized as the general-in-chief of their forces. At Choluteca proposals for peace came from Leon; and on the 21st of the same month the treaty of Zatoca was concluded, which was disgraceful to the Nicaraguan negotiators. ... But the authorities and people of Leon preferred death with honor to submission to such degrading demands. The treaty and secret clause were indignantly rejected. Perez, the director, surrendered the executive office to Senator Emiliano Madrid. ... José Francisco Montenegro and Juan Ruiz were the commissioners of Rivas and Granada, near Malespín. Their mission brought about the creation of a new government, which had no recognition in Leon. Senator Silvestre Selva lent himself to be made by Malespín and his allies director supremo of Nicaragua, under the stipulation of ratifying the convention of December 1st, adding the name of Pio Castellon to the list of the proscribed."

Gámez (1899), pp.507–8 points out that at the time Nicaragua had two Jefes, one civil, the other military. He clearly does not think much of Fonseca. See also p. 514 where he suggests that Pérez resigns in fear "Al romperse las hostilidades, el Director Pérez se llenó de temor, depositó el mando en el senador don Emiliano Madriz y se retiró del escenario público." See also Díaz (1996), p.36 below.

Gámez (1899), p.559. Gámez (1899), p.490 notes that Buitrago was from León, the bastion of the liberals, and that "Buitrago era leonése, pero estuvo en pugna con Castellón, que era de la misma localidad, y que acaudilló más tarde al partido liberal." However, Díaz (1996, p. 38 explicitly notes "Elegido Supremo Director el 4 de marzo de 1841, por voto popular, Pablo Buitrago–con estudios de jurisprudencia en León y en Guatemala,

adonde se graduó de abogado y abrazó la causa conservadora–era un hombre de pensamiento politica elcéctico: con grandes afinidades con la cúpula del Partido Conservador pero con muchas medidas officiales de corte liberal." I take Díaz' contention that Buitrago should be considered a conservative since he is explicit about it.

He also notes there that he inaugurated the "nefasto *binomio civil militar* que sella la dependencia del poder civil al poder militar, en su caso, con Casto Fonseca." This suggests that Fonseca perhaps should be coded the effective leader?

Díaz (1996), p. 36–7 notes "La historia no registra la fecha exacta de su elección ni tampoco la de su nacimento y la de su muerte." There, he also notes that Pérez was an extremely weak character, who was basically controlled by Fonseca. Moreover, Nicaragua had a Pact of Confederation with El Salvador, which required it to work together with the returned Morazán. "el resultado fue un conspiración múltiple: en Nicaragua de los más conspicuos conservadores granadinos, y en Guatemala y Honduras de sus respectivos gobiernos para romper la *allianza Nicaragua/El Salvador*. La situación complejizó tanto que los gobiernos de Honduras y de El Salvador terminaron aliándose y declarándola la guerra al de Nicaragua, en noviembre de 1844: Casto Fonseca, el *Gran Meriscal de Nicaragua*, fue derrotado por Trinidad Muñoz, entonces el servicio del gobierno salvadoreño; Manuel Peréz tuvo que renunciar entregandole el mando a Emiliano Madriz, que fue asesinado por el ejército invasor, y Tinidad Muñoz se alsó la Comandancia General del Ejército, ratifico el pacto que los granadinos habían hecho con los salvadoreños, haciendo elegir como Supremo Director provisional a Blas Antonio Sáenz y convocando a nuevas elecciones."

Bancroft (1887), p. 200 fn.45 notes Fonseca's fate. After Malespín captured León on 24 January 1845 "Malespín now gave full sway to his bloody instincts, by shoooting a number of prominent citizens and surrendering the town to the soldiery for plunder. The outrages committed defy description.[fn.45: On the first day the acting director, Emiliano Madrid, Crescencio Navas, cols Francisco Lacayo and Balmaceda, Capt. Valle, José M. Oseguera, and Father Crespin were shot. ... Casto Fonseca, captured on the coast, was tried by court-martial and shot."

Nota bene: Rulers.org does not give a date range for Rivas, Cosío, Ulloa, Valladares and Rivas, only begining with Pable Buitrago."See also Díaz (1996), p. 32 who notes "Pionero en la ruptura de la Federación, sin embargo, el Estado de Nicaragua tardó tres años en recuperar la estabilidad gubernamental: desde el 30 de abril de 1838, fecha en que se separa de la Federación, haste el 4 de marza de 1841, fecha en que se reinicia el gobierno constitucional, hubieron cinca gobernantes interinos, todos ellos Senadores conservadores: Evaristo Rocha, Patricio Rivas, Hilario Ulloa, Joaquín Cosío, y Tomás Valladares; la historia no dice nade acerca de cade uno de ellos." NB that last sentence. Term of government is two years.

DELETED: *Figurehead for Fonseca*

Patricio Rivas, June 1839

No date range in Rulers.org, but Wikipedia (`http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President_of_Nicaragua` records he was in power 30/06/1839 27/07/1839

DELETED: *Figurehead for Fonseca*

Joaquin Cosío, July 1839. List as Joaquín del Cossío in Rulers.org, but as Joaquín de Cosí on wikipedia.

No date range in Rulers.org, but Wikipedia (`http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President_of_Nicaragua`) records he was in power 27/07/1839 20/10/1839

DELETED: *Figurehead for Fonseca*
Hilario Ulloa, October 1839 (senator in charge)
No date range in Rulers.org, but Wikipedia (`http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President_of_Nicaragua`) records he was in power 20/10/1839 07/11/1839

DELETED: *Figurehead for Fonseca*
Tomás Valladares, November 1838, Senator
No date range in Rulers.org, but Wikipedia (`http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President_of_Nicaragua`) records he was in power 7/11/1839 21/09/1840

DELETED: *Figurehead for Fonseca*
Patricio Rivas, September 1840
No date range in Rulers.org, but Wikipedia (`http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President_of_Nicaragua`) records he was in power 21/09/1830 04/03/1841

DELETED: *Figurehead for Fonseca*
NIC-1841 93 NIC Pablo Buitrago 04/03/1841 01/04/1843
He is the first constitutionally elected director under the 1838 Constitution. See Gámez (1899), p. 480.

Bancroft (1887), p.239 "His term of office came to an end on the 1st of April, 1843, and he was temporarily succeeded by Juan de Dios Orozco. The official press asserted that the election for director had been made with perfect freedom. But no candidate having received the requisite number of votes, the assembly chose Manuel Perez to fill the position."

For evidence suggesting that he was OK, at least in 1850, see Gámez (1899), p.559. Gámez (1899), p.490 notes that Buitrago was from León, the bastion of the liberals, and that "Buitrago era leonése, pero estuvo en pugna con Castellón, que era de la misma localidad, y que acaudilló más tarde al partido liberal." However, Díaz (1996, p. 38 explicitly notes "Elegido Supremo Director el 4 de marzo de 1841, por voto popular, Pablo Buitrago–con estudios de jurisprudencia en León y en Guatemala, adonde se graduó de abogado y abrazó la causa conservadora–era un hombre de pensamiento politica elcéctico: con grandes afinidades con la cúpula del Partido Conservador pero con muchas medidas officiales de corte liberal." I take Díaz' contention that Buitrago should be considered a conservative since he is explicit about it.

He also notes there that he inaugurated the "nefasto *binomio civil militar* que sella la dependencia del poder civil al poder militar, en su caso, con Casto Fonseca." This suggests that Fonseca perhaps should be coded the effective leader?

Born 25 January 1807, and died in El Salvador, after having lived there for thirty-one years 22 July 1882. (Díaz (1996), p.36.)

DELETED: *Figurehead for Fonseca*
NIC-1843-1 93 NIC Juan de Dioz Orozco 01/04/1843 31/05/1843
Bancroft (1887), p.239 "[Buitrago's] term of office came to an end on the 1st of April, 1843, and he was temporarily succeeded by Juan de Dios Orozco. The official press asserted that the election for director had been made with perfect freedom. But

no candidate having received the requisite number of votes, the assembly chose Manuel Perez to fill the position."

He is a temporary caretaker, See Gámez (1899), pp.494–5.

DELETED: *Figurehead for Fonseca*

NIC-1843-2 93 NIC Manuel Pérez 31/05/1843 04/11/1844

Manuel Pérez Alonso, for his regular entry, see Gámez (1899), p. 497–8 who notes, like Bancroft below, that no one won sufficient votes and then the Assembly elected Pérez.

Bancroft (1887), p.239–40 "Leon, after its terrible conflict with the forces of Salvador and Honduras, aided by Nicaraguan allies, was in a shattered condition, and most of the families dwelling therein were in mourning, and reduced to indigence. Muñoz, who so efficiently cooperated to that result, had secured the coveted reward, the command in chief of the western department. The seat of government was at San Fernando, and Blas Antonio Saenz assumed the executive duties on the 20th of January, 1845.[fn.9: Selva had held the office by virtue as senior senator to that date, when his senatorial term expired.] Under the sword of Muñoz the elections for director supremo were effected, and José Leon Sandoval obtained a plurality vote. He was declared duly elected on the 4th of April."

Bancroft (1887), p. 196–9 suggests that Perez was not the effective leader, but Casto Fonseca was. "Nicaragua was in anything but a satisfactory situation. ... The director of the state, Manuel Perez [fn.30: He was the constitutional chief.], lacked the prestige that the occasion required. Casto Fonseca, the commander of the forces, had been given the rank of 'gran mariscal.'] [fn.31: Fonseca is represented as a drunkard, ignorant, and the most brutal tyrant Nicaragua ever had. Life and property were subject to his nod.] ... Malespín and his army against Nicaragua entered Honduras, and at Nacaome made an address to the president and army of Honduras.[fn.33: Octo. 31, 1844. The object of the war, he said, was to avenge the insult inflicted by Nic. On Hond., and it was to be waged till a lasting peace would be secured.] The two allied presidents had a conference at Sauce on the 7th of November, and agreed that Malespín should be recognized as the general-in-chief of their forces. At Choluteca proposals for peace came from Leon; and on the 21st of the same month the treaty of Zatoca was concluded, which was disgraceful to the Nicaraguan negotiators. ... But the authorities and people of Leon preferred death with honor to submission to such degrading demands. The treaty and secret clause were indignantly rejected. Perez, the director, surrendered the executive office to Senator Emiliano Madrid. ... José Francisco Montenegro and Juan Ruiz were the commissioners of Rivas and Granada, near Malespín. Their mission brought about the creation of a new government, which had no recognition in Leon. Senator Silvestre Selva lent himself to be made by Malespín and his allies director supremo of Nicaragua, under the stipulation of ratifying the convention of December 1st, adding the name of Pio Castellon to the list of the proscribed."

Gámez (1899), pp.507–8 points out that at the time Nicaragua had two Jefes, one civil, the other military. He clearly does not think much of Fonseca. See also p. 514 where he suggests that Pérez resigns in fear "Al romperse las hostilidades, el Director Pérez se llenó de temor, depositó el mando en el senador don Emiliano Madriz y se retiró del escenario público." See also Díaz (1996), p.36 below.

Pérez is indeed a Liberal, given that he immediately appoints Castellon his ministro general. (Bancroft (1887), p.239.)

Díaz (1996), p. 36–7 notes "La historia no registra la fecha exacta de su elección ni tampoco la de su nacimento y la de su muerte." There, he also notes that Pérez was an extremely weak character, who was basically controlled by Fonseca. Moreover, Nicaragua had a Pact of Confederation with El Salvador, which required it to work together with the returned Morazán. "el resultado fue un conspiración múltiple: en Nicaragua de los más conspicuos conservadores granadinos, y en Guatemala y Honduras de sus respectivos gobiernos para romper la *allianza Nicaragua/El Salvador*. La situación complejizó tanto que los gobiernos de Honduras y de El Salvador terminaron aliándose y declarándola la guerra al de Nicaragua, en noviembre de 1844: Casto Fonseca, el *Gran Meriscal de Nicaragua*, fue derrotado por Trinidad Muñoz, entonces el servicio del gobierno salvadoreño; Manuel Peréz tuvo que renunciar entregandole el mando a Emiliano Madriz, que fue asesinado por el ejército invasor, y Tinidad Muñoz se alsó la Comandancia General del Ejército, ratifico el pacto que los granadinos habían hecho con los salvadoreños, haciendo elegir como Supremo Director provisional a Blas Antonio Sáenz y convocando a nuevas elecciones."

Note this is a time of general chaos, where Guatemala and El Salvador are trying to fight it out in Nicaragua. This combines with local conflicts between the West, controlled more or less by Nuñoz and the east, and between León and Granada.

DELETED: *Figurehead for Fonseca*

NIC-1844-1 93 NIC Emiliano Madriz 04/11/1844 16/12/1844

For his entry, see Gámez (1899), p.514 suggests that Pérez resigns in fear "Al romperse las hostilidades, el Director Pérez se llenó de temor, depositó el mando en el senador don Emiliano Madriz y se retiró del escenario público."

Díaz (1996), p. 36–7 notes "La historia no registra la fecha exacta de su elección ni tampoco la de su nacimento y la de su muerte." There, he also notes that Pérez was an extremely weak character, who was basically controlled by Fonseca. Moreover, Nicaragua had a Pact of Confederation with El Salvador, which required it to work together with the returned Morazán. "el resultado fue un conspiración múltiple: en Nicaragua de los más conspicuos conservadores granadinos, y en Guatemala y Honduras de sus respectivos gobiernos para romper la *allianza Nicaragua/El Salvador*. La situación complejizó tanto que los gobiernos de Honduras y de El Salvador terminaron aliándose y declarándola la guerra al de Nicaragua, en noviembre de 1844: Casto Fonseca, el *Gran Meriscal de Nicaragua*, fue derrotado por Trinidad Muñoz, entonces el servicio del gobierno salvadoreño; Manuel Peréz tuvo que renunciar entregandole el mando a Emiliano Madriz, que fue asesinado por el ejército invasor, y Tinidad Muñoz se alsó la Comandancia General del Ejército, ratifico el pacto que los granadinos habían hecho con los salvadoreños, haciendo elegir como Supremo Director provisional a Blas Antonio Sáenz y convocando a nuevas elecciones."

Bancroft (1887), p.239–40 "Leon, after its terrible conflict with the forces of Salvador and Honduras, aided by Nicaraguan allies, was in a shattered condition, and most of the families dwelling therein were in mourning, and reduced to indigence. Muñoz, who so efficiently cooperated to that result, had secured the coveted reward, the command in chief of the western department. The seat of government was at San Fernando, and Blas Antonio Saenz assumed the executive duties on the 20th of January, 1845.[fn.9: Selva had held the office by virtue as senior senator to that date, when his senatorial term expired.] Under the sword of Muñoz the elections for director supremo were effected, and José Leon Sandoval obtained a plurality vote. He was declared duly elected on the 4th of April."

DELETED: *Figurehead*

NIC-1844-2 93 NIC Silverstre Selva 16/12/1844 20/01/1845

Bancroft (1887), p. 196–9 "Perez, the director, surrendered the executive office to Senator Emiliano Madrid. ... José Francisco Montenegro and Juan Ruiz were the commissioners of Rivas and Granada, near Malespín. Their mission brought about the creation of a new government, which had no recognition in Leon. Senator Silvestre Selva lent himself to be made by Malespín and his allies director supremo of Nicaragua, under the stipulation of ratifying the convention of December 1st, adding the name of Pio Castellon to the list of the proscribed."

Bancroft (1887), p.239–40 "Leon, after its terrible conflict with the forces of Salvador and Honduras, aided by Nicaraguan allies, was in a shattered condition, and most of the families dwelling therein were in mourning, and reduced to indigence. Muñoz, who so efficiently cooperated to that result, had secured the coveted reward, the command in chief of the western department. The seat of government was at San Fernando, and Blas Antonio Saenz assumed the executive duties on the 20th of January, 1845.[fn.9: Selva had held the office by virtue as senior senator to that date, when his senatorial term expired.] Under the sword of Muñoz the elections for director supremo were effected, and José Leon Sandoval obtained a plurality vote. He was declared duly elected on the 4th of April."

Irregular entry, imposed by Malespín. Alternatively, Muñoz could be coded as the effective leader since the fall of Madriz. Díaz (1996), p. 36–7 notes "La historia no registra la fecha exacta de su elección ni tampoco la de su nacimento y la de su muerte." There, he also notes that Pérez was an extremely weak character, who was basically controlled by Fonseca. Moreover, Nicaragua had a Pact of Confederation with El Salvador, which required it to work together with the returned Morazán. "el resultado fue un conspiración múltiple: en Nicaragua de los más conspicuos conservadores granadinos, y en Guatemala y Honduras de sus respectivos gobiernos para romper la *allianza Nicaragua/El Salvador*. La situación complejizó tanto que los gobiernos de Honduras y de El Salvador terminaron aliándose y declarándola la guerra al de Nicaragua, en noviembre de 1844: Casto Fonseca, el *Gran Meriscal de Nicaragua*, fue derrotado por Trinidad Muñoz, entonces el servicio del gobierno salvadoreño; Manuel Peréz tuvo que renunciar entregandole el mando a Emiliano Madriz, que fue asesinado por el ejército invasor, y Tinidad Muñoz se alsó la Comandancia General del Ejército, ratifico el pacto que los granadinos habían hecho con los salvadoreños, haciendo elegir como Supremo Director provisional a Blas Antonio Sáenz y convocando a nuevas elecciones."

NIC-1844-2 93 NIC Trinidad Muñoz 16/12/1844 20/01/1845

The German Wikipedia `http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos\%C3\%A9_Trinidad_Mu\%C3\%B1oz_Fern\%C3\%A1ndez` notes José Trinidad Munñoz Fernandez was born 1790 and died 18 August 1855. He was educated at the military academy in Mexico. The article notes that he changes to the Liberals' camp later on, in about 1851.

Bancroft (1887), p.239–40 "Leon, after its terrible conflict with the forces of Salvador and Honduras, aided by Nicaraguan allies, was in a shattered condition, and most of the families dwelling therein were in mourning, and reduced to indigence. Muñoz, who so efficiently cooperated to that result, had secured the coveted reward, the command in chief of the western department. The seat of government was at San Fernando, and Blas

Antonio Saenz assumed the executive duties on the 20th of January, 1845.[fn.9: Selva had held the office by virtue as senior senator to that date, when his senatorial term expired.] Under the sword of Muñoz the elections for director supremo were effected, and José Leon Sandoval obtained a plurality vote. He was declared duly elected on the 4th of April."

Irregular entry, imposed by Malespín. Alternatively, Muñoz could be coded as the effective leader since the fall of Madriz. Díaz (1996), p. 36–7 notes "La historia no registra la fecha exacta de su elección ni tampoco la de su nacimento y la de su muerte." There, he also notes that Pérez was an extremely weak character, who was basically controlled by Fonseca. Moreover, Nicaragua had a Pact of Confederation with El Salvador, which required it to work together with the returned Morazán. "el resultado fue un conspiración múltiple: en Nicaragua de los más conspicuos conservadores granadinos, y en Guatemala y Honduras de sus respectivos gobiernos para romper la *allianza Nicaragua/El Salvador*. La situación complejizó tanto que los gobiernos de Honduras y de El Salvador terminaron aliándose y declarándola la guerra al de Nicaragua, en noviembre de 1844: Casto Fonseca, el *Gran Meriscal de Nicaragua*, fue derrotado por Trinidad Muñoz, entonces el servicio del gobierno salvadoreño; Manuel Peréz tuvo que renunciar entregandole el mando a Emiliano Madriz, que fue asesinado por el ejército invasor, y Tinidad Muñoz se alsó la Comandancia General del Ejército, ratifico el pacto que los granadinos habían hecho con los salvadoreños, haciendo elegir como Supremo Director provisional a Blas Antonio Sáenz y convocando a nuevas elecciones."

NIC-1845 93 NIC Blas Antonio Sáenz 20/01/1845 04/04/1845

Díaz (1996), p. 36–7 notes "La historia no registra la fecha exacta de su elección ni tampoco la de su nacimento y la de su muerte." THere, he also notes that Pérez was an extremely weak character, who was basically controlled by Fonseca. Moreover, Nicaragua had a Pact of Confederation with El Salvador, which required it to work together with the returned Morazán. "el resultado fue un conspiración múltiple: en Nicaragua de los más conspicuos conservadores granadinos, y en Guatemala y Honduras de sus respectivos gobiernos para romper la *allianza Nicaragua/El Salvador*. La situación complejizó tanto que los gobiernos de Honduras y de El Salvador terminaron aliándose y declarándola la guerra al de Nicaragua, en noviembre de 1844: Casto Fonseca, el *Gran Meriscal de Nicaragua*, fue derrotado por Trinidad Muñoz, entonces el servicio del gobierno salvadoreño; Manuel Peréz tuvo que renunciar entregandole el mando a Emiliano Madriz, que fue asesinado por el ejército invasor, y Tinidad Muñoz se alsó la Comandancia General del Ejército, ratifico el pacto que los granadinos habían hecho con los salvadoreños, haciendo elegir como Supremo Director provisional a Blas Antonio Sáenz y convocando a nuevas elecciones."

I take Muñoz as effective leader for the above reasons and Díaz (1996), p.37 who notes "Debido a la guerra del 44–que es como la historia identifica la guerra dirigida por Trinidad Muñoz y propiciado por El Salvador y Honduras–, que le dio el control a los conservadores, la Asamblea Legislativa se estabeció en Masaya y ahi calificó la elección popular de José león Sandoval, el 4 de abril de 1845."

Bancroft (1887), p.239–40 "The seat of government was at San Fernando, and Blas Antonio Saenz assumed the executive duties on the 20th of January, 1845.[fn.9: Selva had held the office by virtue as senior senator to that date, when his senatorial term expired.] Under the sword of Muñoz the elections for director supremo were effected, and José Leon Sandoval obtained a plurality vote. He was declared duly elected on the 4th

of April."

NIC-1845 93 NIC José León Sandoval 04/04/1845 12/03/1847

For his regular entry, see Gámez (1899), p. 518. Gámez (1899), p.526 also notes that he could not be considered either a liberal nor a conservative. " La administración de Sandoval no puede, en regurosa lógica, ser clasificada conforme á las ideas politicas de su tiempo. Fué liberal por la promoción de la Dieta, y fué conservadora por su decreto de muerte contra los coquimbos. En rigor, come dijimos antes, sólo puede ser considerada como un gobierno de circunstancias." Coquimbos was the expression for the supporters of Morazán who wanted to re-establish the union.

However, Díaz (1996), p.37 notes "Debido a la guerra del 44–que es como la historia identifica la guerra dirigida por Trinidad Muñoz y propiciado por El Salvador y Honduras–, que le dio el control a los conservadores, la Asamblea Legislativa se estabeció en Masaya y ahi calificó la elección popular de José león Sandoval, el 4 de abril de 1845." ON p. 38 he notes that Sandoval initially leaned towards the Liberals only to later change assimilate with the conservatives. He furthermore notes that Sandoval "continuó la práctica de asociarse al poder militar, siempre en manos de Trinidad Muñoz en su carácter de Comandante General de Armas, que logró vencer a las fuerzas liberales." Perhaps, thus, he should not be considered the effective leader but Muñoz should? Notably, according to Díaz (1996), pp. 38–9 "Antes de finalizar su mandoato José León Sandoval recomendó la elección de un leonés para sucederle, y lo logró: fue el primer intento de acuerdo de gobernalidad entre los dos partidos fundadores del Estado. Seis meses después, José León Sandoval murió en Granada, al 19 Octubre de 1854, con tal reconocimiento nacional que cu cortejo fúnebre recibió honores militares cuando cruzó la plaza de Jalteva, sitiada entoces por el ej´rcito de oposición."

Sandoval recommended ye would be succeeded by someone from León, hence a Liberal and this was achieved.

Bancroft (1887), p.239–40 "The seat of government was at San Fernando, and Blas Antonio Saenz assumed the executive duties on the 20th of January, 1845.[fn.9: Selva had held the office by virtue as senior senator to that date, when his senatorial term expired.] Under the sword of Muñoz the elections for director supremo were effected, and José Leon Sandoval obtained a plurality vote. He was declared duly elected on the 4th of April."

Bancroft (1887), p. 243 "The end of Sandova's term was approaching, and elections for supreme director took place. The assembly met again on the 12th of March, 1847, and Senator Miguel R. Morales assumed the executive."

He was born in 1789 and died 19 October 1847. Bradford Burns (1991), p.44 confirms that José León Sandoval was the first Conservative to hold the executive post.

NIC 1847-1 93 NIC Miguel Ramón Morales 12/03/1847 06/04/1847

For his regular entry, see Gámez (1899), p. 526. He notes, however, entry on 12 May.

Bancroft (1887), p. 243–4 "The end of Sandova's term was approaching, and elections for supreme director took place. The assembly met again on the 12th of March, 1847, and Senator Miguel R. Morales assumed the executive. ... The office of supremo director passed, on the 6th of April, into the hands of José Guerrero, who had been chosen for the constitutional term.[fn.29: Sandoval returned to Granada and was received with great fanfare.]"

Birth and death date unknown.

NIC 1847-2 93 NIC José Guerrero 06/04/1847 01/01/1849

For his administration, see Gámez, (1899), Chapter XVI, pp.529ff, where he notes that Guerrero was elected 6 April 1847. He was a member of the Granada party but at heart a Leon man? Gámez (1899), p.540 notes that amidst diplomatic problems with England about the Mosquito Coast, and with the US, which eventually led to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, "El 1 de enero de 1849, el Director del Estado, cansado de luchar con tantas dificultades, alegó excusas de salud quebrantada, y depositó el mando en el Senador do Toribio Terán. Durante el mes de marzo, reemplazó á Terán el Senador don Benito Rosales." In other words, Guerrero claims poor health. Gámez (1899), p.582 notes that Fruto Chamorro orders his arrest in 1853.

Bancroft (1887), p. 244 "The office of supremo director passed, on the 6th of April, into the hands of José Guerrero, who had been chosen for the constitutional term.[fn.29: Sandoval returned to Granada and was received with great fanfare.]"

For him being OK after he steps down, see E. G. Squier, *Nicaragua, Its People, Scenery, Monuments*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852; Vol. I. pp.279–80.

Unknown birthdate, died 1852. Bradford Burns (1991), p.45 notes that José Guerrero was more Liberal than Conservative in his inclinations. Díaz (1996), pp. 38–9 "Antes de finalizar su mandoato José León Sandoval recomendó la elección de un leonés para sucederle, y lo logró: fue el primer intento de acuerdo de gobernalidad entre los dos partidos fundadores del Estado. Seis meses después, José León Sandoval murió en Granada, al 19 Octubre de 1854, con tal reconocimiento nacional que cu cortejo fúnebre recibió honores militares cuando cruzó la plaza de Jalteva, sitiada entoces por el ej´rcito de oposición." Díaz (1996), p. 39 notes that he was the consensus bipartisan candidate. "por su beligerante posición antimilitarista, la candidatura de José Guerrero había despertado grandes expectativas entre los conservadores granadinos, pues habían entrado en contradicciones con el Comandante General de Armas, Trinidad Muñoz, y querían destituirlo: fracasaron en su intento porque ambos–José Guerrero y Trinidad Muñoz–, desde un principio allanaron sus diferencias political y mantuvieron una relación más que cordial a lo largo de todo el periodo de José Guerrero."

NIC-1849-1 93 NIC Toribio Terán 01/01/1849 08/03/1849

Nota Bene: Approximate exit date, from `http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benito_Rosales`. No precise date in Rulers.org.

Gámez (1899), p.540 notes that amidst diplomatic problem with England about the Mosquito Coast, "El 1 de enero de 1849, el Director del Estado, cansado de luchar con tantas dificultades, alegó excusas de salud quebrantada, y depositó el mando en el Senador do Toribio Terán. Durante el mes de marzo, reemplazó á Terán el Senador don Benito Rosales." For him being OK, see ibid, p. 551.

NIC-1849-2 93 NIC Benito Rosales 08/03/1849 01/04/1849

Nota Bene: Approximate entry date, from `http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benito_Rosales`. No precise date in Rulers.org.

Gámez (1899), p.540 notes that amidst diplomatic problem with England about the Mosquito Coast, "El 1 de enero de 1849, el Director del Estado, cansado de luchar con

tantas dificultades, alegó excusas de salud quebrantada, y depositó el mando en el Senador do Toribio Terán. Durante el mes de marzo, reemplazó á Terán el Senador don Benito Rosales."

NIC-1849-3 93 NIC Norberto Ramirez 01/04/1849 01/04/1851

Bancroft (1887), p. 256. Norberto Ramírez Áreas. Born in 1800, died 11 July 1856. According to Wikipedia, this is the same Norberto Ramirez who was the ruler — actually figurehead for Malespím — of El Salvador in the early 1840s.

For his entry as the result of his "election by the people of the state," and his term, see Gámez (1899), Chapter XVII, pp.543ff. Gámez (1899), p. 544 notes "La administración del señor Ramírez fué netamente liberal; pero era tal el estado de anarquía y desmeralización en que se hallaban los pueblos que, á persar de las aciagas curcunstancias del país, amenazado al Norte por los ingleses y al Sur por Costa-Rica, no faltaron movimientos revolucionarios de carácter intestino."

Squier, Vol. 1, p. 251 likewise suggests Ramirez was a Liberal. This is also confirmed by Bradford Burns (1991), p. 45, who writes that "The Conservatives did not return to power [after Sandoval] until 1851, with José Laureano Pineda as supreme director."

Ramirez hands over executive power to Abaúnza 1 April – 5 May 1850? To deal with negotiations with other countries for a new CA Union? Gámez (1899), 559–60.

Díaz (1996), p. 42 notes that Muñoz " then had acquired and consolidated a preponderant political role in the State." This suggests he should be considered the effective leader, at least by now?

NIC 1851-1 93 NIC Justo Abaúnza 01/04/1849 05/05/1851

Regular entry, after Rameriz lays down executive powers. This might be considered his second term since he took over from Ramirez for about 1 month in 1850. For his entry, see Gámez (1899), p.566.

NIC-1851-2 93 NIC José Laureano Pineda 05/05/1851 01/04/1853

For his entry as a result of an election by the assembly because Sacasa, while obtaining a majority failed to gain an absolute majority, and his term in office, see Gámez (1899), Chapter XVIII, pp.565ff. Gámez, p.566 notes that Pineda won the vote in the Assembly on 14 March 1851. He is from Granada. Gámez (1899), p. 568 notes that Pineda was captured and thrown in prison (by Muñoz?) 4 August 1851.

Bancroft (1887), p. 256 notes "fn.13. Recognized by the assembly March 14th as duly elected." But Rulers.org has him in only on 5 May. Born in 1802, died 1853.

Bancroft(1887), p.256 "Ramirez was succeeded by José Laureano Pineda in 1851, against whom a revolt broke out August 4, 1851, having J. Trinidad Muñoz for its leader. Pineda and his ministers Francisco Castellon and F. Diaz Zapata were arrested. The plan failed, however, Leon, Muñoz' headquarters, was taken by government forces assisted by troops from Honduras, and Muòoz surrendered.[fn.74: Nov. 10, 1851. Muñoz had been declared a traitor and deprived of his military rank. He was allowed to leave Nic. And went to reside in Salv. Chamorro was made commander of the forces. ...]. On the expiration of Pineda's term in 1853, Chamorro became chief of the state, having been elected by the suffrages of the moderados."

Bradford Burns (1991), p. 45 confirms he was a Conservative.

NIC-1851-2 93 J. Trinidad Muñoz 04/08/1851 11/11/1851

Gámez (1899), p. 568–9 notes that Pineda was captured and thrown in prison by Muñoz, 4 August 1851. Muñoz hands executive powet to Abaúnza (for the 2nd or 3rd time) while maintaining control over all the armed forces of Nicaragua. Gámez also notes that Abaunza was a "hombre essencialmente civil y anti-clerical." Muñoz, however, was the effective leader, as also noted by Gámez (1899), p.569. After the fall of Muñoz Abaunza, who had immunity as a Senator, trhows himself on the mercy of the Assembly the only body that could judge him; he obtains amnesty pp.574–5).

Bancroft(1887), p.256 "Ramirez was succeeded by José Laureano Pineda in 1851, against whom a revolt broke out August 4, 1851, having J. Trinidad Muñoz for its leader. Pineda and his ministers Francisco Castellon and F. Diaz Zapata were arrested. The plan failed, however, Leon, Muñoz' headquarters, was taken by government forces assisted by troops from Honduras, and Muòoz surrendered. [fn.74: Nov. 10, 1851. Muñoz had been declared a traitor and deprived of his military rank. He was allowed to leave Nic. And went to reside in Salv. . . .]"

Almost surely a Liberal.

NIC-1851-2 93 NIC José Laureano Pineda 11/11/1851 01/04/1853

Bancroft(1887), p.256 "Ramirez was succeeded by José Laureano Pineda in 1851, against whom a revolt broke out August 4, 1851, having J. Trinidad Muñoz for its leader. Pineda and his ministers Francisco Castellon and F. Diaz Zapata were arrested. The plan failed, however, Leon, Muñoz' headquarters, was taken by government forces assisted by troops from Honduras, and Muòoz surrendered.[fn.74: Nov. 10, 1851. Muñoz had been declared a traitor and deprived of his military rank. He was allowed to leave Nic. And went to reside in Salv. Chamorro was made commander of the forces. . . .]. On the expiration of Pineda's term in 1853, Chamorro became chief of the state, having been elected by the suffrages of the moderados."

Bradford Burns (1991), p. 45 confirms Pineda was a Conservative.

Gámez (1899), pp.580–5 implies he was OK after he lost office.

NIC 1853 93 Fruto Chamorro 01/04/1853 12/03/1855

For his election, see Gámez (1899), p.578–80, who notes that to many Nicaraguans this look like the definitive victory of the Granadinos over the Leoneses, because Chamorro was the caudillo of Granada. (The leonese were Liberals.) He promulgates a new Constitution, proclaiming the Republic of Nicaragua in 1854.

Bancroft(1887), p.256 "[fn.74: Nov. 10, 1851. Muñoz had been declared a traitor and deprived of his military rank. He was allowed to leave Nic. And went to reside in Salv. Chamorro was made commander of the forces. . . .]. On the expiration of Pineda's term in 1853, Chamorro became chief of the state, having been elected by the suffrages of the moderados."

He was born 20 October 1804 and died 12 March 1855. Note: natural death.

Wikipedia (`http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fruto_Chamorro`) notes he was an illegitimate child: "Born in Guatemala City in 1804 to Josefa Pérez, he was initially known as Fruto Pérez. His father, Pedro José Chamorro Argüello, had come to Guatemala from Nicaragua for graduate studies. Fruto grew up in Guatemala and attended school there. His father returned to Nicaragua after completing his studies and married Josefa Margarita Alfaro Monterroso in 1814. They had six children, but Fruto was subsequently considered a member of this family, based on strategic needs related to administration

of the family resources, for which the administrator was expected to be at least 25 years of age. He was acknowledged by his father shortly before the latter's death in 1824, and his stepmother insisted he use the name Fruto Chamorro Pérez. The death of his father forced Fruto to leave his studies and go to Nicaragua to assume responsibility for the family and to manage the abundant inheritance of his father. His half brothers and sisters, Pedro Joaquín, Dionisio, Carmen, Mercedes and Fernando grew under his guardianship. Fruto's father was one of the founders of the Conservative Party of Nicaragua, centered on the city of Granada. He was committed to the Conservative cause and became an activist of the Party. In 1836, he became a representative in the State Assembly. From 1839 to 1842, he was a Senator of the State of Nicaragua. ... A victim of dysentery, Fruto Chamorro died at his hacienda outside Granada on 12 March 1855. A few months later, the city was taken in a surprise attack by the filibuster William Walker. He was married to Mercedes Avilés ..., without issue."

He thus was the half-brother of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Alfaro who was President from 1 March 1975, to 1 March 1879. In total he was related to four subsequent Nicaraguan Presidents. All from his father's marriage to Alfaro.

Bancroft (1887), p.258–60 "The opposition of the liberals culminated in an attempt at revolution in Leon, promoted by Castellon, Jerez, and Mariano Salazar. The government then residing at Managua defeated their plan, for the time, and banished the leaders and a few of their influential followers. The exiles sought refuge in Salvador and Honduras, and with the favor of Cabañas, who was then on bad terms with Chamorro [fn.61: He thought Chamorro was evading the obligation of Nicaragua to aid Honduras with troops for the war with Guatemala.], obtained resources for a second attempt against the government of the latter. With a few men and a quantity of arms and ammunition, they went from Tigre Island to Realjo. The invaders were enthusiastically received, Leon, Chinandega, and immediate towns proclaiming Castellon provisional director, which office he assumed June 11, 1854. This was the beginning of a long and bloody war, which Salvador and Guatemala vainly tried to avert. Chamorro approached Leon, but finding it had declared for Castellon, retired to Granada and fortified the place, sustaining afterward an irregular siege of several months from thrice the number of his force, under Jerez, till the early part of 1855. Castellon, meantime, gained possession of the republic, Granada excepted; but the long siege of this town wrought a change in the feelings of the unstable people, and in a short time Chamorro or his party recovered Managua, Masaya, and Rivas, after a series of bloody encounters. The siege of Granada was consequently raised. Even Chamorro's death, which occurred at this time, did not favor the democrats. He was succeeded by José Maria Estrada. Estrada was the general-in-chief of the legitimist forces, and was organizing at Masaya an army to capture Leon."

Hall and Brignoli (2003) p.184–5 "Three decades after independence, Nicaragua had still been unable to establish stable government. No other country in Central America suffered such a prolonged period of anarchy. More than 30 heads of state had attempted to rule Nicaragua from various cities; civil war was endemic. General Fruto Chamorro, leaders of the Legitimista or Conservative Party, was installed as head of state in April 1853. Hostilities resumed in March 1854 when his exiled enemies of the Democrático or Liberal Party, led by Máximo Jerez, landed at El Realejo. José Maria Estrada had taken over as Legitimista president after Chamorro's death. On October 23, 1855, the Democraticos and Legitimistas established a coalition government under the presidency

of Patricio Rivas, but the real power resided with Walker, who became head of the Nicaraguan armed forces. ... Walker was elected president of Nicaragua in June [1856]. The former Legitimista president, José Maria Estrada, attempted to install a rival government in Somotillo, but was killed by Democrático forces in Ocotal on August 12. By this time Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras had also declared war. Walker faced an invasion of troops from the three northern states, which defeated the filibusters at San Jacinto, killing Byron Cole. The allies continued to Granada. Walker was besieged and eventually retreated to Rivas, setting fire to Granada as he left. The Costa Ricans invaded Nicaragua again at the end of the year. After initial victory at Rivas, they succumbed to the filibusters at Cuesta Grande. Walker was finally overthrown after the Costa Ricans attacked on the other flank to deprive the filibusters of the vital transfer route. he surrendered on May 1, 1857, to Charles Henry Davis, captain of the USS St. Mary's, sent by President Buchanan to negotiate an end to the war."

Technically, Chamorro gives the reins of power to Estrada (next leader) while he fights a revolution as leader of armed forces in 1853–4. For more on the civil war of 1854, see Gámez (1899), Chapter XX.

Bradford Burns (1991), p. 45 confirms Chamorro was a Conservative, indeed calling him a "Conservative ideologue.".

NIC-1855-1 93 NIC José Maria Estrada 12/03/1855 25/10/1855

For his entry see Gámez (1899), pp.598–9 and Díaz (1996), p. 56.

Bancroft (1887), p.259–60 "the long siege of this town wrought a change in the feelings of the unstable people, and in a short time Chamorro or his party recovered Managua, Masaya, and Rivas, after a series of bloody encounters. The siege of Granada was consequently raised. Even Chamorro's death, which occurred at this time, did not favor the democrats. He was succeeded by José Maria Estrada. Estrada was the general-in-chief of the legitimist forces, and was organizing at Masaya an army to capture Leon. The government had called the constituent assembly, which met on the 8th of April with only fourteen members, and on the 10th resolved that Estrada should retain the executive until a president should be chosen under the constitution. This greatly displeased Corral, who had expected to be called to that position."

Hall and Brignoli (2003) p.184–5 "José Maria Estrada had taken over as Legitimista president after Chamorro's death. On October 23, 1855, the Democraticos and Legitimistas established a coalition government under the presidency of Patricio Rivas, but the real power resided with Walker, who became head of the Nicaraguan armed forces. ... Walker was elected president of Nicaragua in June [1856]. The former Legitimista president, José Maria Estrada, attempted to install a rival government in Somotillo, but was killed by Democrático forces in Ocotal on August 12."

Regular removal, but posttenurefate is death. He first goes into exile in Honduras. He was born in 1802 and died 12 August 1856.

NIC-1855-2 93 NIC Patricio Rivas 25/10/1855 09/06/1856

Second time in office. Hall and Brignoli (2003) p.184–5 "José Maria Estrada had taken over as Legitimista president after Chamorro's death. On October 23, 1855, the Democraticos and Legitimistas established a coalition government under the presidency of Patricio Rivas, but the real power resided with Walker, who became head of the Nicaraguan armed forces. ... Walker was elected president of Nicaragua in June [1856].

The former Legitimista president, José Maria Estrada, attempted to install a rival government in Somotillo, but was killed by Democrático forces in Ocotal on August 12. By this time Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras had also declared war. Walker faced an invasion of troops from the three northern states, which defeated the filibusters at San Jacinto, killing Byron Cole. The allies continued to Granada. Walker was besieged and eventually retreated to Rivas, setting fire to Granada as he left. The Costa Ricans invaded Nicaragua again at the end of the year. After initial victory at Rivas, they succumbed to the filibusters at Cuesta Grande. Walker was finally overthrown after the Costa Ricans attacked on the other flank to deprive the filibusters of the vital transfer route. ... he surrendered on May 1, 1857, to Charles Henry Davis, captain of the USS St. Mary's, sent by President Buchanan to negotiate an end to the war."

Woodward (1993), p.289 "Rivas's mission [to León, HG] was a total failure but it may have had much to do with his decision to defect to the invading army in June. Walker and Rivas broke on 9 June when the latter accused Walker of attempting to take over his government by force. Rivas moved his government to Chinandega on the twelfth, and on the twenty-sixth he declared Walker an "enemy of Nicaragua and a traitor," dismissing him from the employ of the republic and calling on all Nicaraguan men ages fifteen to sixty to take up arms against the filibusters. Walker, meanwhile, established a new government in Granada, confirmed by a speedy election held on 29 June, with himself inaugurated as president of Nicaragua on 12 July 1856."

For him being OK, see Gámez (1899), p.695.

NIC 1856 93 NIC William Walker 09/06/1856 14/01/1857

William Walker was a U.S. Citizen and filibuster. He was born 8 May 1824 and died 12 September 1860. Executed by the government of Honduras.

Hall and Brignoli (2003) p.184–5 "On October 23, 1855, the Democraticos and Legitimistas established a coalition government under the presidency of Patricio Rivas, but the real power resided with Walker, who became head of the Nicaraguan armed forces. ... Walker was elected president of Nicaragua in June [1856]. The former Legitimista president, José Maria Estrada, attempted to install a rival government in Somotillo, but was killed by Democrático forces in Ocotal on August 12. By this time Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras had also declared war. Walker faced an invasion of troops from the three northern states, which defeated the filibusters at San Jacinto, killing Byron Cole. The allies continued to Granada. Walker was besieged and eventually retreated to Rivas, setting fire to Granada as he left. The Costa Ricans invaded Nicaragua again at the end of the year. After initial victory at Rivas, they succumbed to the filibusters at Cuesta Grande. Walker was finally overthrown after the Costa Ricans attacked on the other flank to deprive the filibusters of the vital transfer route. ... he surrendered on May 1, 1857, to Charles Henry Davis, captain of the USS St. Mary's, sent by President Buchanan to negotiate an end to the war."

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in Granada, confirmed by a speedy election held on 29 June, with himself inaugurated as president of Nicaragua on 12 July 1856."

Woodward (1993), p.294 "Desertions from the Walker ranks followed, and, finally, on 1 May 1857 the remainder surrendered at Rivas. .... Walker returned aboard a U. S. naval vessel to a hero's welcome in New Orleans and began plans for several abortive returns to Central America. ... The legacy of the Walker episode was long lasting. It discredited the liberals in Nicaragua for decades, giving the conservatives led by Tomás Martnez control over the country and enabling them to establish the sort of desperately needed peace and stability that Carrera had applied to Guatemala."

NIC 1957-1 93 NIC Consultative Council 20/01/1857 24/06/1857

Bancroft (1887), p. 364–5 "The provisional government of Nicaragua on the 14th of January, 1857, organized a consultive council of five members, and three substitutes [fn.59: The members were Vicario capitular, J. H. Herdocia, J. de la Rocha, H. Zepeda, Gregorio Juarez, and G. Lacayo; substitutes, J. Baca, F. Diaz Zapata, and Joaquin Perez.], which was installed on the 20th. ... The old dissensions which Walker's war had kept in abeyance now threatened to break out afresh. Legitimists and democrats alike saw in bloodshed and desolation the only means to settle their differences. Martinez and Jerez, with some of their friends from the east and west, and assisted by General Gerardo Barrios, commissioner of Salvador, labored in vain to effect an amicable arrangement. Jerez concluded that the only recourse now left to avert a war was for himself and Martinez to assume the responsibility of jointly governing the country dictatorially until it could be again placed under a constitutional regime. This plan being accepted, the two leaders organized themselves, on the 24th of June, into a junta de gobierno, otherwise called Gobierno Binario, which was recognized by both parties, and the dreaded calamity of war was avoided."

NIC 1857-2 93 NIC Gobierno Binario 24/06/1857 15/11/1857

See Díaz (1996), pp. 63–4. He notes that Máximo Jeréz was born in León, 11 June 1818, and graduated in Canonical law in 1857 and studied philosophy, he died in Washington as Minister Plenipotentiary of Nicaragua on 11 August 1881.

Bancroft (1887), p. 364–5 "The old dissensions which Walker's war had kept in abeyance now threatened to break out afresh. Legitimists and democrats alike saw in bloodshed and desolation the only means to settle their differences. Martinez and Jerez, with some of their friends from the east and west, and assisted by General Gerardo Barrios, commissioner of Salvador, labored in vain to effect an amicable arrangement. Jerez concluded that the only recourse now left to avert a war was for himself and Martinez to assume the responsibility of jointly governing the country dictatorially until it could be again placed under a constitutional regime. This plan being accepted, the two leaders organized themselves, on the 24th of June, into a junta de gobierno, otherwise called Gobierno Binario, which was recognized by both parties, and the dreaded calamity of war was avoided."

Parker (1964), p.224 "For a few months after [Walker's] first departure [1857], the top liberal and conservative generals ruled Nicaragua jointly. But late in 1857 conservative Tomás Martínez was recognized as sole president, and Nicaragua entered a new period in her history. A new constitution was adopted in August 1858. Nicaragua was for the first time declared a republic. Its government was to be entrusted to a president elected

for four years and a bicameral legislature."

The Diunvirate that ruled Nicaragua for this short period consisted of Máximo Jerez Tellería and Tomás Martínez Guerrero. Both were OK after this spell. See also Bancroft (1887), p. 365.

NIC 1857-3 93 NIC Tomás Martínez 15/11/1857 01/03/1867

For his election to power on the 8th of November and entry on the 15th of that month, see Gámez (1899), p.710

Parker (1964), p.224 "For a few months after [Walker's] first departure [1857], the top liberal and conservative generals ruled Nicaragua jointly. But late in 1857 conservative Tomás Martínez was recognized as sole president, and Nicaragua entered a new period in her history. A new constitution was adopted in August 1858. Nicaragua was for the first time declared a republic. Its government was to be entrusted to a president elected for four years and a bicameral legislature. Martínez served two terms under this constitution, it being held that a provision for no re-election did not apply to him, but stepped aside in 1867 after ten years in office. He was followed by a regular succession of men from Granada which lasted twenty-two years: Fernando Guzmán (1867-71), Vicente Quadra (1871-5), Pedro Joaquín Chamorro (1875-9), Joaquín Zavala (1879-83), Adán Cárdenas (1883-7), and Evaristo Carazo (1887-9), the last-named dying in office. Nicaragua suffered little turmoil under these men, who arranged peaceful transitions of power from one to the other."

Martínez was born 21 December 1820 and died 12 March 1873. His daugher Gertrudis Martínez Solórzano married Adán Cárdenas del Castillo who became the 41st President of Nicaragua. Through his wife he was also related to Carlos José Solórzano Gutiérrez the 58th president of Nicaragua and also a distant relation of Lila Teresita Abaunza Abaunza, First Lade of Nicaragua, married to Enrique José Bolaños Geyer, 82nd President of Nicaragua.

Bancroft (1887), p. 369–70 "Toward the end of Martinez' second term some attempts at revolution were made, and easily quelled. They arose from a representation that Martinez contemplated retaining power for life; but in a proclamation of April 24, 1866, he pronounced the statements false. Following the example of Washington, he insisted on his countrymen calling another citizen to the executive chair, and Fernando Guzman having been chosen, he surrendered his authority to him on March 1, 1867. ... Ex-president Martinez' death occurred on the 12 of March, 1873, and his remains were buried with high honors on the 20th."

It is elsewhere suggested that Martínez thought Guzmán would be a pliable puppet but he and everyone else was surprised by Guzmán's independence. There is also some evidence he tried to regain the presidency forcefully in June 1869. See Bancroft (1887), pp. 471ff.

NIC-1867 93 NIC Fernando Guzmán 01/03/1867 01/03/1871

He is a relative of the 58th president Carlos José Solórzano Gutiérrez, president from 01/01/1925 to 14/03/1926.

When Martínez and Máximo Jerez attempt their revolution in the Spring/Summer of 1869, Guzmán temporarily hands the executive office to Senator Pedro Joaquín Chamorro to take personal command of the troops. This was from 12 September to 25 November, see Bancroft(1887), pp.474–5, see fn. 15.

NIC-1871 93 NIC Quadra 01/03/1871 01/03/1875

Vicente Quadra, Elected to office, see Bancroft(1887), p. 475.

For the peaceful transition, and Quadra's OK posttenurefate, see Bancroft (1887), p. 481, where Bancroft notes that "Quadra returned with alacrity to private life.'

NIC-1875 93 NIC Pedro Joaquín Chamorro 01/03/1875 01/03/1879

For his regular entry, see Bancroft (1887), p. 481–2. "p.481 Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, the elect of the people for the next presidential term, was inducted into office on the 1st of March, 1875. Quadra returned with alacrity to private life. The new administration soon had to deal with seditious attempts which had been prepared during Quadra's rule. One of Chamorro's first acts was to issue an unconditional pardon to the parties implicated, hoping that it would bring the government's opponents to a better feeling. But the result was quite different; for they began a series of plots, and it then became necessary to issue, on the 17th of November, 1875, a decree of expulsion and of partial banishments. This quieted the country, and peace would have become consolidated but for the opportunities afforded the agitators in the neighboring states to start another conflagration. Costa Rica became the asylum of the discontented of Nicaragua, who took advantage of the interrupted relations between the two governments to promote a war that might give them the control of affairs in their country. Costa Rica suspended diplomatic and commercial relations with Nicaragua; but the latter concluded not to decree a suspension of trade, with the view of not injuring innocent persons. No actual war existed, but it might break out at any moment, in view of Costa Rica's menacing attitude. At last the government found itself threatened from various quarters. ... Martial law was proclaimed and the president assumed personal command of the forces, the executive office being temporarily placed in charge of Senator Pedro Balladares. When the danger of war had passed, the decree of martial law was repealed."

Dr. Pedro J. Chamorro Alfaro. *The New York Times*, June 12, 1876, p. 7 "South and Central America" recounts what is a recurrent phenomenon in Central America: "Invasion was expected in Nicaragua. A state of siege was declared of the 11th of May, and martial law proclaimed on the 13th. All citizens between the ages of sixteen and fifty-five years are liable to military duty. On the 15th ultimo President Chamoves [*sic*] relinquished his post and placed himself at the head of the Army. Mr. Williamson, the United States Minister who went to Costa Rica as a mediator, had returned. Gen. Maximo Jerez, a Nicaraguan exile, was at Amapala, Honduras, awaiting the cue for the invasion of Nicaragua should she persist in rejecting the new Central American policy."

Flees into exile, kicked out, under Sacasa. See *The New York Times*, Aug. 26, 1891; p.5. Many years after losing office.

He was the half brother of Fruto Chamorro Pérez.

NIC-1879 93 NIC Zavala 01/03/1879 01/03/1883

For Joaquín Zavala's peaceful entry as a result of an election, see Bancroft (1887), p. 482.

Zavala tries a coup against Sacasa in 1891, gets kicked out of the country. See *The New York Times*, Aug. 26, 1891; p.5

NIC-1883 93 NIC Cardenas 01/03/1883 01/03/1887

Adán Cardenás enters as the result of another peaceful election, see Bancroft (1887), p. 485. There are reports of his death. Reported as "somewhat mysterious." See *The*

New York Times, Aug. 2, 1889, p.5. The *Washington Post*, Aug. 2, 1889, p.1. See also *The New York Times*, Aug, 26, 1891, p.5. However, `www.rulers.org` and `http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/c/cardenas_adan.htm` have him dying in 1916. The Times (London), Saturday October 13, 1888, p.12: "Foreign Office, Oct. 10. It is hereby notified that on the 4th inst. Senor Doctor Don Adan Cardenas presented, thought her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Senor Don Jose Pasos's Letter of Recall and his own Credentials as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the republic of Nicaragua." Hence, we code him as OK after losing office.

He was married to the daughter of former President Tomás Martínez.

NIC-1887 93 NIC Carazo 01/03/1887 01/08/1889

`http://www.ihnca.edu.ni/Histori_no\%20Cont/Histori_I/040.el-pdte-carazo.htm`. Evaristo Carazo was born in Carthage, Costa Rica, 24 October 1821. Dies a natural death in office. Others have him born in Grenada, Nicaragua.

NIC-1889 93 NIC Roberto Sacasa Sarria 01/08/1889 01/06/1893

See *The New York Times*, Aug. 2, 1889, p.5, *The Washington Post*, Aug. 2, 1889, p.1. and *The New York Times*, Aug, 26, 1891, p.5. Constitutionally, Sacasa takes over. Also see *The New York Times*, Oct. 10, 1890, p.2. on the procedure (very unique) see *The New York Times*, Aug. 30, 1891, p.10. Note that at this time, presidents could serve for only one term. Dispute over whether that included the unfinished term of his predecessor or only his own election. "The succession of the Presidency in the event of the death of the incumbent is not provided for as in this country, by a Vice President, but the Constitution requires that the names of five Senators shall be written upon slips of paper and inclosed in separate envelopes, which are then placed in a box. After the box has been shaken so as to mix the envelopes up, two are drawn out and destroyed without exposing the names contained therein. The other three are then filed away in the archives of the State. If the President dies, these envelopes are taken out, again placed in a box, and a properly-designated officer draws one out. The Senator whose name is contained therein is immediately declared President. It was supposed by the framers of the Constitution that this method would effectually guard against the name of the possible successor to the Presidency being known in advance, and thereby prevent any plotting against the life or tenure of the incumbent.

So far as the writer was able to ascertain, it was not charged that on the death of President Carazo, in October, 1888, Dr. Sacasa secured his succession to the office by unfair means, but it was his subsequent course which stirred the opposition. The Constitution provides that no one shall be eligible to more than one term as President. It was held by his political opponents that this provision was applicable to unexpired terms as well as to full terms. President Sacasa took the opposite view and when he announced his intention to seek election at the end of the term for which Carazo had been elected, the real trouble began. Then it was charged that he resorted to unfair means to secure his election." See also: *The New York Times*, Jul. 11, 1893, p.8 & *The New York Times*, Aug. 7, 1893, p.1. But apparently (??) later minister for foreign affairs under Zelaya, or someone of the same name. The *Washington Post*, Feb. 23, 1910, p.4.

For his family relationship with later Juan Bautista Sacasa Sacasa, see `http://www.grupoese.com.ni/1999/bn/09/27/otr990927.htm` and `http://www.grupoese.com.ni/`

1999/bn/09/28/otra990928.htm, which is a site maintained by the Institute of Genealogy and History of Nicaragua, IGHN.

Roberto Sacasa was ousted in a revolt and after the revolt Sacasa went to the USA and Europe. See *The New York Times*, Aug. 7, 1893, p.6.

In the interim between Sacasa and Zelaya: *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 25, 1893, p. 6 "M'Glynn Found Comfort at Rome." "Nicaragua Will Expel No Exiles." "Managua, Nicaragua, June 24 – The Nicaraguan Government has been asked by the President of Honduras to expel the Honduran exiles now in this republic, who are alleged to be planning an invasion of Honduras. Following its traditional policy, Nicaragua will not interfere in any way nor with the exiles be expelled. The record in Spanish America has been broken by the victorious revolutionists of Nicaragua by the clemency shown the defeated party. Usually these revolutions are followed by the execution of many so-called traitors. Not a single person has been prosecuted in Nicaragua since the close of the war. Ex-President Sacaza left the country because he desired to do so. Gen. Zavala, one of the leaders of the revolution, will probably be a candidate for President at the next election."

NIC-1893 93 NIC Zelaya 31/07/1893 16/12/1909

José Santos Zelaya. Frederick Palmer, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 2, 1909, p. 1 "Nicaraguan Rule Blot on America" has a great anecdote about Zelaya. "To José Santos Zelaya belongs the blue ribbon. As a tyrant, a mischief maker, and a financier, he is more accomplished than Castro, Cabrera, or any rival. For fourteen years he has ruled Nicaragua from his palace in the dirty little town of Managua, on the hot shores of Lake Managua. Once when he chose himself as his own successor he went through the form of an election by putting two opposition candidates in the field. One was Señor José and the other Señor Santos. All three candidates, Señor José Santos Zelaya, were elected."

Frederick Palmer, in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 15, 1909, p. 1, "Latin republics Full of Intrigue," reports this interesting fact [emphasis added]: "The ceaseless political turmoil and armed raids, which check all progress, can best be illustrated by a simple record of the events of the last seven years. In 1902, with a view to improving conditions, all five republics [Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, HG] met in conference at Corinto, Nicaragua, where they made a compact of "peace and union." *All the president agreed to assist in maintaining one another in power.* All solemnly promised not to abet any effort in revolutionary propaganda against any neighbor. For no less than three years they were "good"–a long time. Then their pentup passion for intrigue began to break loose."

Frederick Palmer, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 27, 1909, p. 1 "Pocket Republic Minus Dictator" gives a nice example of a truly *unilateral war.* "In 1907 Zelaya of Nicaragua was wroth with Figueroa, then president of salvador. He said that Salvador had broken a secret pact made at Corinto with his own imperial person. Besides this, he wanted a crack at his great rival Cabrera, through Cabrera's ally. Naturally, he did not precede hostilities with any notice of his intentions. A declaration of war is bound to warn your enemy of your approach and plainly destroys the value of a surprise, which, every one agrees, is one of the most important elements of military strategy. Zalaya found an ally in Tomasso Alfaro, ex-president and recognized as Salvador's leading revolutionist. ... With them, a band of Nicaraguan soldiers and a Nicaraguan commander, a landing was made from the Nicaraguan gunboat Momotombo at Acajutla. Marching inland the

invaders captured Sonsonate, a town on the railroad half way to the capital. They were beaten, but took away $25,000 in silver as their loot."

For the revolution against Zelaya by Estrada see Frederick Palmer, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 6, 1909, p. 5 "U. S. Must Assume Nicaragua Rule."

For Pres. Zelaya's escape (to Mexico first) see The *Washington Post*, Dec. 26, 1909, p.1. Out 1909. Exile in US.

Aquino (1944), p. 111 "El General Zelaya, al embarcarse en Corinto a bordo del "General Guerrero", permaneció en México, pasando luego a Barcelona, España, donde se radicó definitivamente, cuando vió que el Liberalismo habí a caído con el Gobierno de Madriz."

Aquino (1944), p.112 "El 17 de mayo de 1919, bajaba a la tumba aquel grande nombre nicaragense ...." [EG: Zelaya.]

Aquino (1944), pp. 106–7 "Una revolución, encabezada por el General Juan J. Estrada, Intendente general de la Costa Atlántica, había estallado con la cooperación eficaz de los conservadores en primera linea Adolfo Diaz, socio de la Mina La Luz y Los Angeles; Emiliano Chamorro, Luis Mena, Tomás Mass, Luis Correa, Dr. Carlos Cuadra Pasos y otros. Fueron das de angustia, sangrientos, terribles, para la patria. No tan solo por lo trágicos, sino por la intervención, que hacia más doloroso el drama, cuando la Patria humiliada era sometida a dura prueba con el regocijo del Conservatismo armado. Unos norteamericanos, Cannon y Grosse fueron capturados dobre el rio San Juan, en momentos que habían hecho explotar una mina bajo las aguas, escapando de hundeir a uno de los vapors que conducan tropas del Gobierno. Un consejo condenó a los autores de aquel delito, y fueron fusilados, conforme las leyes de la República. Esto bastó para que s alzara el brazo todopoderoso de los Estados Unidos. El Secretaro de Estado Mr. Knox, entregó al Ministro de Nicaragua en Washington, una nota fulminante, comminatoria, que hizo tambalear al General Zelaya y éste colló del Poder. Aunque el ejército liberal había vencido a la revolución en todos los combates, reduceéndola a sus últimos reductos de Rama y Bluefields, el General Zelaya ante aquella actitud decidida de los Estados Unidos, y no queriendo comprometer el porvenir del Liberalismo prefirió dimitir, depositando el Poder en el doctor José Madriz, el 21 de diciembre de 1909."

He is born 31 October 1853 and dies 17 May 1919.

NIC-1909 93 NIC Madriz 16/12/1909 20/08/1910

Parker (19640m p. 225 "When revolution broke out against him late 1909 the United States openly showed its sympathy for the rebels. Zelaya's resignation in favour of a widely respected citizen named José Madriz (president 1909-10) brought no softening of the big power's attitude. The rebels were, in fact, protected in their base at Bluefields by United States forces and were finally able (August 1910) able to take Managua."

Parker (1964), p.227 In the first [U.S. intervention, leading to the ouster of Zelaya], though fewer troops were involved, the United States quite clearly picked the Nicaraguan leadership, refusing to consider the claims of any liberal who had supported Zelaya.

Schoonover (1991), pp.145–6 "Until mid-1909, the United States used moral, financial, and material support to encourage dissidents in Nicaragua. As the winter approached with Zelaya still in power, the U. S. government used the execution of two U. S. soldiers of fortune as an excuse to undertake a large U.S. military build-up off the coast. Under threat of invasion, Zelaya turned over the presidency to José Madriz and left the country. ... The United States, however, could not recognize Madriz precisely because

he was constitutionally selected to succeed Zelaya. Under the Nicaraguan constitution, a successor served only during the absence of the president. If the United States recognized Madriz as constitutionally appropriate and Zelaya later returned to Nicaragua, Zelaya would become president again. The United States therefore insisted on completing the conservative revolution to make certain that Zelaya's removal was permanent. There was to be no chance that Zelaya's independent policies could be reconstructed by Madriz or reinstituted by Zelaya."

Resigned under pressure from U.S., exile in Mexico

NIC-1910-1 93 NIC J. D. Estrada 20/08/1910 29/08/1910

José Dolores Estrada (b. 18... – d. 15 May, 1911). Forced out by his brother, Juan José. Lentz (1999), p. 319 notes "General Juan José Estrada continued his rebellion against Madriz's government and ousted him from office on August 20, 1910. Madriz fled to Amapala Island, in Honduras before settling into exile in Mexico."

NIC-1910-2 93 NIC J. J. Estrada 29/08/1910 09/05/1911

Schoonover (1991), pp.145–6 "Until mid-1909, the United States used moral, financial, and material support to encourage dissidents in Nicaragua. As the winter approached with Zelaya still in power, the U. S. government used the execution of two U. S. soldiers of fortune as an excuse to undertake a large U.S. military build-up off the coast. Under threat of invasion, Zelaya turned over the presidency to José Madriz and left the country. ... The United States, however, could not recognize Madriz precisely because he was constitutionally selected to succeed Zelaya. Under the Nicaraguan constitution, a successor served only during the absence of the president. If the United States recognized Madriz as constitutionally appropriate and Zelaya later returned to Nicaragua, Zelaya would become president again. The United States therefore insisted on completing the conservative revolution to make certain that Zelaya's removal was permanent. There was to be no chance that Zelaya's independent policies could be reconstructed by Madriz or reinstituted by Zelaya."

Aquino (1944), pp. 106–7 "Una revolución, encabezada por el General Juan J. Estrada, Intendente general de la Costa Atlántica, había estallado con la cooperación eficaz de los conservadores en primera linea Adolfo Diaz, socio de la Mina La Luz y Los Angeles; Emiliano Chamorro, Luis Mena, Tomás Mass, Luis Correa, Dr. Carlos Cuadra Pasos y otros. Fueron das de angustia, sangrientos, terribles, para la patria. No tan solo por lo trágicos, sino por la intervención, que hacia más doloroso el drama, cuando la Patria humiliada era sometida a dura prueba con el regocijo del Conservatismo armado. Unos norteamericanos, Cannon y Grosse fueron capturados dobre el rio San Juan, en momentos que habían hecho explotar una mina bajo las aguas, escapando de hundeir a uno de los vapors que conducan tropas del Gobierno. Un consejo condenó a los autores de aquel delito, y fueron fusilados, conforme las leyes de la República. Esto bastó para que s alzara el brazo todopoderoso de los Estados Unidos. El Secretaro de Estado Mr. Knox, entregó al Ministro de Nicaragua en Washington, una nota fulminante, comminatoria, que hizo tambalear al General Zelaya y éste colló del Poder. Aunque el ejército liberal había vencido a la revolución en todos los combates, reduceéndola a sus últimos reductos de Rama y Bluefields, el General Zelaya ante aquella actitud decidida de los Estados Unidos, y no queriendo comprometer el porvenir del Liberalismo prefirió dimitir, depositando el Poder en el doctor José Madriz, el 21 de diciembre de 1909."

See *The New York Times*, Aug. 28, 1910, p.7. Exiled in US. Brother of José Dolores Estrada, the previous ruler.

Parker (1964), p.225 "Juan José Estrada (1910-11) had to resign as provisional president within a year. Adolfo Diaz (1911-17) would never have lasted without the firm support of United States forces; in September 1912 these deployed along the railway from Corinto to Granada and took several cities by force."

Hall and Brignoli (2003), p.126 "The overthrow of Zelaya initiated a long period of instability in Nicaragua. Like many later uprisings, that of 1909 began in Mosquitia, where revolutionaries could always count on support against the distant government in Managua. The rebellion was led by the departmental governor, General Juan Estrada, a dissident member of Zelaya's own Liberal Party. The execution of two North American mercenaries fighting with the rebels led the United States to break off diplomatic relations and land a contingent of marines. Zelaya resigned in December 1909. The rebels took Managua in August 1910, and Estrada became president. Political disorder, plus Estrada's printing of paper money, placed Nicaragua on the verge of bankruptcy. In 1911 Estrada resigned in favor of the vice-president, Adolfo Diaz, a Conservative. The following year, faced with both a Liberal rebellion and an uprising of dissident Conservatives, Diaz requested intervention by U.S. Marines. From 1912 until 1925 Nicaragua was a virtual U.S. protectorate, with the North Americans in control of the railroads, customs collection, and the newly created national bank."

Lentz (999), p. 319 notes " [Juan José Estrada] was elected to the presidency the following December [1910], though his administration was largely controlled by his minister of war, General Luis Mena. Esstrada clashed with Mena in 1911 and was forced to resign on May 8, 1911.

NIC-1911 93 NIC Adolfo Diaz 09/05/1911 31/12/1916

Aquino (1944), pp. 106–7 "Una revolución, encabezada por el General Juan J. Estrada, Intendente general de la Costa Atlántica, había estallado con la cooperación eficaz de los conservadores en primera linea Adolfo Diaz, socio de la Mina La Luz y Los Angeles; Emiliano Chamorro, Luis Mena, Tomás Mass, Luis Correa, Dr. Carlos Cuadra Pasos y otros. Fueron das de angustia, sangrientos, terribles, para la patria. No tan solo por lo trágicos, sino por la intervención, que hacia más doloroso el drama, cuando la Patria humiliada era sometida a dura prueba con el regocijo del Conservatismo armado. Unos norteamericanos, Cannon y Grosse fueron capturados dobre el rio San Juan, en momentos que habían hecho explotar una mina bajo las aguas, escapando de hundeir a uno de los vapors que conducan tropas del Gobierno. Un consejo condenó a los autores de aquel delito, y fueron fusilados, conforme las leyes de la República. Esto bastó para que s alzara el brazo todopoderoso de los Estados Unidos. El Secretaro de Estado Mr. Knox, entregó al Ministro de Nicaragua en Washington, una nota fulminante, comminatoria, que hizo tambalear al General Zelaya y éste colló del Poder. Aunque el ejército liberal había vencido a la revolución en todos los combates, reduceéndola a sus últimos reductos de Rama y Bluefields, el General Zelaya ante aquella actitud decidida de los Estados Unidos, y no queriendo comprometer el porvenir del Liberalismo prefirió dimitir, depositando el Poder en el doctor José Madriz, el 21 de diciembre de 1909."

Adolfo Diaz. Gen. Luis Mena leads a revolt against him, US supports him with marines. Born in 1875 (Rulers.org). Parker (1964), p.225 "Juan José Estrada (1910-11) had to resign as provisional president within a year. Adolfo Diaz (1911-17) would never

have lasted without the firm support of United States forces; in September 1912 these deployed along the railway from Corinto to Granada and took several cities by force."

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NIC-1917 93 NIC Chamorro Vargas 01/01/1917 31/12/1920

Aquino (1944), pp. 106–7 "Una revolución, encabezada por el General Juan J. Estrada, Intendente general de la Costa Atlántica, había estallado con la cooperación eficaz de los conservadores en primera linea Adolfo Diaz, socio de la Mina La Luz y Los Angeles; Emiliano Chamorro, Luis Mena, Tomás Mass, Luis Correa, Dr. Carlos Cuadra Pasos y otros. Fueron das de angustia, sangrientos, terribles, para la patria. No tan solo por lo trágicos, sino por la intervención, que hacia más doloroso el drama, cuando la Patria humiliada era sometida a dura prueba con el regocijo del Conservatismo armado. Unos norteamericanos, Cannon y Grosse fueron capturados dobre el rio San Juan, en momentos que habían hecho explotar una mina bajo las aguas, escapando de hundeir a uno de los vapors que conducan tropas del Gobierno. Un consejo condenó a los autores de aquel delito, y fueron fusilados, conforme las leyes de la República. Esto bastó para que s alzara el brazo todopoderoso de los Estados Unidos. El Secretaro de Estado Mr. Knox, entregó al Ministro de Nicaragua en Washington, una nota fulminante, comminatoria, que hizo tambalear al General Zelaya y éste colló del Poder. Aunque el ejército liberal había vencido a la revolución en todos los combates, reduceéndola a sus últimos reductos de Rama y Bluefields, el General Zelaya ante aquella actitud decidida de los Estados Unidos, y no queriendo comprometer el porvenir del Liberalismo prefirió dimitir, depositando el Poder en el doctor José Madriz, el 21 de diciembre de 1909."

Emiliano Chamorro Vargas. Lentz. Related to Fruto Chamorro: NIC-1853 and Dr. Pedro Chamorro, Nic-1875. He was the grand-nephew of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Oreamuno, paternal grandson of Dionisio Chamorro Alfaro, grand-nephew of Pedro Joaqu'in Chamorro Alfaro (39th President of Nicaragua), and half-grand-nephew of Fruto Chamorro Pérez (30th and 31st President of Nicaragua). HE is also related to Violetta Chamorro who married a relative. Opposition boycott his election.

Rodriguez (1965), p.119 "Chamorro was escorted back to Nicaragua on a U. S. warship. Díaz challenged his bid for power, but Chamorro won the elections, by the use of fraud. Unable to run again in 1920 because of the constitutional inhibition, Chamorro pushed the cause of his uncle, Diego Manuel Chamorro. Fraud again decided the outcome, despite American efforts to prevent it."

NIC-1921 93 NIC Diego Chamorro 01/01/1921 12/10/1923

Diego Manuel Chamorro Bolaños. is the son of Dr. Pedro J. Chamorro, who was president 1875-79 and the uncle of Chamorro Vargas. Fraud alleged in election; died in office. He was also related to Fruto Chamorro.

Wikipedia suggests that he was briefly followed by Rosendo Chamorro Oreamuno. Since he was designated interim president Bartolomé Martinez returned to the capital to be sworn in.

NIC-1923 93 NIC Martinez Bartol 12/10/1923 07/12/1924

Exile in El Salvador.

NIC-1925 93 NIC Solórzano 01/01/1925 14/01/1926

Carlos José Solórzano Gutiérrez.

Steps down after military twists his arm in October 1925 coup, New York Times 26 October, 1925, p. 10. Exile in the US. Related to previous President Tomás Martínez, as well as to previous president Adá Cardenás, see above. He was also a relative of Fernando Guzmán Solórzano.

NIC-1926-1 93 NIC Chamorro Vargas 17/01/1926 30/10/1926

Emiliano Chamorro Vargas was the nephew of Diego Chamorro, since Diego M. Chamorro was the son of Dr. P. Chamorro, E. Chamorro Vargas must have been a grandson (through his mother?) of Dr. P. Chamorro. He, in turn, is the great-uncle of Violeta Chamorro's husband. Emiliano Chamorro Vargas was also related to Fruto Chamorro Pérez.

Emiliano Chamorro Vargas was the son of Salvador Chamorro Oreamuno and Gregoria Vargas Báez; Salvador Chamorro Oreamuno was the son of Dioniso Chamorro Alfaro and Mercedes Oreamuno, and Dionisio, finally, was the son of Pedro José Chamorro Argüello, who also was the father of Fruto Chamorro.

NIC-1926-2 93 NIC Adolfo Diaz 30/10/1926 01/01/1929

Encyclopedia Brittanica notes: "The U.S. Marine guard's withdrawal in 1925 led quickly to another crisis, with Emiliano Chamorro in rebellion against a new regime. Díaz returned as a compromise president (1926-28), reinforced in 1927 by 2,000 U.S. Marines. The Liberal leaders Juan Bautista Sacasa, José María Moncada, and Augusto César Sandino rose in rebellion, but after six months Sacasa and Moncada made peace, and subsequent elections under U.S. auspices brought the presidency to both of them (Moncada, 1928-33, and Sacasa, 1933-36). Sandino, however, fought on as long as the Marines remained in the country." Born in 1875 (Rulers.org)

NIC-1929 93 NIC Moncada 01/01/1929 31/12/1932

José Maria Moncada. See Lentz and *The New York Times*, Mar. 21, 1933, p.7.

NIC-1933 93 NIC Sacasa Sacasa, Juan Buatista 01/01/1933 06/06/1936

The New York Times, May 7, 1950, p.106, on Roman y Reyes' death notes that Juan Sacasa was the uncle (of the wife) of Anastasio Somoza, and that he was forced from office by Somoza Exiled in US. Wikipedia has the fact that Sacasa was the uncle of the wife of Somoza. On his exile in the US to Los Angeles, see Wikipedia. Juan Bautista Sacasa had been previously Vice President. `http://www.grupoese.com.ni/1999/bn/09/27/`

otr990927.htm records that Juan Sacasa Sacasa is the son of of ex-President Roberto Sacasa Sarria.

NIC-1936 93 NIC Carlos Alberto Brenes Jarquin 06/06/1936 18/12/1936

Carlos Alberto Brenes Jarquin (b. 1884 – d. 1942), See *The New York Times*, Jan 15, 1937, p.12. In 1937 was appointed as a chief minister to Washington. Lentz says chosen by Congress to serve as President on June 9, 1936. He relinquishes office to Amastasio Somoza Garcia, following Somoza's election to the presidency. So Constitutional exit. (Somoza ran unopposed.) He first wants to resume his medical practice (*The New York Times*, Dec. 28, 1936, p.5, then is appointed. Nicaraguan Minister to Washington. *The New York Times*, Jan. 15, 1937, p.12. He leaves Feb. 26, with wife and children. See *The New York Times*, Feb. 27, 1937, p.7. But Dec. 15, 1937, new Nicaraguan Envoy to US. He left the country.

NIC-1937 93 NIC Anastasio Somoza Garcia 01/01/1937 01/05/1947

The New York Times, May 7, 1950, p.106, reports that Somoza is the nephew of Juan Sacasa. Somoza remains power behind the scenes.

NIC-1947-1 93 NIC Arguello 01/05/1947 26/05/1947

Set up by Somoza as an intended puppet, struck out on his own, defeated, refuge in Mexican Embassy, exiled.

For his entry, see *The New York Times*, May 2, 1947, p. 5. *The New York Times* reports "Immediately after "affirming" that he would uphold the Constitution .... President Arguello told a joint session of Congress: "I will not-you can be sure of that-be a mere figurehead President." For his exit, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 27, 1947, p.7, which records: "San Jose, Costa Rica, May 26 -Gen. Anastasia Somoza, chief of the Nicaraguan army and former president, today took over the government of Nicaragua. The post was reported turned over to him by President Leonardo Arguello. ... Gen. Somoza after leaving the presidency became head of the army. He was reported to have become displeased with Arguello's dismissal of several Somoza supporters from high governmental positions. Informants said events in Managua were precipitated when Arguello summoned Somoza and told him he had 24 hours to leave the country. Somoza, it was said, went to the army garrisons and arranged a coup. ... Travellers said Arguello is held prisoner in the presidential palace." On his exile, and shelter by Mexico, see *The New York Times*, May 28, 1947, p.11. *The New York Times*, Oct. 5, 1947, p. 9. "Panama, Oct. 4-Former President Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua has refused safe conduct for former President Leonardo Arguello, reported to be seriously ill in the Mexican Legation in Mangagua, where he took refuge when his government was overthrown, unless Senor Arguello resigned the Presidency, according to a report in The Nation." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 16, 1947, p.27 records Arguello died Dec. 15, in Mexico City of a heart attack.

DELETED

NIC-1947-2 93 NIC Lacayo Sacasa 26/05/1947 15/08/1947

The New York Times, May 28, 1947, p.11. "Washington, May 27 - Benjamin Lacayou Sacasa has been designated Provisional President of Nicaragua by the Congress, pending the calling of new elections, ... Senor Lacayo Sacasa is one of the three designates who

had been named under the Constitution as a panel from which to make a selection in event of a vacancy in the Presidential office. [Senor Lacayo Sacasa is 60 years of age and was President of the Camber of Deputies, The Associated Press said.]" *The New York Times*, May 29, 1947, p.7 reports "Former President Gen. Anastasio Somoza was appointed today as Minister of War, Navy and Aviation and commander in Chief of the National Guard by Provisional President Benjamin Lacayo Sacasa. General Somoza thus retains virtual control of the country as head of all its armed forces." *The New York Times*, Jun 20, 1947, US declares policy of Non-Recognition of Lacayo Sacasa rule.

The New York Times, Aug. 3, 1947, p. 14. "Nicaragua will hold a Constituent Assembly election tomorrow which the regime backed by Gen. Anastasio Somoza apparently hopes will bring about recognition from American republics ...."

This Sacasa was also related-as a "political nephew" to the previous Roberto Sacasa Sarria, see `http://www.grupoese.com.ni/1999/bn/09/28/otra990928.htm`.

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NIC-1947-3 93 NIC Roman y Reyes 15/08/1947 06/05/1950

The New York Times, Aug. 3, 1947, p. 14. "Nicaragua will hold a Constituent Assembly election tomorrow which the regime backed by Gen. Anastasio Somoza apparently hopes will bring about recognition from American republics ..." *The New York Times*, Aug. 15, 1947, p.7. "Managua, Nicaragua, Aug. 14-Dr. Victor Roman Y Reyes, Foreign Minister in the recent Somoza regime, was chosen President of Nicaragua today by the Constitutent Assembly, which had been elected Aug. 3. The new President will be inaugurated Saturday, replacing Provisional President Beanjamin Lacayo Sacasa. Dr. Roman y Reyes, 73, a member of a prominent Liberal family, was educated at Hahnemann Medical College in Philadelphia and practied medicine for some years in the United States. His first wife was an American and several of his children reside in the United States. For Somoza being in charge, see for example, *The New York Times*, April 20, 1948, p.16 about Nicaraguan troops crossing into Costa Rica. Also, *The New York Times*, Dec. 12, 1948, p.13. On Reyes' natural death, see his obituary *The New York Times*, May 7, 1950, p.106. He was also related-as a "political nephew" to the previous Roberto Sacasa Sarria, see `http://www.grupoese.com.ni/1999/bn/09/28/otra990928.htm`.

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NIC-1950 93 NIC Anastasio Somoza Garcia 07/05/1950 29/09/1956

NIC-1947-2 93 NIC Anastasio Somoza Garcia 26/05/1947 29/09/1956

We previously had Lacayo Sacasa (26/05/1947 - 15/08/1947) and Roman y Reyes (15/08/1947-06/05/1950) in before Somoza Garcia returned to power. However, these two leaders were clearly figureheads and puppets. See *The New York Times*, May 28, 1947, p.11. "Washington, May 27 - Benjamin Lacayou Sacasa has been designated Provisional President of Nicaragua by the Congress, pending the calling of new elections, ... Senor Lacayo Sacasa is one of the three designates who had been named under the Constitution as a panel from which to make a selection in event of a vacancy in the Presidential office. [Senor Lacayo Sacasa is 60 years of age and was President of the Camber of Deputies, The Associated Press said.]" *The New York Times*, May 29, 1947, p.7 reports "Former President Gen. Anastasio Somoza was appointed today as Minister of War, Navy

and Aviation and commander in Chief of the National Guard by Provisional President Benjamin Lacayo Sacasa. General Somoza thus retains virtual control of the country as head of all its armed forces." *The New York Times*, Jun 20, 1947, US declares policy of Non-Recognition of Lacayo Sacasa rule.

The New York Times, Aug. 3, 1947, p. 14. "Nicaragua will hold a Constituent Assembly election tomorrow which the regime backed by Gen. Anastasio Somoza apparently hopes will bring about recognition from American republics ..."

For Somoza Garcia's decision to run again in 1950, see *The New York Times*, Feb. 13, 1950, p.4. As above, his "uncle-in-law was Juan Sacasa Sacasa, in other words, Somoza is married to Sacasa Sacasa's niece. For his entry, see *The New York Times*, May 8, 1950, p. 11. "Managua, Nicaragua, May 7-Gen. Anastasio Somoza, Natioanl Liberal (Government(candidate in this month's Presidential elections, was unanimously elected President by a special session of Congress today to serve out the unexperied term of Dr. Victor M. Roman y Reyers, who died last night in Philadelphia.

Assassinated by Rigoberto Lopez Perez. *The New York Times* 23 September, 1956, p. 1 According to a farewell letter found at `http://www.patriagrande.net/nicaragua/rigoberto.htm` he was not acting out of political motives. Wikipedia cals him a communist. `http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rigoberto_L\%C3\%B3pez_P\%C3\%A9rez` Shot and seriously wounded 21 September 1956. Dies of wounds.

NIC-1956 93 NIC Luis Somoza Debayle 29/09/1956 01/05/1963
Luis Somoza Debayle, son of Somoza Garcia. Lentz.

NIC-1963 93 NIC Shick Gutierrez 01/05/1963 03/08/1966
Regarded as Somoza puppet

NIC-1966 93 NIC Guerrero Gutierrez 04/08/1966 01/05/1967
Regarded as Somoza puppet

NIC-1967 93 NIC Anastasio Somoza Debayle 01/05/1967 17/07/1979
Anastasio Somoza Debayle. Son of Somoza Garcia, brother of Luis. Officially "out" in 1972. Fraud alleged. Chicago Tribune, Oct. 26, 1972, p. B24 Headline: "Somoza Holds Firm Grip. Nicaragua Government Control: Still a Family Affair." Lentz: Assassinated with bazooka and machine-gun fire on Sept. 17, 1980 in Asunción, Paraguay. Exiled, murdered.

Although Chicago Tribune Oct.26, 1972 reports "A three-man panel now makes up the nation's chief executive office, ..." it is clearly understood Somoza and his family still run things. Somoza is not ruling because the constitution did not allow him to run. For his rule, see also *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 22, 1973, p. 22.

On his exit, see *Los Angeles Times*, July 12, 1979, p. B6 "Tired Somoza Awaits Outcome Talks." "A tired President Anastasio Somoza said Wednesday that his resignation greatly depends on American talks with the guerilla-appointed provisional government. He promised to fight to the end if he cannot win an acceptable negotiated settlement. If the talks produce guarantees of stability in post-Somoza Nicaragua, including a role for his national guard and Liberal Party, he said he would leave for humanitarian reasons."

This is a clear case of a defeat in the civil war against the Sandinistas.

Somoza leaves country and hands government over to rebel junta, US plays active role in negotiations, so this is coded foreign support, as in the case of Aristide leaving

Haiti, *Washington Post* 17 July, 1979, p. A1. Lentz: Assassinated with bazooka and machine-gun fire on Sept. 17, 1980 in Asunción, Paraguay. Exile, assassinated.

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NIC-1972 93 NIC Triumvirate 01/05/1972 01/12/1974
Set up by Somoza.

NIC-1979 93 NIC Daniel Ortega 18/07/1979 25/04/1990
Coup, and then defeated in elections.

NIC-1990 93 NIC Violeta Chamorro 25/04/1990 10/01/1997
Violetta de Chamorro. Born Violeta Barrios Torres. So not directly related to previous Chamorros. She married Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Cardenal. On her husband: Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Cardenal (1924-1978). He was a Nicaraguan revolutionary who in 1952 took over the family owned newspaper, La Prensa. He turned the paper into a leading opposition voice to the dictatorial and repressive Somoza regime. He was repeatedly jailed and in 1957 was sent into exile. He returned to Nicaragua in 1960 following an amnesty, however he suffered from further harassment and was assassinated in 1978. He was the great-nephew of Emiliano Chamorro Vargas, previous president and overall related to 4 (!) Nicaraguan presidents, Fruto, Pedro Joaquín, Roseno, and Emiliano. (ECV is great-uncle.) She is also related to the Sacasa family.

NIC-1997 93 NIC Aleman 10/01/1997 10/01/2002
Aleman is stripped of his immunity from prosecution in December 2002, but remains member of the legislature. *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 13, 2002, p.A27. Gets convicted of corruption in 7 December 2003. Chicago Tribune, December. 8, 2003, p.4. Sentenced to 20 years confinement at his ranch. More than a year after out (unfortunately . . .). See also `http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A57581-2005Jan7.html`. *Washington Post* Foreign Service, Saturday, January 8, 2005, Page A10. "Former Nicaraguan president Arnoldo Aleman, who was convicted in December 2003 and sentenced to 20 years on corruption charges involving US Dollars 100 million in public funds, is serving his term at his own ranch outside the capital. Aleman, who ran Nicaragua from 1997 to 2002, did spend a few months in prison before returning home, but it was in a special section with extra comforts that included air conditioning, cable television and massages. "It's scandalous," said Alberto Novoa, Nicaragua's attorney general. "Of course it's not fair." . . . Nicaragua's Aleman has become a particularly potent symbol of the abuse of power. His personal fortune ballooned while he headed a nation where many people earn less than US Dollar 2 a day. Prosecutors produced records showing that he and his wife charged massive sums to government credit cards, including a US DOllar 13,755 bill for the Ritz Carlton hotel in Bali and US Dollars 68,506 for hotel expenses and handicrafts in India. Aleman, 58, is suffering from several ailments, many of them related to his obesity, his attorneys say. It was on medical grounds that the presiding judge allowed him to return last year to his leafy hacienda, where he is free to receive visitors and chat on his cell phone." Convicted of corruption in 2003.

NIC-2002 93 NIC Enrique Bolanos 11/01/2002 31/12/2004

2.17 COSTA RICA

Costa Rica was declared an independent republic 31 August, 1848. It was the first state of Central America to be recognized as an independent nation by Spain, which was done in the treaty of May 10, 1850, which was ratified by Costa Rica March 6, 1851. (Bancroft (1887), p.220.)

COS-1838 94 COS Braulio Carrillo 27/05/1838 12/04/1842

Braulio Evaristo Carrillo Colina was born 20 March 1800, died 15 May 1845.

Parker (1964), p. 260–1 "A new president, Braulio Carrillo (1835-7, 1838-42), preferred to keep the capital in one place (San José), but to gain his point had to rout in battle those who disagreed. .... His second rise to power (1838) was by force. A constitutional convention declared Costa Rica out of the union in November of that year, and in March 1842, Carrillo made himself dictator for life under a 'Plan' which replaced the original constitution. He had studied Law at the University of León in Nicaragua.

The lifetime dictatorship lasted just one year, but was followed by a period of confusion from which emerged another caudillo. Francisco Morazán, ex-president of the Provincias Unidas, was the person who brought an end to Carrillo's rule in April 1842 and restored the 1825 constitution, but Morazán was executed in September of the same year by forces opposed to his using Costa Rican soil as a base for military operations to restore the union. A new constitution in April 1844 continuing the office of jefe came in the middle of a rapid succession of provisional chief executives. Unrest continued through the adoption of two more basic charters, one in January 1847 setting up the office of president with a term of six years, the other in November 1848 designating Costa Rica a republic. Juan Rafael Mora, who rose to the presidency in 1849 to fill out a term, stayed on as chief executive for ten years, re-establishing order and maintaining the forms of democracy without much of the spirit. Mora played a prominent role in the Central American war against William Walker's band in 1856–7, which has made him a national hero. But soon after his third inauguration in 1859 Mora was deposed. Attempting an invasion of his homeland a year later, he was executed eighteen days after the man from Tennessee had met the same fate in Honduras.

Costa Rica had thus far followed two cycles from constitutionality to chaos to dictatorship, and was now entering her third. There is a difference from this point on, however, in that each step backward after 1859 carried with it some gain in the breaking of the pattern. The first achievement was stability in government with an orderly succession of presidents for eight years under a constitution of December 1859 establishing a three-year term. The family of José Maria Montealegre (president 1859-63) remained dominant during this period, but chose men for office who in the long run were more powerful than the family. The writing of another constitution in February 1869 came on the heels of a political 'double play' by which the Montealegre power was eliminated. (The family supported a coup to oust its own choice, only to have its new candidate against it.) Another change in 1870 brought Tomás Guardia to power, himself a dictator at heart, but one who supported the kind of material changes which during this time interested liberals, in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras. Under Guardia a new constitution was prepared in December 1871, which had the longest life (seventy-five years ....) of any such document on the isthmus. By its terms Guardia could not succeed himself in

1876, but he remained as chief military commander, reassumed the presidency in 1877, and held power as he pleased until he died in 1882.

Constitutionalism (a four-year presidential term and a one-house Congress half of whose members were renewed every second year) prevailed for thirty-five years after 1882, ... Credit for the establishment of the pattern can be given to Bernardo Soto, a nineteenth-century liberal in the European rather than the very restricted isthmian sense, who became president in 1886 on the death of his predecessor and started his own four-year term in 1866."

Hall and Brignoli (2003), p. 182 "In 1842 opponents of the Costa Rican dictator, Braulio Carrillo, invited Morazán to overthrow him and financed the former president's journey from Peru. General Vicente Villaseñor made a pact with Morazán at El Jocote on April 11. Morazán marched victorious into San José, Carrillo and his followers fled into exile, and the Costa Rican Assembly elected Morazán head of state. Fearful he would now attempt to reimpose his rule throughout Central America, the Conservative regimes of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua broke off diplomatic relations with Costa Rica. In October they signed a Union Pact to oppose Morazán, unaware that the Costa Ricans had already eliminated the threat after Morazán had imposed heavy taxes to build up the army with which he planned to subjugate the neighboring states. On September 11, General Antonio Pinto led an uprising against Morazán in San José. Rebel reinforcements from Alajuela arrive the following day. After fierce fighting with heavy losses on both sides, Morazán fled to Cartago, where he was captured and brought back to be executed in San José on September 13."

Notably, Calvo (1890), p.277 notes that "In 1838 he was again elected President, ..." This leaves us with Parker suggesting he entered irregularly, using force, and Calvo suggesting he entered regularly, through an election. I follow Parker, because Calvo glosses over many details.

Woodward (1993), p.149 'Landing at Caldera, Costa Rica, on 7 April 1842, with local help Morazán quickly seized power and was in command of San Jose by the tenth. Carillo and his ministers fled into exile on board a ship headed for Chile two days later."

Bancroft (1887), p.217 [fn. 10: Carrillo was to leave the country with a full pledge of safety to his family and property. The convention was signed by Morazan, Villaseñor, ...] [fn. 11: Carrillo left the state from Puntarenas. Bonilla was also guaranteed security. .... Both Carrillo and Aguilar died out of Costa R.; the former was killed, and his murderer executed. ... The remains of both ex-chiefs were brought home by Presid. Castro's decree of Nov. 5, 1845.]

Joaquin Bernardo Calvo, *The republic of Costa Rica*, translated by L. de T.; Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally & Company, Publisher, 1890. p.277 notes that his predecessor Aguilar was OK, after losing office, dying 6 June 1846. Calvo (1890), p. 279 further notes that after Carrillo left the country after Morazan's invasion, "he fixed his residence in San Miguel, Salvador, where he lived and was working some mines, when, in 1845, he was sought out and killed by a personal enemy, who took advantage of the revolutionary condition of the country to perpetrate his vengeance."

COS-1842-1 94 COS Francisco Morazán 12/04/1842 11/09/1842

See earlier entry on Francisco Morazán in El Salvador. For details on how Morazán overthrew Carrillo, and Morazán's subsequent ouster, see Bancroft (1887), pp. 215–227. For his entry in Costa rica, see Calvo (1890), pp.278–9.

Hall and Brignoli (2003), p. 182 "In 1842 opponents of the Costa Rican dictator, Braulio Carrillo, invited Morazán to overthrow him and financed the former president's journey from Peru. ... General Vicente Villaseñor made a pact with Morazán at El Jocote on April 11. Morazán marched victorious into San José, Carrillo and his followers fled into exile, and the Costa Rican Assembly elected Morazán head of state. Fearful he would now attempt to reimpose his rule throughout Central America, the Conservative regimes of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua broke off diplomatic relations with Costa Rica. In October they signed a Union Pact to oppose Morazán, unaware that the Costa Ricans had already eliminated the threat after Morazán had imposed heavy taxes to build up the army with which he planned to subjugate the neighboring states. On September 11, General Antonio Pinto led an uprising against Morazán in San José. Rebel reinforcements from Alajuela arrive the following day. After fierce fighting with heavy losses on both sides, Morazán fled to Cartago, where he was captured and brought back to be executed in San José on September 13."

Woodward (1993), p.153 "Unknown at the time to the diplomats in Guatemala City, the Costa Ricans had already by this date dealt with the crisis. A movement to overthrow Morazán had begun by July 1842 .... After some bitter fighting, Morazán surrendered at Cartago on Sunday, 11 September, several weeks before the alliance referred to above had been concluded, reflecting the slow state of communications in Central America. A firing squad ended Morazán's life after a brief trail four days later."

COS-1842-1 94 COS Antonio Pinto 11/09/1842 23/09/1842

Obregón, *Nuestros gobernantes*,
`http://books.google.com/books?id=E2BhSGpxwMcC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Costa+Rica+\%2B+Esquivel+Ibarra&lr=&client=firefox-a&source=gbs_similarbooks_r&cad=3` (remove the backward slash before the percentage mark.) p.58 notes that Don Antonio Pinto Suárez was born in Portugal in 1780 and died 6 April 1865. He could not become President because he was not a native born Costa Rican. He did indeed lead the forces that overthrew Morazán.

From Wikipedia: "He led the popular uprising that overthrew Francisco Morazán on September 11, 1842, and served as Head of State until September 27, when he peacefully handled power to José María Alfaro. He died in San José in 1865." Rulers.org notes that he was born in 1790. Bancroft (1887), p. 224 note that Pinto became the commandante general, and thus is posttenurefate is OK.

COS-1842-2 94 COS José María Alfaro 23/09/1842 28/11/1844

For José María Alfaro Zamora's regular entry, See Obregón, *Nuestros gobernantes*, p.58–9. See also Calvo (1890), p.279, who also has his entry as the 23rd. Notably, Calvo designates Alfaro's administrative "as a liberal one" ....

He was born 19 March 1799 and died as a result of the cholera epidemic 12 June 1856. He promulgates a new constitution in 1844 which for the first time has the direct vote, elections were held 2, 3 and 4 June [1844?] and the assembly declared Francisco Maria Oreamuno legally and popularly elected.

Rulers.org notes he was born in 1799 and died in 1856. Bancroft (1887), p. 224 notes that "On the 23d of September the civil and other authorities at San José passed acts setting aside the supreme powers that had ruled the state since its occupation by Morazan, and proclaiming J. M. Alfaro as jefe provisorio, with Antonio Pinto as commandante

general." Hence a regular entry. He promulgates a new constitution and steps down after Francisco Marí Oreamuno is elected. Hence a regular exit.

Exit date follows both Rulers.org and Obregón.

Calvo (1890), p. 280 notes that he was banished from the country in 1847.

COS-1844-1 COS Francisco María Oreamuno 29/11/1844 17/12/1844

EXIT DATE FROM OBREGÓN

For Francisco María Oreamuno Bonilla's election to office, see See Obregón, *Nuestros gobernantes*, p.59–60. He renounces his office on 17 December.

Bancroft (1887), pp. 226–7 notes that "Both houses [of Congress, HG] then on the 15th declared Francisco María Oreamuno duly elected jefe of the state. He took possession of the office with reluctance. The spirit of localism was still rampant, and Oreamuno found himself confronted by it. Whatever measure was proposed in favor of any one locality was certain to displease the others. Rather than contend with such difficulties, he tendered, on the 26th of November, his resignation, which was not accepted; but he was resolved to retire, and one day, being more than usually disgusted, he abandoned his post and went off to his home in Cartago.[fn.50 The chamber of deputies censured him, but his purpose of getting rid of the executive office was accomplished. ....] His successor was Rafael Moya, then president of the senate, who exerted himself to do away with localism, and to promote harmony between the several sections; but his senatorial term expiring on the 30th of April, 1845, he could no longer continue holding the executive authority, and the chamber of deputies called to assume its duties Senator José Rafael Gallegos, who was made chief of the state at the expiration of Juan Mora's second term. He took the chair on the 1st of May. An ominous cloud could already be decried away in the horizon. The new constitution had thus early become an object of abuse, even by the men who had enthusiastically proclaimed it, and acrimoniously censured Pinto for refusing it recognition. During the elections a bloodless revolt of four regiments simultaneously occurred, on the 7th of June, 1846, at San José, Cartago, Heredia, and Alajuela, to overthrow the organic law. The movement was seconded at once by the people, and José Maria Alfaro was summoned to assume the reins of government, Gallegos returning to the presidency of the senate. Every one recognized Gallegos as an upright man, against whom no complaint was made. Alfaro accepted the role, went into office on the 9th, and immediately proceeded to carry out the purposes of the revolution. Elections took place under the existing constitution, Alfaro being chosen jefe, and José M. Castro vice-jefe and secretary-general. The latter being the intellectual superior of Alfaro, every branch of the administration finally fell under his control."

Nota bene: this sets up a time line and list of effective rulers very different from Rulers.org who keeps Oreamuno in power until 7 June 1846.

This is a resignation and hence a regular exit. He was born 4 October 1801 and died as a result of the cholera epidemic 23 May 1856. Calvo (1890), p. 280 has a brief synopsis on him which notes that he was elected office and that his posttenurefate was OK, which is also suggested by Obregón.

COS-1844-2 94 COS Rafael Moya 17/12/1844 30/04/1845

ENTRY DATE FROM OBREGÓN

Bancroft (1887), pp. 226–7 notes that "Both houses [of Congress, HG] then on the 15th declared Francisco María Oreamuno duly elected jefe of the state. He took possession of

the office with reluctance. The spirit of localism was still rampant, and Oreamuno found himself confronted by it. Whatever measure was proposed in favor of any one locality was certain to displease the others. Rather than contend with such difficulties, he tendered, on the 26th of November, his resignation, which was not accepted; but he was resolved to retire, and one day, being more than usually disgusted, he abandoned his post and went off to his home in Cartago.[fn.50 The chamber of deputies censured him, but his purpose of getting rid of the executive office was accomplished. ....] His successor was Rafael Moya, then president of the senate, who exerted himself to do away with localism, and to promote harmony between the several sections; but his senatorial term expiring on the 30th of April, 1845, he could no longer continue holding the executive authority, and the chamber of deputies called to assume its duties Senator José Rafael Gallegos, who was made chief of the state at the expiration of Juan Moran's second term. He took the chair on the 1st of May. An ominous cloud could already be decried away in the horizon. The new constitution had thus early become an object of abuse, even by the men who had enthusiastically proclaimed it, and acrimoniously censured Pinto for refusing it recognition. During the elections a bloodless revolt of four regiments simultaneously occurred, on the 7th of June, 1846, at San José, Cartago, Heredia, and Alajuela, to overthrow the organic law. The movement was seconded at once by the people, and José Maria Alfaro was summoned to assume the reins of government, Gallegos returning to the presidency of the senate. Every one recognized Gallegos as an upright man, against whom no complaint was made. Alfaro accepted the role, went into office on the 9th, and immediately proceeded to carry out the purposes of the revolution. Elections took place under the existing constitution, Alfaro being chosen jefe, and José M. Castro vice-jefe and secretary-general. The latter being the intellectual superior of Alfaro, every branch of the administration finally fell under his control."

Obregón, p.60 notes "De acuerdo con la Constitución, no había Vicejefe de Estado y por lo tanto le correspondía ejercer el poder al President del Senado, que en ese momento era el sanador don Rafael Moya Murillo, por lo que fue llamado el ejercicio del poder."

Hence a regular entry and exit. He was born 25 October 1799 and died 14 November 1864. Information on his post-tenurefate is scant but Obregón suggests he was a business man and coffee cultivator.

COS-1845 94 COS José Rafael Gallegos 01/05/1845 07/06/1846

Obregón, p. 61 notes that the Assembly handed executive power to the most senior senator, and that was Gellagos. "El Congreso llamó a ejercer el mando al senador de mayor antigüedad, que era Gallegos." For more on José Rafael Gallegos Alvarado, see *ibid*, p. 62.

Bancroft (1887), pp. 226–7 notes that "[Oreamuno's] successor was Rafael Moya, then president of the senate, who exerted himself to do away with localism, and to promote harmony between the several sections; but his senatorial term expiring on the 30th of April, 1845, he could no longer continue holding the executive authority, and the chamber of deputies called to assume its duties Senator José Rafael Gallegos, who was made chief of the state at the expiration of Juan Moran's second term. He took the chair on the 1st of May. An ominous cloud could already be decried away in the horizon. The new constitution had thus early become an object of abuse, even by the men who had enthusiastically proclaimed it, and acrimoniously censured Pinto for refusing it recognition. During the elections a bloodless revolt of four regiments simultaneously

occurred, on the 7th of June, 1846, at San José, Cartago, Heredia, and Alajuela, to overthrow the organic law. The movement was seconded at once by the people, and José Maria Alfaro was summoned to assume the reins of government, Gallegos returning to the presidency of the senate. Every one recognized Gallegos as an upright man, against whom no complaint was made. Alfaro accepted the role, went into office on the 9th, and immediately proceeded to carry out the purposes of the revolution. Elections took place under the existing constitution, Alfaro being chosen jefe, and José M. Castro vice-jefe and secretary-general. The latter being the intellectual superior of Alfaro, every branch of the administration finally fell under his control."

Google books turned up a book with more information on his. Joaquin Bernardo Calvo, *Costa Rica*, translated from the Spanish and edited by L. de T.. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, Publishers. 1890. This book, on p.275 notes that Gallegos was born October 30, 1784. On p. 276 "In 1845 Gallegos was Vice-President, and succeeded Señor Don Francisco Maria Oreamuno. He died August 15, 1851." The book also mentioned that he briefly led Costa Rica, after Mora's second term, pre-dissolution of the Union.

Hence his entry is regular, his exit irregular, and his posttenurefate is OK.

COS-1846 94 COS José María Alfaro 07/06/1846 08/05/1847

Bancroft (1887), pp. 226–7 notes that "During the elections a bloodless revolt of four regiments simultaneously occurred, on the 7th of June, 1846, at San José, Cartago, Heredia, and Alajuela, to overthrow the organic law. The movement was seconded at once by the people, and José Maria Alfaro was summoned to assume the reins of government, Gallegos returning to the presidency of the senate. Every one recognized Gallegos as an upright man, against whom no complaint was made. Alfaro accepted the role, went into office on the 9th, and immediately proceeded to carry out the purposes of the revolution. Elections took place under the existing constitution, Alfaro being chosen jefe, and José M. Castro vice-jefe and secretary-general. The latter being the intellectual superior of Alfaro, every branch of the administration finally fell under his control. ... The elections for supreme authorities, decreed on the 17th of February, took place; the constitutional congress assembled on the 1st of May, and after counting the votes for president and vice-president on the 5th, declared Castro duly elected for the first position and Alfaro for the second. They were inducted into office on the 8th.[fn 58: Alfaro was not pleased at being lowered to the second place, even though he had ex-officio the presidency of congress. He resigned on the 1st of Oct. of the same year.]"

I do not find his intellectual superiority and Bancroft's statement sufficient evidence to conclude that José Marí Casto Madriz was already the effective leader.

Bancroft (1887), p. 229 notes"Indeed, several disturbances broke out at Alajuela, headed by Alfaro and his friends, which were, however, easily quelled by President Castro, and once by Vice-President Mora, when the president was absent."

Calvo (1890), p. 280 notes that Alfaro was banished from Costa Rica in 1847, hence his posttenurefate is exile. He loses power in a regular manner, but entered in an irregular manner.

COS-1847 94 COS José Maria Castro Madriz 08/05/1847 16/11/1849

He declared Costa Rica an independent republic 31 August, 1848.

He offered to resign in July, 1848, as a result of various uprisings in Alajuela, but the Assembly refused to accept his offer.

Bancroft (1887), p. 236–7 notes "Political disturbances continuing in 1849, Castro resigned the presidency on the 16th of November, before congress, which had met in extra session October 2d; his resignation was accepted and the same day Juan Rafael Mora was chosen vice-president, and on the 24th president of the republic, being inducted into office on the 26th of November.[fn. 82 .... Francisco Oreamuno was elected vice-pres. on Jan. 30, 1850.] ... The bonds of discipline and subordination having become relaxed, Mora had before him a difficult task to restore peace and order. He dealt severely with the authors of revolutionary movements. Castro became a fugitive, and the others were exiled."

Note: a fugitive, so not caught and imprisoned and not an exile. Hence his post-tenurefate must be coded as OK.

Wikipedia notes that he was the brother-in-law of President Próspero Fernández (1882-1885), and the grandfather of, Rafael Yglesias (1894–1902). He was born 1 September, 1818 and died 4 April, 1892. Castro was born in San José and educated at the University of León, in Nicaragua, where he graduated as bachelor of philosophy and doctor of law. Calvo (1890) notes that he was elected President of one of the Halls of the Supreme Court in 1858.

COS-1849 94 COS Juan Rafael Mora 24/11/1849 14/08/1859

Bancroft (1887), p. 236–7 notes "Political disturbances continuing in 1849, Castro resigned the presidency on the 16th of November, before congress, which had met in extra session October 2d; his resignation was accepted and the same day Juan Rafael Mora was chosen vice-president, and on the 24th president of the republic, being inducted into office on the 26th of November."

Mora was reelected in 1859. Bancroft (1887), pp. 372–3 notes "Mora was quite popular with the masses, but encountered opposition from the property owners, merchants, and army men. For this reason, he could not strengthen his government, and found himself at the mercy of a coup de main the moment the people thought their interests were jeopardized by his power. Hence the revolutionist movement that hurled him from the executive office in the night of August 14, 1859. A provisional government, composed of his political enemies, was at once organized, meeting with no opposition on the part of the people. It was a palace revolution, and no blood was spilled. Mora was kept in confinement, though otherwise well treated during three days at the end of which he was taken to Puntarenas, and sent out of the country on an American steamer. He settled with his family in Salvador, where he introduced the cultivation of coffee. The new government now took steps to have itself confirmed by a constituent assembly, and to cause its provisional president, José Maria Montealegre, regularly elected."

Parker (1964), p. 260–1 "Juan Rafael Mora, who rose to the presidency in 1849 to fill out a term, stayed on as chief executive for ten years, re-establishing order and maintaining the forms of democracy without much of the spirit. Mora played a prominent role in the Central American war against William Walker's band in 1856–7, which has made him a national hero. But soon after his third inauguration in 1859 Mora was deposed. Attempting an invasion of his homeland a year later, he was executed eighteen days after the man from Tennessee had met the same fate in Honduras."

Woodward (1993), p.315 "The conservatives in Central America could not forever hold out against liberal resurgence. The moderate Rafael Mora had fallen already to a coup in 1859, an act that the Guatemalan government deplored as "an illegal and inexcusable act." Mora met with Carrera in Guatemala after going into exile on 11 February 1860.

Subsequently, Mora organized a force and returned to Costa Rica, but he met defeat at La Angostura on 28 September, and two days later he died before a firing squad."

Calvo (1890), p. 281 notes he was born in San Losé, 8 February 1814. He was not a college graduate. "In 1859 he was deposed, and Montealegre declared his successor. Mora retired to Salvador, whence, in 1860, he sought to return, heading an expedition against his enemies in Costa Rica and seeking to reestablish power. Although his adherents had struggled constantly in his favor since his departure, the effort was unavailing. The Montealegre party triumphed, and Mora met his death, in Puntarenas, September 30, 1860."

COS-1859 94 COS José María Montealegre 14/08/1859 07/05/1863

Bancroft (1887), pp. 372–3 notes "Mora was quite popular with the masses, but encountered opposition from the property owners, merchants, and army men. For this reason, he could not strengthen his government, and found himself at the mercy of a coup de main the moment the people thought their interests were jeopardized by his power. Hence the revolutionist movement that hurled him from the executive office in the night of August 14, 1859. A provisional government, composed of his political enemies, was at once organized, meeting with no opposition on the part of the people. It was a palace revolution, and no blood was spilled. Mora was kept in confinement, though otherwise well treated during three days at the end of which he was taken to Puntarenas, and sent out of the country on an American steamer. He settled with his family in Salvador, where he introduced the cultivation of coffee. The new government now took steps to have itself confirmed by a constituent assembly, and to cause its provisional president, José Maria Montealegre, regularly elected. The influential man of the administration was Vicente Aguilar, ex vice-president, a wealthy man, and the deadly enemy of Mora."

Calvo (1890), pp. 282–3 notes he was born 19 March 1815 and was educated in England, and obtained (with honors) the degree of Doctor of Medicine. He was elected President in 1859. He died in 1887.

COS-1863 94 COS Jesús Jiménez 07/05/1863 08/05/1866

Jesús Jiménez Zamora was born 18 June 1823. He studied in Guatemala were he became a Licentiate in Medicine. He died in 1897. See below for his second time in office.

Bancroft (1887) p. 377 notes that by the time for elections, Montealegre looked for a compromise candidate "There was in Cartago a former minister of Mora, Jesus Jimenez, who was finally agreed upon by all parties for the executive office and was accordingly elected. He took possession of the chair on the 7th of May, Montealegre surrendering it with greater alacrity than he had occupied it in 1859."

COS 1866 94 COS José María Castro Madriz 08/05/1866 01/11/1868

Bancroft (1887), p. 377–8 "The next president duly chosen was the founder of the republic, José Maria Castro, for the term from May 8, 1866. ... During the presidential election in 1868, party agitation jeopardized the public peace. ... There would certainly have been a resort to arms but for the moderation of the two chief officers of the army, generals Lorenzo Salazar and Máximo Blanco. These officers and others placed themselves at the head of a pronunciamento which took place as San José on the 1st of November to depose Castro and suspend the constitution of December 27, 1859. Jesus Jimenez, the first designado, was then called to assume the executive office, with ample powers to call a

constituent assembly. He accordingly placed himself at the head of affairs, and convoked the assembly, to meet on the 1st of January, summoning the people also to choose the next president, together with senators and representatives for the next constitutional term to begin May 1, 1869. ... The ordinary congress met, and declared Jimenez to be the constitutional president for the next term, and he was inducted into office with the usual formalities."

This is an irregular exit. Posttenurefate is unknown, but Calvo (1890), p. 281 notes "The valuable services of Doctor Castro to his country did not end in 1868, when he was succeeded by Licenciado Jiménez. This suggests he was OK.

COS-1868 94 COS Jesús Jiménez 01/11/1868 27/04/1870

Jesús Jiménez Zamora was born 18 June 1823. He studied in Guatemala were he became a Licentiate in Medicine. Calvo (1890), pp.283–4 notes "He was twice elected President, in 1863 to succeed Montealegre, and in 1868 to follow Doctor Castro. ... He was deposed by a conspiracy formed by Heredia and a part of San José, in 1870. He retired then to private life, and occupied himself in repairing his private fortunes, which had suffered from his devotion to public duties. Sixteen years later the title of *Benmerito* was conferred upon him by the Constitutional Congress, in compliance with the universal demand of the people." Irregular exit, but posttenurefate is OK. He died in 1897.

Bancroft (1887), p. 377–8 "The next president duly chosen was the founder of the republic, José Maria Castro, for the term from May 8, 1866. ... During the presidential election in 1868, party agitation jeopardized the public peace. ... There would certainly have been a resort to arms but for the moderation of the two chief officers of the army, generals Lorenzo Salazar and Máximo Blanco. These officers and others placed themselves at the head of a pronunciamento which took place as San José on the 1st of November to depose Castro and suspend the constitution of December 27, 1859. Jesus Jimenez, the first designado, was then called to assume the executive office, with ample powers to call a constituent assembly. He accordingly placed himself at the head of affairs, and convoked the assembly, to meet on the 1st of January, summoning the people also to choose the next president, together with senators and representatives for the next constitutional term to begin May 1, 1869. ... The ordinary congress met, and declared Jimenez to be the constitutional president for the next term, and he was inducted into office with the usual formalities."

This is a regular entry because he was first designado.

Bancroft (1887), p. 379 notes regarding some disturbances "This order of things lasted until the 27th of April 1870, on which day sixteen men, among whom were Tomás and Victor Guardia, Pedro and Pablo Quiroz, and Próspero Fernandez, captured the artillery barracks of San José by a coup de main. There were a few killed and wounded, ... After the capture of the barracks the president was seized, and kept aa prisoner about twenty-four hours. Bruno Carranza was then proclaimed president, and assumed the duties on the 28th. Jimenez and his ministers were detained to answer charges that would be preferred against them. Jimenez was allowed to reside in Cartago under surveillance; but fearing for his life, as he alleged, escaped."

DELETED

Figurehead for Guardia

COS-1870-1 94 COS Bruno Carranza 28/04/1870 09/08/1870

Bancroft (1887), p. 379–380 notes regarding some disturbances "This order of things lasted until the 27th of April 1870, on which day sixteen men, among whom were Tomás and Victor Guardia, Pedro and Pablo Quiroz, and Próspero Fernandez, captured the artillery barracks of San José by a coup de main. There were a few killed and wounded, ... After the capture of the barracks the president was seized, and kept aa prisoner about twenty-four hours. Bruno Carranza was then proclaimed president, and assumed the duties on the 28th. Jimenez and his ministers were detained to answer charges that would be preferred against them. ... The people were again summoned to elect a new constituent assembly to meet on the 8th of August, which took place; it declared the constitution of 1869 no longer in force, and temporarily revived that of December 1859. Carranza resigned on the same day that the convention assembled, and Tomás Guardia was appointed his successor on the 10th."

COS-1870-2 94 COS Guardia 27/04/1870 20/06/1872

Bancroft (1887), p. 379–380 notes regarding some disturbances "This order of things lasted until the 27th of April 1870, on which day sixteen men, among whom were Tomás and Victor Guardia, Pedro and Pablo Quiroz, and Próspero Fernandez, captured the artillery barracks of San José by a coup de main. There were a few killed and wounded, ... After the capture of the barracks the president was seized, and kept aa prisoner about twenty-four hours. Bruno Carranza was then proclaimed president, and assumed the duties on the 28th. Jimenez and his ministers were detained to answer charges that would be preferred against them. ... The people were again summoned to elect a new constituent assembly to meet on the 8th of August, which took place; it declared the constitution of 1869 no longer in force, and temporarily revived that of December 1859. Carranza resigned on the same day that the convention assembled, and Tomás Guardia was appointed his successor on the 10th."

Guardia, takes office in 1870 with a revolution. See *The New York Times*, Jul. 26, 1882, p.5.

Calvo (1890) p. 284 notes that Guardia was born in 1832. "From his earliest youth he evinced a love for the military career. He was one of the first and bravest in battle during the fillibustering invasions of 1856, obtaining during this campaign the rank of captain. ... He died July 7, 1882, a victim of a painful disease."

Bancroft (1887), pp. 381–2 "The national congress being installed May 1, 1872, on the 30th declared Tomás Guardia duly elected president, and on the same date appointed José Antonio Pinto and Rafael Barroeta first and second vice-president respectively. The same body June 20th granted Guardia a leave of absence, with permission to visit foreign countries for the benefit of his health and authorized the government to appropriate out of the treasury a sum not exceeding $25,000 for his traveling expenses. José A. Pinto had charge of the executive in his absence.[fn. 41: Guardia went to Europe, where he was treated with marked consideration. .... During his absence there was no harmony between the acting president and the chief of the forces, Victor Guardia, nor between the latter and the commandant of artillery.] Guardia reassumed the office on the 26th of January, 1873."

COS-1872 94 COS José A. Pinto 20/06/1872 26/01/1872

Bancroft (1887), pp. 381–2 "The national congress being installed May 1, 1872, on the 30th declared Tomá Guardia duly elected president, and on the same date appointed

José Antonio Pinto and Rafael Barroeta first and second vice-president respectively. The same body June 20th granted Guardia a leave of absence, with permission to visit foreign countries for the benefit of his health and authorized the government to appropriate out of the treasury a sum not exceeding $25,000 for his traveling expenses. José A. Pinto had charge of the executive in his absence.[fn. 41: Guardia went to Europe, where he was treated with marked consideration. .... During his absence there was no harmony between the acting president and the chief of the forces, Victor Guardia, nor between the latter and the commandant of artillery.] Guardia reassumed the office on the 26th of January, 1873."

This is definitely not the same person as Antonio Pinto, the previous leader, because that person died in San José in 1865. But he may be related. Birth and death date unknown. Posttenurefate is OK.

COS-1873 94 COS Guardia 26/01/1873 06/07/1882

Bancroft (1887), pp. 381–2 The national congress being installed May 1, 1872, on the 30th declared Tomá Guardia duly elected president, and on the same date appointed José Antonio Pinto and Rafael Barroeta first and second vice-president respectively. The same boy June 20th granted Guardia a leave of absence, with permission to visit foreign countries for the benefit of his health and authorized the government to appropriate out of the treasury a sum not exceeding $25,000 for his traveling expenses. José A. Pinto had charge of the executive in his absence.[fn. 41: Guardia went to Europe, where he was treated with marked consideration. .... During his absence there was no harmony between the acting president and the chief of the forces, Victor Guardia, nor between the latter and the commandant of artillery.] Guardia reassumed the office on the 26th of January, 1873."

Bancroft (1887), p. 383 notes that Guardia "was again granted a leave of absence May 19, 1875, and was absent several months. [fn. 49: He resumed control of the govt Nov. 4–5, 1875.]" I have been unable to ascertain who was the effective leader in that time.

Born in 1832. He died July 7, 1882, a victim of a painful disease.

COS-1882-1 94 COS Lizano 06/07/1882 20/07/1882

Saturnino Lizano Gutiérrez. See *The New York Times*, Jul. 26, 1882, p.5.

Bancroft (1887), p. 388 notes that after Guardia's death "Satunino Lizano had charge of the executive office until the 20th of July, when he surrendered it to the designado General Próspero Fernandez, who being subsequently elected president was inducted into office on the 10th of August."

He died 19 April 1905. For much more on him, see Jorge Freancisco Sáenz Corbonell, *Los Días del presidente Lizano*, Editorial Universiad Estata a Distancia, 1997.

COS-1882-2 94 COS Prospero Fernandez Oreamuno 20/07/1882 12/03/1885

Calvo (1890), p. 285 notes "General Fernandez died, while yet in office, in the spring of 1885, and was succeeded in turn by the Licentiate Don Bernardo Soto, in his quality of First Vice-President."

He was the brother-in-law of José Maria Castro Madriz, previous president.

COS-1885 94 COS Bernardo Soto Alfaro 12/03/1885 01/05/1889

Bernardo Soto was first designado under Fernandez.

Rodriguez (1965), p. 107 "Only in Costa Rica, where Bernardo Soto permitted free elections in 1889–a landmark in Costa Rican political history–were the conservatives in charge, first under José Joaquín Rodríguez (1890-94) and then under Rafael Iglesias (1894-1902)."

New York Times, September 18, 1889, p. 4 Editorial Article 5 - No Title "Costa Rica's politics have perhaps rather more interest for our country now than formerly . For several months she seems to have been deeply immersed in a Presidential canvass, although the result does not come until near the end of the year. One marked change which has recently occurred in the situation has been the return to power of President Bernardo Soto, who some time ago turned over the actual administration of his office to Don Ascension Esquivel as Acting President. Esquivel is the candidate of the party in power for the next Presidency, and his opponent is Don José Rodrigues, the Conservative candidate. During the early part of August the political agitation threatened for a moment to take the form of riotous disturbance, and the opponents of Esquivel complained that he was unduly using his temporary power to advance his prospects of election. Perhaps it was partly to remove this accusation or cause of grievance that Gen. Soto resumed the active duties of the Presidency."

New York Times, Nov. 27, 1889, p. 4 Editorial Article 4 - No Title. "Little Costa Rica, in area next to the smallest of the Central American States and in population the smallest, has for many months been engaged in a most excited Presidential canvass, which lately culminated in a revolution in San José, the capital. The candidates were Esquivel and Rodriguez. The former was President of the Costa Rica Congress, and when Gen. Bernardo Soto, the President of the Republic, withdrew, some time ago, from the active administration of his office, Esquivel became Acting President in his stead. Last August the charge that he was using his place to forward his election induced him to call back President Soto, who accordingly resumed office. Affairs then went on more quietly; but soon the Rodriguez party complained also of the attitude of President Soto, and at length, by a sudden armed uprising, early in the present month, they compelled his withdrawal and put in his stead Dr. Duran, a wealthy physician who had served under him a short time as Minister of Public Works, during the Autumn, and had then resigned. This was a practical demonstration of Rodriguez's power in San José. Since, outside of the capital, in the country districts, Rodriguez was known to be the stronger, the report immediately following, that he had triumphed in the general elections, became entirely credible."

Calvo (1890), p. 286 notes "President Soto, desiring to go abroad for his health and that of his family, on the 1st of May, 1889, called the Second Vice-President, Señor Esquivel, to take his place, as Acting President of Costa Rica. Señor Esquivel is one of the cleverest lawyers in Spanish America, a man of liberal ideas and vast popularity. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs for three years and is well versed in affairs of State. He was succeeded as Acting President by Don Carlos Duran, the Third Vice-President, to whom President Soto delivered the executive power on November 7, 1889."

Bancroft (1887), p. 390 notes that on "Apr. 19, 1885, he married Pacifica, a daughter of Ex-President Fernandez."

COS-1889-1 94 COS Ascensión Esquivel Ibarra 01/05/1889 01/09/1889

NOTA BENE: his exit date is approximate.

Calvo (1890), p. 286 notes "President Soto, desiring to go abroad for his health and that of his family, on the 1st of May, 1889, called the Second Vice-President, Señor

Esquivel, to take his place, as Acting President of Costa Rica. Señor Esquivel is one of the cleverest lawyers in Spanish America, a man of liberal ideas and vast popularity. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs for three years and is well versed in affairs of State. He was succeeded as Acting President by Don Carlos Duran, the Third Vice-President, to whom President Soto delivered the executive power on November 7, 1889."

I am confident this is Ascensión Esquivel Ibarra who becomes elected president later. This is confirmed in the *New York Times*, September 18, 1889, p. 4. Wikipedia notes he was born May 10, 1844 in Rivas, Nicaragua - April 15, 1923). . . . He first ran for the presidency in 1889, but was defeated by José Joaquín Rodríguez. The election that saw him elected in 1901 was his second presidential bid."

New York Times, September 18, 1889, p. 4 Editorial Article 5 - No Title "Costa Rica's politics have perhaps rather more interest for our country now than formerly . For several months she seems to have been deeply immersed in a Presidential canvass, although the result does not come until near the end of the year. One marked change which has recently occurred in the situation has been the return to power of President Bernardo Soto, who some time ago turned over the actual administration of his office to Don Ascension Esquivel as Acting President. Esquivel is the candidate of the party in power for the next Presidency, and his opponent is Don José Rodrigues, the Conservative candidate. During the early part of August the political agitation threatened for a moment to take the form of riotous disturbance, and the opponents of Esquivel complained that he was unduly using his temporary power to advance his prospects of election. Perhaps it was partly to remove this accusation or cause of grievance that Gen. Soto resumed the active duties of the Presidency."

New York Times, Nov. 27, 1889, p. 4 Editorial Article 4 - No Title. "Little Costa Rica, in area next to the smallest of the Central American States and in population the smallest, has for many months been engaged in a most excited Presidential canvass, which lately culminated in a revolution in San José, the capital. The candidates were Esquivel and Rodriguez. The former was President of the Costa Rica Congress, and when Gen. Bernardo Soto, the President of the Republic, withdrew, some time ago, from the active administration of his office, Esquivel became Acting President in his stead. Last August the charge that he was using his place to forward his election induced him to call back President Soto, who accordingly resumed office. Affairs then went on more quietly; but soon the Rodriguez party complained also of the attitude of President Soto, and at length, by a sudden armed uprising, early in the present month, they compelled his withdrawal and put in his stead Dr. Duran, a wealthy physician who had served under him a short time as Minister of Public Works, during the Autumn, and had then resigned. This was a practical demonstration of Rodriguez's power in San José. Since, outside of the capital, in the country districts, Rodriguez was known to be the stronger, the report immediately following, that he had triumphed in the general elections, became entirely credible."

This is a regular entry, a regular exit and His posttenurefate is OK. He dies in 1927.

COS-1889-2 94 COS Bernardo Soto Alfaro 01/09/1889 07/11/1889

NOTA BENE: his entry date is approximate.

Bernardo Soto Alfaro. See *The New York Times*, Nov. 26, 1889, p.5. Removed under pressure from armed supporters of the newly elected Pres. Rodriguez. *Washington Post* of Jan 31, 1890, p.1 records Soto's incognito arrival in Chicago Jan. 30. But he runs again for office in 1906.

New York Times, September 18, 1889, p. 4 Editorial Article 5 - No Title "Costa Rica's politics have perhaps rather more interest for our country now than formerly . For several months she seems to have been deeply immersed in a Presidential canvass, although the result does not come until near the end of the year. One marked change which has recently occurred in the situation has been the return to power of President Bernardo Soto, who some time ago turned over the actual administration of his office to Don Ascension Esquivel as Acting President. Esquivel is the candidate of the party in power for the next Presidency, and his opponent is Don José Rodrigues, the Conservative candidate. During the early part of August the political agitation threatened for a moment to take the form of riotous disturbance, and the opponents of Esquivel complained that he was unduly using his temporary power to advance his prospects of election. Perhaps it was partly to remove this accusation or cause of grievance that Gen. Soto resumed the active duties of the Presidency."

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Bancroft (1887), p. 390 notes that on "Apr. 19, 1885, he married Pacifica, a daughter of Ex-President Fernandez."

COS-1889-3 94 COS Carlos Duran Cartín 07/11/1889 08/05/1890

Calvo (1890), p. 286 notes "President Soto, desiring to go abroad for his health and that of his family, on the 1st of May, 1889, called the Second Vice-President, Señor Esquivel, to take his place, as Acting President of Costa Rica. Señor Esquivel is one of the cleverest lawyers in Spanish America, a man of liberal ideas and vast popularity. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs for three years and is well versed in affairs of State. He was succeeded as Acting President by Don Carlos Duran, the Third Vice-President, to whom President Soto delivered the executive power on November 7, 1889." This is misleading as the following article by the New York Times shows.

New York Times, Nov. 27, 1889, p. 4 Editorial Article 4 - No Title. "Little Costa Rica, in area next to the smallest of the Central American States and in population the smallest, has for many months been engaged in a most excited Presidential canvass, which lately culminated in a revolution in San José, the capital. The candidates were Esquivel and Rodriguez. The former was President of the Costa Rica Congress, and when Gen. Bernardo Soto, the President of the Republic, withdrew, some time ago, from the active

administration of his office, Esquivel became Acting President in his stead. Last August the charge that he was using his place to forward his election induced him to call back President Soto, who accordingly resumed office. Affairs then went on more quietly; but soon the Rodriguez party complained also of the attitude of President Soto, and at length, by a sudden armed uprising, early in the present month, they compelled his withdrawal and put in his stead Dr. Duran, a wealthy physician who had served under him a short time as Minister of Public Works, during the Autumn, and had then resigned. This was a practical demonstration of Rodriguez's power in San José. Since, outside of the capital, in the country districts, Rodriguez was known to be the stronger, the report immediately following, that he had triumphed in the general elections, became entirely credible."

See *The New York Times*, Nov. 26, 1889, p.5. The article suggests that Rodriguez will take over in December. But Rodriguez's entry date of May is right (but *The New York Times*, May 8, 1891, p.1, has it as 14 May). Can't find anything about his fate, but Rodriguez exiled many. He runs for President again in 1914. See *The New York Times*, May 8, 1914, p.1. Dies, Nov. 23, 1924. *The New York Times*, Nov. 24, 1924, p.17. Was a physician. Forced legislature to elect chosen successor, after disputed elections, goes to Europe.

Is he a figurehead for Rodriguez?

COS-1890 94 COS José Joaquín Rodríguez 08/05/1890 08/05/1894

Rodríguez. Goes to Europe, from US. *The New York Times*, Jul 7, 1894, p.6. *The New York Times*, Jul. 8, 1894, p.12.

Rodriguez (1965), p. 107 "Only in Costa Rica, where Bernardo Soto permitted free elections in 1889-a landmark in Costa Rican political history-were the conservatives in charge, first under José Joaquín Rodríguez (1890-94) and then under Rafael Iglesias (1894-1902)."

It is suggested by Obregon (2000), p. 219 that Yglesias actually was the real power and not Rodriguez. "El 8 de mayo [1902] en una sencilla ceremonia en el recinto del Congresso, Esquivel asumió el mando al media día e Iglesias, el hombre que prácticamento había dirigido los destinos del país durante 12 años, se despidió con un corto discurso, para después concurrir con el nuevo gabinete a un *Te Deum* en la Catedral."

COS-1894 94 COS Rafael Yglesias Castro 08/05/1894 08/05/1902

Iglesias is son in law of Pres. Rodriguez, Lentz, *Washington Post* (The *Washington Post*, Mar. 25, 1894, p.16). Presidents (since Constitution of 1859), can serve only one term of four years, no second term. See *The New York Times*, Apr. 5, 1894. p.5. (*The New York Times* has him as nephew of Rodriguez.) Is constitution altered under him? He wins a second term?

For more on him, see `http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/i/iglesias_y_castro.htm`, which notes "Continuó apoyando al presidente cuando éste decretó en 1892 la disolución de las Cortes e inició un perodo de gobierno dictatorial, que le hizo perder en buena medida el respaldo del electorado. Al concluir el gobierno de Rodrguez Zeledón en 1894, Iglesias y Castro presentó su candidatura a la presidencia de la República. Resultó elegido para un mandato de cuatro años. En 1898 fue reelegido, ejerció el poder hasta 1902." He had held the ministerial posts of War and Navy in the previous, Rodríguez, administration.

Theodore S. Creedman, *Historical Dictionary of Costa Rica*, The Scarecrow Press, Second Edition, 1991, p. 297 notes "After he left office in 1902 he ran unsuccessfully for the presidency a few times and remained strong political force until his death." This suggests his posttenurefate was OK.

He was the grandson of José Maria Castro Madriz, an earlier president.

COS-1902 94 COS Ascensión Esquivel Ibarra 08/05/1902 08/05/1906

Note Esquivel Ibarra is not the same person as Esquivel Saenz, president 1876–80. See The *Washington Post*, Apr. 3, 1906, p.6.

The election was held 11 October 1901. For details, see Clotilde Maria Obregon, *El proceso electoral y el poder ejecutivo en Costa Rica: 1808–1998*. Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 2000. See especially pp.216–18, p.217 "Las eleziones de primer grado se celebraron los días 15, 16 y 17 de diciembre y comienzos de enero de 1902 se autorizó que en los lugares a donde habían ocurrido irregularidades, se repusiesen las de 1 grado los días 15, 16 y 17 de enero. Eso trajo como consecuencia que las elections de 2 grado se pasaran del 2 de frero al 16 de mismo mes, a medio día."

Wikipedia notes: he was born May 10, 1844 in Rivas, Nicaragua - April 15, 1923); President of Costa Rica from 1902 to 1906. Esquivel became a naturalized Costa Rican in 1869. He first ran for the presidency in 1889, but was defeated by José Joaquín Rodríguez. The election that saw him elected in 1901 was his second presidential bid. After his presidential term, he served as the chief justice of the Supreme Court, from 1917 to 1920.

COS-1906 94 COS González Viquez 08/05/1906 08/05/1910

Cleto González Viquez. See Mavis Hiltunen Biesanz, Richard Biesanz and Karen Zubris Biesanz, *The Ticos; Culture and Social Change in Costa Rica*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998; p. 26 note that after Esquivel's term "A heated campaign for the next term included five contenders, three of whom joined forces agains the front-runner in the primaries, Cleto González, for the final election. Believing public order to be in danger, Esquivel exiled all three. González took office on May 8, 1906, amid great political unrest because he had been imposed on the people. Don Cleto, however, soon pacified them with his respect for law and papular opinion and his promotion of public works and public health. He was succeeded by ricardo Jiménez [previous judge of Supreme Court, HG], who also won the hearts of the Ticos over many years of public service."

For more on him, see Clotilde Maria Obregón, Nuestros Gobernantes. EDITORIAL: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica. ISBN: 9977-67-701-8, p.101. He was born 15 October 1858 and died 23 September 1937. Studied law and became an important historian.

COS-1910 94 COS Jiménez Oreamuno 08/05/1910 08/05/1914

See Clotilde Maria Obregón, Nuestros Gobernantes. EDITORIAL: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica. ISBN: 9977-67-701-8, pp.101–2. Elections were held 2 April 1910. He was born 6 February 1859 and died 4 January 1945. He studied law. Obregón notes that he was the son of Jesús Jiménez Zamora and Emeralda Oreamuno Gutiérez, thus the son of one president and perhaps related to another through his mother.

Schoonover, p. 143 notes that Ricardo Jiménez Oreamuno was elected president in 1909.

COS-1914 94 COS Alfredo González Flores 08/05/1914 27/01/1917

Alfredo González Flores' entry is a bit iffy. Congress chose him when elections failed to produce a victor. See *The New York Times*, May 8, 1914 (filled with errors), p.1 & Lentz. He was Vice Prez under Jimenez. Flees to US, arrested in 1919. See *The New York Times*, Oct. 11, 1919, p.15. Exiled in US.

Hall and Brignoli (2003), p.227 "Even Costa Rica succumbed to a brief period of turmoil. The Congress voted Alfredo González Flores to the presidency when none of the candidates in the 1914 elections received an absolute majority. Inexperienced and lacking the support of a political party, González Flores responded to the economic crisis of the First World War by imposing unprecedented property and income taxes. His minister of war, Federico Tinoco, carried out a coup d'etat in 1917 with the alleged support of Estrada Cabrera, the United Fruit Company, and North American oil companies prospecting in Costa Rica. U.S. president Woodrow Wilson, intent on promoting only democratically elected governments, repudiated Tinoco's regime. As corruption and repression increased, his position became untenable. In 1919, after the murder of his brother, Joaquin, in the streets of San José, Federico Tinoco fled the country. Order was restored when Julio Acosta, who had threatened a revolution against Tinoco from Nicaragua, won the presidential election with a large majority."

See Mavis Hiltunen Biesanz, Richard Biesanz and Karen Zubris Biesanz, *The Ticos; Culture and Social Change in Costa Rica*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998; p..27 where they note "Don Ricardo changed the electoral system so that the voters chose the president directly instead of merely choosing electors. If no candidate had an absolute majority, Congress was to choose between the two with the largest share of votes. But presidents, including don Ricardo, continued to alter election results to favor their chosen successors. Nor was Jiménez's innovation observed in the 1914 election, in which two of the three candidates resigned; instead of naming the third, Congress declared him ineligible and chose Vice President Alfredo González Flores to serve as president, though he had not been a candidate at all. Costa Ricans believed in honest popular elections but had not yet achieved them." For his ouster, see also *ibid*, p.27.

For his entry, definitely somewhat irregular, see also Clotilde Maria Obregón, Nuestros Gobernantes. EDITORIAL: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica. ISBN: 9977-67-701-8, pp.102–3. He was born 15 June 1877 and died 28 December 1962. He earned a degree in law.

For his posttenurefate, see see *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 17, 1919, p.IV14 "Deposed President of Costa Rica to Europe." Which notes "Mr. Gonzales, from the time he was thrust from the presidency, has lived in the United States."

COS-1917 94 COS Federico Tinoco Granados 27/01/1917 13/08/1919

He was born 21 November 1868 and died in Paris, France, 7 September 1931. See Obregón, *Nuestro gobernantes*, p.109. He promulgates a new Constitution, modeled on the one of 1848, with a six year term of office, with direct suffrage, but indirect for President and Vice President. He holds and wins elections in April 1917.

NOTA BENE, he may have been a figurehead for his brother Jose Joaquin Tinoco. See The Atlanta Constitution, Sept. 13, 1919, p. 2 "Murder of Tinoco Unsolved Mystery." This records: "When on January 27, 917 [sic, HG], his [e.g., Joaquin's] brother Federico, who was minister of war in the cabinet of President Alfredo Gonzalez, deposed the latter and became head of the government, Joaquin was given the war portfolio and thereupon,

it is said, became the real president of Costa Rica. ... On the day before the assassination Joaquin went before the Costa Rican congress and asked to be relieved as vice president, a position he held by virtue of his cabinet post. At the same time his brother, the president, asked official permission to leave the country because of "ill health." Both requests were granted and the two Tinocos were preparing to depart when Joaquin was shot down." We code this as an irregular exit, since he (either Joaquin or Federico) had not yet handed over power. On Federico's Tinoco's entry, see Boston Daily Globe, Jan 31, 1919, p.3, which reports Tinoco, ex-War Minister, came into power several years ago through a bloodless revolution. He has been elected President since, but recognition has been refused by the United States under President Wilson's policy of withholding recognition from any Government set up by violence." On Tinoco's exile see *Washington Post*, Aug. 16, 1919, p.1, and Lentz. Exiled in Europe. *The New York Times*, Jan 28, 1919, p.7 reports: "Jan. 27-Travelers arriving from Costa Rica report that the Tinoco Government has a large number of men under arms and that a very strict censorship is being enforced. ... The travelers say that President Tinoco evidently fears an invasion of Costa Rica by Costa Ricans driven from the country when he gained control there." For more on that invasion, see *The New York Times*, Feb. 19, 1919, p. 4, which reports "Eight thousand Costa Rican troops have been mobilized on the border between Costa Rica and Nicaragua and threaten the invasion of the latter country. Dispatches to the Nicaraguan Legation today announcing this threat to the peace of Central America said the leader of the troops was Julian Irias, Premier of Nicaragua under the Zelaya Government, which was overthrown by revolution ten years ago. With the exception of police and a legation guard of 100 United States marines, there are no armed forces in Nicaragua, as that country does not maintain a standing army." See also: The *Washington Post* Feb. 19, 1919, p. 5, which reports "The threatened war between Nicaragua and Costa Rica is associated with the overthrow of Gonzales by Tinoco, now president of Costa Rica. A considerable portion of Gonzales' following fled to Nicaragua, where they began collection money and resources to start a revolution against Tinoco. The Nicaraguan government has winked at this and threats of the Costa Rican government to take warlike measures against a neighboring state for harboring enemies and assisting them have been held in abeyance because of the influence of the United States. Now, however, Costa Rica apparently believes the United States Government is no longer a real restraining factor, as it is interested only in peace doctrines and adverse to anything resembling war."

The Atlanta Constitution, May 3, 1919, p. 10 reports: Costa Rica Exiles Begin Revolution. "Costa Rican exiles met and defeated a force of Costa Rican frontier guards on the Rio Frio, near the southeastern shore of Lake Nicaragua Thursday. The frontier guards retired after the fight." For more progress on the revolutionaries' advances: The *Washington Post*, May 11, 1919, ES 14. The Atlanta Constitution, Jun. 3, 1919, p.7 which records that the governments of Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua recognized the belligerency of the anti-Tinoco revolutionists in Costa Rica. The Washington Post, Jun 5, 1919, p. 1 records that American marines have been landed in Costa Rica. *The New York Times*, June 9, 1919, p. 1 records that the revolution collapses in Costa Rica, and Nicaraguans fear invasion by Costa Ricans, headed by Tinoco's brother. See also *Christian Science Monitor*, July 4, 1919, p. 14. "Order Restored in Costa Rica Capital." *Christian Science Monitor*, July 5, 1919, p.4 President Tinoco's Forces Dislodged. Costa Rican revolutionists, under the leadership of the Mexican general, Manuel Chao, on

Thursday night attacked and dislodged the forces of President Tinoco of Costa Rica from their advanced positions." Boston Daily Globe, Aug. 14, 1919 "Tinoco Out of Costa Rica. But Details Not Stated." Records: Washington, Aug. 13, – President Tinoco has left Costa Rica. ... There also was no indication whether the President quit the country before his brother, Joaquin Tinoco, Vice President of the Republic, was assassinated on Aug. 10."

Note, from above, that it was Tinoco's brother who led the armed forces. See also *The New York Times*, Aug. 14, 1919, p.2 "Tinoco Regime Gone." which notes Joaquin's assassination on the 10th, burial on the 11th and Federico's fleeing on the 12th. For Tinoco's fleeing, see *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 17, 1919, p.IV14 "Deposed President of Costa Rica to Europe." Which notes "Federico Tinoco ... said several attempts had been made to assassinate him and that his brother, Jose, Minister of War, was shot in the back of the head the night before the President left and died later." Blamed for the assassination is Nicaragua. Hence, his exit looks rather irregular. However, Boston Daily Globe, Aug. 18, 1919, p. 9 records Federico Tinoco ... said he believed the assassin of his brother Jose Joaquin Tinoco, had come from Nicaragua and that the assassination had been planned in Nicaragua and Washington. Gen. Tinoco said that he decided to leave Costa Rica on account of his health about a month ago. At that time, he said, perfect order was being maintained. Gen Tinoco had arranged for his brother to assume the reins of government during his absence, but Joaquin, having decided to accompany the General to Europe, resigned the Vice Presidency last Saturday night. It was arranged that the brothers and their families should leave Costa Rica on Monday." The *Washington Post*, Aug. 21, p.1 "Bars Tinoco regime" records "Federico Tinoco smuggled himself into a freight car and escaped to Port Limon, where he took the United Fruit Company's steamer Zacapa to Jamaica. Tinoco had arranged to leave the presidential succession in the hands of Juan Bautista Quiros, who had been manager of the National Bank and had assisted the Tinoco brothers in issuing $15,000,000 in paper money .... Quitos announced himself president and is now clinging to the wreckage of the Tinoco regime. The popular armed movement to restore the authority of constitutional government is headed by Julio Acosta, who was minister of foreign affairs under President Gongalez [sic, HG]. Mr. Gonzales, from the time he was thrust from the presidency, has lived in the United States."

Hence, overall coded as domestic rebel forces without foreign support. (Could be a case of cutting losses early and running, hence somewhat voluntary.)

COS-1919-1 94 COS Juan Bautista Quiros Segura 20/08/1919 06/09/1919

For his entry, see The *Washington Post*, Aug. 17, 1919, p. E4 "Chief Now of Costa Rica. Juan Baustiste Quiros assumed the duties of acting president of Costa Rica August 12, according to dispatches here yesterday. Quiros was chosen vice president by Tinoco, who recently obtained a leave of absence and is reported to have left Costa Rica. Juan Bautista Quiros Segura, according to Lentz, was "Tinoco's hand-picked successor when he resigned on August 13, 1919."

For more on him see also Obregón *Nuestro gobernantes*, p.111. He is born on 18 January 1853 and died 7 November 1934. He studied accounting in Great Britain and France and was a General.

However, *The New York Times*, Aug. 15, 1919, p.3 "New Costa Rica President" records "the revolution in Costa Rica is spreading rapidly in the interior of the republic.

Julio Acosta has been named Provisional President of the republic. He has designated Francisco Aguilar Barquero to arrange for the holding of free elections."

His government was not recognized by the US - neither was Tinoco's, see The *Washington Post*, Aug. 21, 1919, p.6 "Costa Rica Saved" and he was forced to resign. *Christian Science Monitor*, Jun 16, 1920, p.10. For his exit, see also *Washington Post*, Sept. 7, 1919, p. E4 Quiros Quits Costa Rica.

Washington Post coverage suggests that the presidency was handed over on Sept 5 or 6 (*Washington Post* 7 September, 1919, p. E4). There is a popular uprising against Tinoco, who usurped the presidency, and his succcesor Quiros. However, the biggest factor in the resignation of Quiros seems to have been US refusal to recognize the new government. This is what Lentz (1999, p. 108) and the (American) newspapers say (e.g. *Washington Post* 7 September, 1919, p. E4). Also indicative for this is the return to the constitutional line of succession after Quiros is gone. This is coded as domestic popular protest with foreign support (which is not limited to military force).

COS-1919-2 94 COS Barquero 06/09/1919 08/05/1920

Little in Lentz. Third Designate. *Washington Post*, Sep. 7, 1919, p. E4. Is a lawyer. Alleged US imposition. *The New York Times*, Aug. 15, 1919, p.3 "New Costa Rica President" records "the revolution in Costa Rica is spreading rapidly in the interior of the republic. Julio Acosta has been named Provisional President of the republic. He has designated Francisco Aguilar Barquero to arrange for the holding of free elections."

Los Angeles Times, Aug. 31, p. 14 "Plot to Kill Ex-head of Costa Rica Bared." "Aug. 29, Discovery of a plot to assassinate former Provisional President Acosta, of Costa Rica, andGen. Chao, chief of the revolutionary forces, which carried out a successful revolt in that country recently, is reported in dispatches from Managua. Followers of Federico A. Tinoco, former, president who fled from Costa Rica when the revolution was successful, are said to have been interested in the plot."

COS-1920 94 COS Acosta Garcia 08/05/1920 08/05/1924

Hall and Brignoli (2003), p.227 "U.S. president Woodrow Wilson, intent on promoting only democratically elected governments, repudiated Tinoco's regime. As corruption and repression increased, his position became untenable. In 1919, after the murder of his brother, Joaquin, in the streets of San José, Federico Tinoco fled the country. Order was restored when Julio Acosta, who had threatened a revolution against Tinoco from Nicaragua, won the presidential election with a large majority."

COS-1924 94 COS Jimenez Oreamuno 08/05/1924 08/05/1928

See *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 20, 1928. Son of Jesús Jiménez Zamoro, previous president.

COS-1928 94 COS Gonzalez Viquez 08/05/1928 08/05/1932

A Revolt is threatened in February 1932. Revolt is put down. See *The New York Times*, Sept. 24, 1937, p.21

COS-1932 94 COS Jimenez Oreamuno 08/05/1932 08/05/1936

See Lentz. Son of Jesús Jiménez Zamoro, previous president.

COS-1936 94 COS Cortes Castro 08/05/1936 08/05/1940

See Lentz.

COS-1940 94 COS Calderon Guardi 08/05/1940 08/05/1944
See Lentz. Exile in 1948.

COS-1944 94 COS Picado Michalski 08/05/1944 20/04/1948
Annulles election results, leading to rebellion. The rebels eventually force him out. *The New York Times* 21 April, 1948, p. 12. Exiled in Guatemala.

COS-1948 94 COS Leon Herrera 20/04/1948 08/05/1949
See Lentz. Born in 874

COS-1949-1 94 COS Figueres Ferrer 08/05/1949 08/11/1949
He's the leader who abolishes CR's army to prevent coups. His son José Maria Figueres is elected president in 1994. (See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 40, February 1994 for this.)

COS-1949-2 94 COS Otilia Ulate 08/11/1949 08/11/1953

COS-1953 94 COS Figueres Ferrer 08/11/1953 08/05/1958

COS-1958 94 COS Echandi Jimenez 08/05/1958 08/05/1962

COS-1962 94 COS Orlich 08/05/1962 08/05/1966

COS-1966 94 COS Trejos 08/05/1966 08/05/1970

COS-1970 94 COS Figueres Ferrer 08/05/1970 08/05/1974

COS-1974 94 COS Quiros, Daniel 08/05/1974 08/05/1978

COS-1978 94 COS Carazo Odio 08/05/1978 08/05/1982

COS-1982 94 COS Monge Alverez 08/05/1982 08/05/1986

COS-1986 94 COS Arias 08/05/1986 08/05/1990

COS-1990 94 COS Calderon Fournier 08/05/1990 08/05/1994
Son of a former president. *The New York Times*, Feb. 5, 1990, p. A2. Son of Rafael Angel Calderon Guardia, 1940-44. The elder is exiled after he tried to nullify the 1948 results. *Christian Science Monitor*, Feb. 6, 1990, p. 3

COS-1994 94 COS Figueres Olsen 08/05/1994 08/05/1998
Keesing's Vol. 40, February 1994. José María Figueres, elected 1994 president, is son of Jose Figueres Ferrer, previous president.

COS-1998 94 COS Rodriguez Echeverria 08/05/1998 08/05/2002
Keesing's Vol. 46, March 2000: "Former President Oscar Arias Sánchez (1986-90) of the National Liberation Party (PLN), in his attempt to have the constitution amended so that he could run for another term in the 2002 elections, conducted a non-binding nationwide plebiscite on March 12 on whether he should be allowed to serve a second term. Some 80 per cent of the 120,000 people who voted said that he should be permitted. The current constitution did not allow for a president to serve a second term."

COS-2002 94 COS de la Espriella 09/05/2002 31/12/2004

2.18 PANAMA

PAN-1903 95 PAN Jose Agustin Arango 03/11/1903 20/02/1904
Arango, later becomes minister in Washington. The *Washington Post*, Jun 21, 1907, p.2 + Jan. 2, 1908, p9. Later becomes First Vice President, dies May 10, 1909. *Washington Post*, Mar. 2, 1910, p.2.

PAN-1904 95 PAN Manuel Amador Guerrero 20/02/1904 01/10/1908
Guerrero, dies a little over a year later. See Lentz.

PAN-1908 95 PAN Jose Domingo de Obaldia 01/10/1908 01/03/1910

PAN-1910-1 95 PAN Carlos Antonio Mendoza 01/03/1910 01/10/1910
Resigns under alleged US pressure.

PAN-1910-2 95 PAN Pablo Arosemena Alba 01/10/1910 02/02/1912
See *The New York Times*, Mar. 8, 1912, p.6. "Pablo Arosemena this morning resumed the office of President of the Panama Republic in response to the appeals of friends, who thought he would not be chosen at the approaching Presidential election. The resumption of office by President Arosemena before the expiration of the six months leave of absence granted him by the Supreme Court, February 1, excludes him from participation as a candidate in the Presidential campaign. The constitution of Panama provides for the election of a President of the Republic for four years and the holder of the office is not eligible for the succeeding term. By taking leave of absence from the Executive Office for six months Arosemena would have made himself eligible for re-election, but his present step now excludes him."
For fate, see *The New York Times*, Dec. 14, 1913, p.C5. *Christian Science Monitor*, Jan 24, 1912, p.5 "Way Opened for Arosemena. "The supreme court Tuesday rendered an opinion to the effect that President Arosemena can be a candidate for President by simply taking a vacation of six months and that his resignation from the office is not necessary. Senor Arosemena is now serving out an unexpired term and has been seeking a way to become eligible for a full term." The *Washington Post*, Jan 31, 1912, p. 9 "Declines to be President." "Panama, Jan. 30-Federico Boyd today refused the request of the supreme court to take charge of the presidency, which Dr. Pablo Arosemena has announced he will leave on February 2. Senor Boyd, who is second vice president, gives the poor state of his health as an excuse for his refusal to accept the office. It is believed that the real reason is his intention to be a candidate. Third Vice President Rodolfo Chiari, has now been called upon to take up the provisional presidency."

PAN-1912-1 95 PAN Chiari, Rudolfo 02/02/1912 08/03/1912
He is Third Vice President, the others decline the position.

PAN-1912-2 95 PAN Pablo Arosemena Alba 08/03/1912 01/10/1912
Returns to office. *The New York Times*, March 8, 1912, p. 6 "Arosemena Again President. Panama's Head Resumes Office, and Cannot be Re-elected." "Panama, March 7.-Pablo Arosemena this morning resumed the office of the President of the Panama Republic in response to the appeals of friends, who thought he would not be chosen at the approaching Presidential election. . . . The resumption of office by President Arosemena

before the expiration of the six months' leave of absence granted him by the Supreme Court, February 1, excludes him from participation as a candidate in the Presidential campaign. The constitution of Panama provides for the election of a President of the Republic for four years, and the holder of the office is not eligible for the succeeding term."

PAN-1912-2 95 PAN Belisario Porras Barahona 01/10/1912 01/10/1916
Stays in power 4 years. Can't serve two terms, is term extended to 4 years? Lentz notes that he was subsequently minister to the US. In this case we code this as NOT punishment. See: *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct.14, 1916, p.13.

PAN-1916 95 PAN Ramon Maximiliano Valdes 01/10/1916 03/06/1918
Valdes dies in office.

PAN-1918-1 95 PAN Ciro Luis Urriola 03/06/1918 01/10/1918

PAN-1918-2 95 PAN Belisario Porras Barahona 01/10/1918 30/01/1920
Belisario Porras. Lentz records he's chosen by the national assembly to complete the unexpired term of Valdes. Steps down briefly on Jan 30 1920 to run for another term. Porras had to stand down 6 months before election to run again.

PAN-1920-1 95 PAN Ernesto Lefevre 30/01/1920 01/10/1920
He was born in 1876

PAN-1920-2 95 PAN Belisario Porras Barahona 01/10/1920 01/10/1924
Felix Belisario in power again. After he lost power he became minister to France and Great Britain from 1925 to 1926. He was in power between 1 Oct. 1920-October 1, 1924.

PAN-1924 95 PAN Chiari, Rudolfo 01/10/1924 08/09/1928
Rodolfo Chiari. Lentz notes that he was in power from October 1, 1924, to October 1, 1928. But ... *The New York Times*, Apr. 2, 1965 notes: "Mr. [Tomas Gabriel] Duque was Panama's first Vice President when, on Sept. 8, 1928, the retiring President, Rodolfo Chiari, went on leave. Mr. Duque served as President until the inauguration, on Oct. 1, of President Chiari's elected successor, Florenzio Harmodio Arosemena. He was Secretary of Finance and Treasury in the new Government until his resignation in September of 1930. He died at age 75 April 1, 1965. He was born in 1890.

For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, Aug. 18, 1937, p.19 "Rodolfo Chiari, 65, Leader in Panama; Former President of Republic, Served from 1924 to 1928 - Dies in California" "Mr. Chiari resigned form the Presidency in 1928, but he remained a power behind the Panama political scene. It was said that he dictated the selection of his successor, Florencia H. Arosemena. He was reputedly the man responsible for deposing Arosemena in January, 1931. It was expected that Mr. Chiari would again run for the Presidency in 1932, but instead he lined up his section of the Liberal party in support of Francisco Arias Paredes. ... Mr. Chiari was born in Aguadulce (sweet water), a small town in the interior on the Pacific side of the Republic of Panama, on Nov. 15, 1869. He found a job with the French Bazaar, where he was hired to sweep the floors, carry the mails to the postoffice and run errands. At night, when his work was done, he spent his spare time studying bookkeeping and accounting and improving his Spanish. The

owners of the French Bazaar saw that he was ambitious and promoted him rapidly. At 22 he became the manager. .... He built his own sugar mills, ... Mr. Chiari took an active part in politics. At various times between 1905 and 1910 he served as treasurer of the municipal district of Panama, Subsecretary of Finance and Manager of the National Bank. While Third Vice President of the republic he acted as Chief Executive of the nation for six weeks after the resignation of President Pablo Arosemena. In 1912 he was elected First Vice President. He served a second time as manager of the National Bank and resigned finally to accept the Cabinet post of Secretary of Government and Justice. In 1916 he was candidate for President, but was defeated, and again served in the Cabinet as Secretary of Government and Justice. In 1922 he was elected First Vice President for the second time, serving also in his former Cabinet post until he became a candidate for the Presidency in 1923. On Aug. 3, 1924, Mr. Chiari was elected President by an overwhelming majority over General Quintero, who led the Panamanian forces that defeated the Costa Rican invaders at the Battle of Coto in the brief war between Panama and its northern neighbor. President Chiari failed to resign twenty months before election, which the Panama Constitution provides a President must do to become a candidate for re-election. IN August 1928, President Chiari was elected for a second term."

PAN-1928-1 95 PAN Tomas Duque 08/09/1928 01/10/1928

PAN-1928-2 95 PAN Florencio Harmodio Arosemena 01/10/1928 03/01/1931

Arosemena (Guillen), Florencio Harmodio (b. Sept. 17, 1872, Panama City – d. Aug. 30, 1945), president of Panama (1928-31). He did engineering work in various parts of Latin America and in Panama he built the Government Palace, the National Theatre, the City Hall, and other public buildings, and played a prominent part in railroad construction. In May 1928 he was nominated for president of Panama on the first ballot at the convention of the Liberal Party at Aguadulce, receiving the vote of 69 of the 70 delegates. Previously he had taken no part in politics other than membership in the Panama municipal council, although he had always been identified with the Liberal Party and had represented Panama at the Chicago Highway Congress of 1926. In the election of Aug. 5, 1928, he defeated Jorge E. Boyd, candidate of the Union Coalition party. He pursued a policy of reducing the expenses of the country, which met with approval in some quarters, but with opposition in others, particularly through his cutting down of government salaries. In November 1929 the salary cuts were restored, but the next year the government faced a deficit. He was active in the promotion of public works, especially highway construction. On Jan. 2, 1931, he was overthrown in a revolution which began at 2 A.M. with the killing of ten persons. Arosemena was surprised in his palace by a group of armed men and made prisoner with the members of his cabinet. He at first refused to resign, but later agreed to and was permitted to go with his family to a hotel in the Canal Zone. After the coup a manifesto was issued by 50 prominent citizens promising to give the country "a just election law." Promulgation of new election laws had been one of the matters under dispute during the Arosemena regime.

See also *The New York Times* 3 January, 1931, p. 1, and rulers.org He was charged with fraud, exonerated. Lentz: He is the brother of Juan Demostenes Arosemena and the brother of the wife of Alcibiades Arosemena. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, August 31, 1945, p. 17 "F. Arosemena Dies; Panama Ex-Head." "Born in Panama City, Senor Arosemena received his education in the technical schools of Germany and

Switzerland, graduating as a civil engineer from Munich University in 1895. ... On Jan. 2, 1931, he and his Government were overthrown in a revolution which began at 2 A. M. with the killing of ten persons. The President was surprised in his palace by a group of armed men and made prisoner with the members of his Cabinet. He at first refused to resign, but later agreed to and was permitted to go with his family to a hotel in the Canal Zone. ... Later Senor Arosemena was placed on trial on charges of fraud in connection with construction of the Puerto Armuelles Railroad, but was exonerated by the Panama Supreme Court in May, 1932. ... He leaves a widow, Hersilia; a daughter, Selma, and a son, Bey."

PAN-1931-1 95 PAN Arias, H. 03/01/1931 16/01/1931

For his entry, see *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 3, 1931, p. 1 which reports "A swift vigorous revolution today brought the government of the Republic crashing down on the head of President Florencio Harmodio Arosomena. He resigned and appointed Dr. Harmodio Arias, one of the leaders of the revolt, to form a new government. The Supreme Court of Panama after administering the oath of office to Dr. Arias as provisional President, immediately telegraphed Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, Minister to the United States, requesting him to return to Panama and assume the Presidency. Dr. Alfaro was First Vice-President in the immediately precding term of office, and the Supreme Court held he was the legal successor of President Arosemena. The Supreme Court decided the election of Tomas Garbriel Duque, Carlos L. Lopez and Enrique Linares as First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents at the time President Arosemana assumed office was illegal, as it had not been effected within the time limit stipulated by the constitution." See also *The New York Times*, Jan 3, 1931, p. 1 and *The New York Times*, Jan 16, 1931, p. 3

PAN-1931-2 95 PAN Alfaro 16/01/1931 01/10/1932

Lentz notes that he "resumed his position as minister to the United States the following year."

PAN-1932 95 PAN Arias, H. 01/10/1932 01/10/1936

Harmonio Arias.

PAN-1936 95 PAN Arosomena, Juan 01/10/1936 16/12/1939

Juan Demostenese Arosemena. Lentz: He is the brother of Florencio Harmodio Arosemena and the brother of the wife of Alcibiades Arosemena. (*The New York Times*, April 19, 1937, p.21 "Albino H. Arosemena."

PAN-1939 95 PAN Boyd 18/12/1939 01/10/1940

PAN-1940 95 PAN Arias, A. 01/10/1940 09/10/1941

Arnulfo Arias, extends the term of the President from 4 to 6 years. The newspapers of the time say only he left clandestinely the country (*The New York Times* 10-10-1941, p. 1), Lentz (1999) speaks of a "coup," and Wikipedia calls it a military coup: `http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arnulfo_Arias` ; Biografias y Vidas mentions he was expulsed from the country: `http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/a/arias_arnulfo.htm`.

For his exit, see *Christian Science Monitor*, October 13, 1941 p.3 "No U.S. Refuge for Arias." This article reports "Usually reliable sources asserted that Senor Arias' departure

for Cuba last Tuesday and the subsequent peaceful coup two days later averted what might have been a bloody revolutionary movement."

The problem is that the military is not taking over, and the decisions after his departure are made by the Cabinet. In addition, the chief of the National Police (there is no military) is arrested. This is coded as done by 'other government actors', because of the central role the cabinet plays for the execution of the change in power. Exile. Brother of Harmonio Arias.

PAN-1941-1 95 PAN Ernesto Jaen Guardia 09/10/1941 09/10/1941

Lentz records Ernesto Jaen Guardia in for a fraction of one day: October 9, 1941. He is Arias' Vice President, he is later voted replaced by the Cabinet. He was born in 1895.

PAN-1941-2 95 PAN Guardia, R. 09/10/1941 15/06/1945

R. de la Guardia. Suspends the constitution in 1945 to stay in office, but ousted by the Panamanian congress. He became managing editor of newspaper mid August, 1945. Proposal is made to have him arrested on Dec. 7, 1945, to be decided by the Constitutional Congress. *The New York Times*, Dec. 8, 1945, p.3, records, that "it appears unlikely that early action will be taken in the matter." Nothing in subsequent papers. Arrested and beaten and briefly imprisoned in 1951.

PAN-1945 95 PAN Jimenez 15/06/1945 01/10/1948

Enrique Adolfo Jimenez. Was only provisional president, presided over elections in 1948. Election results were contested, which led him to declare state of siege. He defies National Assembly who dismisses him from office, and stays on with help of police chief Remon. Eventually he steps down, and lets the elected candidate take over. No evidence for a coup in *The New York Times* 2-Oct-1948, p. 6 and *The New York Times* 4-Oct-1948, p. 4. Remon is usually considered the king maker and breaker, so I will code this as irregular exit due to other government actor involvement. Enrique Adolfo Jimenez, escaped from the country after an arrest order was issued. New Constitution was adopted March 1, 1946. *The New York Times*, says the 1941 Constitution gives the President a 6 year terms, instead of the 4 year term of the 1946 Constitution? See *The New York Times*, May 10, 1951, p.30. See *The New York Times*, Oct.4, 1948, p.4.

PAN-1948 95 PAN Diaz Arosomena 01/10/1948 28/07/1949

Lentz (1994), pp.615–6 notes in the entry on Jiménez "Deomingo Dias Arosemena was sdeclared the victor over Arnulfo Arias, although Arias received a majority of the votes. . . . He suffered a heart attack in July of 1949 and relinquished the office to his vice president on July 28, 1949. He died in Panama City several weeks later at the age of 74 on August 23, 1949."

See obituary, in *The New York Times*, August 24, 1949, p. 25 "Diaz Arosemena of Panama Dead" "He was the son of Gen. Domingo Diaz and Dona Elisia Arosemena. His higher education was obtained in the United States at Seton Hall College, South Orange, N. J. . . . President Diaz was married Dec. 14, 1904, to Dona Cecilia Quelquejea, daughter of a prominent Panama family of French origin. They had five sons, six daughters and thirty grandchildren." Apparently not related to earlier Arosemenas.

PAN-1949-1 95 PAN Chaniz Pinzon 28/07/1949 20/11/1949

Chaniz Pinzon. Lentz: Chaniz was first vice president in the government of Diaz Arosemena. Transfers engineered by Remon, exile. Coup by National Police - coded as military coup as it is the security organs who take power, New York Time 21 November, 1949, p. 1. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, January 23, p.23 "Dr. Daniel Chanis, 69, Ex-Chief of Panama" "Dr. Chanis, a former Minister of Finance, advanced from First Vice President to President after President Domingo Diaz Arosemena, who had been in ill health, resigned. Four months later, Dr. Chanis resigned under pressure from Col. Jose Antonio Remon, chief of the National Police, in what was termed a bloodless coup d'état. Colonel Remon was assassinated while serving as president in 1955. Dr. Chanis received degrees in medicine and surgery in 1917 from the University of Edinburgh, Scotland."

PAN-1949-2 95 PAN Chiari, Roberto 20/11/1949 25/11/1949

Lentz notes that he was second Vice President under Diaz Arosemena. Steps down when the Supreme Court rules that Dr. Chanis was properly President. NB! Chiari had asked for an opinion. "The Supreme Court had been told in Senor Chiari's letter that "your decision, whatever it may be, will be respectfully obeyed by me." See *The New York Times*, Nov. 25, 1949, p.1. See also *The New York Times*, May 22, 1960, p. 23

Son of Rodolfo Chiari, president 10/1/1924–10/1/1928.

PAN-1949-3 95 PAN Arias, A. 25/11/1949 10/05/1951

Arnulfo Arias, ousted May 10, 1951. *The New York Times*, May 10, 1951, records that the National Assembly had met in special session and taken action to impeach Arnulfo Arias as President for violation of the Constitution. Then they swore in (on May 9, 11:40) A. Arosemena, who was First Vice President. See also *Christian Science Monitor*, May 11, 1951, p.9. Arias is jailed. *The New York Times*, May 13, 1951, p.7. *The New York Times*, May 26, 1951, p.5. *The New York Times*, Oct. 1, 1951, p.7. Chief Justice of the Supreme Court announced that he was impeached constitutionally. Impeached for violation of constitution

PAN-1951 95 PAN Arosomena, A. 10/05/1951 01/10/1952

Alcibiades Arosemena is First Vice President, and therefore in power constitutionally.

Transfers engineered by Remon, subsequently ambassador to France. For his Obituary, see *The New York Times*, April 9, p.36, "Aroseman Dies, Panama Leader" "Senor Arosemena was born in the small town of Los Santos on Nov. 20, 1883, ... He left school at the age of 17 to join the army of Liberal when the Civil War of 1900 began and served until 1903 when Panama won its independence. The man who was destined to become his country's President preferred farming to a military career and was not a professional politician. Most of his time he devoted to dairy farming. ... After completing hi8s term of office Senor Arosemena was appointed Ambassador to France. ... His wife was Dona Heliodora Arosemena, sister of another late President, Demostenes Arosemena. They had two sons and two daughters."

PAN-1952 95 PAN Remon Cantero 01/10/1952 02/01/1955

Assassinated, vice president is charged and sentenced, but later exonerated. Crime remains unsolved. Lentz 1994, p. 618. For murder investigation see Wikipedia: `http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jose_Antonio_Remon`.

PAN-1955-1 95 PAN Guizado 03/01/1955 15/01/1955

On Guizado, Lentz notes that he was First Vice President in Remon's government. Removed by the National Assembly, Hence, all perfectly constitutional.

Tried and convicted of accomplice in Remon's murder. Serves two years, exonerated.

For his ouster and upcoming trial, see Los Angeles Times, Jan. 16, 1955, p. 1 "Panama President Seized in Remon Assassination."

PAN-1955-2 95 PAN Arias Espinosa 15/01/1955 01/10/1956

Ricardo Arias Espinosa, was Second Vice President in Remon's government. He next is appointed envoy in the US. See *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 31, 1956, p.12.

For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, March 17, 1993, p. A19 "Ricardo M. Arias Espinosa." No mention of relationship to earlier Arias.

PAN-1956 95 PAN Guardia Jr., E. 01/10/1956 01/10/1960

Ernesto de La Guardia Jr. No evidence, anywhere he's related to the earlier de la Guardia. Listed in `www.rulers.org` as Ernesto de la Guardia Navarro.

PAN-1960 95 PAN Chiari, Roberto 01/10/1960 01/10/1964

PAN-1964 95 PAN Robles 01/10/1964 01/10/1968

Lentz notes that he is cousin of Roberto Chiari. (See Lentz's entry under Chiari.) "The National Assembly accused of using his influence as president to affect the outcome [of the election, HG] and voted for his impeachment on March 15, 1968. Max Delvalle, the first vice president, was proclaimed president, but Robles refused to vacate the office. He was supported by the National Guard, and the Panamanian Supreme Court ruled in early April of 1968 that his impeachment was invalid." Election is on May 12. He is out on October 1, constitutionally Arias takes over. *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 1968, p.E2. See also ***Keesing's*** Vol. 14, June 1968. He is out constitutionally! He is not effectively impeached. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 14, June 1968: "Senor Robles, however, refused to recognize the Assembly's decision and remained in the Presidential Palace. Meanwhile Senor del Valle had appealed for calm and begun to issue decrees and appoint a Cabinet. Shortly afterwards General Vallarino and his two deputies issued a communiqué in which they stated that the National Guard was "not qualified to intervene in the dispute between the Government and the Assembly"; announced that, because of the court injunction obtained by Senor Robles, they could not carry out the Assembly's decision and would remain under President Robles's orders until the Supreme Court had met to give its ruling; and declared that in the meantime they would maintain law and order. After Dr. Arias, in a broadcast the same night, had called on Panamanians to carry out "civil resistance" until "the Republic returns to its constitutional course," National Guard troops in the early hours of March 25 dispersed a crowd which had built barricades in front of the headquarters of the Union Nacional; occupied the building; wrecked a radio transmitter which had criticized the Guard's refusal to obey the National Assembly; seized documents and some weapons; and made a number of arrests. They also surrounded the National Assembly building and on March 26 used tear-gas to prevent the deputies of the Union Nacional and the new President from entering. A call by the Opposition parties for a general strike on April 2 was unsuccessful, being supported only by four small trade unions. A silent demonstration took place on March 28, when 3,000 women in mourning dress and carrying banners draped in black, led by Senora Yvonne del Valle and Senora

Mary Morgan de Arias (wife of the President of the National Assembly, Senor Carlos Agustin Arias) marched through Panama City; thousands of youths, however, joined the demonstration, overturned and burned motor cars, looted shops, knocked down parking meters, and attacked the headquarters of the Samudio group. Troops of the National Guard used tear-gas to disperse the rioters, two people being killed and eight others injured during the disorders. Similar silent protest marches by women and children in several other towns on March 29 were dispersed by the National Guard using tear-gas, several people being arrested. The Supreme Court duly met on April 1 to consider the dispute, and on April 5 eight of the nine judges declared that the National Assembly, motivated by "political pressure," had acted unconstitutionally in deposing President Robles, on the ground that it should have suspended its decision when President Robles had lodged an appeal against it. Opposition members, however, protested that four of the judges were related to Senor Robles and that the rest belonged to his party, whilst Senor del Valle, denying the Supreme Court's authority to overrule decisions of the Legislature, maintained that his Government remained the only legitimate one." Exile in the US.

PAN-1968-1 95 PAN Arias, A. 01/10/1968 12/10/1968

Awarded electoral victory by parliament, deposed in a military coup and exiled. Lentz 1994, p. 616 f.

PAN-1968-2 95 PAN Torrijos Herrera 12/10/1968 31/07/1981

Killed in plane crash; perhaps sabotaged by Noriega. His son is elected president in 2004.

PAN-1981 95 PAN Florez Aguilar 31/07/1981 03/03/1982

Florez Aguilar, Commander of the National Guard, see Lentz. He was displaced one year later by General Rubén Darío Paredes. OK. Lentz: Florencio Florez Aguilar was a colonel in the Panamanian National Guard when he was selected to succeed Omar Torrijos Herrera as commander after his death on July 31, 1981. He was not granted the full powers that were exercised by Torrijos, as his powers were limited by the general staff of the National Guard." See *The New York Times*, Apr. 5, 1982, p.A8. Briefly "detained" and forced to "retire." Florez Aguilar, not really constitutional exit, he's simply a colonel in (and commander of) the Panamanian National Guard, not President or anything official. For exit date and fate (scant on fate, but all we have). See *The New York Times*, April 5, 1982. *Christian Science Monitor*, Mar. 5, 1982. Lost power on 3 March 1982. Power struggle within the military, Lentz 1994, p. 622; *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston, MA) 5 March, 1982, p. 2.

PAN-1982 95 PAN Dario Paredes 03/03/1982 15/08/1983

Dario Paredes, Commander of the National Guard, see Lentz. He came to power on 3 March 1982.

Keesing's, Vol. 29, November 1983, "Internal Political Developments," notes: "Gen. Paredes, who was regarded as a key contender for the presidency in 1984, announced in June that he was to resign as Commander of the National Guard, a post which under the new constitutional amendments would automatically have disqualified him from contesting an election. It was announced on Aug. 1 that the new Commander, with effect from Aug. 12, would be Col. Manuel Antonio Noriega Morena, who was promoted to the rank of general. Col. Noriega had been Chief of Staff of the National Guard since

December 1982, when he replaced Col. Armando Contreras (for whose appointment); his successor as Chief of Staff was Col. Roberto Diaz Herrera. It was reported on Aug. 7 that Gen. Paredes had been nominated as PRD candidate for the forthcoming presidential election, having already been nominated by two minor groups, the newly-formed right-wing Labour Party (Pala) and the centre-left Broad Popular Front (Frampo). The opposition parties, however, objected vociferously to his candidature and he declared on Sept. 7 that he would renounce all presidential aspirations 'for the good of the fatherland' and for the sake of the National Guard." For Paredes running in the 1984 election, and losing the election, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 30, October 1984, "Election Cabinet Changes Foreign relations." Noriega takes over as Commander of the Defence Forces, and therefore effective leader. Paredes is thus a regular exit, see Lentz 1994, p. 622.

PAN-1983 95 PAN Noriega 15/08/1983 03/01/1990

Noriega's entry - see above - is coded as irregular since completely in-house by military. A case could be made, however, that this is regular by Panama's norms. Deposed by US invasion, imprisoned in the US, *Washington Post* 4 January, 1990, p. A1.

Keesing's Vol. 34, April 1988 reports: "As the situation in Panama grew increasingly chaotic the nominal head of state, President Eric Arturo Delvalle, on Feb. 25, 1988, attempted unsuccessfully to dismiss Gen. Noriega who, however, used the Legislative Assembly (the legislative body), dominated by his own supporters, to remove the President and to replace him with Gen. Noriega's own appointee. The United States administration in March brought financial pressure to bear on the Panamanian regime, and the government's resulting inability to pay salaries brought it into sharp conflict with public employees and other sectors for the first time."

PAN-1990 95 PAN Endara 04/01/1990 01/09/1994

Endara, who ruled Panama after Noriega until 1 September 1994 was born in 1936. Chirico records that Endara Galimany was installed with the help of the US.

PAN-1994 95 PAN Balladares 01/09/1994 01/09/1999

Balladares. Term limited. Constitutionally.

PAN-1999 95 PAN Mireya Moscoso 01/09/1999 01/09/2004

Mireya Moscoso. See also: `http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A57581-2005Jan7.html`. *Washington Post* Foreign Service, Saturday, January 8, 2005, page A10. " Facing Charges, Not Discomforts. Former Latin American Leaders live the good life While in Confinement". "In Panama, former president Mireya Moscoso, whose term ended last year, faces inquiries about as much as $70 million in government funds that were not accounted for under her administration. No formal charges have been brought."

PAN-2004 95 PAN Martin Torrijos 01/09/2004 31/12/2004

Son of Torrijos Herrera, dictator 1968–1981.

2.19 COLOMBIA

Sources consulted include Gomez Aristizabal (1999).

COL-1874 100 COL Perez 01/04/1874 01/04/1876

Santiago Perez, Becomes Minister to the US. See *The New York Times*, Oct. 28, 1876. Later he was in Ecuador. See *The New York Times*, Jul. 8, 1888. He was born in 1830.

COL-1876 100 COL Parra 01/04/1876 14/05/1877

On Aguileo Parra see `http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/p/parra_aquileo.htm` He stepped down for health reasons. He was born in 1825.

COL-1877-1 100 COL Camargo 14/05/1877 15/08/1877

COL-1877-2 100 COL Parra 15/08/1877 01/04/1878

On Aguileo Parra see `http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/p/parra_aquileo.htm` Parra was exiled. He was born in 1825.

COL-1878 100 COL Trujillo 01/04/1878 08/04/1880

Gen. Juan Trujillo. `http://dodgson.ucsd.edu/las/colombia/1850-1899.html` quotes Park, 1985 that "At the time of Trujillo's election the Radicals controlled the government of every state except Bolivar, where Nunez served as governor from 1876 to 1879.

For his post tenure fate , see *The New York Times*, Aug. 4, 1880, p.1. He was born in 1828.

COL-1880 100 COL Nunez 08/04/1880 01/04/1882

Nunez was born on 28/9/1825. See The *Washington Post*, Nov. 21, 1893, p.6 on him.

COL-1882-1 100 COL Zaldua 01/04/1882 21/12/1882

Zaldua dies in office. See the *Washington Post*, Nov. 21, 1893, p.6. Nunez is Vice President, First designado, but at that time the governor of Panama and away from Bogota. So Otalara takes over as second designado.

COL-1882-2 100 COL Otalora 22/12/1882 01/04/1884

COL-1884 100 COL Nunez 01/04/1884 12/09/1894

Since he stays in power more or less continuously either right up front or behind the scenes, and since he often rules through C. Holguin who is in Bogota while he is in Cartagena, perhaps we code Nunez in from 1884 through his death 12 Sept. 1894. Most likely also simply more in line with realities in Colombia at the time. Nunez leaves most of the executive work/power in the hands of his Vice Presidents ... "Under the Constitution, the moment the President steps across the municipal bounds of the capital there insures a sort of Presidential interregnum, which the Vice President fills, the entire responsibility of Government devolving on him." *The New York Times*, Aug. 3, 1891,p.2.

On Nunez see also: `http://dodgson.ucsd.edu/las/colombia/1850-1899.html`. He was born on 28/9/1825. Encyclopedia Brit records him dying Sept. 12, 1894. Takes an overdose of a sedative in 1893. The *Washington Post*, Nov. 17, 1893,6. See also *The*

New York Times, Sept.20, 1894, p.1. *The New York Times*, Oct. 28, 1894, p.17. Carlos Holquin dies in October.

COL-1894 100 COL Caro 18/09/1894 07/08/1898
Miguel Caro is Vice President. See *The New York Times*, Aug. 3, 1891, p.2 He was born in 1843. For his fate, see `http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/c/caro_miguel.htm`

COL-1898 100 COL Sanclemente 07/08/1898 31/07/1900
See The *Washington Post*, Sept. 7, 1900p.2, *The New York Times*, 7 Sept. 1900, p.6 and The *Washington Post*, Oct.16, 1902, p. 1 all refer to this as a coup. The *Washington Post* of 1902 notes: President Marroquin procured the office of President of Colombia by arbitrarily deposing for President Sanctemente [sic, HG], July 31, 1900. *The New York Times*, 7 Sept. 1900 also records that Sanclemente has been imprisoned. And says, "Great confusion exists in Government affairs, several branches of the Government refusing to extend recognition to Marroguin.

The *Washington Post*, Sept. 7, 1900p.2, *The New York Times*, 7 Sept. 1900, p.6 and The *Washington Post*, Oct.16, 1902,p. 1 all refer to this as a coup. The *Washington Post* of 1902 notes: President Marroquin procured the office of President of Colombia by arbitrarily deponsing for President Sanctemente [sic, HG], July 31, 1900. *The New York Times*, 7 Sept. 1900 also records that Sanclemente has been imprisoned. And says, "Great confusion exists in Government affairs, several branches of the Government refusing to extend recognition to Marroguin. He was unseated in coup.

COL-1900 100 COL Marroquin 31/07/1900 07/08/1904
See *The New York Times*, Sept.22, 1908, p.9.

COL-1904 100 COL Reyes Prieto 07/08/1904 08/07/1909
Reyes Prieto. See The *Washington Post*, Jul 27, 1909, p.1. He was in Hamburg, and plans to stay. Exiled.

COL-1909-1 100 COL J. Holguin 08/07/1909 03/08/1909
Lentz

COL-1909-2 100 COL Gonzales Valencia 03/08/1909 15/07/1910
Gen. Valencia was elected first presidential substitute. See The *Washington Post*, Jul 17, 1910. p.1 Later he became ambassador to Venezuela.

COL-1910 100 COL Restropo 15/07/1910 07/08/1914
Carlos Restrepo. Lentz suggests he's OK, see also *The New York Times*, Jul 31, 1918, p.5. see The *Washington Post*, Aug. 7, 1918, p.7

COL-1914 100 COL Concha 07/08/1914 07/08/1918

COL-1918 100 COL Suarez 07/08/1918 11/11/1921
See Lentz and The *Washington Post*, Aug. 10, 1926, p.4

COL-1921 100 COL J. Holguin 11/11/1921 07/08/1922

COL-1922 100 COL Nel Ospina 07/08/1922 07/08/1926

Lentz, lost power on Aug. 7, 1926, and died on July 1, 1927. Since he died after 6 months after leaving office, and only one month before his year after losing office ended, we code him as not punished and his post-exit fate as OK.

COL-1926 100 COL Abadia Mendez 07/08/1926 07/08/1930

See *The New York Times*, May 17, 1947, p.16

COL-1930 100 COL Olaya Herrera 07/08/1930 07/08/1934

See Lentz.

COL-1934 100 COL Lopez Pumarejo 07/08/1934 07/08/1938

See Lentz. Term limited. Offers resignation in 1937. Barred from seeking re-election in 1938.

COL-1938 100 COL Santos 07/08/1938 07/08/1942

COL-1942 100 COL Lopez Pumarejo 07/08/1942 07/08/1945

Offers to resign in June, see *The New York Times*, June 28, 1945, p. 2. Leaves office in August. See *The New York Times*, Aug. 9, 1945, p. 12. "Colombia Expropriation Signed." Becomes Colombia's representative to the UN. Elected to the Colombian Senate March 1947, see *The New York Times*, March 18, 1947, p. 4. Lentz. Elected president of the United Nationas Security Council in 1947. He "was the victim of right-wing extremism when his house was set on fire in 1952. Lopez subsequently went into exile in Mexico during the presidency of Gustovo Rojas Pinilla."

Note: *The New York Times*, July 12, 1944, p. 4 "Lopez Is Rescued by Colombia Units" records "Bogota, Colombia, July 11-President Alfonso Lopez Pumarejo, abducted early yesterday at Pasto, capital of the southern State of Narino, by a rebellious Army group, has been rescued from his captors by an expedition of citizens and loyal troops, according to a report late tonight. He is expected to return to Bogota and resume his office. Vice President Dario Enchandia has been acting head of the Government since the outbreak of the revolt, which came while President Lopez was attending Army maneuvers at Pasto."

COL-1945 100 COL Lleras Camargo 07/08/1945 07/08/1946

See Lentz. Term limited.

COL-1946 100 COL Ospina Perez 07/08/1946 07/08/1950

COL-1950 100 COL Laureanco Gomez 07/08/1950 05/11/1951

Lentz records: Laureano Gomez becomes seriously ill in November 1951 and Roberto Urdaneta Arebelaz served as acting president in his stead. Appointed an interim due to health problems.

After 1945, when the Conservatives resumed power Gomez was appointed foreign minister, but as nominal party leader wields power behind the scenes. Gomez, feeling himself targeted by violence, fled to Spain in 1948, but returned the following year.

He was elected President in 1950, suffered a heart attack in 1951. Colombia grew so imperiled by instability that on June 13, 1953, General Gustavo Rojas Pinelilla overthrew

the government in a bloodless coup. Gomez was summarily exiled to Spain. (Until 1957.) Fredriksen.

COL-1951 100 COL Roberto Urdaneta Arbelaez 05/11/1951 13/06/1953

Lentz records: Because of poor health condition of Laureano Gomez, Roberto Urdaneta Arbelaez served as the acting President from November 1951 to 13 June 1953. Gomez Castro dismissed Arbelaez on 13 June 1953 and resumed his duties. Later that same day, Gomez is ousted by a coup, and banished to Spain. He is the interim for Laureanco Gomez.

COL-1953-1 100 COL Laureanco Gomez 13/06/1953 13/06/1953

Gomez Castro dismissed Arbelaez on 13 June 1953 and resumed his duties. Later that same day, Gomez is ousted in a military coup, and banished to Spain. *The New York Times* 14 June, 1953, p. 1.

COL-1953-2 100 COL Rojas Pinillia 13/06/1953 10/05/1957

Keesing's Vol. 17, September 1971. Junta replaces the leader. They do break with the institutional setup by annuling the fake elections that gave the president another four years in office. On the other hand, they do not change the government makeup, i.e. the cabinet. There seems to be no struggle involved such as taking of key strategic positions. This is not a military coup but a 'power struggle within military'. *The New York Times* 11 May, 1957, p. 1. Exiled in Spain.

COL-1957 100 COL Paris 10/05/1957 07/08/1958

Keesing's Vol. 17, September 1971 "General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla had seized power in a coup d'état on June 13, 1953, when he deposed the Conservative President Laureano Gomez, who had been declared elected "unopposed" in November 1949. ... On May 10, 1957, however, a five-man military junta led by General Paris and also comprising Brigadier Rafael Navas Pardo (C.-in-C. of the Army), Major-General Deogracias Fonseca (the chief of police), Rear-Admiral Ruben Piedrahita (previously Minister of Public Works) and Brigadier Luis E. Ordonez (head of the secret police) forced President Reins Pinilla to resign, and the latter thereupon left the country to go into voluntary exile in Spain. The junta announced that it would hold office until Aug. 7, 1958, i.e. the end of the outgoing President's term of office, and would then form a Government from members of the traditional parties. The National Assembly was dissolved and freedom of the press restored–although the state of siege under martial law continued. Two former Presidents, Dr. Alberto Lleras Camargo (the leader of the Liberal Party), and Senor Laureano Gomez, then living in exile in Spain, entered into protracted negotiations and eventually reached agreement on co-operation between their two parties in a National Front (Frente de Transformacion National) in order to set up a stable coalition Government width would restore peace to the country. The principal provisions of the agreement were as follows: (a) The Presidency should be held, during the 16 years from 1958 to 1974, for a four-year term each by a Liberal and a Conservative in rotation (so that irrespective of the election result a Liberal President would be followed by a Conservative one, and vice versa). (b) Both parties would have an equal number of seats in both Houses of Congress (the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate), and complete parity in all governmental and administrative bodies. (c) The Cabinet would consist of an equal number of Ministers from both parties, with the Foreign Minister being of the

same party as the President, plus one Army officer. (d) Elections for the Chamber of Representatives would be held every two years, and those for the Senate every four years together with the presidential elections. (e) All legislation would require a two-thirds majority in Congress. The junta thereupon recommended that the agreement should be incorporated in the country's Constitution as "a means of ending party strife" and "the bloody internal struggles", which had caused "complete devastation in agriculture and unprecedented economic chaos". The agreement was accordingly approved by a majority of 3,885,440 votes (against 172,867 negative and 8,820 blank votes) in a referendum held on Dec. 1, 1957. The Supreme Court ruled on Feb. 13, 1958, that the five members of the military junta should act as constitutional Presidents with equal rights until Aug. 7, 1958. In congressional elections held tinder the new Constitution on March 16, 1958, the Liberals polled 1,745,319 votes and the Conservatives 1,262,122. Both parties obtained, as laid down in the Constitution, an equal number of seats in the 148-member Chamber of Representatives and in the 80-member Senate. In presidential elections held on May 4, 1958, the candidate of the National Front, the Liberal Dr. Alberto Lleras Camargo, obtained 2,482,948 votes or 85 per cent of the total, against 614,861 votes or 12 per cent polled by Dr. Jorge Leyva, who stood as an Independent Conservative, while the remaining three per cent consisted of blank and invalid papers. President Lleras Camargo, who had been President in 1945-46 after the resignation of President Alfonso Lopez Pumarejo, assumed office and appointed a Cabinet of six Conservatives, six Liberals and Brigadier Alfonso Saiz Montoya as Minister of War. On Aug. 28, 1958, the new Government lifted the state of siege in all parts of the country except the departments of Caldas, Cauca, Huila, Tolima and Valle del Cauca, where emergency restrictions remained in force in order to cope with continuing violence. However, following the discovery of a plot allegedly inspired by General Reins Pinilla, who had returned to Colombia in October 1958, President Lleras Camargo temporarily reimposed the state of siege from Dec. 3, 1958, to Jan. 12, 1959. General Rojas Pinilla, who had been arrested, was subsequently sentenced to residence under surveillance, as well as loss of military rank and of civic rights, on charges of violating the Constitution and degrading the presidency by having, it was alleged, illegally enriched himself–this decision being approved by the Senate on April 2, 1959, by 44 votes to 17. These penalties were gradually relaxed during subsequent years, however, and the General was tacitly permitted to engage in political activities."

COL-1958 100 COL Lleras Camargo 07/08/1958 07/08/1962
Keesing's Vol. 17, September 1971

COL-1962 100 COL Guillermo-Leon 07/08/1962 07/08/1966

COL-1966 100 COL Lleras Restropo 07/08/1966 07/08/1970
Keesing's Vol. 17, September 1971: "President Lleras Restrepo, a distant cousin of ex-President Lleras Camargo and a co-founder of the National Front, was an experienced economist with liberal ideas on social policies; he had established numerous study groups with the object of preparing plans for overcoming Colombian's difficulties as a country relying heavily on its coffee exports, and unable to produce enough agricultural output to maintain the people's standard of living"

COL-1970 100 COL Pastrana Borrero 07/08/1970 07/08/1974

COL-1974 100 COL Lopez Michelsen 07/08/1974 07/08/1978

Colombia: ***Keesing's*** Vol. 20, June 1974: "Dr. Alfonso Lopez Michelsen–the son of Dr. Alfonso Lopez Pumarejo, who was President from 1934 to 1938 and from 1942 to 1945–was born in Bogota, in 1914 and trained as a lawyer."

COL-1978 100 COL Turbay 07/08/1978 07/08/1982

Keesing's Vol. 24, September 1978. "Dr Turbay Ayala (62), who is of Lebanese origin, was a senator at the time of his election; he had been ambassador to the United States until 1976, and had also been presidential substitute (designado) under various Presidents, as well as Foreign Minister from 1958 to 1961 under President Alberto Lleras Camargo." Turbay Ayala was banned by constitution from seeking a second term.

COL-1982 100 COL Betancur 07/08/1982 07/08/1986

COL-1986 100 COL Vargas 07/08/1986 07/08/1990

Keesing's Vol. 32, December 1986. Barco Vargas: "was born in Cucuta, in northern Colombia. A technocrat with a degree in engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the USA, he began his career as a Liberal politician in Norte de Santander, where he assumed control of the party and was elected to the local and national assemblies before entering the Cabinet as Minister of Public Works in 1958. He was ambassador to London in 1961-62, then returned to Colombia to serve two years as Minister of Agriculture in 1962-4. He was Mayor of Bogota in 1966-1969, an executive director of the World Bank in the early 1970s and was twice ambassador to Washington. In the 1982 presidential elections he withdrew his bid for the Liberal nomination after the former president, Dr Alfonso Lopez Michelson, decided to run."

COL-1990 100 COL Trujillo 07/08/1990 07/08/1994

COL-1994 100 COL Pizano 07/08/1994 07/08/1998

COL-1998 100 COL Arango 07/08/1998 07/08/2002

COL-2002 100 COL Alvaro Uribe Velez 08/08/2002 v 31/12/2004

2.20 VENEZUELA

According to http://countrystudies.us/venezuela/39.htm, "The 1961 constitution continues the long tradition of a powerful president, who serves as head of state and chief executive. He or she must be a Venezuelan by birth, at least thirty years old, and not a member of the clergy. The president is elected by a plurality vote under direct and universal suffrage, serves for five years, and cannot be reelected until after two intervening terms have passed. President Carlos Andrés Pérez became the first Venezuelan elected to serve two terms of office under this provision of the 1961 constitution; he won the December 1988 election after having served as president from 1974 to 1979."

For a list of presidents and their professions, see: http://www.auyantepui.com/historia/presidentes.html. For much more details, see: http://www.auyantepui.com/historia/posesiones.html which also has details on electoral percentages, and election dates. See also D. Rudolph and G. A. Rudolph. 1996. *Historical Dictionary of Venezuela*, 2nd. edition. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press Inc.

1830–1835 101 Jose Páez
A general. Hostile transition.

1835–1836 101 José Maria Vargas
Medical doctor.

1836–1839 101 Carlos Soublette
General. (Part of Triumvirate? Andrés Navarrete, José Ma. Carreño and Carlos Soublette.) Hostile transition.

1839–1843 101 José Páez
General. Staged unsuccessful coups against Monagas in 1848 and 1849, exiled 1850–1858.

1843–1847 101 Carlos Soublette
General.

1847–1858 101 José Tadeo Monagas
Survives 1848 and 1849 coup attempts by Páez. General. Reelected in 1851 and 1855. Refuge in the French Embassy, exile to France. Father of Joé Ruperto Monagas, 1868. (15/3/1857- El Presidente J. T. Monagas renuncia)

1858 101 Carlos Soublette
Start of the Federal War? General. Provisional President? (hostile transition?)

1858–1859 101 Julián Castro
General, enters by a coup. Convicted for treason but later absolved. (9/7/1858- La Convención de Valencia elige a Castro como Presidente Provisional.) (2/8/1859- Castro es destituido, enjuiciado por traición y expulsado del país. Pedro Gual es designado presidente por la ausencia de Tovar.)

1859 101 Pedro Gual

Coup? (2/8/1859- Castro es destituido, enjuiciado por traición y expulsado del país. Pedro Gual es designado presidente por la ausencia de Tovar.)

1859–1861 101 Manuel Felipe Tovar.

Politician. Enters by election after coup? (7/6/1859- Castro deja encargado al vicepresidente Tovar de la presidencia. 20/5/1861- Renuncia Tovar, lo sustituye temporalmente Pedro Gual. 5/9/1861- José Antonio Páez asume la presidencia como Jefe Supremo Civil y Militar de Venezuela.)

1861 101 Pedro Gual

20/5/1861- Renuncia Tovar, lo sustituye temporalmente Pedro Gual. 5/9/1861- José Antonio Páez asume la presidencia como Jefe Supremo Civil y Militar de Venezuela.

1861–1863 101 José Páez

20/5/1861- Renuncia Tovar, lo sustituye temporalmente Pedro Gual. 5/9/1861- José Antonio Páez asume la presidencia como Jefe Supremo Civil y Militar de Venezuela. General.

1863–1869 101 Juán Crisótomo Falcón

General. Winner in the Federal War. Elected indirectly in 1865.

1868 101 José Ruperto Monagas

Revolution; son of José Tadeo Monagas. A General. (20/5/1868- Se alza José Tadeo Monagas en Barcelona contra el gobierno de Falcón. 25/6/1868- José Tadeo Monagas toma Caracas. Guillermo Tell Villegas es nombrado Jefe del Ejecutivo mientras los Estados Federales eligen a Monagas, pero éste muere el 18/11/1868.)

VEN-1870 101 VEN Guzman Blanco 27/04/1870 20/02/1877

Antonio Guzman Blanco He engineers a revolution.

VEN-1877-1 101 VEN Martinez de Aleman 21/02/1877 02/03/1877

Jacinto Gutierrez Martinez de Aleman was born in 1808. He is Chief Justice of the High Federal Court. See next entry.

VEN-1877-2 101 VEN Linares Alcantara 02/03/1877 20/11/1878

Linares Alcantara. See *The New York Times*, Dec. 16, 1877, p.1 and The *Washington Post*, Aug 13, 1878, p.1. Gen Pulido is attempting a revolt against him. His son graduates from the US Military Academy, becomes General in Venezuela. *The New York Times*, Aug. 8, 1901, p.1. `http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/l/linares_alcantara.htm` He was born in 1825. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec.9, 1878, p. 1 "Venezuela" records: "Alcantara dead. Philadelphia, PA., Dec. 8-A cable dispatch was received here yesterday stating that President Alcantara, Chief Magistrate of Venezuela, died Nov. 30, and that J. Gutierrez, Chief Justic of the High Federal Court, was acting as President."

VEN-1878 101 VEN Martinez de Aleman 20/11/1878 01/01/1879

Jacinto Gutierrez Martinez de Aleman. See above, Chief Justic of the High Federal Court, he also goes abroad, to US. *The New York Times*, May 29, 1879, p.5. See also

The New York Times, Jan. 26, 1879, p.1, which talks about revolutionaries wanting to put Blanco back in power. He was born in 1808.

VEN-1879 101 VEN Guzman Blanco 26/02/1879 27/04/1884

See *The New York Times*, Jul. 4, 1879, p.1. He's out of the country, in St. Thomas., and Diego Urbaveja, Secretary of the Interior is charged with the Government during Blanco's absence. Also see *The New York Times*, Apr. 22, 1880, p2. Chooses exile after unrest.

VEN-1884 101 VEN Joaquin Crespo 27/04/1884 27/04/1886

Joaquin Crespo. *The New York Times*, Oct. 10, 1892, p.4, gets captured in 1888? *The New York Times* reports his death, while fighting insurgents, Apr. 20, 1898, p.1. He was born in 1841.

VEN-1886-1 101 VEN Antonio Diez 27/04/1886 15/09/1886

Antonio Diez was born in 1838.

VEN-1886-2 101 VEN Guzman Blanco 15/09/1886 08/08/1887

See *The New York Times*, Sept. 8, 1887, p.4. Even though he goes back to Paris, it's not punishment. See *The New York Times*, Dec. 2, 1892, p.3. *The New York Times*. Feb. 20, 1888, p.3, "About 1877 or 1878, during one of Blanco's numerous terms of office, (out of 18 years had has been President for 14 years), he gave to Venezuela a new Constitution, modeled on that of the Swiss republics, and to-day, according to the articles of that Constitution, the method of electing a President in the United States of Venezuela should be as follows-I say should be advisedly, because there are many here who hold that the Electoral Convention is un unconstitutional device of Blanco's to secure in the end a President who will be entirely subservient to the interests of the illustrious American [=Blanco, HG]: There are eight States in the union, and each State is entitled to three Senators and to one Representative in Congress for every 40,000 inhabitants. From Congress so constituted are, according to the Constitution of Venezuela, to be selected one Senator and one Representative from each of the eight States, making 16 members in all, who, with a Representative from El Distrito Federal constitute the Federal Council. The Federal District, by the way, copied after the District of Columbia, comprises Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, and its outlying suburbs. It has no Representative in Congress, but is entitled to one Deputy to the Federal Council. The 17 members of the Federal Council, and they alone, are eligible to the Presidency of the republic. Congress assembles on the 20th of February, and immediately proceeds to the choice of the Federal Council, which elects a presiding officer, who by virtue of that office is also President of the republic. This year Blanco and his friends have changed all that. Five of the candidates agreed to leave their claims upon the Presidency to an Electoral Convention, consisting of two members representing each candidate. Of this convention Guzman Blanco was expected to act as Chairman-as arbitrator, so to speak, of the conflicting rights of the candidates for recommendation to Congress. .... As we have seen, this extra constitutional convention met in the municipal hall yesterday morning, and to the surprise of all Venezuelans nominated, not Matos the brother-in-law of Blanco, but Dr. Rojas Paul, and adjourned sine die. Therefore the name of Paul will be recommended to Congress for election to the Presidency of Venezuela, and if he is confirmed to that office by the Congress which

should meet on Feb. 20 he will, if permitted by Blanco on the one hand and the people on the other, serve as Chief Magistrate of the republic for two years."

VEN-1887 101 VEN Lopez 08/08/1887 05/07/1888
Gen. Hermogenes Lopez, see *The New York Times*, May 20, 1888, p.10.

VEN-1888 101 VEN Rojas Paul 05/07/1888 19/03/1890
Dr. Rojas. Lawyer, civilian. See *The New York Times*, Oct. 10, 1892, p.4. *The New York Times*, Feb. 20, 1888, p3. See *The New York Times*, Dec. 2, 1892, p.3. He was born in 1826. He was exiled. `http://www.auyantepui.com/historia/posesiones.html#rojas` notes that Rojas takes office, officially, on 5 July 1888. Gen. H. Lopez, see *The New York Times*, Feb. 20, 1888, p.3. "Yesterday an Electoral Convention met in El Concejo Municpal, (Municipal Council Chamber,) in this city [Caracas, HG], for the purpose of selecting a candidate whom the convention will recommend to Congress for confirmation as President of the United States of Venezuela to succeed Gen. Lopez, who now occupies that important office. Contrary to all expectation, the choice of the convention was Dr. Rojas Paul, . . . , a lawyer of some ability, a civilian, a politician, and, to say the most in his favor, a statesman of moderate capacity. Dr. Paul is now a member of the Cabinet and Minister of Finance. Up to the latest moment it was supposed that Gen. Manuel Antonio Matos, the brother-in-law of Gen Guzman Blanco, would without doubt be selected by the convention for recommendation to Congress.

VEN-1890-1 101 VEN Palacio 19/03/1890 17/06/1892
Raimundo Andueza Palacio. His mandate was supposed to end Feb. 20, 1892. (But new presidents officially take over office about 1 month later.) Flees to Paris. See also *The New York Times*, Sept. 8, 1892, p.9. He was born in 1846. Exiled.

The New York Times, Oct. 10, 1892, p. 4. "Venezuela's Revolution. ". . . in the early part of 1890 Dr. Andueza Palacio became President of Venezuela, succeeding Dr. Rojas Paul, for the constitutional period of two years. He was a lawyer, the son of a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and had himself been a Judge of that court, and also a Cabinet officer both under President Alcantara and President Paul. A peculiarity in the political system of Venezuela has been its election of a new President each second year; and since the incumbent is ineligible for re-election until after a term shall have intervened, a change of administration has been inevitable every other year. When Dr. Palacio was elected, a successful effort was made to change the Presidential term to four years, and also to eliminate the Federal Council-a body itself chosen by Congress-as a factor in the election of President, making this officer directly the choice of Congress. The required number of States voted for these amendments to the Constitution, and the new arrangement was to go into operation on the expiration of Dr. Palacio's term, Feb. 20, 1892. A curious question, however, was became a party issue, arose. It was whether Congress should first declare the new Constitution, under which a Congress should be called to choose a President, or should reverse the order and itself elect the President first. Palacio was accused by his opponents of trying, since his own candidacy was out of the question, to control the election of a temporary successor, he favoring the former of the alternatives spoken of. Bitter feeling was stirred up, and with the failure of those representing Palacio's views to appear in the Senate there was no quorum, no election of President, and no putting in force of the new Constitution. Palacio meanwhile continued

in office, and they the cry arose that he was making himself Dictator. The Supreme Court was appealed to, and that body decided that in any case Palacio had no right to be President. Bu that time, however, matters had gone so far that Palacio defended his course on the ground of supreme necessity and the importance of not leaving the republic without a head. From the first there had been some disposition to resort to arms, and Gen. Crespo, who four years before had been generously set at liberty by Dr. Rojas Paul after being captured with his fellow-revolutionists, promptly raised the standard of revolt again. About a week before the decision of the court, Palacio sent troops against a body of the revolutionists and dispersed them. But, as the insurrection still continued, he held that his duty was still to remain in power, to prevent anarchy, and began to arrest Congressmen and even the Judges who opposed him, while the capital was practically under martial law. This anomalous condition of affairs apparently favored the revolution, for Crespo's forces increased, and although the Government continually claimed victories in the skirmishes, they continued to make headway and secured the advantage of a port, Puerto Cabell, in which to receive arms and ammunition. At length Palacio proposed a compromise; but his terms were not agreed to, and in disgust he left the country and went to Paris."

VEN-1890-2 101 VEN Tell Villegas 17/06/1892 02/09/1892

Guillermo Tell Villegas. *The New York Times*, Oct. 10, 1892, p.4. Flees to New York. *The New York Times*, Sept. 7. 1892, p.9. *The New York Times*, Sept.8, 1892, p.9. Finally also goes to Paris. *The New York Times*, Dec. 2, 1892, p.3. Born in 1823.

VEN-1892-1 101 VEN Tell Villegas Pulido 02/09/1892 06/10/1892

Guillermo Tell Villegas. See *The New York Times*, Sept. 7. 1892, p.9. Also see *The New York Times*, Oct. 10, 1892, p.4. He was born in 1854. Exiled to Paris. He is a different person from the previous Tell Villegas, see *The New York Times*, Sept. 7, 1892, p.9.

VEN-1892-2 101 VEN Joaquin Crespo 07/10/1892 28/02/1894

Joaquin Crespo. See *The New York Times*, Oct. 10, 1892. The *Washington Post*, Jan 18, 1894, p.1. The *Washington Post*, Mar 30, 1894, p.4. He gives power a couple of days to Guzman, but that's just for show. *The New York Times*, Feb. 22, 1898, p.7 "The Constitution of Venezuela obliges the President to resign on Feb. 20 from which date, or until the time that the Venezuelan Congress has deemed valid the election of Gen. Adrade, the Presidency will be temporarily occupied by Gen. Guzman Alarez, the actual President of the Government Council. Also: see *The New York Times*, April 20, 1898. p.7.

VEN-1894-1 101 VEN Guzman Alvarez 28/02/1894 14/03/1894

Guzman Alvarez. See *The New York Times*, Feb. 22, 1898. He was born in 1830.

VEN-1894-2 101 VEN Joaquin Crespo 14/04/1894 20/02/1898

Joaquin Crespo. *The New York Times*, Feb. 22, 1898. p.7. See *The New York Times*, April 20, 1898. p.7. Dies, fighting for the next president. For his death, see also *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 19, 1898, p. 12 "Gen. Crespo is Killed."

VEN 101 VEN Guzman Alvarez 20/2/1898 28/2/1898

The New York Times, Feb. 22, 1898. Andrade defeats Rojas Paul. *The New York Times*, April. 20, 1898. p.7. Corresponds also with `www.rulers.org`.

VEN-1898 101 VEN Andrade 20/02/1898 20/10/1899

President Andrade flees (through the back door) to Puerto Rico. See *The New York Times*. Nov. 6, 1899. p.6. Later "works for a living" in Trinidad. See *The New York Times*, April 12, 1906, p.1. Also see *The New York Times*, Feb. 22, 1898. Andrade defeats Rojas Paul. See *The New York Times*, April. 20, 1898. p.7.

VEN-1899 101 VEN Cipriano Castro 21/10/1899 10/12/1908

Cipriano Castro was in power from 1899 to 1908. Lentz notes: "Castro suffered from poor health in 1908 and went to Germany for medical treatment. Soon after he left the country, Vice President Juan Vicente Gomez seized power on December 20, 1908."

VEN-1908 101 VEN Gomez 19/12/1908 18/12/1935

Survived multiple coups, death from natural causes. Sometimes in front, sometimes behind the scenes, but the effective leader throughout.

VEN-1935 101 VEN Lopez Contreras 18/12/1935 15/04/1941

Lopez Contreras. Out in 1941 See Lentz: exiled in 1945.

VEN-1941 101 VEN Medina Angarita 05/05/1941 18/10/1945

Uprising led by young army officers in the runup to presidential elections, *Chicago Daily Tribune* 20 October, 1945, p. 1. Exile in the US.

VEN-1945 101 VEN Betancourt 18/10/1945 15/02/1948

Exile.

VEN-1948-1 101 VEN Gallegos 15/02/1948 24/11/1948

Removed in a military coup, *The New York Times* 25 November, 1948, p. 1. Exile.

VEN-1948-2 101 VEN Delgado Chalbaud 24/11/1948 13/11/1950

Other junta members are more opposed to transition to democracy. Lentz: "Delgado was shot and beaten to death in Caracas by a mob of twenty assassins on November 13, 1950. The leader of the assassination squad, retired General Rafael Simon Urbina, was killed the following day when he tried to escape from a prison guard." See also *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 14, 1950, p. 4 "Venezuelan Chief Slain by Assassins."

Urbina is not on active duty, so this is no military coup. I will code this as rebel act, because of the perpetrator's background, and because there must have existed some organizational structures that allowed the leader to bring together this group of people to kill the president. *The New York Times* 15 November, 1950, p. 1; Lentz 1994, p. 822.

DELETED: Figurehead for Perez Jimenez

VEN-1950 101 VEN Suarez Flamerich 27/11/1950 03/12/1952

German Suarez Flammerich (or Flamerich). See *The New York Times*, Nov. 25, 1952, p. 19. Promises that Nov. 30 parliamentary elections would be completely free. Junta resigns. *The New York Times*, Dec. 3, 1952, p. 1 & 26 "Junta Head Takes Venezuela

Power in Voting Sequel." This article suggests that Flammerich actually was a figurehead for Perez Jiminez all along. Exile. *The New York Times*, Nov. 26, 1952, p. 8 "Colombia and Venezuela End Last Border Dispute" Caracas Nov. 25 "The Colombian Government has recognized Venezuelan sovereignty over Los Monjes Archipelago [cross on map], or a group of small Caribbean islands situated strategically off the Goajira Peninsula, Dr. Herman Swarez Flammerich, President of the Venezuelan Government Junta announced today. ...Because of the relative proximity of the islands to oil-rich Lake Maracaibo, there were unconfirmed reports that they might contain oil or uranium deposits."

VEN-1952 101 VEN Perez Jimenez 13/11/1950 23/01/1958

The New York Times, Dec. 3, 1952, p. 1 & 26 "Junta Head Takes Venezuela Power in Voting Sequel." p.26 "Col. Perez Jimenez is an officer in his early forties who has had a meteoric rise since 1945. He was one of the young officers who took part in the Army coup that overthrew the Medina Angarita Government. In the Acción Democratica Government that ensured he played an important part, and was the Army Chief of Staff. When Acción Democratic, to which the Army had given its loyalty, was overthrown a three-man junta was formed consisting of Col. Carlos Delgado Chalbaud, Col. Perez Jimenez and Col. Llovera Paez. At the time Col. Perez Jimenez also assumed the Ministry of Defense. When Col. Delgado Chalbaud was assassinated in November, 1950, Dr. German Suarez Flamerich, a civilian, took his place in the junta. Since that time Col. Perez Jimenez has emerged as the most important member of the triumvirate." *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 4, 1952, p.24 also names him as "a key member of the three-man junta which had ruled Venezuela since 1950, ..."

Lentz also records "Junta member Lt. Col. Marcos Pérez Jimenez remained largely in control of the country while Suarez served as head of state." See also *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 14, 1950, p. 4 "Venezuelan Chief Slain by Assassins."

Since he is a member of the ruling junta, and takes over after Chalbaud is assassinated, we code this as a regular entry. (As when a number two takes over after leader is removed.)

See *The New York Times*, Nov. 30, 1952, p. 36. Candidates in the Nov. 30 election are Villalba and Caldera. "Among observers there is speculation not so much as to what will happen before or during the elections tomorrow but as to what will take place after them. They feel that if the Government wins a substantial majority-say 70 per cent or more-it will have no problems. Col. Marcos Perez Jimenez, in that case would unquestionably be named provisional president and, if he proved equal to that test of leadership, no great difficulties would be expected. If, on the other hand, the Government wins a precarious majority, it is expected that opposition leaders will pose many problems. If the Government does not win a majority of the delegates, there is a possibility of a coalition by it with the Cope party. However, the Copei has not indicated its willingness to make such a coalition." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 3, 1952, p.B9 records Perez taking over power and also notes that results of the elections published by the government do not match preliminary unofficial returns published in the Caracas newspapers. "The returns had showed the leftist opposition, URD, leading with 294,595 votes in a political upset, FEI [=Government, HG] a poor second with 147,528, and COPEI [Christian Democrats, HG] trailing with 89,095".

Flees in the face of public uprising, *The New York Times* 23 January, 1958, p. 1. Exile in the US. Lentz records that "he was extradited to Venezuela in August 1963 on

charges of embezzling government funds. Pérez Jimenez remained imprisoned until 1968, when he was elected to the Venezuelan Senate." lection is subsequently annulled and he goes into exile in Madrid Spain. There had been a military rebellion against him on January 1, 1958, but it was crushed and its leaders arrested.

VEN-1958-1 101 VEN Larrazabal 23/01/1958 14/11/1958

VEN-1958-2 101 VEN Sanabria 14/11/1958 13/02/1959

VEN-1959 101 VEN Betancourt 13/02/1959 01/12/1963
Traveled through Europe; settled in Switzerland.

VEN-1963 101 VEN Leoni 01/12/1963 11/03/1969

VEN-1969 101 VEN Caldera Rodriguez 11/03/1969 12/03/1974

VEN-1974 101 VEN Andres Perez 12/03/1974 12/03/1979

VEN-1979 101 VEN Campins 12/03/1979 02/02/1984

VEN-1984 101 VEN Lusinchi 02/02/1984 02/02/1989

VEN-1989 101 VEN Andres Perez 02/02/1989 31/08/1993
Los Angeles Times, Dec. 7, 1988, p. 23 "Perez's center-left party, Democratic Action, belongs to the Socialist International. As a young activist, Perez opposed the dictatorship of Gen. Marcos Perez Jimenez (1952-58) and was jailed twice, once for a year. He also spent time in exile. In 1978 and 1979, when Perez was president, he gave aid and diplomatic support to the Marxist-oriented Sandinista guerrillas who seized power in Nicaragua. After he left office in the early 1980s, he often chastised the Reagan Administration for supporting the anti-Sandinista Contras, but in recent years Perez's relations with the Sandinistas apparently have cooled." Court rules that there is sufficient evidence to try the president for the embezzlement of $17.2 mill. + Ordered to stand trial. Impeached by the Senate. See *The New York Times*, Sept. 22, 1994. Records he was in jail for two months in 1994, now under house arrest. See also *Christian Science Monitor*, May 24, 1994, Survives coup attempt. ordered to stand trial for embezzlement.

Valenzuela (2004: 9) notes "Serious economic crisis, two military coup attempts, allegations of corruption. Majority president, near-majority in Congress that crumbled. Impeached. Replaced by congressional appointee."

VEN-1993 101 VEN Velasquez 31/08/1993 02/02/1994

VEN-1994 101 VEN Caldera Rodriguez 02/02/1994 02/02/1999

VEN-1999 101 VEN Hugo Chavez 02/02/1999 31/12/2004
Survives a coup attempt.

Washington Post, January 11, 2007: "Chavez Would Abolish Presidential Term Limit." "BOGOTA, Colombia, Jan. 10 – Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, sworn in to another six-year term on Wednesday, said he would seek a constitutional amendment that could extend his tenure as he hastens his country's transformation into what he calls

"21st-century socialism." .... After winning office in December 1998, in an election that obliterated Venezuela's two long-ruling parties, Chavez set about purging elites from office and holding referendums that led to a redrafting of the constitution and a shift in control in the National Assembly. The new constitution lengthened presidential terms and permitted reelection, and in 2000 Chavez won his first six-year term."

2.21 GUYANA

GUY-1966 110 GUY Burnham 26/05/1966 06/08/1985

GUY-1985 110 GUY Hoyte 06/08/1985 09/10/1992

GUY-1992 110 GUY Jagan Cheddi 09/10/1992 06/03/1997

GUY-1997-1 110 GUY Samuel Hinds 06/03/1997 19/12/1997

GUY-1997-2 110 GUY Janet Jagan 19/12/1997 11/08/1999
Janet Jagan stepped down for health reasons. Jagdeo completed her term. Janet Jagan was the widow of ex-president Cheddi Jagan.

GUY-1999 110 GUY Bharrat Jagdeo 11/08/1999 31/12/2004

2.22 SURINAM

SUR-1975 115 SUR Ferrier 25/11/1975 13/08/1980

Military coup, *The New York Times* 15 August, 1980, p. A5. Ferrier fled the country a couple of months after Bouterse's coup.

SUR-1980 115 SUR Bouterse 13/08/1980 25/01/1988

A military coup in 1980 brought Desi Bouterse to power. In 1987, free elections were held. Bouterse staged another coup in 1990, and remains influential. We do not consider him the effective leader after he formally steps down from power as he does not appear to effectively rule the country on a day to day basis.

SUR-1988 115 SUR Shankar 25/01/1988 24/12/1990

Military coup, by Bouterse. *The New York Times* 12/25/1990, p. 3.

SUR-1990-1 115 SUR Graanoogst 24/12/1990 29/12/1990

Ally of Bouterse. Birthdate is unknown, explicitly so noted in Wikipedia and elsewhere.

SUR-1990-2 115 SUR Kraag 29/12/1990 16/09/1991

Ally of Bouterse

SUR-1991 115 SUR Venetiaan 16/09/1991 15/09/1996

Ally of Bouterse

SUR-1996 115 SUR Wijdenbosch 15/09/1996 12/08/2000

Ally of Bouterse

SUR-2000 115 SUR Venetiaan 12/08/2000 31/12/2004

2.23 ECUADOR

For Ecuadorian Presidents, see the excellent site: `http://www.edufuturo.com/educacion.php?c=206`. Sources consulted include Pérez Marchant (1928)

ECU-1869 130 ECU Moreno 19/01/1869 06/08/1875
Hacked to death with a machete on the steps of the presidential palace

ECU-1875 130 ECU Borrero y Cortazar 09/10/1875 08/09/1876
Exiled.

ECU-1876 130 ECU Veintemilla 08/09/1876 09/07/1883
See *The New York Times*, Feb. 3, 1883, p.4 and *The New York Times*, Jul 15, 1883, p.2.

ECU-1883-1 130 ECU Aloy Alfaro Delgado 09/07/1883 11/10/1883
Eloy Alfaro Delgado. Later becomes president in 1895. See *The New York Times*, Jul 15, 1883, p.2. *The New York Times*, Dec. 3, 1884. He was born 25 June 1842.

ECU-1883-2 130 ECU Borrero y Cortazar 11/10/1883 15/10/1883
Borrero y Cortazar was born in 1827 and died on 9 Oct. 1911. Was elected president in 1875, but kicked out, jailed and held incommunicado. Lived then subsequently in exile until 1883.

ECU-1883-3 130 ECU Perez Pareja 15/10/1883 23/11/1883

ECU-1883-4 130 ECU Caamano 23/11/1883 30/06/1888
Then Caamano y Gomez Cornejo lost power on 30 June 1888. *The New York Times*, Oct. 22, 1883, p.1. Attacked in 1886, coup attempt. See *The New York Times*, Feb. 9, 1886, p.1. It looks like he was exiled See *The New York Times*, Sept. 23, 1889, p.8. But this was more than a year after out.

ECU-1888 130 ECU Flores 03/08/1888 01/07/1892
Flores, lost power in 1892. He was also appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the US. The *Washington Post*, Aug. 24, 1892, p.2. Son of the first constitutional president of Ecuador. Exiled, but it has to be recognized that he liked to travel.

ECU-1892 130 ECU Cordero 01/07/1892 16/04/1895
Luis Cordero, was forced to resign, rumors: escaped to Columbia? Exile.

ECU-1895 130 ECU Aloy Alfaro Delgado 16/04/1895 31/08/1901
Lentz.

ECU-1901 130 ECU Plaza Gutierrez 01/09/1901 31/08/1905
Exile.

ECU-1905 130 ECU Garcia 01/09/1905 15/01/1906
Lizardo Garcia, was ousted by Gen. Colon Alfaro. Rumors: escaped to Brazil. Exiled.

ECU-1906 130 ECU Aloy Alfaro Delgado 17/01/1906 11/08/1911

He was lynched on 28/1/1912. (See e.g., *The New York Times*, August 5, 1972, p. 17 "Patricia Boyd, Eloy Alfaro Jr. Wed in Panama."

ECU-1911-1 130 ECU Freile 11/08/1911 31/08/1911

Carlos Freire Zaldumbide. Spelling also has him (Rulers. org) as Freile. According to Lentz he went to Europe in 1912. Also see *The New York Times*, Mar 7, 1912, p.4.

ECU-1911-2 130 ECU E. Estrada 01/09/1911 22/12/1911

ECU-1911-3 130 ECU Freile 22/12/1911 06/03/1912

Exiled. `http://www.ecuaworld.com/discover/president.htm` notes that Carlos Freire Zaldumbide, 1911-1912 was assassinated. However, rulers.org notes he dies in 1926.

ECU-1912-1 130 ECU Andrade Marin 06/03/1912 10/08/1912

Based partially on Lentz and Rulers.org and *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 29, 1912, p.4 He was born on 15 February 1841.

ECU-1912-2 130 ECU Alfredo Baquerizo Moreno 10/08/1912 01/09/1912

Alfredo Baquerizo Moreno. See Rulers.org and *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 29, 1912, p.4. and `http://www.explored.com.ec/ecuador/baqueriz.htm`. He died in NY, on 20 March 1951. See also `http://www.mmrree.gov.ec/mre/documentos/ministerio/cancilleres/alfredo\%20baquerizo.htm` He was born on 28 September 1859.

ECU-1912-3 130 ECU Plaza Gutierrez 01/09/1912 01/09/1916

ECU-1916 130 ECU Alfredo Baquerizo Moreno 01/09/1916 01/09/1920

Alfredo Baquerizo Moreno. Not much can be found on his fate. . . and many were forced to leave. See also `http://www.mmrree.gov.ec/mre/documentos/ministerio/cancilleres/alfredo\%20baquerizo.htm`

ECU-1920 130 ECU Tamayo 01/09/1920 01/09/1924

Tamayo. His wife dies 7 June 1924. see *The New York Times*, Jun. 8, 1924, p.26. See `http://www.edufuturo.com/educacion.php?c=206`. He was previously exiled.

ECU-1924 130 ECU Cordova 01/09/1924 09/07/1925

Removed ina military coup, *The New York Times* 11 July, 1925, p. 4. See also Lentz, and The *Washington Post*, Jul. 14, 1925, p.8. He was exiled in Chile.

ECU-1925 130 ECU Ayora 09/07/1925 24/08/1931

Ousted after "peaceful revolt" among army officers (*The New York Times* 10-16-1931, p. 9). Coded as a military coup because there had been discontent in the Chimborazo regiment after removal of the later president Davila as commander. See *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug 25, 1931, p.1: he fled to the American Legation. See also *The New York Times*, Sept. 13, 1931, p.E4. *The New York Times*, Oct. 10, 1931, p.10.

ECU-1931-1 130 ECU Larrea Alba 24/08/1931 15/10/1931

Larrea Alba, provisional president, Attempts to declare himself dictator, but meets with resistance by parts of the military. He has support of two regiments. This is

an attempted coup d'état against the constitutional order, and since Alba is a colonel himself, I code it as military coup. Jailed, later exiled as an alien. *The New York Times* 16 October, 1931, p. 9. See also *The New York Times*, Feb. 23, 1935, p.4

ECU-1931-2 130 ECU Alfredo Baquerizo Moreno 15/10/1931 27/08/1932

See Lentz and `http://www.mmrree.gov.ec/mre/documentos/ministerio/cancilleres/alfredo\%20baquerizo.htm`. Military coup by parts of the Quito garrison. *The New York Times* 28 August, 1932, p. 1. Exiled in the US.

ECU-1932-1 130 ECU Freile Larrea 27/08/1932 02/09/1932

On the basis of Lentz: Freile Larrea was in power from Aug. 27, 1932 to Sept. 2, 1932. He was born on July 15, 1892.

ECU-1932-2 130 ECU Guerrero Martin 02/09/1932 06/12/1932

Guerrero Martin. On the basis of Lentz: Forced to step down as Pres of the Senate afterwards. See *The New York Times*, Dec. 9, 1932. p.26. No more info on the `http://www.edufuturo.com/educacion.php?c=206`

ECU-1932-3 130 ECU Martinez Mera 06/12/1932 18/10/1933

Martinez Mera, was removed by senators. He left the country but came back later on. He was deposed constitutionally by Congress. See *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 19, 1933, p.10; *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 24, 1933,p.3 and *The New York Times*, Oct. 28, 1933, p.6. Nothing can be found on his fate.

ECU-1933 130 ECU Montalvo 20/10/1933 31/08/1934

ECU-1934 130 ECU Velasco Ibarra 01/09/1934 21/08/1935

See *The New York Times*, Aug. 21, 1935. Removed ina military coup, arrested, then exile to Colombia. Lentz 1999, p. 135 f. Velasco placed under arrest because of attempt at dictatorship. See Barron's. Aug. 26, 1935; 15, 34 p.2. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, March 31, 1979, p. 26 "Velasco, Ex-Leader of Ecuador, 86, Dies."

ECU-1935-1 130 ECU Pons 21/08/1935 26/09/1935

Antonio Pons (Campuzano). Barron's. Aug. 26, 1935; 15, 34 p.2. Notes: Ex-Premier Antonio Pons named President of provisional government.

The New York Times, Sept. 27, 1935, p. 6 "Ecuador Upset Reported," reports: Guyaquil, Ecuador, Sept. 26 - A local broadcasting station announces that at 6 P. M. today Antonio Pons called in the military chiefs at Quito and resigned the Presidency. They thereupon appointed Federico Paez, lately Minster of Public works, as Dictator. ...It was rumored that Congress was prepared to vote censure of Mr. Pons and his Cabinet." See also *Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 27, 1935, p. 1. which reports "Either President Pons or the army leaders, it appeared, found that more central authority was required to keep control away from the Conservative Party." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 29, 1936, p. 15 reports, however, "Paez-who himself became "Jefe Supreme" [supreme chief] through a military coup last year- ..." [In Italics, HG and in brackets "Federico Paez set up a military dictatorship in Ecuador in September 1935, forcing the resignation of President Antonio Pons. ..." This suggests a struggle within the armed forces and an

irregular removal. *The New York Times* 28 September, 1935, p. 3, 27 September, 1935, p. 6 and Lentz, 1999. He died in 1980.

ECU-1935-2 130 ECU Paez 26/09/1935 23/10/1937
See above. Exiled in Costa Rica. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 29, 1936, p. 15 reports, that sections of the Ecuadorian army revolted, November 28, 1936. Loses support of military and resigns; still this is not a military coup, as president was put into office by the military, and his rule depended on continuing support. I code it as power struggle within military, even though the president was a civilian, but the constitutional setup does not change. Lentz 1999, p. 136; *The New York Times* 24 October, 1937, p. 1.

ECU-1937 130 ECU Enriquez Gallo 23/10/1937 10/08/1938
Los Angeles Times, March 1, 1938, p. 10 "Ecuador Nips Revolution Plot." "Quito (Ecuador) February 28. The government announced today it had frustrated a plot to overturn the regime of Gen. Alberto Enriques, President since October 23, 1937. Commandant Jorge Quintana, Minister of the Interior, said the conspiracy was fomented by partisans of the former President, Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra, who would have been restored to the Presidency had the coup succeeded. Ibarra was ousted in 1935 after an attempt to proclaim a dictatorship. Commandant Quintana declared the movement was led by soldiers of a one-time battalion at Calderon. A number of conspirators were arrested and imprisoned."

ECU-1938-1 130 ECU Manuel Maria Borrero 10/08/1938 02/12/1938

ECU-1938-2 130 ECU Mosquera Narvaez 03/12/1938 19/11/1939

ECU-1939-1 130 ECU Arroyo del Rio 19/11/1939 10/12/1939
Arroyo del Rio, asylum in US Embassy, exile in Colombia.

ECU-1939-2 130 ECU Cordova Nieto 11/12/1939 10/08/1940
Exile in Argentina.

ECU-1940-1 130 ECU Moreno 10/08/1940 31/08/1940
Julio Enrique Moreno. Flees, exile in Argentina.

ECU-1940-2 130 ECU Arroyo del Rio 01/09/1940 29/05/1944
Los Angeles Times, May 30, 1944, p.1 "Ecuador Coup Ousts President and Cabinet." "President Carlos Arroyo del Rio and all members of his Cabinet resigned tonight after a revolutionary junta seized power in Guayaquil, Ecuador's main commercial city. A general strike had broken out here, apparently in support of the Guayaquil revolt in which 40 persons were reported killed after an uprising led by supporters of the exiled former President Velasco Ibarra. ... Arroyo del Rio, a firm supporter of Pan-American solidarity, turned over his power to Dr. Fausto Navarro Allende, Senate vice-president, and took refuge in the United States Embassy." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 31, 1944 "General Heads Military Junta Ruling Ecuador also reports that Col. Pablo Borja "first headed the provisional government but was succeeded by Alba, ..." This article also corrects the statement that Arroyo had taken refuge in the US Embassy, instead he had taken refuge in the Colombian Embassy.

The New York Times, May 31, 1944, p.8 "Provisional Rule Set Up in Ecuador." "Quito, Ecuador, May 30 – Gen. Luis Larrea Alba assumed leadership tonight of the military provisional government that took control in Ecuador after revolutionists, in a bloody coup yesterday at Guayaquil, forced the resignation of President Carlos Arroyo del Rio. ... Meanwhile Senor Arroyo del Rio prepared to leave by plane for Colombia. After he took refuge in the Colombian Embassy. The coup, in which forty persons were reported killed and more than 200 wounded in a ten-hour battle, was executed in Guayaquil, chief commercial city and Pacific port of Ecuador, by Ecuadorean troops and members of the Allianza Democratica. The tank-led forces were resisted mainly by the Guayaquil Police Department. [A British radio report heard in New York quote Lima dispatches to the effect that there were 800 casualties in Guayaquil.] The revolutionists said their motive was to forestall Presidential elections scheduled for this weekend, which they declared would be meaningless unless Velasco Ibarra were present to participate."

Chicago Daily Tribune, May 30, 1944, p. 5. "Revolt Forces Out Ecuador's Head, Cabinet." This article also notes that his ouster comes a week after "the boundary settlement between Peru and Ecuador."

ECU-1944-1 130 ECU Navarro Allende 29/05/1944 30/05/1944

For the regular entry of Dr. Fausto Navarro Allende, senate vice president, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 30, 1944, p. 5. "Revolt Forces Out Ecuador's Head, Cabinet." "Arroyo de rio, a firms supporter of Pan-American solidarity, turned over his power to Dr.Fausto Navarro Allende, senate vice president, and took refuge in the United States Embassy."

See also *Los Angeles Times*, May 30, 1944, p.1 "Ecuador Coup Ousts President and Cabinet." "President Carlos Arroyo del Rio and all members of his Cabinet resigned tonight after a revolutionary junta seized power in Guayaquil, Ecuador's main commercial city. ... Arroyo del Rio, a firm supporter of Pan-American solidarity, turned over his power to Dr. Gausto Navarro Allende, Senate vice-president, and took refuge in the United States Embassy." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 31, 1944 "General Heads Military Junta Ruling Ecuador also reports that Col. Pablo Borja "first headed the provisional government but was succeeded by Alba, ..."

He was a lawyer.

The New York Times, May 31, 1944, p.8 "Provisional Rule Set Up in Ecuador." "Quito, Ecuador, May 30 – Gen. Luis Larrea Alba assumed leadership tonight of the military provisional government that took control in Ecuador after revolutionists, in a bloody coup yesterday at Guayaquil, forced the resignation of President Carlos Arroyo del Rio. Col. Pablo Borja first headed the provisional government but he was succeeded by Gen. Larrea Alba, who represents not only the Army but the Revolutionary Vanguard, a political party. [The political bureau of the Ecuadorean Democratic Alliance seized power by ousting acting President Fausto Navarro Allende Tuesday and constituted itself as the provisional government, The United Press said in a Quito dispatch. Dr. Navarro Allende was vested with Presidential powers Monday night shortly after President Arroyo del Rio resigned.] ... In a decree the provisional regime announced that it would retain power until the arrival of Dr. José Maria Velasco Ibarra, former President in exile in Colombia, who has been invited by the revolutionists to take over the Presidency. Meanwhile Senor Arroyo del Rio prepared to leave by plane for Colombia. After he took refuge in the Colombian Embassy. The coup, in which forty persons were reported killed and more than

200 wounded in a ten-hour battle, was executed in Guayaquil, chief commercial city and Pacific port of Ecuador, by Ecuadorean troops and members of the Allianza Democratica. The tank-led forces were resisted mainly by the Guayaquil Police Department. [A British radio report heard in New York quote Lima dispatches to the effect that there were 800 casualties in Guayaquil.] The revolutionists said their motive was to forestall Presidential elections scheduled for this weekend, which they declared would be meaningless unless Velasco Ibarra were present to participate."

For his exit, see *Los Angeles Times*, May 31, 1944, p. 2 "Alliance Seizes Ecuador Rule in Revolt Climax." "QUITO (Ecuador) May 30)U.P.) ... Leaders of the alliance sized control of the government early today in Quito, ousting Acting President Dr. Fausto Navarro Allende, who assumed the Presidency following the resignation of President Carlos Arroyo Del Rio."

For his post-tenure fate, *The Washington Post*, June 3, 1944, p. 8 "Good Neighbors" notes that Velasco Ibarra announced a political amnesty. However, *The New York Times*, August 15, 1945, "Amnesty in Ecuador" notes "Guayaquil, Ecuador, Aug. 14–President Velasco Ibarra granted a general amnesty to members of the former administration today .... On the request of the Liberal Radical convention, former Senator Fausto Navarro Allende and Col. Nicolas Santos were released from prison."

ECU-1944-2 130 ECU Larrea Alba 30/05/1944 31/05/1944

For his irregular entry, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 31, 1944, p. 14 "General Head Military Junta Ruling Ecuador."

See also *Christian Science Monitor*, May 31, 1944, p. 3 "Army to Control Ecuador Until the Return of Ibarra." "Gen. Luis Larrea Alba, representing the Army and the revolutionary Vanguard Party, took over leadership last night of the Ecuadurean [*sic*] Provisional Government, which has announced it will retain control until the return of Dr. Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra, former President, who has been in exile. The Military Government was set up two days ago after revolutionists in a coup at Guayaquil forced the resignation of President Carlos Arroyou Del Rio. The Government has invited Velasco Ibarra to return from his exile in Colombia and he is reported en route."

Military coup in the run-up to elections. *The New York Times* 30 May, 1944, p. 1. "Peru Invades."

The New York Times, May 31, 1944, p.8 "Provisional Rule Set Up in Ecuador." "Quito, Ecuador, May 30 – Gen. Luis Larrea Alba assumed leadership tonight of the military provisional government that took control in Ecuador after revolutionists, in a bloody coup yesterday at Guayaquil, forced the resignation of President Carlos Arroyo del Rio. Col. Pablo Borja first headed the provisional government but he was succeeded by Gen. Larrea Alba, who represents not only the Army but the Revolutionary Vanguard, a political party. [The political bureau of the Ecuadorean Democratic Alliance seized power by ousting acting President Fausto Navarro Allende Tuesday and constituted itself as the provisional government, The United Press said in a Quito dispatch. Dr. Navarro Allende was vested with Presidential powers Monday night shortly after President Arroyo del Rio resigned.] ...In a decree the provisional regime announced that it would retain power until the arrival of Dr. José Maria Velasco Ibarra, former President in exile in Colombia, who has been invited by the revolutionists to take over the Presidency. Meanwhile Senor Arroyo del Rio prepared to leave by plane for Colombia. After he took refuge in the Colombian Embassy. The coup, in which forty persons were reported killed and more than

200 wounded in a ten-hour battle, was executed in Guayaquil, chief commercial city and Pacific port of Ecuador, by Ecuadorean troops and members of the Allianza Democratica. The tank-led forces were resisted mainly by the Guayaquil Police Department. [A British radio report heard in New York quote Lima dispatches to the effect that there were 800 casualties in Guayaquil.] The revolutionists said their motive was to forestall Presidential elections scheduled for this weekend, which they declared would be meaningless unless Velasco Ibarra were present to participate."

For his exit, see *Christian Science Monitor*, June 1, 1944, p. 13 "Ibarra Takes Over as head in Ecuador." "QUITO, Ecuador, June 1 (AP) – Called back from exile in Colombia, José Maria Velasco Ibarra took over the leadership last night of a revolutionary Government of Ecuador and at once named a Cabinet to assist him."

Within less than a year he can be found at the Ecuadorian Embassy in Washngton, D.C.. See *The Washington Post*, October 3, 1944, p. 12 "Senor Plaza Entertains for Compatriot." "Victory Emilio Estrada, personal representative of the President of Ecuador, who has been in Washington for conferences with Government officials, was guest of honor at a dinner given last evening by the Ambassador of Ecuador, Galo Plaza, who entertained at the Mayflower. ... The company included ... from the Ecuadorian Embassy staff ... Gen. Luis Larea Alba ...." See also *The Washington Post*, October 12, 1945 "Dr. Castro Guest at Latin Gathering Wednesday Night" which suggests that Gen. Larrea Alba was the Military and Air Attache of the Ecuadorian Embassy. His position in Washington can be considered a promotion as well as a careful relocation. Judgement call: given the context and Velasco Ibarra's modus operandi, we code this as an exile.

ECU-1944 130 ECU Velasco Ibarra 31/05/1944 23/08/1947

For his entry, see above and *Christian Science Monitor*, June 1, 1944, p. 13 "Ibarra Takes Over as head in Ecuador." "QUITO, Ecuador, June 1 (AP) – Called back from exile in Colombia, José Maria Velasco Ibarra took over the leadership last night of a revolutionary Government of Ecuador and at once named a Cabinet to assist him." *The New York Times*, June 1, 1944, p. 7 "Leader of Revolt Now Ecuador Head" reports "President Velasco Ibarra, who returned to the capital in triumph at 4:20 PM after a trip in an armored car from Colombia, took over the Presidency at 5:30 after the provisional junta of the Democratic Alliance delivered the government to him in the name of the people."

The Washington Post, June 3, 1944, p. 8 "Good Neighbors" notes that Velasco Ibarra announced a political amnesty.

Defense minister - a Colonel - takes over, *The New York Times* 25 August, 1947, p. 1. Returns to Argentina. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, March 31, 1979, p. 26 "Velasco, Ex-Leader of Ecuador, 86, Dies."

ECU-1947-1 130 ECU Mancheno 24/08/1947 03/09/1947

Ousted after military revolt. Lentz 1994, p. 236, *The New York Times* 3 September, 1947, p. 1.

ECU-1947-2 130 ECU Suarez 03/09/1947 17/09/1947

Mariano Suárez Veintimilla. Unknown if related to earlier president Veintimilla. For his entry in a counter-coup, see The *Washington Post*, September 4, 1947, p. 5 "Suarez Rules Quito After Revolt Wins."

ECU-1947-3 130 ECU Arosemena Tola 17/09/1947 21/08/1948

Carlos Julio Arosemena Tola. Father of Carlos Julio Arosemena Monroy (1961-63), and uncle (?) of Otto Arosemena Gómez (1966-68).

ECU-1948 130 ECU Plaza Lasso 01/09/1948 01/09/1952

ECU-1952 130 ECU Velasco Ibarra 01/09/1952 01/09/1956

For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, March 31, 1979, p. 26 "Velasco, Ex-Leader of Ecuador, 86, Dies."

ECU-1956 130 ECU Ponce Enriquez 01/09/1956 01/09/1960

Ponce Enriquez. `http://www.edufuturo.com/educacion.php?c=206` records that he went to Europe after his tenure, and opposed the junta of 1963. Died 13 September 1976. Judgment call. Because of his repression of the Guayaquil repression, exile. Arrested and imprisoned by Junta, July 10, 1965, see *The New York Times*, July 11, 1965, p. 20. He was born on 31 January 1912.

ECU-1960 130 ECU Velasco Ibarra 01/09/1960 07/11/1961

Orders arrest of leftist vice-president after bloody clashes between lefty students and police. Although he is backed by army, he loses power struggle and resigns. Note that there is deep division within armed forces, with the air force bombing the congress building to ensure succession of the vice president (whom the army does not like). Lentz considers this a military coup. However, although the army did withdraw its backing at some point, it did not seek to take over itself (army wants Supreme Court Justice, Air Force the VP as successor), and most importantly was not the initiating force behind the developments, *The New York Times* 8 November, 1961, p. 1. Asylum in Mexican embassy; exiled in Argentina. The question is if this is a removal by domestic popular protest without foreign support (exitcode = 2), other domestic government actors (e.g., the Vice President), (exitcode = 8), or a removal by military forces without foreign support (exitcode=6). We *do* consider this a coup (exitcode 6) because the army attempted to install the Supreme Court Chief Justice. Hence, the army was not merely acting to remove Ibarra in response to the domestic popular protest, but had an agenda of its own.

See also *The New York Times*, November 8, 1961, p. 3 "Ecuador Army Installs High Court Judge as President." "Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra resigned as Ecuador's President Wednesday night under pressure from the military. The Army then installed the president of the Supreme Court in the office. But Congress named leftist Vice-President Julio Arosemena to head the country. The Supreme Court president, Camilo Gallegos Toledo, took the oath as President. The Army announced it had installed Señor Gallegos because "the breach between the executive and legislative powers had become so deep it could not be bridged." Congress, on the other hand, elevated the Vice-President to the position as prescribed in the Constitution.

[Same article] By Bertram B. Johansson, *Latin American Correspondent of the Christian science Monitor*. The apparent resignation under army pressure of President Velasco Ibarra of Ecuador came as the climax of unrest, mostly on the part of leftist elements, which had been building for some time."

For his escape to the Argentine Embassy, see *The New York Times*, November 8, 1961, pp. 1 & 14. "Ecuadoran Chief Is Reported Out." The article also reports "Earlier, Government troops using artillery and air units smashed an armed uprising by an army

unit in the cpaitla. Troops backed by tanks were out in force to prevent violent outbursts. . . . Dr. Valeaso Ibarra's abdication came as many hundreds roamed the streets of Quito, demonstrating against him. Opposition to him had risen steadily since he decreed a sweeping program of new taxation."

For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, March 31, 1979, p. 26 "Velasco, Ex-Leader of Ecuador, 86, Dies."

ECU-1961 130 ECU Arosemena Monroy 07/11/1961 11/07/1963

For his entry see *The New York Times*, November 8, 1961, p. 3 "Ecuador Army Installs High Court Judge as President." "Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra resigned as Ecuador's President Wednesday night under pressure from the military. The Army then installed the president of the Supreme Court in the office. But Congress named leftist Vice-President Julio Arosemena to head the country. The Supreme Court president, Camilo Gallegos Toledo, took the oath as President. The Army announced it had installed Señor Gallegos because "the breach between the executive and legislative powers had become so deep it could not be bridged." Congress, on the other hand, elevated the Vice-President to the position as prescribed in the Constitution."

See in addition, *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 9, 1961, p. 1 "Airmen Upset Jurist's Brief Ecuador Rule." "Quito, Ecuador, November 8 – Ten air force jets fired warning shots near army tanks ringing the legislative palace today, forcing the resignation of the supreme court chief justice whom the army had briefly installed as president. The gunfire forces the tanks to withdraw and climaxed a series of rapid-fire political and military actions that started with the army's ouster of President Jose M. Velasco Ibarra. It left Vice President Carlos H. Arosemena, a a pro-communist, in apparent control of the executive branch. An air force spokesman said tonight that the planes did not bomb the tanks, as was reported earlier. The planes also did not fire directly at the tanks but strafed the immediate area in a warning action. . . . The army, after overthrowing Velasco, installed Supreme Court Chief Justice as chief executive, but congress proclaimed Arosemena as the constitutional president. Arosemena was backed by the air force and navy. He said the army is backing him in three major cities. The army then drew a ring of tanks around the legislative palace to keep Arosemena from exercising executive power. The air force attack followed. When the air attack started, Gallegos walked over to the congress and resigned his army appointment, saying he wished to avert further bloodshed. After the attack, the tanks and troops guarding Quito were returned to their barracks and the people massed in Independence Square to cheer Arosemena. The Ecuadoran Workers confederation, the University Students federation, and the Conservative, Socialist and Communist parties pledged their support to the Arosemena regime."

He was VP and next in line for succession, hence on the one hand, this could be considered a regular entry. On the other hand, since it involved the use of force to get him into power, we code this as an irregular entry.

See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 50, 2004. March. Lentz records he was overthrown in a military coup because of what the military called his "drinking escapades." See also, *The New York Times* 12 July, 1963, p. 1. Short exile in Panama. Brief Obituary is available in The *Washington Post*, Mar. 8, 2004. B07. He was sent to exile in Panama. Rulers.org notes: son of Carlos Julio Arosemena Tola (1947-48) and cousin of Otto Arosemena Gómez (1966-1968).

ECU-1963 130 ECU Castro 11/07/1963 29/03/1966

Military leadership deposes ruling junta after violent student protests and strikes. Since the military is not taking power for itself (a civilian interim president is instituted immediately), Could be coded, and could not be coded as a military coup. *The New York Times* 30 March, 1966, p. 1. Exiled in Brazil.

ECU-1966-1 130 ECU Yerovi Indaburu 29/03/1966 16/11/1966

Keesing's Record of World Events (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 12, October, 1966 Ecuador, Page 21681 1931-2006 Keesing's Worldwide, LLC - All Rights Reserved. Oct 1966 - Overthrow of Military Junta. Restoration of Civilian Government. - New President. Constituent Assembly Elections.

"The military junta which had ruled Ecuador for 3 1/2 years, since the overthrow of President Arosemena in July 1963 [see 19585 B], was itself overthrown on March 29, 1966, by the High Command of the Armed Forces, which asked the major political parties-excluding the Communiststo choose an interim President until elections could be held. The three members of the former juntaRear-Admiral Ramon Castro Jijon, General Marcos Gandara Enriquez, and General Luis Cabrera Sevillaleft the country in a Brazilian plane for Rio de Janeiro, where they were given asylum. [A fourth member of the junta, Colonel Guillermo Freil Posso of the air Force, had been dismissed in November 1965 for taking part in political activities, contrary to the junta's ruling against participation in political activities, contrary to the junta's ruling against participation in poltics by its members.]

Serious disorders had occurred for some days before the junta's overthrow in which five persons, including a student, had been killed and many injured in clashes between student demonstrators and security forces in Quite, Guayaquil, and other centres. These clashes, in which students and others demanded the resignation of the junta and a return to civilian government, led to the closing of the University of Quite and to numerous arrests. Among contributory causes of the junta's fall were the progressive deterioration of the country's economic position, soaring prices, and the imposition of import duties which was strongly resented by commercial interests and which led businessmen in Guayaquil (the country's chief port and commercial centre) to call a general strike a few days before the junta's overthrow.

Meeting on March 30 at the Ministry of Defence, political and civic leaders chose Softer Clemente Yerovi Indaburu (62), a wealthy non-political businessman and banana planter, as provisional President, with the approval of the High Command of the Armed Forces. A former Minister of Economies (1949-52), and more recently president of the National Planning Council, he was chosen as provisional President on the advice of Dr. Gale Plaza Lasso, himself a former President under whom Senor Yerovi Indaburu had served as Economics Minister.

President Yerovi Indaburu, who took the oath before the Supreme Court the same day (March 30), cancelled presidential and congressional elections which had been scheduled by the junta for June or July, and announced that elections would be held in October for a Constituent Assembly which would draw up a new Constitution. At the same time the President proclaimed an amnesty for all political prisoners, abolished the state of martial law which had been imposed by the junta, reopened the University of Quite, restored the right to strike, and announced that the country would be governed under the 1946 Constitution until a new one had been drawn up by the Constituent Assembly to be

elected in October. Representatives of the armed forces concurred in all these decisions. On April 5 President Yerovi Indaburu appointed a 10-man civilian Cabinet comprising Conservatives, Liberals, Socialists, Christian Socials, Centristas, and Independents; the Foreign Affairs portfolio was taken by Dr. Jorge Salvador Lara, a Conservative."

Keesing's Record of World Events, Volume 13, April, 1967 Ecuador, Page 22006 1931-2006 Keesing's Worldwide, LLC - All Rights Reserved. Apr 1967 - Dr. Arosemena elected Provisional President.

"The Constituent Assembly elected in Ecuador on Oct. 16, 1966 [see 21681 B], was charged with drawing up a new Constitution; to remain in being until it was promulgated; and to elect either a provisional or a definitive president.

Provisional President Yerovi Indaburu subsequently submitted to the Assembly proposals, drawn up by a committee which he had appointed, for limiting military interference in national affairs. The main provisions were: generals would be obliged to swear allegiance to the Constitution and to the laws of the country; conscription would be ended; Congress would decide the annual appropriations for the armed forces and on any measures for their reorganization; no jurisdiction by military tribunals over civil offences; the military would no longer be responsible for internal security; and the armed forces would be forbidden to take part in politics.

A letter to the press, signed by the Chief of the General Staff, Colonel Gustavo Banderas, and senior military commanders and published on Nov. 11, 1966, denounced President Yerovi's proposals its unacceptable to the armed forces and harmful to the country; and although there was some support for Senor Yerovi continuing in office, the Constituent Assembly on Nov. 17, 1966, elected Dr. Arosemena Gomez as Provisional President in his place. Dr. Arosemena received 40 votes, live more than the runner-up, Dr. Raul Clemente Huerta, the other unsuccessful candidate being Dr. Alfredo Illingworth (Rector of the University of Guayaquil), leader of the left-centre bloc.

Dr. Otto Arosemena Gomez (45), a Guayaquil lawyer, was leader of the C.I.D. (Coalicion Institucionalista Democratica), which holds three seats in the Constituent Assembly. His victory was attributed to the fact that Dr. Camilo Ponce Enriquez, leader of the Movimiento Social Cristiano, which obtained the majority of seats in the election. stood down when it became clear that he was not favoured by the armed forces and could not muster sufficient support for a clear win. Dr. Arosemema secured the support of the Conservative Party after promising them five seats in his Cabinet.

After some difficulty in completing the Cabinet, the membership of Dr. Arosemena's Government was announced in December 1966 . . . ."

ECU-1966-2 130 ECU Arosemena Gomez 16/11/1966 01/09/1968

Otto Arosemena Gómez. Rulers.org notes that he was the cousin of Carlos Julio Arosemna Monroy, leader 1961-1963.

ECU-1968 130 ECU Velasco Ibarra 01/09/1968 15/02/1972

Launches '*auto-golpe*' in June 1970. *The New York Times*, June 24, 1970, p. 8 "Roundup Follows Coup in Ecuador." "Quito, June 23 – University professors and business leaders are reported to have been jailed by the military here following the assumption of "supreme powers" by President José María Velasco Ibarra yesterday. . . . These actions were taken by the Minister of Defense, Jorvé Acosta Velasco, who told newsmen that his aged and ailing uncle, President Velasco, was assuming extraordinary powers until

the end of his elected term in order to prevent "complete social and economic chaos." ... Ecuador's military leaders announced that their country's social, economic and financial structures would be changed. ... Mr. Acosta is believed to be a likely candidate for the Presidenty in 1972, or earlier, should his ailing uncle follow his promise of "yielding the burden of leadership should the added weight of age become intolerable."" For more on this '*auto-golpe*', see also The *Washington Post*, June 25, 1970, p.A24 "Ecuador Takeover May Change Little."

Removed in a military coup, *The New York Times* 16 February, 1972, p. 1. Exiled in Argentina. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, March 31, 1979, p. 26 "Velasco, Ex-Leader of Ecuador, 86, Dies."

ECU-1972 130 ECU Rodriguez Lara 15/02/1972 11/01/1976

Removed in bloodless coup. Military takes power after internal upheaval and ensuing civilian unrest, *The New York Times* 12 January, 1976, p. 4

ECU-1976 130 ECU Poveda Burbano 11/01/1976 10/08/1979

See ***Keesing's*** Vol 25, (1979), November. For his obituary, see The *Washington Post*, June 11, 1990, p. E4. He died 7 June 1990.

ECU-1979 130 ECU Roldos Aquilers 10/08/1979 24/05/1981

Natural death. Death in plane crash, conspiracies alleged.

ECU-1981 130 ECU Hurtado Larrea 24/05/1981 10/08/1984

See Lentz.

ECU-1984 130 ECU Febres Cordaro 10/08/1984 10/08/1988

Brief military revolt in March 1986 and kidnapped. See Lentz.

ECU-1988 130 ECU Borja Cevallos 10/08/1988 10/08/1992

Term limited. See San Francisco Chronicle, Jul. 6, 1992. A 11. See Chicago Trib, Feb. 18, 1995, p.16.

ECU-1992 130 ECU Duran Ballen 10/08/1992 10/08/1996

Appointed roving ambassador by Bucaram. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 42 (1996) August.

ECU-1996 130 ECU Bucaram Ortiz 10/08/1996 06/02/1997

Ousted by Congress for mental incompetence. See *The New York Times*, Feb 9, 1997, p.1.22. Political Asylum granted in Panama, on April 28, 1997. See Keeising's Vol. 43 (1997) April. Dismissed through insanity clause by congress, granted.

Arturo Valenzuela (2004), "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted," in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15, No. 4, October, pp.5–19, notes (p.8) "Elected 1996, resigned six months later in 1997. Economic crisis, allegations of corruption. Minority President, minority in congress. Military withdrew support after Congress charged him with "mental incapacity." Replace by congressional appointee, vice-president bypassed."

ECU-1997-1 130 ECU Alarcon Fabian 06/02/1997 09/02/1997

President of the Congress, appointed by Congress, over the head of Rosalia Arteaga, the Vice President. See above. Apparently, Alarcon led a march on Friday night to take

the President's Palace by force. But for Constitutionality of Alarcon, see *The New York Times*, Feb. 9, 1997, p1.22. See also ***Keesing's*** Vol. 43 (1997) February. (Based on ***Keesing's*** Vol. 43 (1997) February.

ECU-1997-2 130 ECU Arteaga Serrano 09/02/1997 11/02/1997

ECU-1997-3 130 ECU Alarcon Fabian 11/02/1997 10/08/1998

ECU-1998 130 ECU Mahuad 10/08/1998 21/01/2000

Jamil Mahuad lees after popular unrest by Indian groups. Military eventually sides with protestors. See *The New York Times*, January 22, 2000, p. A2 "Coup in Ecuador." See also the article on p.1 Exile in Peru after a couple of months. The Toronto Star 22 January, 2000.

The New York Times, January 23, 2000, p.1, 13 "Ecuador Coup Shifts Control to No. 2 Man." "Lima, Peru, Jan. 22 – ... Mr. Mahuad, a 50-year old former mayor of Quito, left the Presidential Palace under military escort on Friday afternoon and resurfaced this morning on television to condemn the coup. He described it as a "Cantinflas comedy" that exposed Ecuador to international ridicule. But he did acknowledge Mr. Boboa's authority and wished him luck. In a defiant television speech on Friday, Mr. Mahuad refused to resign, challenging the military by saying it would have to "remove me by force." He said that a military unit took him to an air force base where he was first threatened with arrest and then urged to flee the country, before he escaped, took temporary refuge in the Chilean embassy and then made his way to what he described as a "private home.""

A three-man junta, led first by Antonio Vargas, leaders of the country's most powerful Indian group, Colonel Gutiérrez and Carlos Salorzano, a former Supreme Court chief justice temporarily takes over. General Mendoza then takes over Gutiérrez's spot in the three-man junta before he reverses course and hands power over to Noboa. See *The New York Times*, January 23, 2000, p.13 "Ecuador Coup Shifts Control to No. 2 Man."

ECU-2000 130 ECU Gustavo Noboa 22/01/2000 15/01/2003

The New York Times, January 23, 2000, p.1, 13 "Ecuador Coup Shifts Control to No. 2 Man." "Lima, Peru, Jan. 22 – After 18 hours of chaos that began when dissident military officers and Indian groups overthrew the elected president of Ecuador, Jamil Mahuad, the country's vice-president assumed power early today when a rival military faction intervened on his behalf. Gustavo Noboa Bejarano took office after Gen. Carlos Mendoza, the Ecuadorean armed forces chief of staff and acting minister of defense, abruptly announced that he was dissolving the three-man junta he briefly led in Latin America's first military overthrow of a sitting civilian president in a more than a decade. General Mendoza said he was acting to "prevent the international isolation of Ecuador," a reference to demands by the United States and Latin American countries that contitutional rule be preserved in a country undergoing severe economic crisis. ... Mr. Naboa's [*sic*] assumption of power was formally ratified by the Ecuadorean Congress in Guayaquil today. Mr. Mahuad, a 50-year old former mayor of Quito, left the Presidential Palace under military escort on Friday afternoon and resurfaced this morning on television to condemn the coup. He described it as a "Cantinflas comedy" that exposed Ecuador to international ridicule. But he did acknowledge Mr. Noboa's authority and wished him luck. In a defiant television speech on Friday, Mr. Mahuad refused to resign, challenging the military by saying it would have to "remove me by force." He said that a military

unit took him to an air force base where he was first threatened with arrest and then urged to flee the country, before he escaped, took temporary refuge in the Chilean embassy and then made his way to what he described as a "private home." The military coup was immediately condemned by the Clinton administration and the Organization of American States, both of which threatened sanctions against any military-led government. Peter Romero, the State Department's top official for Latin America [and former ambassador toe Ecuador], warned the coup leaders on Quito radio on Friday that they faced "political and economic isolation" akin to Cuba's if they persisted. He said Mr. Noboa, a 62-year old former dean of the Catholic University of Guayaquil and former governor of the country's most important province, would be under enormous pressure "not to do anything" to fix the economy. The collapse of the Mahuad government began on Friday morning when Indian protesters marched on the national Congress in Quito. A military unit assigned to guard the legislative instead building stepped aside .... A group of more than 50 junior officers led by Col. Lucio Gutiérrez, immediately joined the Indian group ...." See also *The New York Times*, January 25, 2000, P.A22 "Ecuador's Endangered Democracy." He seeks a pardon for the officers involved in the coup against Mahuad, *The New York Times*, April 14, 2000, p.A8 "Ecuador: Amnesty Plea." Pardon is granted, *The New York Times*, June 2, 2000, p.A6 "Ecuador: Coup Plotter Pardoned."

This is a judgment call as to whether this is a regular or an irregular entry. On the one hand, the constitutionally appropriate Vice President takes over. On the other hand, this is only because of the threat of the use of force against the temporary junta. The latter we judge decisive, hence this is coded as an irregular entry.

The New York Times, January 25, 2000, p.A8 "New Ecuadorean President Please for Patience after Tumultuous 'Buffoonery" reports that Mr. Noboa's great-great-grandfather Diego Noboa briefly served as president in the mid-19th century.

ECU-2003 130 ECU Lucio Gutierrez 15/01/2003 31/12/2004

See above, a colonel. *The New York Times*, January 25, 2000, p.A8 "New Ecuadorean President Please for Patience after Tumultuous 'Buffoonery" reports that Col. Lúcio Gutiérrez was arrested for his role in the coup against Nahuad.

Washington Post "Ecuador's Congress Votes to Remove President" By Monte Hayes Associated Press Writer Wednesday, April 20, 2005; 2:57 PM QUITO, Ecuador - `http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A5002-2005Apr20.html`. Ecuador's Congress voted to removed President Lucio Gutierrez from office. "Legislators based the decision [62-0 in the 100-seat unicameral Congress, HG] on a clause in the Constitution that allows Congress to remove a president for "abandonment of the position." Congressman Remiro Reviera made the motion, arguing that since Gutierrez had not faithfully carried out the responsibilities of the presidency, Congress should declare it vacant. The measure avoids a drawn-out impeachment process and is similar to what Congress did in 1997 when it dismissed President Abadal Bucaram for "mental incapacity." Gutierrez remained inside the palace even though soldiers who had set up a protective perimeter withdrew from the plaza in from of the building immediately after the vote." "Gutierrez took refuge in Brazil's embassy and sought asylum as the new president ordered his arrest following a week of escalating protests." BBC News world edition, Thursday 21 April, 2005 "Ex-Ecuador leader granted asylum." He is given asylum in Brazil. Vice President Palacio takes over. CNN, 23 April 2005 reports that Ecuador is dragging its feet on allowing Gutierrez to leave the country. And that the OAS sent a high-level diplomatic delega-

tion to investigate wither Gutierrez removal was constitutional. ... So far no country has recognized the new government as legitimate.

http://www.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/americas/04/23/ecuador.president.ap/index.html Follow up: 22 September, 2005. BBC News,World edition. "Ecuador's ousted President, Lucio Gutierrez, who faces charges of damaging his country's security, has requested asylum in Colombia. ... the Colombian authorities have granted him a 90-day safe conduct, to give him time to make a formal request. Mr. Gutierrez, who arrived from Peru, was reportedly told at Bogota airport that there was an international warrant for his arrest. Mr. Gutierrez was ousted by congress in April followng mass protests. He previously stayed in Brazil and the United States, before traveling to Peru. Colombian officials have said they have no knowledge of any arrest warrant for Mr. Gutierrez. But advisers to Mr. Gutierrez say it could have been issued after he recently said in the US that he was still president of Ecuador. ... The asylium request also covers Mr. Gutierrez's brother, Yomar, as well as a former colonel and a businessman from Ecuador who also face charges in their home country." Follow up: Saturday, 4 March 2006. BBC News: "A judge in Ecuador has released the country's former president, Lucio Gutierrez, from prison. Mr Gutierrez had been held since last October on charges of endangering national security. The judge dismissed the charges, which were based on Mr Gutierrez' refusal to acknowledge the legitimacy of his interim successor, Alfredo Palacio."

2.24 PERU

Sources consulted include Alberto (1966-7) and Bruce W. Farcau, The Ten Cents War, Chile, Peru and Bolivia in the War of the Pacific, 1879-1884. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2000

Farcau (2000).

Ramon Castilla. 1845 – 1851

The longest administration for a single president in Peru during the entire century. Farcau (2000), p15 "Castilla had come to look upon the presidency as something like his personal property, and, impatient with what he perceived as Echenieque's bumbling (even though Castilla had had-picked him for the job), in 1854 Castilla raised the banner of rebellion in Arequipa, supported by a youthful army commanded, Mariano Ignacio Prado . . . " A nearly year-long struggle.

José Rufino Echenique. 1851 – 1855

Ramon Castilla. 1855

New constitutions, 1856 and 1860. 1860 constitution prohibited the president from serving consecutive terms.

Invaded Ecuador in 1859. Farcau (2000), p.16 "When the government in Quito collapsed in the face of Peru's overwhelming military superiorty, in a move that would come back to haunt his successors in Lima in coming years, Castilla set up a puppet government in the occupied territory that was willing to agree to virtually all of his demands." Manipulates the 1862 elections.

San Roman. 1862 – 1863 Farcau (2000), p. 16 Dies a sudden death in 1863.

Juan Antonio Pezet 1863 – 1865

Farcau (2000), p. 17 "Arequipa rebelled under Colonel Mariano Ignacio Prado, and Pezet resigned in favor of his vice president, General Pedro Diez Canseco, in November 1865, but Prado ousted him as well and was declared provisional president at the end of the month."

Pedro Diez Canseco 1865

Mariano Ignacio Prado 1865 – 1868

New constitution in 1867, which greatly curtailed the power of the executive.

Farcau (2000), p.17 "he was ousted in turn in early 1868. General Perdo Diez Canseco again assumed the role of provisional president until elections could be organized and held that August.

Pedro Diez Canseco 1868

José Balta 1868 – 1872

Farcau (2000), p. 18 "In the May 1872 elections, Pardo was an easy winner, but, just prior to his inauguration, General Tomás Gutierrez launched a military coup d'état, arresting President Balta and declaring himself dictator. Pardo fled to Callao and was taken under the protection of Admiral Manuel Grau. Meanwhile, Pardo's enlightened

tenure as mayor of Lima made him extremely popular //[p.19]// with the working classes, and a violent popular uprising ensued in which Gutierrez and his two brothers were not only brutally murdered by the mob but their bodies horribly mutilated as well, due at least in part to the blame the populace placed on them for the assassination of President Balta while in a military prison."

Tomás Gutierrez 1872

Farcau (2000), p. 18 "In the May 1872 elections, Pardo was an easy winner, but, just prior to his inauguration, General Tomás Gutierrez launched a military coup d'état, arresting President Balta and declaring himself dictator. ... Gutierrez and his two brothers were not only brutally murdered by the mob but their bodies horribly mutilated as well, due at least in part to the blame the populace placed on them for the assassination of President Balta while in a military prison."

PER-1872 135 PER Pardo 02/08/1872 02/08/1876

Farcau, Ten Cents War, p. 18. "first civilian chief executive of Peru since independence."

Exile, assassinated 16 November 1878, more than two years after leaving office. exile, Farcau (2000), p.20 "Pardo, who had moved to Chile in the hope that his absence from the Lima scene would remove one element of conflict, returned to Peru in mid-1878 after Pierola's departure from South America only to find an assassin's bullet awaiting him. Pierola was blamed for the crime, ..."

PER-1876 135 PER Prado 02/08/1876 17/12/1879

Farcau, Ten Cents War, p. 19 "Because of the constant threat posed by Pierola, Pardo chose his long-time ally and former mentor the soldier Manuel Ignacio Prado as his heir apparent for the 1876 elections, thus discarding the central tenet of the civilista program. Although in the largely "arranged" elections of the time, Prado won easily, notwithstanding considerable violence at the polls, he subsequently found ruling far from easy. //[p.20]// Hardly recognizing defeat, Pierola mounted another insurrection in October 1876."

Farcau (2000), p. 120 "On 18 December, however, without waiting for the new administration to form, much less to have any effect, Prado suddenly gathered up his belongings and allegedly some six million pesos in gold belonging to the General Administrative Council for Donations for the War with Chile, and took ship from Callao for Panama. In a statement to the Lima newspaper El Comercio Prado announced his full confidence in Vice President La Puerta to handle the government while he, Prado, undertook the more urgent job of traveling to //[p.121]// Europe to oversee the purchase of new arms and warships for the nation. ... Reaction to Prado's surreptitious abandonment of his post in time of war did give rise to all sorts of commentaries. Some of his contemporaries, such as Colonel Caceres, whose own valor or dedication to this country is beyond question, assumed that Prado was, indeed, acting in the best interests of the nation."

See *The New York Times*, Dec. 25, 1885, p.5. For fate see also *The New York Times*, Jan 8, 1880, p.4.

PER-1879-1 135 PER de la Puerta 17/12/1879 22/12/1879

Vice President to Prado. Farcau (2000), p. 120 "On 18 December, however, without waiting for the new administration to form, much less to have any effect, Prado suddenly

gathered up his belongings and allegedly some six million pesos in gold belonging to the General Administrative Council for Donations for the War with Chile, and took ship from Callao for Panama. In a statement to the Lima newspaper El Comercio Prado announced his full confidence in Vice President La Puerta to handle the government while he, Prado, undertook the more urgent job of traveling to //[p.121]// Europe to oversee the purchase of new arms and warships for the nation. ... At eighty-four years of age, Vice President General Luis de la Puerta was hardly in any condition to steer the ship of state through such a tempest. On the 21st, before Prado had even passed through Panama, the notorious Nicolas Pierola, ex-minister, ex-pirate, who had spent the early part of the war in exile in Chile, had returned at Prado's request and now raised the standard of rebellion. ... //[p.122]// The next morning a delegation of bishops and notables from Lima society visited de la Puerta and convinced him to step down in order to avoid a full-blown civil war with an enemy army camped on Peruvian territory, and Pierola was declared the new head of state. ... on 23 December Pierola made his formal entry into Lima." *The New York Times*, Jan 6, 1880, p. 8 "Peru's Troubles" mentions that he is a General. Post tenure fate is missing.

PER-1879-2 135 PER Pierola 22/12/1879 16/01/1881

Farcau (2000), p. 120 "On 18 December, however, without waiting for the new administration to form, much less to have any effect, Prado suddenly gathered up his belongings and allegedly some six million pesos in gold belonging to the General Administrative Council for Donations for the War with Chile, and took ship from Callao for Panama. In a statement to the Lima newspaper El Comercio Prado announced his full confidence in Vice President La Puerta to handle the government while he, Prado, undertook the more urgent job of traveling to //[p.121]// Europe to oversee the purchase of new arms and warships for the nation. ... At eighty-four years of age, Vice President General Luis de la Puerta was hardly in any condition to steer the ship of state through such a tempest. On the 21st, before Prado had even passed through Panama, the notorious Nicolas Pierola, ex-minister, ex-pirate, who had spent the early part of the war in exile in Chile, had returned at Prado's request and now raised the standard of rebellion. ... //[p.122]// The next morning a delegation of bishiops and notables from Lima society visited de la Puerta and convinced him to step down in order to avoid a full-blown civil war with an enemy army camped on Peruvian territory, and Pierola was declared the new head of state. ... on 23 December Pierola made his formal entry into Lima. ... On the 27th, Pierola had already dictated a new constitution giving himself full powers as head of state, stripping all other branches of the government of all but ceremonial roles. Pierola's new constitution eliminated the legislature and replaced it with a council of state, including the Archbishop of Lima and nine other notables chosen for their subservience more than their political abilities and grandly named himself the "protector of the indigenous race," as part of his official title." Autogolpe.

The New York Times, Sep. 25, p. 8. Lima falls and is occupied January 17, and Pierola flees. He appoints Mentoero as Commander of the Army of the North. *Washington Post*, Feb 15, 1881, p.3. "Gen Saavedra ... has been acting as Political Chief of Lima since the 17th of last month [most likely refers to Jan 17, since it's filed "March 2"], has resigned office." See *The New York Times*, Mar. 13, 1881, p. 7.

Farcau (2000), p. 168 "Pierola had arrive in Lima at 1900 hours the night of the 15th and only spent some four hours in the capital before escaping to Canta in the interior by

horse //[p.169]// with a handful of aides. He did not bother to gather or destroy sensitive state documents or even funds from the national treasury before his flight." Goes into exile in Europe (Farcau (2000), p. 175). Chilean Gen. Baquendano is more or less in real control.

PER-1881-1 135 PER Francisco Garcia Calderon 22/02/1881 28/09/1881

Chilean Gen. Baquendano is initially in real control. Then from 17 May 1881 on, Chilean Governor Patricio Lynch Solo de Zaldívar basically runs the Chilean Occupation, which lasts until 23 October 1883, when Chileans withdraw from Lima on 23 October 1884, and from all other Peruvian territory in August 1884. He was born in 1824 and died in 1886. Treaty of Anacin which ended the War of the Pacific was signed 20 October 1883. Farcau (2000), p.172 "Of considerably greater moment was the decision by the Chilean government, in the absence of a Peruvian president who was willing to accept their peace terms, chose [sic] to create a new president who would do so. Consequently, on 22 February 1881, a convention of Peruvian "notables," presumably propertied citizens who were willing to accept the Chilean invitation, met outside of Lima, //[p.173]// and elected Francisco Garcia Calderon president. .... A congress was called to meet at Chorillos on 15 June, and, in the meanwhile, the puppet government was established in the town of Magdalena to begin to take over some of the administrative duties of running the country as well as to begin negotiations on a formal peace treaty. ... Garcia Calderon, the new provisional president who would be confirmed in the post by the rump congress that would meet in June (once a quorum of former congressmen was gathered), was faced with a thankless task. He was a forty-nine year old lawyer ... and he accepted the post out of a conviction both that Pierola had no legal claim ton the presidency and had largely abrogated his duties in any event, and that a continuation of the state of war would only impose further sacrifices on the Peruvian people without materially improving their situation. If the Chileans chose him because they thought this mild-mannered man who looked more like a comfortable hardware store owner than a symbol of national integrity would be a malleable, complacent puppet, they were in for a surprise. ...//[p.174]// ... [US] Ambassador Christiancy, ..., finally recognized the provisional president on 26 June .... //[p.175]// By September 1881 the Garcia Calderon government, although still operating from semi-exile in Magdalena and viewed as collaborators by a large segment of the population, had achieved a certain level of legitimacy with foreign recognition and the growing war-weariness of many Peruvians. But, months after his installation by the Chileans, Garcia Calderon had yet to accept surrender terms, and the occupiers finally lost patience with him. The out-going Pinto administration in Santiago had been content to give the Peruvians time, but the newly elected President Domingo Santa Maria desperately wanted some progress on this front to help silence his many critics at home, and he finally authorized Lynch first to dissolve the Garcia Calderon government at the end of September and then, when that had no particular effect, to place the former provisional president under arrest and incarcerate him under the guns of the Chilean fleet at Calla in the hope that this icy shower of reality would prompt more flexibility in negotiations. Such was not the case, however, and Garcia Calderon defiantly named Admiral Montero his vice-president and head of state in his enforced absence. Montero readily accepted the offer ...." Farcau (2000), p.181 Garcia Calderon "having been taken to even closer confinement in Chile itself" in 1882. See also The Atlanta Constitution, March 8, 1882, p. 4 "The Conquered and the Conquerors." See also *Chicago Daily*

Tribune, Dec. 18, 1881, p. 9 "Peru" which records that Calderon is held prisoner, and "Montero is now the only person with whom the Chilians can negotiate, . . . "

PER-1881-2 135 PER Montero 28/09/1881 30/12/1882

Lizardo Montero Flores. From 17 May 1881 on, Chilean Governor Patricio Lynch Solo de Zaldívar basically runs the Chilean Occupation, which lasts until 23 October 1883, when Chileans withdraw from Lima on 23 October 1884, and from all other Peruvian territory in August 1884. He was born in 1824 and died in 1886. Treaty of Anacin which ended the War of the Pacific was signed 20 October 1883. Sater (1986), p. 211 "With García Calderón in exile, a junta patriotica ruled Lima while the presidency, such as it was, passed to Montero. . . . //p.212]// If the arrest of Garcia Calderón delighted the Chileans, it enraged various American officials. Hurlburt immediately recognized Montero as president . . . . The American minister became so enmeshed in Peru's domestic politics that he convinced Caceres to recognize Montero as president." Farcau (2000), p.175 "Garcia Calderon defiantly named Admiral Montero his vice president and head of state in his enforced absence. Montero readily accepted the offer, taking with him support of much of the surviving army away from Pierola. . . . " p.181 [William Trescott, an experienced diplomatic troubleshooter had been sent by US President Chester A. Arthur] [sometime in 1882] "Trescott canceled plans to continue on for talks in Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro and returned to Peru to present his credentials and the Chilean position to Vice President Montero . . . ." Hence Montero is recognized by the US. See also the Atlanta Constitution, March 8, 1882, p. 4 "The Conquered and the Conquerors." He is effectively marginalized, however, and power still lies with the Chileans. He controls only some small territory and established his capital in Cajamarca and subsequently at Arequipa. When Iglesias is "elected" he is much more powerful. He fights on but surrenders to the Chileans on 29 October 1883. See also *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 18, 1881, p. 9 "Peru" which records that Calderon is held prisoner, and "Montero is now the only person with whom the Chilians can negotiate, . . . " Wikipedia records that "Montero left the country after the Treaty of Ancón." `http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lizardo_Montero_Flores`. Hence, he most likely went into immediate exile after his surrender. He returns in 1890.

PER-1882 135 PER Iglesias 30/12/1882 30/11/1885

Miguel Iglesias. Rulers.org has his exit date as 3/12/1885. See *The New York Times*, Dec. 25, 1885, p.5. Especially see *The New York Times*, Jul. 2, 1893, p.10. That article, however, also says that the Chileans made Iglesias, the Peruvian Commander, "acting president for the purposes of negotiating a treaty." Instituted by Chile. Chilean Governor Patricio Lynch Solo de Zaldívar basically runs the Chilean Occupation, which lasts until 23 October 1883, when Chileans withdraw from Lima on 23 October 1884, and from all other Peruvian territory in August 1884. He was born in 1824 and died in 1886. Treaty of Anacin which ended the War of the Pacific was signed 20 October 1883.

Farcau (2000), p.181 "General Miguel Iglesias, formerly minister of war under Pierola and currently commander of the Army of the North under Montero . . . . Suddenly leaped onto center stage. On 1 April 1882 Iglesias issued a manifesto for peace with Chile on any terms available since victory for the allies was clearly an impossibility. //[p.182]// Iglesias followed this up in early August with a more formal document. . . . The anti-Chilean invective aside, this was exactly the message that the occupying forces wanted to Peruvian people to hear, and Lynch welcomed the convention of representatives of the

seven departments of northern Peru that Iglesias called at Cajamarca and which duly elected him "Regenerating President" in December of 1882. As he had done with Garcia Calderon, Lynch granted Iglesias a monthly stipend of thirty thousand pesos, later raised to ninety thousand for the expenses of his administration and also supplied him with 150 rifles and ammunition for a small gendarmerie."

Farcau (2000), p.192 "Caceres . . . on 16 July 1884, declared himself to be the legitimate president of Peru, having been named second vice president by Montero before the fall of Arequipa, since both Garcia Calderon and Montero had now been forcibly removed from office by the invaders. A number of towns, particularly in Junin Department where he had fought for so long, declared for him, and the stage was set for a full-scale civil war. .... The Army of the Constitution stormed the capital on 30 November [1885], finally capturing the Palace of Government and forcing Iglesias to surrender in order to avoid further bloodshed. //[p.193]// Shortly thereafter the Council of Ministers recognized Caceres as president and the legislature confirmed this in May 1886, with Caceres's formal inauguration taking place on 5 June [1886]. In an effort to heal the wounds of the war, Caceres graciously rehabilitated Iglesias, returning to him the rank and privileges of a full general."

PER-1885 135 PER Caceres 30/11/1885 10/08/1890

Farcau (2000), p.192 "Caceres . . . on 16 July 1884, declared himself to be the legitimate president of Peru, having been named second vice president by Montero before the fall of Arequipa, sinceh both Garcia Calderon and Montero had now been forcibly removed from office by the invaders. A number of towns, particularly in Junin Department where he had fought for so long, declared for him, and the stage was set for a full-scale civil war. .... The Army of the Constitution stormed the capital on 30 November, finally capturing the Palace of Government and forcing Iglesias to surrender in order to avoid further bloodshed. //[p.193]// Shortly thereafter the Council of Ministers recognized Caceres as president and the legislature confirmed this in May 1886, with Caceres's formal inauguration taking place on 5 June."

Does go to New York, then Europe, as accredited Minister from Peru to London and France. See *Washington Post*, Feb. 15, 1891, p. 4. Bermudez was his choice to succeed him. See *The New York Times*, Jul. 2, 1893, p.10.

PER-1890 135 PER Bermudez 10/08/1890 01/04/1894

Natural Death.

PER-1894-1 135 PER Borgono 01/04/1894 10/08/1894

Borgono Castaneda. On his unconstitutional entry, see *The New York Times*, Nov. 15, 1894, p.16. *The New York Times* (1857. Apr 3, 1894. p. 1) He is seen as acting on behalf of Caceres.

PER-1894-2 135 PER Caceres 10/08/1894 19/03/1895

The *Washington Post*, of Apr. 5, 1895 reports that Caceres is expected in Chili any day, after which he will cross the Andes and go to Argentina or Uruguay. See *Washington Post*, Nov. 3, 1894, p.10. See also *The New York Times*, May 22, 1896. p. 5. He "stepped down" after "Manuel Candomo was the man accepted for the provisional Presidency of Peru in 1895 by the revolutionists under the leadership of Nicholas de Pierola and

President Caceres when both agreed to stop fighting." See also The *Washington Post*, May 8, 1904, p. 11. Exiled.

PER-1895-1 135 PER de Candamo 21/03/1895 08/09/1895
De Candamo. See *Washington Post*, Sep 3, 1899, p.9

PER-1895-2 135 PER Pierola 08/09/1895 08/09/1899
Pierola, dies June 23, 1913. See *The New York Times*, Jun 25, 1913, p. 9 and *Christian Science Monitor*, Sep. 181913, p.8

PER-1899 135 PER de Romana 08/09/1899 08/09/1903
Attempted assassination of De Romana on 28 Oct. 1903.

PER-1903 135 PER de Candamo 30/09/1903 07/05/1904
Manuel de Candamo 1895 and 1903–1904, De Candamo dies in office. See The *Washington Post*, May 8, 1904, p. 11.

PER-1904-1 135 PER Serapio Calderon 07/05/1904 24/09/1904
Lentz. He was born in 1843.

PER-1904-2 135 PER Pardo y Barreda 24/09/1904 24/09/1908
Pardo Y Barreda: Lentz notes that he goes to Europe for five years, returns only on eve of WW I. *Washington Post*, Apr. 2, 1909, p. 1. He takes his brother, wife and children with him. An attempt revolt against him was launched in May 1908, by Augusto Durand. The *Washington Post*, May 30, 1909, p.1. Judgment: exile. Pardo was son of former President Manuel Pardo y Lavalle, pres 1872-1876.

PER-1908 135 PER Leguia 24/09/1908 24/09/1912
Leguia. Coup attempt May 29, 1909. President of Peru in enemies hands for a short time. Durand again, and also Isais Perola (=Isias Pierola?). See The *Washington Post*, May 30, 1909, p.1. On exit and post tenure fate, see Lentz, (I), p.342. Prison/exile.

PER-1912 135 PER Billinghurst 24/09/1912 04/02/1914
For post tenure fate, see Lentz (I). *The New York Times*, May 16, 1914, p.20. records first "thrown into prison" later exiled. He lost power on 4 February 1914. Sent to exile in Chile.

PER-1914 135 PER Benavides 04/02/1914 18/08/1915
Oscar Raymundo Benavides Larrea. *The New York Times*, May 16, 1914, p.20 notes that "Col. Benavides has been at the head of the junta of six, elected by an extraordinary session of the Peruvian Congress on Feb. 4, to govern that country until general elections could be held." Post tenure fate is from Lentz (I), p.343. He become legal later, when he wins election in May. *Christian Science Monitor*, May 20, 1914, p.4. Steps down peacefully, *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 17, 1915. Attempted assassination attempt(s?) two days after he leaves office, See *The New York Times*, Aug. 20, 1915, p.11. He came to power on 4 February 1914

PER-1915 135 PER Pardo y Barreda 18/08/1915 04/07/1919

Military coup after elections over concern the president would make its favored candidate his successor. *The New York Times* 5 July, 1919, p. 9. Pardo y Barreda was arrested on July 4, 1919. See *Washington Post*, Jul 5, 1919, p.1. see also *Christian Science Monitor*, Jul. 5, 1919, p.1 and The Atlanta Constitution, July 6, 1919, p.10 for his incarceration. Apparently Gen. A. A. Caceres (former President) was behind the coup, but turned over control to Augusto B. Leguja.) For his overthrow, see also the Boston Daily Globe, July 6, 1919, p. 20 "Pardo Deposed in Peruvian Revolt." This reports, "Senor Pardo, all his ministers and a number of high officers of the Army and Navy were imprisoned. Virtually no fighting and no casualties marked the revolution. . . . Pardo will be tried on charge of violating the Constitution and conspiring against the institutions of the Republic by refusing to obey the order of the Supreme Court in the habeas corpus proceedings in connection with the newspaper El Tiempo. Another charge is that Pardo attempted to purchase the votes of members of Congress in order to carry out his plans to annul the election of Senor Leguia as President and to place the candidate of his own party in power. The inauguration of Leguia probably will take place within two months. He claims that he received 160,000 votes of the 200,000 cast in the recent elections." See also Lentz. Briefly arrested, exile in France. As noted for his earlier spell, son of Pardo Y Lavalle, president 1872-1876.

PER-1919 135 PER Leguia 20/07/1919 25/08/1930

For his entry, see The Atlanta Constitution, July 6, 1919, p.10 "Revolution Wins In Peru Capital." Which, by the way, also records "State Department officials declined to comment on suggestions that the overthrow of the Pardo government created a situation similar to that in Costa Rica, which resulted in a refusal of the United Staes to recognize the government of President Tinoco." See also the Boston Daily Globe, July 6, 1919, p. 20 "Pardo Deposed in Peruvian Revolt" reports, "Senor Pardo, all his ministers and a number of high officers of the Army and Navy were imprisoned. Virtually no fighting and no casualties marked the revolution. Senor Leguia is reported by virtually all of the Army and Navy forces in Lima and public opinion here apparently is behind him. . . . The inauguration of Leguia probably will take place within two months. He claims that he received 160,000 votes of the 200,000 cast in the recent elections. Leguia, speaking from the balcony at the palace, declared that he intended to organize a strong government on a popular basis; to increase the Army and Navy to the status they had held during his previous term as President from 1908 to 1912; defend the principles of justice and right which had triumphed in the great war and would associate Peru without reserve with the cause of the Allies. He intended, he said, to extend every facility for the introduction of foreign capital to aid the development of National resources. . . . Last night, he declared, he learned of a plot to arrest him and send him into exile, and, as a last resort, he gave orders to the Army chiefs favorable to him to go ahead with their plans to overthrow the Pardo Government." On that same page in the Boston Daily Globe, July 6, 1919, p. 20 "Two Reported Killed in Revolution at Lima." "Two soldiers were killed and three other persons, including a subordinate official wounded during the overthrow of President Pardo, according to the State Department to day from Lima. Besides President Pardo, officials imprisoned included the Minister of War, the chief of staff of the Navy and the prefect of Callao. The chief of staff of the Army and 40 subordinates escaped."

Overthrown in an army uprising, Lentz 1999, p. 342; *The New York Times* 26 August, 1930, p. 1. For his fate see Lentz (I). and, *The New York Times*, Aug 27, 1930, p.1. Died

in prison.

PER-1930-1 135 PER Ponce Brousset 25/08/1930 27/08/1930

See *The New York Times*, Aug 31, 1930, p. E5 records that Sanchez Cerro (from the Southern junta) served an ultimatum on Ponce. *The New York Times* 28 August, 1930, p. 7. Irregular transfer here as well. See also *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug 28, 1930, p.1 and *The New York Times*, Aug. 28, 1930, p.7. Ponce is not member of the new cabinet. Faced with ultimatum.

PER-1930-2 135 PER Sanchez Cerro 27/08/1930 01/03/1931

Has to be flown into Lima, hence the delay. *Washington Post*, Aug 26, 1930, p.1. Attempted revolt against him on Feb 20. *Christian Science Monitor*, Feb 21, 1931, p.1. For ouster 1 March, see *The New York Times*, Mar 2, 1931, p.1, *Washington Post*, Mar. 2, 1931, p.1. Navy forces resignation and sets in new junta, *The New York Times* 2 March, 1931, p. 1. Sanchez Cerro retires to a hotel. Cheered there. See *The New York Times*, Mar 2, 1931, p.1. Threat of punishment, but see Lentz, *Washington Post*, Mar 6, 1931, p.1; *The New York Times* Mar. 8, 1931, p.12 records that he set sail for Europe on March 7; *The New York Times*, Mar. 15, 1931, p.9. *The New York Times*, Apr.3, 1931, p.8. Allowed back in June, *The New York Times*, Jun 28, 1931, p.25. He was in power from August 27, 1930, to March 1, 1931. He was assassinated.

PER-1931-1 135 PER Ricardo Leonicio Elias 01/03/1931 05/03/1931

Chief Justice. See *The New York Times*, Mar 2, 1931, p.1. Army takes back power from Navy, *The New York Times* 6 March, 1931, p. 7. He was born in 1874.

PER-1931-2 135 PER Gustavo Jimenez 05/03/1931 10/03/1931

Resignation a solution to civil war-like standoff between "Southern" and "Central" junta. This could be coded as change through rebel activity, or military actors. Clearly this is not just infighting within a given institutional framework, i.e. within ONE junta. Coded as action by military actors, *The New York Times* 10 March, 1931, p. 20. Exiled. See *The New York Times*, Aug. 18, 1832, p.8, arrived in Santiago Chile, on August 17, 1832, more than a year after losing power. No mention of prior arrest. He was born in 1886.

PER-1931-3 135 PER Samanez Ocampo 10/03/1931 08/12/1931

For his fate, we know that he was in New York, July 1935, but not when he arrived there. See *The New York Times*, Jul 12, 1935, p.17. He was OK after he lost power , based on obituary in *The New York Times*, Jul 15, 1947, p.23. (*Washington Post*, Mar 11, 1931, p.14) Lentz: He was led a caretaker government. The *Washington Post*, Dec. 9, 1931, p. 7 notes he resigned just before the new president's inauguration.

PER-1931-4 135 PER Sanchez Cerro 08/12/1931 30/04/1933

For his election and inauguration as constitutional president of Peru, see The *Washington Post*, Dec. 9, 1931, p. 7. Killed by member of suppressed opposition party. Lentz 1999, p. 344; New York Times 1 May, 1933, p. 1.

PER-1933 135 PER Benavidez 30/04/1933 08/12/1939

Oscar Raymundo Benavides Larrea. Promoted to Field Marshal and ambassador to Spain in 1940, Lentz.

PER-1939 135 PER Ugarteche 08/12/1939 28/07/1945

Manuel Prado Y Ugarteche. Is son of former President Mariano Ignacio Prado, president 1865-1868 and 1876-1879. His brother becomes Ambassador to US on 12 June 1946. See Lentz.

PER-1945 135 PER Bustamante 28/07/1945 28/10/1948

Bustamante faced a coup attempt on 3 October by leftists. Suppressed, then military coup by the right. *The New York Times* 13 October, 1948, p. 1. Left for exile in Chile on Oct. 30: *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 30, 1948, p.1. Is in Buenos Airs on Oct. 31. *The New York Times*, Nov. 1, 1948. Becomes judge and then president of ICJ at the Hague.

PER-1948 135 PER Odria 29/10/1948 01/06/1950

On the basis of Rulers.org, but especially *Christian Science Monitor* Oct.30, 1948, p.1, we DROP Noriega, because the real power was Odria. Odria was in power between October 29, 1948 and June 1, 1950

PER-1950-1 135 PER Noriega 01/06/1950 28/07/1950

On Noriega see Lentz; attempts an unsuccessful revolt in August 1954, and again Jan 1955 (*The New York Times*, Jan 26, 1955, p. 11) and is sent into Exile.

PER-1950-2 135 PER Odria 28/07/1950 28/07/1956

Odria. Lentz: goes into voluntary exile in the US. Coup attempts by Noriega in Aug '54 and Jan 55. (*The New York Times*, Jan 26, 1955, p. 11).

PER-1956 135 PER Ugarteche 28/07/1956 19/07/1962

Manuel Prado Y Ugarteche. Removed in a military coup, New York Times 19 July, 1962, p. 1. See The *Washington Post*, Aug. 12, 1962. Exile in Paris. Son of Pres. Prado, see above. Military annuls the election. Ugarteche should lose office constitutionally on July 28. Is aware of military coup threat. See *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 9, 1962, p. C10. Term limited?

PER-1962 135 PER Perez Godoy 19/07/1962 03/03/1963

Reshuffle within governing Junta, *The New York Times* 3-4-1963, p. 1. Put under home arrest.

PER-1963-1 135 PER Lindley Lopez 03/03/1963 28/07/1963

The New York Times, Oct. 4, 1968, p.2, says that Lindley Lopez backed the election of Belaunde.

PER-1963-2 135 PER Belaunde 28/07/1963 03/10/1968

Fernando Belaunde Terry. See Lentz: removed in a military coup, exile in the US. *The New York Times* 4 October, 1968, p. 1. Son of former Prime Minister (NB, not president) Rafael Belaúnde Diez Canseco 28/07/1945-31/01/1946), and nephew to former Foreign Minister Victor Andrés Belaúnde.

PER-1968 135 PER Velasco Alvarado 03/10/1968 29/08/1975

Is in Washington DC, arrived in US in April 1976, for outpatient treatment at Walter Reed (previously had a leg amputated)., 1976. See especially *The New York Times*, Aug. 30, 1975, p.1 & 6. Military coup lead by Bermudez. *The New York Times* 30 August, 1975, p. 1.

PER-1975 135 PER Morales Bermudez 30/08/1975 28/07/1980

See Lexis Nexis: Latin America Weekly Report, June 26, 1981, Section: WR-81-25, Pg. 6. No retribution for alleged misdeeds by earlier Bermudez Regime.

PER-1980 135 PER Belaunde 28/07/1980 28/07/1985

See Lentz on his post tenure fate.

PER-1985 135 PER Garcia Perez 28/07/1985 28/07/1990

See Lentz, After leaving office elected to the Senate, but goes into hiding after Fujimori suspends constitutional government on April 5, 1992, and granted asylum in Columbia in June 1992.

PER-1990 135 PER Fujimori 28/07/1990 22/11/2000

He wins entry through elections, see *The New York Times*, July 28, 1990, p. 3 "For Peru's New Chief, a Litany of Ills" and *The New York Times*, July 29, 1990, p. 14 "Fujimori Promises a Renewal in Peru."

For his *auto-golpe* of April 1992, see *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 8, 1992, p. 2 " Peru's President Says His Move Is Not A Coup." "President Alberto Fujimori denied April 6 that his decision to dissolve Peru's Congress and suspend the Constitution was a coup and he called for more understanding from the international community. ... He said he hoped the international community would understand that "this is not a traditional coup d'état but a change of course which reflects the true aspiration of the Peruvian people." ... The US State Department on April 6 called for a return to constitutional rule and announced a suspension in all new US aid to Peru's government." See also *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 9, 1992, p. 3 " Peruvian President Promises to Pull Troops off Streets." "President Fujimori dissolved Congress, arrested politicians, and sent troops into the streets Sunday night in what Latin Americans term an *autogolpe*, a self-administered coup."

See also Valenzuela (2004, p.9) "Elected 1990, shut down Congress in 1992 *autogolpe* with strong support of the military. Called for constitutional changes and new election to constitutional assembly. ... Reelected in 1995 and 2000, resigned in 2000 when majority support in Congress crumbled after contested election and widespread accusations of corruption involving his intelligence chief. Chronic demonstrations against illegal elections and corruption. Military played role in president's decision to leave office. Replaced by Congressional appointee; first vice-president resigned, second vice-president by-passed."

Resigned under pressure by congress when opposition won majority; flees to Japan. *The New York Times*, September 21, "Court Approves Extradition of Fujimori," `http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/21/world/americas/22chile.html?hp`. "Chile's Supreme Court today approved the extradition of Peru's former president, Alberto Fujimori, on charges of human rights abuses and corruption related to his time in power during the 1990s. ... Mr. Fujimori's return to Peru, where he would be imprisoned while awaiting trial, is expected to roil the country, where he was president from 1990 to 2000. The

court ruling could hinder his ambitions to return to power there, although he still has a loyal group of political followers in the country. ... After faxing his resignation from Tokyo in 2000, he [Fujimori, HG] received citizenship from Japan, from where his parents had emigrated to Peru. In 2005, Mr. Fujimori unexpectedly ended a self-imposed exile in Japan and traveled to Chile, apparently intending to return to Peru and try for a political comeback. But he was arrested soon after he arrived, and Peru quickly sought extradition. "This will strengthen us because the truth will become known," Santiago Fujimori, Mr. Fujimori's brother and a congressman in Peru, said in comments to Andina news agency. The ruling could potentially ease political tension between Chile and Peru, which have been at odds for decades over maritime boundaries. The Chilean president, Michelle Bachelet, today phoned her Peruvian counterpart, Alan García, to inform him of the court decision."

BBC News, of 12 December 2007, "Fujimori jailed for abusing power," reports "The former Peruvian President, Alberto Fujimori, has been sentenced to six years in prison and fined $92,000 (£45,000) for abuse of power. He was found guilty of ordering the removal of sensitive video and audio tapes from a flat belonging to the wife of his former intelligence chief. Mr Fujimori is the first ex-Peruvian head of state to have been convicted of crimes committed while in office. ... His lawyer said he would appeal against the sentence. Mr Fujimori, who was extradited from Chile earlier this year, also faces other separate charges of corruption relating to his time in office between 1990 and 2000."

BBC News, 7 April 2009 "Fujimori gets lengthy jail term." `http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/7986951.stm` " Former Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori has been sentenced to 25 years in jail for ordering killings and kidnappings by security forces. At the end of a 15-month trial, judges found him guilty of two death-squad killings of 25 people during the conflict with guerrillas in the 1990s. After being sentenced, Mr Fujimori said he would appeal against the verdict."

Karen Remmer (Duke), concludes this is an irregular removal, pershonal communication: "No impeachment–they just voted him out! Nothing constitutional about it at all. ... Peru 2000 was an irregular leadership change. Fujimori won the 2000 election but was prevented from assuming office by massive protests. He tried to resign but congress refused to accept the resignation and simply voted him out. He fled the country to avoid jail but made the mistake of coming back–now in prison."

PER-2000 135 PER Valentin Paniagua 23/11/2000 28/07/2001

The New York Times, Oct. 18, 2006. (AP) "Valentín Paniagua, 69, Leader of Peru After Fall of Fujimori, Dies." Obituary. Notes that he had been a former law professor. "In November 2000, Mr. Paniagua was the head of the opposition-led Congress during a six-day succession crisis. Mr. Fujimori fled Peru as his 10-year authoritarian government crumbled in scandals provoked by his shadowy security adviser, Vladimiro Montesinos. Mr. Paniagua became interim president after Mr. Fujimori's two vice presidents resigned. He faced the enormous challenge of supervising elections and the mandate of those who propelled him into power to root out Mr. Montesinos's network of corruption and his influence over the army and judiciary." BBC News, Monday 16 October notes "Peru's ex-President Paniagua dies. Peru's ex-President, Valentin Paniagua, has died aged 70 after spending several days in a coma. He had undergone heart surgery in August. Mr Paniagua was interim president for eight months after Alberto Fujimori resigned amid corruption allegations in 2000, following 10 years in power. A former lawyer, Mr Paniagua

also ran as a candidate in this year's presidential race, finishing fifth. He was well regarded for his leadership during a complex period, analysts say. Mr Paniagua had been a critic of Mr Fujimori's rule, and many Peruvians credit him with leading their country back to democracy when it ended. He used his eight months in office to organise new elections, which were won by Alejandro Toledo in July 2001."

Valenzuela (2004: 9) notes that he took over, when the first vice-president resigned, while the second vice-president was by-passed. Hence, an irregular entry.

PER-2001 135 PER Alejandro Toledo 28/07/2001 31/12/2004

2.25 BRAZIL

Sources consulted include: Brasil Bandecchi, Leonardo Arroyo & Uribatan Rosa (eds.). Novo Dicionario de Historia do Brasil. Sao Paulo: Melhoramentos de Sao Paulo. 1970

BRA-1840 140 BRA Pedro II 23/07/1840 15/11/1889
Pedro II abolishes slavery in 1888.

BRA-1889 140 BRA M. D. da Fonseca 15/11/1889 23/11/1891
Marshall. Under pressure from the Navy resigns, but allegedly was quite ill. *The New York Times*, Nov. 24, 1891, p.8. Is quite close to a coup, especially given that the weeks before there were rumblings of a revolution. *The New York Times*: "A deputation of naval officers waited on Gen. da Fonseca to-day and stated that his acts as Dictator had created profound dissatisfaction among the people of the country, and that if he refused to accede to the popular request for his resignation they would not be answerable for the consequences." We code him as irregularly removed.

His successor Peixotto "issued a manifesto, in which he declares that the members of Fonseca's government are traitors to the constitution." *Washington Post*, Dec. 8, 1891, p.4. Fonseca dies August 23, 1892, less than a year after losing office. For fate see *The New York Times*, Aug. 24, 1892, p.1

BRA-1891 140 BRA Peixoto 23/11/1891 15/11/1894
He dies within the year.

BRA-1894 140 BRA de Moraes Barros 15/11/1894 15/11/1898
For more on him and his cabinet, see *The New York Times*, Jan 27, 1895, p.21. Assassination attempt 6 (Friday) November 1897. *The New York Times* Nov. 6, 1897, p.1. Moraes is clearly in power end of 1897. *Washington Post* of Jun. 7, 1895 reports that Moraes is in bad health and will ask for a vacation. No other evidence anywhere of him stepping down temporarily.

BRA-1898 140 BRA de Campos Salles 15/11/1898 15/11/1902
Subsequently Brazil's minister in Argentina. Not punishment. See Lentz.

BRA-1902 140 BRA Rodriguez Alves 15/11/1902 15/11/1906
Francisco Rodrigues Alve. Lentz notes: "He was reelected to the presidency on November 15, 1918, but poor health prevented him from carrying out his duties. He died in Rio de Janeiro on January 16, 1919." He served abroad and was not punished. See Lentz.

BRA-1906 140 BRA Moreira Penna 15/11/1906 14/06/1909
Dies from Influenza. See Lentz.

BRA-1909 140 BRA Pecanha 14/06/1909 15/11/1910

BRA-1910 140 BRA H. R. da Fonseca 15/11/1910 15/11/1914
H. R. da Fonseca was Nephew of previous Fonseca, first president of the republic. See Lentz. Attempts coup in 1922.

BRA-1914 140 BRA Braz Pereira Gomez 15/11/1914 15/11/1918

VP under Fonseca. Lentz.

BRA-1918 140 BRA da Costa Ribeiro 15/11/1918 28/07/1919

Lentz notes that: "resumed the position of vice president until his death the following year on July 1, 1920." He was the vice president to president Rodrigues Alves who was too sick. da Costa Ribeiro was sick himself, many of his duties carried out by Alfranio de Melo Franco, Minister of the Interior. da Costa Ribeiro was VP again under Pessoa. See Lentz.

BRA-1919 140 BRA de Silva Pessoa 28/07/1919 15/11/1922

Elected a member of the ICJ at the Hague. See Lentz and *The New York Times*, Sep.8, 1923.

BRA-1922 140 BRA da Silva Bernardes 15/11/1922 15/11/1926

de Silva Bernardes. See Lentz: Exile after unsuccessful revolt in 1932, to Portugal. Attempts at Revolts. See also *The New York Times*, Jul. 9, 1924, p.21. Threat of Civil War. See *Washington Post*, Jul. 15, 1924, p.5. Alleged Plot. See *The New York Times*, Jan. 18, 1925. Still OK, May 22, 1927, *The New York Times*, May 22, 1927, p. E1. Member of the Senate. See *Washington Post*, May 27, 1927, p.5. *The New York Times*, Jun 16, 1927, p.16 records that Bernardes arrived in Lisbon (Portugal) on June 15. Given the previous protests and other threats against him, I conclude he's fleeing the hostile grounds. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, March 24, 1955, p.31.

BRA-1926 140 BRA de Souza 15/11/1926 24/10/1930

Removed in a military uprising, resulting in prolonged civil war, Lentz 1999, p. 57. Exile in Europe and the US. *The New York Times*, Oct6.25, 1930, p.1 Says President is prisoner. *Washington Post* says held in government palace under guard. See *Washington Post*, Oct. 25, 1930, p.1, also ibid, Oct. 27, 1930, p.1. Month-long civil war, forced from office, exile in Europe.

BRA-1930 140 BRA Vargas 25/10/1930 30/10/1945

According to Lentz, army preventively disposes president in the runup to scheduled elections, Lentz 1994, p. 104; Christian Science Monitor 31 October, 1945, p. 1. *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct.30, 1945 p.1, says he is held under military guard at the Guanabara Palace. But next day flies to his ranch. See *The New York Times*, Nov. 1, 1945, p.11. See also Lentz. Hints of being sent into exile. See *The New York Times*, Nov 6, p.1945, p.13. Coup attempt reported *The New York Times*, Mar. 27, 1940, p.6. We drop Prestes de Albu, who is listed in Lentz as leader, based on *The New York Times*, and *Washington Post*, Oct. 25, 1930, p1, which show that Prestes never really ruled, and was in hiding. Vargas was offered the presidency. See also *The New York Times*, Dec. 9, 1930, p.10. Prestes, however, a refugee in the British consulate general at Sao Paulo. *Washington Post*, Nov. 4, 1930, p.7

BRA-1945 140 BRA Linhares 30/10/1945 31/01/1946

Lentz says, "In accordance with the constitution, he succeeded Getulio Vargas as President." See also *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct.30, 1945, p.1.

BRA-1946 140 BRA Dutra 31/01/1946 31/01/1951

Lentz.

BRA-1951 140 BRA Vargas 10/02/1951 24/08/1954

Vargas committed suicide after the military forces him to hand power to VP. See Lentz 1994, p. 104; *The New York Times* 25 August, 1954, p. 1.

BRA-1954 140 BRA Cafe Filho 24/08/1954 08/11/1955

He suffered a heart attack in the week before 7 November. See *The New York Times*, Nov. 8, 1955, p.12. He took power over constitutionally. See *The New York Times*, Nov.9, 1955, p. 8; he recovered from heart attack later. Then was held as a prisoner (for at least a couple of days) when he wanted to take back office Nov. 24. See *The New York Times*, Nov. 25, 1955, p.1. Café Filho says "that he understood the police had orders to prevent him from leaving and he still considered himself a prisoner." *The New York Times*, Nov. 27, 1955, p.1

Lentz notes: "Since the Brazilian constitution did not allow a president to succeed himself, Café Filho could not run in the elections of 1955. On November 8, 1955, he suffered a heart attack and was replaced by Chamber of Deputies Speaker Carlos Coimbra da Luz. Three days later, the military ousted Luz and installed Senate President Nereu Ramos as president. Café Filho recovered from his illness and announced his intention to resume the presidency on November 21, 1955. The Brazilian Congress blocked this move by declaring a state of siege until the inauguration of Juscelino Kubitschek."

BRA-1955-1 140 BRA Coimbra da Luz 08/11/1955 11/11/1955

Military coup, designed to ensure the inauguration of the president elect Kubitschek. See The *Washington Post* and Times Herald, Nov. 18, 1955, p.5 and also Lentz. Also *Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 11, 1955, p.6. He flees on board a Light Cruiser, and "sailed back to Rio today [Nov. 13] and was placed under guard of marine tommygunners in the naval arsenal while the government debated his fate. The *Washington Post*, Nov. 14, 1955, p.6.

BRA-1955-2 140 BRA Oliveria Ramos 11/11/1955 31/01/1956

Oliveria Ramos enters constitutionally, elected by Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

BRA-1956 140 BRA Kubitschek 31/01/1956 31/01/1961

Lentz. Completed his term and turned over power to his successor, subsequently elected to the Senate. Stripped of political rights and briefly in exile when the junta of 1964 comes to power.

BRA-1961-1 140 BRA Quadros 31/01/1961 25/08/1961

Lentz: "Quadros resigned the presidency on August 25, 1961, after seven months in office. It was believed that he offered his resignation in the hopes that the Chamber of Deputies would give him more power to carry out land and tax reform programs. ... In October 1962 Quadros was defeated in an election for governor of Sao Paulo. He was prohibited from engaging in political activities following the military coup of 1964."

Keesing's, Vol. 7, October 1961. "Resignation of President Quadros." "After only seven months in office, Dr. Janio Quadros resigned on Aug. 25 as President of Brazil, saying that he "felt crushed" and had been "defeated by the forces of reaction.""

BRA-1961-2 140 BRA Ranieri Mazzilli 25/08/1961 7/9/1961

Lentz: "He served eight times as president of Brazil's Chamber of Deputies. While holding this position he assumed the duties of acting president on five occasions." For his entry, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 7, October 1961. "Resignation of President Quadros."

BRA-1961-3 140 BRA Goulart 07/09/1961 02/04/1964

Lentz: "Vice President under Kubitscheck, and reelected as VP in 1961. . . . He served as vice president in August 1961. Goulart, who was out of the country at the time, was the constitutional successor to the office, but the military feared his lefist leaning and led the opposition to his assuming the presidency. Goulart received widespread popular support, however, and even his political enemies supported his constitutional right of succession. Goulart returned to Brazil on September 1, 1961, and received approval to assume the presidency from the Brazilian Congress. The Congress placed some restrictions on his succession by passing a constitutional amendment that was designed to curtail presidential powers and place most of the executive powers in the hands of the prime minister. Goulart accepted the restrictions and was sworn into office on September 7, 1961. Shortly after he assumed the presidency, Goulart began a campaign to have executive power returned to the president. On January 6, 1963, a plebiscite was passed that restored Goulart's executive power." Asylum, exile, in Uruguay. Goulart deposed in a military coup, *The New York Times* 3 April, 1964, p. 1.

BRA-1964-1 140 BRA Ranieri Mazzilli 2/4/1964 15/4/1964

Following Lentz. And rulers.org

BRA-1964-2 140 BRA Castello Branco 15/04/1964 15/03/1967

Castello Branco dies in a plane crash 4 months after he leaves office. See Lentz. Castello Branco of Brazil is coded as missing (in this case due to ill health -777) for fate, even though he dies in an accident, because only 4 months after out. So he had another 8 months to be punished.

BRA-1967 140 BRA Costa de Silva 15/03/1967 01/09/1969

Lentz notes: Costa e Silva suffered a paralytic stroke on August 31, 1969, that left him unable to perform his duties as president. The military refused to allow vice president Pedro Aleixo to succeed in a constitutional fashion and instead a three-man junta, consisting of General Aurelio de Lyra Tavares, Admiral Augusto Hamman Rademaker Grunewald, and Air Marshall Marcio de Zouza e Mello, took control of the government." He had a natural death.

BRA-1969-1 140 BRA Military Junta 01/09/1969 25/10/1969

After Da Costa has a stroke, the military won't let the VP take over constitutionally, instead a three man junta, ministers of nay, army and military aeronautics.

Mil Junta (= Rademaker Grunewald b. 1905, Tavares b. 1905 & de Souza Mello b.1906) Military Junta was in power from September 1, 1969, to October 25 1969.

BRA-1969-2 140 BRA Medici 25/10/1969 15/03/1974

Medici is chosen by the Army High Command as its candidate and confirmed by the Brazilian Congress. He is picked by the military after congress abolished.

BRA-1974 140 BRA Geisel 15/03/1974 15/03/1979

See *The New York Times*, Oct. 1990, p.A1. *The New York Times*, Sep. 13, 1996, p.B7.

BRA-1979 140 BRA Figueiredo 15/03/1979 21/03/1985

Neves was elected but died before inaugurated.

BRA-1985 140 BRA Sarnay 21/03/1985 15/03/1990

BRA-1990 140 BRA Mello 15/03/1990 02/10/1992

Impeached. Criminal charges before the Supreme Federal Tribunal in April 1993. Acquitted first December 1994, then 10 Jan 1998. Convicted by the Senate of corruption and official misconduct, and banned from holding public office for a period of eight years. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 44, 1998. January. Thus he was impeached and indicted, accused in 1994. Acquitted.

BRA-1992 140 BRA Franco, Itamar 02/10/1992 31/12/1994

BRA-1995 140 BRA Cardoso 01/01/1995 01/01/2003

BRA-2003 140 BRA Lula da Silva 01/01/2003 31/12/2004

2.26 BOLIVIA

Sources consulted include: Jose Roberto Arze. Figuras Centrales en la Historia de Bolivia. La Paz: Cochabamba, 1991 and Farcau (2000).

The period between Fernandez Alonso (15/08/1896 to 10/04/1898) and Pando Solares (12/12/1898 to 04/08/1904) is coded as an interregnum. Although Ortiz heads an Federal Junta, there seems to be no clear leader until 12/12/1898 when both Ortiz and Pando form a ruling committee.

José Ballívian 1841 – 1847
Ousted by General Manuel Isidoro Belzu

Manuel Isidoro Belzu 1847 – 1855

Farcau (2000), p. 22 "Although Belzu hung onto power until 1855, he faced no less than forty more-or-less serious armed uprisings during that period. .... Belzu finally retired voluntarily, the first Bolivian president to do so since Mariscal Santa Cruz, and passed power on to his son-in-law, General Jorge Córdova, through an election arranged by a "tame" legislature, although this regime only lasted two years until 1857."

Jorge Córdova 1855 – 1857
Killed by Achá, see below.

José Maía Linares 1857 – 1861

Farcau (2000), p. 22 "Linares was Bolivia's first civilian president, although he was a long-time coup plotter against Belzu. Linares established a formal dictatorship in 1858, something his military predecessors had, for some reason, never bothered to do. .... Linares was replaced in January 1861 in a coup led by his own minister of war, General José Maria Achá."

José Maria Achá 1861 – 1864

Farcau (2000), p. 22 "Achá ... brought Bolivian politics to new lows of barbarism with the Massacre of Loreto in which some seventy opposition political leaders, including ex-President Córdova were summarily executed for allegedly plotting to return Belzu to power. Heretofore, opposition leaders might only be jailed or, more commonly, exiled, and this level of blatant violence was unheard of." Removed in a coup by Melgarjo.

Mariano Melgarejo 1864 – 1871

General, seizes power in December 1864. Farcau (2000), p. 22 "An illegitimate son of mestizo background, he became infamous as a drunkien, womanizing despot who readily sold out the interests of his country for simple personal gain. [sold over forty thousand square miles of valuable Amazon lands to Brazil] //[p.23]// Megarejo and his ragtag army had put down one rebellion after another since assuming power, but in January 1871 he was finally bested by General Augustín Morales and forced in exile."

Augustín Morales 1871 – 1872

Farcau (2000), p.23 "Although Morales was nearly illiterate, he was a vast improvement over Melgarejo. ... Morales was killed by an assassin's bullet in [December] 1872." Rulers.org has him in until 27 November 1872.

Adolfo Ballivían 1873 – 1874

Farcau (2000), p.23 "Surprisingly enough, after a brief interregnum, Adolfo Ballivían was selected as president the following year in the first free and popular elections Bolvia had held. He ... lasted barely one year in office, dying of natural causes and being //[p/24]// replaced by Vice President Tomás Frías." Was he related to Jorge Ballivían, the earlier president?

BOL-1874 145 BOL Frias 14/02/1874 04/05/1876

Tomás Frias. Farcau (2000), p.24 "he, too, was ousted, this time by a coup led by the commander of the "Colorados" infantry regime, Colonel Hilarion Daza." On p.24 Farcau notes that Daza had helped to install Frias in the first place. See *The New York Times*, Jun. 12, 1876, p.7. He was sent into exile.

For his exit and fate, see also *The New York Times*, June 12, 1876, "South and Central America," p.7. The article reports "Daza has been proclaimed President of Bolivia by the Army. The revolution was effected on the 46th ult., on which date President Frias and his Ministers were imprisoned. ... Much alarm reigns in La Paz, through the streets of which city the troops were continually passing and cheering Daza. It is said that all kinds of excesses have been committed."

BOL-1876 145 BOL Daza 04/05/1876 27/12/1879

Hilarion Daza. For his entry see *The New York Times*, June 12, 1876, "South and Central America," p.7. The article reports "Daza has been proclaimed President of Bolivia by the Army. The revolution was effected on the 46th ult., on which date President Frias and his Ministers were imprisoned. ... Much alarm reigns in La Paz, through the streets of which city the troops were continually passing and cheering Daza. It is said that all kinds of excesses have been committed."

For exit and fate, see *The New York Times*, Jan. 7, 1880, p.5. The *Washington Post*, Jan 7, 1880, p.1. directly attributes his flight to the war. "The cause of his flight is assumed to be popular pressure brought to bear upon his administration on account of the disastrous and unfortunate ending of the late war with Chili." Exiled.

Farcau (2000), p.124 "on 27 December Daza boarded the train ... in Arica for his return to Tacna after a suspiciously brief and insubstantial meeting with Montero, when Colonel Ildefonso Murguia, commander of the "Colorados" rushed up with word from the telegraph office to advise Daza that he had been overthrown. Daza first rushed back to Montero's headquarters and demanded the use of Peruvian troops to crush the mutineers, but he was summarily refused. Daza then attempted to gain asylum aboard one of the neutral warships riding at anchor in Arica harbor, //[p.125]// claiming that he feared imminent assassination, but he was again refused. Becoming more desperate, he then took horse for Mollendo with a handful of followers, and thence went by train to Arequipa, still hoping to raise support for a march on La Paz to regain power, but here he learned that La Paz, too, had declared for the insurrection. He then returned to Mollendo where he was finally able to board an English steamship and take passage to Panama and thence to Europe."

Collier and Simon (2004), p. 128 "the Bolivian dictator Hilarión Daza, a barely literate sergeant who had shot his way into the presidency, ..."

BOL-1879 145 BOL Campero 19/01/1880 15/08/1884

Farcau (2000), p. 126 "In any event, with Daza out of the picture, on 2 January 1880, a commission of notables in La Paz met and elected General Narciso Campera, commander of the 5th division, as provisional president. It was not until the 19th that Campero arrived at Oruro from the frontier and was advised of his nomination, and he accepted the post until a national convention could meet to elect a permanent replacement for the dictator. Campero was a sixty-five-year-old career office, trained at the Frnech academy at St. Cyr, and who had fought with the French Army in Algeria before returning to Bolivia for the Battle of Ingavi in 1841. He had also served as ambassador in Paris in 1873, but he had never shown much interest in politics. One of his first acts was to reinstate the 1875 conscription law that obligated to military service all males from eighteen to fifty years of age with the exception of those who were married, widowers, only sons, those with a brother already in the army, those who had been previously wounded in military service, science professors, teachers and Indians living on autonomous communes."

Farcau (2000), p.143 "Campero was able to organize a column of about one thousand men [after the defeat at Tacna on 22-3 May], with a few dozen survivors of the "Colorados" in the lead and those of the "Grau" Regiment forming a rearguard. They also brought with them the only two Krupp guns salvaged from the field. Campero rode on ahead and, on 31 May learned that he had been formally elected president, no longer provisional, by the National Assembly, even though word of the defeat had reached La Paz by that time." He is sworn in on 16 June 1880.

See *The New York Times*, May 29, 1880, p.5. He died on 12 August, 1896. See the *Washington Post*, Aug. 16, 1896, p.5.

BOL-1884 145 BOL Pacheco 15/08/1884 15/08/1888

Nothing found on his fate. But there was no revolution when Arce is elected.

BOL-1888 145 BOL Arce 15/08/1888 01/08/1892

He was fine after loosing power, see *The New York Times*, Mar. 24, 1893, p.9.

BOL-1892 145 BOL Baptista 06/08/1892 15/08/1896

The windows of his house were smashed after he lost power but he was fine. See the *Washington Post*, Jan. 20, 1897, p.8.

BOL-1896 145 BOL Fernandez Alonso 15/08/1896 06/10/1899

See Lentz. He was exiled.

BOL-1899 145 BOL Jose Manuel Pando 06/10/1899 04/08/1904

Juan Jose Manuel Innocencio Pando Solares was assassinated in 1917 long after leaving office. See Lentz.

BOL-1904 145 BOL Montes 14/08/1904 24/10/1909

See Lentz. He was a Colonel, and his father was the minister of War. After his term in office (which was extended by one year because the president elect died), he became Bolivia's minister to France and England.

BOL-1909 145 BOL Villazon 24/10/1909 15/08/1913

Villazon became the minister to Argentina in 1916. See *Christian Science Monitor*, Mar. 1, 1916, p.13.

BOL-1913 145 BOL Montes 15/08/1913 15/08/1917
See Lentz. He subsequently became minister to France.

BOL-1917 145 BOL Gutierrez Guerra 15/08/1917 11/07/1920
Coalition party seizes power. The leaders of the coup are clearly politicians. The extend of military involvement, and who did the actual physical seizing of power is unclear. Given the political thrust, this is coded as exit brought about through other government actors. Lentz 1999, p. 51; *The New York Times* 14 July, 1920, p. 11. Exiled to Chile. See *Christian Science Monitor* Aug 23, 1920, p.4.

BOL-1920 145 BOL Saavedra 11/07/1920 03/09/1925
President Abdon Saavedra, was the Vice President under Dr. Siles. Siles exiled Saavedra in 1928, so more than 2 years after Saavedre loses power. See *The New York Times*, Jul 2, 1930, p.7.

BOL-1925 145 BOL Felipe Guzman 03/09/1925 10/01/1926
Felipe Guzman was born in 1879.

BOL-1926 145 BOL Siles 10/01/1926 25/06/1930
Hernando Siles Reyes. He tried to alter constitution to engineer his own reelection in May 1930. Lost power as a result of a military coup and was sent into exile. See the *The New York Times*, Oct. 17, 1930. For Hernando Siles Obituary, see *The New York Times*, Nov. 24, 1942, p. 25. Educated at the University of Sucre, and Professor of Physics and Chemistry, Professor of Civil Law and later head of the same university. Also has his exile in the summer of 1930.

BOL-1930 145 BOL Blanco Galindo 25/06/1930 05/03/1931
Blanco Galido, who overthrows Siles, is a retired army officer. (Retired because he attempted a previous coup.)

BOL-1931 145 BOL Salamanca 05/03/1931 28/11/1934
Daniel Domingo Salamance, leads Bolivia in the Chaco war, which goes badly; he is deposed by the military. He was overthrown by the military (especially Torres), with some active involvement of his Vice President Tejada.

For the coup against Salamanca, see Farcau (1996), pp. 203-208. He finally signs his own resignation. p.206 "Tejada then brought out the insidious threat about making an unfavorable peace with Paraguay if Salamanca did not sigh. All trace of humor left Salamanca's face. He hurriedly scratched on a blank sheet of paper, "For reasons which weigh on my spirit, I hereby resign the office of constitutional president of the republic," and signed it. General Sanjines rejected this working as implying force and, repeated the the threat of peace at any price, forced Salamanca to sign the original document. Apart from an almost traditional desire by all Latin American armed forces to cloak their periodic seizures of power with a thin screen of legality, the Bolivian military had a more practical reason for wanting the transfer of power to appear as natural as possible. A much-needed loan of four hundred thousand pounds sterling was pending in London, and the conspirators feared that a coup d'état would risk losing this loan as well as future ones and arms purchases abroad. Thus they were willing to to some lengths, although it is impossible to say whether they really would have signed "any" peace treaty with

Paraguay or not, to obtain Salamanca's signature. After signing, Salamanca announced, "Now that I have resigned the presidency, I am a free citizen, and I demand that these guards be withdrawn so that I can go where I please." Lieutenant Colonel Serrano said that would be impossible for the time being, as they were still awaiting news from La Pa regarding the success of the coup there. Salamanca and Ugarte were thus kept under arrest at Casa Staudt for several days more."

Lentz notes: Deposed on Nov. 27, 1934. "He retired to his home on Cochabamba to write his memoirs and died of a heart attack on July 17, 1935." He died slightly more than 6 months after he lost power.

BOL-1934 145 BOL Tejada Sorzano 28/11/1934 18/05/1936

Sorzano assumes presidency when Salamanca overthrown. Lentz notes that he was elected Vice President under Salamanca in 1931 and assumed the presidency when Salamanca was forced to resign. See also *The New York Times*, Nov. 29, 1934, p.1 & 22. The evidence below suggests his somewhat active participation in the coup-although the coup was not at his instigation, but rather Torres', who counted on Tejada following up. His regular entry also mattered tremendously, see below. For the coup against Salamanca, see Farcau (1996), pp. 203-208. He finally signs his own resignation. p.206 "Tejada then brought out the insidious threat about making an unfavorable peace with Paraguay if Salamanca did not sign. All trace of humor left Salamanca's face. He hurriedly scratched on a blank sheet of paper, "For reasons which weigh on my spirit, I hereby resign the office of constitutional president of the republic," and signed it. General Sanjines rejected this working as implying force and, repeated the threat of peace at any price, forced Salamanca to sign the original document. Apart from an almost traditional desire by all Latin American armed forces to cloak their periodic seizures of power with a thin screen of legality, the Bolivian military had a more practical reason for wanting the transfer of power to appear as natural as possible. A much-needed loan of four hundred thousand pounds sterling was pending in London, and the conspirators feared that a coup d'état would risk losing this loan as well as future ones and arms purchases abroad. Thus they were willing to go some lengths, although it is impossible to say whether they really would have signed "any" peace treaty with Paraguay or not, to obtain Salamanca's signature. After signing, Salamanca announced, "Now that I have resigned the presidency, I am a free citizen, and I demand that these guards be withdrawn so that I can go where I please." Lieutenant Colonel Serrano said that would be impossible for the time being, as they were still awaiting news from La Pa regarding the success of the coup there. Salamanca and Ugarte were thus kept under arrest at Casa Staudt for several days more."

For his exit, see Los Angeles Times, May 19, 1936, p. A4 "Bolivia Goes Haywire." "Ever since the Chaco war between Bolivia and Paraguay wore itself out Bolivia has been split by internal strife. This has finally resulted in the bloodless overthrow of President Jose Luis Tejada Sorzano, a conservative, peace-loving ruler whose children are being educated in California; who maintains a home here and who is a good and understanding friend of the United States. The Chacoan peace has never been popular either with the army or with the large portion of the civilian population who felt themselves cheated because of the advantages gained by Paraguay. To the army the war had come to mean steady jobs providing at least food and clothing for all able-bodied males and home work for the women in the field, mines and civil pursuits. With the war ended and the repatriation of thousands of prisoners from Paraguay under way the labor market was

glutted. Professional soldiers were disgruntled, thoroughly dissatisfied with the result and, worse than all, idle. The country was unable to absorb the rank and file. Former soldiers found themselves on their own resources which were nil. The Sorzano government, having negotiated the unpopular treaty, was blamed for resultant conditions and turned out of office by leaders of a provisional government composed of army officers and civilians." He was removed by a coup d'état (by Toro and Busch), exiled to Chile and never returned. Lentz, 1999, p. 53. For Sorzano's exile, see *The New York Times*, Jun. 22, 1936, p.10.

See also *The New York Times*, May 18, 1936, pp. 1 & 9, "Bolivian Coup Puts The Army In Power; President Ousted." p.9 "The manifesto issued by Colonel Busch, in announcing the creation of a new régime, said: "The resignation of the President, given to the acting chief of general staff, obliges the army to relinquish the aloofness toward politics that it has been observing until the present time, and to attend to reconstruction of the country at a moment of intense public agitation, lack of confidence, financial and economic exhaustion and other grave dangers which threaten national ruin. ... The Chaco campaign brought to light the shakiness of the Bolivian State and revealed to us all, soldiers and civilians, how defective has been our institutional organization when most of the humble were required to give their services and sacrifices on the altar of the fatherland while others—powerful, but very few in number—concentrated in their hands the great fortunes formed by exploiting the natural riches of our territory. Nothing in this irritating condition of inequality, however, has nullified the sacrifice of thousands of men who remained under arms in the Chaco, for the sacrifice created in the people a vehement desire to mend the errors of our Constitution and organize a new fatherland upon bases of social justice, equity and equality moore in accord with the times in which we are living.""

BOL-1936 145 BOL Toro 18/05/1936 13/07/1937

For David Toro's entry see *The New York Times*, May 18, 1936, pp.1 & 9 "Bolivian Coup Puts The Army In Power; President Ousted."

He was removed in a coup d'état (by Busch, a rival junta member), fled to Chile, returned in 1938. Lentz 1999, p. 53. For post tenure fate, see The *Washington Post*, Jul. 18, 1937, p.3.

BOL-1937 145 BOL Busch, G. 13/07/1937 23/08/1939

Lentz notes that he committed suicide. See also *The New York Times*, Aug. 24, 1939, p.11; Also *The New York Times*, Oct. 4, 1939, p.14.

BOL-1939 145 BOL Quintanila 23/08/1939 15/04/1940

Quintanila becomes President "by unanimous determination of the generals, chiefs of garrisons and members of the Cabinet." *Washington Post*, Aug. 24, 1939, p.1. He was instituted by military. Assassination plan of Quintanila and capture of Penaranda foiled by General Antenor Ichazo. See *The New York Times*, Mar. 27, 1940, p.6. Runs for Pres.

BOL-1940 145 BOL Penaranda 15/04/1940 20/12/1943

Removed in a military coup, *The New York Times* 21 December, 1943. Penaranda reported as arrested in *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 20, 1943, p. 1.*The New York Times*, Dec. 21, 1943, p.1. He was in exile in Peru in 1944. See *The New York Times*, May 14, 1944, p.25.

BOL-1943 145 BOL Villarroel 20/12/1943 21/07/1946

See Lentz. Assassination attempt on March 12, 1945. Attacked by a mob, thrown from a Balcony and lynched from a lamppost in the Plaza Murillo. Captured and shot, suspended from a lamppost in the main square, lynched. On Villaroel's murder: *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 23, 1946, p. 4. "Witnesses to the final assault on the fortified presidential palace yesterday said Villaroel was found wounded in the chest and that he pretended to be a leftist leader whom he resembled slightly. "I am Alfredo Mendizabal [Revolutionary party leader]," the president was quoted as shouting. "Don't kill me." These witnesses said Villaroel attempted to lift his revolver, and was shot in the chest before he could fire. His body was tossed from the balcony to the mob in the street below where, where his clothing was ripped to shreds. The almost nude body was hung to a lamppost along with those of three of his trusted lieutenants. The body then was draped with a sheet, labeled with an official photograf of Villarroel, and slung over a tank, which was paraded thru the streets of La Paz." Killed in revolutionary takeover by students and workers, *The New York Times* 22 July, 1946, p. 1.

BOL-1946-1 145 BOL Guillen 21/07/1946 16/08/1946

See Lentz and *The New York Times*, Aug. 17, 1946, p.2. Dean of the La Paz district of the Superior court, his successor is Monje Gutierrez, president of the Bolivian Superior Court. See *The New York Times*, Mar. 11, 1947, p.5, Guillen member of Hertzog's cabinet. But he's in jail in 1955, and freed in July 21, 1955, *The New York Times*, Jul. 22, 1955, p.9.

BOL-1946-2 145 BOL Gutierrez 16/08/1946 10/03/1947

There was an assassination attempt one month after his entry to office. See *Washington Post*, Sept. 28, 1946, p.1. and *The New York Times*, Jul. 2, 1954, p.19

BOL-1947 145 BOL Herzog 11/03/1947 07/05/1949

Enrique Herzog or Hertzog. Lentz notes that he resigns for reasons of poor health. (Challenged a rival to a duel in 1932.) *The New York Times*, Nov. 15, 1948, notes that he threatened to quit unless Congress agreed to extend the state of siege proclaimed earlier. A coup plot against him fails, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 21, 1949, p. 26 "12 Are Arrested As Bolivia Foils Revolt Plot."

Failing health claim in *Washington Post*, May 8, 1949, p. M4, "Presidency Is Given Up By Hertzog." See also, *The New York Times*, May 8, 1949, p. 4 "Bolivian Chief on Leave." This article records: "President Enrique Hertzog took a leave of absence today because of bad health and turned over Government temporarily to Vice President Mamerto Urriolagoitia." He's still in the Hospital on October 16, has not officially resigned yet. See *The New York Times*, Oct. 17, 1949, p.2, "Ultimatum in Bolivia." "Acting President Mamerto Urriolagoitia said today he would resign Tuesday unless President Enrique Hertzog had decided by that time either to resume his duties or quit for good. Senor Urrioglagoitia [*sic*] said President Hertzog had promised to make up his mind by tojmorrow, ending the uncertainty that has governed Bolivian politics since Senor Hertzog went on sick leave May 7. The ailing President, afflicted by diseases of the heart and kidneys, had expected to spend thirty to forty days undergoing treatment in a hospital in the resort city of Chulumani, near here. Today, after 161 days, Senor Hertzog is still in the hospital." For his final official resignation, see The *Washington Post*, October 21, 1949, p. 12

"Hertzog Resigns In Bolivia Due to Ill Health." The *The New York Times*, November 4, 1949, p. 12 "Bolivian Ex-President an Envoy," records that "Dr. Enrique Hertzog, who resigned the Presidency of Bolivia Oct. 21 because of ill health, accepted today the post of Ambassador to Spain." He writes a letter to the *The New York Times*, November 11, 1953, p. 30 "Communism in Bolivia," signing his name as J. Enrique Hertzog Garaizabal.

BOL-1949 145 BOL Urriolagoitia 07/05/1949 16/05/1951

For his entry, see *The New York Times*, May 8, 1949, p. 4 "Bolivian Chief on Leave." This article records: "President Enrique Hertzog took a leave of absence today because of bad health and turned over Government temporarily to Vice President Mamerto Urriolagoitia."

Resigns so that military can take over and prevent president elect from taking office. I will code this as military coup, even though it is directed at incoming, not current president, *The New York Times* 17 May, 1951, p. 1; Lentz 1994, p. 93. Mamerto Urriolagoitia escaped to Chile, and probably never returned. For fate, see *The New York Times*, May 17, 1951, p.1. He supported the coup to prevent the left wing from gaining power. For his obituary, see The *Washington Post*, June 6, 1974, p. C6 "Mamerto Urriolagoitia, Ex-President of Bolivia." It notes that he died June 4, 1974.

BOL-1951 145 BOL Ballivian Rojas 16/05/1951 11/04/1952

National Revolutionary party overthrows military junta in 3 day civil war, *The New York Times* 12 April, 1952, p. 1; Lentz 1994, p. 93. He was sent to exile in Chile.

BOL-1952-1 145 BOL Siles Zuazo 11/04/1952 16/04/1952

He was born on March 19, 1914. He was the illegitimate son of Siles Reyes, president 1926-1930. Lentz notes: Was elected VP under Paz Estenssoro, but coup that removes Rojas tries to prevent them from taking power. Leads a counter-coup. Becomes provisional president until 16 April when Paz Estenssoro returns from exile. He serves as VP. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, August 8, 1996, p. D22.

BOL-1952-2 145 BOL Paz Estenssoro 17/04/1952 17/06/1956

The New York Times, May 4, 1955, p. 13 "Bolivia Entering a Difficult Year." Notes he previously was a professor of economics. Also, "Consequently the party is laying plans to hold a constituent assembly next October to re-write the Constitution and draft the 46-year-old professor into another term." Gets power handed over constitutionally by his VP, Silez Zuazo. See Lentz. Post tenure he became ambassador to Britain when his ally Siles is in power. Coup by VP, General Barrientos. Exile in Peru. *The New York Times*, May 2, 1955, p. 10 "Second Term Asked for Bolivian Chief" notes "Bolivian Labor leaders asked president Victor Paz Estenssoro today to serve a second term. ... The President's term expires next April."

The Hartford Courant, Aug. 6, 1956, p.1. "Bolivia Inaugurates New President Today." "...By virtue of victory MNR installed Victor Paz Estenssoro as president. He had been driven into exile after receiving a majority of votes in the May 1951 presidential election."

BOL-1956 145 BOL Siles Zuazo 17/06/1956 06/08/1960

The Hartford Courant, Aug. 6, 1956, p.1. "Bolivia Inaugurates New President Today." "LA PAZ, Bolivia, Aug. 5-Hernan Siles Zuazo, 42-year-old lawyer who led the

Easter week revolution in 1952, will be inaugurated president for a four-year term tomorrow. He was elected July 17. Siles' father, Hernando Siles, served as president from 1926 to 1930. The president-elect captained the civilian forces of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement-MNR-which defeated the regular armed forces in a three-day battle in the mountains surrounding La Paz. By virtue of victory MNR installed Victor Paz Estenssoro as president. He had been driven into exile after receiving a majority of votes in the May 1951 presidential election." Lentz notes that after he lost power he became ambassador to Uruguay and Spain. He went to exile following a coup in 1964. (Again, son of Siles Reyes.) For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, August 8, 1996, p. D22.

BOL-1960 145 BOL Paz Estenssoro 06/08/1960 04/11/1964

Military revolt headed by vice-president (a general). Plays out before the background of student protests, Lentz 1994, p. 94, New York Times 5 November, 1964, p. 1. Exile in Peru.

BOL-1964 145 BOL Barrientos Ortuna 06/11/1964 05/01/1966

Following `www.rulers.org`. Assassination attempt on March 21, 1965. See Lentz. Dies in helicopter crash. Farcau, *The Coup*, reports, p.178 that Barrientos's death "has been rumored to have been a sophisticated assassination plot".

BOL-1966-1 145 BOL Ovando Candia 05/01/1966 06/08/1966

See Lentz. Farcau, *The Coup*, p.178 reports that "Ovando was very popular with the officer corps, a man of impeccable honesty and exceptional professional qualifications, and while he ruled there was little chance of any other group of officers winning sufficient support to overthrow him."

BOL-1966-2 145 BOL Barrientos Ortuna 06/08/1966 27/04/1969

Che Guevara leads uprising in 1967.

BOL-1969-1 145 BOL Siles Salinas 27/04/1969 26/09/1969

He was removed in a military coup d'état, exiled to Chile. See Lentz and also *The New York Times*, Sept. 27, 1969, p.1 & p.32. He was the son of Siles Reyes, who was the president between 1926-1930.

BOL-1969-2 145 BOL Ovando Candia 26/09/1969 06/10/1970

Farcau, *The Coup*, p.178 reports that "Ovando was very popular with the officer corps, a man of impeccable honesty and exceptional professional qualifications, and while he ruled there was little chance of any other group of officers winning sufficient support to overthrow him. However, Ovando's eldest (and favorite) son died in an accident in mid-1970. While this event would not appear to have much political significance, Ovando was a devoted family man, and he never recovered from the loss of his son. He attempted to carry on for some //[p.179]// months, holding cabinet meetings in his home, with his younger children running in and out of his small office during these sessions, as he could not bear to be parted, even briefly, from his family, but in late September 1970, he "delivered the position of the presidency to the Armed Forces" for their disposition." President resigns after failed military coup attempt and subsequent demand of officer corps to resign, fights between left and right factions in military ensue, *The New York Times* 7 October, 1970, p. 1.

See Lentz. Ovando sought asylum in the Argentine Embassy. Then counter coup and returns to Bolivia. Refuge in foreign Embassy is foreign soil, is exile. Right-wing military coup 1 day; asylum in Argentine embassy.

BOL-1970 145 BOL Torres 07/10/1970 22/08/1971

Farcau, *The Coup*, reports that "Torres, unlike most of the officer corps, did not come from the middle or upper class or from a military family. He had been raised by his mother alone and had entered the Colegio Militar by an immense stroke of luck as his only opportunity for a serious education. While the other cadets at the academy spent their weekends strutting around the Prado in their dress uniforms to impress the girls, Torres spent his selling candy from a folding talbe in the street in front of the stadium to help support his mother." For the coup that removes him, see Farcau, 179-185.

See Lentz. (In exile kidnapped and murdered by right wing death squads near Buenos Aires. See also Farcau, *The Coup*, p.165, footnote.) Right-wing military coup. See also *The New York Times*, 22 August, 1971, p. 1.

For his exile, see also *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 23, 1971, p. 7 "Bolivian Junta Names Colonel to Head Regime." "LA PAZ, Bolivia, Aug. 22 (AP) – . . . [*Torres and 25 of his suporters have been granted asylum in the Peruvian Embassy in La Paz, Reuters New Agency quoted Peruvian Foreign Minister Edgardo Mercado Jarrin a saying.*]" Italics in original.

BOL-1971 145 BOL Banzer Suarez 22/08/1971 21/07/1978

For his entry, see *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 23, 1971, p. 7 "Bolivian Junta Names Colonel to Head Regime." "LA PAZ, Bolivia, Aug. 22 (AP) – A three-man military junta took over the Bolivian government today. Army Col. Hugo Banzer Suarez was named president. The coup which began Thursday toppled the leftist regime of Gen. Juan Jose Torres, 48. He had seized power in a military coup last October. . . . Banzer is a career army officer who commanded the Volivian Military Academy until his removal last January, on charges that he led a conspiracey to oust Torres. . . . [*Torres and 25 of his suporters have been granted asylum in the Peruvian Embassy in La Paz, Reuters New Agency quoted Peruvian Foreign Minister Edgardo Mercado Jarrin a saying.*]" Italics in original.

The New York Times, July 22, p. 45 " Bolivian Chief Quits After Brief Revolt; Junta Takes Over." This article notes "He [= Banzer] came to power in a bloody military coup in 1971 in which three officers overthrew the leftist government of Juan José Torres and were in turn ousted by the Banzer forces a few days later."

For his ouster, see *The Washington Post*, July 20, 1978, p. A18 "Bolivian Election Annulled Because of 'Irregularities'." "The National Election Court annulled Bolivia's presidential election last night and called for another vote within 180 days. . . . Gen. Juan Pereda, the military government's favored candidate who was declared the winner of the July 9 presidential election, asked the court earlier yesterday to scrap the results and hold another vote "to avoid sorrow and tears for the nation." And, subsequently, *The New York Times*, July 22, p. 45 " Bolivian Chief Quits After Brief Revolt; Junta Takes Over." "LA PAZ, Bolivia, July 21 – President Hugo Banzer Suárez resigned tonight, and reliable sources said the presidency would be turned over to Gen. Juan Pereda Asbún, who led a rebellion after his election as president was annulled by a court. General Banzer said in a statement that he stepped down and had transferred power to the senior commanders

of the three branches of the armed forces. The general, who came to power in a coup seven years ago, said the military chiefs "will adopt the decisions most convenient for this hour." ... "The hour has arrived to leave command," he said, "I believe I have complied with my duty." He personally swore in the military chiefs, asking them to uphold the constitution and laws of the republic. The resignation appeared to end the rebellion, which began before dawn today. The Government had said the rebellion was confined to Santa Cruz, but rebel broadcasts said the insurgents controlled all of eastern Bolivia. Provincial radio stations had indicated the uprising was moving closer to this capital city, in Bolivia's western mountains. The only indication of fighting was one radio report saying an army officer had been killed in a tin-mining area. President Banzer's right-wing military Government had ordere d a nationwide state of siege. Loyal troops, with tanks and armored cars, were deployed around the hilltop presidential palace and strategic places here."

The Washington Post, July 22, 1978, p. A15, "Bolivia's Banzer Gives Up Presidency In Aftermath of Military-Led Rebellion." "President Hugo Banzer resigned last night and air force Gen. Juan Pereda Asbun took power three hours later, after mounting a rebellion that threatened Bolivia with civil war."

Uprising of military units in at least in part of the country, upon which the president resigns. New leader is actually winner of a likely fraudulent election that was annulled by supreme court. *The New York Times* 22 July, 1978, p. 1. Exile in Argentina.

BOL-1978-1 145 BOL Pereda Asbun 21/07/1978 24/11/1978

Juan Perada Asbun. Air Force General. Bruce W. Farcau, *The Coup; Tactics in the Seizure of Power*, p.151 notes that his matronymic Asbun is of Arab origin. Farcau notes that he was Banzer's chosen "official" candidate. Farcau, p.152–3 "In the elections of July 1978, Pereda's party garnered an uncanny, even truly unbelievable 50.03 percent of the approximately two million votes cast, almost exactly the number needed to win the multicandidate election without the need for a runoff vote in the chamber of deputies. He was followed by former President Hernan Siles Suazo's Popular Democratic Union (UDP) with about 24 percent and another former president, Victor Paz Estensorro, with 11 percent. The level of vote fraud was such that two departments of the country, Santa Cruz and Chuquisaca, ended up with rather more votes cast than the total number of registered voters. The outcry both within Bolivia itself and in the international community appalled the bulk of the officer corps, which lost faith in Banzer's machinations and Pereda's leadership. Realising that he would not be able to claim a valid electoral victory, Pereda was able to launch a coup d'état, against no resistance, ostensibly ousting Banzer, although the move was made with his tacit compliance. ... With the general distaste of the military for the sloppy handling of Pereda's installation in power, however, they were able to remove him from office painlessly on Thanksgiving night (23 November 1978) after only a few months in the presidency, installing Padilla in his place. Padilla's declared role was to open the way for new and honest elections, and those held in July 1979 rank among the freest and cleanest in Bolivian history."

See also *The Washington Post*, July 20, 1978, p. A18 "Bolivian Election Annulled Because of 'Irregularities'." "The National Election Court annulled Bolivia's presidential election last night and called for another vote within 180 days. ... Gen. Juan Pereda, the military government's favored candidate who was declared the winner of the July 9 presidential election, asked the court earlier yesterday to scrap the results and hold

another vote "to avoid sorrow and tears for the nation."

And, subsequently, *The New York Times*, July 22, p. 45 " Bolivian Chief Quits After Brief Revolt; Junta Takes Over." "LA PAZ, Bolivia, July 21 – President Hugo Banzer Suárez resigned tonight, and reliable sources said the presidency would be turned over to Gen. Juan Pereda Asbún, who led a rebellion after his election as president was annulled by a court. General Banzer said in a statement that he stepped down and had transferred power to the senior commanders of the three branches of the armed forces. The general, who came to power in a coup seven years ago, said the military chiefs "will adopt the decisions most convenient for this hour." ... "The hour has arrived to leave command," he said, "I believe I have complied with my duty." He personally swore in the military chiefs, asking them to uphold the constitution and laws of the republic. The resignation appeared to end the rebellion, which began before dawn today. The Government had said the rebellion was confined to Santa Cruz, but rebel broadcasts said the insurgents controlled all of eastern Bolivia."

The Washington Post, July 22, 1978, p. A15, "Bolivia's Banzer Gives Up Presidency In Aftermath of Military-Led Rebellion." "President Hugo Banzer resigned last night and air force Gen. Juan Pereda Asbun took power three hours later, after mounting a rebellion that threatened Bolivia with civil war."

The Washington Post, 30 July 1978, p. B6 "No Ho-Hum Coup in Bolivia." "General Pereda forced the question. The candidate of the military and of the outgoing Banzer regime, he in turn 1) won the elections amid well-documented charges of fraud, 2) accepted the annulment of the elections, and 3) seized power bloodlessly in the name of heading off a leftist whom he expediently mislabeled a communist. From the American embassy in La Paz there promptly issued a suggestion that the United States halt economic and military aid unless the general agrees to hold new elections soon."

For his exit, see *The Wshington Post*, November 25, 1978, p.A21 "Bolivian Army Ousts President." "LA PAZ, Bolivia, Nov. 24 – The Bolivian Army today toppled the president that it had help place in power four months ago, and promised elections next year. It was the 184th coup for the landlocked South American nation in 153 years of independence. Army commander Gen. David Padilla Arancigia led the bloodless takeover and said he would serve as provisional president until elections July 1, then turn over power on Aug. 6, Bolivian's national day. Padilla, 52, ousted Juan Pareda, an air force general who seized power with army help in July after cancellation of elections that he claimed to have won. ... Pereda, 47, had promised elections in 1980, apparently too late for the current mood of the military. Next year is the 100th anniversary of the start of the War of the Pacific in which Chile captured Bolivia's territory on the Pacific coast. All Bolivian leaders, civilian or military, call for recovery of the outlet to the sea and the army has called for national unity to accomplish that next year."

See Lentz and *Washington Post*, Nov. 26, 1978, p.A31. He was in the US to testify in Bail hearing. (After May 1980). See also *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 13, 1981, p.1 & 21. He lost power after a bloodless military coup, and was sent to exile to the US. New York Times 25 November, 1978, p. 1.

BOL-1978-2 145 BOL Padilla Aranciba 24/11/1978 08/08/1979

Farcau, p.152–3 "With the general distaste of the military for the sloppy handling of Pereda's installation in power, however, they were able to remove him from office painlessly on Thanksgiving night (23 November 1978) after only a few months in the

presidency, installing Padilla in his place. Padilla's declared role was to open the way for new and honest elections, and those held in July 1979 rank among the freest and cleanest in Bolivian history." See Lentz and *Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 2, 1979,p.4

For his entry, see *The Wshington Post*, November 25, 1978, p.A21 "Bolivian Army Ousts President." "LA PAZ, Bolivia, Nov. 24 – The Bolivian Army today toppled the president that it had help place in power four months ago, and promised elections next year. It was the 184th coup for the landlocked South American nation in 153 years of independence. Army commander Gen. David Padilla Arancigia led the bloodless takeover and said he would serve as provisional president until elections July 1, then turn over power on Aug. 6, Bolivian's national day. Padilla, 52, ousted Juan Pareda, an air force general who seized power with army help in July after cancellation of elections that he claimed to have won. ... Pereda, 47, had promised elections in 1980, apparently too late for the current mood of the military. Next year is the 100th anniversary of the start of the War of the Pacific in which Chile captured Bolivia's territory on the Pacific coast. All Bolivian leaders, civilian or military, call for recovery of the outlet to the sea and the army has called for national unity to accomplish that next year."

BOL-1979-1 145 BOL Guevara Arze 08/08/1979 01/11/1979

Farcau, *The Coup*, p.152–3, on the election of July 1979. " Padilla's declared role was to open the way for new and honest elections, and those held in July 1979 rank among the freest and cleanest in Bolivian history. ... Since no candidate achieved the necessary "50 percent plus one vote" necessary for election, the choice devolved upon the legislature (rather than a second round of popular vote as in most countries). ... Consequently, the presidency, it was decided would devolve upon the president of the Senate, Watler Guevara Arce, until new elections could be held." For more details on the November coups which ousts him, see Farcau, *The Coup*, pp.153-159. Farcau (157) confirms that Guevaa remained at liberty, but underground. Also, *The New York Times* 2 November, 1979. President of the Senate. Goes underground initially. *Washington Post*, Nov. 2, 1979, p. A1 & A24. *Washington Post*, Nov. 16, 1979, p. A1 & A30. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, Jun. 23, 1996. p.33.

BOL-1979-2 145 BOL Natusch Busch 01/11/1979 16/11/1979

Farcau, *The Coup*, p.156–8. "It is now apparent that Natusch did not order the launching of the coup. ... In light of the bloodshed and the intense international condemnation, which was magnified by the presence of the terrified and indignant OAS conferees in the city, both Banzer and Victor Paz denied any knowledge of or cooperation with Natusch. With his plans in total disarray, Natusch assumed the presidency himself. He was evidently aware that the "gorillas" had intentionally launched the coup prematurely, and badly, although he could not have understood why at this point. Since they had command of all the combat forces, there was little he could do in any case, and he tried to salvage what he could from the wreckage .... Natusch found himself trapped between unrelenting resistance by the civilian population and the international community on the one had and the treacherous actions of his "gorilla" "allies" on the other. His government lasted a total of sixteen days before Natusch resigned and went into voluntary exile. His place was taken by Lida Gueiler, the new president of the congress after Guevara's assumption of the presidency that August."

Lentz: becomes General and attempts another coup in 1981. For his regularly transferring power and stepping down, see *Washington Post*, Nov. 16, 1979, p. A1 & A30.

BOL-1979-3 145 BOL Gueiler Tejada 16/11/1979 17/07/1980

Keesing's Vol. 26, November 1980: "Following presidential elections on June 29 in which Dr H. Siles Zuazo of the moderate left Democratic Popular Unity (UDP) front won the largest number of votes but failed to achieve an absolute majority, the armed forces took power on July 17 from the interim head of state, President Lidia Gueiler Tejada, and installed a military junta headed by Gen. Luis Garcia Da Meza (50). Sra Gueiler had been appointed President in November 1979 by the National Congress as a temporary solution to a political crisis (arising in turn from inconclusive presidential elections in July-August 1979–and a subsequent unsuccessful coup attempt), and had announced at the beginning of 1980 that elections would take place on June 29. Developments during her seven months of office and following the military takeover are described below." First takes refuge in the "Nunciature" of the city of La Paz until October (of 1980), then exile in Paris. Not related to earlier Tejada.

Farcau, *The Coup*, p.172–5 "Relations between the military and the Gueiler government were always tense, but the new president, who happened to be a distant cousin of Garcia Meza's, managed to avoid open confrontation, and her eight and one-half months in office put her just above the average in terms of overall longevity for a Bolivian head of state. At one point, in the spring of 1980, the rivalry became almost comic. Garcia Meza complained bitterly to President Gueiler during an official ceremony in Cochabamba that the NCO Academy there did not have a swimming pool and that this was an affront to the honor of the armed forces. In front of the press, the president placed her hand on the general's arm and said soothingly, "All right, General, we'll build you a pool, and then you won't have to overthrow the government after all." ... On 17 July, in the early hours of the morning, the garrison at Trinidad rose against the government, just as it had prior to the November coup. ... Lidia Gueiler, still officially president until the inauguration, which was scheduled for 6 August, managed to take refuge in the Papal Nunciatura, but most of the legislature were seized at the the Plaza Murillo as were the leaders of the various political parties and their staffs. Another key difference between July and the previous November was that this time the coup plotters did not act alone. The repressive military regime in Argentina under General Jorge Rafael Videla had been extremely leery of the possibility that Bolivia would be taken over by a left-leaning civilian government which might provide sanctuary to the Montonero guerilla/terrorist group which his "dirty war" had finally managed to bring under control. Consequently, some 200 military advisors from Argentina had clandestinely moved into Bolivia, along with a like number of other security agents, from the police and other agencies, to help Garcia Meza conduct and consolidate his coup. Although official Bolivian military sources denied this Argentine intervention at the time, it was difficult to find a restaurant in La Paz in July and August that did not ring with the telltale rhythm and high decibel content of Argentine conversation."

BOL-1980 145 BOL Garcia Meza Tejada 18/07/1980 04/08/1981

For the coup that brings him to power, see Farcau, *The Coup*, pp.171-178. "Relations between the military and the Gueiler government were always tense, but the new president, who happened to be a distant cousin of Garcia Meza's, managed to avoid

open confrontation, and her eight and one-half months in office put her just above the average in terms of overall longevity for a Bolivian head of state. At one point, in the spring of 1980, the rivalry became almost comic. Garcia Meza complained bitterly to President Gueiler during an official ceremony in Cochabamba that the NCO Academy there did not have a swimming pool and that this was an affront to the honor of the armed forces. In front of the press, the president placed her hand on the general's arm and said soothingly, "All right, General, we'll build you a pool, and then you won't have to overthrow the government after all." ... On 17 July, in the early hours of the morning, the garrison at Trinidad rose against the government, just as it had prior to the November coup. ... Lidia Gueiler, still officially president until the inauguration, which was scheduled for 6 August, managed to take refuge in the Papal Nunciatura, but most of the legislature were seized at the the Plaza Murillo as were the leaders of the various political parties and their staffs. Another key difference between July and the previous November was that this time the coup plotters did not act alone. The repressive military regime in Argentina under General Jorge Rafael Videla had been extremely leery of the possibility that Bolivia would be taken over by a left-leaning civilian government which might provide sanctuary to the Montonero guerilla/terrorist group which his "dirty war" had finally managed to bring under control. Consequently, some 200 military advisors from Argentina had clandestinely moved into Bolivia, along with a like number of other security agents, from the police and other agencies, to help Garcia Meza conduct and consolidate his coup. Although official Bolivian military sources denied this Argentine intervention at the time, it was difficult to find a restaurant in La Paz in July and August that did not ring with the telltale rhythm and high decibel content of Argentine conversation."

For his ouster in a coup, see *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 5, 1981, p. 8 "President of Bolivia bows to rebels, quits." "LA PAZ, Bolivia—Gen. Luis Garcia Meza, bowing to the demands of army rebels in eastern Bolivia, resigned as president Tuesday night and asked the military commanders to govern the country. He made the announcement in a speech broadcast from the presidential palace. There had been reports earlier that the ultraconservative Garcia Meza, 52, would step down to avoid a bloody confrontation between his backers and the insurgents, who were gaining wider support. The commanders of the army, air force, and navy were expected to meet with ranking officers from throughout the country and name a president from their ranks. Observers said it was unlikely the commanders would try to govern as a council, because such efforts at joint rule in the past have failed. Gen. Alberto Natusch Bush, who was president for 16 days in 1979, led the rebels who seized control of Santa Cruz on Monday. ... It was the fifth attempted coup since May against Garcia Meza, who overthrew the civilian government of President Lidia Gueiler a year ago. He had said months ago that he would resign on Aug. 6, and have the military name a successor, but then reversed his position last month and said he would stay in office. ... Natusch Busch, speaking by telephone from Santa Cruz, 325 miles southeast of La Paz, said troops of four army divisions had joined the revolt."

Five major coup attempts against him. Returns power to the military junta. The Civilian Government ordered the arrest of Meza and 29 members of his military regime on May 24, 1983. He is said there to be living in exile in Argentina, "where he sought refuge when President Hernan Siles Zuazo assumed office here last October." *The New York Times*, May 25, 1983. They have been there for a while before November. *Washington*

Post, Nov. 30, 1982, p. A 12.

See also *The New York Times*, Aug. 9, 1981, p. 17 "Weeklong Revolt In Bolivia Is Ended." The article also notes "The United States withdrew its ambassador shortly after General García Meza took power. Along with many other countries, it has cut much of its economic aid even though Bolivia is on the verge of bankruptcy. The International Monetary Fund has been refusing to refinance Bolivia's huge debt and the country's National bank has returned some checks in recent weeks, according to international bankers here. . . . Civilian political leaders here said that the rebellion was, in the end, a military affair."

Military junta takes over from current military ruler after display of force, *The New York Times* 5 August, 1981, p. A3.

Lentz (p.99), "General Garcia Meza was purged from his army posts during the administration of President Siles Zuazo in 1983." Therefore more than one year after he stepped down (on 4 Aug, 1981). Forced to resign, exile in Argentina.

He is a distant cousin of previous president Guiler, Farcau, *The Coup*, p.172.

BOL-1981 145 BOL Torrelio Villa 04/08/1981 19/07/1982

For the confused interim, see *inter alia*, *The New York Times*, Aug. 8, 1981, p.3 "Deposed President in Bolivia Is Said to Prepare to Attack." Also *The New York Times*, Aug. 9, 1981, p. 17 "Weeklong Revolt In Bolivia Is Ended." The article also notes "The United States withdrew its ambassador shortly after General García Meza took power. Along with many other countries, it has cut much of its economic aid even though Bolivia is on the verge of bankruptcy. The International Monetary Fund has been refusing to refinance Bolivia's huge debt and the country's National bank has returned some checks in recent weeks, according to international bankers here. . . . Civilian political leaders here said that the rebellion was, in the end, a military affair."

Rulers.org has him as a member of the ruling junta after Garcia Meza steps down. "He was chosen to join the ruling military junta by virtue of his seniority, and his appointment as president followed from his position as senior member of that body. He was above U.S. suspicion of involvement in the drug business, and the U.S. reestablished diplomatic relations with Bolivia in early November 1981. Torrelio's actions in promising an increased role for foreign firms in the mining, metallurgical, and petroleum sectors, freedom from fears of nationalization, and acceptance of an International Monetary Fund presence in running the economy marked him as someone who rejected the nationalistic economic model in place in Bolivia since 1952. Torrelio lifted almost all restrictions on civil rights and after 10 months handed power to another soldier, Guido Vildoso Calderón, who governed only 3 months before a civilian president, Hernán Siles Zuazo, took office."

Celso Terrelio Villa. Foreign Affairs, 1983, 61,003, p.739. "July 19. Bolivian President Celso Torrelio is ousted by military junta consisting of Army Gen. Angel. Mariscal, Air Force Gen. Natalio Morales, and Navy Vice Adm. Oscar Pamma; Gen. Guido Vildoso Calderon sworn in as country's president, 7/21." ***Keesing's*** Vol. 29 (1983) February: "Gen. Celso Torrelio Villa, who had succeeded Gen. Garcia Meza as President in September 1981, after being appointed by the junta composed of the chiefs of the three branches of the armed forces, stated his intention of seeking to effect a return to democracy, but came under pressure both from rival members of the military command and also from the increasingly restive civilian population. Gen. Torrelio formally resigned as President on July 19, 1982, and the junta replaced him with Gen. Guido Vildoso

Calderon, who promised that fresh elections would be held in early 1983." See also ***Keesing's*** Vol. 29 (1983) November, which states Celso is retired. Thus, this qualifies as a power struggle within the military.

See also *Chicago Tribune*, July 1982, p. A6 "Bolivian junta seizes control." "A junta made up of the leaders of the three branches of the armed forces of Bolivia took control of the government Monday night and named the army chief of staff the new president,replacing Celso Torrelio after only 10 months in office. ... "I have fulfilled my duties to my nation," Torrelio said in a ceremony marking the peaceful transfer of command to the military junta, composed of army commander Gen. Angel Mariscal, air force Gen. Natalio Morales and navy Vice Admiral Oscar Pammo. The junta named army Chief of Staff Gen. Guido Vildoso as the president, effective Wednesday. ... Torrelio and his entire Cabinet offered their resignations under pressure last week, one day after scheduling general elections for next April. The military commanders had previously promised to carry out the scheduled elections."

According to same article *Washington Post*, Nov. 30, 1982, p. A 12, "Argentina Shelters Bolivian Exiles, Risking Recent Diplomatic Gains" he is in exile in Argentina.

He dies in 1999.

BOL-1982-1 145 BOL Vildoso Calderon 21/07/1982 10/10/1982

For his entry *Chicago Tribune*, July 1982, p. A6 "Bolivian junta seizes control." "A junta made up of the leaders of the three branches of the armed forces of Bolivia took control of the government Monday night and named the army chief of staff the new president,replacing Celso Torrelio after only 10 months in office. ... "I have fulfilled my duties to my nation," Torrelio said in a ceremony marking the peaceful transfer of command to the military junta, composed of army commander Gen. Angel Mariscal, air force Gen. Natalio Morales and navy Vice Admiral Oscar Pammo. The junta named army Chief of Staff Gen. Guido Vildoso as the president, effective Wednesday. ... Torrelio and his entire Cabinet offered their resignations under pressure last week, one day after scheduling general elections for next April. The military commanders had previously promised to carry out the scheduled elections."

Guido Vildoso Calderon, Lentz records, "Brigadier General Vildoso recalled the Congress that had been elected in 1980 to choose a president. Hernan Siles Zuazo, the victor in the presidential election of that year, was selected as president, and Vildoso and the Junta stepped down on October 10. 1982."

Keesing's Vol.29 (1983) February: "Gen. Torrelio formally resigned as President on July 19, 1982, and the junta replaced him with Gen. Guido Vildoso Calderon, who promised that fresh elections would be held in early 1983. The mounting economic crisis caused by the indebtedness of Bolivia abroad and the sporadic and extensive strikes organized by the national workforce, as well as international calls for an end to military rule, led instead, however, to the reconvening of the Congress which had been elected in June 1980 and to the installation of Dr Hernan Siles Zuazo as President in October 1982. The coalition Government formed by Dr Siles itself reached a crisis point in January 1983 when six ministers belonging to one of the three ruling parties resigned." See also ***Keesing's*** Vol. 29 (1983) November, which states Calderon is also retired. Retired safely. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 29, 983. November. Military steps down, convenes new congress.

BOL-1982-2 145 BOL Siles Zuazo 10/10/1982 06/08/1985

Kidnapped, then freed in an aborted coup on June 30, 1984. *The New York Times*, Jul. 1., 1984, p.1. Apparently lived in retirement in Montevideo, Uruguay., where he died Aug. 6 1996. *The New York Times*, Aug. 8, 1996, p. D22. He was the illegitimate son of Hernando Siles Reyes who ruled 1926-1930. His half-brother was Luis Adolfo Siles Salinas who also served as Bolivia's president for five months in 1969. Resigned facing pressure from opposition. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, August 8, 1996, p. D22.

BOL-1985 145 BOL Paz Estenssoro 06/08/1985 06/08/1989

BOL-1989 145 BOL Paz Zamora 06/08/1989 06/08/1993
Is cousin of Pas Estenssoro. *The New York Times*, Aug. 8,1989.

BOL-1993 145 BOL Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada 06/08/1993 06/08/1997

BOL-1997 145 BOL Banzer Suarez 06/08/1997 07/08/2001
Has lung and liver cancer. Steps down because of health. *The New York Times*, Aug. 6, 2001, p. A7. (FIVE year term) Dies May 5, 2002. Resigns for health reasons.

BOL-2001 145 BOL Jorge Quiroga Ramirez 07/08/2001 06/08/2002
Jorge Quiroga Ramírez. Was VP to Banzer. *The New York Times*, Aug. 6, 2001, p. A7. Born in 1960. See also below, under president Carlos Mesa.

BOL-2002 145 BOL Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada 08/08/2002 17/10/2003
Sanchez de Lozada, apparently fled the country to the US after the riots which led to his removal from office + now indicted on genocide charges.
NRC Handelsblad, 22 Februari 2005. `http://www.nrc.nl/buitenland/artikel/1109055287517.html` ROTTERDAM, 22 FEBR. Oud-president Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada van Bolivia en twee van zijn ministers zijn gisteren aangeklaagd wegens genocide. De overige oud-ministers uit Lozada's kabinet worden beschuldigd van medeplichtigheid aan genocide. De aanklacht heeft betrekking op de dood van zeker zestig demonstranten en de verwonding van 500 mensen in oktober 2003. ... De oud-president ontkent de beschuldigingen. Hij ontvluchtte na de rellen het land, en woont inmiddels in de VS. De openbare aanklager heeft nu zes maanden om de zaak voor te leggen aan het Hooggerechtshof in Sucre. Lozada kan maximaal dertig jaar gevangenisstraf krijgen. See also under next president Carlos Mesa.

BOL-2003 145 BOL Carlos Mesa 17/10/2003 31/12/2004
BBC News, Friday, 17 March 2006, 14:07 GMT. "Bolivia ex-leaders face charges. Bollivia's attorney general is seeking to put three former presidents on trial for alleged irregularities in contracts with foreign oil companies. Carlos Mesa, Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada and Jorge Quiroga are accused of making deals that violated the constitution. This means Bolivia's last four presidents could all face prosecution. Last week, the attorney general asked for permission to try Eduardo Rodriguez, the interim president who served before December's election. Mr. Rodriguez is accused of submission to a foreign power in a case relating to the decommissioning of Bolivian missiles in the United States. He denies any wrongdoing. 'Politically motivated' The allegations against the four former presidents have been presented to the Supreme Court. It must decide whether

to pass them on to Congress, which in turn must authorize any trial. ... After looking at deals reached with foreign oil firms between 1993 and 2003, Attorney-General Pedro Gareca said he had found illegalities in: 39 contracts signed by Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, who governed from 1993 to 1997 and 2002 to 2003. Four contracts agreed by Jorge Quiroga, who served in 2002. One deal signed by Carlos Mesa who governed between 2003 and 2005. Mr Sanchez de Lozada - who now lives in the US - has also been formally charged with genocide over the deaths of 60 people killed during a wave of social unrest. The allegations against Mr Rodriguez - interim president from 2005 to 2006 - relate to the destruction in the US last year of some 30 missiles owned by Bolivia. President Evo Morales described their destruction as a US plot to weaken Bolivian defences."

2.27 PARAGUAY

Sources consulted include: Paul H. Lewis. Political Parties and generations in Paraguay's Liberal Era, 1869-1940. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1993. Arturo Bray. Hombres y Epocas del Paraguay. Buenos Aires: Editorial Ayacucho. 1948

PAR-1874 150 PAR Gill 25/11/1874 12/04/1877

The New York Times, Apr. 10, 1880, p.2. (Lists assassinations attempts against regents and sovereigns, from 1850 on.). Assassinated.

PAR-1877 150 PAR Uriarte 12/04/1877 25/11/1878

Hirginio Uriarte not in list of assassinations. The Times, Saturday April 24, 1909, p.15 in Obituaries: "A Reuter message from Buenos Ayres, dated April 23, says the death is announced from Asuncion of ex-President Hirginio Uriarte, of Paraguay. In 1875 Vice-President Uriarte, as he then was, assumed the Presidency of Paraguay, succeeding President Gill, who was assassinated. President Uriarte held office until 1878."

PAR-1878 150 PAR Barreiro 27/11/1878 04/09/1880

Revolts and revolution reported in *The New York Times*, Jun 21.1879, p.4. *The New York Times*, Jun 17, 1879, p.2. For failure, see *The New York Times*, Jul. 11, 1879, p.1. On his natural death, see *The New York Times*, Oct. 17, 1880, p.2. Natural death.

PAR-1880 150 PAR Caballero 04/09/1880 25/11/1886

Was not VP, but Min of the Interior see *The New York Times*, Oct. 17, 1880, p.2. Is apparently elected president of Paraguay in 1882, The *Washington Post*, Dec. 21, 1882, p.1. Is all constitutional, and survives to coup later. No evidence of exile. Also, The *Washington Post*, Jul 4, 1908, p.3.Seizes power in a coup.

PAR-1886 150 PAR Escobar 25/11/1886 25/11/1890

For death, in Asuncion, see The *Washington Post*, Apr. 22, 1912, p.6. Also, The *Washington Post*, Jul 4, 1908, p.3.

PAR-1890 150 PAR Gonzalez 25/11/1890 09/06/1894

Attempted revolt against Juan G Gonzalez. *The New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1891, p.1. For fate, see *The New York Times*, Jun 12, 1894, p.5. Exile.

PAR-1894-1 150 PAR Morinigo 09/06/1894 25/11/1894

For entry, see *The New York Times*, Jun 12, 1894, p.5. He leaves when previous presidents have stepped down.

PAR-1894-2 150 PAR Egusquiza 25/11/1894 25/11/1898

Is a general, made candidate for the Presidency: *Washington Post*, Jun 28, 1894, p.6. Leaves at the appropriate time.

PAR-1898 150 PAR Aceval 25/11/1898 09/01/1902

Revolutionary junta overthrows him, which is composed of Gen. Caballero, Gen Escobar, Col. J. A. Escurra, the minister of war; Senor Marro, a cabinet minister, and Senator Freitas. Caballero, apparently severely wounded (but survives). The *Washington Post*, Jan. 11, 1902, p.1 Arrest, exile.

PAR-1902-1 150 PAR Carvallo 09/01/1902 25/08/1902

On his constitutional entry (he's VP to Aceval) , see The *Washington Post*, Jan. 11, 1902, p.1. For revolt, and mutiny, see The *Washington Post*, Jul. 4, p.3.

PAR-1902-2 150 PAR Escurra 25/08/1902 19/12/1904

For his fate, see Lentz. Also *The New York Times*, Dec. 14, 1904. p.1. Exile.

PAR-1904 150 PAR Gaona 19/12/1904 08/12/1905

Juan Bautista Gaona, Based on Lentz. Is VP under Gondra, dies May 19, 1932, at the age of 87. *The New York Times*, May 20, 1932, p.19 Apparently, takes over at the hands of Ferreira. Can't find anything in the first year after he's out. IS OK in 1913, *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 10, 1913, p.5

PAR-1905 150 PAR Baez 08/12/1905 25/11/1906

Cecilio Baez. The *Washington Post*; Nov. 25, 1905. (Also, The *Washington Post*, Jul. 6, 1908, p.1, where he is member of Naveiro's cabinet, but at Naveiro's overthrow is together with other ousted ministers "understood to have taken refuge in the foreign legations.") IS OK in 1913, *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 10, 1913, p.5. Dies, June 18, 1941, at age 79. *The New York Times*, Jun. 19, 1941, p.21.

PAR-1906 150 PAR Ferreira 25/11/1906 04/07/1908

Lentz. Exile in Argentina.

PAR-1908 150 PAR Gonzales Navero 05/07/1908 25/11/1910

Naveiro was VP in the government just ousted. He was "appointed as president" by the revolutionists. The *Washington Post*, Jul. 6, 1908, p.1. IS OK in 1913, *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 10, 1913, p.5. As is

PAR-1910 150 PAR Gondra 25/11/1910 17/01/1911

Manuel Gondra. Gaona is VP. Lentz. Also, *Christian Science Monitor*, May 7, 1912, p.7. and *Christian Science Monitor*, Apr. 10, 1913, p.8. Exile.

PAR-1911-1 150 PAR Jara 19/01/1911 05/07/1911

Was minister of war. Lentz: He dies May 1912, less than one year after losing office. (Censored?) Is held "under arrest at the military barracks." The *Washington Post*, Jul.6, 1911, p.1. But then: "Recently a revolt broke out, headed by Col. Jara. The government then and there proceeded to eliminate the rebels in an up-to-date military campaign. All, including Jara, have been annihilated, the dispatch announces." The *Washington Post*, May 18, 1912, p.4. First arrested then killed in revolt.

PAR-1911-2 150 PAR Rojas 05/07/1911 01/03/1912

Is president of the Senate when he assumes the presidency. The *Washington Post*, Jul.6, 1911, p.1. Captured and forced to resign. *Washington Post*, Jan 6, 1912, p.5. Lentz says exile. No details on capture and or arrest. Senate president when assuming power, exile in Uruguay.

PAR-1912-1 150 PAR Pena 01/03/1912 25/03/1912

Pedro Pena, *Christian Science Monitor*, Mar 23., 1912. "Telegrams from the Paraguayan frontier say that the revolutionaries are in control at Asuncion. President Pedro Pena

and most of the members of his government are reported to have taken refuge on Brazilian and Argentine ships. The others have sought asylum in the foreign legations." The *Washington Post*, Mar. 24, 1912, p.11."President Pedro Pena has taken refuge at the Uruguyan legation in Asuncion." Flees for safety to the legation of Uruguay. *Christian Science Monitor*, May 7, 1912, p.7.

PAR-1912-2 150 PAR Gonzalez Navero 25/03/1912 31/07/1912

Is OK in 1913, *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 10, 1913, p.5. Again VP in 1931. Fate, Lentz, *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 22, 1912.

PAR-1912-3 150 PAR Schaerer 15/08/1912 15/08/1916

Was minister of the interior in the Navero Cabinet. *Christian Science Monitor*, May 7, 1913, p.7. Lentz. As is. Deported in 1931 for Buenos Aires, for activities in attempted revolution against Guggiari. *The New York Times*, Apr. 25, 1931, p.9. Is president-elect and comes into power constitutionally. See *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 22, 1912. Scherer behind several coups, that overthrow Gondra, Rojas and Pena. Lentz says remains influential.

PAR-1916 150 PAR Manuel Franco 15/08/1916 05/06/1919

Manuel Franco, part of the Gondra - Franco ticket, *Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 27, 1915, p.9. Lentz.

PAR-1919 150 PAR Montero 05/06/1919 15/08/1920

VP under Franco. Nothing on fate.

PAR-1920 150 PAR Gondra 15/08/1920 30/10/1921

Dies March 8, 1927. *The New York Times*, Mar. 9, 1927, p.25. On his removal The *Washington Post*, Nov. 2, 1921, p.6, also *The New York Times*, Oct. 31, 1921, p.14. Lentz says he is OK. *The New York Times*, Oct. 31, 1921, p. 14 "Revolution in Paraguay" reports "A dispatch to La Nacion frm Asuncion says that President Gondra of Parguay has handed his resignation to Dr. Felix Paiva, the Vice President, owing to a revolutionary movement by the followers of ex-President Schaerer." See also The *Washington Post*, Nov. 2, 1921, p. 6. and *The New York Times* Oct 31, 1921, p. 14. Resignation results from split in Radical Party, president is under pressure to dismiss one of the contenders, but refuses to do so. Instead he "resigns" himself. Although the newspapers state that the military supports the 'revolutionaries', this seems primarily to be a political struggle. *Christian Science Monitor* 1 November, 1921, p. 4. Could perhaps also be interpreted as a military coup by Schaerer.

PAR-1921-1 150 PAR Paiva 31/10/1921 03/11/1921

Felix Paiva, in neither Lentz, nor rulers.org. For his entry, see The *Washington Post*, Nov. 2, 1921, p.6. Resigns after brief period as acting president. *The New York Times* Nov 6, 1921, p. 25 attributes this to negotiation outcome between the political factions. Nothing clearly on his fate, but becomes dean of law school see below, I surmise he's OK. Subsequently 1937-1939 President.

PAR-1921-2 150 PAR Ayala Eusebio 03/11/1921 10/04/1923

Became minister to Washington until 1925, upon return, member of the Paraguayan Senate. The *Washington Post*, Jun 19., 1932, p.7. Born of French parents in La Cordillera. Went to Germany to study, became professor of Philosophy, psychology and commercial law.

PAR-1923 150 PAR Ayala Eligio 10/04/1923 12/04/1924
Lentz.

PAR-1924-1 150 PAR Riart 12/04/1924 15/08/1924
Lentz.

PAR-1924-2 150 PAR Ayala Eligio 15/08/1924 15/08/1928
Lentz. Serves in his successors gov't, killed over a romantic entanglement, October 24, 1930. To contain Bolivian incursions into the Chaco, the Eligio Ayala government (1924-28) armed the nation and entered the disputed territory. A clash occurred on June 15, 1932, when Ft. Carlos Antonio Lopez was captured by the Bolivians.

PAR-1928 150 PAR Guggiari 15/08/1928 26/10/1931
"President Jose Guggiari decided tonight to delegate his powers to Vice President Ganzalez Navero [sic, HG] as soon as practical and to submit himself to Congress for judgment in connection with the recent disorders in Paraguay." His offer to resign had been rejected the day before. The *Washington Post*, Oct. 26, 1931, p.1. He resigns under pressure, yes, but it doesn't really seem unconstitutional. See also *The New York Times*, Oct. 27, 1931, p.1. But *The New York Times*, Oct. 28, 1931, p.9 says: "Major Bray, chief of the Asuncion garrison, issued a communiqué saying the army had quelled the rebellion that caused President Guggiari's resignation and that normal business life would resume. A number of the insurgent leaders were under detention and troops still occupied the city."

PAR-1931 150 PAR Gonzalez Navero 26/10/1931 28/01/1932
Based on The *Washington Post*, Oct. 26, 1931, p.1, see above, he came into power constitutionally. He dies, Oct. 18, 1934, at 73. *The New York Times*, Oct. 19, 1934, p.23.

PAR-1932-1 150 PAR Guggiari 28/01/1932 15/08/1932
Jose Particio Guggiari, returned to power after 4 months, in 1932. *The New York Times*, Jan. 29, 1932. Dies Oct. 29, 1956. *The New York Times*, Oct. 31, 1957, p. 31: "He had been living here [=Buenos Aires] as a refugee since 1947." Was born in Switzerland and became naturalized Paraguayan citizen. Coup attempt against him by Schaerer.

PAR-1932-2 150 PAR Ayala Eusebio 15/08/1932 19/02/1936
The New York Times, May 18, 1936, pp. 1 & 9. Also Lentz 1999, p. 338. Dies in exile, for more see obit. *The New York Times*, Jun. 5, 1942, p.17. First placed in "protective custody," subsequently exiled. To contain Bolivian incursions into the Chaco, the Eligio Ayala government (1924-28) armed the nation and entered the disputed territory. A clash occurred on June 15, 1932, when Ft. Carlos Antonio Lopez was captured by the Bolivians. While Eusebio Ayala held civil power in Paraguay, the military commander,

Gen. Jose Felix Estigarribia, demonstrated an intelligent strategy and by a string of victories pushed the Bolivians back almost to the edge of the disputed territory. On February 17, 1936, a military coup jailed Ayala and Estigarribia, removed the Liberals from power, and abrogated the constitution of 1870. The new government was short-lived, in 1939 Estigarribia was elected president with the support of the Liberals.

The New York Times, February 5, 1936, p.1, "Paraguay Ousts War Hero As A Red," reports that Colonel Franco was ordered deported to Argentina. The *The New York Times* notes "Would be Natural Candidate for President if Ire Against Politicians Were Loosed." "Buenos Aires, Feb. 4–The Paraguayan Government has formally charged Colonel Rafael Franco, its most prominent Chaco war here, with being a Communist and has ordered him deported to Argentina. A communiqué from the Ministry of War charges that Colonel Franco plotted the overthrow of the government, instigated and supported by Soviet organizations. ...For more than a year there has been strong resentment in the Paraguayan Army against the Professional politicians who control the government. Now that these politicians are squabbling among themselves for the Presidency, there is a strong sentiment both in and outside the army in favor of establishing a military government and ousting all professional politicians. Colonel Franco, as the idol of the soldiers, would be the natural candidate for the Presidency if this movement should be successful."

PAR-1936 150 PAR Rafael Franco 19/02/1936 16/08/1937

The New York Times, February 5, 1936, p.1, "Paraguay Ousts War Hero As A Red," reports that Colonel Franco was ordered deported to Argentina. The *The New York Times* notes "Would be Natural Candidate for President if Ire Against Politicians Were Loosed." "Buenos Aires, Feb. 4–The Paraguayan Government has formally charged Colonel Rafael Franco, its most prominent Chaco war here, with being a Communist and has ordered him deported to Argentina. A communiqué from the Ministry of War charges that Colonel Franco plotted the overthrow of the government, instigated and supported by Soviet organizations. ...For more than a year there has been strong resentment in the Paraguayan Army against the Professional politicians who control the government. Now that these politicians are squabbling among themselves for the Presidency, there is a strong sentiment both in and outside the army in favor of establishing a military government and ousting all professional politicians. Colonel Franco, as the idol of the soldiers, would be the natural candidate for the Presidency if this movement should be successful."

For Franco's entry, see *The New York Times*, February 18, 1936, p. 1 & 9. "Army Rebels Seize Paraguay Capital In Hard Fighting. Troops, Angered Over Results of Chaco War, Rise Against the Ayala Government." p.9 "There has been serious bitterness between the Paraguayan Army and the civilian government officials ever since before the termination of the Chaco war. Certain outstanding officers, including Colonel Franco, feel that the diplomats robbed the army of a definite military victory over Bolivia by agreeing to a cessation of hostilities at a moment where the military chiefs were preparing a new offensive that they expected would have given Paraguay a definite footing in the Bolivian province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra and the Bolivian petroleum fields. It was reported in Chaco peace conference circles here that the army leaders had openly threatened to overthrow President Ayala if he agreed to any settlement of the Chaco war that required the Paraguayan Army to retire from the positions it then held. Army lead-

ers were reported to fear that the civilian authorities might submit to outside diplomatic pressure and accept some territorial solution that would mean the loss of territory gained by Paraguayan arms."

The New York Times, Aug. 16, 1937, p. 7. Apparently removed in order to prevent the Chaco peace agreement from being put into effect. Coup attempt against him in Feb. 1936, see *The New York Times*, Feb. 22, 1936, p.7; led by former army commander Jose Felix Estigarribia. Lentz. Military coup, *The New York Times*, 18 August, 1937, p.7. Exile. For his ouster, see The Atlanta Constitution, August 14, 1937, p. 10 "Paraguayan Cabinet Toppled by Military." "A bloodless coup d'état, engineered by army and navy officers, today placed the government of Paraguay in the control of the military and forced the resignation of the cabinet. A proclamation signed by Lieutenant Colonel Ramon Paredes in the name of the armed forces, said Provisional President Colonel Rafael Franco would continue in office." However, The *Washington Post*, August 16, 1937, p. 2 "Dr. Paiva Made Paraguay Head by Coup Leader," reports "Asuncion, Paraguay, Aug. 15–Dr. Felix Paiva tonight was named Provisional President of Paraguay by Lieut. Col. Ramon L. Paredes. Paredes forced Provisional President Col. Rafael Franco to resign because he refused to form a cabinet approved by the army." For his exile, see The Atlanta Constitution, September 8, 1937, p. 1 "Franco Recalled in Paraguay Coup." For the failure of this coup attempt, see The Atlanta Constitution, September 9, 1937, p.2 "Coup d'État Fails to Return Ousted Paraguay Regime."

PAR-1937 150 PAR Paiva 16/08/1937 15/08/1939

Felix Paiva. Returns to office. Dean of the university law school.

PAR-1939 150 PAR Estigarribia 15/08/1939 05/09/1940

He was the strategic mastermind behind Paraguay's victory in the Chaco War. See Bruce W. Farcau, *Chaco War: Bolivia and Paraguay, 1932–1936*. Dies in Airplane crash.

PAR-1940 150 PAR Morinigo 08/09/1940 03/06/1948

Holds elections. According to Lentz, supporters of tlhe president elect fear he would not step down and force his early resignation. *The New York Times* gives an excellent analysis of the developments, reporting that the president elect had strengthened his hand ever since the election and was moving to oust the president once the opportunity presented itself. The support of the military in this case is crucial, but since the president elect is not a military actor, I will code this as other govt. actor action. *The New York Times* 4 June, 1948, p. 1; Lentz 1994, p. 626.

Related to earlier president Morinigo? Revolt by former chief of army, Col. Benitez Vera in 47? Another revolt by leftist Febrerista Party in January 1947. Lentz. The *Washington Post*, Jun. 5, 1948, p.3, records that Higinio Morinogo and several of his most loyal friends had been put under house arrest. Exile in Argentina.

PAR-1948-1 150 PAR Frutos 03/06/1948 15/08/1948

Was president of the Paraguayan Supreme Court, appointed as President by Congress. Lentz. For his irregular entry, see The *Washington Post*, Aug. 8, 1948, p.B2. Kicked out as Chief of the Supreme Court in November, but force? *The New York Times*, Jan 29, 1950, p. 22

PAR-1948-2 150 PAR Natalicio 15/08/1948 30/01/1949

See *The New York Times*, Jun. 6, 1948, p. E2. Was President–elect. In exile in Argentina, then Uruguay. *The New York Times*, Jan 29, 1950, p. 22. *The New York Times*, Feb. 5, 1949, p.4. Coup, results from Colorado party infighting. Lentz calls it a military coup, as does the *Christian Science Monitor*. The new president is the former defense minister and a retired general. Newspapers say it's a cabinet coup, etc. This is one of a long series of infights in the Colorado party, the only legal party in Paraguay at the time, but since the new president is a military person himself, I will call it a military coup. New York Times 2 February, 1949, p. 16; *Washington Post* 1 February, 1949, p. B8; *Christian Science Monitor* 1 February, 1949, p. 15; Lentz 1994, p. 626.

PAR-1949-1 150 PAR Rolon 30/01/1949 26/02/1949

Raimundo Rolón, coup by Colorado party in concert with the military, exact timing of army joining the action unclear, it appears as civilian led coup though, Lentz 1994, p. 627; New York Times 27 February, 1949, p. M1; *Washington Post* 28 February, 1949, p. 2. "Dispatches from Asuncion ... made no mention of what had happened to Rolon." The *Washington Post*, Feb. 28, 1949, p.2. Is deported in 1952, more than a year after losing office. Apparently because of a revolutionary plot.

PAR-1949-2 150 PAR Molas Lopez 26/02/1949 10/09/1949

Felipe Molas Lopez, was overthrown 10 Sept. 1949. *The New York Times* 11 September, 1949, p. 15; Lentz 1994, p. 627. *Christian Science Monitor*, Jan. 8, 1951, p.1 "Senor Molas Lopez made the charge during an interview after his arrival here [=Buenos Aires, HG] last week to live in exile." So, more than a year after losing office.

Was minister of Interior. Dentist. Seems to be OK, Dies, Mar 2. 1954. See brief obit, *The New York Times*, Mar. 3, 1954, p.27.

PAR-1949-3 150 PAR Chavez 10/09/1949 06/05/1954

Was leader of the faction of the Colorado Party that also put Molas in power. Was speaker of the House of Representatives and also Foreign Minister? OK, Lentz, in particular, *The New York Times*, May 8, 1954, p.34. Obit *The New York Times*, April 26, 1978, p. B4. Military uprising, led by Stroessner, *The New York Times* 7 May, 1954, p. 1, Lentz 1994, p. 627.

PAR-1954-1 150 PAR Pareira 06/05/1954 11/07/1954

Tomas Romero Pereira, provisional president, after that was an interior minister, OK. Pareira gets elected by the National Assembly of Paraguay (and not Stroessner). Also Lentz, and *The New York Times*, May 14, 1954, p.9. Becomes Interior Minster under Stroessner.

PAR-1954-2 150 PAR Stroessner 11/07/1954 03/02/1989

Elected as the candidate of the Colorado Party, on July 11. *The New York Times*, Jan 26, 1955, p. 11. Revolution attempt by Estigarribia in Jan. 1955. Elected, falls in bloodless coup, exile in Brazil. On Stroessner's exile, see *The New York Times*, Feb. 6, 1989, p.A1. See his Obituary, *The New York Times*, August 16, 2005, which records "He had lived in Brazil since 1989, moving there after his ouster by Gen. Andrés Rodríguez, a relative by marriage and his second-in-command. Formally, General Stroessner was a fugitive from justice, wanted by the Paraguayan courts for trial on charges of homicide. Despite an extradition treaty between Brazil and Paraguay, however, there were never

any serious moves to bring the general to justice in his home country, where his cabinet members and associates remained the stewards of government. Under the terms of his asylum in Brazil, General Stroessner was forbidden from involvement in politics, and he unfailingly stuck to his part of the bargain. He and his son, Gustavo Adolfo, split their time between a gated house by the South Lake in Brasília, the capital, and a ranch outside Belo Horizonte. General Stroessner, a tall, husky artilleryman proud of his crisp military bearing, seized power in Paraguay in 1954, through a surgical coup that took only one life at its start: that of Roberto Le Petit, a police chief who also served as minister of agrarian reform and who was in charge of redistributing land to the poor. ... General Stroessner's takeover in 1954 put an end to decades of instability, in which presidential faces seemed as fleeting as the pictures on a slot machine. In the 27 years before his coup, his small landlocked nation had had 22 presidents, and no experience of a democratic transition of power in its 143-year history. The son of a German immigrant from Bavaria and his Guarani Indian wife, Alfredo Stroessner was born Nov. 3, 1912, in the Paraguayan town of Encarnación, on the Argentinean border southeast of Asunción. His father, Hugo Stroessner, owned a brewery. President Stroessner seldom spoke of his parents, and his official biography listed no siblings. ... His studies geared young Stroessner for a military life. He completed his basic education in Asunción and in Rio de Janeiro, entering the Asunción Military College in 1929. Before completing his studies there, he joined the war effort against Bolivia. In 1940, he traveled to Brazil for artillery training, and in 1943, then Captain Stroessner was honored with a nomination to Paraguay's Superior War College, graduating in 1945. ... Between 1948 and 1954, six presidents of Paraguay were overthrown through military takeovers. After his own successful coup, General Stroessner repelled two attempts to unseat him, one in 1955 by Epifanio Mendez Fleitas, president of the Central Bank and a friend of President Juan Domingo Peron of Argentina, and another in November 1956 by Rafael Franco, a former dictator. ... President Stroessner got his chance to retire in February 1989, when a military faction led by General Rodríguez seized power in a coup. General Rodríguez, who was nicknamed "The Tiger," pounced when he appeared to be losing his standing in the battle for succession after President Stroessner's death. Rebel troops attacked the presidential guard and ended the Stroessner era, after one-third of a century, with eight hours of combat that caused numerous casualties. Paraguayans celebrated in the streets as General Rodríguez spoke of democracy and human rights. But he promoted himself to president the day after the coup, and was voted into the job three months later. It was not until 1993 that Paraguayans could elect a civilian president. President Stroessner did not leave in disgrace, but flew out of Asunción airport, after a ceremony that Paraguayans who watched it on television remember as being more suitable for a statesman embarking on an overseas visit than a fleeing dictator." See also *Washington Post* 4 February, 1989, p. A1. According to the *The New York Times*, Feb. 4, 1989 p. 1 "Violence in Capital," Stroessner's son was married to General Rodriguez's daughter.

PAR-1989 150 PAR Rodriguez Pedotti 03/02/1989 15/08/1993

See above, a relative by marriage to Stroessner. United Press International, December 23, 1993, Section International. Dies in 1997 in a US clinic. Encyclopedia Brittanica records he dies April 21, 1997. "in 1989 Rodríguez, who had become commander of the 1st Army Corps, staged a bloody coup, declared himself acting president, and three months later was elected to a four-year term. In 1993 he kept his promise to give up

power to the civilian winner of a democratic election and turned the office over to Juan Carlos Wasmosy. Rodríguez then retired from the army and was named a senator for life." According to the *The New York Times*, Feb. 4, 1989 p. 1 "Violence in Capital," General Rodriguez's daughter is married to one of Stroessner's sons.

PAR-1993 150 PAR Wasmosy Monti 15/08/1993 15/08/1998

Ovieda attempted a coup in 1996. 10-year prison sentence. This sentence was commuted by Cubas three days after taking office. Loses legal immunity Aug. 12, 1999, and had to appear before a judge investigating corruption which took place during his government. Inter Press Serve/Global Information Network. August 13, 1999. This articles also notes that 1992 Constitution establishes that former presidents who were democratically elected become senators-for-life.

PAR-1998 150 PAR Cubas Grau 15/08/1998 28/03/1999

His Vice president, Luis Maria Argana is killed in a hail of bullets by gunmen in military uniform. Agence France Press, But the vice president's supporters in the sharply divided Colorado ruling party immediately pointed fingers at Cubas and his political mentor, populist retired general Lino Oviedo. Cubas and Oviedo "will be hung in a public square, together with their families, Planas [= Argana's personal attorney] warned, adding he predicted the assassination "is the beginning of a blood bath for our country."" Wasmody also blames Cubas. March 24, 1999. Impeachment trial begins March 25. Resigns March 28. For exile in Brazil. See Agence France Presse - English, April 05, 1999. Oviedo also flees to Argentina. Impeached, resigned, fled. Cubas Grau gets asylum in Brazil. Gen Lino Oviedo gets political asylum in Argentina. *The New York Times*, March 30, 1999, p. A.3. Oviedo leaves Exile and back in Argentina in December 1999. *The New York Times*, December 12, 19999, p.6. *The New York Times* reports that "Mr. Oviedo left Argentina after its new president, Fernando de la Rua, who was sworn in on Friday, made it known that he would force Mr. Oviedo out of the country.

Arturo Valenzuela (2004), "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted," in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15, No. 4, October, pp.5–19, notes (p.8) "Elected in 1998, resigned in 1999. Resignation triggered by Cubas's pardon of former army commander, sharp splits in ruling party. Vice-presidential assassination accelerated threat of impeachment amid widespread demonstrations. Congress appointed successor in absence of vice-president."

PAR-1999 150 PAR Gonzalez Macchi 28/03/1999 15/8/2003

Gonzalez Macchi. Paraguayan authorities start investigating a Swiss bank account held by Macchi that reportedly contains some $360,000. He barely survived an impeachment attempt earlier in 2003. Associated Press Worldstream. The Associated Press, December 23, 2003. Tuesday. ***Keesing's*** VOl. 49, April 2003 notes that "The incumbent PC President, Luis González Macchi, whose term of office was due to expire in August, had not stood for a further term since his political capital had been exhausted by a series of corruption scandals that had almost resulted in his impeachment." For the failure of the attempt of impeachment, see *The New York Times*, Feb. 12, 2003, p.A6 "Effort to Impeach Paraguayan Leader Fails."

For a coup attempt (his third or fourth) by Oviedo, see ***Keesing's***, Vol. 46, May 2000: "The armed forces on May 18 quashed an attempt to overthrow the unpopular government of President Luis González Macchi by alleged supporters of Gen. (retd) Lino

César Oviedo Silva [see p. 43255 for reports of previous aborted coup]. Rebel military and police officers reportedly seized control of the 1st Cavalry Division army base outside the capital, Asunción, and the national police headquarters. They then moved to occupy two radio stations, and dispatched seven armoured vehicles to the capital intent on demanding the resignation of the President and issuing a call for fresh elections. During an assault on the Congress building three people were reported wounded by gunfire. The coup failed after the USA and Brazil put pressure on the commanders of the armed forces to intervene. Using powers under a state of siege declared on May 19, the authorities arrested several dozen military officers, policemen and civilians on suspicion of having supported the coup attempt. The government also announced in late May that it would disperse the cavalry division involved in the uprising with the interior. According to an unidentified diplomat more arrests were likely to follow as the government sought to root out Oviedo's supporters, who were still the biggest single force in the bicameral legislature. A judicial investigation into the failed coup attempt appeared to confirm that the fugitive former general had masterminded the plan. Gen. (retd) Porfirio Pareira Ruiz Díaz testified in late May that he had been invited by Oviedo to be the public works and communications minister in the government which would have been established had the coup attempt succeeded. Since he disappeared from his place of exile in Argentina on Dec. 9–a day before Fernando de la Rúa, the newly-elected Argentinian President who was thought less inclined than his predecessor to grant Ovideo asylum, took office– Oviedo had been predicting that Macchi would be overthrown before August, when vice presidential elections were due. Apart from his leading role in the overthrow of Gen. Alfredo Stroessner in 1989 [see p. 36458], Oviedo had been directly or indirectly involved in an abortive coup against former President Juan Carlos Wasmosy in 1993 [see p. 41043], and the events of March 1999 when, following the murder of Vice President Luis María Argaña, there were rumours of an impending coup [see p. 42831]."

BBC News, Monday 4 December 2006. "Former Paraguay president jailed." `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/6208386.stm` "The former President of Paraguay, Luis Gonzalez Macchi, has been sentenced to eight years in prison for fraud and embezzlement. Mr Gonzalez Macchi was convicted of holding more than $1m (2m) in a secret Swiss bank account. His wife, Susana Galli, was cleared of the charges, as was one of the former president's business associates. Mr Gonzalez Macchi's account dated from the period of his presidency, between 1999 and 2003. The tribunal said he had also been convicted of giving false testimony about the bank account. He has been barred from public office for the next eight years and, in addition, he has been ordered to pay fines of $500,000 (252,000). Mr Gonzalez Macchi, who correspondents say presided over a period of political instability and corruption in the country, had an earlier conviction for corruption overturned. In June, he had been found guilty of involvement in the illegal transfer of $16m (8.5m) but the conviction was later overturned by an appeals court."

The New York Times, Aug. 16, 2003, p. A4 "World Briefing." "Paraguay: New President Pledges Corruption Fight." "On Thursday [August 14, HG], a judge barred his predecessor, Luis Gonzalez Macchi, from leaving the country until the conclusion of a judicial investigation into several accusations of corruption, including a suspect $16 million bank transfer."

PAR-2003 150 PAR Nicanor Duarte Frutos 15/8/2003 31/12/2004

Born 11 October 1956. Studied law and philosophy. Not related to earlier Frutos.

For the results of the election, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 49, April 2003. "PC Victory in presidential election."

President Lugo.

Former bishop, fathered at least 3 children out of wedlock, two with women who were 16 & 17 at the time of their 'relationship.' See *The Washington Post*, April 23, 2009: "Paraguay Paternity Fiasco." `http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/04/22/AR2009042203606.html?referrer=emailarticle`

2.28 CHILE

On term limits: 1884, *The New York Times*, Sept. 21, p.12. "The President is elected every five years by the people, and is not eligible for re-election except after an interval of one term."

Keesing's Vol. 33, March, 1987. Chile Announcement of President Pinochet's intention to stand for second presidential term Speaking in Concepcion on July 11, President Pinochet said that he 'was convinced that the people will support this government for a new presidential term' when the present eight-year term ended in 1989. The Constitution, he said, allowed him two eight-year presidential terms, 'eight to pass laws and the other eight to apply them in reality'. The second term would be necessary, he said, to prevent the country from falling into the hands of 'totalitarianism'. Despite the fact that the remarks were widely interpreted as a virtual declaration of his candidacy for the next presidential term, Gen. Pinochet said on July 21 that he had not yet decided whether to seek re-election, members of the military junta having apparently attempted to distance themselves from his statements. Divisions within the four-member military junta over the future of the regime became apparent on July 16 when Gen. Fernando Matthei Aubel, the Air Force commander, publicly suggested elections as a possible way back to civilian government at the end of the current presidential term in 1989. 'My mandate finishes in 1989, and that for me is very clear,' he said. 'Until then I have work to do which includes designating the person who will be proposed to the country as President of the Republic or proposing that the constitution be modified so that there are direct and free elections.' The commanders of the Navy and the police, Adml. Jose Toribio Merino Castro and Gen. Rodolfo Stange Oelckers respectively, said that they had not yet decided whom they would support in 1989.

Keesing's Vol. 39, October 1993: Legislation to establish a four-year non-renewable presidential term, put forward by the government of President Patricio Aylwin Azócar reached an impasse when different proposals were approved by the Senate (in which supporters of former military ruler and current Army C.-in-C. Gen. Augusto Pinochet Ugarte held a strong position). The 1981 Constitution, promulgated during the military regime (1973-90), provided for an eight-year presidential term. The Senate version approved on Oct. 14, while accepting that the term would be four years, provided that a second term would be permitted. The Senate vote was 29 to 10 with four abstentions, those voting against being senators appointed by Pinochet before he handed over power, and senators of the right-wing Independent Democratic Union (UDI). The right-wing party National Renewal (RN), by contrast, voted in favour, following intense negotiations with the ruling Coalition for Democracy (CPD). The Chamber of Deputies voted by a large majority on Oct. 20 in favour of reducing the presidential term to four years, without a provision for re-election. Aylwin's non-renewable term of four years, due to end in March 1994, had been specifically laid down by a constitutional amendment approved by referendum in July 1989. In August 1991 he had rejected a cross-party initiative to extend his term of office for a further two years. Aylwin's centre-left CPD was anxious to amend the Constitution regarding the presidential term before the next presidential elections, due in December 1993.

Chile: ***Keesing's*** Vol. 39, December 1993: On Dec. 14-15, in accordance with the wishes of the President-elect, government and opposition members of Congress joined forces to approve a constitutional reform which shortened the presidential term from

eight to six years, but excluded the possibility of re-election hitherto enshrined in the Constitution and supported by the right-wing opposition. A plenary session of Congress would have to ratify the reform before March 11, 1994, the inauguration date of President-elect Frei's term in office. On Dec. 16 Aylwin appointed Energy Minister Jaime Tohá González to the Economy portfolio, following the departure of Jorge Marshall to the central bank.

Sources consulted include Jordi Fuentes & Lia Cortes. Diccionario Politico de Chile 1810-1966. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Orbe. 1967; Nunn (1976); and Farcau (2000). `http://icarito.latercera.cl/especiales/presidentes/1925-1973/portadilla.htm`. For family relationships between early presidents, see Nunn (1976), p.10 Figure 1: The Chilean Presidential Families, 1831-1920.

Bernardo O'Higgins y Riquelme 1817–1823

Nunn (1976), p. 88. One of the 'Pre-Portalian Executives.' Born in 1778, died in 1842.

Ramon Freire y Serrano 1823–1827

Nunn (1976), p. 88. One of the 'Pre-Portalian Executives.' Born in 1787, died in 1851.

Fransico Antonio Pinto Diaz 1827–1829

Nunn (1976), p. 88. One of the 'Pre-Portalian Executives.' Born in 1785, died in 1858. Father of future president Anibal Pinto Garmendia, 18/09/1876–18/09/1881. Uncle of future president Manuel Bulnes Prieto, 1841–1851

Ramón Freire y Serrano 1829

Joaquín Prieto Vial 1831–1841

Nunn (1976), p. 88. One of the Penquista-South Central Valley Dynasty, member of the Independence generation. Born in 1786, died in 1854. Uncle of following president, Manuel Bulnes Prieto, 1841-1851

Manuel Bulnes Prieto 1841–1851

Farcau (2000), p.26 "Starting with the administration of Bulnes in 1841, there followed an unbroken series of regularly held and respected elections, with a typically nineteenth century level of manipulation and restrictions on suffrage, in which the president would be chosen for a five-year term followed by a more or less guaranteed second term."

Nunn (1976), p. 88. One of the Penquista-South Central Valley Dynasty, member of the Independence generation. Born in 1799, died in 1866. Son-in-law of former president Francisco Antonio Pinto Diaz, president 1827-1829 Nephew of Joaquín Prieto Vial, previous president, 1831-1841

Manuel Montt Torres 1851–1861

Farcau (2000), p. 26 "there were more or less serious rebellions in 1851 and 1859, virtually small civil wars, but both were ultimately put down by the legitimate government."

Nunn (1976), p. 88. One of the Penquista-South Central Valley Dynasty, member of the Independence generation. Born in 1809, died in 1880. Father to Pedro Montt

Montt, future president 18/09/1906-16/08/1910. Distant relative through the Pérez-Montt family to Jorge Montt Alvarez, future president 31/08/1891-18/09/1896).

José Joaquin Pérez Mascayano1 1861–1871

Farcau (2000), p. 26 [after Pérez] "a modification of the Chilean constitution prevented immediate reelection of a president, but the subsequent presidents served out their full five-year terms without hindrance."

Nunn (1976), p. 88. One of the Penquista-South Central Valley Dynasty, member of the Independence generation. Born in 1800, died in 1889. His distant relative, Teresa Pérez Flores marries Nicolas Barros Luco, the brother of future president Ramón Barros Luco.

CHL-1871 155 CHL F. Errazuriz Zanartu 18/09/1871 18/09/1876

Federico Errázuriz Zañartu. Both Pinto and Errazuriz get a cruiser named after them. *Christian Science Monitor*, Jun 25, 1915, p.9.

Farcau (2000), p. 52 notes that Errazuriz was "excommunicated by the Church for his progressive policies on education, among other things."

Nunn (1976), p. 88. Member of the Postindependence Generation. Father of President Errázuriz Echaurren (18/09/1896–01/05/1901) and uncle of future president Germán Riesco Errázuriz (18/08/1901–18/09/1906).

CHL-1876 155 CHL Pinto 18/09/1876 18/09/1881

Anibal Pinto Garmendia. Son of ex-Chilean President General Francisco Antonio Pinto Diaz, who was president 1827–9. Born 15 March, 1825, died 1884, in Valparaiso. Studied Humanities. Inducted into the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities of the University of Chile, with a speech on Cartesian philosophy in 1852. Minister of War and Navy in Government of President Errazuriz Anartu.

See: `http://www.icarito.cl/biografias/1861-1891/bios/pinto.htm`. Says: known as a pacifist?! But got to know the heads of the Army and Nay as minister of war. According to this biography, also, he retired to private life in his house in Valparaiso. Turns down offers to take on political posts in Chile or abroad. Dies a natural death 9 June 1884. Both Pinto and Errazuriz get a cruiser named after them. *Christian Science Monitor*, Jun 25, 1915, p.9. Nunn (1976), p. 88. Member of the Postindependence Generation.

CHL-1881 155 CHL Santa Maria 18/09/1881 18/09/1886

Domingo Santa Maria González. *Christian Science Monitor*, Jun 25, 1915, p.9. Had been Minister of the Interior in the Pinto government. Nunn (1976), p. 88. Member of the Postindependence Generation.

CHL-1886 155 CHL Balmaceda 18/09/1886 28/08/1891

José Manuel Balmeceda. See *Washington Post*, Aug. 31, 1891. Also mentions he will probably go into exile in France and that he had sent a ship loaded with 30 tons of silver to Europe. *Christian Science Monitor*, Jun 25, 1915, p.9. Refuge in the Argentine legation in Santiago. Then commits suicide there (Farcau (2000), p.195). Exile, suicide on 19/09/1891.

CHL-1891 155 CHL J. Montt-Alvarez 31/08/1891 18/09/1896

Jorge Montt Alvarez. On his election later that year, see *The New York Times*, Nov. 6, 1891, p.5. Visit New York, February 1897, official visit, not exile, to study the US Navy. Nunn (1976), p. 10, Figure 1 notes that he is a distant relative to previous president Manuel Montt Torres through the Pérez-Montt and Montt-Goyenechae families.

CHL-1896 155 CHL F. Errazuriz Echaurren 18/09/1896 01/05/1901

Federico Errázuriz Echauren steps down on 1 May 1901, because of health reasons On his bad health, see *The New York Times*, 2 May 1901, p.9. He dies on July 12, 1901. But See *Washington Post*, May 3, 1901, p.4 where President Errazuriz claims that he is seeking a leave of absence because a relative of his is running for the presidency. He was the son of previous president Errazuriz. See also *The New York Times*, Jul. 132, 1901, p.1. He died on 12/7/1901.

CHL-1901-1 155 CHL A. Zanartu Zanartu 01/05/1901 18/08/1901

Is Vice President under Errazuriz Echaurren. On he rather than Albano taking over (as in Lentz) see *The New York Times*, 2 May 1901, p.9. "President of Chile in Bad Health." And *Washington Post*, May 3, 1901, p.4 "Errazuriz a Rare President." For his exit, see *Washington Post*, Aug. 1, 1901, p.5. and *The New York Times*, July 31, 1901, p. 2. Apparently he resigns "as a protest against further military preparations in Chile." He dies Feb 1, 1902 (*Washington Post*, Feb. 2, 1902, p.2); less than 6 months after he lost power. He must be related to the Zañartu clan (Nunn 1976), but I can not find the proper relationship.

CHL-1901-2 155 CHL Riesco Errázuriz 18/08/1901 18/09/1906

German Riesco Errázuriz. Settles boundary dispute with Argentina. Dies, Dec. 8, 1916. *The New York Times*, Dec. 9, 1916, p. 11. Lentz. Nunn (1976) p. 10, Figure 1; nephew of Previous president Federico Errázuriz Zañartu, cousin and brother-in-law to previous president Federico Errázuriz Echaurren, and related by marriage to future president Juan Luis Sanfuentes Andonaegui.

CHL-1906 155 CHL P. Montt 18/09/1906 16/08/1910

Pedro Montt Montt. Son of Manuel Montt, Chile's president from 1851 - 1861. Suffers poor health late in his presidency. Dies while vacationing in Bremen August 16, 1910, Lentz. As is. See also *The New York Times*, Sep. 7, 1910, p.6. Hearth attack while in Bremen Germany.

CHL-1910-1 155 CHL Albano 16/08/1910 06/09/1910

Lentz. As is. See also *The New York Times*, Sep. 7, 1910, p.6

CHL-1910-2 155 CHL Figueroa Larrain 06/09/1910 18/09/1911

Lentz. See also *The New York Times*, Sep. 7, 1910, p.6

CHL-1911 155 CHL Lucco 18/09/1911 23/12/1915

Ramon Barros Luco. Dies in 1919. *The New York Times*, Sept. 21, 1919, p.22. Alo *Christian Science Monitor*, Feb. 15, 1916, p.15.

Nunn (1976) notes that his brother Nicolas is married to Teresa Pérez Flores who is a distant relative to previous president José Joaquin Pérez Mascayano.

CHL-1915 155 CHL Sanfuentes 23/12/1915 23/12/1920

Juan Luis Sanfuentes Andonaegui. Related through marriage to the Bulnes and Zañartu families (Nunn (1976), p.10. Too distant to record? Lentz (1999), p. 74 claims he resigned on 25 June. No evidence to support that, rather to the contrary. See below.

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CHL-1920-1 155 CHL Barros Borgono 25/06/1920 23/12/1920

Luis Barros Borgoño. Lentz (1999), (Vol I), p.74, notes: "He received a degree in law from the National University in 1880. He became chief of staff at the foreign ministry in 1883. He held various ministerial positions over the next two decades. He was acting president between June 25, 1920, and September 23, 1920, following the resignation of Juan Luis Sanfuentes. He was the nominee of the Radical Union Party in the 1920 presidential election but was defeated by Arturo Alessandri y Palma. He was named minister of the interior in 1925 and returned to the presidency when Alessandri resigned on October 1, 1925. He retained office until December 23, 1925, when Emiliano Figueroa Larraín took office. Barros Borgoño died in 1943." I find no evidence that he was "acting president," on the contrary: The Atlanta Constitution, Nov. 8, 1920, p. 5 "Chile Recognized New Mexico Regime" writes "Gonzales Martinez, the new Mexican minister, presented his credentials to President Sanfuentes."

Nunn (1976), p. 124. "The crisis of 1920 developed after the presidential election, contested by Luis Barros Borgoño of the Conservative-Liberal-National-Democratic Liberal National Union and Arturo Allesandri of the Liberal-Democratic Liberal-Radical-Democratic Liberal Alliance. The voting was extremely close. Demagogic and energetic, Allessandri had much support from the masses, but most of them could not vote. Barros was a political mediocrity, distinguished only by years of congressional service and by being the son of historian Diego Barros Arana. Questions over electoral votes, credentials of electors, and fraud caused Sanfuentes to create a special tribunal to decide the election. In Santiago, Valparaíso, Concepcíon, Antofagasta, and Iquique, popular demonstrations in favor of Alessandri were kept under control only with great difficulty, despite Alessandri's acceptance of the tribunal arrangement. . . . Suddenly, in mid July, three weeks after election day, War Minister Ladislao Errazuriz mobilized he armed forces. The recent golpe in Bolivia-which had brought to power an aggressive Republican regime bent on reincorporating Bolivia's lost Pacific provinces-as well as masses of Indians supposedly whipped to a frenzy by Protestant missionaries, and Peruvian troops massed along the border north of Tacna-Arica all posed a threat to national security. .... //[.p125]// . . . The best that can be said of the Mobilization of 1920 is that it was an unfortunate mistake; the worst, that it was a risky and elaborate hoax to remove reformist elements in the army form populous Chile at a time when the Parliamentary Republic was being challenged and labor agitation was widespread in the North. Whatever the explanation, the army had been compromised indeed. Officers and men had been dumped in Antofagaste, Iquique, and Tacna for no real reason." Note: not related to earlier president. For electoral outcome and "Court of Honor," see also *The New York Times*, Oct. 2, 1920, p. 17 "Chilean Presidency Goes to Alessandri."

CHL-1920-2 155 CHL Alessandri y Palma 23/12/1920 08/09/1924

Nunn (1976), Nunn (1976), p. 124. "The crisis of 1920 developed after the presidential election, contested by Luis Barros Gorgoño of the Conservative-Liberal-National-Democratic Liberal National Union and Arturo Allesandri of the Liberal-Democratic Liberal-Radical-Democratic Liberal Alliance. The voting was extremely close. Demagogic and energetic, Allessandri had much support from the masses, but most of them could not vote. Barros was a political mediocrity, distinguished only by years of congressional service and by being the son of historian Diego Barros Arana. Questions over electoral votes, credentials of electors, and fraud caused Sanfuentes to create a special tribunal to decide the election. In Santiago, Valparaíso, Concepcíon, Antofagasta, and Iquique, popular demonstrations in favor of Alessandri were kept under control only with great difficulty, despite Alessandri's acceptance of the tribunal arrangement. ... Suddenly, in mid July, three weeks after election day, War Minister Ladislao Errázuriz mobilized he armed forces. The recent golpe in Bolivia-which had brought to power an aggressive Republican regime bent on reincorporating Bolivia's lost Pacific provinces-as well as masses of Indians supposedly whipped to a frenzy by Protestant missionaries, and Peruvian troops mased along the border north of Tacna-Arica all posed a threat to national security. .... //[.p125]// ... The best that can be said of the Mobilization of 1920 is that it was an unfortunate mistake; the worst, that it was a risky and elaborate hoax to remove reformist elements in the army form populous Chile at a time when the Parliamentary Republic was being challenged and labor agitation was widespread in the North. Whatever the explanation, the army had been compromised indeed. Officers and men had been dumped in Antofagaste, Iquique, and Tacna for no real reason. .... Facing pressure from the Liberal Alliance and fearing mass violence, the electoral tribunal gave the presidency to Allesandri."

For electoral outcome and "Court of Honor," see also *The New York Times*, Oct. 2, 1920, p. 17 "Chilean Presidency Goes to Alessandri."

Removed in a military coup, *The New York Times* 9 September, 1924, p. 23; Lentz 1999, p. 74. *The New York Times*, Jul. 26, 1938, p.19. records, that "The next day [Sept.7, hg], President Alessandri offered his resignation, which the Senate declined to accept. He thereupon took up residence in the American Embassy and General Altamirano assumed the office of Vice President, taking over the duties of Chief Executive. ... President Alessandri left the country on Sept. 10." For Italy. Forced into exile.

CHL-1924 155 CHL Altamirano 08/09/1924 23/01/1925

Dies July 25, 1938. See *The New York Times*, Jul. 26, 1938, p.19. For the military coup that removes him see *Washington Post*, Jan. 29, 1925, p.3. Which records: Leading members of the recent government junta, including Gen. Altamirano and Gen. Neff, were arrested at governmental headquarters as soon as the present coup began." See also *The New York Times* 24 January, 1925, p. 1.

CHL-1925-1 155 CHL Ibanez del Campo 23/01/1925 21/03/1925

Lentz, continues to serve in government as minister of war.

CHL-1925-2 155 CHL Alessandri y Palma 21/03/1925 01/10/1925

See *The New York Times*, Oct. 2, 1925, p.7. He appoints Borgono as his successor. Appoints, seems a bit questionable. Apparently "does not contemplate leaving the country or soliciting the protection of any foreign legation or embassy." Dies, Aug. 24, 1950.

The New York Times, Aug. 25, 1950, p.21. *The New York Times*, Nov. 25, 1925, p.5. He resigns under pressure from Col. Ibanez. Judgment call, we say regular. For his exile, see *The New York Times*, Jul 5, 1931, p. 24. Forced into exile.

CHL-1925-3 155 CHL Barros Borgono 01/10/1925 23/12/1925

Vice President. For his appointment, see *The New York Times*, Oct. 2, 1925, p.7. Also Lentz. See above, since we disagree with Lentz, this is his first time in office.

Collier and Sater (2004), p.128. His father (or uncle) Diego Barros Arana negotiated the 1878 deal with Argentina over Patagonia. "The choice proved unfortunate. Barros Arana violated his instructions, agreeing to cede Patagonia and to grant Argentina partial control of the straits."

CHL-1925-4 155 CHL Figueroa Larrain 23/12/1925 09/04/1927

See *The New York Times*, Feb. 11, 1927, p.6. Ibanez again trying to take over. This is a coup, see *The New York Times*, April 8, 1927, p.4. Also records, "At last reports Dr. Figueroa was a virtual prisoner in his home." Note virtual. President goes on leave to allow cabinet to deal with his brother, head of the Supreme Court (*Los Angeles Times* April 10, 1927; *The New York Times* April 11, 1927, p. 4). In this time, Ibanez rules as Vice President. Eventually the president resigns for good, "broken in health and spirit" (*The New York Times* May 5, 1927, p. 29). The initial pressure appears to have emanated from the military (`http://www.quepasa.cl/medio/articulo/0,0,38035857_172985951_182659610,00.html`), so this is a military takeover (if a slow one). Withdrew to his farm in the interior ... *Washington Post*, May 5, 1927, p.5. Then, Chile's representative in the League of Nations. *Christian Science Monitor*, Jun. 4, 1927. p.2. Exile.

CHL-1927 155 CHL Ibanez Campo 09/04/1927 26/07/1931

He enters regularly. *The New York Times*, April 8, 1927, p.4. Supposed communist plot ... *The New York Times*, Mar. 12, 1928, p.18. Another attempt to blow up his train. *Washington Post*, Dec. 15, 1930, p.5. Lentz, as is. Goes to Argentina. *Christian Science Monitor*, Jul. 27, 1931, p.1. Resigns under pressure. Another judgment call. After forced resignation, goes into exile, Argentina.

CHL-1931-1 155 CHL Opazo Letelier 26/07/1931 27/07/1931

Opazo Letelier. Lentz and *Christian Science Monitor*, Jul. 27, 1931, p.1. Was VP. *The New York Times*, Jul. 28, 1931, p.1. Born in1878. President of the Senate. See also: `http://icarito.latercera.cl/especiales/presidentes/1925-1973/montero.htm`.

CHL-1931-2 155 CHL Montero Rodriquez 28/07/1931 17/08/1931

The New York Times, Jul. 28, 1931, p.1. Also *Washington Post*, Jul 28, 1931, p.1. Lentz says he resigns from office to run for the presidency, which he does and wins. See also: *The New York Times*, 18, 1931, p.12. In his next spell, he is ousted and forced into exile.

Born 12 February 1879. For more details, see: `http://icarito.latercera.cl/especiales/presidentes/1925-1973/montero.htm`

CHL-1931-3 155 CHL Trucco Franzani 17/08/1931 15/11/1931

Manuel Trucco Franzani. For his constitutional entry see: *The New York Times*, 18, 1931, p.12. He is Minister of the Interior in the previous cabinet.

CHL-1931-4 155 CHL Montero Rodriquez 15/11/1931 04/06/1932

He was born in 1878. Removed in a military coup, Lentz 1999, p. 76; *The New York Times* 5 June, 1932, p. 1. Exile in Spain.

CHL-1932-1 155 CHL Davila 05/06/1932 12/06/1932

Quits after power struggle within junta, *The New York Times*, Jun. 13, 1932, p.1.

CHL-1932-2 155 CHL Grove Vallejo 12/06/1932 17/06/1932

Counter-revolutionary military coup, *The New York Times* 17 June 1932, p. 1. For fate, see *The New York Times*, Oct. 3, 1932, p.6. Lentz. Born 6 July 1878.

CHL-1932-3 155 CHL Davila 17/06/1932 13/09/1932

Born September 5, 1887. Military coup, air force threatens bombing of palace, *The New York Times* 9-14 September, 1932, p. 1. Exile in New York.

CHL-1932-4 155 CHL Blanche 13/09/1932 02/10/1932

Ex-aide to Ibanez. Lentz says returned to the military. *Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 14, 1932, p.1 says Blanche submitted his resignation on the 14th. But he retakes office. *The New York Times*, Sept. 15, 1932, p.10. For resignation, see *The New York Times*, Oct. 2, 1932, p.28. Dies June 10, 1970. *The New York Times*, Jun. 11, 1970, p.45.

CHL-1932-5 155 CHL Oyandel Urrutia 02/10/1932 25/12/1932

President of the Supreme Court. *Washington Post*, Oct. 2, 1932. p.M1. Dies Jan 29, 1954, *The New York Times*, Jan 30, 1954, p.17. Lentz

CHL-1932-6 155 CHL Alessandri y Palma 25/12/1932 24/12/1938

Chilean Nazis apparently attempt putsch Sept. 5, 1938. *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 28, 1938, p.2. This article also notes: "Under Chile's Constitution, an outgoing President must remain in the country at least six months, unless Congress grants special permission." He is granted this request, 51 - 41, Jan. 4, 1939. *The New York Times*, Jan 5, 1939, p.5. Looks like self-imposed exile, and attempting to avoid responsibility for his orders to quell the putsch of Sept. 5, where 61 Nazi students were killed. See also for attacks when he returns, *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 5, 1939, p.6.

CHL-1938 155 CHL Aguirre Cerda 24/12/1938 25/11/1941

Lentz. See also, *The New York Times*, Nov. 27, 1941, p.12, *The New York Times*, Nov. 26, 1941, p.10.

CHL-1941 155 CHL Mendez Arancibia 25/11/1941 01/04/1942

Becomes minister of Health in Rios cabinet in 43. *The New York Times*, Feb. 5, 1943, p.4.

CHL-1942 155 CHL Rios Morales 01/04/1942 17/01/1946

Lentz notes: His health failed early in 1946 and he gave up his presidential powers to Afredo Duhalde Vasquez. On January 17, 1946. Rios died in Santiago on June, 1946.

CHL-1946-1 155 CHL Duhalde Vasquez 17/01/1946 03/08/1946
Lentz. Born 1888.

CHL-1946-2 155 CHL Bielech 03/08/1946 06/09/1946
Lentz

CHL-1946-3 155 CHL Duhalde Vasquez 06/09/1946 17/10/1946

CHL-1946-4 155 CHL Iribarren 17/10/1946 03/11/1946
Lentz

CHL-1946-5 155 CHL Gonzalez Videla 03/11/1946 03/11/1952
Lentz.

CHL-1952 155 CHL Ibanez Campo 03/11/1952 03/11/1958
Dies April 28, 1960. *The New York Times*, Apr. 29, 1960, p.31.

CHL-1958 155 CHL Alessandri Rodriguez 03/11/1958 03/11/1964
Son of Alessandri Y Palma. Lentz. Dies, Sept. 1, 1986, *The New York Times*, Sep. 2, 1986, p.D18.

CHL-1964 155 CHL Frei Montalva 03/11/1964 03/11/1970
Lentz

CHL-1970 155 CHL Allende 04/11/1970 11/09/1973
It is widely accepted that he actually committed suicide and his widow (in exile) confirms it. *The New York Times*, Sept. 16, 1973, p.1. So he committed suicide during coup. *The New York Times*, December 10, 2006, on Pinochet's death "Augusto Pinochet, Who Ruled Chile, Dies at 91" reports: "Pinochet took power on Sept. 11, 1973, demanding an unconditional surrender from President Salvador Allende as warplanes bombed the presidential palace in downtown Santiago. Instead, Allende committed suicide with a submachine gun he had received as a gift from Fidel Castro."

CHL-1973 155 CHL Pinochet 11/09/1973 11/03/1990
BBC News, 30 October, 2006 at `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/6100066.stm` "House arrest for Chile's Pinochet" "Chile's former military leader, Augusto Pinochet, has been placed under house arrest for crimes committed at a detention centre in the 1970s. Judge Alejandro Solis had on Friday charged the 90-year-old general with kidnap, homicide and torture. ... Gen Pinochet enjoys legal immunity as a former president, but the courts can strip him of this privilege on a case-by-case basis. This has happened in a number of human rights and financial cases. ... The former leader was under house arrest for seven weeks last year, over the disappearance of three dissidents during his rule. He has yet to be cleared or convicted in any cases, some of which have been dropped because of his ill health." He dies 10 December 2006.

CHL-1990 155 CHL Aylwin 11/03/1990 11/03/1994

CHL-1994 155 CHL Frei Ruiz-Tagle 11/03/1994 11/03/2000
Son of Previous President Frei Montalva.

CHL-2000 155 CHL Ricardo Lagos Escobar 12/03/2000 31/12/2004

2.29 ARGENTINA

ARG-1874 160 ARG Avellanda 12/10/1874 21/09/1880
Born October 1, 1836.

ARG-1880 160 ARG Roca 21/09/1880 12/10/1886
"Gen Julio A. Roca, after twelve years' retirement to private life, has been elected anew to the Presidency of the Argentine Republic." born on July 17, 1843

ARG-1886 160 ARG Celman 12/10/1886 05/08/1890
Encyclopedia Brit. "In July 1890 a revolt erupted that had strong support from within the army, but it was defeated by loyal elements. Even so, Juarez Celman was forced to step down in favour of the vice president, Carlos Pellegrini (1890-92), a solid ally of Roca." Can't find anything in ProQuest. Makes treaty with Uruguay to establish peace. *The New York Times*, Mar. 9, 1890, p.3. Searches on various websites suggest he's OK. He's brother in law of Julio Roca.

ARG-1890 160 ARG Pellegrini 05/08/1890 12/10/1892
Was VP. Plot to assassinate the president, *Washington Post*, Feb. 19, 1891, p.4. "The legatee of a discredited predecessor." *Washington Post*, Feb. 19, 1891, p.4. *Washington Post*, Oct. 6, 1904. *Washington Post*, Sep. 23, 1893, p.1. Educated guess. See Encyclopedia Brit which records that Pellegrini almost won again in 1904. Born 29 September 1844

ARG-1892 160 ARG L.S. Pena 12/10/1892 23/01/1895
He resigns. Encyclopedia Brit. He is the father of Roque Saenz Pena.

ARG-1895 160 ARG J. Evaristo Uriburu 23/01/1895 12/10/1898
Encyclopedia Brit. VP of L Saenz Pena. Born Nov. 19, 1831. Died Oct. 23, 1914. Uncle of J. Felix Uriburu.

ARG-1898 160 ARG Roca 12/10/1898 12/10/1904
Subsequently Argentina's ambassador to Brazil and later France. Lentz.

ARG-1904 160 ARG Quintana 12/10/1904 12/03/1906
Lentz.

ARG-1906 160 ARG Alcorta 12/03/1906 12/10/1910
Lentz. Later Ambassador to Spain.

ARG-1910 160 ARG R.S. Pena 12/10/1910 06/10/1913
Son of L. Saenz Pena. He died on August 1914. See *The New York Times*, Aug. 10, 1914, p.7. Lentz notes: On de la Plaza ... "He assumed the duties of president on October 6, 1913, due to President Roque Saenz Pena's poor health." So R. S. Pena is out Oct. 1913. He dies 9 August 1914, more than six months later.

ARG-1914 160 ARG de la Plaza 06/10/1913 12/10/1916
See Lentz. "He assumed the duties of president on October 6, 1913, due to President Roque Saenz Pena's poor health." On De la Plaza's constitutional entry as VP on the

death of President Pena on Aug. 9, 1914 see The *Washington Post*, Jul 23, 1916, p. MT4. This article also notes that "It is necessary in Argentina for the candidate to be a Roman Catholic, and must also, of course, be an Argentinean by birth." Attempted assassination, July 9, 1916, *Washington Post*, Jul. 10, 1916, p.1. Apparently two a two week break until Nov. 10, 1915, "During his absence Dr. Benito Villanueva, Vice-President, was the acting chief executive." *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 14, 1915, p.7. See his obituary, *Washington Post*, Oct. 3, 1919, p.6

ARG-1916 160 ARG Irigoyen 12/10/1916 12/10/1922
Lentz

ARG-1922 160 ARG de Alvear 12/10/1922 12/10/1928
Lentz. Forced into exile in 1930.

ARG-1928 160 ARG Irigoyen 12/10/1928 06/09/1930
Removed in a military coup. Lentz 1999, p. 20; *The New York Times* 7 September, 1930, p. 1. The *Washington Post*, Sept. 12, 1930, p.1. "Not under arrest, but in view of his illness given a bed in the infantry barracks." Held in barracks in the week before. Prisoner on the cruiser Belgrano. *Washington Post*, Sept. 17, 1930, p.11 & *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 29, 1930, p.4. Dies July 3 1933 from throat cancer.

ARG-1930 160 ARG J. Felix Uriburu 06/09/1930 20/02/1932
Lentz. Went to Europe for medical treatment and died in a Paris hospital on April 29, 1932, following surgery for stomach ulcers. Gets two year leave of absence from the army to go to Europe. *The New York Times*, Feb. 24, 1932, p.17. See also *Washington Post*, Mar 30, 1932, p.4. Nephew of Jose Evaristo Uriburu, a former president of the republic. *The New York Times*, Apr. 29, 1932, p.17.Goes to Europe for medical treatment

ARG-1932 160 ARG Justo 20/02/1932 20/02/1938
Apparently has an engineering office in the US and several contracts. Plans to visit US in November. *The New York Times*, Apr. 13, 1938, p. 7. No evidence of the visit.

ARG-1938 160 ARG Ortiz 20/02/1938 22/06/1942
Roberto M. Ortiz died on July 1, 1942. He lost power because of health reasons. He was a severe diabetic, and was almost blind. He delegated many of his duties to the Vice President Ramon Castillo in July 1940. Lentz: "He resigned from office on June 24, 1942, and died in Buenos Aires of bronchial pneumonia on July 15, 1942." He was "inactive for nearly two years because of ill health and near blindness" see *Washington Post*, Jul 16, 1942, p. 3.

ARG-1942 160 ARG Castillo 27/06/1942 05/06/1943
Revolution and military coup. *The New York Times* 5 June, 1943, p. 1. For fate, see *Washington Post*, Jun 6, 1943, p. M1 & 3. He fled on board a cruiser but returned within the day. *The New York Times*, Jun. 7, 1943, p.1. Also, *The New York Times*, Jun 26, 1943, p.9, where Castillo is reported to have applied for a pension. *The New York Times*, Oct. 13, 1944, p.19.

ARG-1943-1 160 ARG Rawson 05/06/1943 07/06/1943

Leads coup, but junta replaces him after two days in office, Lentz 1999, p. 225; *The New York Times* 8 June, 1943, p. 1. Lentz: Subsequently ambassador to Brazil. Arrested in 1945, and 1951. *The New York Times*, Oct. 5, 1943 says "the Government, without consulting the general, announced that he would leave today. This was regarded as a virtual ultimatum warning him to go or take the consequences." Forced to resign ambassador in Brazil.

ARG-1943-2 160 ARG Ramirez 07/06/1943 24/02/1944
On his regular ouster. See *The New York Times*, Mar. 12, 1944, p.17. Exile, arrest.

ARG-1944 160 ARG Farrell 10/03/1944 04/06/1946 Lentz

ARG-1946 160 ARG Peron 04/06/1946 20/09/1955
Military rebellion, succeeds after four days, Lentz 1994, p. 36. First arrested, and held on a small island and then forced into exile.

ARG-1955-1 160 ARG Lonardi 20/09/1955 13/11/1955
Parts of military remove provisional president and replace him with a junta, , *The New York Times* 14 November, 1955, p. 1. Lots of arrests (more than 1000) and Lonardi is en route to the US for medical treatment. *The New York Times*, Dec. 6, 1955, p.17. Returns to Buenos Aires and dies of a cerebral hemorrhage on March 22, 1956.

ARG-1955-2 160 ARG Aramburu 13/11/1955 01/05/1958
On his non-constitutional entry, see *Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 14, 1955, p. 9. Faced abortive coup by Pro-Peronists in 56, executed the 27 leaders. Kidnapped May 29, 1970, *Washington Post*, May 30, 1970, p. 10. Later murdered.

ARG-1958 160 ARG Frondizi 01/05/1958 29/03/1962
Lentz 1994, p.38: Ousted in a military coup. See also *The New York Times*, Mar. 29, 1962, p.1. Also suggests he will be arrested. *The New York Times*, Mar. 30, 1962, p. 32. See *Christian Science Monitor*, Mar. 22, 1962, p.16 for not being a puppet of Peron. *The New York Times*, Apr. 28, 1962, p.8 says he is "detained on an island." That's the island of Martin Garcia, the Navy station in the Rio Plate. *The New York Times*, May 6, 1962, p.128. Also, *Washington Post*, Jul 11, 1963, p.A25. Released by Illia. *The New York Times*, Aug. 1, 1963, p.4.

ARG-1962 160 ARG Guido 29/03/1962 12/10/1963
President of the Senate. Lentz.

ARG-1963 160 ARG Arturo Illia 12/10/1963 28/06/1966
Releases Frondizi. *The New York Times*, Aug. 1, 1963, p.4. Removed in a military coup, *The New York Times* 29 June, 1966, p. 1. For post tenure fate see, *The New York Times*, Aug. 26, 1966, p.14. Dies Jan 18, 1983. *The New York Times*, Jan 19, 1983, p. B6

ARG-1966 160 ARG Ongania 28/06/1966 08/06/1970
Invited to resign on June 8, 1970, but refused. Briefly jailed in 1981 *The New York Times*, Aug. 29, 1981, p.7. Dies June 8, 1995. *The New York Times*, Jun. 10, 1995, p. 48.

Put under house arrest again for two weeks in 1995. Drives to Army headquarters June 8 and delivers his resignation, then left for his residence in the suburb of Olivos. *The New York Times*, Jun 9, 1970, p. 1. The article also notes "An hour later the Commanders in Chief-Lieut. Gen. Alejandro Lanusse of the Army, Adm. Pedro Gnavi of the Navy and Brig. Gen. Juan Carlos Rey of the Air Force-were sworn in as provisional leaders of the nation's Government." Junta replaces the current president, a military person himself. There are actual troop movements and a standoff between the loyal presidential guard and mutinous troops, so this is more than just a reshuffle within a military government. See *The New York Times* 9 June, 1970. For more evidence of fate, see *The New York Times*, Mar. 28, 1971, p. E6.

ARG-1970-1 160 ARG Lanusse 08/06/1970 18/06/1970

The New York Times, Jun 9, 1970, p. 1. The article also notes "An hour later the Commanders in Chief-Lieut. Gen. Alejandro Lanusse of the Army, Adm. Pedro Gnavi of the Navy and Brig. Gen. Juan Carlos Rey of the Air Force-were sworn in as provisional leaders of the nation's Government." See also *Washington Post*, Times Herald, Jun 10, 1970, p. A1. Gnavi is figurehead, Lanusse is the real power. Born 28 Aug. 1918.

ARG-1970-2 160 ARG Levingston 18/06/1970 22/03/1971

See *The New York Times*, Jan 25, 1971, p. 71, for him being installed by the Junta. *The New York Times*, Mar. 28, 1971, p. E6. records that "General Lanusse and even held him prisoner briefly in the Casa Rosada." See also Lentz, for chosen by the Junta to take over power. Was in DC in the first days of the coup. Attempts a coup against Lanusse in Oct. 1971, and jailed. Attempts to regain power in coup in October. Jailed. See *The New York Times* 23 March, 1971, p. 1.

ARG-1971 160 ARG Lanusse 25/03/1971 25/05/1973

Lentz. Arrested in May 1997 on charges of financial corruption, but released the following month. Rulers.org.10 days of house arrest in 1994 for accusing Menem of being "frivolous" and a "womanizer" in a magazine interview. Dies, 26 Aug. 1996, See *The New York Times*, Aug. 29, 1996, p. D19.

ARG-1973-1 160 ARG Campora 25/05/1973 13/07/1973

Stalking horse for Peron. Lentz. Arrested in 1976, after ouster of Peron's widow and allowed to into exile in November 1979.

ARG-1973-2 160 ARG Lastiri 13/07/1973 12/10/1973

Lentz. President of Chamber of Deputies. Born in 1915.

ARG-1973-3 160 ARG Peron 12/10/1973 01/07/1974

ARG-1974 160 ARG Peron, Isabel 01/07/1974 29/03/1976

Is VP, wife of Juan Peron, above. Military coup, after being in the making for weeks, *The New York Times* 24 March, 1976, p. 1. Five years of house arrest. See also *Washington Post*, Mar. 21, 1981, p. A20, on her conviction on corruption charges. Five years house arrest. BBC News, Friday 12 January 2007: "Warrant for ex-Argentine leader." "An Argentine judge has ordered the arrest of former President Isabel Peron over the disappearance of a leftist activist in the 1970s. She is also wanted for questioning over

three decrees signed allegedly linking her to right-wing death squads. Human rights campaigners say death squads killed some 1,500 government opponents between 1973 and 1976. Ms Peron took over the presidency from her husband, three-time President Juan Domingo Peron, when he died in 1974. Federal judge Raul Acosta issued the warrant via the international police organization Interpol in an attempt to secure Ms Peron's arrest in Spain, where she now lives. ... She left Argentina in 1981, and now lives outside Madrid." De Volkskrant, 12 January, 2007 (Dutch Newspaper) "Isabel Perón in Spanje gearresteerd" reports that Isabel Peron was arrested in her domicile in Villanueva de la Canada near Madrid. She was transferred to the Audiencia Nacional a special tribunal in Madrid for interrogation.

ARG-1976 160 ARG Videla 29/03/1976 29/03/1981

Survives attempted assassination in October 1976. Arrested and charged in August 1984 with human rights abuses. Convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment in December 1985. Pardoned by Menem on December 30, 1990. Jailed in 1984.

BBC News 24 December 2007. "Italy seeks Condor plot suspects," reports "Prosecutors in Italy have issued arrest warrants for 140 people over a decades-old plot by South American dictatorships called Operation Condor. ... Under Operation Condor, six governments worked together from the 1970s to hunt down and kill left-wing opponents. ... Among the other names on the list are the former Argentine military leader Jorge Rafael Videla, Argentine former naval chief admiral Emilio Eduardo Massera, and ex-Uruguayan junta leader Jorge Maria Bordaberry. Those named face charges ranging from lesser crimes to kidnappings and multiple murders. Under Operation Condor - thought to have been launched in 1975 and running into the 1980s - the six military governments agreed to co-operate in sending teams into other countries to track, monitor and kill their political opponents. As a result, many left-wing opponents of military regimes in the region who had fled to neighbouring countries found themselves hunted down in exile."

BBC News, October 11, 2008 "Argentina's Videla moved to jail" `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7664876.stm` notes that Videla "has been transferred to prison after being under house arrest. Jorge Videla, 83, was convicted of the murder of 66 people, the torture of 93 others, and the illegal detention of more than 300. Videla, who ruled from 1976 to 1981, was sentenced to life imprisonment. He was pardoned by President Carlos Menem in 1990 but a court canceled that order last year."

ARG-1981-1 160 ARG Viola 29/03/1981 20/11/1981

Lentz notes: Suffers for a heart ailment, Nov. 20, 1981, and temporarily replaced by Liendo. On December 11, 1981, the ruling junta announced the Viola had resigned for reasons of health, though it appeared obvious that he had been forced from office. He was succeeded by army leader Galtieri. Convicted and sentenced to 17 years in prison in December 1985, remained in prison until pardoned by Menem December 30, 1990. See also, *Washington Post*, Nov. 21, 1981, p. A27. Apparently mild heart attack on Nov. 21. *Washington Post*, Dec. 12, 1981, p.A22. *Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 14, 1981, p. 35 and also *The New York Times*, December 12, 1981, p. 1 "Argentina's President Is Removed; Junta Member Will Replace Him." "BUENOS AIRES, Dec. 11 – Argentina's President, a former general who had been in office was removed today by the ruling three-man junta. It is said that one of its members, the army commander,

would take over a President on Dec. 22. The decision to oust 57-year-old President Roberto Eduardo Viola, who has been recuperating for more than a month from a hear ailment, was announced without explanation. Reports circulated here that Mr. Viola had resisted removal, offering to resign only if it were made explicit that he was leaving for political reasons, not for questions of health. These reports, attributed to military sources, suggested that the condition had been rejected by the junta, which took over in a coup in 1976. ... Gen. Horacio Tomás Liendo, Mr. Viola's Interior Minister, had been serving as interim President since Mr. Viola became ill. He resigned after President Viola's removal, along with Foreign Minister Oscar Camilión and the Public Works Secretary, Gen. Diego Urricariet."

Viola was jailed in 1985.

ARG-1981-2 160 ARG Liendo 20/11/1981 11/12/1981

For his entry and exit, see *The New York Times*, December 12, 1981, p. 1 "Argentina's President Is Removed; Junta Member Will Replace Him." "BUENOS AIRES, Dec. 11 – Argentina's President, a former general who had been in office was removed today by the ruling three-man junta. It is said that one of its members, the army commander, would take over a President on Dec. 22. The decision to oust 57-year-old President Roberto Eduardo Viola, who has been recuperating for more than a month from a hear ailment, was announced without explanation. Reports circulated here that Mr. Viola had resisted removal, offering to resign only if it were made explicit that he was leaving for political reasons, not for questions of health. These reports, attributed to military sources, suggested that the condition had been rejected by the junta, which took over in a coup in 1976. ... Gen. Horacio Tomás Liendo, Mr. Viola's Interior Minister, had been serving as interim President since Mr. Viola became ill. He resigned after President Viola's removal, along with Foreign Minister Oscar Camilión and the Public Works Secretary, Gen. Diego Urricariet.""

Lentz + *Washington Post*, Dec. 12, 1981, p.A22. *Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 14, 1981, p. 35. Notes that "Lacoste is standing in as interim president until Dec. 22, when Gen. Leopoldo Forunato Galtieri will be sworn in." For Liendo's entry, see *Washington Post*, Nov. 22, 1981, p. A35. "Around the World."

His irregular ouster is the ouster of Viola, who had handed power over temporarily. For the conclusion that this amounted to a coup, see also *The New York Times*, June 18, 1982, p.A12 "Ousted Argentine Leader Is a Victim Of System That Raised Him to Power." "[General Viola] was elbowed aside in a palace coup in December by General Galtieri."

Lexis Nexis suggests he became chief debt negotiator in the 90s. Is in the United States in September 1982, Lexis Nexis: Latin America Weekly report, September 24, 1982 "Headline: Argentina: the military plot thickens." Junta removes president (who is a retired general), *Washington Post* 12 December, 1981, p. A22.

ARG-1981-3 160 ARG Galtieri 12/12/1981 17/06/1982

Washington Post, Dec. 12, 1981, p.A22. Lentz. *Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 14, 1981, p. 35. For his arrest, see *Washington Post*, April 13, 1983, p. A1 & A27. *Washington Post*, Jun. 30, 1984, p. A24. Arrested in 1983. *The New York Times*, April 6, 1982 "Man of Hour in Argentina" by-line: Edward Schumacher. ""Galtieri took power in December in a palace coup that overthrew his former patron, Roberto Eduardo Viola, a retired general.

Fifty-five years old, a former combat engineer, he has retained the post of Commander in Chief of the army until at least his scheduled retirement at the end of the year, although is presidential term does not end until 1984. The three-man junta of army, air force and navy chiefs is the final arbiter of power but General Galtieri is clearly the leader. He was born July 15, 1926, into a working-class family in Caseros outside Buenos Aires, the second of three children. After studying civil engineering at the Argentine military academy, he moved steadily up through military posts and schools. In 1960 he spent six months at Fort Belvoir in Virginia in an advanced course for army engineers." Junta leader is ousted after military loss in Falklands war, *Washington Post* 18 June, 1982, p. A1.

On his ouster, first see *The Washington Post*, June 16, 1982, p. A1. "Buenos Aires Junta Faces Deep Divisions." "Military sources said Galtieri's military leadership confronted deep divisions within its own ranks even as an angry mob gather in front of the presidential palace tonight to demand Galtieri's ouster. Informed sources said that the armed forces were paralyzed by indecision and internal power struggles and suggested that Galtieri, opposed by powerful military leaders was in danger of downfall." Then, see also *The New York Times*, June 18, 1982, p.A12 "Ousted Argentine Leader Is a Victim Of System That Raised Him to Power." The article clearly attributes his ouster to military infighting. See also, *Wall Street Journal*, June 18, 1982, p.2 "Argentine Army Ousts President Galtieri In Shake-Up Over Surrender in Falklands." "Gen. Leopoldo Galtieri was ousted as Argentina's president and commander-in-chief of the army yesterday by his fellow army officers. The minister of the interior, Gen. Alfredo Saint Jean, was named interim president after a behind-the-scenes struggle within the military that began with Argentina's surrender to the British Monday in the Falkland Islands."

ARG-1982-1 160 ARG Saint-Jean 18/06/1982 01/07/1982

For his entry, see *Wall Street Journal*, June 18, 1982, p.2 "Argentine Army Ousts President Galtieri In Shake-Up Over Surrender in Falklands." "Gen. Leopoldo Galtieri was ousted as Argentina's president and commander-in-chief of the army yesterday by his fellow army officers. The minister of the interior, Gen. Alfredo Saint Jean, was named interim president after a behind-the-scenes struggle within the military that began with Argentina's surrender to the British Monday in the Falkland Islands."

None of these people were punished before Alfonsin.

ARG-1982-2 160 ARG Bignone 01/07/1982 10/12/1983

Chosen by Gen. Nicolaides to succeed Galtieri. Lentz: arrested in January 1984, but released without trial in June 1984. *The New York Times*, Jan. 11, 1984, p. A1. Also *Washington Post*, Jun. 30, 1984, p. A24. Arrested in January 1984. BBC News, Friday, 9 March 2007 "Argentine ex-military ruler held" reports: "The last of Argentina's military rulers, Reynaldo Bignone, has been arrested as part of an investigation into human rights abuses. He is being held at a military base where a secret detention centre was set up during the 1976-83 military regime. ... A judge is expected to question Mr Bignone, 79, on Friday in connection with crimes committed at the secret prison set up in the Campo de Mayo base. The secret detention centre, outside Buenos Aires, is said to have been the largest in operation during the Dirty War. It is said to have been the scene of thousands of cases of torture and killings. The judge will also consider a request from the former ruler's lawyers that he be held at home rather than at the base. Mr Bignone

is also awaiting trial in connection with the stealing of babies from political prisoners, an accusation he has described as an "invention"."

ARG-1983 160 ARG Alfonsin 10/12/1983 08/07/1988

Arturo Valenzuela (2004), "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted," in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15, No. 4, October, pp.5–19, notes (p.8) "Resigned five months before scheduled transfer of power to newly elected president Carlos Menem with economy spiraling out of control, street demonstrations, and inability to implement policies that were being criticized by successor. Minority President, minority in congress. No military role. Replaced by elected successor."

ARG-1988 160 ARG Menem 08/07/1988 10/12/1999

The New York Times, January 3, 1991, p. A20 "Pardoning Mass Murder in Argentina" reports that on the New Year's weekend, Menem "freed from prison the leaders of a succession of military juntas." The article, moreover, reports "a bloody coup attempt by rebel officers just last month ...."

Indicted and "ordered to stand trial on charges that he led a conspiracy and falsified government documents to smuggle arms to Croatia and Ecuador between 1991 and 1995." Menem had been under house arrest since June 2001. *The New York Times*, Jul. 5, 2001, p. A3. Indicted but not convicted.

BBC News, Saturday, 8 September, 2007. "Argentina's former President Carlos Menem has been charged with involvement in the illegal sale of weapons to Croatia and Ecuador during the 1990s. His passport has been withdrawn and assets worth $120m (£60m) frozen to pay for any fine resulting from the case. Mr Menem faced similar charges six years ago, but was allowed to walk free by a panel of judges mostly appointed during his 1989-1999 presidency."

ARG-1999 160 ARG de la Rua 10/12/1999 21/12/2001

Resigns halfway through his term. *The New York Times*, Dec. 21, 2001, p. A1.

ARG-2001-1 160 ARG Ramon Puerta 21/12/2001 23/12/2001 Born in 1951.

ARG-2001-2 160 ARG Adolfo Rodriguez Saa 23/12/2001 01/01/2002

ARG-2002 160 ARG Eduardo Duhalde 02/01/2002 25/05/2003

ARG-2003 160 ARG Nestor Kirchner 25/05/2003 31/12/2004

On 10 December 2007, his wife, Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner takes over as Argentina's first elected female president. The New York Times of December 10, "Argentina's Fernandez Succeeds Husband as President" notes "Fernandez was a key advisor to Kirchner during his four-and-a-half year term, and he is expected to have an influential role during her administration. A 54-year-old mother of two, Fernandez is keeping many of her husband's top aides and has vowed to deepen his economic model emphasizing budget and trade surpluses and a weak currency to stimulate exports. Kirchner leaves office with high popularity ratings after taking power in 2003 with 22 percent of the vote, the weakest mandate in Argentine history. He has never explained why he opted not to seek a second term and instead anointed his wife as his successor. Some analysts say the move is aimed at having the two rotate in the presidency, a claim they have denied."

2.30 URUGUAY

On the net, see http://www.mundomatero.com/Estampas/presidentes.htm which has links with details for many of the presidents. (Thanks to research assistance by Gaspar del Castillo.) By the Constitution of 1830, the General Assembly ("Asamblea General Constituyente y Legislativa del Estado"), which met for the first time on November 22, 1828, elected the President. This was referred to as a "second degree" election ("eleccíon de Segundo grado") and such presidential took place every 4 years. In the 1880s there was an increase in the number of territorial departments which grew from nine in the 1830s to nineteen, and also led to an increase in the number of Deputies. The Constitution of 1918 modified the way the President is elected, which henceforth was by direct election by the people. Contrary to the Constitution of 1830 which scheduled the elections of senators and representatives to coincide with the election of the president during years with presidential elections, the new Constitution of 1918 contemplated different dates for the election of President, National Councillors, Senators and Representatives. This led to a proliferation of elections which occurred almost annually in 1918, 1919, 1922, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1928 .... Most of these were to renew membership in Parliament, senators served 6 years, representatives 3 years, and every two years the National Administrative Council changed a third of its members. Further constitutional reforms, October 22, 1930 and October 27, 1932. Sources for electoral dates: Nahum, Benjamín, 1999, Breve Historia del Uruguay Independiente (Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental). Maiztegui Casas, Lincoln. Orientales (Buenos Aires/Montevdeo: Editorial Planeta). Schurmann Pacheco, Mauricio and Maira Luisa Coolighan Sanguinetti, 1978, Historia Uruguay: Siglos XIX y XX (Montevideo: Editores A. Monteverde & Cia. S. A., 2nd Edicíon, Tomo II). El País, Historia del Uruguay (Montevideo: Collection of articles published by the largest Uruguayan newspaper.) Parlamento del Uruguay, "History of the National Parliament." (http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/palacio3/index1024.htm)

URU-1873 165 URU Jose Eugenio Ellauri 15/02/1873 15/01/1875

Military uprising deposed Ellauri in 1875. *The New York Times*, Jun. 21, 1875, p.4 talks about political undesirables exiled. Dies 1894. Takes refuge in Brazilian Consulate and then marches to Buenos Aires. http://members.fortunecity.es/rodelu/presidente/ellauri.htm

URU-1875 165 URU Pedro Varela Olivera 15/01/1875 10/03/1876

Pedro Varela (President of the Senate). Was forced to resign, *The New York Times*, Mar. 13, 1986, says he "resigned;" that's the last we could find on him. Worldstatesmen.org has the leader as Pedro Varela Olivera. Attempted to repress revolution. Exiled by Latorre. http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/v/vidal_francisco.htm

URU-1876 165 URU Lorenzo Latorre 10/03/1876 14/02/1879

Is a Colonel. Steps down to be made constitutional president.

URU-1879-1 165 URU Francisco Antonino Vidal 14/02/1879 01/03/1879

URU-1879-2 165 URU Lorenzo Latorre 01/03/1879 15/03/1880

Becomes constitutional March 1, 1879, *Washington Post*, Apr. 16, 1879. Exile, *The New York Times*, Sep. 12, 1881, p. 1. As is. For exile, see: http://www.

biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/l/latorre_yampen.htm Resigned and moved to Argentina.

URU-1880 165 URU Francisco Antonino Vidal 15/03/1880 28/02/1882

Listed in worldstatesmen.org as Francisco Antonino Vidal Silva. Others have him as Francisco Antonio Vidal (More hits under the latter.). Forced out by Santos, who really held power. See http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/v/vidal_francisco.htm

URU-1882 165 URU Maximo Santos 01/03/1882 01/03/1886

Maximo Santos, appointed General of the Land and sea forces. *The New York Times*, Mar. 5, 1886, p.3. On Santos' entry, see Vidal above. Not exiled this time.

URU-1886-1 165 URU Francisco Antonino Vidal 01/03/1886 24/05/1886

Uruguayan website has him in until 11 November. Revolution of Quebracho forced him out for Santos. See http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/v/vidal_francisco.htm. Nothing on his subsequent fate. Probably OK? Dies in 1889, in Montevideo.

URU-1886-2 165 URU Maximo Santos 24/05/1886 18/11/1886

Assassination attempt Aug. 17, 1886, *The New York Times*, Aug. 19, 1886, p. 5. Leaves this time for Europe. *The New York Times*, Nov. 4, 1886, p. 5. For his entry, see http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/v/vidal_francisco.htm. For his fate, see http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/s/santos_maximo.htm. Resigns after an assassination attempt, exile.

URU-1886-3 165 URU Maximo Tajes 18/11/1886 01/03/1890

Defeated in Quebracho (1886) an insurrection against the Government. But still president later! http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/t/tajes.htm. Exiled in 1897. *The New York Times*, Dec. 1, 1897, p. 7. Very strange, Marguerite Dickins, in the *Washington Post*, Jun 14, 1891, p. 14 has him still as president.

URU-1890 165 URU Julio Herrera y Obes 01/03/1890 01/03/1894

Exiled in 1897, *The New York Times*, Dec. 1, 1897, p. 7, *The New York Times*, Dec. 2, 1897, p.7. See also *The New York Times*, Aug 13, 1895, p. 1 where he shoots himself in the leg after dropping his own revolver.

URU-1894 165 URU Juan Idiarte Borda 21/03/1894 25/08/1897

On Borda's assassination, see The *Washington Post*, Mar. 4, 1898, p.3. Assassinated during rebellion.

URU-1897 165 URU Juan Lindolfo Cuestas 25/08/1897 01/03/1903

Was president of the Senate, See http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/c/cuestas.htm. His entry to office apparently was not constitutional. See *Washington Post*, Jul. 5, 1898, p. 9. Several attempts were made on his life. See *The New York Times*, Dec. 2, 1897, p.7. Self-coup, on Feb 10, 1898. *Washington Post*, Feb. 11, 1898, p.8. *The New York Times*, Mar. 2, 1899, p.7 reports that Cuestas has been elected President of Uruguay. According to *Washington Post*, Aug 4, 1899, p.1, still President. Revolution breaks out in March 1903. Goes to Europe, supposedly for his health, and

dies in Paris. See *Washington Post*, Mar. 31, 1903, p.1. Judgment call, I say, exile, given the many attempts on his life. Coup, leaves to Europe.

URU-1903 165 URU Jose Batlle y Ordonez 01/03/1903 01/03/1907

Jose Batlle y Ordóñez. Elected by the General Assembly which was elected in November 1902. Lentz: Also departs for Europe after his term, returns in 1911. Insurrectionary force tries to gain entry from Argentine territory, overwhelmed by Uruguayan forces, *Washington Post*, Aug. 29, 1904. p. 1. Judgment call as before on fate. Leaves for Europe. `www.rulers.org` also lists José Batlle y Ordóñez For the two weeks: 15/02/1899-01/03/1899. Probably just temporary, in the interim. The Uruguayan list does not list him for this period, hence we do not. Faces two revolutions wheich ended in the Acegua Pact, where the victorious government agreed to a general armistice and a commitment to constitution reform. The electoral reform was was adopted hurt the National Party and gave only 5% of Uruguyans the vote. Son of President Lorenzo Batlle, president 1868–1872. His nephew-Luis Battle Berres-becomes president 47–51, as well as his grandnephew, Jorge Battle Ibanez.

URU-1907 165 URU Claudio Williman 01/03/1907 01/03/1911

Elected by the General Assembly which itself was elected in November 1906. After office, Senator then director of the national bank. `http://www.biografiasyvidas.com/biografia/w/williman.htm`

URU-1911 165 URU Jose Batlle y Ordonez 01/03/1911 01/03/1915

Elected by the General Assembly which itself was elected in November 1910. Became an editor again. *Washington Post*, Mar. 29, 1915, p. 6. Also Lentz. Son of President Lorenzo Batlle, president 1868-1872. His nephew-Luis Battle Berres-becomes president 47-51, as well as his grandnephew, Jorge Battle Ibanez.

URU-1915 165 URU Feliciano Viera 01/03/1915 01/03/1919

November 1914, elections for the National Assembly which elects Feliciano Viera. Assassination attempt August 12, 1918. *Washington Post*, Aug. 18, 1918, p.1. Lentz.

On 30 July 1916 elections for the National Constituent Assembly were held, with for the first time secret ballots. On October 15, 1917, a new Constitution was ratified and approved by the National Constituent Assembly, it was promulgated on 3 January, 1918. On 25 November 1917, a plebiscite approved the Constitution.

URU-1919 165 URU Baltasar Brum 05/03/1919 01/03/1923

He completes his term in office. *The New York Times*, March 4, 1923, P. XX10 "Monroe Doctrine to be live topic at Pan-American Conference," notes "Doctor Brum, the President of Uruguay, is devoting a large portion of hist time to putting this universally accepted theory [of 'continental integrity' HG] into concrete practice. I have learned on good authority that after his term of office expires he will enter the diplomatic corps for the purpose of inculcating this doctrine wherever he may be stationed." The Los Angeles Times of January 27, 1924 "Uruguay Dignitaries Fight Bloodless Duel," records "Dr. Balthazar [*sic*] Brum, former President of Uruguay, engaged in a pistol dual [*sic*] today with Minister of War Rivera. Neither was hit. The meeting resulted from attacks of Dr. Brum's newspaper, against the War Minister's project for compulsory military service."

Also see for his post tenure fate *The New York Times*, Sep. 12, 1930, p.19, "Uruguay Prepares Welcome."

He committed suicide on March 31, 1933 to protest Terra's assumption of dictatorial powers. See Lentz. *Christian Science Monitor*, Apr. 1, 1933, pp.1 reports the suicide coming after "wounding two policemen who had attempted to arrest him."

URU-1923 165 URU Serrato 01/03/1923 01/03/1927

Serrato is elected on November 26, 1922, as a result of the first direct election under the 1918 Constitution. A dual executive is established whereby the President and the National Administrative Council co-govern. In the election of 8 February 1925, the National Party scores its first Electoral triumph, and Luis Alberto de Herrera assumes the Presidency of the National Administrative Council. See also Lentz.

URU-1927 165 URU Campisteguy 01/03/1927 01/03/1931

Dies Sept. 4, 1937, *The New York Times*, Sep. 5, 1937, p. 28. Lentz.

URU-1931 165 URU Terra 01/03/1931 18/06/1938

Takes on dictatorial powers March 30th, 1933, *Christian Science Monitor*, Apr. 1, 1933, pp.1. Attempted assassination, June 3, 1935, *Christian Science Monitor*, Jun. 4, 1935, p. 3. Two strokes Feb. 13, 1939. *The New York Times*, Feb. 14, 1939, p.9. Dies, Sep. 15, 1942. *Christian Science Monitor*, Sep. 16, 1942, p.10.

URU-1938 165 URU Baldomir 19/06/1938 01/03/1943

Another General. Died Feb 25, 1948. *The New York Times*, Feb. 26, 1948, p, 23, Was brother -in-law of Gabriel Terra. Submitted a new constitution, approved by a very large majority. Constitutional entry. *The New York Times*, Jun. 19, 1938, p. 22. Got extraordinary powers by decree to extend his presidency until March 1, 1943. *Christian Science Monitor*, Sep. 16, 1942, p.10. Lentz. Brother-in-Law of Terra. The *Washington Post*, March 20, 1938, p. B5. Montevideo, Uruguay. Terra is leaving the nation's Presidency after seven years in office. "There are two principal candidates for the job: Gen. Alfredo Baldomir and Dr. Blanco Acevedo. Both are related to Terra by marriage. . . . In a coup engineered in March 1933, ..., he [=Terra, HG] took dictatorial power, ousted the council and ruled by decree provisionally. New elections resulted in a pro-Terra assembly, a new constitution and Terra's re-election for the term 1934-38."

URU-1943 165 URU Amezaga 01/03/1943 01/03/1947

Lentz. Dies Aug 20, 1956. *The New York Times*, Aug. 21, 1956, p. 29. Attempt coup against him in July 1946.

URU-1947-1 165 URU Berreta 01/03/1947 01/08/1947

Lentz notes: "he relinquished his duties to his vice president, Luis Batlle Berres on August 1, 1947. He died following an emergency operation in Montevideo on August 2, 1947."

URU-1947-2 165 URU Batlle Berres 01/08/1947 01/03/1951

Nephew of Jose Batlle Y Ordonez the earlier president. Lentz. Jorge Battle Ibanez. (2000) is related.

URU-1951 165 URU Martinez Trueba 01/03/1951 01/03/1954

Adopts the Swiss-like Federal Council system. *The New York Times*, Dec. 18, 1951, p.30. Lentz.

URU-1954 165 URU Batlle Berres 01/03/1954 01/03/1956
Lentz. Again, nephew of Batlle y Ordonez. Jorge Battle Ibanez. (2000) is related. From 1955 to 1967 Uruguay is ruled by an Executive Council, the "Consejo Nacional de Gobiern."

URU-1956 165 URU Zubiria 01/03/1956 01/03/1957
Dies Oct. 4, 1971, *The New York Times*, Oct. 6, 1971, p. 50. "Zuberia became president of the nine-member National Council of Uruguay in 1956-57, which made him President of the nation."

URU-1957 165 URU Lezama 01/03/1957 01/03/1958
On entry, see *The New York Times*, Mar. 2, 1957, p.13, *Washington Post*, Mar. 2, 1957, p.B5. Lentz

URU-1958 165 URU Fisher 01/03/1958 01/03/1959
On his entry see *The New York Times*, Mar. 2, 1958, p. 6 & *Christian Science Monitor*, Mar. 3, 1958, p.4. Lentz.

URU-1959 165 URU Echegoyen 02/03/1959 01/03/1960
Lentz.

URU-1960 165 URU Nardone 01/03/1960 01/03/1961
Lentz.

URU-1961 165 URU Haedo 01/03/1961 01/03/1962
Lentz.

URU-1962 165 URU Harrison 01/03/1962 01/03/1963
He died on August 20, 1963. See Lentz who notes that: "He died of a heart attack in Montevideo at the age of 63 on August 20, 1963." This is less than six months after out.

URU-1963 165 URU Crespo 01/03/1963 02/03/1964
Lentz, similar story. Dies July 28, 1964.

URU-1964 165 URU Giannattasio 02/03/1964 07/02/1965
Lentz, natural death.

URU-1965 165 URU Beltran 07/02/1965 01/03/1966
Lentz. Banned for political activities by the junta from 1973 to 1980.

URU-1966 165 URU Heber Usher 01/03/1966 01/03/1967
Lentz. Last president to serve under the council regime. Executive presidency is reestablished under Gestido.

URU-1967-1 165 URU Gestido 01/03/1967 06/12/1967
Lentz. Executive presidency is reestablished under Gestido. General, air force. Heart attack. Natural death.

URU-1967-2 165 URU Pacheco Areco 06/12/1967 01/03/1972

VP under Gestido. Subsequently ambassador In Switzerland, US and Paraguay. Constitutional amendment to succeed himself fails. See *The New York Times*, Nov. 29, 1971, p.3. Jailed by the military rulership, figure-headed by Méndez, see *The New York Times*, Sept. 2, 1976, p. 3.

URU-1972 165 URU Bordaberry 01/03/1972 12/06/1976

Launches *auto-golpe*. Chicago Tribune, June 28, 1973, p. 20 "Uruguay chief dissolves congress." "President Juan Maria Bordaberry today dissolved Congress, set up a 20-man Council of State and set tanks into the streets to preserve order when the powerful Leftist Workers National Convention called a general strike in protest. The president acted at dawn after lengthy talks with military commanders. ... Bordaberry's action effectively ended the constitutional process in Uruguay since he did not simultaneously set a date for new elections as provided in the constitution." See also, *The New York Times*, July 16, 1973, p.9 "Uruguay Senator Leads Resistance."

This is a difficult call, but not a case of an *auto-golpe*.

Loses backing of military leadership which announces replacement, *The New York Times* 13 June, 1976, p. 24. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 19, April 1973 notes: "General Cesar Augusto Martinez who had been reinstated as C.-in-C. of the Army after resigning in October 1972) and Brigadier Jose Perez Caldas (C.-in-C. of the Air Force) published a statement ... added that in future they would prevent politicians from making accusations against them. Their statement was not signed by the C.-in-C. of the Navy (Rear-Admiral Juan Zorilla). ... Dr. Armando Malet, the Minister of Defence, accepting responsibility for the Generals' statement, resigned on Feb. 7, and President Bordaberry appointed in his place General Antonio Francese (73), who had held the same post in 1967-70 and had been Minister of the Interior in 1970-71 under the President's predecessor, President Pacheco Areco. On Feb. 8 the President called for the resignation of General Martinez as C.-in-C. of the Army. Later on the same day, however, Army units occupied all radio and television transmitters in Montevideo, and in a broadcast statement the Army and Air Force leaders refused to accept orders from General Francese (whom they held largely responsible for the rise of the Tupamaro guerrilla movement) and demanded his dismissal. They also demanded greater powers to fight against corruption in the Government and against "economic crimes". After conferring with Senor Walter Ravenna, the Minister of the Interior, President Bordaberry issued a statement in which he rejected the Generals' demands, assured them that he would himself fight against corruption, and asked the country's citizens to defend the constitutional institutions. Meanwhile naval units had sealed off the centre of Montevideo. On Feb. 9 the entire Cabinet offered their resignation, reportedly to give the President a free hard in dealing with the crisis. Senores Ravenna, Juan Carlos Blanco and Luis Balparda Blengio, respectively the Ministers of the Interior, Foreign Affairs and Industry, conferred with the Army and Air Force commanders, including General Esteban Cristi, head of the First Military Region; meanwhile a column of 30 tanks and motorized infantry had moved towards the centre of Montevideo. Later the same day President Bordaberry officially announced the resignation of General Francese. The Army and Air Force leaders, who were in control of all radio stations, broadcast on Feb. 10 a 19-point "political programme" containing demands for decisive action against corruption in the State and in private life; the setting-up of special courts with military participation; a rapid reduction of the country's foreign debt; drastic savings in foreign

currency expenditure; tax reforms; a comprehensive employment policy with preference for labour-intensive projects; support for small and medium-sized enterprises; improved distribution of national revenue; stricter public control of the means of production; land reform; the creation of instruments for action against monopolies; and encouragement of workers' participation in industry. The programme also included undertakings by the military not to intervene in trade union and student affairs except in extreme cases; to protect the country from "the influence of Marxist-Leninist doctrines"; and to respect all international treaties "except those forced upon the country". In addition to General Cristi, who commanded about one-half of Uruguay's Army of some 17,000 men, Colonel Ramon Brabal, head of the joint intelligence service, was held primarily responsible for the statements setting forth the armed forces' programme. Other influential leaders of the movement were General (retd.) Mario Aguerrondo and General Gregorio Alvarez, chief of the armed forces' joint staff. On Feb. 11 the Army and Air Force leaders reached an agreement with the Navy's leaders, whereby Rear-Admiral Juan Zorilla–who had declared on Feb. 8 that the Navy would defend President Bordaberry's Government "to the ultimate extremes" resigned as C.-in-C. of the Navy "to avoid armed clashes between the services" and was replaced by Lieut.-Commander Conrado Olazabal. As a result the naval units accepted the programme of the Army and Air Force leaders. At the same time the armed forces' leaders replaced General Martinez as C.-in-C. of the Army by General Hugo Chiappe Posse, who was the oldest-ranking officer and was regarded as a "hard-line right-winger". [HG: ***Keesing's*** Vol. 20, September 1974, notes that Posse was dismissed on May 21 "in what was interpreted as a move to the right by the armed forces, and was replaced by General Jukio Cesar Vadora, Uruguay's military attaché in Washington."] Following a meeting between President Bordaberry, Senores Ravenna and Balparda, and leading Air Force officers, Senor Ravenna declared on Feb. 12 that agreement had been reached on fundamental questions, and the military leaders confirmed on the same day that "the basis of complete agreement" had been reached. In the agreement, the terms of which were disclosed on Feb. 13, President Bordaberry accepted all demands made by the armed forces' leaders. Specifically, the President consented to (a) the establishment of a National security Council (CONASED), consisting of the commanders of the three armed services and the Ministers of Defence, the Interior, Foreign Affairs and the Economy, and functioning as an organ of military control over the administration; (b) the requirement of military approval for appointments to the Ministries of the Interior and Defence; (c) the replacement of a number of ambassadors and other foreign service officials accused of having enriched themselves; and (d) the political and economic programme as announced by the military leaders.

It was further disclosed on Feb. 14 that the armed forces had promised to uphold the Constitution and democratic institutions, and to guarantee that elections would be held in 1976 as planned. ... Following the agreement President Bordaberry reappointed his previous Cabinet on Feb. 13, except for General Francese, who was replaced as Minister of Defence by Senor Walter Ravenna; the latter's previous portfolio of the Interior was entrusted to Colonel Nestor Bolentini. ... The National security Council was formally established by presidential decree on Feb. 23, its secretary being General Gregorio Alvarez."

Military stages a coup in February 1973 that takes over many of the powers of government, but Bordaberry remains president. Rules dictatorially with the approval of the

military. *The New York Times*, June 13, 1976, p. 24. "Military in Uruguay Ousts President Over Policy Differences" notes that after the coup, "the President compromised with the military leaders who took over his major power. But Mr. Bordaberry was no puppet, his close associates said, and he frequently stood up to the generals on matters of importance. But he could not shape policy alone or assure protection of human rights."

Deposed when trying to extend his term of office. See also *The New York Times*, Jun. 13, 1976, p.24. *The New York Times*, Jun. 145, 1976, p.12. Electoral fraud alleged, later establishes autocratic rule; forced to resign. See also *The New York Times*, Sept.2, 1976, p.3: "Mr. Mendez, a 72 year-old constitutional lawyer, was the choice of Uruguay's senior military officers to replace Mr. Bordaberry, who was elected in 1971 but closed Congress in 1973 and governed with military backing. Mr. Bordaberry was forced to resign June 12 after a disagreement with the military chiefs, who announced publicly that they had withdrawn their support of him. He was replaced provisionally by Alberto Demichelli, the 80-year-old president of the Council of State, a 27-member body created to replace the Congress dissolved by Mr. Bordaberry."

For his ouster at the hands of the military, see also *The New York Times*, June 13, 1976, p. 24. "Military in Uruguay Ousts President Over Policy Differences." "MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay, June 12 (AP) – The armed forces ousted President Juan María Bordaberry today because of "irreconcilable differences" and replaced him with his 80-year-old vice president, Alberto Demicheli. Mr. Bordaberry had ruled under the thumb of the armed forces after he dissolved Congress three years ago in a military power play. Mr. Demichelli, a law professor, held the vice presidency as head of an appointed Council of State and was not elected to the office. The council had been named to replace Congress. Military sources said Mr. Demichelli would remain as President for 60 days while a special electoral council selects a new president. The electoral body would be composed of military officers and members of the Council of State, they said."

BBC News 24 December 2007. "Italy seeks Condor plot suspects," reports "Prosecutors in Italy have issued arrest warrants for 140 people over a decades-old plot by South American dictatorships called Operation Condor. ... Under Operation Condor, six governments worked together from the 1970s to hunt down and kill left-wing opponents. ... Among the other names on the list are the former Argentine military leader Jorge Rafael Videla, Argentine former naval chief admiral Emilio Eduardo Massera, and ex-Uruguayan junta leader Jorge Maria Bordaberry. Those named face charges ranging from lesser crimes to kidnappings and multiple murders. Under Operation Condor - thought to have been launched in 1975 and running into the 1980s - the six military governments agreed to co-operate in sending teams into other countries to track, monitor and kill their political opponents. As a result, many left-wing opponents of military regimes in the region who had fled to neighbouring countries found themselves hunted down in exile."

URU-1976-1 165 URU Demichelli 12/06/1976 01/09/1976

For his entry, see *The New York Times*, June 13, 1976, p. 24. "Military in Uruguay Ousts President Over Policy Differences." "MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay, June 12 (AP) – The armed forces ousted President Juan María Bordaberry today because of "irreconcilable differences" and replaced him with his 80-year-old vice president, Alberto Demicheli. ... Mr. Demichelli, a law professor, held the vice presidency as head of an appointed Council of State and was not elected to the office. The council had been named to replace

Congress. Military sources said Mr. Demichelli would remain as President for 60 days while a special electoral council selects a new president. The electoral body would be composed of military officers and members of the Council of State, they said."

Alberto Demichelli, VP, as head of an appointed Council of State, but not elected. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 22, August 1976. *The New York Times*, Jun. 13, 1976, p.24. Lentz. *The New York Times*, Sept.2, 1976, p.3: "[Bordaberry] was replaced provisionally by Alberto Demochelli, the 80-year-old president of the Council of State, a 27-member body created to replace the Congress dissolved by Mr. Bordaberry. But Mr. Demicheli reportedly refused to issue the decree demanded by the military that abolishes all of the traditional Uruguayan political parties, from the outlawed Communist Party to the moderate Colorado and National parties. So Mr. Méndez was chosen to carry out this task as a condition for becoming President for a five-year term." Demichelli succeeded Dr. Martin Echegoyen, as president of the Council of State when Echegoyen died on May 17, 1974. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 20, September 1974.

On the one hand, he was Vice President, and would therefore appear to take over constitutionally. On the other hand, this is done clearly at the direction of the military, who even attempt to proscribe his tenure in office. Based on the military's role in putting–permitting–him in office, we code this as an irregular entry.

For his exit, see also ***Keesing's*** Vol. 22, August 1976: "Shortly after assuming office President Demichelli announced on June 14 that he would relinquish the presidency within 70 days. Under an "institutional act" which he signed upon taking office a Council of the Nation would be created, comprising the 25 members of the Council of State and 21 high-ranking officers of the armed forces, to choose a new President for a five-year term. At the end of this time a joint presidential candidate would be put forward by Uruguay's two traditional parties, the National (Blanco) and Colorado parties. Under the same "institutional act" President Demichelli suspended the elections planned in the old constitution for November 1976. Dr Demichelli also said that Uruguay would eventually have a new constitution which would provide for the establishment of a two-chamber parliament, one chamber having elected and one appointed members. The new Council of the Nation came into being on June 27 and, as stated, selected Dr Mendez as the forthcoming new President."

Loses backing of military leadership which announces replacement, *The New York Times* 2 September, 1976, p. 3.

URU-1976-2 165 URU Mendez Manfredini 01/09/1976 01/09/1981

Lentz. Not a general. This is a difficult case, in his obituary he is described as a figurehead for the National Security Council "which was dominated by senior generals and commanders of the armed services. He held the presidency until 1981, when he was succeeded by a former military Commander in Chief, Gen. Gregorio Alvarez." Seriously ill since 1982. *The New York Times*, June 29, 1988, p. D25. For his entry, see *The New York Times*, Sept. 2, 1976, p.3, and also ***Keesing's*** Vol. 22, August 1976. *The New York Times*: "Mr. Demicheli reportedly refused to issue the decree demanded by the military that abolishes all of the traditional Uruguayan political parties, from the outlawed Communist Party to the moderate Colorado and National parties. So Mr. Méndez was chosen to carry out this task as a condition for becoming President for a five-year term." ***Keesing's*** Vol. 22, August 1976: "Dr Aparicio Mendez (72), a lawyer, was subsequently selected on July 14 by the newly-formed Council of the Nation to take

office as President on Sept. 1 for a five-year term." ***Keesing's*** also notes Medez was a former member of the Blanco party and Minister of Health from 1961 to 1964. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 24, August 1978 gives the following details on the real rulers of Uruguay: "In January 1978, the commanders of the Uruguayan Army and Air Force, respectively Lieut.-General Julio César Verdora and Brigadier-General Dante Paladini, retired from the armed forces in accordance with normal procedure and were replaced with effect from Feb. 1 by Lieut.-General Gregorio Alvarez (Army) and Brigadier-General Raul Bendahan Rabbione (Air Force). Although Uruguay's official head of state was Dr Aparicio Méndez, the junta of military commanders (which also included Vice-Admiral Hugo Márquez, the naval commander) had effectively controlled the country since President Bordaberry, Uruguay's last elected President, . . . "

Since Mendez does serve a full five-year term, we code him as losing office by the prevailing norms of term limits, and hence a "regular exit."

URU-1981 165 URU Alvarez Armalino 01/09/1981 01/03/1985

Lentz, General, former C. In-C of the Army. *The New York Times*, Apr 16, 1989, p.9. Placed in power after defeat of constitutional referendum. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 27, December 1981. "Gen. Alvarez (55) was sworn in as the "transitional" President for a 3-year term in succession to Dr Aparicio Mendez, whose five-year term had commenced in 1976. The designation of Gen. Alvarez, a former C.In-C. of the Army, had been announced on Aug. 1 after a four-day meeting of the Joint Council of the Armed Forces (comprising 21 high-ranking officers). It had also been approved by the Council of the Nation -a body comprising the members of the Joint Council plus the 25 (appointed) civilian members of the Council of State (set up in 1973 to replace the dissolved CongressA). Before the announcement of Gen. Alvarez's designation the Government at the end of July passed Institutional Act 11, which established that the presidential term would begin on Sept. 1 and would last 3 rather than five years, (ii) that there would be a gradual normalization of non left-wing party activities, and (iii) that the Council of State would by the end of August be expanded to 35 members, who would have somewhat broader powers than before. Members of the Council of State who were reappointed at the end of August included its president, Dr Hamlet Reyes. Gen. Alvarez assumed responsibility in 1971 for co-ordinating activities against the Tupamaro guerrillas; in 1973 he was responsible for drafting parts of the military political programme presented to President Bordaberry, notably those sections on land reform and action against monopolies , and the same year he he-came secretary of the National security Council (Cosena), which held the power of veto over the President. (The action of the armed forces culminated in the suspension of the parliamentary regime in June 1973 and the armed forces effectively taking control of the countryA-although President Bordaberry remained in office until 1976.) Gen. Alvarez became C.-in-C. of the Army in February 1978 before retiring from the armed forces a year later. According to statements made by Gen. Alvarez at his inauguration and at a subsequent press conference, presidential and legislative elections would be held in three years' time, in November 1984, and power would be transferred to civilians in March 1985. He further stated that a new constitution would be submitted to a referendum (also in November 1984), that a political parties statute and an electoral law would be drafted and the right to strike recognized, but that those parties regarded as Marxist-Leninist, "extremist" or opposed to democracy would continue to be illegal and that there would be no political amnesty for "those who have conspired against our state". He added that

the independence of the judiciary would be fully restored."

Keesing's Vol. 30, June 1984: "It was announced on Jan. 20 that Lt.-Gen. Pedro Aranco would be appointed C-in-C of the Army with effect from Feb. 1 to replace Gen. Boscan Hontou, who had held the command since 1982. Lt.-Gen. Aranco was a close associate of Gen. Alvarez."

URU-1985 165 URU Sanguinetti 01/03/1985 01/03/1990
Lentz.

URU-1990 165 URU Lacalle de Herrera 01/03/1990 01/03/1995

URU-1995 165 URU Sanguinetti 01/03/1995 01/03/2000

URU-2000 165 URU Jorge Batlle 02/03/2000 31/12/2004

Had been jailed under the military rule, figureheaded by Méndez. See *The New York Times*, Sept.2, 1976, p. 3. Dr. of Law, specializing in economic themes. Son of Luis Batlle Berres, and thus also related to Jose Battle y Ordonez, as well as his father Lorenzo Battle.

2.31 UNITED KINGDOM

UKG-1874 200 UKG Disraeli 20/02/1874 18/04/1880

UKG-1880 200 UKG Gladstone 28/04/1880 09/06/1885

UKG-1885 200 UKG Salisbury 24/06/1885 26/01/1886

UKG-1886-1 200 UKG Gladstone 03/02/1886 20/07/1886

UKG-1886-2 200 UKG Salisbury 03/08/1886 11/08/1892

UKG-1892 200 UKG Gladstone 16/08/1892 03/03/1894

UKG-1894 200 UKG Rosebery 06/03/1894 24/06/1895

UKG-1895 200 UKG Salisbury 28/06/1895 11/07/1902
Salisbury retires because of poor health, dies 22 August, 1903. (A little over year after out.)

UKG-1902 200 UKG Balfour 12/07/1902 04/12/1905

UKG-1905 200 UKG Campbell-Bannerman 10/12/1905 06/04/1908
Heart attack in November 1907. Continued failing health. Resigns from House of Commons because of a bout of influenza. Resigns first week of April. Dies in London April 22.

UKG-1908 200 UKG Asquith 06/04/1908 05/12/1916

UKG-1916 200 UKG Lloyd-George 10/12/1916 19/10/1922

UKG-1922 200 UKG Bonar Law 24/10/1922 20/05/1923
Inoperable throat cancer, steps down from office May 20, 1923, Dies in London, October 30, 1923. natural death.

UKG-1923 200 UKG Baldwin 27/05/1923 22/01/1924

UKG-1924-1 200 UKG MacDonald 23/01/1924 04/11/1924

UKG-1924-2 200 UKG Baldwin 06/11/1924 04/06/1929

UKG-1929 200 UKG MacDonald 08/06/1929 07/06/1935

UKG-1935 200 UKG Baldwin 07/06/1935 28/05/1937

UKG-1937 200 UKG Chamberlin 28/05/1937 10/05/1940
Lost support of Parliament. Stayed in Churchill's government, until poor health and several intestinal operations forced his retirement in October 1, 1940. He died on November 9, 1940

UKG-1940 200 UKG Churchill 10/05/1940 27/07/1945

UKG-1945 200 UKG Atlee 27/07/1945 26/10/1951

UKG-1951 200 UKG Churchill 26/10/1951 05/04/1955

UKG-1955 200 UKG Eden 06/04/1955 09/01/1957

Lentz says he retired from office for reasons of health on January 10, 1957. Died 14 January, 1977, of cancer of the liver.

UKG-1957 200 UKG MacMillan 10/01/1957 18/10/1963

UKG-1963 200 UKG Douglas-Home 18/10/1963 16/10/1964

UKG-1964 200 UKG Wilson 16/10/1964 19/06/1970

UKG-1970 200 UKG Heath 19/06/1970 04/03/1974

UKG-1974 200 UKG Wilson 04/03/1974 05/04/1976

UKG-1976 200 UKG Callaghan 05/04/1976 04/05/1979

UKG-1979 200 UKG Thatcher 04/05/1979 28/11/1990

UKG-1990 200 UKG Major 28/11/1990 02/05/1997

UKG-1997 200 UKG Blair 02/05/1997 31/12/2004

De Telegraaf (prominent Dutch newspaper) reports (16 December 2007, "Blair verdient fortuin met lezingen") that after he stepped down, Tony Blair earns about 1 million Euro per month by giving speeches. He gives about five speeches a month, for fees ranging from 140,000 to 200,000 Euro. Last month, apparently, British media learned that Blair received 340,000 Euro for a 20 minutes speech in China. The article also reports that in the last four years Bill Clinton earned 21 million Euro with speeches.

2.32 IRELAND

IRE-1919 205 IRE de Valera 01/04/1919 05/12/1921

IRE-1922-1 205 IRE Griffith 10/01/1922 12/08/1922
Cerebral hemorrhage while on route to his office.

IRE-1922-2 205 IRE Collins 12/08/1922 22/08/1922
Ambushed by rebels, shot and killed. *The New York Times* 23 August, 1922, p. 1.

IRE-1922-3 205 IRE Cosgrave, W. 09/09/1922 09/03/1932

IRE-1932 205 IRE de Valera 09/03/1932 18/02/1948

IRE-1948 205 IRE Costello 18/02/1948 13/06/1951

IRE-1951 205 IRE de Valera 13/06/1951 02/06/1954

IRE-1954 205 IRE Costello 02/06/1954 20/03/1957

IRE-1957 205 IRE de Valera 20/03/1957 23/06/1959

IRE-1959 205 IRE LeMass 23/06/1959 10/11/1966

IRE-1966 205 IRE Lynch 10/11/1966 14/03/1973

IRE-1973 205 IRE Cosgrave, L. 14/03/1973 05/07/1977
Son of William Cosgrave, 1922–1932.

IRE-1977 205 IRE Lynch 05/07/1977 11/12/1979

IRE-1979 205 IRE Haughey 11/12/1979 30/06/1981

IRE-1981 205 IRE Fitzgerald 30/06/1981 09/03/1982

IRE-1982-1 205 IRE Haughey 09/03/1982 14/12/1982

IRE-1982-2 205 IRE Fitzgerald 14/12/1982 10/03/1987

IRE-1987 205 IRE Haughey 10/03/1987 11/02/1992

IRE-1992 205 IRE Reynolds 11/02/1992 15/12/1994

IRE-1994 205 IRE Bruton 15/12/1994 26/06/1997

IRE-1997 205 IRE Ahern 26/06/1997 31/12/2004
BBC News, Wednesday, 2 April 2008 "Ahern to resign as Irish premier." `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/northern_ireland/7326343.stm`

"Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahern has announced he is to resign on 6 May. Mr Ahern, 56, has been taoiseach since June 1997 and has been a member of the Irish Parliament for 31 years. The announcement comes a day after Mr Ahern began a court challenge

to limit the work of a public inquiry probing planning corruption in the 1990s. The tribunal is probing Mr Ahern's personal finances. Mr. Ahern has been leader of Fianna Fáil since 1994 and heads the coalition government. Mr Ahern told a news conference he would tender his resignation as both taoiseach and Fianna Fáil leader on 6 May. ... Mr Ahern said he had nothing to fear from on-going inquiries about his finances at the tribunal into planning corruption. ... Mr Ahern will be remembered for his role in the negotiations leading up to the Good Friday Agreement of 1998. When the talks at Stormont were in their crucial final stages, he returned from his mother's funeral to rejoin the negotiations. He said on Wednesday: "The Good Friday Agreement now provides the political framework for the island to meet its full political potential." Mr Ahern has been the most successful politician in the Republic of Ireland since Eamon De Valera, winning three elections. He is Ireland's second-longest serving taoiseach. BBC Northern Ireland political editor Mark Devenport described Mr Ahern's impending departure as "death by a thousand cuts". "Bertie Ahern was coming under increasing pressure from the Mahon Tribunal," he said. "I think he felt this wouldn't go away, and, if he didn't give a date for his departure, the Dublin media, in particular, would be relentless.""

2.33 NETHERLANDS

NTH-1874 210 NTH Heemskerk, JA 27/08/1874 03/11/1877

NTH-1877 210 NTH Kappeye van de Coppello 03/11/1877 11/08/1879

NTH-1879 210 NTH van Lynden 20/08/1879 23/04/1883

NTH-1883 210 NTH Heemskerk, J.A. 23/04/1883 21/04/1888

NTH-1888 210 NTH Mackay 21/04/1888 21/08/1891

NTH-1891 210 NTH van Tienhoven 21/08/1891 07/05/1894

NTH-1894 210 NTH Roell 09/05/1894 27/07/1897

NTH-1897 210 NTH Pierson 27/07/1897 01/08/1901

NTH-1901 210 NTH Kuyper 01/08/1901 16/08/1905

NTH-1905 210 NTH de Meester 16/08/1905 11/02/1908

NTH-1908 210 NTH Heemskerk, T 12/02/1908 25/08/1913

NTH-1913 210 NTH van der Linden 29/08/1913 03/07/1918

NTH-1918 210 NTH de Beerenbrouck 09/09/1918 30/06/1925

NTH-1925 210 NTH Colijn 04/08/1925 08/03/1926

NTH-1926 210 NTH de Geer 08/03/1926 02/07/1929

NTH-1929 210 NTH de Beerenbrouck 10/08/1929 25/04/1933

NTH-1933 210 NTH Colijn 26/05/1933 27/07/1939
Taken into custody soon after the German invasion of the Netherlands in May. Subsequently imprisoned, died during the occupation of a heart ailment, September 18, 1944. arrested 30/6/1941.

NTH-1939 210 NTH de Geer 10/08/1939 14/05/1940
Flees the German invasion, accompanies the Queen to London. Goes to Indonesia, defects from the government-in-exile and returns to Holland. After he war fined and sentenced to a year in prison, but suspended. Lentz 1999, p. 312.

NTH-1945 210 NTH Schermerhorn 24/06/1945 17/05/1946

NTH-1946 210 NTH Beel 03/07/1946 07/07/1948

NTH-1948 210 NTH Drees 07/08/1948 22/12/1958

NTH-1958 210 NTH Beel 22/12/1958 19/05/1959

NTH-1959 210 NTH de Quay 19/05/1959 15/05/1963

NTH-1963 210 NTH Marijnen 24/07/1963 26/02/1965

NTH-1965 210 NTH Cals 27/04/1965 14/10/1966

NTH-1966 210 NTH Zijlstra 22/11/1966 15/02/1967

NTH-1967 210 NTH De Jong 03/04/1967 29/04/1971

NTH-1971 210 NTH Biesheuvel 06/07/1971 11/05/1973

NTH-1973 210 NTH den Uyl 11/05/1973 19/12/1977

NTH-1977 210 NTH van Agt 19/12/1977 04/11/1982

NTH-1982 210 NTH Lubbers 04/11/1982 22/08/1994

NTH-1994 210 NTH Kok 22/08/1994 22/07/2002

After his exit, numerous profitable commissariats. In 2006, he earned 235.000 euro, a 18% raise compared to 2005. Source: Telegraaf, 10 April, 2007. "Inkomen oud-premier Kok stijgt met 18%"

NTH-2002 210 NTH Jan Peter Balkenende 22/07/2002 31/12/2004

Jan Peter Balkenende was born on 7 May 1956.

2.34 BELGIUM

BEL-1871 211 BEL Jules Malou 07/12/1871 19/06/1878

BEL-1878 211 BEL Walthere Frere-Orban 19/06/1878 16/06/1884

BEL-1884-1 211 BEL Jules Malou 16/06/1884 26/10/1884

BEL-1884-2 211 BEL Francois Beernaert 26/10/1884 26/03/1894
Auguste Marie Franois Beernaert

BEL-1894 211 BEL de Burlet 26/03/1894 25/02/1896
Jules Philippe Marie de Burlet. 25 February 1896, appointed Minister of State. Dies 1 March 1897.

BEL-1896 211 BEL Paul de Smet de Nayer 25/02/1896 24/01/1899

BEL-1899-1 211 BEL Julius Vandenpeereboom 24/01/1899 05/08/1899

BEL-1899-2 211 BEL Paul de Smet de Nayer 05/08/1899 02/05/1907

BEL-1907 211 BEL Jules de Trooz 02/05/1907 31/12/1907 "Sudden death."

BEL-1908 211 BEL Frans Schollaert 09/01/1908 17/06/1911

BEL-1911 211 BEL Charles, baron de Broqueville 17/06/1911 01/08/1914
Exile, France.

BEL-1914-1 211 BEL Von der Golt 26/08/1914 27/11/1914
German administrator

BEL-1914-2 211 BEL Von Bissing 27/11/1914 18/04/1917.
German administrator. *The New York Times*, April 19, 1917, p. 15 "General Von Bissing Dies in Belgium" records "...according to a Brussels dispatch, General von Bissing, German Governor General in Belgium died Wednesday evening [which would have been the 18th, HG]. Owing to his illness the Emperor had appointed General von Zwehl as his successor pro tem. General Baron Moritz Ferdinand von Bissing was appointed Governor General of Belgium in November, 1914, in succession to General von der Goltz. He was born in 1844. ...He had been ill off and ... on for more than a year."

BEL-1917 211 BEL Von Falkenhausen 18/04/1917 11/11/1918.
German administrator

BEL-1918-1 211 BEL Geraard Cooreman 11/11/1918 13/11/1918

BEL-1918-2 211 BEL Delacroix 22/11/1918 03/11/1920

BEL-1920 211 BEL de Wiart 18/11/1920 19/11/1921

BEL-1921 211 BEL Theunis 15/12/1921 05/04/1925

BEL-1925-1 211 BEL van der Vyvere 13/05/1925 22/05/1925

BEL-1925-2 211 BEL Poullet 17/06/1925 06/05/1926
"Forced to resign due to poor health." Lentz. Died December 3, 1937.

BEL-1926 211 BEL Jasper 20/05/1926 21/05/1931

BEL-1931 211 BEL Renkin 05/06/1931 18/10/1932

BEL-1932 211 BEL Charles, baron de Broqueville 22/10/1932 13/11/1934

BEL-1934 211 BEL Theunis 19/11/1934 19/03/1935

BEL-1935 211 BEL van ZeeLand 26/03/1935 25/10/1937

BEL-1937 211 BEL Janson 24/11/1937 13/05/1938
Served as minister of foreign affairs from Jan until Feb 1939, and named minister of Justice in April 1939. Remained in the cabinet until Belgium was conquered in 1940. He escaped to Nice, where he was arrested by the Gestapo in 1943; imprisoned in Fresnes France and later Weimar, where he died on July 4, 1944.

BEL-1938 211 BEL Spaak 15/05/1938 09/02/1939
See Lentz and website fondationspaak.org. Nephew of Paul-Emile Janson, above. Foreign minister 3 September 1939. Belgium invaded 10 May 1940. Leaves Vichy with Paul Henri Pierlot on 24 August 1940. Arrives in England 24 October.

BEL-1939 211 BEL Pierlot 09/02/1939 28/05/1940
Flees the German invasion, Lentz 1999, p. 48. Leaves Vichy with Paul Henri Pierlot on 24 August 1940. Arrives in England 24 October.

BEL-1944 211 BEL Pierlot 03/09/1944 07/02/1945

BEL-1945 211 BEL van Acker 11/02/1945 18/02/1946

BEL-1946-1 211 BEL Spaak 12/03/1946 21/03/1946

BEL-1946-2 211 BEL van Acker 31/03/1946 09/07/1946

BEL-1946-3 211 BEL Huysman 02/08/1946 12/03/1947

BEL-1947 211 BEL Spaak 19/03/1947 28/06/1949

BEL-1949 211 BEL Eyskens, G. 10/08/1949 18/03/1950

BEL-1950-1 211 BEL Duvieusart 08/06/1950 11/08/1950

BEL-1950-2 211 BEL Pholien 15/08/1950 09/01/1952

BEL-1952 211 BEL van Houtte 15/01/1952 12/04/1954

BEL-1954 211 BEL van Acker 22/04/1954 02/06/1958

BEL-1958 211 BEL Eyskens, G. 25/06/1958 27/03/1961

BEL-1961 211 BEL Lefevre 25/04/1961 27/07/1965

BEL-1965 211 BEL Harmel 27/07/1965 11/02/1966

BEL-1966 211 BEL Vanden Boeynants 19/03/1966 16/06/1968
Accused of tax fraud and forgery in 1986, given a three-year suspended sentence. Kidnapped in January 1989, held for a moth until his family paid a multimillion ransom.

BEL-1968 211 BEL Eyskens, G. 17/06/1968 26/01/1973
Even though Lentz has him out on 22/11/1972, Lentz also notes that Leburton "was appointed to replace Eyskens as head of a three-party coalition government on January 26, 1973." That date is also in accordance with `www.rulers.org`.

BEL-1973 211 BEL Leburton 26/01/1973 24/04/1974

BEL-1974 211 BEL Tindemans 25/04/1974 20/10/1978

BEL-1978 211 BEL Vanden Boeynants 20/10/1978 03/04/1979
Accused of tax fraud and forgery in 1986, given a three-year suspended sentence. Kidnapped in January 1989, held for a moth until his family paid a multimillion ransom.

BEL-1979 211 BEL Martens 03/04/1979 06/04/1981

BEL-1981-1 211 BEL Eyskens, M. 06/04/1981 17/12/1981
Born, 29 April 1933, in Leuven (Louvain). Son of Gaston Eyskens, earlier Premier (see above). Economist, studied law, economics and philosophy at Leuven and Columbia University (NY), became docent and professor at the Catholic University Leuven.

BEL-1981-2 211 BEL Martens 17/12/1981 07/03/1992

BEL-1992 211 BEL Dehaene 07/03/1992 12/07/1999

BEL-1999 211 BEL Verhofstadt 12/07/1999 31/12/2004

2.35 LUXEMBOURG

LUX-1874 212 LUX Felix de Blochausen 26/12/1874 20/02/1885

LUX-1885 212 LUX Edouard Thilges 20/02/1885 22/09/1888

LUX-1888 212 LUX Paul Eyschen 22/09/1888 12/10/1915

LUX-1915-1 212 LUX Mathias Mongenast 12/10/1915 06/11/1915

LUX-1915-2 212 LUX Hubert Loutsch 06/11/1915 24/02/1916

LUX-1916 212 LUX Victor Thorn 24/02/1916 19/06/1917

LUX-1917 212 LUX Leon Kauffman 19/06/1917 28/09/1918

LUX-1918 212 LUX Reuter 28/09/1918 01/03/1925

LUX-1925 212 LUX Prum 01/03/1925 01/07/1926

LUX-1926 212 LUX Bech 16/07/1926 19/10/1937
Goes into exile with the government-in-exile in Paris after the German occupation in May 1940, then again goes with them to London.

LUX-1937 212 LUX Dupong 05/11/1937 10/05/1940
Flees the German invasion, first exile in Paris, then London after Germans occupy first Luxembourg then France. Lentz 1999, p. 296.

LUX-1945 212 LUX Dupong 09/05/1945 22/12/1953
Dies of a heart attack in a hospital, after breaking a leg, on December 22, 1953.

LUX-1953 212 LUX Bech 28/12/1953 26/03/1958

LUX-1958 212 LUX Frieden 31/03/1958 23/02/1959
Dies in Zurich.

LUX-1959 212 LUX Werner 07/03/1959 27/05/1974

LUX-1974 212 LUX Thorn G. 15/06/1974 19/07/1979

LUX-1979 212 LUX Werner 19/07/1979 20/07/1984

LUX-1984 212 LUX Santer 20/07/1984 20/01/1995

LUX-1995 212 LUX Juncker 20/01/1995 31/12/2004

2.36 FRANCE

FRN-1874 220 FRN Cissey 22/05/1874 25/02/1875
Leaves at date where the National Assembly gives the republic constitution.

FRN-1875 220 FRN Buffet 10/03/1875 21/02/1876

FRN-1876-1 220 FRN DuFaure 22/02/1876 12/12/1876

FRN-1876-2 220 FRN Simon 12/12/1876 16/05/1877
Jules Suisse (dit Jules Simon). Ousted, through maneuverings by President Mac-Mahon, who gets the Senate to vote him out. (Mac-Mahon, born 1808, dies 1893. Pres. 24 May 1873-30 Jan 1879.) This is described in French sources as the Coup d'État of 16 May. See `http://fr.encarta.msn.com/media`

FRN-1877-1 220 FRN Broglie 18/05/1877 23/11/1877

FRN-1877-2 220 FRN Rochebouet 23/11/1877 12/12/1877

FRN-1877-3 220 FRN DuFaure 14/12/1877 30/01/1879
OK. That's the date MacMahon falls.

FRN-1879-1 220 FRN Waddington 04/02/1879 21/12/1879

FRN-1879-2 220 FRN Freycinet 29/12/1879 19/09/1880

FRN-1880 220 FRN Ferry 22/09/1880 10/11/1881

FRN-1881 220 FRN Gambetta 14/11/1881 26/01/1882
Overthrown in January 1882. Policies unpopular with almost all political factions. Dies 31 December 1882. Peritonitis.

FRN-1882-1 220 FRN Freycinet 31/01/1882 29/07/1882

FRN-1882-2 220 FRN Duclerc 08/08/1882 28/01/1883

FRN-1883-1 220 FRN Fallieres 29/01/1883 18/02/1883

FRN-1883-2 220 FRN Ferry 19/02/1883 30/03/1885

FRN-1885 220 FRN Brisson 06/04/1885 29/12/1885

FRN-1886-1 220 FRN Freycinet 07/01/1886 03/12/1886

FRN-1886-2 220 FRN Goblet 16/12/1886 17/05/1887

FRN-1887-1 220 FRN Rouvier 29/05/1887 19/11/1887

FRN-1887-2 220 FRN Tirard 11/12/1887 03/04/1888

FRN-1888 220 FRN Floquet 03/04/1888 21/02/1889

FRN-1889 220 FRN Tirard 21/02/1889 13/03/1890

FRN-1890 220 FRN Freycinet 17/03/1890 20/02/1892

FRN-1892-1 220 FRN Loubet 27/02/1892 29/11/1892

FRN-1892-2 220 FRN Ribot 06/12/1892 04/04/1893

FRN-1893-1 220 FRN Dupuy 04/04/1893 25/11/1893

FRN-1893-2 220 FRN Casimir-Perier 03/12/1893 22/05/1894

FRN-1894 220 FRN Dupuy 30/05/1894 14/01/1895

FRN-1895-1 220 FRN Ribot 27/01/1895 28/10/1895

FRN-1895-2 220 FRN Bourgeois 01/11/1895 22/04/1896
Resigns.

FRN-1896 220 FRN Meline 29/04/1896 14/06/1898

FRN-1898-1 220 FRN Brisson 27/06/1898 25/10/1898

FRN-1898-2 220 FRN Dupuy 31/10/1898 12/06/1899

FRN-1899 220 FRN Waldeck-Rousseau 22/06/1899 28/05/1902
Lentz: Resigns from office for reasons of health. Dies August 10, 1904. "Le 3 juin 1902, trs affecté par la maladie, Waldeck-Rousseau démissionne aprs avoir désigné Émile Combes sa succession." Ill health, resigned.

FRN-1902 220 FRN Combes 07/06/1902 19/01/1905

FRN-1905 220 FRN Rouvier 24/01/1905 07/03/1906

FRN-1906-1 220 FRN Sarrien 12/03/1906 18/10/1906

FRN-1906-2 220 FRN Clemenceau 28/10/1906 20/07/1909

FRN-1909 220 FRN Briand 24/07/1909 24/02/1911

FRN-1911-1 220 FRN Monis 04/03/1911 22/06/1911
Attending an airplane race when a plane crashes on top of him. War Minister Berteaux was killed and Monis's thigh broken. He attempts to govern from his sick bed, but was forced to step down.

FRN-1911-2 220 FRN Caillaux 27/06/1911 10/01/1912
Arrested and jailed in January (4), 1918, three years in jail for communicating with the enemy during the war.

FRN-1912 220 FRN Poincare 14/01/1912 18/01/1913

FRN-1913-1 220 FRN Briand 18/01/1913 18/03/1913

FRN-1913-2 220 FRN Barthou 24/03/1913 02/12/1913
While foreign minister in 1935, killed while unsuccessfully attempting to thwart the assassination of the Yugoslavian King Alexander I by a Croatian terrorist in Marseilles, October 9, 1934.

FRN-1913-3 220 FRN Doumergue 08/12/1913 04/06/1914

FRN-1914 220 FRN Viviani 09/06/1914 29/10/1915

FRN-1915 220 FRN Briand 29/10/1915 17/03/1917

FRN-1917-1 220 FRN Ribot 20/03/1917 07/09/1917

FRN-1917-2 220 FRN Painleve 12/09/1917 13/11/1917

FRN-1917-3 220 FRN Clemenceau 16/11/1917 19/01/1920

FRN-1920-1 220 FRN Millerand 19/01/1920 03/09/1920

FRN-1920-2 220 FRN Leygues 03/09/1920 16/01/1921

FRN-1921 220 FRN Briand 16/01/1921 16/01/1922

FRN-1922 220 FRN Poincare 16/01/1922 08/06/1924

FRN-1924-1 220 FRN Francois-Marsat 08/06/1924 14/06/1924
Found guilty of having misused funds of a charitable organization that he was director of in 1935, and fined and sentenced to 18 months in prison.

FRN-1924-2 220 FRN Herriot 14/06/1924 17/04/1925

FRN-1925-1 220 FRN Painleve 17/04/1925 02/11/1925

FRN-1925-2 220 FRN Briand 29/11/1925 20/07/1926

FRN-1926-1 220 FRN Herriot 20/07/1926 24/07/1926
During the Second World War, criticism of the Vichy government resulted in arrest and deportation to Germany until 1945.

FRN-1926-2 220 FRN Poincare 24/07/1926 28/07/1929

FRN-1929-1 220 FRN Briand 28/07/1929 11/10/1929

FRN-1929-2 220 FRN Poincare 11/10/1929 02/11/1929

FRN-1929-3 220 FRN Tardieu 02/11/1929 21/02/1930

FRN-1930-1 220 FRN Chautemps 21/02/1930 02/03/1930

First cooperates with Vichy, vice premier in June 1940, then on a mission to the US, breaks with Vichy. Still tried and convicted in absentia for collaborating with the enemy.

FRN-1930-2 220 FRN Tardieu 02/03/1930 13/12/1930

FRN-1930-3 220 FRN Steeg 13/12/1930 27/01/1931

FRN-1931 220 FRN Laval 27/01/1931 23/02/1932

FRN-1932-1 220 FRN Tardieu 23/02/1932 04/06/1932

FRN-1932-2 220 FRN Herriot 04/06/1932 20/12/1932

FRN-1932-3 220 FRN Paul-Boncour 20/12/1932 31/01/1933

FRN-1933-1 220 FRN Daladier 31/01/1933 24/10/1933
Interned by Vichy, then deported to Germany in 1943, liberated by US troops in 1945.

FRN-1933-2 220 FRN Sarraut 24/10/1933 22/11/1933 Arrested and deported to Germany in 1944.

FRN-1933-3 220 FRN Chautemps 22/11/1933 30/01/1934

FRN-1934-1 220 FRN Daladier 30/01/1934 09/02/1934
Interned by Vichy, then deported to Germany in 1943, liberated by US troops in 1945.

FRN-1934-2 220 FRN Doumergue 09/02/1934 10/11/1934

FRN-1934-3 220 FRN Flandin 10/11/1934 30/05/1935
Foreign minister in Vichy for two months. After the war sentenced to five years of national indignity for collaborating with Vichy. Suspended.

FRN-1935-1 220 FRN Bouissin 01/06/1935 04/06/1935
Supported Vichy, imprisoned after the war.

FRN-1935-2 220 FRN Laval 07/06/1935 25/01/1936

FRN-1936-1 220 FRN Sarraut 25/01/1936 03/06/1936
Arrested and deported to Germany in 1944.

FRN-1936-2 220 FRN Blum 03/06/1936 23/06/1937
Imprisoned by Vichy and Nazis until 1945.

FRN-1937 220 FRN Chautemps 23/06/1937 12/03/1938

FRN-1938-1 220 FRN Blum 12/03/1938 10/04/1938
Imprisoned by Vichy and Nazis until 1945.

FRN-1938-2 220 FRN Daladier 10/04/1938 21/03/1940

FRN-1940-1 220 FRN Reynaud 21/03/1940 11/06/1940

Arrested by Vichy and remained in captivity throughout the war. Resigned, arrested & jailed by Vichy in 9/1940.

FRN-1940-2 220 FRN Pétain 17/06/1940 18/04/1942

Arrested by the Germans in 1944, and taken to Germany. After the war, imprisoned. Forced to flee with Germans in 44. Jailed in France.

FRN-1942 220 FRN Laval 18/04/1942 17/08/1944

For entry date: fr.encarta.com. Enters Pétain's Vichy government as premier on July 11, 1940, Pétain dismisses him in December 1940, later arrested and imprisoned until the Germans arrange his release. Gets back into power. Attempts suicide in prison after the war, shot to death for treason October 15, 1945.Withdrew with Germans; exile Switzerland; shot in France 15/10/1945. Encyclopedia Britannica records: "When, in April 1942, the Germans forced Pétain to take Laval back as premier, he himself [e.g. Pétain, HG] withdrew into a purely nominal role. Yet he balked at resigning, convinced that, if he did, Hitler would place all of France directly under German rule."

FRN-1944 220 FRN De Gaulle 10/09/1944 20/01/1946

FRN-1946-1 220 FRN Gouin 26/01/1946 12/06/1946

FRN-1946-2 220 FRN Bidault 24/06/1946 28/11/1946

FRN-1946-3 220 FRN Blum 16/12/1946 16/01/1947

FRN-1947-1 220 FRN Ramadier 22/01/1947 19/11/1947

FRN-1947-2 220 FRN Schuman 24/11/1947 19/07/1948

FRN-1948-1 220 FRN Marie 27/07/1948 27/08/1948

FRN-1948-2 220 FRN Schuman 31/08/1948 08/09/1948

FRN-1948-3 220 FRN Queuille 13/09/1948 06/10/1949

FRN-1949 220 FRN Bidault 28/10/1949 24/06/1950

FRN-1950-1 220 FRN Queuille 30/06/1950 04/07/1950

FRN-1950-2 220 FRN Pleven 11/07/1950 28/02/1951

FRN-1951-1 220 FRN Queuille 09/03/1951 10/07/1951

FRN-1951-2 220 FRN Pleven 08/08/1951 08/01/1952

FRN-1952-1 220 FRN Faure 18/01/1952 29/02/1952

FRN-1952-2 220 FRN Pinay 07/03/1952 23/12/1952

FRN-1953-2 220 FRN Mayer 07/01/1953 21/05/1953

FRN-1953-1 220 FRN Laniel 26/06/1953 12/06/1954

FRN-1954 220 FRN Mendes-France 18/06/1954 05/02/1955

FRN-1955 220 FRN Faure 23/02/1955 19/01/1956

FRN-1956 220 FRN Mollet 31/01/1956 13/06/1957

FRN-1957-1 220 FRN Bourges-Maunory 13/06/1957 05/11/1957

FRN-1957-2 220 FRN Gaillard 06/11/1957 13/05/1958

FRN-1958-1 220 FRN Pflimin 14/05/1958 31/05/1958

FRN-1958-2 220 FRN De Gaulle 01/06/1958 27/04/1969

FRN-1969-1 220 FRN Poher 27/04/1969 20/06/1969

FRN-1969-2 220 FRN Pompidou 20/06/1969 02/04/1974
Dies of cancer of the bone marrow.

FRN-1974-1 220 FRN Poher 02/04/1974 27/05/1974

FRN-1974-2 220 FRN Giscard D'Estaing 27/05/1974 21/05/1981

FRN-1981 220 FRN Mitterand 21/05/1981 17/05/1995

FRN-1995 220 FRN Chirac 17/05/1995 31/12/2004

2.37 SWITZERLAND

Annual rotating Chairmanship of Executive Council.

SWZ-1875 225 SWZ Scherer 01/01/1875 31/12/1875

SWZ-1876 225 SWZ Welti 01/01/1876 31/12/1876

SWZ-1877 225 SWZ Heer 01/01/1877 31/12/1877

SWZ-1878 225 SWZ Schenck 01/01/1878 31/12/1878

SWZ-1879 225 SWZ Hammer 01/01/1879 31/12/1879

SWZ-1880 225 SWZ Welti 01/01/1880 31/12/1880

SWZ-1881 225 SWZ Droz 01/01/1881 31/12/1881

SWZ-1882 225 SWZ Bavier 01/01/1882 31/12/1882

SWZ-1883 225 SWZ Ruchonnet 01/01/1883 31/12/1883

SWZ-1884 225 SWZ Welti 01/01/1884 31/12/1884

SWZ-1885 225 SWZ Schenck 01/01/1885 31/12/1885

SWZ-1886 225 SWZ Deucher 01/01/1886 31/12/1886

SWZ-1887 225 SWZ Droz 01/01/1887 31/12/1887

SWZ-1888-1 225 SWZ Hertenstein 01/01/1888 27/11/1888
Natural Death.

SWZ-1888-2 225 SWZ Hammer 27/11/1888 31/12/1889

SWZ-1890 225 SWZ Ruchonnet 01/01/1890 31/12/1890

SWZ-1891 225 SWZ Welti 01/01/1891 31/12/1891

SWZ-1892 225 SWZ Hauser 01/01/1892 31/12/1892

SWZ-1893 225 SWZ Schenck 01/01/1893 31/12/1893

SWZ-1894 225 SWZ Frey 01/01/1894 31/12/1894

SWZ-1895 225 SWZ Zemp 01/01/1895 31/12/1895

SWZ-1896 225 SWZ Lachenal 01/01/1896 31/12/1896

SWZ-1897 225 SWZ Deucher 01/01/1897 31/12/1897

SWZ-1898 225 SWZ Ruffy 01/01/1898 31/12/1898

SWZ-1899 225 SWZ Muller 01/01/1899 31/12/1899

SWZ-1900 225 SWZ Hauser 01/01/1900 31/12/1900

SWZ-1901 225 SWZ Brenner 01/01/1901 31/12/1901

SWZ-1902 225 SWZ Zemp 01/01/1902 31/12/1902

SWZ-1903 225 SWZ Deucher 01/01/1903 31/12/1903

SWZ-1904 225 SWZ Comtesse 01/01/1904 31/12/1904

SWZ-1905 225 SWZ Ruchet 01/01/1905 31/12/1905

SWZ-1906 225 SWZ Forrer 01/01/1906 31/12/1906

SWZ-1907 225 SWZ Muller 01/01/1907 31/12/1907

SWZ-1908 225 SWZ Brenner 01/01/1908 31/12/1908

SWZ-1909 225 SWZ Deucher 01/01/1909 31/12/1909

SWZ-1910 225 SWZ Comtesse 01/01/1910 31/12/1910

SWZ-1911 225 SWZ Ruchet 01/01/1911 31/12/1911

SWZ-1912 225 SWZ Forrer 01/01/1912 31/12/1912

SWZ-1913 225 SWZ Muller 01/01/1913 31/12/1913

SWZ-1914 225 SWZ Hoffman 01/01/1914 31/12/1914

SWZ-1915 225 SWZ Motta 01/01/1915 31/12/1915

SWZ-1916 225 SWZ Decoppet 01/01/1916 31/12/1916

SWZ-1917 225 SWZ Schulthess 01/01/1917 31/12/1917

SWZ-1918 225 SWZ Calonder 01/01/1918 31/12/1918

SWZ-1919 225 SWZ Ador 01/01/1919 31/12/1919

SWZ-1920 225 SWZ Motta 01/01/1920 31/12/1920

SWZ-1921 225 SWZ Schulthess 01/01/1921 31/12/1921

SWZ-1922 225 SWZ Haab 01/01/1922 31/12/1922

SWZ-1923 225 SWZ Scheurer 01/01/1923 31/12/1923

SWZ-1924 225 SWZ Chuard 01/01/1924 31/12/1924

SWZ-1925 225 SWZ Musy 01/01/1925 31/12/1925

SWZ-1926 225 SWZ Haberlin 01/01/1926 31/12/1926

SWZ-1927 225 SWZ Motta 01/01/1927 31/12/1927

SWZ-1928 225 SWZ Schulthess 01/01/1928 31/12/1928

SWZ-1929 225 SWZ Haab 01/01/1929 31/12/1929

SWZ-1930 225 SWZ Musy 01/01/1930 31/12/1930

SWZ-1931 225 SWZ Haberlin 01/01/1931 31/12/1931

SWZ-1932 225 SWZ Motta 01/01/1932 31/12/1932

SWZ-1933 225 SWZ Schulthess 01/01/1933 31/12/1933

SWZ-1934 225 SWZ Golaz 01/01/1934 31/12/1934

SWZ-1935 225 SWZ Minger 01/01/1935 31/12/1935

SWZ-1936 225 SWZ Meyer 01/01/1936 31/12/1936

SWZ-1937 225 SWZ Motta 01/01/1937 31/12/1937

SWZ-1938 225 SWZ Baumann 01/01/1938 31/12/1938

SWZ-1939 225 SWZ Etter 01/01/1939 31/12/1939

SWZ-1940 225 SWZ Golaz 01/01/1940 31/12/1940

SWZ-1941 225 SWZ Wetter 01/01/1941 31/12/1941

SWZ-1942 225 SWZ Etter 01/01/1942 31/12/1942

SWZ-1943 225 SWZ Celio 01/01/1943 31/12/1943

SWZ-1944 225 SWZ Stampfli 01/01/1944 31/12/1944

SWZ-1945 225 SWZ von Steiger 01/01/1945 31/12/1945

SWZ-1946 225 SWZ Kobelt 01/01/1946 31/12/1946

SWZ-1947 225 SWZ Etter 01/01/1947 31/12/1947

SWZ-1948 225 SWZ Celio 01/01/1948 31/12/1948

SWZ-1949 225 SWZ Nobs 01/01/1949 31/12/1949

SWZ-1950 225 SWZ Petipierre 01/01/1950 31/12/1950

SWZ-1951 225 SWZ von Steiger 01/01/1951 31/12/1951

SWZ-1952 225 SWZ Kobelt 01/01/1952 31/12/1952

SWZ-1953 225 SWZ Etter 01/01/1953 31/12/1953

SWZ-1954 225 SWZ Rubattel 01/01/1954 31/12/1954

SWZ-1955 225 SWZ Petipierre 01/01/1955 31/12/1955

SWZ-1956 225 SWZ Feldmann 01/01/1956 31/12/1956

SWZ-1957 225 SWZ Streuli 01/01/1957 31/12/1957

SWZ-1958 225 SWZ Holenstein 01/01/1958 31/12/1958

SWZ-1959 225 SWZ Chaudet 01/01/1959 31/12/1959

SWZ-1960 225 SWZ Petipierre 01/01/1960 31/12/1960

SWZ-1961 225 SWZ Friedrich 01/01/196 1 31/12/1961

SWZ-1962 225 SWZ Chaudet 01/01/1962 31/12/1962

SWZ-1963 225 SWZ Spuhler 01/01/1963 31/12/1963

SWZ-1964 225 SWZ von Moos 01/01/1964 31/12/1964

SWZ-1965 225 SWZ Tschudi 01/01/1965 31/12/1965

SWZ-1966 225 SWZ Schaffner 01/01/1966 31/12/1966

SWZ-1967 225 SWZ Bonvin 01/01/1967 31/12/1967

SWZ-1968 225 SWZ Spuhler 01/01/1968 31/12/1968

SWZ-1969 225 SWZ von Moos 01/01/1969 31/12/1969

SWZ-1970 225 SWZ Tschudi 01/01/1970 31/12/1970

SWZ-1971 225 SWZ Gnagi 01/01/1971 31/12/1971

SWZ-1972 225 SWZ Celio 01/01/1972 31/12/1972

SWZ-1973 225 SWZ Bonvin 01/01/1973 31/12/1973

SWZ-1974 225 SWZ Brugger 01/01/1974 31/12/1974

SWZ-1975 225 SWZ Graber 01/01/1975 31/12/1975

SWZ-1976 225 SWZ Gnagi 01/01/1976 31/12/1976

SWZ-1977 225 SWZ Furgler 01/01/1977 31/12/1977

SWZ-1978 225 SWZ Ritschard 01/01/1978 31/12/1978

SWZ-1979 225 SWZ Hurlimann 01/01/1979 31/12/1979

SWZ-1980 225 SWZ Chevallaz 01/01/1980 31/12/1980

SWZ-1981 225 SWZ Furgler 01/01/1981 31/12/1981

SWZ-1982 225 SWZ Honegger 01/01/1982 31/12/1982

SWZ-1983 225 SWZ Aubert 01/01/1983 31/12/1983

SWZ-1984 225 SWZ Schlumpf 01/01/1984 31/12/1984

SWZ-1985 225 SWZ Furgler 01/01/1985 31/12/1985

SWZ-1986 225 SWZ Egli 01/01/1986 31/12/1986

SWZ-1987 225 SWZ Aubert 01/01/1987 31/12/1987

SWZ-1988 225 SWZ Stich 01/01/1988 31/12/1988

SWZ-1989 225 SWZ Delamuraz 01/01/1989 31/12/1989

SWZ-1990 225 SWZ Koller 01/01/1990 31/12/1990

SWZ-1991 225 SWZ Cotti 01/01/1991 31/12/1991

SWZ-1992 225 SWZ Felber 01/01/1992 31/12/1992

SWZ-1993 225 SWZ Ogi 01/01/1993 31/12/1993

SWZ-1994 225 SWZ Stich 01/01/1994 31/12/1994

SWZ-1995 225 SWZ Villiger 01/01/1995 31/12/1995

SWZ-1996 225 SWZ Delamuraz 01/01/1996 31/12/1996

SWZ-1997 225 SWZ Koller 01/01/1997 31/12/1997

SWZ-1998 225 SWZ Cotti 01/01/1998 31/12/1998

SWZ-1999 225 SWZ Dreifuss 1/1/1999 31/12/1999.
Female.

SWZ-2000 225 SWZ Ogi 1/1/2000 31/12/2000

SWZ-2001 225 SWZ Leuenberger 1/1/2001 31/12/2001

SWZ-2002 225 SWZ Villiger 1/1/2002 31/12/2002

SWZ-2003 225 SWZ Pascal Couchepin 01/01/2003 31/12/2003
He was born in 1942

SWZ-2004 225 SWZ Joseph Deiss 01/01/2004 31/12/2004
He was born in 1946.

2.38 SPAIN

SPN-1874 230 SPN del Castillo 30/12/1874 10/09/1875

SPN-1875-1 230 SPN Jovellar 11/09/1875 02/12/1875

SPN-1875-2 230 SPN del Castillo 02/12/1875 07/03/1879

SPN-1879-1 230 SPN Martinez-Campos 07/03/1879 09/12/1879

SPN-1879-2 230 SPN del Castillo 09/12/1879 08/02/1881

SPN-1881 230 SPN Sagasta 08/02/1881 13/10/1883

SPN-1883 230 SPN Herrera 13/10/1883 18/01/1884

SPN-1884 230 SPN del Castillo 18/01/1884 27/11/1885

SPN-1885 230 SPN Sagasta 27/11/1885 05/07/1890

SPN-1890 230 SPN del Castillo 05/07/1890 11/12/1892

SPN-1892 230 SPN Sagasta 11/12/1892 23/03/1895

SPN-1895 230 SPN del Castillo 23/03/1895 08/08/1897
Assassinated.

SPN-1897-1 230 SPN Azcarraga y Palmero 08/08/1897 04/10/1897

SPN-1897-2 230 SPN Sagasta 04/10/189 7 05/03/1899

SPN-1899 230 SPN Le-Vielleuze 05/03/1899 22/10/1900

SPN-1900 230 SPN Azcarraga y Palmero 22/10/1900 26/02/1901

SPN-1901 230 SPN Sagasta 26/02/1901 6/12/1902
Dies January 5, 1903 in Madrid. Gastric problems and bronchitis. Did NOT resign for health reasons. Had planned to simply retire. *The New York Times*, Jan 6, 1903, p.2.

SPN-1902 230 SPN Le-Vielleuze 6/12/1902 20/07/1903

SPN-1903-1 230 SPN Villaverde 20/07/1903 6/12/1903

SPN-1903-2 230 SPN Maura y Montaner 6/12/1903 16/12/1904

SPN-1904 230 SPN Azcarraga y Palmero 16/12/1904 27/01/1905

SPN-1905-1 230 SPN Villaverde 27/01/1905 23/06/1905.
Dies July 15, 1905. No info on whether he resigned due to ill health, but doubtful. Es.encarta.msn.com notes that he dies weeks after leaving the government, with no mention of ill health.

SPN-1905-2 230 SPN Rios 23/06/1905 1/12/1905

SPN-1905-3 230 SPN Moret y Prendergast 1/12/1905 5/7/1906

SPN-1906-1 230 SPN Dominguez 5/7/1906 30/11/1906

SPN-1906-2 230 SPN Moret y Prendergast 30/11/1906 4/12/1906

SPN-1906-3 230 SPN Aguilar y Correa 4/12/1906 24/01/1907

SPN-1907 230 SPN Maura y Montaner 24/01/1907 21/10/1909

SPN-1909 230 SPN Moret y Prendergast 21/10/1909 9/2/1910

SPN-1910 230 SPN Canalejas y Mendez 9/2/1910 12/11/1912.
Assassinated by an anarchist.

SPN-1912-1 230 SPN Figueroa y Torres 12/11/1912 15/11/1912

SPN-1912-2 230 SPN Garcia Prieto 15/11/1912 27/10/1913

SPN-1913 230 SPN Dato y Iradier 27/10/1913 9/12/1915

SPN-1915 230 SPN Figueroa y Torres 9/12/1915 19/04/1917

SPN-1917-1 230 SPN Garcia Prieto 19/04/1917 11/6/1917

SPN-1917-2 230 SPN Dato y Iradier 11/6/1917 3/11/1917

SPN-1917-3 230 SPN Garcia Prieto 3/11/1917 22/03/1918

SPN-1918-1 230 SPN Maura y Montaner 22/03/1918 9/11/1918

SPN-1918-2 230 SPN Garcia Prieto 9/11/1918 5/12/1918

SPN-1918-3 230 SPN Figueroa y Torres 5/12/1918 14/04/1919

Serves as speaker of the senate under de Rivera from 1923 to 1930. Arrested in 1936 following the start of the Spanish Civil war and allowed to go into exile in France. Es.encarta.com says he resigned under pressure from a strike in Barcelona. Boston Daily Globe, April 15, 1919, p. 20 reports "Washington, April 14-Communication facilities throughout Spain were reported restored to normal in a Madrid dispatch today to the State Department. Martial law has been suspended at Valencia and Alicante and conditions at Barcelona and elsewhere, where strikes had taken place, were reported improved." Lentz has him "ousted by a military junta." Clearly an irregular exit, we follow es.encarta.com and code this as a removal by domestic popular protests without foreign support.

SPN-1919-1 230 SPN Maura y Montaner 14/04/1919 20/07/1919

Boston Daily Globe, April 15, 1919, p. 5 reports "Antonio Maura, who several times has held the post of Premier of Spain, has agreed to form another Cabinet to succeed

that of Count Romanones, which resigned today. ... On April 1, Count Romanones was credited with the intention of again resigning as soon as the political and industrial situation cleared."

SPN-1919-2 230 SPN de Toca 20/07/1919 12/12/1919

SPN-1919-3 230 SPN Allende Salazar 12/12/1919 5/5/1920

SPN-1920 230 SPN Dato y Iradier 5/5/1920 8/3/1921.
Assassinated by two anarchists. *The New York Times* 10 March, 1921, p. 2; Lentz 1999, p. 410.

SPN-1921-1 230 SPN Araugo 8/3/1921 12/3/1921

SPN-1921-2 230 SPN Allende Salazar 13/03/1921 14/08/1921

SPN-1921-3 230 SPN Maura y Montaner 14/08/1921 8/3/1922

SPN-1922-1 230 SPN Sanchez Guerra 8/3/1922 5/12/1922
Cabinet falls, and King tries a more liberal prime minister (*Washington Post* 6-12-1922, p. 6). Preciously little information what causes the fall of the government. Lentz (1999, p. 411) mentions this is doing of Primo de Rivera, but he would hardly appreciated replacing a conservative PM with a liberal one. Since the king is the ultimate source of authority, I code this as change brought about by other domestic government actor. Exile.

SPN-1922-2 230 SPN Garcia Prieto 5/12/1922 14/9/1923.
Military uprising starts on Sept 13, *The New York Times* 14 September, 1923, p. 1.

SPN-1923 230 SPN de Rivera 14/09/1923 28/01/1930
Lentz: Primo de Rivera resigned on January 28, 1930, and retired to France. He died suddenly of an embolism brought on by a diabetic condition in his Paris hotel room on March 6, 1930.Es.encarta.com also says he resigns, and goes into exile. Lost support of the army, exile.

SPN-1930 230 SPN Berenguer 30/01/1930 14/02/1931
Lentz: "Berenguer was called up to head the government after the resignation of de Rivera." .... Berenguer was arrested soon after Alfonso forced to vacate the throne 14 April, 1931 ... successfully defended." Es.encarta.com also says arrested and imprisoned. Three months later arrested.

SPN-1931-1 230 SPN Aznar-Cabanas 18/02/1931 14/04/1931
Es.encarta.com says he was named president of the council by the King. Cabinet resigns and King abdicates after municipal elections that were universially understood as plebiscit in favor of a republic. Coded as domestic popular protest, because it is the threat of a revolutionary uprising that the King and cabinet seek to preempt through their decision. *The New York Times* 14 April, 1931, p. 1 & 4-15, p. 1. Afterwards, becomes President. Deposed as President by the Cortes on April 7. 1935, and sent into exile then, first France, later Argentina.

SPN-1931-2 230 SPN Alcala Zamora 14/04/1931 14/10/1931

SPN-1931-3 230 SPN Azana y Diez 14/10/1931 8/9/1933
Arrested 10/34, acquitted.

SPN-1933-1 230 SPN Lerroux y Garcia 12/9/1933 3/10/1933

SPN-1933-2 230 SPN Martinez Barro 9/10/1933 16/12/1933

SPN-1933-3 230 SPN Lerroux y Garcia 16/12/1933 15/04/1934.
Forced to step down.

SPN-1934-1 230 SPN Ibanez 28/04/1934 1/10/1934

SPN-1934-2 230 SPN Lerroux y Garcia 10/10/1934 20/10/1935

SPN-1935-1 230 SPN Chapaprieta 25/10/1935 9/12/1935

SPN-1935-2 230 SPN Portela 31/12/1935 19/02/1936

SPN-1936-1 230 SPN Azana y Diez 19/02/1936 11/5/1936.
Exile, Paris.

SPN-1936-2 230 SPN Casares Quiroga 13/05/1936 19/07/1936

SPN-1936-3 230 SPN Martinez Barro 19/07/1936 19/07/1936

SPN-1936-4 230 SPN Giral y Pereyra 19/07/1936 4/9/1936

SPN-1936-5 230 SPN Largo Caballero 4/9/1936 15/05/1937
Lentz: A leftist uprising in Barcelona in May 1937 resulted in the Communists leaving the coalition, and Largo Caballero was forced to resign on May 15,1937. He fled into exile in France as Franco's nationalists took control of the country in 1939. See also *Christian Science Monitor*, May 15, 1937, p.1, which notes his resignation. es.encarta.com says resigned and exile in January 1939, later imprisoned in a concentration camp by the Germans. Post tenure fate remains OK. Because exiled more than a year after out. For him being OK, through Jan, see *The New York Times*, Jan. 6, 1938, p.2. Also Wikipedia: `http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Largo_Caballero`.

SPN-1937 230 SPN Negrin 18/05/193 7 5/3/1939
Republican military coup against prime minister for fear of too much Soviet influence, Lentz 1999, p. 415; *The New York Times* 6 March, 1939, p. 1.

SPN-1939-1 230 SPN Miaja 5/3/1939 28/03/1939
Jose Miaja Menant. Exile, first in North Africa, then Mexico. Es.encarta.com suggests that he entered power irregularly. "En los primeros días de marzo de 1939 apoyó al coronel Segismundo Casado en su golpe militar contra el gobierno presidido por Juan Negrín y pasó a presidir el Consejo de Defensa Nacional creado al efecto. El 28 de ese mismo mes se dirigio al norte de Africa tras el fracaso de los intentos de negociar la paz con el general Francisco Franco, principal dirigente de los insurrectos. Dos meses después se

estableció en México, desde donde participó en distintos organismos republicanos en el exilio. Falleció en 1958 en la ciudad de México." Forced out by military defeat. This is coded as a rebel victory with foreign aid, given the prominent role that German support played on the Nationalist side. Lentz 1999, p. 415.

SPN-1939-2 230 SPN Franco 1/4/1939 30/10/1975

SPN-1975-1 230 SPN Juan Carlos 1/11/1975 8/11/1975

SPN-1975-2 230 SPN Arias Navarro 9/11/1975 1/7/1976

SPN-1976 230 SPN Suarez Gonzalez 1/7/1976 25/02/1981

SPN-1981 230 SPN Calvo-Sotelo 25/02/1981 2/12/1982

SPN-1982 230 SPN Gonzalez Marquez 2/12/1982 5/5/1996

SPN-1996 230 SPN Aznar 05/05/1996 17/04/2004

SPN-2004 230 SPN Rodriguez Zapatero 17/04/2004 31/12/2004

2.39 PORTUGAL

In Portugal, starting with Eanes, the president can serve at most two consecutive terms.

POR-1861 235 POR Luis I 11/11/1861 19/10/1889

Second son of Maria II da Gloria (who ruled 3 Mar 1828 – 11 Jul 1828, and 26 May 1834 – 15 Nov 1853) and Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg Gotha. Brother of Pedro V (who ruled 15 Nov 1853 – 11 Nov 1861) and Ferdinand (who ruled 19 Dec 1853 – 16 Sep 1855).

POR-1889 235 POR Carlos I 19/10/1889 1/2/1908

The son of King Luís and of Maria Pia of Savoy, daughter of Vittorio Emanuele II of Italy, he married Marie Amélie of Orléans, a granddaughter of the French king Louis-Philippe, in 1886 and succeeded his father on Oct. 19, 1889. Shot by two radical Republicans, together with his son the Crown Prince. assassinated.

POR-1908 235 POR Manuel II 1/2/1908 5/10/1910

Exile in London. Second eldest son of Carlos I.

POR-1910 235 POR Braga 5/10/1910 24/08/1911

POR-1911 235 POR Arriaga 24/08/1911 29/05/1915

POR-1915-1 235 POR Braga 29/05/1915 5/10/1915

POR-1915-2 235 POR Machado Guimaraes 5/10/1915 8/12/1917

Bernadino Machado. "To Dissolve Parliament, President is Arrested." "... The president of the republic, Bernadiono Machado, was asked to resign, but declined to do so. He was then informed that he could consider himself under arrest."

The *Washington Post*, Dec. 11, 1917, p. 3 "Portugal to Stand by Allies in War." Reports: "Germany, it was announced in a proclamation issued by Maj. Paes, the artillery officer who led the revolutionary forces to victory in their movement which has just ousted the Costa government from power. Dr. Alfonso Costa, head of theold government and its minister of foreign affairs, was arrested in Opporto on his return from the interallied conference in Paris. ... Paris, Dec. 10-It does no appear that President Machado of Portugal has been removed from office as a result of the revolution. The revolutionary movement seems to have been brought about by republicans opposed to Premier Costa and his ministerial regime, and to the monarchists." Lentz notes, by the way, that Costa is arrested, imprisoned for four months then exiled.

The *Washington Post*, Dec. 12, 1917, p. 1 "German Hand Seen in Lisbon Revolt," notes "Dr. Sidonio Paes, who fomented the revolution, the Matin's correspondent says, has put under lock and key the revered President Machado and Premier Costa, the two men to whom Portugal's entry into the war on the side of the allies is due."

The *Washington Post*, December 16, 1917, p. ES1. "Revolution in Portugal Victory for the Kaiser; Entente Likely to Act." "By Ex-Attache. For Maj. Sidonio Paes, who organized the coup d'état, overthrew President Machado and who has succeeded in establishing himself as chief magistrate of the nation in his stead, was the minister plenipotentiary of his country for several years at Berlin, remaining there from 1911 until Portugal was drawn into the war, some eighteen months ago. Paes, before embarking upon a diplomatic career, had been a professor of mathematics of considerable note at

the University of Coimbra, ... Prof. Paes left Berlin with unfeigned sorrow and the utmost reluctance, publicly deploring and condemning the policy of his government-that is to say, of President Machado. Paes on his return to Lisbon at once severed his connection with the diplomatic services. But instead of resuming his teaching of mathematics at the university, he adopted the profession of arms, obtained a commission in the army, and made his way up to the rank of major. ... As soon as ever Paes secured a commission in the army, he set to work to organize the military rising by means of which he has now attained the presidency of the republic. Large sums of money were placed by ermany at his disposal to win over the poverty-stricken, debt-ridden officers and men, whose pay, even though so ridiculously small, was always, and sometimes years, in arrears. ... The imprisoned former president, concerning whose ultimate fate apprehensions are entertained .... Unlike all the other republican statesmen in Portugal who are for the most part politicians of the carpetbag order, dependent upon office and upon graft for a living, Barnardino Machcado is a man of great wealth-that is to say, for a Portuguese-his fortune being estimated at considerably over $5,000,000."

I conclude that he is removed by domestic military actors without foreign support. Exiled, to Madrid and Paris: *Christian Science Monitor*, December, 18, 1917, p. 2. See also The Atlanta Constitution, December 15, 1917, p. 4 "Ex-President Machado Expelled by Portugal. Deposed Executive Must Live Abroad Until His Term Expires."

POR-1917 235 POR Paes 8/12/1917 14/12/1918

Major Paes, military, indeed, artillery officer. For his entry, see: The *Washington Post*, Dec. 11, 1917, p. 3 "Portugal to Stand by Allies in War."

For his background, see The *Washington Post*, December 16, 1917, p. ES1. "Revolution in Portugal Victory for the Kaiser; Entente Likely to Act." "By Ex-Attache. No credence whatsoever need be accorded to the assurances of continued loyalty to the cause of the entente tendered by the new revolutionary government of Portugal. For Maj. Sidonio Paes, who organized the coup d'état, overthrew President Machado and who has succeeded in establishing himself as chief magistrate of the nation in his stead, was the minister plenipotentiary of his country for several years at Berlin, remaining there from 1911 until Portugal was drawn into the war, some eighteen months ago. Paes, before embarking upon a diplomatic career, had been a professor of mathematics of considerable note at the University of Coimbra, and as a pedagogue, found himself in his element in the scientific and learned circles of that pseudo-classical capital of the kaisers, which has been so graphically described as the Athens on the Spree. ... when, last year the Kaiser declared war upon Portugal for the latter's action in commandeering the German liners lying at anchor in the Tagus, Prof. Paes left Berlin with unfeigned sorrow and the utmost reluctance, publicly deploring and condemning the policy of his government-that is to say, of President Machado. Paes on his return to Lisbon at once severed his connection with the diplomatic services. But instead of resuming his teaching of mathematics at the university, he adopted the profession of arms, obtained a commission in the army, and made his way up to the rank of major. ... As soon as ever Paes secured a commission in the army, he set to work to organize the military rising by means of which he has now attained the presidency of the republic. Large sums of money were placed by Germany at his disposal to win over the poverty-stricken, debt-ridden officers and men, whose pay, even though so ridiculously small, was always, and sometimes years, in arrears. ... The imprisoned former president, concerning whose ultimate fate apprehensions are enter-

tained .... Unlike all the other republican statesmen in Portugal who are for the most part politicians of the carpetbag order, dependent upon office and upon graft for a living, Barnardino Machcado is a man of great wealth-that is to say, for a Portuguese-his fortune being estimated at considerably over $5,000,000."

Survives one assassination attempt (The Altlanta Constitution, Dec. 8, 1918, p. 14 "Effort made to kill Portugal President.") Assassinated week later by a Democratic fanatic. Boston Daily Globe, Dec. 16, 1918, p.1 "President of Portugal Slain." Boston Daily Globe, Dec. 16, 1918, p 4 "Minister of Interior Assumes Presidency." Reports: "Paris, Dec. 15-According to a Havas dispatch from Lisbon, Tamagnini Barbosa, the Minister of the Interior, has assumed the Presidency."

POR-1918 235 POR Joao Canto e Castro 16/12/1918 5/10/1919

POR-1919 235 POR Almeida 5/10/1919 6/8/1923

POR-1923 235 POR Gomes 6/8/1923 11/12/1925

Resigned from office for reasons of health, and subsequently retired to Bougie, Algeria, where he died on October 18, 1941.

POR-1925 235 POR Machado Guimaraes 16/12/1925 28/05/1926

Provincial military uprising, eventually spreads to Lisbon, New York Times 31 May, 1926, p. 1. Exile in France

POR-1926 235 POR Carmona 28/05/1926 5/7/1932.

Leads a coup d'état with General Manuel de Oliveira Gomes da Costa and Commander José Mendes Cabecadas. Lentz lists him as "in power" only from November 29 on, but since he leads the coup, we put him in on the date of the coup.

POR-1932 235 POR Salazar 5/7/1932 16/09/1968

Stroke.

POR-1968 235 POR Caetano 27/09/1968 25/04/1974

Military coup. *The New York Times* 26 April, 1974, p. 1. Sent into exile in Brazil

POR-1974-1 235 POR Spinola 25/04/1974 30/09/1974

He is leader of the coup that overthrows Caetano. Implicated in an unsuccessful coup in March of 1975, and went into exile in Brazil and Switzerland, when he returned to Portugal, he was arrested. He was released and went back into exile in August of 1976. (Lentz) See also: *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 17, 1976, p.6. He was detained in Caxias prison for two days of question, then set free. For his initial exile, see The *Washington Post*, Sept. 14, 1975, p.22. So, jailed, after more than a year after out of power, hence coded as exile.

POR-1974-2 235 POR Costa Gomes 30/09/1974 23/07/1976.

On his entry into power, see *The New York Times*, Oct. 1, 1974, p.10. He's the highest military person left when Spinola resigns. Was second ranking member of the Junta of National Salvation. His entry is regular in the sense that he took no action of an irregular nature to claim the post, it more or less fell in his lap. Dies July 31, 2001. On him, see *The New York Times*, Aug 1., 2001, p. A15.

POR-1976 235 POR Eanes 23/07/1976 9/3/1986

POR-1986 235 POR Soares 9/3/1986 9/3/1996

POR-1996 235 POR Sampaio 9/3/1996 31/12/2002

2.40 BAVARIA

Becomes part of the German Empire 16 April 1871.

BAV-1864 245 BAV Ludwig II 10/03/1864 16/04/1871

See de.encarta.com. From 1875 lives completely withdrawn at his castles and makes no more public appearances. Declared mentally incompetent on 9 June 1886, on the 10th his Uncle Luitpold takes up the Regency, on 13 June Ludwig and his doctor drown under never explained circumstances.

2.41 GERMANY

GMY-1858 255 GMY Wilhelm I 07/10/1858 09/03/1888

Two (failed) attempts on Kaiser Wilhelm in 1878. See *The New York Times*, Jan. 1. 1879, p.2. *The New York Times* reports that the second attempt in the first week of September led to wounds so severe that the Emperor had to resign the Government into the hands of the Crown Prince until he reassumed his powers on December 5."

GMY-1888-1 255 GMY Friedrich III 09/03/1888 15/06/1888

Takes the throne already deadly ill from throat cancer. Dies after a rule of 99 days from the cancer. Son of Wilhelm I

GMY-1888-2 255 GMY Wilhelm II 15/06/1888 9/11/1918

Exile in Netherlands. Son of Friedrich III, grandson of Wilhelm I.

GMY-1918 255 GMY Ebert 9/11/1918 11/2/1919

GMY-1919-1 255 GMY Scheidemann 12/2/1919 20/06/1919

Forced to flee to Czechoslovakia, then Copenhagen, Denmark, when Hitler came to power

GMY-1919-2 255 GMY Bauer 21/06/1919 26/03/1920

Kapp putsch to restore the monarchy fails.

GMY-1920-1 255 GMY Muller 27/03/1920 8/6/1920

GMY-1920-2 255 GMY Fehrenback 25/06/1920 4/5/1921

GMY-1921 255 GMY Wirth 10/5/1921 14/11/1922

Goes into exile in the 30's first Paris, then when the Nazis come into power, to Switzerland.

GMY-1922 255 GMY Cuno 22/11/1922 12/8/1923

GMY-1923-1 255 GMY Stresemann 13/08/1923 23/11/1923

Withstands several insurrections, and the Hitler coup attempt. Remains foreign minister until sudden heart attack in Berlin, October 3, 1929.

GMY-1923-2 255 GMY Marx 30/11/1923 15/12/1924

GMY-1925 255 GMY Luther 15/01/1925 12/5/1926

GMY-1926 255 GMY Marx 16/05/1926 12/6/1928

GMY-1928 255 GMY Muller 28/06/1928 27/03/1930

GMY-1930 255 GMY Bruning 30/03/1930 30/05/1932

Flees the country in June 1934, during Hitler's purge, first to England, then US. Exile.

GMY-1932-1 255 GMY Papen 1/6/1932 17/11/1932

Hitler's purge June 30, 1934, he is detained at his office for several days (many of his closest associated killed). Sent to Austria as ambassador in August. Then ambassador to Turkey. Tried at Nuremberg, acquitted. In 1947 tried by a German court, and convicted of being a major Nazi, sentenced to 8 years, but reclassified as a secondary figure and released in January 1949.Detained in 06/1934

GMY-1932-2 255 GMY Schleicher 3/12/1932 28/01/1933

Together with his wife, killed by the SS, June 29, 1934. More than a year after out of office. Assassinated 06/1934.

GMY-1933 255 GMY Hitler 30/01/1933 30/04/1945

Commits suicide. We code this as a case of resignation due to ill health. Ironic but closest to the truth. Post tenure fate is censored and missing.

GMY-1945 255 GMY Doenitz 30/04/1945 23/05/1945

Germany surrenders to the Allied forces. Ten years in prison.

2.42 GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

GFR-1949 260 GFR Adenauer 16/09/1949 15/10/1963

GFR-1963 260 GFR Erhard 16/10/1963 1/12/1966

GFR-1966 260 GFR Kiesinger 1/12/1966 21/10/1969

GFR-1969 260 GFR Brandt 22/10/1969 6/5/1974

GFR-1974 260 GFR Schmidt 16/05/1974 1/10/1982

GFR-1982 260 GFR Kohl 1/10/1982 27/10/1998

GFR-1998 260 GFR Schroder 27/10/1998 31/12/2004

2.43 GERMANY (DDR)

GDR-1946 265 GDR Wilhelm Pieck 22/04/1946 25/07/1950

GDR-1950 265 GDR Ulbricht 25/07/1950 3/5/1971

GDR-1971 265 GDR Honecker 3/5/1971 18/10/1989.

Keesing's says, "A visit by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to the German Democratic Republic (GDR–East Germany) for the country's 40th anniversary on Oct. 7 acted as the catalyst for the resignation on Oct. 18 of the East German leader Erich Honecker after 18 years in power." And: "At a special session of the 163-member central committee on Oct. 18 Honecker, 77, resigned ostensibly for "health reasons" (he had recently undergone surgery). as SED general secretary, Chairman of the Council of State and chairman of the National Defence Council. At the suggestion of the politburo Egon Krenz, 52, was elected SED general secretary, with his appointment to Honecker's other posts to be confirmed by the Volksversammlung (parliament). Krenz had long been viewed as Honecker's hardline protégé and his career followed a similar path."

Honeker had had surgery in August to remove gallstone, and had only returned to the political scene on Sept. 25. And: "As announced on Jan. 15 Erich Honecker , the former head of state, and Erich Mielke, the former head of the secret police, were to be charged with treason. Honecker had undergone surgery for a malignant kidney tumour on Jan. 10 and was briefly arrested upon leaving hospital on Jan. 29, being released on Jan. 30 because he still needed medical attention." (***Keesing's*** Vol. 36, 1990, January, Europe, East Germany.)

Admitted to a Soviet military hospital in April 1990. The non-communist government of East Germany attempts to arrest him in December 1990, but Soviet authorities claim his is too ill to leave the hospital and refused to turn him over. He goes to Moscow following the reunification of East and West. On May 15, charged with ordering border guards to kill fleeing Germans. Takes refuge in Chilean embassy in Moscow. Was returned to Germany to stand trial, released by the Berlin Constitutional Court on the grounds of poor health. Subsequently goes into exile in Chile. Dies there, May 29, 1994. Hence briefly arrested, and some form of exile. SU mil hospital April 1990. Attempted arrest.

GDR-1989-1 265 GDR Krenz 18/10/1989 3/12/1989

Sentenced to six-and-a-half years' imprisonment on August 25, 1997, for his role in the death of people who had been shot whilst trying to flee over the Berlin Wall. He's taken into immediate police custody. (***Keesing's*** Vol. 93, 1997, August) Released on September 11, pending appeal. Sentence upheld, begins serving sentence in January 2000. Released from prison on December 18, 2003. Krenz is in Moscow Dec 3-4, resigns as Chairman of the Council of State on Dec. 6. (***Keesing's*** Vol. 35, 1989, December.) "Leading role" of the party abolished 1 December 1989.

GDR-1989-2 265 GDR Gysi 9/12/1989 3/10/1990.

Reunification. GDR goes out of business.

2.44 BADEN

Becomes part of the German Empire on 16 April 1871.

BAD-1852 267 BAD Friedrich I 24/04/1852 16/4/1871
Dies 28/09/1907.

2.45 WÜRTTEMBERG

Becomes part of the German Empire on 16 April 1871.

WRT-1864 271 WRT Karl 25/06/1864 16/4/1871
Dies 06/10/1891.

2.46 HESSE-DARMSTADT

Becomes part of the German Empire on 16 April 1871.

HSD-1848 275 HSD Ludwig III 16/06/1848 16/4/1871
Dies 13/06/1877

2.47 POLAND

POL-1918-1 290 POL Daszynski 11/11/1918 13/11/1918

POL-1918-2 290 POL Pildsudski 14/11/1918 9/12/1922

POL-1922-1 290 POL Narutowicz 9/12/1922 18/12/1922
Shot by an insane artist, *The New York Times* 17 December, 1922, p. 1; Lentz 1999, p. 347.

POL-1922-2 290 POL Wojciechowski 20/12/1922 12/5/1926.
Removed in an army coup, *The New York Times* 13 May, 1926, p. 1. Ewa Hauser (University of Rochester, Polish Studies Center): Wojciechowski was an old pal of Pilsudski from the Polish Socialist Party. Pilsudski did not throw him into jail following the coup that removed W from power. He continued to write and publish–one was published in 1936 (happens to be after Pilsudski's death-but I guess its unrelated) on agricultural cooperatives. In 1938 he published "My memories" a book of his memoirs. He lived in a village in an estate of Wladyslaw Grabski and then in a small house in Ochota-a working class district of Warsaw. He survived the War there and died in 1953.

POL-1926 290 POL Pildsudski 12/5/1926 12/5/1935
Lentz: Recalled to Warsaw by Wojciechowski in mid-1925. Pilsudski led troops on Warsaw in May 1926, and after several days of fighting, he forced the creation of a new government. See also *Christian Science Monitor*, May 12, 1926, p.1. *Washington Post*, May 13, 1926, p.1. Liver cancer. For his obit see The *Washington Post*, May 13, 1935, p.1 "Pilsudski Dies."

POL-1935 290 POL Smigly-Rydz 12/5/1935 18/09/1939
Herz writes: "In Poland, upon Pilsudsky's death, the president merely had to confirm the new strong man, Smigly-Rydz, in the position of inspector-general of the armed forces to which he had been appointed by one of Pilsudski's last acts." (John. H. Herz, The Problem of Successorship in Dictatorial Regimes; A Study in Comparative Law and Institutions, in *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 14, No. 1, February 1952: 19-40, pp.24-25.) Herz' account seems supported by The *Washington Post* of May 13, 1935, p. 1, see also The *Washington Post*, May 14, 1935, p. 3 "Report Spread Pilsudski Left Political Will." His entry is regular, since he is appointed by Pilsudski

The *The New York Times*, Nov. 17, 1935, p. E6 "Hail Rydz-Smigly as Pilsudski's Heir." Notes "Poles Once More Pin Hopes on Army Leader to Preserve Nation From Enemies. . . . Warsaw, Nov. 15.-This year's Polish Independence Day celebration on Nov. 11 was even more of an army show than when Marshal Josef Pilsudski lived. . . . General Edward Rydz-Smigly, as inspector general of Poland's armed forces and commander-in-chief in wartime, is not only the nation's first soldier but also, next to the President, her first citizen. Last Monday he occupied the stand on Mokotow Field, where Marshal Pilsudski's bent shoulders and aquiline profile were watched so many years by admiring thousands. Cheers for the new leader were hardly less cordial and spontaneous than they used to be for the elderly dictator. General Rydz-Smigly's portrait decorated the streets of Warsaw, alongside pictures of the late Marshal and President Gnaz Moscicki. . . . Monday's parade, when for the first time the army marched past General Rydz-Smigly

instead of Marshal Pilsudski, was a public manifestation that his authority was rapidly extending to other fields."

The New York Times, May 26, 1936, p. 7 "Polish Army Chief in Dictator's Chair." "Warsaw, May 25.-General Edward Rydz-Smigly, Inspector-General of the Army, has emerged from the annual convention of the Pilsudski Legionnaires as the recognized heir of the late Marshal Joseph Pilsudski and therefore as virtual dictator of Poland. ... The general casually revealed that the new Premier, General Felicien Slawoj-Skladkowski, had taken office at the direction of the army high command." *Christian Science Monitor*, July 16, 1936, p. 1 "Rydz-Smigly Gets Dictatorial Role in Polish State." "Warsaw, July 16-Gen. Edward Rydz-Smigly, chief inspector of the army, today was named by the Government as next in rank to the President of Poland. In a circular letter addressed to all officials, Premier Felicyan Slawoj-Skladkowski ordered that obedience and respect be paid to the man who now succeeds the late Marshal Joseph Pilsudski, in fact, as he already had in practice. ... On the night of Pilsudski's passing, President Ignacy Moscicki elevated Rydz-Smigly to his present army post, stating the Marshal had wished the appointment." The *Washington Post*, Aug. 16, 1939, p.9 "Poles Want Smigly-Rydz." "Warsaw, Aug. 15.-Polish leaders tonight rallied to a movement to install Marshal Edward Smigly-Rydz, inspector general of the armed forces and the nation's "strong man," as president of the republic."

The New York Times, Sept. 19, 1939, p. 7 "Moscicki Asserts Polish Authority." Reports "Paris, Sept. 18-A proclamation by President Ignaz Moscicki of Poland asserting that his government was fleeing to a country where it would be permitted to exercise "full authority" was issued tonight. ... The proclamation, announced by the Polish Embassies here, in London and in other capitals, was signed by President Moscicki last night in the Polish frontier town of Kosow, just across the border from Rumania. ... President Moscicki, Foreign Minister Josef Beck of Pland and Marshal Edward Smigly-Rydz, commander of the Polish armies, separated at the Rumanian border town of Cernauti, an Associated Press dispatch from there said, and each with his aides left for a different place within Rumania." "Crossed Border at Cernauti" "Bucharest, Rumania, Sept. 18-... Marshal Edward Smigly-Rydz and other Polish staff officers were reported going to Craiova in Southern Rumania, where the government has put a villa at their disposal." *Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 20, 1939, p. 1 "Rumania Interns Smigly-Rydz Till End of War." "Bucharest-The Rumanian Government announced today that Marshal Edward Smigly-Rydz, chief of Poland's military forces, would be interned in Rumania for the duration of the European war, ..." *Los Angeles Times*, January 22, 1940, p. A "'Forgotten Men of Poland' While Away Days in Exile." Records Smigly-Rydz still in exile in Rumania. "For Marshal Smigly-Rydz the roar of a tottering, crumbling Polish nation was especially loud. It was as virtual dictator of Poland that the shy, serious soft-spoken Smigly-Rydz sent his divisions against the German army—only to find himself a refugee in Rumania a few weeks later, while parts of his army were still fighting a hopeless fight." The Chicago Dail Tribune, Dec. 21, 1940, p. 1 "Smigly-Rydz Flees Prison Camp, Report." Records that Smigly-Rydz fled the Dragoslav prison camp, where he had been held. "The 54 year old marshal, once proud commander in chief of all the forces of Poland and hailed as Pilsudski's her, was imprisoned two months ago by Rumanian authorities, ... Following a reported attack on him by an enraged Polish officer, who felt he had left his troops and country in time of need, Smigl-Rydz was described as a saddened, "broken man," old

before his time. He was said to have made several previous attempts to leave Rumania." See for subsequent fate and background story: *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 22, 1954, p. B4 "Poland's Fall: A Dictator's Last Chapter. Smigly-Rydz, Tribune Reporter Meet."

Edward Rydz-Smigly was born March 11, 1866, and died December 2, 1941. Son of an NCO of Austro-Hungarian army. Wikipedia reports that he fled Rumania, first to Hungary, then to Poland, on October 30, to participate in the resistance as a lowly soldier. He died in Warsaw on December 2, 1941, as a result of heart failure. Removed as a result of German invasion, exile Romania.

POL-1944 290 POL Bierut 31/12/1944 12/3/1956

POL-1956-1 290 POL Ochab 20/03/1956 21/10/1956

POL-1956-2 290 POL Gomulka 21/10/1956 20/12/1970.

According to newspaper sources and Lentz p. 643, Gomulka is swept out of office following foodprice riots on Dec 20, 1970. *Washington Post* 21 December, 1970, p. A1. Remains a member of the Sejm until 1972.

POL-1970 290 POL Gierek 20/12/1970 6/9/1980.

Heart attack, arrested 12/1981.

POL-1980 290 POL Kania 6/9/1980 18/10/1981

For his ouster, see *Chicago Tribune*, October 19, 1981, p.A1. "General gets all power in Poland." "Communist Party chief Stanislaw Kania, opposed by Moscow for failing to curb Solidarity, was ousted Sunday and replaced by Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski in a major government shakeup. Jaruzelski, a 58-year-old general who is also defense minister, now has complete power by virtue of his posts as head of the military, government, and party. He holds the greatest authority since Marshall Jozef Pisudski ruled Poland between World War I and World War II. After elevating Jaruzelski, known as a man of "iron discipline," the 200 member party central committee authorized the government to declare a state of emergency "in case of supreme necessity to assure peace in the country." In MOSCOW, a Western diplomat said the resignation submitted by Kania, 52, at a meeting of the central committee, brought Poland "a step closer to martial law." ...Leading union activist Janusz Onyszkiewicz said "it seems that this change was a compromise"–a reference to earlier speculation that either moderate Kazimierz Barcikowski or hard-liner Stefan Olszowski would take over if Kania stepped down."

This is *not* a coup. No use or threat of military force, a decision made by the normal norms, rules and procedures of the Polish Communist Party.

POL-1981 290 POL Jaruzelski 18/10/1981 22/12/1990

For his entry, see *Chicago Tribune*, October 19, 1981, p.A1. "General gets all power in Poland." "Communist Party chief Stanislaw Kania, opposed by Moscow for failing to curb Solidarity, was ousted Sunday and replaced by Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski in a major government shakeup. Jaruzelski, a 58-year-old general who is also defense minister, now has complete power by virtue of his posts as head of the military, government, and party. He holds the greatest authority since Marshall Jozef Pisudski ruled Poland between World War I and World War II. After elevating Jaruzelski, known as a man of "iron discipline," the 200 member party central committee authorized the government

to declare a state of emergency "in case of supreme necessity to assure peace in the country.""

POL-1990 290 POL Walesa 22/12/1990 23/12/1995

POL-1995 290 POL Kwasniewski 23/12/1995 31/12/2004

2.48 AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

AUH-1848 300 AUH Francis Joseph I 02/12/1848 21/11/1916.

AUH-1916 300 AUH Karl 21/11/1916 11/11/1918

He was born on the 17th of August in 1887 in Madeira. He was exiled to Switzerland in March 1919, and was deposed by the Austrian Parliament in April 1919. He attempted to regain the Hungarian throne twice and was sent to exile in Madeira.

2.49 AUSTRIA

For Austrian leaders see `http://de.encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia`.

AUS-1918 305 AUS Renner 12/11/1918 11/06/1920
Renner was born on 14 December 1870. He was arrested and imprisoned under Dolfuss in 1934.

AUS-1920 305 AUS Mayr 07/07/1920 01/06/1921.

AUS-1921 305 AUS Schober 21/06/1921 24/05/1922
Schober was born on 14 November 1874. He was the police president of Vienna.

AUS-1922 305 AUS Seipel 31/05/1922 01/06/1924
Ignaz Seipel was born on 19 July 1876. He studied theology and in 1909 became professor of Moral theology. He was shot in the chest and seriously injured by an assassination attempt on June 1 1924 and was forced to give power over to Ramek. See also The *Washington Post*, Jun. 2, 1924, p.1. Also, *The New York Times*, Jul. 27, p. p.A2. & The *Washington Post*, Sept. 2, 1924, p.3.

AUS-1924 305 AUS Ramek 01/06/1924 15/10/1926
Ramek was born on 12 April 1881, and was a lawyer. He first resigned on January 14 1926 and then immediately was asked to form a new government. He later became the head of the Mozart Institution.

AUS-1926 305 AUS Seipel 20/10/1926 03/04/1929.

AUS-1929-1 305 AUS Streeruwitz 04/05/1929 25/09/1929
He was born on 23 September 1874. (Until 1919, "Ritter Von Streer") He was a professional military man, later became a politician.

AUS-1929-2 305 AUS Schober 26/09/1929 25/09/1930
Schober was Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister until January 1932.

AUS-1930-1 305 AUS Vaugoin 30/09/1930 29/11/1930
Karl Vaugoin was a military man, general. He died on June 11,1949 at the age of 76. He was persecuted after the Anschluss. *The New York Times* June 12 1949, p76: "At the time of the Anschluss General Vaugoin, then the president of the Austrian Federal Railways, was on vacation in Italy. He refused to remain abroad as an émigré saying "My conscience is clear". He returned to Vienna, was at once arrested by the Nazis and within a month was sent to Dachau. . . ." See also The Washington post April 1 1938, p X3 and *The New York Times* March 31 1938, p3.

AUS-1930-2 305 AUS Ender 04/12/1930 16/06/1931
See *The New York Times* July 9, 1960 p19. He was imprisoned after the Anschluss and sent to Dachau. See also *Christian Science Monitor*, September 2, 1938, p 2.

AUS-1931 305 AUS Buresch 20/06/1931 06/05/1932

He was a lawyer. He resigned on January 27 1932 but was invited by the President Miklas to form a new ministry, which he did two days later. He died of Diabetes in a sanitarium on 16 September 1936.

AUS-1932 305 AUS Dollfuss 20/05/1932 25/07/1934

Dollfuss was born on 4 October 1882. According to de.encarta he became gradually more authoritarian but anti- fascist. Outlawed Nazi party attempts coup and kills Dollfuss. Hitler was aware of it, but given the false information that the Austrian army was to take power (Kershaw 2000 (1998), p. 523). Since this one was based entirely on local initiative, I do not code it as receiving foreign support. Lentz 1999, p. 40.

AUS-1934 305 AUS Schuschnigg 30/07/1934 11/03/1938

Schuschnigg was born on 14 December 1897. After stepping down from power, two days before the planned and cancelled plebiscite, he was imprisoned and stayed incarcerated until the end of the Second world War, partially in concentration camps. He was forced out as a result of the German "Anschluss", Austria annexed to Germany,

AUS-1938 305 AUS Seyss-Inquart 12/03/1938 30/04/1939

Arthur Seyss-Inquart was born on 22 July, 1892. From 1 May 1939 to 30 April 1945, he served as "Reichsminister ohne Geschaftsbereich' (Minister without portfolio). He first became "stellvertreter" for Hans Frank in Polen, and from May 1940 on he was "Reichskomissar" in the Netherlands. In Hitler's Testament envisioned as Foreign Minister, captured by the Allies in May 1945. In Nurnberg, war crimes tribunal, he was condemned to death and executed on 16 October 1946.' Hence he was punished more than two years after he lost his leadership of Austria. He lost power because Austria 'merged' with Germany. Lentz 1999, p. 41

AUS-1945-1 305 AUS Renner 29/04/1945 28/11/1945.

AUS-1945-2 305 AUS Figl 28/11/1945 02/04/1953

He was born on 2 October 1902. He was the foreign Minister between 1953 and 1959. Imprisoned under the Nazis, see *The New York Times*, May 10, 1965, p.33. (Obit.)

AUS-1953 305 AUS Raab 02/04/1953 11/04/1961

He was born in 29 November 1891. He died as a result of poor health (diabetes).

AUS-1961 305 AUS Gorbach 11/04/1961 25/02/1964

He was born in 2 September 1898. Interned in concentration camps in 1942, and between 1944 and 1945.

AUS-1964 305 AUS Klaus 02/04/1964 03/03/1970

Klaus was born in 15 August 1910. He was a lawyer.

AUS-1970 305 AUS Kreisky 20/04/1970 24/05/1983

Kreisky was born on 22 January 1911. He was the son of prosperous Jewish parents. He was arrested and imprisoned in 1935-6 under Dolfuss, then again in March 1938. Later on he emigrated to Sweden in August 1938. He died on 29 July1990.

AUS-1983 305 AUS Sinowatz 24/05/1983 16/06/1986

Sinowatz was born on 5 February 1929. He studied history.

AUS-1986 305 AUS Vranitzky 16/06/1986 28/01/1997
Vranitzky was born on 4 October 1937. Dr. in "Handelswissenschaften" in 1969.

AUS-1997 305 AUS Klima 28/01/1997 04/02/2000
He was born in 4 June 1947. Studied "Betriebs- und Wirtschaftsinformatik."

AUS-2000 305 AUS Schussel 05/02/2000 31/12/2004
He was born 7 June 1945.

2.50 HUNGARY

HUN-1918 310 HUN Karolyi 16/11/1918 21/03/1919

Government falls in the face of Allied policies towards Hungary's frontiers. Socialists ask Bela Kun who is in prison at the time to form new government. Kun installs Communist regime. The Communist revolution is therefore not based on rebel activity or the like. The ultimate moving force is French antipathy towards Hungary, so I code this as domestic rebel forces with foreign support. Macmillan, Margaret, Paris 1919, Random House: NY 2002. He was sent into exile.

HUN-1919-1 310 HUN Kun 21/03/1919 01/08/1919

Ousted militarily by the Romanian army. `http://www.bartleby.com/65/ku/Kun-Bela.html`. There is also counterrevolutionary activitiy under Horthy with French support, but the prime military contribution appears to have come from Romania (that was in the process of a hefty land grab). Kun was sent to exile to Vienna. For his arrival, and internment in Vienna, see *Christian Science Monitor*, August 4, 1919, p. 1 "Bela Kun's Rule Over Hungary is Brought To End." and The *Washington Post*, August 4, 1919, p. 3 "Interned by Vienna Police." For his ouster, see Boston Daily Globe, August 3, 1919, p. 4 "Bela Kun Falls, Hungary asks Peace." This records, "The crisis at Budapest was due to the combined effect of the Allied note and the successful advance of the Rumanian Army, which stragglers from the routed Soviet Army reported as 25 miles from the capital. On receipt of this news Bela Kun, at a meeting of the Soviet Socialists, pale-faced, and with his back to the wall, declared: "Very well, if you demand it, I must resign. I made the best fight I could." See also for pressure from the Allies, *The New York Times*, Aug. 3, 1919, p. 3 "Kun's Power Long Tottering."

HUN-1919-2 310 HUN Peidl 01/08/1919 07/08/1919

Socialist government out after a coup by military leaders, who use police forces. Boston Daily Globe 8 August, 1919, p. 10; New York Times 8 August, 1919, p. 3. Peidl emigrated to Austria. See aslo Boston Daily Globe, August 3, 1919, p. 4 "Bela Kun Falls, Hungary asks Peace."

HUN-1919-3 310 HUN Friedrich 07/08/1919 16/11/1919

HUN-1919-4 310 HUN Huszar 23/11/1919 01/03/1920

HUN-1920 310 HUN Horthy 01/03/1920 15/10/1944

Regent, Horthy gets in elected by parliament as regent. Nazis force him to abdicate, Lentz 1999, p. 225. Abducted by Gestapo. Tirol Imprisoned; later exile Portugal.

HUN-1945 310 HUN Rakosi 15/01/1945 15/07/1956

Mátyás Rákosi. Forced to resign as general secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party after de-Stalinization. `http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/COLDrakosi.htm`; Lentz 1994, p. 367. Exile in SU.

HUN-1956-1 310 HUN Gero 18/07/1956 25/10/1956

Gero was removed in the Hungarian Revolution, Central Committee of CP tries to appease violent mass protests by bringing PM Nagy back. BBC, `http://news.bbc.co.`

uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/october/26/newsid_3200000/3200703.stm. "The trouble began with a rally in the capital, Budapest on Tuesday (23 October). About 100,000 students and workers took to the streets of the capital carrying pro-democracy banners. Police moved in and began firing at the crowds. When they refused to disperse, Erno Gero, First Secretary of the Hungarian Workers' Party, ordered Soviet tanks onto the streets."

The New York Times, October 24, 1956, p. 1 "Nagy is renamed. Return as the Premier Is Announced After Night of Rioting." "Vienna, Oct. 24-The Budapest Radio said today that the Hungarian Government had appealed for help from Soviet troops stationed in Hungary to restore order in the riot-torn capital. ... The broadcast followed quickly after an earlier one announcing that the once-purged Imre Nagy would become Hungary's new Premier. [The Budapest radio said an emergency meeting of the Communists' Central Committee had offered the Premiership to Mr. Nagy, and he had accepted, The United Press reported. It was Mr. Nagy who declared martial law, the dispatch added.: ["The situation is extraordinarily serious," a 9. A. M. communiqué said, according to The United Press. "Shameless armed attacks of counter-revolutionary gangs have created an extraordinarily serious situation during the night. "The bandits have stormed plants and public buildings, murdered civilians, soldiers and security police. "The Government was not prepared against bloody attacks from ambush. "The Government, therefore, has called Soviet troops stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Pact for help. "The Soviet units responded to the Government's request and are engaged in restoring order."] The announcement had capped a night of widespread rioting in the Hungarian capital by students and workers who demanded "We want Nagy!" and "Out with the Russians!" Mr. Nagy was ousted from the Premiership in April, 1955. He was restored to good graces in the Communist party hierarchy last Oct. 14."

Hence, Gero is coded as removed as the result of domestic popular protest without foreign support. This is a borderline case, since depending on the level of consent required by the Soviets, perhaps this could have been coded as domestic popular protest with foreign support. Rulers.org mentions that he was sent to exile.

HUN-1956-2 310 HUN Nagy 25/10/1956 04/11/1956

The New York Times, October 24, 1956, p. 1 "Nagy is renamed. Return as the Premier Is Announced After Night of Rioting." "Vienna, Oct. 24-The Budapest Radio said today that the Hungarian Government had appealed fo rhelp from Soviet troops stationed in Hungary to restore order in the riot-torn capital. ... The broadcast followed quickly after an earlier one announcing that the once-purged Imre Nagy would become Hungary's new Premier. [The Budapest radio said an emergency meeting of the Communists' Central Committee had offered the Premiership to Mr. Nagy, and he had accepted, The United Press reported. It was Mr. Nagy who declared martial law, the dispatch added.: ["The situation is extraordinarily serious," a 9. A. M. communiqué said, according to The United Press. "Shameless armed attacks of counter-revolutionary gangs have created an extraordinarily serious situation during the night. "The bandits have stormed plants and public buildings, murdered civilians, soldiers and security police. "The Government was not prepared against bloody attacks from ambush. "The Government, therefore, has called Soviet troops stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Pact for help. "The Soviet units responded to the Government's request and are engaged in restoring order."] The announcement had capped a night of widespread rioting in the Hungarian capital by stu-

dents and workers who demanded "We want Nagy!" and "Out with the Russians!" Mr. Nagy was ousted from the Premiership in April, 1955. He was restored to good graces in the Communist party hierarchy last Oct. 14." Soviet invasion. Lentz 1994, p. 368. Nagy was imprisoned and executed in 1958.

HUN-1957 310 HUN Kadar 04/11/1956 22/05/1988

Born an illegitimate child, on May 26, 1912. See The *Washington Post*, May 11, 1989, p. a. 36. He was "Ousted" and stripped of the largely ceremonial position of party president on Monday May 1989. He died on July 6, 1989 of pneumonia. See *The New York Times*, July 7, 1989, p. A12. His death does not halt the Supreme Court hearing for former prime minister Imre Nagy who was executed in 1958. See in particular, Chicago Tribune, July 7, 1989, p.11.

HUN-1988 310 HUN Grosz 22/05/1988 07/10/1989

Grosz was born on August 1, 1930. See *The Guardian*, Jan. 10, 1996, p. 013. He died of cancer of the kidney aged 65 on January 7, 1996.

HUN-1989 310 HUN Szuros 18/10/1989 02/05/1990

He was fine after he lost power. He was named Deputy Speaker after he stepped down. See *Los Angeles Times*, May 3, 1990, p.1.

HUN-1990 310 HUN Antall 03/05/1990 12/12/1993

Died of lymphoma cancer.

HUN-1993 310 HUN Boross 12/12/1993 15/07/1994

Boross was a non-party technocrat. He was fine after he lost power. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 39, 1993, December, Europe, Hungary.

HUN-1994 310 HUN Horn 15/07/1994 06/07/1998

He was born on 5 July 1932.

HUN-1998 310 HUN Orban 06/07/1998 27/05/2002

HUN-2002 310 HUN Péter Medgyessy 27/05/2002 29/09/2004

Peter Medgyessy was born in 1942. He resigns after the party withdrew its support for his leadership. For his resignation see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 50, August, 2004. Wikipedia notes that he remains "managing Prime Minister" for a 30 days period, as required by the Constitution, and a few additional days until his successor Ference Gyurscany was confirmed by Parliament. Currently traveling ambassador. He was born on 19 October 1942

HUN-2002 310 HUN Ferenc Gyurcsány 29/09/2004 31/12/2004

Gyurcsány was born on 4 June 1961. For his entry see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 50, August, 2004. Cabinet is formally sworn in on Oct. 4, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 50, October, 2004.

2.51 CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZE-1918 315 CZE Masaryk 28/10/1918 14/12/1935

Tomás Masaryk stepped down in 1935 due to poor health. He died on 14 September 1937. Rulers.org records: "(b. March 7, 1850, Göding, Moravia, Austria-Hungary [now Hodonín, Czech Republic] - d. Sept. 14, 1937, Lány, Bohemia, Czechoslovakia [now in Czech Republic]), president of Czechoslovakia (1918-35). . . . He was elected the country's first president in November 1918 while he was still in the U.S., and returned to Prague in December 1918. He was reelected in 1920, 1927, and 1934, resigning in 1935 because of his age."

CZE-1935 315 CZE Benes 18/12/1935 05/10/1938

He studied economics at the Universities of Prague and Paris. Lentz mentions that he was exiled to France, then Great Britain.

CZE-1938-1 315 CZE Szrovy 05/10/1938 01/12/1938

Lentz: Military man, general. Subsequently he served as the minister of defense in Hacha's government. After the war he was arrested and charged as a war criminal, sentenced to 20 years imprisonment for his collaboration with the Germans, died in June 1971.

CZE-1938-2 315 CZE Hacha 01/12/1938 13/05/1945

Lentz: Dies in a Prague prison on June 27, 1945, while awaiting trial. He was elected under pressure from Germany; not traitor. Hacha was imprisoned by Benes.

Emil Hacha is the president, more or less against his own wishes, of the rump state of Czechoslovakia that survives Hitler's attack. Hacha comes to power unconstitutionally even though his predecessor did not lose power unconstitutionally. This coding is due to Hacha being forced more or less at gunpoint by the Germans to become president. Prague is liberated 13 May 1945.

The New York Times, May 15, 1945, p. 8, "Czechoslovak Traitors Caught" reports "The Prague radio said yesterday that Czechoslovakia authorities had arrested Dr. Emil Hacha .... And many members of the puppet regime. The broadcast, reported by the Federal Communications Commission, said the arrests had been carried out "in the last days.""

CZE-1945 315 CZE Benes 13/05/1945 07/06/1948

He has several strokes in 1947. He died three months after he resigned, a natural death: stroke. Benes, has several strokes in 1947 and dies 3 months after resigning, but we decided against coding this as leaving office because of natural death. Lentz notes: "The Communists in the Czech government, led by Premier Klement Gottwald, demanded that a Communist dominated government be established in February of 1948. Benes refused to sign the new Czech constitution and resigned office on 7/6/1948. Three months later, on 3/9/1948 he died of a stroke."

CZE-1948 315 CZE Gottwald 07/06/1948 14/03/1953

He died of pneumonia, caught at Stalin's funeral.

CZE-1953 315 CZE Zapotocky 21/03/1953 13/11/1957

CZE-1957 315 CZE Novotny 19/11/1957 05/01/1968

Lentz mentions that Novotny was forced to resign as party leader on Jan 5, 1968, removed as president March 22, 1968 stripped of party membership later in the year, but reinstated in the party in 1971. Thus, he was fine after he lost power.

CZE-1968-1 315 CZE Dubcek 05/01/1968 20/08/1968

Troops from SU, E. Germany, Poland, Bulgaria, and Hungary invade. *The New York Times* 21 August, 1968, p. 1. Arrested by SU and taken to Moscow. Svoboda refused to sign the ratification of the new Soviet-installed government until Dubcek and his supporters were released, and the Soviets allowed them to return to Czechoslovakia.

CZE-1968-2 315 CZE Svoboda 20/08/1968 28/08/1968

Remains in office, but powerless. Russia effectively occupies Czechoslovakia with its military and has control over government, *The New York Times* 29 August, 1968, p. 1. Ludvik Svoboda remained in office until ill heath forced him to resign in 1975. He was forced to ratify the new SU installed gov't.

CZE-1968-3 315 CZE Husak 28/08/1968 17/12/1989

He was born on 10 January 1913. He was expelled from the party in 1990, and he died in Bratislava on November 18, 1991. He was the victim of a Stalinist purge and in jail 1954-1960. He was the first appointed leader of Communist party of Slovakia, later Elected General Secretary.

CZE-1989 315 CZE Calfa 17/12/1989 01/07/1992

He was fine after he lost power. See A. Tucker, K. Jakes, M. Kiss, I. Kupcova, et. al., "From republican virtue to technology of political power: Three episodes of Czech nonpolitical politics": in *Political Science Quarterly*, Fall 2000, Vol. 115, Iss. 3, p. 421 ff. Calfa was Slovak by birth and apparently applied for Czech nationality before the country's split on Jan 1. *The Guardian*, Oct. 14, 1992, p. NOPGCIT.

CZE-1992 315 CZE Strasky 01/07/1992 31/12/1992

2.52 THE CZECH REPUBLIC

CZR-1993 316 CZR Klaus 01/01/1993 17/12/1997

He was born on 19 June 1941. He became the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies for a four year term in 1998, was elected as second president of the Czech republic in 2003.

CZR-1997 316 CZR Tosovsky 17/12/1997 17/07/1998

He was born on 28 September 1950. He was a technocrat. He returned to his job at the National bank after handing over power from what was known to have been a transitional government.

CZR-1998 316 CZR Zeman 17/07/1998 12/07/2002

Zeman was born on 28 September 1944. He studied economics.

CZR-2002 316 CZR Spidla 12/07/2002 26/07/2004

CZR-2004 316 CZR Stanislav Gross 26/07/2004 31/12/2004

Resigned 25 April 2005, anticipating charges of corruption regarding the sale of an apartment flat in Prague. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 51, March and also April 2005.

March 24th, 2009 Czech parliament votes for prime minister to go Posted: 02:39 PM ET (CNN) — The Czech government lost a confidence vote in parliament Tuesday, forcing the prime minister and his Cabinet to resign, Czech media reported. The center-right government of Prime Minister Mirek Topolanek lost the vote 96-101, the Czech daily Mlada fronta Dnes reported.

2.53 SLOVAKIA

SLO-1993 317 SLO Meciar 01/01/1993 16/03/1994

SLO-1994-1 317 SLO Moravcik 16/03/1994 13/12/1994

SLO-1994-2 317 SLO Meciar 13/12/1994 30/10/1998

SLO-1998 317 SLO Dzurinda 30/10/1998 31/12/2004

Dzurinda becomes PM again after the election of 20-21 September 2002, even though Meciar's HZDS was the biggest party. But EU, NATO, and the USA had threatened Slovakia with isolation if Meciar became Minister President.

2.54 ITALY

See `http://it.encarta.msn.comforItalianleaders`.

ITA-1873 325 ITA Minghetti 10/08/1873 18/03/1876
He was born in Bologna, and died in 1886.

ITA-1876 325 ITA Depretis 25/03/1876 11/03/1878.

ITA-1878-1 325 ITA Cairoli 23/03/1878 09/12/1878
He intercepted an assassination attempt on king Humbert on November 17, 1878. He was wounded in the attempt to block the assassin's knife. See The *Washington Post*, Mar. 6, 1910, p.E4. See also *The New York Times*, Jan. 11, 1879, p. 5 for the coding of the variable exit as 1 for him. He was the eldest of the famous Cairoli brothers.

ITA-1878-2 325 ITA Depretis 18/12/1878 03/07/1879

ITA-1879 325 ITA Cairoli 12/07/1879 14/05/1881
He lost office after the Treaty of Bardo between France and Tunisia. For more details see also it.encarta.msn.com.

ITA-1881 325 ITA Depretis 28/05/1881 29/07/1887
See *The New York Times*, July 30, 1887, p.2. Very prominent Free Mason, having been Grand Master in Italy.

ITA-1887 325 ITA Crispi 08/08/1887 31/01/1891
He was a lawyer, and he studied at Palermo. He was from Sicily. According to Christopher Duggan, History Today, London: Feb 2002, Vol. 52, #2, pp.9-16. "Crispi's first period as prime minister lasted from 1887 until 1891. For much of that time he enjoyed overwhelming support in both parliament and in the country, and acted almost dictatorially. Though he had a clear agenda on the domestic front, his main concern was with foreign policy. His hope was to involve Italy in a great and successful war. This, he believed, would prove the making of Italy (a view shared by many - in the military, at court, in the foreign ministry, and in government, as well as by some of the most influential writers and intellectuals of the period). Crispi hurriedly signed a secret military convention with Germany - a country that he admired enormously: had not Bismarck, Count Moltke and the Prussian king together 'made' Germany with three carefully orchestrated military campaigns? - and then embarked on a programme of massive rearmament. He justified this by claiming that a European war could break out at any moment, such was the level of international tension, and that Italy had to be ready to defend herself." The Italian defeat at Adowa in 1896 forced him to resign.

ITA-1891 325 ITA Rudini 09/02/1891 05/05/1892
He was born in Palermo, Sicily.

ITA-1892 325 ITA Giolitti 15/05/1892 24/11/1893
Somewhat tainted by the financial scandal involving the Banco Romano, but cleared of any personal wrongdoing. He was fine after he lost power.

ITA-1893 325 ITA Crispi 10/12/1893 05/03/1896

He loses power because of banking scandals, but in particular the Italian defeat in Ethiopia at Adowa. Suffers an almost unanimous vote of "political censure" by the Italian Chamber of Deputies, in connection with the disgraceful Bank of Naples frauds. The *Washington Post*, April 11, 1898, p.6. Apparently, he was clearly guilty, but let off, no prosecution, or impeachment by the Senate.

ITA-1896 325 ITA Rudini 0/03/1896 18/06/1898

Obituary: *The New York Times*, August 8, 1908, p.5. Died on 7 Jan, of cancer of the liver.

ITA-1898 325 ITA Pelloux 29/06/1898 18/06/1900

He was a General. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, Oct. 27, 1924, p.19. He was the minister of War in the Rudini Cabinet of 1897. "His Cabinet ended disastrously . . ."

ITA-1900 325 ITA Saracco 20/06/1900 06/02/1901

Formerly President of the Senate.

ITA-1901 325 ITA Zanardelli 15/02/1901 21/10/1903

Lentz: He stepped down for reasons of health on October 23, 1903. He died two months later at his villa in Maderno on December 26, 1903. See also, *The New York Times*, December 27, 1903, p.4. Studied law after fighting in 1848 and 1849, became a barrister. Elected President of the Chamber of Deputies by unanimous vote in 1892. *The New York Times* confirms it was bad health. He stepped down for health reasons, dies 2 months later.

ITA-1903 325 ITA Giolitti 03/11/1903 04/03/1905.

ITA-1905 325 ITA Fortis 27/03/1905 01/02/1906.

ITA-1906-1 325 ITA Sonnino 08/02/1906 17/05/1906.

ITA-1906-2 325 ITA Giolitti 29/05/1906 02/12/1909.

ITA-1909 325 ITA Sonnino 10/12/1909 21/03/1910.

ITA-1910 325 ITA Luzzati 30/03/1910 20/03/1911

Professor of Political Economy.

ITA-1911 325 ITA Giolitti 27/03/1911 10/03/1914.

ITA-1914 325 ITA Salandra 21/03/1914 12/06/1916.

ITA-1916 325 ITA Boselli 17/06/1916 30/10/1917

Defeat at Caporetto leads to his removal (Lentz).

ITA-1917 325 ITA Orlando 30/10/1917 19/06/1919

Lentz: His inability to obtain what he considered Italy's fruits of victory, including Fiume, let to Orlando's resignation on June 19, 1919.

ITA-1919 325 ITA Nitti 23/06/1919 09/06/1920

Lentz: Leading economist. His house is vandalized by the Fascists when they marched on Rome, in October 1922. He goes into exile in May 1924, first Zurich, then Paris. Arrested by the Germans in 1943, the next two years he is confined to a small Bavarian village.

ITA-1920 325 ITA Giolitti 16/06/1920 26/06/1921

ITA-1921 325 ITA Bonomi 26/06/1921 25/02/1922

Lentz: subsequently retired from public life. Reemerged in 1942 as a member of the conspiracy to oust Mussolini. Tried to resign earlier. Asked to form a new government to replace the one by Facta, but tells the king July 25, 1922 he is unable to form a new cabinet. See for his obit: *The New York Times*, April 20, 1951, p. 29. Son of working class parents. Born in Mantua. From *The New York Times* Taught school "as a means of putting himself through a law course. ...In 1924, also, he made his last political speech denouncing fascism. It was never necessary to leave Italy but his political disfavor was such that he was obliged to live in oblivion and poverty on a small pension, from which situation he did not emerge until called back to head the difficult task of forming a democratic Government under United Nations supervision while his country was in the process of being liberated from Nazi bondage."

ITA-1922-1 325 ITA Facta 25/02/1922 27/10/1922

He was a Lawyer. Facta responds to the Fascists march on Rome in October 1922 with an appeal to grant the government martial law powers to deal with the uprising. The king refuses. According to Lentz: Facta retires from private life although named to the senate by Mussolini in 1924. Dies from complications from diabetes November 5, 1930. See also *The New York Times*, November 6, 1930, p. 25. King is reported to have said on the request for martial law: "You know, as well as I do, that this would mean civil war."

ITA-1922-2 325 ITA Mussolini 30/10/1922 25/07/1943

King forces Duce's ouster after German demands on Italian war effort become overwhelming. See *Chicago Daily Tribune* 26 July, 1943, p. 1; Lentz 1999, p. 261

Lentz: After ouster 25 July, "arrested by the new government and imprisoned at Campo Imperatore in the Abruzzi mountains. Rescued by the Germans, and installed as figurehead leader of the occupied Italian Social Republic (Salo)." Captured and shot to death on April 28, 1945, more than a year after ousted.

ITA-1943 325 ITA Badoglio 28/07/1943 04/06/1944

He was a field Marshal. Resigned in the midst of Italy's disastrous campaign in Greece, Dec. 4, 1940. Obituary, *The New York Times*, Nov. 1, 1956, p.39. For his association with Mussolini, nevertheless his prestige was so great "that no action was taken against him other than to deprive him of his title of Senator for life. On Jan. 30, 1945, it was announced that his name headed the list of war criminals submitted by Emperor Haile Selassie, but no action was taken against him."

ITA-1944 325 ITA Bonomi 09/06/1944 20/06/1945

ITA-1945-1 325 ITA Parri 20/06/1945 26/11/1945

ITA-1945-2 325 ITA de Gasperi 10/12/1945 28/07/1953

ITA-1953 325 ITA Pella 15/08/1953 06/01/1954
He had a doctorate in economics. Lentz: During his time in office, Italy become involved in a dispute with Yugoslavia concerning the occupation of Trieste.

ITA-1954-1 325 ITA Fanfani 18/01/1954 31/01/1954

ITA-1954-2 325 ITA Scelba 09/02/1954 22/06/1955

ITA-1955 325 ITA Segni 06/07/1955 06/05/1957

ITA-1957 325 ITA Zoli 19/05/1957 19/06/1958

ITA-1958 325 ITA Fanfani 02/07/1958 26/01/1959

ITA-1959 325 ITA Segni 15/02/1959 24/02/1960

ITA-1960-1 325 ITA Tambroni 25/03/1960 19/07/1960

ITA-1960-2 325 ITA Fanfani 26/07/1960 16/05/1963

ITA-1963-1 325 ITA Leone 21/06/1963 05/11/1963

ITA-1963-2 325 ITA Moro 05/12/1963 05/06/1968

ITA-1968-1 325 ITA Leone 25/06/1968 19/11/1968

ITA-1968-2 325 ITA Rumor 13/12/1968 06/07/1970

ITA-1970 325 ITA Colombo 06/08/1970 15/01/1972

ITA-1972 325 ITA Andreotti 18/02/1972 12/06/1973

ITA-1973 325 ITA Rumor 08/07/1973 23/11/1974

ITA-1974 325 ITA Moro 23/11/1974 30/07/1976
He was kidnapped by Brigate Rosso terrorists while en route to the Parliament on March 16, 1978, and was executed by the terrorists.

ITA-1976 325 ITA Andreotti 30/07/1976 05/08/1979

ITA-1979 325 ITA Cossiga 05/08/1979 18/10/1980

ITA-1980 325 ITA Forlani 18/10/1980 26/05/1981
Lentz: History professor. Investigated on charges of corruption involving a state road building contract in April 1993.

ITA-1981 325 ITA Spadolini 28/06/1981 30/11/1982

ITA-1982 325 ITA Fanfani 30/11/1982 04/08/1983

ITA-1983 325 ITA Craxi 04/08/1983 18/04/1987

He was born on 24 February 1934, in Milan. Dies in exile at age 65, since his conviction for corruption. See *The New York Times*, Jan 20, 2000, p. B. 14. In 1994 Mr. Craxi fled to his summer home in Tunisia to escape certain arrest. Convicted of graft and corruption in five separate trials, he was declared a fugitive from justice by a Milan court in 1995, and an international arrest warrant was issued for him. Philip Willan, in the Guardian, (Manchester UK), Jan 20, 2000, p. 24. University drop out, son of a Sicilian lawyer.

ITA-1987-1 325 ITA Fanfani 18/04/1987 29/07/1987

ITA-1987-2 325 ITA Goria 29/07/1987 13/04/1988

ITA-1988 325 ITA Mita 13/04/1988 12/07/1989

ITA-1989 325 ITA Andreotti 23/07/1989 28/06/1992

He was under investigation in April 1993 on charges of financial corruption and alleged links to the Mafia. See also, The *Washington Post*, May 5, 2003, p.A.13

ITA-1992 325 ITA Amato 28/06/1992 29/04/1993

ITA-1993 325 ITA Ciampi 29/04/1993 11/05/1994

ITA-1994 325 ITA Berlusconi 11/05/1994 17/01/1995

Faces charges of corruption, at least since 2000. Cleared of all charges December 2004.

ITA-1995 325 ITA Dini 17/01/1995 18/05/1996.

ITA-1996 325 ITA Prodi 18/05/1996 21/10/1998.

ITA-1998 325 ITA D'Alema 21/10/1998 26/04/2000.

ITA-2000 325 IT Amato 26/04/2000 11/06/2001.

ITA-2001 325 ITA Berlusconi 11/06/2001 31/12/2004

He faces charges of corruption, at least since 2000. Cleared of all charges December 2004.

2.55 MALTA

MLT-1962 338 MLT Olivier 05/03/1962 21/06/1971.

MLT-1971 338 MLT Mintoff 21/06/1971 22/12/1984.

MLT-1984 338 MLT Bonnic 22/12/1984 12/05/1987.

MLT-1987 338 MLT Adami 12/05/1987 28/10/1996.

MLT-1996 338 MLT Sant 28/10/1996 06/09/1998.

MLT-1998 338 MLT Adami 06/09/1998 31/12/2004

2.56 ALBANIA

ALB-1912 339 ALB Ismail Qemali Bej 29/11/1912 22/01/1914

Ismail Qemali heads Albanian provisional government at Vlore. He was forced to step aside, and was sent to exile in Italy

ALB-1914-1 339 ALB Fevzi Bej 22/01/1914 21/02/1914

Information on him is missing. Thus, variables entry, exit and post tenure fate all are coded -666.

ALB-1914-2 339 ALB Wilhelm zu Wied 21/02/1914 03/09/1914

On Wilhelm zu Wied's willingness to fight the Greeks, see The *Washington Post*, April 5, 1914, p.15. He went to voluntary exile in Germany.

ALB-1914-3 339 ALB Esat Pashe Toptani 05/10/1914 24/02/1916

Esat Pahsa Toptani, lost political power in 1916. He was removed from office by Italians. Exile, joins the Serbs in the war.

ALB-1918 339 ALB Turkhan Pasha 28/12/1918 27/03/1920

Pasha was a puppet of - and installed by - the Italians, so variable entry into power is coded as 2. He retired to Rome after he lost power.

ALB-1920-1 339 ALB Delvina 27/03/1920 20/11/1920

Delvina became minister of foreign affairs in the Bishop Noli Cabinet, 1924. The *Washington Post*, June 18, 1924, p. 4. Lentz: Accused of participation in a revolt against Zogu in November 1926, pardoned in September 1927.

ALB-1920-2 339 ALB Vrioni 11/12/1920 17/10/1921

ALB-1921-1 339 ALB Evangeli 17/10/1921 07/12/1921

Evangeli later became Premier under King Zog, March 1930. *The New York Times* Mar. 7, 1930, p.5.

ALB-1921-2 339 ALB Prishtina 07/12/1921 11/12/1921

Prishtina was forced to resign. He apparently was murdered in 1933. Prishtina left Albania when King Zog came to power. "he came to Saloniki, where he carried on violent propaganda against Zog. Last August, Dischelo fired several revolver shots, killing him." *The New York Times*, February 25, 1934, p.17. Lentz: led an unsuccessful insurrection against the government of Ahmed Zogu in 1923.

ALB-1921-3 339 ALB Idomeni Kosturis 11/12/1921 24/12/1921

Idomeni Kosturis: Information on his post tenure fate is truly missing.

ALB-1921-4 339 ALB Djafer Ypi 11/12/1921 24/12/1921

Djafer Ypi, Chief of the provisional government which turned Albania over to Italy in April, 1939. When he comes to Rome to present the crown of Albania to Italy's king he is killed by an aerial bomb. *The New York Times*, Dec. 17, 1940, p. 4. For his resignation, see The *Washington Post*, Jan. 22, 1922, p.7. Lentz: subsequently appointed to the Council of Regency. Left country in June 1924.

ALB-1922 339 ALB Zogu 03/12/1922 03/03/1924

The New York Times, Jan 10, 1924 reports "Premier Ahmed Zogu suffered a severe defeat in the elections just held in Albania. He will resign when the new Chamber meets." See for his exile, first fleeing to Serbia, *The New York Times*, June 15, 1924, p. E5 "Harvard Man Head of New Republic." (This contains a nice brief history of Albania.) He was the nephew of Esat. The *Washington Post*, Feb. 24, 1924, p.1 reports an assassination attempt on February 23.

ALB-1924-1 339 ALB Verlaci 05/03/1924 01/06/1924

The *Washington Post*, March 6, 1924, p. 3 reports: "Tirana, Albania, March 5.- The Albanian ministry has fallen. It has been replaced by a ministry presided over by Shefket Verlazi, with a program of economic reform and political amnesty." For his exit, and Vrioni's entry, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 2, 1924, p. 11 "Albania Revolt." Which reports that "Government forces numbering about 3,000 are gathered, under the leadership of Amet Zogu, determined to stem the nationalist advance." Lentz notes he resigns to lead the Albanian army. Verlaci was exiled.

ALB-1924-2 339 ALB Vrioni 01/06/1924 10/06/1924

The *Washington Post*, June 4, 1924, p. 1 reports "Avlona, Albania, June 3-North and south Albania have broken off relations with Tirana where the government has been taken over by former Foreign Minister Vrioni, ..." Vrioni may have been figurehead for Zogu? *The New York Times*, June 15, 1924, p. E5 "Harvard Man Head of New Republic."

Nationalist rebels take over. Tirana falls June 11 (Christian Science Monitor 11 June, 1924, p. 3) and the new government is established June 12 (*The New York Times* 15 June, 1924).

ALB-1924-3 339 ALB Fan S. Noli 12/06/1924 24/12/1924

For his entry, see *The New York Times*, June 15, 1924, p. E5 "Harvard Man Head of New Republic." Bishop Fan S. Noli, head of the Albanian Orthodox Greek Church. Harvard educated. Uprising of supporters of former leader Zogu. *The New York Times* 13 December, 1924; 27 December, 1924, p. 3. Exiled.

ALB-1924-4 339 ALB Vrioni 24/12/1924 10/01/1925

Ilias Bej Vrioni was sent to exile after he lost power. Some suggest poor health for resignation, but more likely that Zog maneuvered him out. (B. Fischer, King Zog and the Struggle for Stability in Albania, p.78, New York, Columbian University Press, 1984) After him, Ahmet Zogu was elected.

ALB-1925 339 ALB Zogu 10/01/1925 12/04/1939

Zogu flees the Italian invasion. Exile in Greece, England. Lentz 1999, p. 13.

ALB-1944 339 ALB Hoxha 29/11/1944 11/04/1985

ALB-1985 339 ALB Alia 13/04/1985 03/04/1992

Alia was a Muslim. See it.encarta.msn.com, accused of corruption and violations of human rights, condemned to nine years jail, finds shelter (=exile) in 1996 in Switzerland. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 38, 1992, September, Europe, Albania: "Albania's last communist leader Ramiz Alia, who had resigned as President in April after his election defeat by Sali

Berisha, was placed under house arrest on Sept. 12 and was held under armed guard at his daughter's house in Tirana, the capital. He was said to have been charged with misusing state funds and with abuse of power." ***Keesing's*** Vol. 39, 1993, August, Europe, Albania: "Former President Remiz Alia, previously under house arrest in connection with charges of abuse of power, was reportedly moved to prison on Aug. 19."

ALB-1992 339 ALB Berisha 09/04/1992 24/07/1997

Berisha was born on 15 October 1945. Medical doctor, cardiologist. Italian Encarta says that his proposal to modify the constitution toward presidentialism fails a popular referendum. Stripped of his immunity from prosecution for an alleged coup attempt, path cleared for his arrest. Chicago Sun-Times, September 19, 1998, p.15, also *Financial Times*, September 19, 1998, International Section, p.4. For his OK fate, see *The New York Times*, September 21, 1998, Section A, p. 4, column 5. See Rulers.org. Tries to hold on to power, uses army. After lots of int'l pressure steps down one month after elections.

ALB-1997 339 ALB Fatos Nano 24/07/1997 02/10/1998

Fatos Nano's offices ransacked mid September 1998 during an attempted coup. See *The Guardian*, (London), September 29, 1998, p.14. Also, of Sept. 17, 1998, p. 15, where Berisha is accused of the coup. Studied political science and economics, interrupted his academic career in 1981. Switch to Parliamentary Gov't.

ALB-1998 339 ALB Majko 02/10/1998 29/10/1999

See *The New York Times*, October 26, 1999, p.A6.

ALB-1999 339 ALB Meta 29/10/1999 22/02/2002

Meta was an Economics graduate and amateur weightlifter, deputy PM under Majko.

ALB-2002-1 339 ALB Majko 22/02/2002 31/07/2002

ALB-2002-2 339 ALB Fatos Nano 31/07/2002 31/12/2004

2.57 SERBIA

SER-1882 340 SER Milan I 06/03/1882 06/03/1889

Milan I was born on August 10, 1834. He abdicates. Leaves, returns, leaves, returns, the Regents clearly want him gone. For later pressures for his exile, see Chicago Daily, April 15, 1893, p. 5. Also: *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 10, 1890, p. 32 & The *Washington Post*, Sept. 29, 1899, p. 6. Serbian Independence 6/3, so no const. Abdicates.

SER-1889 340 SER Ristic (Regency) 06/03/1889 13/04/1893

Ristic: Obituary, *The New York Times*, September 5, 1899, p. 7. Also known as Jean Ristitch. Studied at Berlin and Heidelberg. *The New York Times*, reports: "Being in the confidence of King Milan, he was made one of the three Regents to whom were confided the destinies of Servia during the minority of his son, but his lost his influence to some extent, and when Alexander accomplished the coup d'état of April 13, 1893, he was arrested at the banquet at which that Prince proclaimed his majority." See also, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 18, 1893, p.5 where ex-Regents Ristich and Rehmarkovitch are accused of having misappropriate funds. *The New York Times*, April 16, 1893, p.8, records that "The Regents were to be liberated to-night, and the ex-Ministers have also been set at liberty, King Alexander being satisfied that there is no occasion for detaining them, as everything is peaceful, and there is no resistance to the authority of the young king." See also *The New York Times*, April 16, 1893, p.1

SER-1893 340 SER Alexander I 13/04/1893 11/06/1903

For his unconstitutional entry, see *The New York Times*, April 16, 1893, p.1, and especially, Chicago Daily, April 15, 1893, p.5. He was murdered. Alexander I should not be coded as leader when he becomes king, he's only 13 then. After Alexander is murdered Peter I gained power, supposedly he appoints his son Alexander, Born 16/12/1888 becomes regent on 24/6/1914 because of Dad's poor health?

SER-1903 340 SER Peter I 15/06/1903 24/06/1914

Elected King. Peter I was in exile in February 1916. *Los Angeles Times*, February 18, 1916, p.11. For his transfer of power, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 25, 1914, p.7. Appoints son as regent because of poor health. Goes with son in Exile.

SER-1914 340 SER Alexander 24/06/1914 01/10/1915

Alexander of course "returns" to power as King of Yugoslavia. Exile in Corfu, with his dad.

2.58 MONTENEGRO

MNG-1860 341 MNG Nikola I Petrovic-Njegos 13/08/1860 17/01/1917
Montenegro Independent only in the 1870s. Nikola I Petrovic-Njegos, exiled in Italy.

2.59 MACEDONIA

de.encarta.com, also highlights Macedonia's parliamentary regime. See heading under Crvenkovski. Also see: `http://www.macedonian-heritage.gr/FYROM_bios.html` Macedonia is a parliamentary democracy, hence the PM is coded as leader.

MAC-1991 343 MAC Nikola Kljusev 27/01/1991 17/08/1992

Nikola Kljusev is defense minister in 1999. See *The New York Times*, May 7, 1999, A14. See for the fall of the regime, San Francisco Chronicle, July 8, 1992, p.A8. Doctorate in Economics. See Macedonian-heritage. Independence 18 Sept 1991.

MAC-1992 343 MAC Crvenkovski 17/08/1992 30/11/1998

Crvenkovski was born on 12 October 1962. Gligorov is the real power, initially. Crvenkovski is his protégé.

MAC-1998 343 MAC Georgievski 30/11/1998 01/11/2002

Georgievski was born on 17 January 1966.

MAC-2002 343 MAC Crvenkovski 01/11/2002 12/05/2004

MAC-1998 343 MAC Radmila Sekerinska 12/05/2004 02/06/2004

Female. She was born in 10 July 1972. Was Deputy PM and is again Deputy PM in both the Kostov and Buckovski cabinets. Has a degree in Electrical Engineering.

MAC-1998 343 MAC Hari Kostov 02/06/2004 18/11/2004

Hari Kostov was born on 13 November 1959.

MAC-1998 343 MAC Radmila Sekerinska 18/11/2004 17/12/2004

Female. She is Minister Without Portfolio in Buchkovski Cabinet and Deputy PM.

MAC-1998 343 MAC Vlado Buckovski 17/12/2004 31/12/2004

Vlado Buckovski was born on 2 December 1962.

2.60 CROATIA

CRO-1990 344 CRO Tudjman 30/05/1990 26/11/1999
Tudjman dies 10/12/1999.

CRO-1999 344 CRO Pavletic 26/11/1999 02/02/2000
Pavletic was Acting President.

CRO-2000 344 CRO Tomcic 02/02/2000 18/02/2000
Tomcic was Acting President.

CRO-2000-2 344 CRO Mesic 18/02/2000 31/12/2004

2.61 YUGOSLAVIA

YUG-1918 345 YUG Alexander 01/12/1918 09/10/1934

Alexander had been ruler of Serbia. Murdered by a Croatian terrorist. Coded as an attack by unsupported individual. The murderer belonged to a terrorist organization, but the assassination was not part of a larger mission involving capture of government office, and was designed to be executed by one person. Lentz 1999, p. 474.

YUG-1934 345 YUG Prince Paul 09/10/1934 27/03/1941

King leads the army in a coup against the Regency, in defiance of Yugoslavia joining the Axis powers the previous day, New York Times 28 March, 1941, p. 1. Prince Paul was exiled, interned by the British.

YUG-1941 345 YUG Peter II 27/03/1941 20/04/1941

Removed as a result of the German conquest, Lentz 1999, p. 475. Exile Great Britain

YUG-1945 345 YUG Tito 06/03/1945 04/05/1980

YUG-1980-1 345 YUG Kolisevski 04/05/1980 15/05/1980

Keesing's Vol. 26 (1980), September, Yugoslavia. Macedonian representative.

YUG-1980-2 345 YUG Mijatovic 15/05/1980 15/05/1981

Mijatovic. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 26 (1980), September, Yugoslavia.

YUG-1981 345 YUG Kraigher 15/05/1981 16/05/1982

See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 28 (1982), July, Yugoslavia.

YUG-1982 345 YUG Stambolic 16/05/1982 13/05/1983

Stambolic: ***Keesing's*** Vol. 34 (1988), February.

YUG-1983 345 YUG Spiljac 13/05/1983 15/05/1984

Spiljac: ***Keesing's*** Vol. 32 (1986), September.

YUG-1984 345 YUG Djuranovic 15/05/1984 15/05/1985

Djuranovic. See, ***Keesing's*** Vol. 35 (1989), January.

YUG-1985 345 YUG Vlajkovic 15/05/1985 15/05/1986

Vlajkovic. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 32 (1986) September.

YUG-1986 345 YUG Hasani 15/05/1986 15/05/1987

YUG-1987 345 YUG Mojsov 15/05/1987 15/05/1988

Mojsov. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 32 (1986), September.

YUG-1988 345 YUG Dizarevic 15/05/1988 15/05/1989

YUG-1989 345 YUG Milosevic 15/05/1989 07/10/2000

Imprisoned in Den Haag (The Hague for you non-Dutch).

YUG-2000 345 YUG Kostunica 08/10/2000 31/12/2004

2.62 BOSNIA

Note: Bosnia and Herzegovina's (BiH) has a three-member presidency for an eight-month rotating chairmanship.

BOS-1990 346 BOS Izetbegovic 20/12/1990 13/10/1998

Izetbegovic was born on 8 August 1925. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 47 (2002), October. Izetbegovic steps down as leader of the (Muslim) Party of Democratic Action October 13, 2001 because of poor health and old age.

BOS-1998 346 BOS Radisic 13/10/1998 15/06/1999

BOS-1999 346 BOS Jelavic 15/06/1999 14/02/2000

Jelavic. For his post tenure fate see, ***Keesing's*** Vol. 47 (2001), March. Jelavic dismissed by Bosnian High Representative Wolfgang Petritsch.

BOS-2000-1 346 BOS Izetbegovic 14/02/2000 14/10/2000

Izetbegovic; for his post tenure fate see , ***Keesing's*** Vol. 47 (2002), October. Izetbegovic steps down as leader of the (Muslim) Party of Democratic Action October 13, 2001 because of poor health and old age.

BOS-2000-2 346 BOS Radisic 14/10/2000 14/06/2001

Radisic. For his post tenure fate see, ***Keesing's*** Vol. 48 (2002), July. Collective Presidency, consists of Belkic, Radisic, and Krizanovic. See Lexis-Nexis BBC Worldwide Monitoring, 18 October, 2002.

BOS-2001 346 BOS Krizanovic 14/06/2001 14/02/2002

Krizanovic. For his post tenure fate see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 48 (2002) July. Collective Presidency, consists of Belkic, Radisic, and Krizanovic. See Lexis-Nexis BBC Worldwide Monitoring, 18 October, 2002.

BOS-2002-1 346 BOS Belkic 14/02/2002 28/10/2002

Collective Presidency, consists of Belkic, Radisic, and Krizanovic. See Lexis-Nexis BBC Worldwide Monitoring, 18 October, 2002.

BOS-2002-2 346 BOS Sarovic 28/10/2002 02/04/2003

Keesing's Vol. 49, April, 2003. Sarovic resigns "after being implicated in a scandal involving the state owned Orao aviation company, which had violated a UN arms embargo by selling military equipment to Iraq." Graduated from the Sarajevo's University Department of Law.

Though deposed by Paddy Ashdown (High Representative), his fate is OK. See Lexis Nexis, BBC Monitoring International reports, April, 28, 2004.

BOS-2003-1 346 BOS Borislav Paravac 10/04/2003 27/06/2003

Borislav Paravac was born in 1943.

BOS-2003-2 346 BOS Dragan Covic 27/06/2003 28/02/2004

Dragan Covic was born in 1956. Croat member of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Presidency.

BOS-2004-1 346 BOS Sulejman Tihic 28/02/2004 28/10/2004

Sulejman Tihic was born in 1951

BOS-2004-2 346 BOS Paravac 28/10/2004 31/12/2004
Bosniac Paravac was in power during 28 Oct 2004 - 28 Jun 2005.

2.63 SLOVENIA

SLV-1990 349 SLV Kucan 22/04/1990 23/12/1991
For post tenure fate see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 38 (1992), December.

SLV-1991 349 SLV Peterle 3/12/1991 14/05/1992
See, ***Keesing's*** Vol. 39 (1993), January.

SLV-1992 349 SLV Drnovsek 14/05/1992 03/05/2000
See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 48 (2002), December.

SLV-2000-1 349 SLV Bajuk 03/05/2000 17/11/2000
Bajuk was born on 18 October, 1943. Spent most of his life abroad. Finance minister in 2004. See rulers.org.

SLV-2000-2 349 SLV Drnovsek 17/11/2000 11/12/2002
See, ***Keesing's*** Vol. 48 (2002), December. BBC News, Saturday, 23 February 2008. "Slovenia independence leader dies." He dies at the age of 57. Saturday, 23 February 2008. He decided not to run for a second term in December 2002 due to ill health. The BBC article notes he was a trained economist and former banker.

SLV-2002 349 SLV Anton Rop 11/12/2002 09/11/2004
Anton Rop was born on 27 December 1960.

SLV-2000-2 349 SLV Janes Jansa 09/11/2004 31/12/2004
Jansa was born on 17 September 1958. See `www.rulers.org`.

2.64 GREECE

GRC-1863 350 GRC George I 30/03/1863 18/03/1913
George I was assassinated by a Greek.

GRC-1913 350 GRC Konstantinos I 18/03/1913 12/06/1917
Konstantinos I was exiled in Switzerland.

GRC-1917 350 GRC Venizelos 27/06/1917 18/11/1920
Venizelos was born on August 23, 1864. The Atlanta Constitution, Nov. 19, 1920, p.1, p.6, column 5: Venizelos goes into exile, secretly, to Nice, where his son is. See also, The Atlanta Constitution, Jan. 13, 1921, p.5. Later goes to London. For Obituaries, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 18, 1936, p.1

The Encyclopedia Brittanica reports: "At the outbreak of World War I, Prime Minister Venizélos proposed that the Greek army fight the Turks, who were allies of Germany. King Constantine however, was in sympathy with the Central Powers and opposed him. For two years Venizélos struggled to change the king's mind, but, after the invasion of Greek Macedonia by German-Austrian-Bulgarian armies (1916), he assumed the leadership of an anti-Constantine insurrection in Macedonia, Crete, and the islands. He organized a new panhellenic army in the Macedonian allied front and, following Franco-British intervention, forced Constantine into exile (1917). Greece, reunited under King Alexander, second son of Constantine, and Prime Minister Venizélos, declared war against the Central Powers. As soon as hostilities ended, Venizélos went to Paris to participate in the peace conferences. During his absence from Greece for almost two years, he acquired a reputation as an international statesman of considerable stature. In July 1919 he reached agreement with the Italians on the cession of the Dodecanese and secured an extension of the Greek area of occupation in Anatolia. The Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria (November 1919) and the Treaty of Svres with Turkey (August 1920) were triumphs both for Venizélos and for Greece. Venizélos returned to Athens in September 1920, and King Alexander suddenly died in October. Despite Venizélos' international triumph, the Greek people, in the November 1920 elections, gave a parliamentary majority to a coalition of monarchist parties, and King Constantine was recalled by a plebiscite. The defeat may perhaps be attributed to Venizélos' loss of popularity during his long absence, the continued maintenance of martial law, and the continuing hostilities with Turkey, the government of which was holding out against the impositions of the Treaty of Svres. Venizélos abruptly left Greece and exiled himself in Paris."

GRC-1920-1 350 GRC Rallis 18/11/1920 11/12/1920
Lentz: Failing health forced his resignation on February 6,1921. Rallis died August 19, 1921. Steps down PM 6/2/1921. Dies in Athens 19/8/1921.

GRC-1920-2 350 GRC Konstantinos I 11/12/1920 27/09/1922
The King abdicates, *The New York Times*, 28 September, 1922, p.1. See also The Los Angeles Times, September 28, 1922, p. 11 "Ex-King is in Prison." Note that The *Washington Post*, December 3, 1922, p. 27 "Palliates Greek Executions" explicitly notes that Constantine was *not* imprisoned. Konstantinos I was exiled in Palermo, Sicily. Dies of heart disease 11/1/1923.

GRC-1922-1 350 GRC Plastiras 27/09/1922 27/11/1922

Plastiras was a Colonel. See *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 3, 1922, pg.1. Also, *The New York Times*, Nov. 4, 1923, p.S6. See also *Los Angeles Times*, Jun. 8, 1924, p.I11. Coup leader, steps down for his co-coup leader Gonatas.

GRC-1922-2 350 GRC Gonatas 27/11/1922 24/01/1924

Gonatas was born on 15 August, 1875. Colonel. See also *Los Angeles Times*, Jun. 8, 1924, p.I11. He executed several leading members of the former King's cabinet. See The Atlanta Constitution, November 29, 1922, p. 1 "Ignoring Britain, Greece Executes Cabinet Members." See also The *Washington Post*, December 3, 1922, p. 27 "Palliates Greek Executions."

For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, March 30, 1966, p.45. Jailed for four months by the Nazi occupation.

GRC-1924-1 350 GRC Venizelos 24/01/1924 19/02/1924

Lentz claims he steps down due to poor health. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 18, 1936, p.1 writes: "A plebiscite on April 13, 1924, established the Greek republic. Venizelos resigned the premiership in June due to ill health. For four years he recuperated in various countries of Europe." Apparently he had a heart attack "while engaged in a heated legislative debate, four physicians gave the verdict that he must rest, and in June, 1924, he resigned." From The *Washington Post*, March 19, 1936, pp.1 & 16 column 1. For his resignation on February 4, 1924, also on account of ill health, see *The New York Times*, March 19, 1936, p.12. The newspapers insist he spent time recuperating abroad, but that looks suspiciously like self-imposed exile. Since the papers are unanimous, however, we code him as not punished. He voluntary resigns.

GRC-1924-2 350 GRC Kaphantaris 19/02/1924 12/03/1924

Lentz: Exiled several times during Metaxas' rule. *The New York Times*, July 19, 1926, p.1. "Former Premiers Kafandaries, Papanastasion and Michalakopoulos have been arrested in connection with the discovery of a plot to overthrow the Government and take the life of President Pangalos. They are being transported to the Island of Naxos."

GRC-1924-3 350 GRC Papanastasiou 12/03/1924 24/07/1924

See *The New York Times*, July 27, 1924, p. XX7. Lentz: arrested in 1926, but released after two months, later that same year arrested again. *The New York Times*, July 19, 1926, p.1. "Former Premiers Kafandaries, Papanastasion and Michalakopoulos have been arrested in connection with the discovery of a plot to overthrow the Government and take the life of President Pangalos. They are being transported to the Island of Naxos." He was forced to resign, accused of Communist sympathies. Trial threatened but cancelled.

GRC-1924-4 350 GRC Sophoulis 24/07/1924 07/10/1924

Lentz: arrested by the Nazis and put in the Haidari concentration camp. Archaeologist.

GRC-1924-5 350 GRC Michalakopoulos 07/10/1924 26/06/1925

Returns to office as foreign minister in 1926. Removed in an army coup, *The New York Times* 26 June, 1925, p. 1. *The New York Times*, July 19, 1926, p.1. Dateline: Athens, Greece, July 18. "Former Premiers Kafandaries, Papanastasion and Michalakopoulos

have been arrested in connection with the discovery of a plot to overthrow the Government and take the life of President Pangalos. They are being transported to the Island of Naxos." Hence, he is jailed more than one year after losing office (to be precise, 1 year and 3 weeks +) ... So, coded as not punished. See also *Christian Science Monitor*, October 19, 1926, p.6 where he is free and addresses his party. He is banished for sedition by Metaxas in 1938, See The *Washington Post*, Feb. 11, 1938, p. X5. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, March 28, 1938, p. 15. He was educated at the University of Athens, in law and practiced law for several years. Confirms he was exiled, but allowed home due to ill health.

GRC-1925 350 GRC Pangalos 26/06/1925 22/08/1926

For the coup this brings him to power, *Christian Science Monitor*, Jan 27, 1925, p.14. *The New York Times*, July 19, 1926, p.1. He bans Plastiras, after he had allowed Plastiras to return form exile first .... Removed, in turn, in a military coup, *The New York Times* 23 August, 1926, p. 1. For his fate, see *The New York Times*, July 11, 1927, p.2. *The New York Times*, October 31, 1930, p.10. Pangalos arrested. Also notes, "Oct. 30 - General Theodorus Pangalos was arrested at Eleusis tonight. He was deposed as President in 1926, exile, brought back to Greece for trial on a charge of murder during the revolution in which he seized control of the government and acquitted." ... He was imprisoned on a charge of treason two years ago [hence in 1928, HG], freed by Premier Venizelos and was jailed again when a band of his supporters fired upon Venizelos adherents. He was acquitted on a charge of manslaughter in connection with that incident." Tries to flee, captured. Imprisoned.

GRC-1926-1 350 GRC Kondilis 23/08/1926 04/12/1926

Lentz: Kondolys was arrested and imprisoned for his opposition to the dictatorship of General Theodoros Pangalos in February 1926. Amnestied two months later. Arrested in March 1933. For his coup, see also *The New York Times*, August 29, 1926, p. XX9

GRC-1926-2 350 GRC Zaimis 04/12/1926 04/07/1928

For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, September 16, 1936, p. 25. Dies in exile, in Vienna. His father, Thasyboulos Zaimis, had been Prime Minister twice. Studied Law at the University of Athens. Elected President in 1929, reelected president Oct. 19, 1934. Accepted the Royalist coup of Oct. 10, 1935. "Dispatches from Athens" on Oct. 11 recorded that the Greek newspapers stated that Field Marshall Kondylis, leader of the revolution, visited President Zaimis at his seaside villa at Phalleron, informed him of the change. Mr. Zaimis left the country, urging all Greeks to "cooperate with the King."

GRC-1928 350 GRC Venizelos 04/07/1928 26/05/1932

For his loss of office, see *The New York Times*, May 22, 1932, p.1. Also *The New York Times*, May 24, 1932, p.8 & The *Washington Post*, May 27, 1932, p.1.

GRC-1932-1 350 GRC Papanastasiou 26/05/1932 05/06/1932

For entry, see The *Washington Post*, May 27, 1932, p.1. Bans Pangalos, *The New York Times*, June 2, 1932, p.6. For resignation, *Christian Science Monitor*, June 6, 1932, p.1.

GRC-1932-2 350 GRC Venizelos 05/06/1932 03/11/1932

For entry *Christian Science Monitor*, June 6, 1932, p.1. For exit, see The *Washington Post*, Oct. 31, 1932, p.1.

GRC-1932-3 350 GRC Tsaldaris 04/11/1932 11/01/1933

Tsaldaris had been temporarily imprisoned in 1922. For entry see The *Washington Post*, Oct. 31, 1932, p.1. For exit see Lentz. Retires to Crete in 10/1934

GRC-1933-1 350 GRC Venizelos 16/01/1933 06/03/1933

For entry again, *The New York Times*, Jan 17, 1933, p. 8. Lentz: charges for complicity in the coup by Plastiras were considered but never filed. After losing office, in his home in Crete. Revolt in March 1935, Venizelos announces his support for the rebels, who are defeated, and Venizelos flees to Rhodes, condemned in absentia to death. He then flees to Paris. When George II is restored, he rescinds the death sentence. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 18, 1936, pp. 1 & 2, column 5.

GRC-1933-2 350 GRC Plastiras 06/03/1933 10/03/1933

Platsiras is dictator for eighteen hours, but has to flee the country. *The New York Times*, March 19, 1936, p.12. & *The New York Times*, March 8, 1933, p.10: Although both General Plastiras and General Othoneos, who headed the Cabinet of Generals and Admirals set up yesterday, were friends of former Premier Venizelos, they were personal enemies. While the Othoneos Cabinet was holding its first session this morning President Zaimis received a telegram from General Kondylis threatening to march on Athens with 20,000 infantrymen unless the power was handed over at once to the country's duly elected representatives. SAY PLASTIRAS FLED IN PLANE. General Othoneos prepared to yield to M. Tsaldaris, who demanded the punishment of the authors of the revolt. An order was issued for the arrest of General Plastiras, but he could not be found. It was rumored he had fled ..... [illegible, HG]. Before the change in government could be effected General Kondylis arrived in the capital with his armed followers. General Othones immediately yielded. ... M. Tsaldaries [says, HG] "The Othoneos military Cabinet took power with my consent," he told his interviewer, "because I believed armed men could better command the situation. General Kondylis will be a member of my Cabinet." There was a question here on who the real leader is: Plastiras or Othonaios. We decided to note Plastiras as the leader because it seems clear he is the main motor behind the coup. See also *Christian Science Monitor*, March 7, 1933, p.1 & also *Wall Street Journal*, March 7, 1933, p. 11 & *The New York Times*, March 9, 1933, p.12 & *The New York Times*, March 8, 1933, p.10. See also Lentz.

GRC-1933-3 350 GRC Tsaldaris 10/03/1933 10/10/1935

Military moves to reinstate the King, bloodless coup. New York Times 11 October, 1935, p. 1; Lentz 1999, p. 208. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, May 17, 1936, p.N8. Dies more than 6 months after leaving office, so not considered censored. Dies of heart attack 17/5/1936.

GRC-1935-1 350 GRC Kondilis 10/10/1935 30/11/1935

Dies a natural death two months after out. For entry, see *The New York Times*, October 13, 1935, p.30. *The New York Times*, December 1, 1935, p.35. Says there are rumors he intends to go abroad. Obituary, *The New York Times*, Feb 1, 1936, p. 5 & The *Washington Post*, Feb. 1, 1936, p.1. The latter mentions that "unconfirmed reports

the former had been poisoned by his political enemies were quickly denied." Dies of heart attack 31/1/1936

GRC-1935-2 350 GRC Demertzis 30/11/1935 12/04/1936

For his entry, see *The New York Times*, December 1, 1935, p.35. He was a law professor, according to The *Washington Post*, Dec. 8, 1935, p.SA3. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, April 14, 1936, p.17.Dies of heat attack.

GRC-1936 350 GRC Metaxas 22/04/1936 29/01/1941

For his entry, see *The New York Times*, April 14, 1936, p.17. Which reports: "General Metaxas took the oath of office this evening. His appointment by the King caused great discontent among followers of Themistocles Sophoulis, President of the Chamber of Deputies and Venizelist leader, who demand that the King leave the situation created by the death of the Premier to Parliament, as provided by the Constitution."

Metaxas launches an *aut-golpe*. *The New York Times*, January 30, 1938, p.64 "The Greek Dictatorship." "One more addition has been made to the growing list of unashamed dictatorships. General John Metaxas, virtual dictator of Greece since the Summer of 1936, now announces "a period of severity without any pity." The role of King Goerge II, if any, in the transition is not disclosed. ... Metaxas's excuse for doing away with the pretense of democracy—and strengthening himself in power—is the old one of defending the state against its "enemies *** bought by Moscow"; against "subversive elements *** seeking to disturb the peace." [*sic*] The reason is said to be his fear of a growing opposition. ... The international implications of Metaxas's coup are likely to cause concern in Great Britain and France. The Germaniphile tendencies of the dictator are marked. Trained as a staff office in imperial Germany, he was very critical of the Allies during the World War."

For an alleged plot to assassinate him in 1938, see *Christian Science Monitor*, July 29, 1938, p.1 "Revolt Flares in Crete; 'Crushed,' Metaxas Says."

He dies in Athens after a brief illness on January 29, 1941.

GRC-1941-1 350 GRC Korizis 29/01/1941 18/04/1941

Korizis committed suicide.

GRC-1941-2 350 GRC Tsouderos 21/04/1941 29/04/1941

German conquest, Lentz 1999, p. 210. Exiled in Egypt.

GRC-1944 350 GRC G. Papandreou 18/10/1944 03/01/1945

Lentz. Law degree at the University of Athens. Sent into exile during Metaxas' dictatorship. Remains active in government, minister of interior in '47 and deputy PM 1950-1. Comes back in the sixties. Imprisoned by the Junta in 1967

GRC-1945-1 350 GRC Plastiras 03/01/1945 09/04/1945

See Lentz on his Plastiras's post tenure fate.

GRC-1945-2 350 GRC Voulgaris 09/04/1945 09/10/1945

Voulgaris was an admiral. Regent while George II in exile. See Lentz.

GRC-1945-3 350 GRC Damaskinos 17/10/1945 01/11/1945

Lentz: Priest. Regent for Constantine II. See also for entry, *The New York Times*, Oct. 18, 1945, p.8. Had also been exiled under Metaxas.

GRC-1945-4 350 GRC Kanellopoulos 01/11/1945 22/11/1945

Lentz: studied Law and Sociology, taught sociology at Athens University. Nothing else to be found.

GRC-1945-5 350 GRC Sophoulis 22/11/1945 04/04/1946

See Lenz on post tenure fate of this leader.

GRC-1946-1 350 GRC Poulitsas 04/04/1946 18/04/1946

Lentz: Law degree. For entry, see also *Christian Science Monitor*, April 5, 1946, p.6

GRC-1946-2 350 GRC K. Tsaldaris 18/04/1946 22/01/1947

Lentz: Law degree from University of Athens. (Briefly jailed in 1926. Arrested by the Italians in the 1940s.) Undersecretary in the government of his uncle, Panagis Tsaldaris. (Thus, related to a previous ruler.) Deputy PM and Foreign Minister in the cabinet. See Lenz and also *Christian Science Monitor*, April 5, 1946, p.6 for the post tenure fate of this leader.

GRC-1947-1 350 GRC Maximos 25/01/1947 25/08/1947

The New York Times, Jan. 25, 1947, p.2 Maximos was former Governor of the Bank of Greece. For Obituary, see *The New York Times*, Oct.17, 1955, p.27. Maximos studied law in Athens and Paris.

GRC-1947-2 350 GRC K. Tsaldaris 29/08/1947 05/09/1947

See Lentz on his post tenure fate.

GRC-1947-3 350 GRC Sophoulis 08/09/1947 24/06/1949

See Lentz on his post tenure fate.

GRC-1949 350 GRC Diomidis 30/06/1949 06/01/1950

Lentz: Degree in economics. Governor of the bank in 1923. Dies 11/11/1950 of a kidney ailment.

GRC-1950-1 350 GRC Theotokis 06/01/1950 05/03/1950

Lentz: Degree in Agriculture from the University of Vienna.

GRC-1950-2 350 GRC S. Venizelos 23/03/1950 15/04/1950

Lentz: Son of Eleutherio Venizelos. Educated at the Athens Military Academy. Deputy PM under Plastiras.

GRC-1950-3 350 GRC Plastiras 15/04/1950 21/08/1950

Plastiras is in Chicago in June 1951. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 12 June 1951, p.A8.

GRC-1950-4 350 GRC S. Venizelos 21/08/1950 01/11/1951

Caretaker. The *Washington Post*, Sept. 30, 1951. See also Lentz on his post tenure fate.

GRC-1951 350 GRC Plastiras 01/11/1951 11/10/1952

Lentz mentions that Plastiras was forced to resign due to health. Recovers sufficiently to run in the election of November 1952. Series of heart attacks in July 1953 and dies

July 26, 1953. For his "partial paralysis", see The *Washington Post*, March 11, 1952, p.12 "Greek Premier Ill, Partially Paralyzed." Not much subsequently in the newspapers on his health. Lentz notes that S. Venizelos takes care of business in the meantime. For entry, see Lentz & The *Washington Post*, Sept. 30, 1951. For his obituary, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 27, 1953, p. C6. His obit closes his government with S. Venizelos with "He was beset by illness and suffered a stroke, after which he spent much time abroad for treatment." See also The *Washington Post*, July 27, 1953, p.16 & especially *The New York Times*, July 27, 1953, p. 19.

GRC-1952-1 350 GRC Kiousopoulos 11/10/1952 19/11/1952

Kiousopoulos lead a Caretaker government. *The New York Times*, October 11, 1952, p.4.

GRC-1952-2 350 GRC Papagos 19/11/1952 04/10/1955

Papagos was a Field Marshall. Lentz: Arrested in 1941 for his activities in the Resistance, interned in a concentration camp.

GRC-1955-1 350 GRC Stephanopoulos 04/10/1955 06/10/1955

Lentz, educated in Athens and Paris, Law degree.

GRC-1955-2 350 GRC Karamanlis 06/10/1955 05/03/1958

Karamanlis was educated at the University of Athens, law degree. Returns to office many times. In 2004, his nephew of the same name - see below - comes to power.

GRC-1958-1 350 GRC Georgakopoulos 05/03/1958 17/05/1958

Lentz: Law degree, military judge. Caretaker government.

GRC-1958-2 350 GRC Karamanlis 17/05/1958 20/09/1961

Karamanlis was exiled in Paris.

GRC-1961-1 350 GRC Dovas 20/09/1961 04/11/1961

Lentz: Attended military school in Athens. Rose to the rank of lieutenant general. Caretaker government. He accompanied King Constantine into exile in Rome following the military coup of 1967. Allowed to return to Greece in 1968.

GRC-1961-2 350 GRC Karamanlis 04/11/1961 11/06/1963

Lentz: Karamanlis left Greece for exile in Paris the following month.

GRC-1963-1 350 GRC Pimpernels 17/06/1963 29/09/1963

Lentz: Law degree, educated in Switzerland. After he loses office elected to parliament. Collaborates later with the military junta.

GRC-1963-2 350 GRC Mavromichalis 29/09/1963 08/11/1963

Lentz: law degree, educated in Greece, Germany, and Switzerland, judge in 1923. After he loses office becomes president of the Greek Supreme Court until 1968. Interim PM.

GRC-1963-3 350 GRC G. Papandreou 08/11/1963 24/12/1963

See Lentz on his post tenure fate.

GRC-1963-4 350 GRC Paraskevopoulos 31/12/1963 18/02/1964
Lentz: Banker. Caretaker PM.

GRC-1964 350 GRC G. Papandreou 18/02/1964 15/07/1965

Lentz: He resigned from office on July 15, 1965, following a dispute with King Constantine over the question of control of the armed forces. Papandeou's party was again expected to win the elections of 1967, but the government was taken over by the military in April of 1967. Papandreou was arrested by the junta leaders and imprisoned. He was in poor health at the time and was sent to a military hospital for treatment. He was released and placed under house arrest until he was granted amnesty in December of 1967. *Los Angeles Times*, 16 July, 1965, p.2 "Pushing Greece into a major crisis, young King Constantine Thursday swore a new man into office before Premier George Papandreou could carry out threats to resign. "I said I would resign tomorrow, tomorrow!" cried Papandreou who had gathered at his home with aides after broadcasting to the Greek people his decision to step down. The newly named premier is parliament president George Athanasiades-Novas, a member of Papandreou's own Center Union Party. "They can't do this. This is a coup d'état!" shouted supporters of Papandreou, ..." The king's move is apparently unprecedented. See also the *Washington Post*, July 16, 1965, p. A18. Riots afterwards by Papandreou's supporters. See also *The New York Times* 16 July, 1965, p. 4.

GRC-1965-1 350 GRC Athaniadis-Novas 15/07/1965 05/08/1965

Los Angeles Times, 16 July, 1965, p.2 "Pushing Greece into a major crisis, young King Constantine Thursday swore a new man into office before Premier George Papandreou could carry out threats to resign. "I said I would resign tomorrow, tomorrow!" cried Papandreou who had gathered at his home with aides after broadcasting to the Greek people his decision to step down. The newly named premier is parliament president George Athanasiades-Novas, a member of Papandreou's own Center Union Party. "They can't do this. This is a coup d'état!" shouted supporters of Papandreou, ..." The king's move is apparently unprecedented. See also the *Washington Post*, July 16, 1965, p. A18.

GRC-1965-2 350 GRC Tsirimokos 20/08/1965 29/08/1965

Trained as a criminal lawyer, 3 years at the University of Paris in sociology, political science and economics. Practiced criminal law. *The New York Times*, August 20, 1965, p.6. "His father and grandfather had been ministers and speakers of Parliament and one of his brothers was a deputy." Lentz.

GRC-1965-3 350 GRC Stephanopoulos 17/09/1965 22/12/1966

Lentz. Also, *The New York Times*, 21 December, 1966, pp.1 & 16. Also, The *Washington Post*, 5 July, 1968, p.A4. Perhaps arrested under the coup, "Early in the day, there were reports of the arrest of Mr. Papandreou, his son, Andreas, former Premier Stefanos Stephanopoulos, ..." *The New York Times*, April 22, 1967, p.1. See also *The New York Times*, April 27, 1967, p.5.

GRC-1966 350 GRC Paraskevopoulos 22/12/1966 30/03/1967

The New York Times, January 4, 1968, p. 8. "Greece's revolutionary regime today dismissed four leading bankers from their posts with no explanation. One was Prof. Ioannis Paraskevolpoulos, governor of the National Bank of Greece, the country's leading

commercial bank. Dismissed with Professor Paraskevopoulos, who since 1964 has twice been premier of Greek caretaker cabinets were two deputy governors ....” Seems OK for the rest.

GRC-1967-1 350 GRC Kanellopoulos 03/04/1967 21/04/1967

The New York Times, April 17, 1967, p. 4. Unable to form a government and dissolved Parliament, thus automatically summoning an election. “After tanks had moved at midnight to strategic positions, their machine guns ready, military patrols arrested Premier Panayotis Kanellopoulos and most of his ministers at 3 A.M. Mr. Kanellopoulos was said to have been taken away by force when he put up resistance to arrest by an army patrol under a captain.” *The New York Times*, April 22, 1967, p.1 & 4. Also, *Los Angeles Times*, 19 April, 1968, p.2. See, Lentz. Caretaker government, arrested then released.

GRC-1967-2 350 GRC Kollias 21/04/1967 13/12/1967

Konstantinos Kollias, becomes a premier after a military coup. After failing in a countercoup (Dec., 1967), civilan PM flees, exile, after failed counter coup by Greek king (who supported his installation in the first place). The military junta leader finally takes over the government. *Washington Post* 14 December, 1967, p. A1. For irregular entry, see *The New York Times*, 22 April, 1967, p. 1 & 4. Lentz has Kollias as “vice-prosecutor on the Supreme Court from 1946 and Supreme Court prosecutor from 1962.” This is indirectly confirmed by the Chicago Tribune Jan. 8, 1968, p. 16 “Returns Home.” See also *The New York Times*, Jan 8, 1968, p.10.

There is another Constantine Kollias, a Lt. Gen., but he is a different guy and not the relevant leader. (For Lt. Gen. Kollias, see CMS, July 16, 1968, p. 14 “Greek general arrested for ’67 coup attempt.”)

GRC-1967-3 350 GRC Papadopoulos 13/12/1967 25/11/1973

Military coup, *The New York Times* 26 November, 1973, p. 1. Arrested, tried for treason. Life in prison.

DELETED

GRC-1973 350 GRC Gizikis 25/11/1973 24/07/1974

Lentz: attended military school. Resigns as president 15 December 1974. For his irregular entry, see *The New York Times*, July 24, 1974, p.1. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, July 30, 1999, p.A17. “In 1976 a military judicial council dropped proceedings against him and 88 other former officers charged with treason and mutiny for collaborating with the former junta.”

We replace Gizikis with the General who really was in charge. General Ioannides.

GRC-1973 350 GRC Ioannides 25/11/1973 24/07/1974

Brigadier Dimitris Iannidis, chief of the military police under Papadopolous. For him being the effective leader, see *Declassified Documents Reference System.* Farmington Hills, Mich.: Gale, 2008. Document Number: CK3100542450. Date Declassified: Nov 14, 2003. Complete. 2 pages.“Richard Kennedy and Rosemary Niehuss provide Secretary of State

Henry Kissinger with background information in preparation for a Washington Special Actions Group (WSAG) meeting called to examine U.S. policy toward the Greek-Turkish conflict over the island of Cyprus." Memo.

For his exit, see *The Washington Post*, August 2, 1974, p. A1. "Premier Restores Greek Constitution." "Today's announcement coincided with authoritative reports that the nine-day-old civilian government is gradually moving against supporters of Gen. Dimitrios Ioannides, chief of the military policy and reputed strong man in the junta that lost power after the disastrous venture in which President Makarios of Cyprus was overthrown by the Greek-led Cypriot National Guard. ... Pending settlement of the monetary issue, Gen. Phaedon Gizikis, who was installed as president after last November's military coup, will serve as head of state." And *The Washington Post*, September 28, 1974, p. A12. "Shouting Crowd Traps Ex-Leader in Athens Court." "Hundred of demonstrators shouting "Give him to us to kill," kept former Greek military ruler Dimitrios Ioannides trapped for hours yesterday in an Athens courthouse."

For his post-exit fate, see *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 1975, p.4 "Ioannides Jailed for 1967 Greek Coup." "Brig. Gen. Dimitrios Ioannides, the most feared man in the former Greek military regime, was jailed Tuesday on charges which could bring him the death penalty. Ioannides, 52, is the first member of the junta to be jailed in connection with the April, 1967, army coup which abolished democratic rule and established a seven-year dictatorship in Greece."

Wikipedia has him born March 13, 1923. As of May 2008, he is still in jail.

GRC-1974 350 GRC Karamanlis 24/07/1974 09/05/1980

Lentz: becomes president afterwards. For his entry, see The *Washington Post*, 24 July, 1974, p. A1 & A15. Called home from exile.

GRC-1980 350 GRC Rallis 09/05/1980 21/10/1981

Lentz: His father had served as prime minister in the Nazi-backed government of Greece under German occupation in WW II. Educated at Athens University.

GRC-1981 350 GRC A. Papandreou 21/10/1981 02/07/1989

Lentz: Son of George Papandreou, former PM. Attended University of Athens Law School. Attended Columbia and Harvard where he got his Ph.D. Became a US citizen in 1944. Taught economics at various universities. Kept in solitary confinement by the junta for eight months before released in an amnesty in December of 1967, then exile. Indicted on corruption charges in September 1989, after his parliamentary immunity was lifted, but was acquitted of corruption charges in January 1992.

GRC-1989-1 350 GRC Tzannetakis 02/07/1989 11/10/1989

See Lentz on post tenure fate.

GRC-1989-2 350 GRC Grivas 11/10/1989 23/11/1989

Lentz: Served as president of the Greek Supreme Court. Caretaker.

GRC-1989-3 350 GRC Zolotas 28/11/1989 10/04/1990

Lentz: Attended University of Athens, the University of Leipzig, the University of Paris. Taught economics at the University of Athens.

GRC-1990 350 GRC Mitsotakis 11/04/1990 13/10/1993

Born 18 October, 1918. See for his entry: *The New York Times*, April 12, 1990, p. A1. But the page number on the image says page A3. Arrested by the Nazis on several occasions and survived a death sentence. Arrested by the junta, put under house arrest, escaped, went into exile. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 40, 1994, September: Indicted by Greek parliament September 15, 1994, on bribery charges. Dismissed from the New Democracy party on 14 September by the party chair. ***Keesing's*** Volume 41, 1995, January. Parliament voted on January 16, 1995 to drop charges of illegal wiretapping and corruption against Mitsotakis.

GRC-1993 350 GRC A. Papandreou 13/10/1993 20/11/1995

A. Papandreou , son of George Papandreou, was born on 5 February, 1919. Lives longer than 6 months after he is out of office thus his post tenure fate is coded ad 0. See *The New York Times*, January 17, 1996, p.A8. He was too ill to continue, his duties are taken over by Tsokhatzopoulos, while Papandreou is in hospital. Dies June 23, 1996.

GRC-1995 350 GRC Tsokhatzopulos 20/11/1995 22/01/1996

Akis, or Apostolos-Athanasios, Tsokhatzopulos was Minister of Interior under Papandreou. See *The New York Times*, January 17, 1996, p.A8. Personal communication from Jutta Stroszeck: Now parliamentarian. Currently under indictment (court case?) for bribery when he was minister of defense.

GRC-1996 350 GRC Simitis 22/01/1996 10/03/2004

GRC-2004 350 GRC Konstantinos Karamanlis 10/03/2004 31/12/2004

Byname: Kostas. Nephew of earlier Konstantinos Karamanlis. (Same name, different birthdate, this one's born Sept. 14, 1956, in Athens; the earlier Konstantinos (Georgiou) Karamanlies was b. March 8 [Feb. 23, O.S.], 1907, Küpköy, Macedonia, Ottoman Empire [now Proti, Greece] - d. April 22, 1998, Athens, Greece.

2.65 CYPRUS

See Lentz and ***Keesing's*** for the leaders of Cyprus.

CYP-1960 352 CYP Makarios 16/08/1960 15/07/1974

Military coup, led by Greek officers. *Washington Post* 16 July, 1974, p. A1. Makarios fled to a British base after he lost power.

CYP-1974-1 352 CYP Sampson 16/07/1974 23/07/1974

Washington Post, July 24, 1974, p.A16: "In Cyprus, Mr. Sampson meanwhile performed the single redeeming act of his political career, resigning in favor of Glafcos Clerides, a Greek Cypriot communal leader respected by the Turkish Cypriot minority. He had little choice. His patrons in Athens had collapsed and in barely a week his own army had been defeated and a large Turkish force put ashore. Few politicians have met such complete failure so quickly."

Christian Science Monitor, July 24, 1974, p. 14, notes: "Simultaneously in Cyprus the discredited coup leader Nikos Sampson has been ousted, and his pleace as head of state taken by the respected National Assemply president Glafkos Clerides."

The New York Times, July 24, 1974, p. 1 & 15 has more on Sampson and his background. It notes that Sampson resigned and "It had been apparent to political observers that Mr. Sampson, a terrorist gunman in the struggle against British control //p.15// in the nineteen-fifties, had been in deep trouble, commanding little support either from world opinion or among his own people."

So, on the one hand, "resigned," on the other hand, the guys who put him in power, "his patrons in Athens had collapsed." Resigned looks like a technicality and code his exit as irregular because he was shored up only by Athens and once they collapsed he was out. Sampson was arrested and jailed. See also The Alternative Biography Of Nikos Samson. By E. Antoniou.

CYP-1974-2 352 CYP Clerides 23/07/1974 07/12/1974

See Lenz on post tenure fate of this leader.

CYP-1974-3 352 CYP Makarios 07/12/1974 03/08/1977

CYP-1977 352 CYP Kyprianou 03/08/1977 28/02/1988

Lentz: His 21 year old son was kidnapped by the rightwing EOKA-B 1977, but released. He had a degree in Law, and was educated in Britain.

CYP-1988 352 CYP Vassiliou 28/02/1988 28/02/1993

Lentz: attended medical school at the University of Geneva, also studied economics at the University of London.

CYP-1993 352 CYP Clerides 28/02/1993 28/02/2003

Clerides was educated in London, Lawyer. He favored union with Turkish Cyprus. Loses office 28 February 2003, to Tassos Papadopoulos.

CYP-2003 352 CYP Tassos Papadopoulos 28/02/2003 31/12/2004

Educated in London?

2.66 BULGARIA

BUL-1887 355 BUL Ferdinand I 07/08/1887 03/10/1918
Ferdinand I abdicated, and went to exile in Coburg.

BUL-1918 355 BUL Boris III 03/10/1918 29/08/1943
Son of Ferdinand I of Bulgaria and Maria Luisa of Bourbon-Parma. Boris III; Heart attack, shot or poisoned. Rumors swell around his demise. Jones and Olken "Hit or Miss" code him as assassinated. *The New York Times*, February 29, 2000, p. B9, "Ioanna, Ex-Queen of Bulgaria, Dies in Portuguese Exile at 92" records that "In 1943 the king became ill during his second visit to Hitler. .... The king fell mortally ill soon after the visit and died at 49; there is lingering suspicion that he was poisoned. But this was never proved. "Such a conspiracy theory must remain a mere conjecture, attractive only because alternative explanations are so unsatisfactory," Marshall Lee Miller said in his book "Bulgaria During the Second World War (Stanford University Press, 1975)."

BUL-1943 355 BUL Cyril 29/08/1943 09/09/1944
Cyril was Regent. Government ousted by leader of Fatherland Front in the face of Soviet invasion. The Fatherland Front was primarily a political resistance organization, formed by communist and other parties. I think it is most accurately described as domestic rebel force, acting with foreign support (since the SU had declared war on Bulgaria and was in the process of invading), even though it was able to command the Sofia garrison to execute the coup of Sept 9th. See Wikipedia: `http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fatherland_Front_(Bulgaria)`; Bulgaria.com: `http://www.bulgaria.com/history/bulgaria/war2.html`; Lentz 1994, p. 118. Tried and executed on 1/2/1945. Brother of Boris III. See *The New York Times*, June 17, 2001, p. 3 "Bulgaria, Voting Today, Looks Kindly on Ex-King."

BUL-1944 355 BUL Georgiev 09/09/1944 23/11/1946
Lentz. Attended Military School. Subsequently foreign minister in the Communist government.

BUL-1946 355 BUL Dimitrov 23/11/1946 02/07/1949
Dimitrov was born in 18 June, 1882. Goes to Russia for treatment April 1949. Dies there.

BUL-1949 355 BUL Kolarov 20/07/1949 23/01/1950
Kolarov was born on 16 July 1877.

BUL-1950 355 BUL Chervenkov 01/02/1950 16/04/1956
Chervenkov was born on 24 August, 1900. Lentz: remained in the government as deputy PM and minister of education and culture until 1962, when he was expelled from the party.

BUL-1956 355 BUL Zhivkov 16/04/1956 10/11/1989
Zhivkov was born on 7 September 1911. See also *The New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1991, p. A16. Put under house arrest in January 1990.

Keesing's Vol. 34, Nov. 1988, notes a failed bid to oust him in July? ***Keesing's*** Vol. 35, November 1989: "Circumstances of Zhivkov's removal" "Zhivkov's departure, at a central committee plenum, was officially at his own request, but it subsequently emerged that Mladenov had tabled a vote on Zhivkov's removal at a meeting of the politburo on Nov. 9, and that the 10 voting members had apparently divided six to four in favour. The plenum on Nov. 10 unanimously accepted Zhivkov's "resignation", and elected Mladenov to succeed him with only one vote against. Mladenov's decision to move against Zhivkov had allegedly been prompted by his outrage at the renewal in May 1989 of repressions against Bulgaria's ethnic Turks, more than 300,000 of whom fled the country between June and August. This loss of over 3 per cent of the population caused serious disruption to Bulgaria's already shaky economy, and undermined Mladenov's efforts to restore Bulgaria's international reputation after the 1984-85 campaign against the Turkish minority. According to observers, Zhivkov also antagonized other members of the leadership, notably Defence Minister Dobri Dzhurov, by promoting his son Vladimir Zhivkov in July to run the central committee's culture department, apparently grooming him for the succession. (Zhivkov's daughter Lyudmila had been seen as a possible successor until her sudden death in 1981- ; 35520). On Oct. 24 Mladenov had tendered his resignation as Foreign Minister, reportedly following a quarrel with Zhivkov, but this had been rejected. Days later Mladenov allegedly stopped off in Moscow en route from a visit to China, and secured backing from the Soviet leadership for a challenge to Zhivkov. At the politburo meeting on Nov. 9 he was apparently supported by Dzhurov, Prime Minister Georgi Atanasov, Ivan Panev, and former Zhivkov cohorts Yordan Yotov and Pencho Kubadinski. Zhivkov's unexpected removal confounded some predictions that Mladenov himself would be dismissed at the Nov. 10 plenum. BCP hardliners were believed to be angry that Mladenov, by putting forward Sofia as host of the recent CSCE international conference on environmental protection, had compelled them to show greater tolerance towards dissident groups, because of the presence of foreign delegations and journalists. On Nov. 3 around 4,000 people took part in a brief pro-democracy demonstration outside the National Assembly building, as members of the unofficial Eco-Glasnost environmental group handed in a 11,500-signature pro-conservation petition; this was to date the largest unofficial demonstration in Bulgaria since the advent of communist rule in 1947. Zhivkov, 78, had become BCP first secretary in 1954 amid a series of power struggles and party purges (his title had been changed to general secretary in 1981). Prime Minister in 1962-71, he then became President of the State Council (de facto head of state). For over 30 years a loyal adherent to the Soviet line, he found it hard to adjust to the policies of Mikhail Gorbachev. His economic reform policy of preustroistvo ("restructuring"– ostensibly akin to the Soviet perestroika) in practice appeared to consist of little more than frequent and confusing administrative reorganizations; and he continued to suppress political dissent, within and outside the BCP, despite his regular statements supporting democratization and glasnost. As recently as Oct. 30 Zhivkov had published a document (intended as the basis of the report he had been due to give at the Nov. 10 plenum) calling for preustroistvo to be stepped up and declaring the desirability of political pluralism." Note: since a vote was held, we code his removal as regular.

Keesing's Vol. 35, December 1989, notes that party general secretary Todor Zhivkov is "ousted." "The plenum [of the BCP central committee, HG] rescinded the vote of thanks to Zhivkov made on the occasion of his "resignation" as general secretary on

November 10. Mladenov noted that the central committee was responding to pressure by party rank-and-file members and the Bulgarian public who had "every reason to raise the question of his great personal guilt and responsibility for the perverted distortions of the past, and for the situation in which we now find ourselves". Zhivkov was among 26 people stripped of central committee membership. A three-day central committee plenum beginning on Dec. 11 went further in the repudiation of Zhivkov, expelling him from the BCP along with his son Vladimir Zhivkov and his former second- in-command Milko Balev. On Dec. 14 the mandates for Todor and Vladimir Zhivkov to sit as National Assembly deputies were withdrawn."

BUL-1989 355 BUL Mladenov 10/11/1989 06/07/1990

Mladenov was born on 22 August, 1936, died on May 31, 2000. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 35, 1989, "Circumstances of Zhivkov's removal" notes: "Mladenov, 53, was born near Vidin in north-west Bulgaria, the son of a communist underground activist who was killed while serving in a wartime partisan brigade. Mladenov studied in Sofia and Moscow, graduating in 1963 from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. He joined the BCP in 1964, and held senior posts in the Dimitrov Young Communist League prior to his appointment in 1969 as BCP district first secretary in Vidin. He was elected a member of the party central committee in 1971, a candidate politburo member in July 1977 and a full politburo member in December 1977. He was appointed Foreign Minister in December 1971."

Keesing's, Volume 46 (2000) June, reports that "he was forced to resign in July 1990 after the publication of videotaped comments which had made during public demonstrations in December 1989, which were interpreted as advocating the violent suppression of the protests." See also *The New York Times*, June 12, 2000, p. B6. "Hard-line Communist rule in Bulgaria did not collapse because of street demonstrations, as it had in Romania, Czechoslovakia and East Germany. Rather, it fell in a coup when reform-minded Communist leaders, including Mr. Mladenov, seized control of the government." Graduate from military school, later graduated from the Moscow State Institute for International Relations.

BUL-1990-1 355 BUL Lukanov 06/07/1990 07/12/1990

Lukanov was born on 26 September, 1938. Lentz: arrested on July 9, 1992, and charged with misappropriating state funds. See also *The New York Times*, July 10, 1992, p.A10. Killed, assassinated October 2, 1996, by two Ukrainians and a Bulgarian businessman (***Keesing's***, Vol. 49, 2004, November, see also Vol. 47, 2001, November on links between the killers and PM Videnov). ***Keesing's*** Vol. 38, 1992, July. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 37, 1991, September reports "Lukanov resigned from the party's presidium at the end of August and left for London in early September. (According to some opposition-inspired reports he had fled the country and was in hiding, while according to others he was merely on a business trip." Punishment occurs more than one year after ousted. Arrested on 9/7/1992. Murdered in 1996.

BUL-1990-2 355 BUL Popov 07/12/1990 08/11/1991

Popov was a politically independent judge. *The New York Times*, Dec. 8, 1990, p.3.

BUL-1991 355 BUL Dimitrov 08/11/1991 30/12/1992

Dimitrov was born on 31 March 1955. See Rulers.org on Dimitrov.

BUL-1992 355 BUL Berov 30/12/1992 17/10/1994

BUL-1994 355 BUL Indzhova 17/10/1994 25/01/1995
Indzhova is a Female, interim.

BUL-1995 355 BUL Videnov 25/01/1995 13/02/1997

BUL-1997-1 355 BUL Sofiyanski 13/02/1997 21/05/1997
Interim PM.

BUL-1997-2 355 BUL Kostov 21/05/1997 21/07/2001
Kostov was born on 23 December 1949.

BUL-2001 355 BUL Saksgoburggotski 24/07/2001 31/12/2004
Former king Simeon II - when he was only 6 years old. Still in office in 2005.Born on 16 June 1937. Oldest son of King Boris III. See *The New York Times*, June 17, 2001, p. 3 "Bulgaria, Voting Today, Looks Kindly on Ex-King."

2.67 MOLDOVA

A parliamentary democracy.
MLD-1990 359 MLD Snegur 03/09/1990 15/01/1997
See the German Encarta site (`de.encarta.msn`) on Snegur. He was born on 17 January 1940.

MLD-1997 359 MLD Lucinschi 15/01/1997 07/04/2001
Lucinschi was born on 27 January 1940. Rulers.org: "Moldova's presidency became an increasingly ceremonial post as lawmakers seeking to weaken Lucinschi's authority stripped the presidency of power. Encyclopedia Britannica: "A turning point in Moldova's post-Soviet history was marked on July 5, 2000, when an overwhelming majority in Parliament passed an amendment to the 1994 constitution transforming the country from a semi presidential into a parliamentary regime. ... Lucinschi vetoed the law and continued to press for a nationwide referendum to decide which system was preferred but to no avail." See also de.encarta.msn. So it looks like the system becomes parliamentary. But in the press, at least, the next President Voronin seems to play a significant role.

MLD-2001-1 359 MLD Tarlev 07/04/2001 31/12/2004

2.68 RUMANIA

RUM-1866 360 RUM Carol I 22/05/1866 10/10/1914
Carol I died of heart failure.

RUM-1914 360 RUM Ferdinand I 11/10/1914 21/07/1927
He was the son of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a brother of Prince Carol, who became King Carol I. Ferdinand was adopted as crown prince of Romania in 1889 by his uncle, whose only child had died. Ferdinand I was a Nephew of Carol I. Died of cancer. In 1925 his eldest son, the playboy crown prince Carol, renounced his rights to the throne, and Ferdinand was succeeded by his young grandson, Prince Mihail.

RUM-1927 360 RUM Nicholas 21/07/1927 08/06/1930
Lentz: Prince Nicholas, head of the regency council. de.encarta.msn: uncle of Michael. Hence brother of Carol II. Goes to visit Hungary. *The New York Times*, Dec. 10,1931, p.23. *Los Angeles Times*, October 27, 1932, p.1 "Conspiracy to Remove Carol Seen. A plot to oust King Carol and to restore Crown Prince Michael to the throne in Rumania under a regency is charged in official circles here as s result of the sudden return of Princess Helen and the announcement that Prince Nicholas will return tomorrow from his long exile in Paris." See also *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 11, 1938, p.G3. Reports that King Carol has summoned his exiled brother home.

RUM-1930 360 RUM Carol II 08/06/1930 06/09/1940
Carol II was born on 15 October, 1893. Had been in exile in Paris. Military strongmen Antonescu forces King to abdicate, New York Times 6 September, 1940, p. 1. Exile in Spain. Eldest son of Ferdinand I, brother of Nicholas, Father of Michael.

RUM-1940 360 RUM Antonescu 06/09/1940 23/08/1944
King leads coup, I label him as other government actor, Lentz 1999, p. 378. Antonescu was turned over to Soviet Union.

RUM-1944 360 RUM Michael 23/08/1944 30/12/1947
Is forced to abdicate - what is unclear is the role of the Soviet Union. I follow common sentiment in the Western media at the time, and code this as brought about by domestic government actors with foreign aid.

The New York Times 1 January, 1948, p. 1 & p. 14. "Michael a Victim of Communist Coup." This article records on p.14 "While the King and his staff are sworn to secrecy about yesterday's developments, this correspondent has received from a reliable source the following chronology of events: On Monday Michael was in Sinaiai with his mother and his staff. .... Late Monday Premier Groza telephoned to ask the King to return to Bucharest on Tuesday for discussion of an urgent state problem. The King agreed, but he and his staff were puzzled about the nature of the problem. Arriving at the palace of Princess Elizabeth on the outskirts of Bucharest on Tuesday morning, Michael observed that the area was heavily guarded by soldiers from the Tudor VLadmirescu Divisions-formed and trained in the Soviet Union from former Rumanian prisoners of war. There also were a large number of secret service agents on hand. At about 10:30 o'clock Premier Groza arrived and laid before the King the act of abdication. This was not a discussion. No reasons for the drastic step were offered. The King clearly could sign

or risk the consequences. No time was offered for deliberation, but there was some talk concerning the desire of the King to get his family and staff out of Rumania. By 1 o'clock in the afternoon Michael had signed, ..." See also *The New York Times* 31 December 1947, p.14 "Exit King Michael" writes "Ever since the Communists took command in Rumania, King Michael has been no more than the shadow of a king. Now Moscow orders even that shadow erased. Michael's fate is not yet determined, but presumably, he will be permitted to go into exile. At home he might prove to be a figure around whom his people could rally with the inevitable revolt against Russian rule develops. His abdication proclamation, which he lamely attributes to the interest of a people "free to choose its own government," is an obviously dictated document that may have been the price of escape. The Rumanian people had no part in the change of government." Michael was sent to exile in Great Britain. Son of Carol II, grandson of Ferdinand I.

Noteworthy also is that in the first days of December, Michael supposedly was in Switzerland on the issue of "troth" or betrothal.

RUM-1947 360 RUM Georghiu-Dej 30/12/1947 19/03/1965
Georghiu-Dej died of pneumonia.

RUM-1965 360 RUM Ceausescu 22/03/1965 25/12/1989
Mass protests, security forces attempt to suppress it, army eventually sides with protesters. *Financial Times* (London,England) 22 December, 1989, p. 1; *Washington Post* 26 December, 1989, p. A1. Ceausescu was executed.

RUM-1989 360 RUM Roman 26/12/1989 01/10/1991

RUM-1991 360 RUM Stolojan 01/10/1991 04/11/1992
See ***Keesing's*** on post tenure fate of this leader.

RUM-1992 360 RUM Vacariou 04/11/1992 12/12/1996

RUM-1996 360 RUM Ciorbea 12/12/1996 30/03/1998
Ciorbea was born on 26 October, 1954. See, Lentz, also rulers.org entry on Ciorbea.

RUM-1998-1 360 RUM Dejeu 30/03/1998 15/04/1998
Dejeu was Interim PM. See ***Keesing's*** on his post tenure fate. As ***Keesing's*** mentions: he becomes Interior Minister.

RUM-1998-2 360 RUM Vasile 15/04/1998 14/12/1999

RUM-1999-1 360 RUM Athanasiu 14/12/1999 22/12/1999
Athanasiu was Interim PM.

RUM-1999-2 360 RUM Isarescu 22/12/1999 28/12/2000

RUM-2000 360 RUM A. Nastase 28/12/2000 21/12/200
Nastase loses office on 21 December 2004.

RUM-2004-1 360 RUM Eugen Bejinariu 21/12/2004 29/12/2004
interim

RUM-2004-2 360 RUM Traian Basescu 29/12/2004 31/12/2004

2.69 RUSSIA

RUS-1855 365 RUS Alexander II 02/03/1855 13/03/1881
Alexander II was killed by a bomb thrown by a revolutionary.

RUS-1881 365 RUS Alexander III 13/03/1881 01/11/1894

RUS-1894 365 RUS Nicholas II 01/11/1894 06/11/1917
Nicholas II was imprisoned and executed.

RUS-1917 365 RUS Lenin 07/11/1917 10/03/1923
Lenin died of a major stroke on 21/1/1924.

RUS-1923 365 RUS Stalin 10/03/1923 05/03/1953

RUS-1953-1 365 RUS Malenkov 06/03/1953 20/03/1953
For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, February 2, 1988.

RUS-1953-2 365 RUS Khrushchev 20/03/1953 15/10/1964

RUS-1964 365 RUS Brezhnev 15/10/1964 10/11/1982

RUS-1982 365 RUS Andropov 10/11/1982 09/02/1984

RUS-1984 365 RUS Chernenko 13/02/1984 10/03/1985

RUS-1985 365 RUS Gorbachev 11/03/1985 21/08/1991
Right-wing coup, supported by military, but he was ok. Lentz 1994, p. 786. For the Coup, see *The New York Times*, August 19, 1991, p.A1 "Gorbachev Is Ousted In An Apparent Coup By Soviet Armed Forces And Hard-Liners; Accused Of Steering Into A 'Blind Alley." See also *The Christian Science Monitor*, August 20, 1991, p. 20 "The Coup in Moscow." Also *The New York Times*, August 20, 1991, p. A16 "Defense Chief Saw Gorbachev Hours Before Coup" which suggests he may have been put under house arrest in his dacha in the Crimea.

RUS-1991 365 RUS Yeltsin 21/08/1991 31/12/1999
For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, April 24, 2007, "Boris N. Yeltsin, Reformer Who Broke UP the U.S.S.R., Dies at 76." He died April 23rd. Excerpt: "Boris Yeltsin was born on Feb. 1, 1931, to a peasant family in Butko, a village in the Sverdlovsk district of the Urals, the oldest of six children. When his father moved to the town of Berezniki as a laborer, during what Mr. Yeltsin called "Stalin's so-called period of industrialization," the family was allocated a single room in a communal hut. He recalled in 1990 in the first volume of his autobiography, "Against the Grain," that they lived in that hut for 10 years. "Winter was worst of all," he wrote. "There was nowhere to hide from the cold. Since we had no warm clothes, we would huddle up to the nanny goat to keep warm. We children survived on her milk." He was still a boy during World War II when he lost the thumb and forefinger of his left hand; he and some friends had stolen a grenade and were trying to take it apart to see what was inside when it exploded. At the Urals Polytechnic Institute he studied civil engineering and played volleyball. On graduation, he returned

to Sverdlovsk, where he was offered the job of foreman at an industrial building site. He refused, insisting that he work in each trade so that when he was in a position to give orders, he would know what he was talking about. He did not join the Communist Party until 1961, when he was 30, an age at which Mr. Gorbachev was already well on his way up in the party hierarchy. For Mr. Yeltsin, membership was a move to further his career in the Sverdlovsk construction agency, not an expression of belief in Communism. Fifteen years later, after serving as a secretary of the Sverdlovsk provincial committee, Mr. Yeltsin became party chief for the region and stood out in the stagnation of the Brezhnev era as an activist less interested in the perquisites of office than in rooting out bureaucratic corruption. When Mr. Gorbachev became general secretary of the party in 1985, he sought out regional leaders, among them Mr. Yeltsin. But he may have gotten more than he bargained for. Seeking a Mr. Clean image, Mr. Yeltsin turned down an offer of a government dacha. "We were shattered by the senselessness of it all," he wrote, after he and his family were taken to see a "cottage" of enormous fireplaces, marble paneling, chandeliers and grand furniture."

RUS-2000 365 RUS Putin 01/01/2000 31/12/2004

Slow moving *auto-golpe*? In 2008, after the elections in which he could not run for president again because of term limits, Putin becomes prime minister, and Medvedev president in 2008. Who is the effective leader? The media and insiders conclude that as of August 2008, in the war with Georgia, Putin is still the effective leader. See the *New York Times*, August 21, 2008 Diplomatic Memo: "West Baffled by 2 Heads for Russian Government" By STEVEN LEE MYERS and THOM SHANKER. `http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/21/washington/21diplo.html?ei=5070&en=d8279f918542b270&ex=1219982400&adxnnl=1&emc=eta1&adxnnlx=1219342261-tHxne2crbbILDm6QrhOwBw`

2.70 ESTONIA

See Lentz, Parming and ***Keesing's*** on Estonian leaders. Parming has somewhat different dates of entry and exit for Pats 25 January 1921 to Pats 21 October 1933. Most of these are explained by what Parming calls the "Duration of Cabinet Crisis After Resignation" where we count the 'lame duck' leader as still effective leader. See Parming, pp.14-15.

EST-1918 366 EST Pats 24/02/1918 08/05/1919

EST-1919-1 366 EST Strandman 19/05/1919 13/11/1919

EST-1919-2 366 EST Tonisson 13/11/1919 27/10/1920

EST-1920 366 EST Piip 27/10/1920 04/01/1921
See *The New York Times*, Nov. 5, 1936, p.20

EST-1921 366 EST Pats 25/01/1921 23/10/1922
Parming has exit at 24 October.

EST-1922 366 EST Kukk 23/10/1922 02/08/1923
See *The New York Times*, Nov. 5, 1936, p.20. Parming has entry at 21 November, exit 8 June.

EST-1923 366 EST Pats 02/08/1923 28/03/1924
Parming has exit 10 March.

EST-1924-1 366 EST Akel 28/03/1924 10/12/1924
Parming has entry 26 March, exit 2 December.

EST-1924-2 366 EST Jaakson 17/12/1924 16/12/1925
Parming has 16 December – 25 November.

EST-1925 366 EST Teemant 16/12/1925 22/02/1927
Parming has 15 December 1925 – 22 June 1926, and again 23 July 1926 – 22 February 1927. See *The New York Times*, Nov. 5, 1936, p.20.

EST-1927-1 366 EST Uluots 22/02/1927 22/11/1927
Parming does not list Uluots, but instead again Teemant, 4 March 1937 - 22 November 1927. During the Second World War, Uluots was in exile in Stockholm.

EST-1927-2 366 EST Tonisson 10/12/1927 19/11/1928
Parming lists 9 December – 13 November. See also *The New York Times*, Nov. 5, 1936, p.20.

EST-1928 366 EST Rei 19/11/1928 03/07/1929
Parming has 4 December – 2 July. Rei was in exile in Stockholm in the Second World War.

EST-1929 366 EST Strandman 10/07/1929 03/02/1931
Parming lists 9 July – 3 February.

EST-1931 366 EST Pats 12/02/1931 29/01/1932
Parming lists 12 February – 29 January.

EST-1932-1 366 EST Teemant 18/02/1932 20/06/1932
Parming lists 19 February – 20 June. See *The New York Times*, Nov. 5, 1936, p.20.

EST-1932-2 366 EST Einbund 19/07/1932 30/10/1932
Parming lists 19 July – 3 October.

EST-1932-3 366 EST Pats 01/11/1932 26/04/1933
Parming lists 1 November – 26 April.

EST-1933-1 366 EST Tonisson 17/05/1933 17/10/1933
Parming lists 18 May – 17 October. See *The New York Times*, Nov. 5, 1936, p.20.

EST-1933-2 366 EST Pats 21/10/1933 23/07/1940
Exit date: Rulers.org and *Christian Science Monitor*, July 24, 1940, p.5. Forced to resign by Soviet occupiers and deported to the Soviet Union. Lentz 1999, p. 152.

EST-1940 366 EST Vares 23/07/1940 25/08/1940
Both Lentz and *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 23, 1940, p.8, have JUNE as the date of the coup. But Vares takes over executive power only on 24 July, *Christian Science Monitor*, July 24, 1940, p.5, "Vares Directed to take Päts' Estonian Post." See also Rulers.org. Lentz 1999, p. 154: studied medicine and was a doctor and leading poet. "He was chosen to head a puppet government under the control of the Soviet Union on June 21, 1940. He presided over elections that resulted in the incorporation of Estonia into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on August 6, 1940. He subsequently served as the president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR until his death in Tallin on November 29, 1946."

Johannes Vares "Barbarus", resigns as acting President and Prime Minister of the Republic of Estonia - The Chamber of Deputies adopts a new constitution establishing the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and proclaims itself the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR and names Vares head of the Presidium. Apparently shot himself, through the heart, which was reported as death due to natural causes, specifically, "heart failure," rather than follow Stalin's orders to deport 40,000 Estonians. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sept. 28, 1948, p.1.

EST-1991 366 EST Savisaar 06/09/1991 23/01/1992
Charges were filed against Savisaar in 1996 for eavesdropping and wiretapping he supposedly had done for the 1995 election. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 42, 1996, May.

EST-1992-1 366 EST Vahi 30/01/1992 08/10/1992
See ***Keesing's*** on Vahi's post tenure fate.

EST-1992-2 366 EST Laar 28/10/1992 08/11/1994

EST-1994 366 EST Tarand 08/11/1994 17/04/1995

EST-1995 366 EST Vahi 17/04/1995 17/03/1997

See ***Keesing's*** on post tenure fate.

EST-1997 366 EST Siimann 17/03/1997 25/03/1999
Siimann was born on 21 September, 1946. See, de.encarta.msn. Studied Psychology and Philology.

EST-1999 366 EST Laar 25/03/1999 28/01/2002

EST-2002 366 EST Kallas 28/01/2002 10/04/2003

EST-2003 366 EST Parts 10/04/2003 31/12/2004

2.71 LATVIA

See for details on independence 1918–1919 period: Jan Arveds Trapans, "The West and the Recognition of the Baltic States: 1919 and 1991. A study of the Politics of the Major Powers" in *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Summer 1994, pages 153-173. Heinrihs Strods, "Drei Alternative der Staatlichkeit Lettlands in den Jahren 1917-1920" in *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Summer 1994, pages 174-182. Indulis Ronis, "Die Voraussetzungen für die Entstehung der Republik Lettland," in *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Summer 1994, pages 139-146. Detlef Henning, Göttingen, "Die Legende Vom Dritten Weg: Die Sozialistische Sowjetrepublik Lettlands. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 4, Winter 1994, pages 331-348. Trapans, p.156 "In 1918, Great Britain ahd recognized Estonia and Latvian governments de facto. The recognition extended to the Latvian Government specified that it was extended only for a limited period, "until such a time as the peace Conference lays foundations of a new era of freedom and peace for you people." Presumably, the foundations would be laid in a general settlement embodied in a peace treaty." p.158 "Second, the Armistice conditions of November, 1918 had allowed German forces to remain in the Baltic. As soon as the Germans signed the treaty, however, the Armistice would expire. Consequently, The [sic, HG] Peace Treaty had to determine whether the troops would remain or go. Meanwhile the Germans had interfered in the domestic affairs of Latvia, attempting to overthrow its provisional government. With the Communists retreating, the Baltic governments wanted an expeditious withdrawal of all German forces. On May 7 [1919, HG], when the Allies presented peace terms to the Germans, the Baltic delegations read them with considerable disappointment. .... Article 433 was the most specific [to deal with the Baltic]. Essentially, it reiterated the conditions stated in Article XII of the Armistice. The Allies had decided to keep forces in the Baltic, for an indefinite time. Article 433 also referred to the "Provisional Governments" of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. This was the first time the states at the Paris Conference mentioned a de facto recognition collectively and the first time that Lithuania's government was mentioned at all. ... But we have, on record, the dates when Allied governments did finally get around to de facto recognition: Great Britain gave it to Lithuania on September 25, 1919; France recognized Estonia and Latvia on April 29, 1920, and Lithuanina on May 11, 1920. ...." Strods, p. 174. "In Wahrheit hatte die Bevölkerung Lettlands anfänglich wenigstens drei Alternativen, ..." Soviet-like, Nationalist, and German-Baltic led by the German Baltic nobility.

LAT-1918 367 LAT Ulmanis 17/11/1918 21/04/1919

Lentz: leading agricultural expert. Studied and taught agriculture at the University of Nebraska. *The New York Times*, Nov. 19, 1928, p. 18.

Strods, "Drei Alternative der Staatlichkeit Lettlands in den Jahren 1917-1920" in *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Summer 1994, pages 174-182, notes: "Am 17. Dezember 1918 wurde in Moskau die Sowjetregierung Lettlands gebildet mit dem Justizkommisar der Regierung Lenins, P. Stutschka, an der Spitze. Am 22 Dezember 1918 erkannte Lenin die Sowjetregierung Lettlands an. .... Die Regierung P. Stutschkas proklamierte am 9. Januar die Diktatur des Proletariats. ... [p.179] ... Die Vertreter des lettischen Bürgertums und der Intelligenz bildeten in Riga am 17. November 1918 aus Vertretern der politischen Parteien den Volksrat. Am nächsten Tage, am 18. Novem-

ber 1918, proklamierte der Volksrat in einem feierlichen Akt die Souveränität und die Republik Lettland-einen selbständigen und unabhängigen Staat, vereint in seinen ethnographischen Grenzen mit Kurland, Livland und Lattgallen. Es wurde die Provisorische Regierung der Lettischen Republik mit Karlis Ulmanis (1887-1942) an der Spitze gebildet. ... Die lettische Regierung kontrollierte weder politisch noch wirtschaftlich und [p.180] militärisch die Lage im Staat. Noch Anfang 1919 bestanden in Lettland neben der Regierung von K. Ulmanis die Regierungen von P. Stutschka and A. Niedra, die einander erbittert bekämpften. Der Position der provisorischen Regierung von K. Ulmanis verstärkte sich durch das Versprechen den Bauern Landeigentum zu geben. Ausserdem durch die Bildung der nationalen Armee Lettlands. Doch am Anfang war die Südgruppe der Armee Lettlands, ungefähr 600 Man stark, vollständig von der deutschen Okkupationsverwaltung abhängig, und es fehlte ihr eine breitere Unterstutzung des Volkes. Daher griff die nationale Armee Lettlands im Bestand der Landerswher die Kommunisten in Kurland an, konnte die Armee von der Goltz-Bermonts mit Unterstützung der Artillerie der englischen Flotte besiegen, in den Kämpfen gegen die Landeswehr by Wenden (Csesis) mit Hilfe der estnischen nationalen Armee siegen, die Rote Armee in Lattgallen mit Unterstützung der polnischen Armee besiegen. .... Der Krieg um die Unabhängigkeit Lettlands war, nachdem Mitte des Jahres 1919 die provisorische Regierung von K. Ulmanis das Vertrauen des Volkes gewonnen hatte, kein Kampf für die Herrschaft einer sozialen Klasse, sondern der Kampf ging im Interesse aller Klassen vor sich."

LAT-1919-1 367 LAT Oskars Borkovskis 21/04/1919 26/04/1919

Only one site has information: `http://deutscher-imperialismus.fdj.de/index.html?deutscher_imperialismus/II_1918_1933` "Einsetzung einer deutschen Marionettenregierung in Lettland unter Ministerpräsident Oskars Borkovskis durch die "Landeswehr"." Hence entry is imposition by foreign force. Exit is mostly likely also by foreign force, but no relevant evidence, hence missing. Rulers.org has him born in 1872. Strods, "Drei Alternative der Staatlichkeit Lettlands in den Jahren 1917-1920" in *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Summer 1994, pages 174-182, notes: "Am 16. April 1919 wurde in Libau (Liepaja) ein Putsch organisiert und die Regierung des Pastors Andrievs Niedra gebildet. Dies Alternative in der Staatlichkeit Lettlands stützte sich auch die Monarchisten in Deutschland in Deutschland auf die örtlichen deutschen Gutsbesitzer, auf die Reste der regulären Armee Deutschlands, auf die Landeswehr und die Lettsichen Grossbauern. ... [p.179] ... Ohne die Unterstützung des lettischen Volkes zu erwerben, bestand die Regierung von A. Niedra ungefähr zwei Monate und beendete ihre Tätigkeit nach der Niederlage der Landeswehr gegen die nationalen esthnischen und lettischen Armeen in der sogenannten Wendner (Cesis) Schlacht im juli 1919."

LAT-1919-2 367 LAT Andrievs Niedra 26/04/1919 28/06/1919

Only one site has information: `http://deutscher-imperialismus.fdj.de/index.html?deutscher_imperialismus/II_1918_1933` "Eine weitere Marionettenregierung der deutschen "Landeswehr" in Lettland wird unter Ministerpraesident Andrievs Niedra ("Lettischer Grundbesitzerrat" - LZP) eingesetzt. ... 22. Mai 1919: Eroberung der sowjetlettischen Hauptstadt Riga durch die deutsche "Landeswehr", die deutsche "Eiserne Division" und ihre russischen Komplizen. Die Marionettenregierung Niedra hat nun in fast ganz Lettland das Sagen. ... 28.Jun 1919: Die deutsche Marionettenregierung Niedra wird in Lettland abgesetzt." Entry is at the hands of the occupying German forces.

Wikipedia: Author, Lutheran Pastor. Studied Theology at the University at Dorpat. After collaboration with the German Military authorities, and their defeat, Andrievs Niedra fled from Latvia. He returned in 1924 and was tried for treason, and was exiled. See also Journal of Baltic Studies, Vol. 25, Number 2, Summer 1994, and the articles by Heirihs Strods, "Drei Alternativen der Staatlichkeit Lettlands in den Jahren 1917-1920" and by Indulis Ronis "Die Voraussetzungen für die Entstehung der Republik Lettland." Indulis Ronis, "Die Voraussetzungen für die Entstehung der Republik Lettland," in *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Summer 1994, pages 139-146, writes (p.142-3) " ... die Bildung des Kabinetts Andrievs Niedra nach dem Aprilputsch von 1919 in Liepja ... " Hence, Niedra enters irregularly. Strods, "Drei Alternative der Staatlichkeit Lettlands in den Jahren 1917-1920" in *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Summer 1994, pages 174-182, notes: "Am 16. April 1919 wurde in Libau (Liepaja) ein Putsch organisiert und die Regierung des Pastors Andrievs Niedra gebildet. Dies Alternative in der Staatlichkeit Lettlands stützte sich auch die Monarchisten in Deutschland in Deutschland auf die örtlichen deutschen Gutsbesitzer, auf die Reste der regulären Armee Deutschlands, auf die Landeswehr und die Lettischen Grossbauern. ... [p.179] ... Ohne die Unterstützung des lettischen Volkes zu erwerben, bestand die Regierung von A. Niedra ungefähr zwei Monate und beendete ihre Tätigkeit nach der Niederlage der Landeswehr gegen die nationalen esthnischen und lettischen Armeen in der sogenannten Wendner (Cesis) Schlacht im juli 1919." Hence, exit is through domestic rebel forces without, even against, foreign support.

LAT-1919-3 367 LAT Ulmanis 14/07/1919 17/06/1921

Strods, "Drei Alternative der Staatlichkeit Lettlands in den Jahren 1917-1920" in *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Summer 1994, pages 174-182, notes: "Am 16. April 1919 wurde in Libau (Liepaja) ein Putsch organisiert und die Regierung des Pastors Andrievs Niedra gebildet. Dies Alternative in der Staatlichkeit Lettlands stützte sich auch die Monarchisten in Deutschland in Deutschland auf die örtlichen deutschen Gutsbesitzer, auf die Reste der regulären Armee Deutschlands, auf die Landeswehr und die Lettsichen Grossbauern. ... [p.179] ... Die Vertreter des lettischen Bürgertums und der Intelligenz bildeten in Riga am 17. November 1918 aus Vertretern der politischen Parteien den Volksrat. Am nächsten Tage, am 18. November 1918, proklamierte der Volksrat in einem feierlichen Akt die Souveränität und die Republik Lettland-einen selständigen und unabhängigen Staat, vereint in seinen ethnographischen Grenzen mit Kurland, Livland und Lattgallen. Es wurde die Provisorische Regierung der Lettischen Republik mit Karlis Ulmanis (1887-1942) an der Spitze gebildet. ... Die lettische Regierung kontrollierte weder politisch noch wirtschaftlich und [p.180] militärisch die Lage im Saat. Noch Anfang 1919 bestanden in Lettland neben der Regierung von K. Ulmanis die Regierungen von P. Stutschka and A. Niedra, die einander erbittert bekämpften. Der Position der provisorischen Regierung von K. Ulmanis verstärkte sich durch das Versprechen den Bauern Landeigentum zu geben. Ausserdem durch die Bildung der nationalen Armee Lettlands. Doch am Anfang war die Südgruppe der Armee Lettlands, ungefähr 600 Man stark, vollständig von der deutschen Okkupationsverwaltung abhängig, und es fehlte ihr eine breitere Unterstutzung des Volkes. Daher griff die nationale Armee Lettlands im Bestand der Landerswehr die Kommunisten in Kurland an, konnte die Armee von der Goltz-Bermonts mit Unterstützung der Artillerie der englischen Flotte besiegen, in den Kämpfen gegen die Landeswehr by Wenden (Csesis) mit Hilfe der estnischen nationalen

Armee siegen, die Rote Armee in Lattgallen mit Unterstützung der polnischen Armee besiegen. .... Der Krieg um die Unabhängigkeit Lettlands war, nachdem Mitte des Jahes 1919 die provisorische Regierung von K. Ulmanis das Vertrauen des Volkes gewonnen hatte, kein Kampf f[u]r die Herrschaft einer sozialen Klasse, sondern der Kampf ging im Interesse aller Klassen vor sich."

LAT-1921 367 LAT Meierovics 17/06/1921 31/01/1923
Lentz: economics professor.

LAT-1923-1 367 LAT Pauluks 31/01/1923 27/06/1923
Pauluks: No information can be found on him.

LAT-1923-2 367 LAT Meierovics 28/06/1923 26/01/1924
Lentz: dies on August 23, 1925. In an automotive accident. See *The New York Times*, Nov. 18, 1928, p. E1.

LAT-1924-1 367 LAT Zamuelis 27/01/1924 18/12/192
No information can be found on his post tenure fate. Lentz: lawyer.

LAT-1924-2 367 LAT Celmins 19/12/1924 25/12/1925
Lentz: deported to the Soviet Union in 1941.

LAT-1925 367 LAT Ulmanis 25/12/1925 06/05/1926
See *The New York Times*, Nov. 18, 1928, p. E1 for the coding of his post tenure fate.

LAT-1926-1 367 LAT Alberings 07/05/1926 17/12/1926
For the coding of his post tenure fate see *The New York Times*, 23 December, 1928, p.43, which reports he became new minister of Agriculture in Celmins cabinet.

LAT-1926-2 367 LAT Skujenieks 17/12/1926 21/01/1928
For the coding of his post tenure fate see Lentz.

LAT-1928-1 367 LAT Juresevskis 21/01/1928 13/11/1928
Gives an interview in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jun, 2, 1928, p.7. No subsequent info on him.

LAT-1928-2 367 LAT Celmins 01/12/1928 03/03/1931
See Lentz on the coding of his post tenure fate. Lentz: deported to the Soviet Union in 1941.

LAT-1931-1 367 LAT Ulmanis 24/03/1931 04/11/1931
See on Olmanis and his entry this time: *The New York Times*, March 26, 1931, p.25.

LAT-1931-2 367 LAT Skujenieks 04/12/1931 03/02/1933
See *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 6, 1933, p.15 for the coding of his post tenure fate.

LAT-1933 367 LAT Blodnieks 25/03/1933 02/03/1934
Lentz: fled the Nazi occupation. Headed a non-Socialist minister of the Center and Right. Hence, not so likely to have been arrested by Ulmanis' coup. See next entry.

LAT-1934 367 LAT Ulmanis 16/03/1934 22/06/1940

Lentz: [Ulmanis] and General Janis Balodis led a coup d'état on 15 May, 1934, with Ulmanis remaining as prime minister and Minister of foreign affairs. See also *The New York Times*, May 17, 1934, p.2, and especially *The New York Times*, Jun 3, 1934, p.E3, which reports that Ulmanis "taking advantage of Clause 62 of the Latvian Constitution, proclaimed a state of emergency existed and proceeded to govern without the Legislature. Martial law was declared for several days and more than a hundred political arrests were made, the prisoners including most of the Socialist members of the disbanded Saeima and various Nazi agents. " Ousted as a result of the Soviet invasion and deported to Soviet Union. Lentz 1999, p. 279.

LAT-1990 367 LAT Godmanis 03/05/1990 03/08/1993

See Rulers.org for his post tenure fate.

LAT-1993 367 LAT Birkavs 03/08/1993 19/09/1994

After he lost power he becomes foreign minister. See rulers.org. Both he and Skele accused of involvement in a paedophilia scandal, both cases were closed in August 2000. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 46, 2000, August, see also February.

LAT-1994 367 LAT Gailis 19/09/1994 21/12/1995

See ***Keesing's*** for the coding of his post tenure fate.

LAT-1995 367 LAT Skele 21/12/1995 07/08/1997

Accused of involvement in a paedophilia scandal, both cases were closed in August 2000. For the coding of post tenure fate see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 46, 2000, August, see also February.

LAT-1997 367 LAT Krasts 07/08/1997 26/11/1998

Born 16 October 1957. Studied economics, and was an academic at the Institute for Agricultural Science in Riga. Becomes Europarlementarian in May 2004.Thus post tenure fate is coded as zero, meaning that he was fine after he lost power.

LAT-1998 367 LAT Kristopans 26/11/1998 16/07/1999

Kristopans was born on 13 June 1954. Studied Architecture, also was a successful basketball player.

LAT-1999 367 LAT Skele 16/07/1999 05/05/2000

Born on 16 January 1958. Studied at the Agricultural academy and initially made an academic career since 1981. Accused of involvement in a paedophilia scandal, both cases were closed in August 2000. For his post tenure fate see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 46, 2000, August, see also February.

LAT-2000 367 LAT Berzins 05/05/2000 07/11/2002

Berzins was born on 4 August, 1951. Studied at the Faculty for History and Philosophy. (de. Encarta.msn.) Remained chairman of Latvia's Way until May 17, 2003. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 49, 2003, May for the coding of his post tenure fate.

LAT-2002 367 LAT Repse 07/11/2002 09/03/2004

Repse was born on 9 December 1961.

LAT-2004-1 367 LAT Indulis Emsis 09/03/2004 02/12/2004
Indulis Epsis, born 2 January, 1952,

LAT-2004-2 367 LAT Aigars Kalvitis 02/12/2004 31/12/2004

2.72 LITHUANIA

See for details on independence 1918–1919 period: Alfred Erich Senn, "Comparing the Circumstances of Lithuanian Independence, 1918-1922 and 1988-1992" in *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Summer 1994, pages 123-130. And Eberhad Demm, "Anschluss, Autonomie oder Unabhängingkeit? Die Deutsche Litauenpolitik im ersten Weltkrieg und das selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker." in *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Summer 1994, pages 195-200. See also above on Latvia.

LIT-1917 368 LIT Smetona 18/09/1917 09/07/1918

Educated at the University of Moscow. See The *Washington Post*, April 13, 1919, p.16. on this leader.

LIT-1918-1 368 LIT Mindaugas II 09/07/1918 02/11/1918

Mindaugas was the first king of Lithuania in 13th century. See Ebehard Demm, p. 198 "Selbst als die Taryba am 11. Juli dem deutschen Prinzen Wilhelm von Urach die litauische Königskrone anbot und dieser sie annahm, wurde damit nichts gewonnen. Die deutsche Pressezensur, die ja von den Militärs gehandhabt wurde, unterdrückte sogar die Nachricht selbst." Footnoted on the first sentence is Gert Linde, Die deutsche Politik in Litauen im ersten Weltkrieg, Wisbaden, 1965, p. 171 ff. Note, by the way, Smetona is President of the Taryba! Hence, most likely Mindaugas II is none other than Wilhelm von Urach. Elected to power, hence, entry is regular.

Wikepedia confirms this (accessed April 4, 2007), and notes he was the legitimate - but passed over - heir to the throne of Monaco. Born, 30 May 1864, died, March 24, 1928. Wikipedia notes that "on November 2, 1918 Lithuania changed its Constitution to a Republican one. The King of a Hundred Days fled with his family, and returned to his home south of Stutgart, Schloss Lichtenstein." He was a professional general in the Wurttemburg army. See also: `http://jahrbuch.annaberg.de/cube.html`, which notes: "Am 2. Nov. 1918 fasste die Taryba einstimmig folgenden Entschluss: "Der Beschluss des Staatsrates vom 11. Juli 1918, den Herzog v. Urach zum König v. Litauen zu berufen, gelangt nicht zur Ausführung."

In other words, the Taryba basically revokes its earlier offer and goes back on its word. Exit is relatively arbitrary. On the one hand, based on the above, it seems most plausible to conclude that his throne was revoked contrary to norms and procedures. On the other hand, the source that gave him the throne could be argued to have the right to revoke it. On balance, we code this as an irregular exit. Sources leave it relatively unclear whether he actually ever really ruled, let alone resided in Lithuania.

LIT-1918-2 368 LIT Smetona 02/11/1918 15/05/1920

Lentz notes: "chosen as the first president of independent Lithuania on April 4, 1919." See above, he was President of the Taryba.

LIT-1920 368 LIT Stulginskis 15/05/1920 06/06/1926

Become president of the Diet. See *Christian Science Monitor*, December 20, 1926, p.1.

LIT-1926-1 368 LIT Grinius 06/06/1926 19/12/1926

Kazys Grinius is removed in a military coup, *The New York Times* 20 December, 1926, p. 1. See also *The New York Times*, December 19, 1926, p.3. Also Lentz notes:

goes into exile in the Soviet Union during WW II, dies in Chicago, June 4, 1950. For his obituary, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 5, 1950, p. C7. The obituary claims he was deported to Germany. Also that he practiced medicine after his removal in 1926. On December 17, 1926 he was forced to resign from his post as President and returned to old duties in the municipal administration. On Smetona's entry, and the overthrow of the Lithuanian parliament in December 1926, see *Christian Science Monitor*, May 18, 1927. p.20.

LIT-1926-2 368 LIT Smetona 19/12/1926 16/06/1940

See *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec. 19, 1926, p. 6. Lentz notes: exile in the US. Thus, his post tenure fate is coded to indicate that he was exiled. On Smetona's entry, and the overthrow of the Lithuanian parliament in December 1926, see *Christian Science Monitor*, May 18, 1927. p.20. Ousted by the invading Soviets, Lentz 1999, p. 291.

LIT-1990 368 LIT Landsbergis 11/03/1990 25/11/1992

See `www.rulers.org`.

LIT-1992 368 LIT Brazauskas 25/11/1992 25/02/1998

LIT-1998 368 LIT Adamkus 26/02/1998 25/02/2003

Emigrated during WWII to the US. Becomes president again after Paksas is impeached. Next is Paksas, who is impeached in April, but acquitted by a court in Vilnius of revealing state secrets to Russian-born businessman Yuri Borisov-one of the charges on which he had been impeached. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 50, 2004, October. But the public prosecutor lodged an appeal on Nov. 12. See for his impeachment also, ***Keesing's*** vol. 50, 2004, April.

LIT-2003 368 LIT Paksas 26/02/2003 06/04/2004

Is impeached. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 50 April, 2004. For leaking secrets, and shady dealings. Tried to run again in the new elections of June 13, 2004, but on May 4, 2004, an amendment to Lithuania's Election law was adopted, which prohibits an impeached person from running for president. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 50 May 2004.

Keesing's Vol. 50 November 2004: "The public prosecutor on Nov. 12 lodged an appeal against the acquittal on Oct. 25 of ex-President Rolandas Paksas on a charge of revealing state secrets to Russian-born businessman Yuri Borisov by tipping him off that he was being bugged by the State Security Department [see p. 46277]."

Keesing's Vol. 51, March 2005: "An appeals court on March 1 overturned the acquittal by a lower court in October 2004 of former President Rolandas Paksas on a charge of revealing state secrets to Russian-born businessman Yuri Borisov [see pp. 46328; 46277]. However, the court decided not to impose any penalty on Paksas because he was no longer a state official."

LIT-2004-1 368 LIT Paulauskas 06/04/2004 12/07/2004

For his constitutional entry, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 50 April, 2004.

LIT-2004-2 368 LIT Adamkus 12/07/2004 31/12/2004

2.73 UKRAINE

UKR-1990 369 UKR Kravchuk 18/07/1990 19/07/1994
Born on 10 January 1934. See, ***Keesing's***, Rulers.org: he remained a deputy of the Supreme Council.

UKR-1994 369 UKR Kuchma 19/07/1994 31/12/2004
Born on 9 August, 1938. In until 23 January 2005.

BELARUS BLR-1991 370 BLR Shushkevich 18/09/1991 26/01/1994
Born 15 December, 1934. Physicist.

BLR-1994-1 370 BLR Kuznyatsu 26/01/1994 28/01/1994
Independent research by a econ Ph.D. student at U of R from Belarus confirms his post tenure fate is OK.

BLR-1994-2 370 BLR Hryb 28/01/1994 20/07/1994

BLR-1994-3 370 BLR Lukashenko 20/07/1994 31/12/2004
Born on 30 August, 1954. See, `http://de.encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_721538990/Lukaschenko_Alexander_Grigorjewitsch.html`.

2.74 ARMENIA

ARM-1991 371 ARM Ter-Petrosyan 16/10/1991 03/02/1998

Born on 9 January, 1945. Studies history at the State University Eriwan in Armenia and Orientalism in Leningrad. See de.encarta.msn. Nothing to be found on him after 1997. Encyclopedia says he signs a peace treaty for Nagorno-Karabach that required major compromises from Armenia. Personal communication from Ronald Suny (U Chicago) May 4, 2005: "on Ter Petrosian, he is alive and well in Armenia. After the "constitutional coup d'état" of early 1998, he was given a nice house on a hill, treated with respect, though somewhat isolated, and is still living and well in Erevan. Indeed, I just had a chance to meet and talk with him briefly last week in Erevan. Every once and a while there is speculation that he might re-enter politics, but he has quashed such rumors, instead is learning English and working on his archive. On Mamedov, I have no information."

ARM-1998 371 ARM Kocharian 04/02/1998 31/12/2004

2.75 GEORGIA

GRG-1991 372 GRG Gamsakhurdia 12/04/1991 06/01/1992

Zviad K. Gamsakhurdia was born on 31 March 1939. Lentz: "After a period of civil unrest, he was deposed by a military council led by Tengiz Sigua on January 6, 1992. Followers of Gamsakhurdia attempted a coup on June 24, 1992, but they were crushed by the Georgian security forces. Gamsakhurdia led rebel forces in an office on Tbilisi in September 1993, but after several weeks of fighting he was forced to retreat. He reportedly shot himself to death on December 31, 1993, when he was surrounded in Western Georgia." President flees after rebels storm parliament building in which he was besieged for two weeks, *The New York Times* 7 January, 1992, p. 1. Rulers.org: "He escaped with members of his government first to Armenia (Jan. 6-15, 1992) and then to Chechnya, until he was able to move to Zugdidi, western Georgia, on Sept. 24, 1993." Coup by Sigua (PM). Fights in countryside.

For his escape, first into Azerbaijan, see *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 7, 1992, p. 4 "Georgian President Takes Refuge In Azerbaijan." "Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who fled his capital Sunday night after two weeks under rebel siege, has taken refuge across the republic's border with Azerbaijan, an Azeri official said."

GRG-1992-1 372 GRG Ioseliani 06/01/1992 10/03/1992

Jaba Ioselianini was born on 10 July, 1926, died on 4 March 2003. Rulers.org lists Ioseliani as "co-leader of the Military Council of Georgia (1992). He played a key role in Georgia's post-Soviet history. The leader of the Mkhedrioni (Horsemen) paramilitary force, he fought against separatists in the South Ossetia and Abkhazia regions of Georgia in the early 1990s. He was one of the initiators of the 1991-92 insurgency against the first president of independent Georgia, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, and then was instrumental in bringing Eduard Shevardnadze to office. By the mid-1990s, he was considered the second most powerful man in the Caucasus nation after Shevardnadze. Relations between the two men were tense, however. In early 1995, Shevardnadze ordered the Mkhedrioni disbanded, accusing the group of broad involvement in crime. Later in 1995, Ioseliani, who was also a member of parliament, was arrested for allegedly organizing a car bomb attack against Shevardnadze in August that year. He was charged with treason and plotting the killings of several Georgian political leaders, and sentenced in 1998 to 11 years in prison. Ioseliani's criminal career went back to Soviet times, when he served time in prison for assault and robbery. In all, he spent more than 20 years behind bars. He was equally comfortable in battle fatigues and formal wear, sometimes making public appearances in a white suit and white bow tie, an outfit he topped off with a white cane. He was known as a philologist and writer as well as a gifted politician – and shortly before his death he announced his intention of making a comeback in the fall 2003 parliamentary elections."

Even though he led the paramilitary forces, he was not an insider of the previous regime, *The New York Times*, December 29, 1991, p. 10 "Georgian Leader Facing Split Within," notes "At the talks on Saturday, participants were surrounded by bodyguards armed with Kalashnikov rifles as they entered the Parliament building. They included Dzhaba Ioseliani, a playwright who had been imprisoned by Mr. Gamsakhhurdia since February and who was released on Friday with six others after revel forces seized the secret police headquarters, the former K.G.B. building."

The New York Times, January 10, 1992, p. A1 "Stunned, Georgians Reckon the Cost of Independence" notes ""Nobody on the 'military council' is really military," Mrs. Gogoberidze said. "Kitovani is an artist, you know, and the Premier, Tengiz Sigua, is a professor metallurgy. They didn't seek power. We fought for ideals, for ideas." ... Dzhaba Ioseliani, head of one of the victorious militia and leader with Mr. Kitovani of the Military Council, affirmed at a new conference that he had ordered his troops to break up a pro-Gamsakhurdia rally with gunfire. When asked what he would do against the pro-Gamsakhurdia units forming in western Georgia, Mr. Ioseliani answered tersely, "We will shoot.""

Keesing's Vol. 49, 2003, March notes: "Dzhaba Iosseliani, leader of the notorious former paramilitary organisation Mkhedrioni (Horsemen), died on March 4, aged 76. Together with National Guard commander Tengiz Kitovani, Iosseliani had deposed President Zviad Gamsakhurdia in January 1992 and taken over the running of the country [see p. 38731]. Iosseliani and Kitovani invited former Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to return to his native Georgia in March 1993 [see pp. 38826-27], setting in motion a power struggle that ended with Iosseliani's arrest in November 1995, shortly after his election to the legislature. Iosseliani was sentenced in November 1998 to 11 years' imprisonment on charges of involvement in an attempt on the life of President Shevardnadze in August 1995 [see p. 40693]. He was released under an amnesty in early 2000."

For the transfer of power to Shevardnaze, see *The New York Times*, March 11, 1992, p. A13 "Shevardnadze to Head a Top Georgian Panel." "The former Soviet Foreign minister, Eduard A. Shevardnadaze, was chosen today to be chairman of a new top state body in the Caucasian republic of George, according to a decree read on the Georgian radio. Mr. Shevardnadze, who returned to his native Georgia last week after seven years in Moscow, is to head the republic's State Council, vested with executive and legislative power in the aftermath of a monthlong civil war. Local journalists said the decree was issued by Goergia's Military Council, which has governed the republic since the removal of President Zviad K. Gamsakhurdia by rebels since January."

GRG-1992-2 372 GRG Shevardnadze 10/03/1992 23/11/2003

For his entry see *The New York Times*, March 11, 1992, p. A13 "Shevardnadze to Head a Top Georgian Panel." "The former Soviet Foreign minister, Eduard A. Shevardnadaze, was chosen today to be chairman of a new top state body in the Caucasian republic of George, according to a decree read on the Georgian radio. Mr. Shevardnadze, who returned to his native Georgia last week after seven years in Moscow, is to head the republic's State Council, vested with executive and legislative power in the aftermath of a monthlong civil war. Local journalists said the decree was issued by Goergia's Military Council, which has governed the republic since the removal of President Zviad K. Gamsakhurdia by rebels since January."

Born on 25 January 1928. Resigns, but under pressure of an opposition revolt. The Toronto Star, 24 November, 2003, A01. See for an interview: ProQuest, BBC Monitoring Former Soviet Union, London, Nov. 26, 2003, p.1: "Ex-president "will not interfere" in new Georgian personnel policy." Also BBC Monitoring Former Soviet Union. London: Dec 1, 2003. pg. 1 "Georgian ex-president: "coup", Ajaria, Russia, USA" See also BBC Monitoring Former Soviet Union. London: Feb 5, 2004. pg. 1. "Moscow daily suggests arrest threat aimed to make Shevardnadze quit Georgia". Assassination attempts in 1995 and 1998.

GRG-2003 372 GRG Burdjanadze 23/11/2003 25/1/2004

Female. The terms of the Georgian constitution automatically made her the acting president when Shevardnadze resigned on November 23.

GRG-2004 372 GRG Saakashvili 25/1/2004 31/12/2004

2.76 AZERBAIJAN

AZE-1991 373 AZE Mutalibov 08/09/1991 06/03/1992
Exile in Russia.

AZE-1992-1 373 AZE Mamedov 06/03/1992 14/05/1992
Personal communication with Ronald Suny (U Chicago), 4 May 2005: "On Mamedov, I have no information."

AZE-1992-2 373 AZE Mutalibov 14/05/1992 18/05/1992
For his exit see *Christian Science Monitor*, May 18, 1992, p.1 & p.4: "Azeri nationalists Promise Election" which notes: "The nationalist Popular Front on Friday ousted President Avaz Mutalibov in a relatively bloodless revolt." Opposition party Popular Front takes over presidential palace after parliament attempts to reinstate Mutalibov – Rebel movement or mass protest? Lentz 1994, p. 64, *The New York Times* 16 May, 1992, p. 4. Exile in Russia. Health clinic in Moscow.

AZE-1992-3 373 AZE Gambarov 19/05/1992 16/6/1992
For his irregular entry, see *Christian Science Monitor*, May 18, 1992, p.1 & p. 4. He is a leader of the Popular Front, and elected Acting Parliament Chairman. The Popular Front aims for presidential elections June 7, with Elchibey as its candidate. See *Christian Science Monitor*, May 26, 1992, p. 1 & 4.

Keesing's Vol. 39, August 1993 notes: "Popular Front chair Isa Gambarov, who on Aug. 9 had begun a hunger striked in protest at his arrest, was released from prison on Aug. 17. Gambarov was told that he would nevertheless face charges."

Keesing's Vol. 39, July 1993, notes that Gambarov had been arrested on 16 July, who had resigned as Chair of the Supreme Soviet on June 13. hence more than one year after he lost office.

AZE-1992-3 373 AZE Abulfaz Elchibey 19/06/1992 18/06/1993
Also leader of the Popular Front (as was Gambarov). Internal exile. Born on June, 1938. Died on Aug. 22, 2000 in Ankara, Turkey. President flees after rebels close in on capital, *Financial Times* (London, England) 19 June, 1993, p. 2.

Rulers.org records "Azeri Äbülfez Elçibäy, pseudonym of Äbülfez Qadirqulu oglu Äliyev (b. June 7, 1938, Nakhichevan - d. Aug. 22, 2000, Ankara, Turkey), president of Azerbaijan (1992-93). He was elected the Caspian Sea oil state's second president in 1992. His rule saw massive battleground defeats in the war with the breakaway region of Nagorno-Karabakh, which ended with Karabakh Armenians controlling both the province and huge swathes of Azerbaijan proper. Around a million people were made homeless by the conflict and 35,000 people died. Elchibey fled a military revolt in which rogue units marched on Baku in 1993. Heydar Aliyev, then parliamentary speaker, took over as interim leader under the constitution and was then voted in as leader; he soon signed a ceasefire with Karabakh. Elchibey, who spent four years in internal exile in his native village in the country's remote Nakhichevan region before returning to Baku in late 1997, accused Aliyev of usurping power. He and his pro-nationalist Popular Front political movement never recognized his rule. In 1999 Elchibey went on trial for accusing Aliyev of helping found the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), but charges were dropped."

For the rebellion, see *The New York Times*, June 15, 1993, p. A9 "Azerbaijan Chief Fights Rebellion" which notes "The rebellion was begun this month by about 500 troops in an infantry brigade in Ganje and has been joined by other troops and volunteers, for a force that may total in the thousands."

AZE-1993 373 AZE Hyedar Aliyev 24/06/1993 04/08/2003

Rulers.org: "In June 1993 he was invited to Baku to attend talks in the parliament of the now independent Azerbaijan on the crisis brought about by the actions of rebel army commander Suret Huseynov and his troops. Pres. Abulfez Elchibey offered Aliyev the post of prime minister but Aliyev turned it down. Instead he was elected parliament speaker. When Elchibey left Baku as rebel troops advanced on the capital later that month, Aliyev assumed the powers of president. A presidential election on October 3, with Aliyev capturing 98.8% of the vote, legitimized his position. He won reelection in a 1998 poll which was harshly criticized as unfair, although most observers said he would have won anyway if he had chosen to play fair. He collapsed during a speech in April 2003 and was hospitalized since July 8. He then prepared his son Ilham to succeed him." Died in Cleveland Ohio on December 12, 2003. (see Rulers.org.) *The New York Times*, Aug. 7, 2003, p. A 8 reports he leaves a Turkish hospitcal for treatment at the Cleveland Clinic in Ohio. *The New York Times*, July 9, 2003, p. A. 6 reports Aliyev flew to Turkey for medical treatment.

AZE-2003 373 AZE Ilhma Aliyev 04/08/2003 31/12/2004

From Rulers.org. Son of Heydar Aliev. Born December 24, 1961. "He is elected prime minister on August 4, 2003 and as such would take over as president if his father died. Two days later he took a leave from his new post because the election code of Azerbaijan prohibits a serving prime minister from running for president. On October 2 his father withdrew his candidacy, admitting that his ongoing health problems would prevent him from fulfilling his duties, and endorsed Ilham, who went on to win a large majority in the election, which the opposition claimed was rigged."

See also *The New York Times*, October 27, 2003, p. A 22 and for him being elected PM, see *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 5, 2003, p. A.3. From LA. Times, Sept. 7, 2003, p. A 3. "After Ilham Aliyev's appointment by his father as prime minister in early August, President Bush sent a message of congratulations in which he said Washington looked forward to cooperating with him in building democratic institutions. The letter was treated in Azerbaijan as a show of support for the younger Aliyev. .... The appointment of his son as prime minister makes him the political heir in two ways: If the president dies in office, the prime minister automatically becomes interim president. If the elder Aliyev is too ill to run in October, the son will be the standard- bearer for the ruling elite. .... Since his appointment as prime minister, the younger Aliyev has stressed his experience in the oil industry, where he was vice president of the state oil company."

2.77 FINLAND

FIN-1917 375 FIN Svinhufud 27/11/1917 12/12/1918

Had a law degree from the University of Helsinki. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, March 1., 1944, p. 19

FIN-1918 375 FIN Mannerheim 12/12/1918 30/06/1919

Lentz: educated at the Nikolaev Cavalry School and Joined the Russian cavalry as a second lieutenant.

FIN-1919 375 FIN Stahlberg 25/07/1919 28/02/1925

Lentz: educated as a lawyer + later law professor. Abducted (with his wife) in October in what was believed to be part of a right-wing plot; the coupe were released safely the following day.

FIN-1925 375 FIN Relander 01/03/1925 28/02/1931

FIN-1931 375 FIN Svinhufud 01/03/1931 28/02/1937

FIN-1937 375 FIN Kallio 01/03/1937 28/11/1940

Lentz: "Kallio's health failed, and he announced his resignation on November 28, 1940. ... Kallio was preparing to depart Helsinki by train to his country home in Nivala when he was stricken with a heart attack. He collapsed and died in the arms of Marshal Carl Gustav Mannerheim on the evening of December 19, 1940."

FIN-1940 375 FIN Ryti 19/12/1940 01/08/1944

Lentz: Arrested and charged with war crimes by a special people's court in 1945. Sentenced to ten years; released after five years for reasons of health.

FIN-1944 375 FIN Mannerheim 04/08/1944 04/03/1946

Mannerheim retires in 1946 to Sweden & Switzerland for health reasons. He dies on 27/1/1951. See Lentz. *Christian Science Monitor* (1908-Current file); Nov 19, 1945; ProQuest Historical Newspapers *Christian Science Monitor* pg. 16. "Mannerheim's Trip Described as 'Flight.' Stockholm, Nov. 19 (AP) – The Helsinki Correspondent of the newspaper Morgontidningens said the journey of President Mannerheim from Finland to Portugal was considered a "flight" and that there was no longer any doubt Finland soon would hold a presidential election. President Mannerheim's trip officially was described a having been undertaken for his health. It took place a few days before the opening of the Finnish war crimes trial, now in adjournment until Dec. 10."

FIN-1946 375 FIN Paasikivi 09/03/1946 29/02/1956

Completes term. Dies after long illness 14/12/1956. For Obituary, see The *Washington Post* and Times Herald, Dec. 18, 1956, p. B2. See also *The New York Times*, Dec. 15, 1956, p. 24. Doctorate in Law.

FIN-1956 375 FIN Kekkonen 01/03/1956 11/09/1981

After the First World War he moved to Helsinki, where studied law at Helsinki University, and worked at the Ministry of Agriculture before entering parliament. In 1936

he completed his doctoral dissertation. http://urho-kekkonen.biography.ms/: "In September [1981], Kekkonen left for sick leave, and in October he resigned." There is no public report about his illness. He dies in 1986. Lentz: "He suffered from poor health and resigned from office on September 11, 1981. He retired to his home in Tamminiemi, where he died from a circulatory disorder in his brain at the age of 85 on August 31, 1986."

FIN-1981 375 FIN Koivisto 11/09/1981 01/03/1994

FIN-1994 375 FIN Marthi Ahtisaari 01/03/1994 01/03/2000

FIN-2000 375 FIN Halonen 01/03/1994 01/03/2000
Female.

2.78 SWEDEN

Additional source: Irene Scobbie, Historical dictionary of Sweden, European Historical Dictionaries, Noo. 7. Metuchen, N. J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1995. Also: http://members01.chello.se/dier/index.htm

SWD-1872 380 SWD Oscar II 18/09/1872 20/03/1876
Boston Daily, March 21, 1881, p. 1 notes him on his deathbed, but he dies 8 December 1907.

SWD-1876 380 SWD de Geer af Finspng 20/03/1876 19/04/1880
Scobbie: studied law

SWD-1880 380 SWD Posse 19/04/1880 13/06/1883

SWD-1883 380 SWD Thyselius 13/06/1883 16/05/1884
http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carl_Johan_Thyselius Studied at Uppsala University. Died 11 January 1891

SWD-1884 380 SWD Themptander 16/05/1884 06/02/1888
http://members01.chello.se/dier/sm06.htm, and http://runeberg.org/sbh/b0606.html. Studied law at Uppsala University. Dies 30 January 1897.

SWD-1888 380 SWD Bildt 06/02/1888 12/10/1889
Gillis Bildt, his great-great-grandson Carl Bildt later becomes PM. Scobbie: great-great-grandfather of Carl Bildt. http://members01.chello.se/dier/sm07.htm. Military man, Marshall. Died, 22 October 1894

SWD-1889 380 SWD Akerhjelm 12/10/1889 15/07/1891
http://members01.chello.se/dier/sm08.htm Died 2 April 1900

SWD-1891 380 SWD Bostrom 15/07/1891 12/09/1900
Scobbie. Steps down for health reasons. Died 21 February 1907

SWD-1900 380 SWD Otter 12/09/1900 05/07/1902
http://members01.chello.se/dier/sm10.htm Admiral. Educated at War College. Dies 9 March 1910

SWD-1902 380 SWD Bostrom 05/07/1902 13/04/1905
Scobbie.

SWD-1905-1 380 SWD Ramstedt 13/04/1905 02/08/1905
http://members01.chello.se/dier/sm11.htm and http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johan_Ramstedt Died 1935 (Not 1925 as Lentz has it.)

SWD-1905-2 380 SWD Lundeberg 02/08/1905 07/11/1905
http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian_Lundeberg Died 10 November 1911

SWD-1905-3 380 SWD Staaf 07/11/1905 29/05/1906
http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Staaff. Died 4 October 1915

SWD-1906 380 SWD Lindman 29/05/1906 30/09/1911
Lentz. http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arvid_Lindman Died 9 December 1936.

SWD-1911 380 SWD Staaf 07/10/1911 17/02/1914

SWD-1914 380 SWD Hammarskjold 17/02/1914 29/03/1917
Lentz: Graduated from the University of Uppsala. Died 12 October 1953.

SWD-1917-1 380 SWD Swartz 29/03/1917 19/10/1917
http://members01.chello.se/dier/sm16.htm. Died 6 November 1926

SWD-1917-2 380 SWD Eden 19/10/1917 06/03/1920
Lentz and http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nils_Ed\%C3\%A9n. Died 16 June 1945

SWD-1920-1 380 SWD Branting 06/03/1920 22/10/1920
Lentz and http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hjalmar_Branting. Died 24 February 1925.

SWD-1920-2 380 SWD de Geer 27/10/1920 23/02/1921
Son of de Geer af Finspan

SWD-1921-1 380 SWD von Sydow 23/02/1921 13/10/1921

SWD-1921-2 380 SWD Branting 13/10/1921 06/04/1923

SWD-1923 380 SWD Trygger 06/04/1923 18/10/1924
Lentz:Doctorate in Law from Uppsala. Died 24 September 1943

SWD-1924 380 SWD Branting 18/10/1924 24/01/1925
For his Obituary, see *The New York Times*, Feb. 25, 1925, p. 19. "The former Premier had been ill since Nov. 30 when he contracted influenza. . . . He later contracted thrombosis and on Jan. 24 resigned as Premier. Little hope of his survival has been held out since Feb. 8 when the gallstone trouble appeared." The title of the article notes "He was imprisoned six times for his views before heading first socialist cabinet." Also *Washington Post*, 25 Feb. 1925, p.5. Also *The New York Times*, Feb. 25, 1925, p. 18. Dies less then six months after resigned.

SWD-1925 380 SWD Sandler 24/01/1925 02/06/1926
http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rickard_Sandler

SWD-1926 380 SWD Ekman 06/06/1926 26/09/1928

SWD-1928 380 SWD Lindman 01/10/1928 02/06/1930

SWD-1930 380 SWD Ekman 06/06/1930 06/08/1932
For the link between his resignation and the Kreuger Affair, see *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 6, 1932, p.2. Also, *The New York Times*, Aug. 8, 1932, p.5.

SWD-1932-1 380 SWD Hamrin 06/08/1932 19/09/1932
Died 27 November 1937.

SWD-1932-2 380 SWD Hansson 24/09/1932 15/06/1936
Scobbie: Son of a bricklayer, only four years' formal schooling. See also `http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Per_Albin_Hansson`. Dies 6 October 1946.

SWD-1936-1 380 SWD Pehrsson-Bramst 19/06/1936 23/09/1936
Axel Pehrsson-Bramstorp. Died 19 February 1954

SWD-1936-2 380 SWD Hansson 28/09/1936 06/10/1946
Scobbie: Son of a bricklayer, only four years' formal schooling. See also `http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Per_Albin_Hansson`. Dies 6 October 1946.

SWD-1946 380 SWD Erlander 10/10/1946 09/10/1969
Lentz. Educated at the University of Lund. Died 21 June 1985.

SWD-1969 380 SWD Palme 14/10/1969 20/09/1976

SWD-1976 380 SWD Falldin 04/10/1976 18/10/1978

SWD-1978 380 SWD Ullsten 18/10/1978 09/10/1979

SWD-1979 380 SWD Falldin 09/10/1979 07/10/1982

SWD-1982 380 SWD Palme 07/10/1982 28/02/1986
He was gunned down on a Stockholm street (Seavägen) on February 28, 1986, after leaving a movie theatre with his wife Lisbet. A man in an overcoat approached Palme and his wife from behind, drew a Smith & Wesson revolver and shot the premier in his back.

Several leads were followed (victim of a police plot, the work of a Kurdish terrorist group or of a lone assailant with a grudge), but the police have never been able to solve the crime. Associated Press, 26 February, 2006.

SWD-1986 380 SWD Carlsson 12/03/1986 30/10/1991

SWD-1991 380 SWD Bildt 30/10/1991 07/10/1994
Scobbie: Carl Bildt is the great-great-grandson of Gillis Bildt.

SWD-1994 380 SWD Carlsson 07/10/1994 21/03/1996

SWD-1996 380 SWD Persson 21/03/1996 31/12/2004

2.79 NORWAY

NOR-1905 385 NOR Michelsen 02/03/1905 28/10/1907
Died 29 June, 1925.

NOR-1907 385 NOR Lovland 28/10/1907 13/03/1908
Died 21 August, 1922

NOR-1908 385 NOR Knudsen 19/03/1908 01/02/1910
Died 1 December 1928

NOR-1910 385 NOR Konow 01/02/1910 19/02/1912
Died 1924

NOR-1912 385 NOR Bratlie 19/02/1912 29/01/1913

NOR-1913 385 NOR Knudsen 29/01/1913 20/06/1920

NOR-1920 385 NOR Halvorsen 20/06/1920 22/06/1921

NOR-1921 385 NOR Blehr 22/06/1921 05/03/1923

NOR-1923-1 385 NOR Halvorsen 05/03/1923 23/05/1923

NOR-1923-2 385 NOR Berge 23/05/1923 25/06/1924
Lentz. "subsequently under investigation on charges of obtaining an improper government loan for a major Oslo bank during his administration. He was acquitted of charges in 1927 and died in 1936."

NOR-1924 385 NOR Mowinckel 25/06/1924 03/03/1926

NOR-1926 385 NOR Lykke 03/03/1926 20/01/1928

NOR-1928-1 385 NOR Hornsrud 20/01/1928 15/02/1928

NOR-1928-2 385 NOR Mowinckel 15/02/1928 09/05/1931

NOR-1931 385 NOR Kolstad 11/05/1931 01/02/1932
Obituary: *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Mar. 6, 1932, p. 16, see also *Washington Post*, 6 March, 1932, p.2. *The New York Times*, March 6, 1932, p. 15 notes: "During the Premier's illness Foreign Minister Braadland functioned as the government's chief." Rulers.org has Braadland in 1 February. Blood clot.

NOR-1932-1 385 NOR Braadland 01/02/1932 14/03/1932
We take Braadland for the whole period and not, like Rulers.org interrupted 29 Feb - 10 March by Nils Traedal since he is on government business for a meeting of the League of Nations in Geneva. See *Christian Science Monitor*, March 5, 1932, p.1

NOR-1932-2 385 NOR Hundseid 14/03/1932 25/02/1933

Lentz. Became a county governor in 1935. "Despite a personal dislike for Vidkun Quisling, Hunseid joined Quisling's National Unification Party ... during the German Occupation. After the liberation of Norway, Hunseid was tried and convicted of treason as a collaborationist and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. He died in 1965."

NOR-1933 385 NOR Mowinckel 02/03/1933 16/03/1935

NOR-1935 385 NOR Nygaardsvold 19/03/1935 09/04/1940
Flees the German invasion, exile in London. Lentz 1999, p. 327.

NOR-1940 385 NOR Quisling 09/04/1940 07/05/1945
Lentz and Rulers.org. Attended the Military Academy in 1911 and served in the Norwegian army as a junior member of the general staff. Unilaterally declared himself head of government when Nygaardsvold left the country. "He was reviled by his fellow countrymen and was arrested following Norway's liberation in May 1945. He was tried for military and civilian treason, illegally changing the constitution, illegal confiscation, theft, and murder. He was convicted and executed by a firing squad on October 24, 1945." For his ouster, see also *The New York Times* 8 May, 1945, p. 5.

NOR-1945-1 385 NOR Nygaardsvold 07/05/1945 25/06/1945
Lentz. "Following the war, Nygaardsvold's government was held partially responsible for Norway's inadequate defense preparations during the war."

NOR-1945-2 385 NOR Gerhardsen 26/06/1945 13/11/1951

NOR-1951 385 NOR Torp 13/11/1951 14/01/1955

NOR-1955 385 NOR Gerhardsen 22/01/1955 23/08/1963

NOR-1963-1 385 NOR Lyng 27/08/1963 25/09/1963

NOR-1963-2 385 NOR Gerhardsen 25/09/1963 12/10/1965

NOR-1965 385 NOR Borten 12/10/1965 16/03/1971

NOR-1971 385 NOR Bratteli 16/03/1971 17/10/1972

NOR-1972 385 NOR Korvald 17/10/1972 15/10/1973

NOR-1973 385 NOR Bratteli 15/10/1973 09/01/1976

NOR-1976 385 NOR Nordli 09/01/1976 04/02/1981
Lentz. Also ***Keesing's*** Vol. 27, March 1981, notes "... Mr. Odvar Nordli (53), who had announced his resignation for health reasons on Jan. 30 after holding the post since January 1976."

NOR-1981-1 385 NOR Brundtland 04/02/1981 14/10/1981
Lentz: Female. Degree in Medicine from the University of Oslo.

NOR-1981-2 385 NOR Willoch 14/10/1981 09/05/1986

Lentz. Attended University of Oslo.

NOR-1986 385 NOR Brundtland 09/05/1986 16/10/1989
Female.

NOR-1989 385 NOR Syse 16/10/1989 03/11/1990

NOR-1990 385 NOR Brundtland 03/11/1990 25/10/1996
Female

NOR-1996 385 NOR Jagland 25/10/1996 17/10/1997

NOR-1997 385 NOR Bondevik 17/10/1997 30/08/1998
Steps down (temporarily) because of ill health.

NOR-1998-1 385 NOR Lahnstein 30/08/1998 23/09/1998
Female

NOR-1998-2 385 NOR Bondevik 24/09/1998 17/03/2000

NOR-2000 385 NOR Stoltenberg 17/03/2000 19/10/2001

NOR-2001 385 NOR Bondevik 19/10/2001 31/12/2004

2.80 DENMARK

DEN-1874 390 DEN Fonnesbech 14/07/1874 11/06/1875
Dies 17 May 1880.

DEN-1875 390 DEN Estrup 11/06/1875 07/08/1894
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jacob_Br\%C3\%B8nnum_Scavenius_Estrup Apparently faced an "amateurish assassination attempt."

DEN-1894 390 DEN Reedtz-Thott 07/08/1894 23/05/1897

DEN-1897 390 DEN Horring 23/05/1897 24/04/1900

DEN-1900 390 DEN Sehested 24/04/1900 24/07/1901
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hannibal_Sehested_\%281842-1924\%29 notes: "He was the last Danish Council President appointed by the king without support from the Danish Parliament before Denmark switched to a parliamentary system and the secret ballot."

DEN-1901 390 DEN Deuntzer 24/07/1901 14/01/1905

DEN-1905 390 DEN Christensen 14/01/1905 12/10/1908
Lentz. "forced to resign on October 12, 1908, over a financial scandal involving his justice minister, Peter Adler Alberti. Christensen was acquitted of any personal wrongdoing and returned to the government as defense minister in Count Holstein-Ledreborg's government in 1909."

DEN-1908 390 DEN Neergaard 12/10/1908 16/08/1909

DEN-1909-2 390 DEN J. Holstein 16/08/1909 28/10/1909
Johan Ludvig Carl Christian Holstein-Ledreborg.

DEN-1909-1 390 DEN Zahle 28/10/1909 05/07/1910

DEN-1910 390 DEN Bernsten 05/07/1910 21/06/1913

DEN-1913 390 DEN Zahle 21/06/1913 30/03/1920

DEN-1920-2 390 DEN Liebe 30/03/1920 05/04/1920

DEN-1920-3 390 DEN Friis 05/04/1920 05/05/1920
Caretaker government.

DEN-1920-3 390 DEN Neergaard 05/05/1920 23/04/1924

DEN-1924 390 DEN Stauning 23/04/1924 14/12/1926
Stays in office leading coalition government.

DEN-1926 390 DEN Madsen-Mygdat 14/12/1926 25/04/1929

DEN-1929 390 DEN Stauning 30/04/1929 03/05/1942

Lentz 1999, p. 126: "He was instrumental in keeping Denmark's military weak during the 1930s. Stauning's government accepted Germany's ultimatum to surrender on April 9, 1940, and Germany occupied Denmark during World War II. Stauning led a coalition government during the war, and attempted to maintain the political integrity of Denmark during the occupation. He retained office until his death in Copenhagen on May 3, 1942."

Scavenius' obituary (see *The New York Times*, November 30, 1962, p. 33.) records "Premier Stauning died in 1942. His successor, Vilhelm Buhl, resigned later that year. Neither man was acceptable to the Germans, then occupying Denmark, but Mr. Scavenius was."

DEN-1942-1 390 DEN Buhl 03/05/1942 9/11/1942

Lentz: Vilhelm Buhl. Scavenius' obituary (see *The New York Times*, November 30, 1962, p. 33.) records "Premier Stauning died in 1942. His successor, Vilhelm Buhl, resigned later that year. Neither man was acceptable to the Germans, then occupying Denmark, but Mr. Scavenius was."

DEN-1942-2 390 DEN Scavenius 9/11/1942 30/08/1943

Erik Scavenius. Lentz: Retains office "until August 30, 1943 when the German occupation administration removed the government and installed a German governor. Scavenius was criticized after the war for his cooperation with the occupation authorities. He dropped out of politics and died in Copenhagen on November 29, 1962." For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, November 30, 1962, p. 33. Had a degree in political economics. His obituary records "Premier Stauning died in 1942. His successor, Vilhelm Buhl, resigned later that year. Neither man was acceptable to the Germans, then occupying Denmark, but Mr. Scavenius was. ... Fr most of the time from late 1942 until the end of the war in Europe in May, 1945, Mr. Scavenius was the Premier of Denmark under German control."

DEN-1945-2 390 DEN Buhl 05/05/1945 07/11/1945

Lentz. "Buhl was selected as prime minister on May 3, 1942, during the German occupation of Denmark. He stepped down from office on November 9, 1942." Hence, perhaps this is his second time in office.

DEN-1945-1 390 DEN Kristensen 08/11/1945 04/10/1947

DEN-1947 390 DEN Hedtoft 12/11/1947 25/10/1950

DEN-1950 390 DEN Eriksen 28/10/1950 30/09/1953

DEN-1953 390 DEN Hedtoft 30/09/1953 29/01/1955

Dies of heart attack.

DEN-1955 390 DEN Hansen 01/02/1955 19/02/1960

Dies of cancer.

DEN-1960 390 DEN Kampmann 19/02/1960 03/09/1962

Lentz: Several heart attacks in 1962 and resigned from office for health reasons. He dies June 22, 1978.

DEN-1962 390 DEN Krag 03/09/1962 18/12/1967

DEN-1968 390 DEN Baunsgaard 18/12/1967 06/10/1971

DEN-1971 390 DEN Krag 11/10/1971 03/10/1972

DEN-1972 390 DEN Jorgensen 05/10/1972 19/12/1973

DEN-1973 390 DEN Hartling 19/12/1973 29/01/1975

DEN-1975 390 DEN Jorgensen 13/02/1975 10/09/1982

DEN-1982 390 DEN Schluter 10/09/1982 25/01/1993

See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 39 January, 1993: "In 1987 the then Justice Minister, Erik Ninn Hansen, had ordered that relatives remaining in Sri Lanka of Tamil refugees in Denmark would no longer be allowed to join them. The decision was in breach of Danish law and was later reversed. A senior judge, Mogens Hornslet, was given responsibility for investigating the affair. Public attention focused in particular on Schlüter's role, and on whether he had misled parliament when declaring in 1989 that "nothing has been swept under the carpet". The 6,000-page report, published on Jan. 14, stated unequivocally that he had misled parliament. Schlüter said that he did not agree with the report's conclusions, but he accepted that he had to "take the consequences" and tendered his resignation. The leader of the Conservative People's Party (KF), Schlüter had headed five minority centre-right governments since 1982."

DEN-1993 390 DEN Nyrup Rasmussen 25/01/1993 27/11/2001

DEN-2001 390 DEN Fogh Rasmussen 27/11/2001 31/12/2004

2.81 ICELAND

ICE-1944-1 395 ICE Thordarson 17/05/1944 21/10/1944
Lentz: "Iceland became an independent republic on June 17, 1944. Thodarson stepped down as prime minister on October 21, 1944." For his exit, see *The New York Times*, Oct. 24, 1944, p.5.
But see also *The New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1944, p.17, which reports "President Sveinn Bjornsson accepted today the resignation of the Cabinet that he chose when he was Regent in 1942."

ICE-1944-2 395 ICE Thors 21/10/1944 03/02/1947

ICE-1947 395 ICE Stefansson 03/02/1947 06/12/1949

ICE-1949 395 ICE Thors 06/12/1949 14/03/1950

ICE-1950 395 ICE Steinthorsson 14/03/1950 13/09/1953

ICE-1953 395 ICE Thors 13/09/1953 21/07/1956

ICE-1956 395 ICE Jonasson 21/07/1956 04/12/1958

ICE-1958 395 ICE Jonsson 23/12/1958 20/11/1959

ICE-1959 395 ICE Thors 20/11/1959 12/11/1963
Lentz: "He retained office until November 12, 1963, when he resigned for reasons of health. He died after suffering a stroke in Reykjavik on December 31, 1964."

ICE-1963 395 ICE Benediktsson 14/11/1963 10/07/1970
Lentz: "Benediktsson, his wife, and grandson were killed in a fire at the prime minister's official summer residence in Thingvellir, near Reykjavik, on July 10, 1970."

ICE-1970 395 ICE Hafstein 10/07/1970 14/07/1971

ICE-1971 395 ICE Johannesson 14/07/1971 28/08/1974

ICE-1974 395 ICE Hallgrimsson 29/08/1974 31/08/1978

ICE-1978 395 ICE Johannesson 31/08/1978 15/10/1979

ICE-1979 395 ICE Groendal 15/10/1979 08/02/1980

ICE-1980 395 ICE Thoroddsen 08/02/1980 26/05/1983
Lentz: "Thoroddsen called for new elections in April of 1983 and retired from office on May 26, 1983. He died in Reykjavik at the age of 72 on September 25, 1983." Dies less than six months after resigns.

ICE-1983 395 ICE Hermannsson 26/05/1983 08/07/1987
Son of Herman Jonasson.

ICE-1987 395 ICE Palsson 08/07/1987 28/09/1988

ICE-1988 395 ICE Hermannsson 28/09/1988 30/04/1991
Son of Herman Jonasson.

ICE-1991 395 ICE Oddsson 30/04/1991 15/09/2004
He is also particularly known as a playwright.

ICE-2004 395 ICE Halldor Asgrimsson 15/09/2004 31/12/2004

2.82 CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

CAP-1975 402 CAP Pires 08/07/1975 04/04/1991
See ***Keesing's***: General, wins election for president, February 2001.

CAP-1991 402 CAP Veiga 04/04/1991 29/07/2000
See ***Keesing's***, Vol. 46, August 2000: steps down to contest the next presidential election.

CAP-2000 402 CAP do Rosario 29/07/2000 01/02/2001
Keesing's, Vol. 46, August 2000, notes that "The main opposition party, the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, stated on July 31 that they regarded the transfer of the post of Prime Minister to do Rosario, without an election, as illegal and unconstitutional. Further criticism followed when President Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro stated on August 17 that he had disagreed with the way in which Veiga had resigned. However, he also expressed his desire to work with do Rosario." Do Rosario was promoted to the post of Deputy Prime Minister in May 1998. Supposedly acting for Veiga until October, then formally appointed by the President. Subsequently parliamentarian. Also see Lexis Nexis. July 30, 2002, *Financial Times Information*.

CAP-2001 402 CAP Neves 01/02/2001 31/12/2004

2.83 GUINEA-BISSAU

GNB-1974 404 GNB Cabral 10/09/1974 14/11/1980

Luis de Almeida Cabral. Coup by prime minister. Since PM is of military rank (Major), a former defense minister, and uses loyal troops in the coup, this is coded as military coup, *The New York Times* 11/16/1980, p. 3. See ***Keesing's***, Vol. 45, November 1999. Luis Cabral returned home to Bissau from exile in Portugal on November 15, 19 years after he was overthrown in a coup led by Vieira. He was imprisoned until 1 January 1982, then exiled.

`http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8076565.stm` provides a brief obituary. BBC News, 1 June 2009 "Guinea-Bissau's first leader dies" notes "The first post-independence President of Guinea-Bissau, Luis Cabral, has died in Portugal's capital, Lisbon, aged 78. Mr Cabral was president from 1974 until 1980 when he was overthrown by his prime minister, Joao Bernardo Vieira, who was assassinated three months ago. Mr Cabral was a half-brother of the liberation movement leader, Amilcar Cabral, who died before independence. ... Mr Cabral was also remembered as a man who contributed much to the education of the masses during the first years after independence. But our correspondent says his effectiveness as head of state was weakened by widespread hunger in the country in the late 1970s. These hard times culminated with the November 1980 military coup which ousted Mr Cabral. It opened a crippling era of military insurgencies, coups and counter coups for Guinea-Bissau. After his overthrow, Mr Cabral was jailed for six months before being released following the intervention of the Cuban government. The former Guinean president then spent some time in exile in Cuba, before settling in Lisbon in 1984. Mr Cabral refused to make any public criticism against his former prime minister who had chased him from power. Mr Vieira, who won elections in 2005, met a bloody end in March when he was assassinated by soldiers."

GNB-1980 404 GNB Vieira 14/11/1980 07/05/1999

Military coup, president gives up after short fighting. *The Guardian* (London) 8 May, 1999, p.22. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 45, May 1999, "During the fighting Vieira sought refuge at the Portuguese embassy and on May 10 he signed an unconditional surrender. Portugal agreed to grant him indefinite asylum but rebel troops did not allow him to leave Bissau." He was ousted after dismissing head of military, refuge in Portuguese Embassy.

The *New York Tomes*, May 9, 1999, p. 9 "Fighting Flares in Guinea-Bissau's Capital" notes "Rebels led by the former armed forces chief, Ansumane Mane, defeated forces loyal to Mr. Vieira on Friday, shattering a six-month-old peace accord."

GNB-1999-1 404 GNB Mane 07/05/1999 14/05/1999

For his entry, see The *New York Tomes*, May 9, 1999, p. 9 "Fighting Flares in Guinea-Bissau's Capital" which notes "Rebels led by the former armed forces chief, Ansumane Mane, defeated forces loyal to Mr. Vieira on Friday, shattering a six-month-old peace accord."

Mane installs Malan Bacai Sanha, former head of Parliament, as interim president. The *The New York Times* 15 May, 1999, p. 4; `http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/world/A0858526.html`. See also The Economist, (London), 15 May, 1999, Vol. 351, Iss. 8119, p.48, which records, "On May 10, Brigadier Ansumane Mane said that he

would hand over power to the speaker of parliament until elections are held in November and that he himself would not seek the presidency."

Keesing's, Vol. 46, December 2000. "Gen. Ansumane Mane, the Gambian-born leader of the military junta which overthrew the government of former President . . . Bernardo Vieira in May 1999 [see p. 42924], was shot dead by government troops on Nov. 30, a week after a reported unsuccessful coup, which he was alleged to have led. A Portuguese television report on Nov. 30 purported to show Mane's body, his face disfigured by a wound. The report said that Mane and nine others had been caught and shot by a pursuing 50-man army patrol in country about 30 km north of Bissau, the capital. On Dec. 16 it was reported that President Kumba Iala had agreed to an independent inquiry into the circumstances of the killings, in accordance with demands by opposition parties." He was General, and former chief of the general staff of the armed forces.

For evidence that Mane remains the effective leader, see *Africa News*, August 18, 1999, "West Africa; IRIN-WA Update of events in West Africa." Accessed through LexisNexis *Academic*. The article notes "Guinea-Bissau was wracked in 1998 by a war between the government of then president Joao Bernardo Vieira and a Military Junta headed by Brigadier- General Ansumane Mane. Under a peace agreement signed at the end of 1998, an interim government was set up early this year, but the Military Junta overthrew Vieira on 7 May 1999. One of the principles agreed on by participants in the conference, held on 12-14 August at the Junta's headquarters - the military barracks in Bissau - was that there should be reconciliation without excluding anyone. However, there should be no impunity. Justice must be done, but there should be no vengeance, they noted in a set of recommendations and proposals faxed to IRIN. They also stressed that the return to institutional and constitutional normalcy should be based on free elections, and urged the government to do everything in its power to have the polls held on 28 November 1999, as provided for in the 1998 peace agreement. They also called on interim President Malam Bacai Sanha to veto Article 5 of a new draft constitution, approved in July by the National Assembly, which states that only people whose parents were nationals can become president. If upheld, the requirement would exclude about half the nation's people, many of whom are of Cape Verdean, Guinean, Senegalese and Malian origin, the source said, adding that "it has created deep political malaise". Freedom of expression should be guaranteed and "no one must be arrested simply because he or she belonged to the former regime", participants in the conference said. The trials of people who committed abuses during the war should also include the Junta, they added, since it also committed crimes during the civil war. The conference urged the Junta to stick to its decision to keep the military in the barracks and to make sure all the military are, in fact, back in their barracks before 28 November. A source told IRIN that officially the military had gone back to the barracks but, in practice, they were still running the country. "It's a military regime capped by civilians," the source said."

NOTE: he gets killed more than a year after he loses power. In the meantime, he had been fine. see: *The New York Times*, Nov. 24, 2000, p. A27.

GNB-1999-2 404 GNB Sanha 14/05/1999 17/02/2000

Sanha was born on 5 May 1947. See ***Keesing's***: Speaker of the National Assembly. Loses election. For a short bio of Sanha , see Lexis Nexis, January 16, 2000, AllAfrica, Inc. Africa News. "Malam Bacai Sanha, the current Guinea-Bissau acting head of state, came to power following the military coup of 7 May 1999, staged by military officers,

who subsequently agreed to abide the provisions of the constitution to close the power vacuum created by their putsch. The constitution states that in case the president is incapacitated, the interim would be entrusted to the Speaker of the National Assembly. Married with three children, Sahna was born on 5 May 1947 in Dar-e, in the Quinare region, in the southern part of the country. He joined the African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) in 1963. He graduated from a higher education institution in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), and received a bachelor's degree in political sciences by the higher institute for political sciences in Berlin. Sometime after the proclamation of independence, while the armed struggle was still raging in September 1974, Sanha was appointed governor of the Biombo region where he served from 1975 to 1977. A member of the party central committee from 1981-86, he was elected secretary general of the National Union of Guinea- Bissau Workers(UNTG) in 1990. Until 1991, he served both as secretary general of the union and as minister of information and telecommunications. From 19991 to 1994, he was first deputy speaker of the national assembly as well as minister of the civil service (1992–1994). In 1994, he was elected member of parliament for the Gabu district, following the first multiparty election held in the country. He chaired the new national assembly until the coup of 7 May 1999. He was designated acting head of state on 13 May 1999."

Apparently he received death threats. As reported by the BBC, November 29, 2000. "Former Guinea-Bissau President Malam Bacai Sanha said on Tuesday, 28th November, in Bissau that he received telephone death threats on Monday 27th November night. "Malam, either you get out of Bissau or we kill you," the voice on the other side of the telephone said. This is according to Malam, the former head of the transitional state and African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde PAIGC presidential candidate in the 28th November 1999 elections. Sanha's concern is amplified by the fact that several members of his personal guard have been thrown out of their homes by the authorities."

Note, this is after attempted coup by Mane. Subsequently, Minister of Civil Service, Artur Senha said the former president had nothing to fear and that his security was guaranteed.

GNB-2000 404 GNB Kumba Iala 18/02/2000 14/09/2003

Kumba Iala was born on March 15, 1953. ***Keesing's***, Vol. 47, December 2001, notes that the government claimed to have put down an attempted coup by senior military figures on Dec. 2-3. However, some analysts expressed doubts over the authenticity of the coup attempt, believing it to be a part of a government campaign to silence its critics.

Keesing's, Vol.49, September 2003. "The army overthrew President Kumba Yalla and seized power on Sept. 14 in a bloodless coup. A military spokesman said that Yalla was being held in detention and that the army had acted against him because he had caused "political instability." A Military Committee for the Restitution of Constitutional and Democratic Order (CMROCD) was established, led by the armed forces chief of staff, Gen. Verissimo Correia Seabre, who also declared himself interim President. Yalla met with journalists on Sept. 17 and announced his formal resignation as President; he thanked the army for managing to avoid violence and the loss of life.

Yalla, of the Social Renewal Party (PRS), had been sworn in as President in February 2000, having been overwhelmingly elected the previous month with over 70 per cent of the vote [see p. 43344]. He was only the second President to be directly elected since

independence in 1974 and the first not to belong to the former ruling party, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC).

The country's political leaders on Sept. 28 signed a "transition pact" for a staged return to civilian rule. The pact established a National Transition Council as the supreme body of governance until fresh legislative elections, scheduled to be held in six months' time. The Council was presided over by Gen. Correia Seabre and had 56 members, including the 25 members of the CMROCD, 23 political party representatives, and eight from civil society. At the same time Henrique Rosa was sworn in as the new interim President and Antonio Artur Sanha as the new Prime Minister, replacing Mario Pires who had served in the post since November 2002 [see p. 45079; for previous government changes see pp. 45507; 45079]. See also *The New York Times*, 15 September 2003, P. 7.

Rulers.org reports that he is under house arrest, but designated on March 26 as its presidential candidate for the June 19 election.

GNB-2003-1 404 GNB Correia Seabra 14/09/2003 28/09/2003

GNB-2003-2 404 GNB Henrique Pereira Rosa 28/09/2003 31/12/2004

GNB-2005 404 GNB Joao Bernardo Vieira ??/??/???? 02/03/2009

See `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8076565.stm`, BBC News, 1 June 2009 "Guinea-Bissau's first leader dies" which notes that Viera first overthrew Cabral. "Mr Vieira, who won elections in 2005, met a bloody end in March when he was assassinated by soldiers."

allAfrica.com "West Africa: The Return of the Military Coup" of 27 December 2008 reports "Cape Town — The African Union (AU) has condemned the return of coups d'état to the continent, describing the phenomenon as "a very serious setback in the ongoing democratization process in Africa." Government ministers attending a meeting of the AU's Peace and Security Council in Addis Ababa this week issued three separate communiqué's dealing with attempted or actual military takeovers during 2008. In one, the council condemned the attack launched by renegade military elements on the residence of President *João* Bernardo Vieira of Guinea-Bissau on November 23, a week after legislative elections had been held in the country."

The New York Times, 2 March 2009, "President of Buinea-Bissau Said to Be Killed by Soldiers." `http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/03/world/africa/03guinea.html?_r=1&emc=eta1` "Army troops shot dead the president of the tiny west African country of Guinea-Bissau early Monday, following a bomb attack that killed the army chief of staff, according to diplomats in the region. News reports said army troops blamed the president, Joao Bernardo Vieira, for the death of the army chief, Gen. Batista Tagme Na Wai, who died in an explosion on Sunday night. Diplomats, who spoke in return for anonymity under customary rules, said the president was killed at around 5 a.m. in an attack outside his house and the countrys borders had been closed. "Nobody knows who is in charge," one diplomat said. "Nobody knows what the army will do." The army command denied that a coup was under way, saying an "isolated group" of soldiers had killed the president. In a statement broadcast on state radio, the military pledged to respect the "constitutional order" providing for the head of Parliament to succeed the president until elections within three months. President Vieira, 69, whose death was reported on Monday, returned to power in an election in 2005 after an earlier spell as a military ruler in the 1980s and 1990s. He had played a leading part in the

guerrilla war against Portuguese rule that culminated in the mid-1970s when Portugal ceded independence to its African colonies. In recent months, his regime was increasingly unstable, with widespread reports of tensions between him and the military elite, so much so that the president recruited a 400-strong personal bodyguard that was accused in January of opening fire on the army commander. "It is a settling of accounts," said Moustapha Diallo, the head of an organization representing people from Guinea-Bissau living in Conakry. "In an affair like this, if you kill me, my brothers will avenge me. It's as simple as that." Agence France-Presse quoted a military spokesman, Zamora Induta, as saying Mr. Vieira "was killed by the army as he tried to flee his house, which was being attacked by a group of soldiers" close to the army chief of staff. The spokesman said the president was one of the main people responsible for the death of the army commander on Sunday night."

GNB-2009 404 GNB Raimundo Pereira 03/03/2009 ??/??/????

For his regular entry, see above, and also BBC News "G-Bissau asks not to be abandoned." `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7923264.stm` "Guinea-Bissau's new leader Raimundo Pereira has appealed for international help to stabilise the country in the wake of the president's assassination. The parliament's speaker, who was sworn in as interim leader on Tuesday, asked the world not to abandon his country. He said that he would assume the functions of head of state until elections were held within 60 days. President Joao Bernardo Vieira was shot on Monday by soldiers who blamed him for a bomb that killed the army chief. Guinea-Bissau - a major transit point for Latin American cocaine headed for Europe - has been plagued by political unrest since it gained independence from Portugal in 1974. The army denied it was launching a coup and has promised to honour the constitution."

BBC News, 28 JUne 2009 "Guinea-Bissau votes for president" notes "Polls have closed in Guinea-Bissau where a new leader is being elected four months after soldiers killed President Joao Bernardo Vieira. Eleven candidates were contesting the election in the impoverished West African nation. Front-runners were Malam Bacai Sanha of the ruling party, and former presidents Henrique Rosa and Kumba Yala. President Vieira was killed in March in apparent revenge for the death of the head of the army in a bomb blast. He had ruled Guinea Bissau for a total of 23 years, from 1980-1999 and from 2005-2009. About 600,000 of the country's 1.3 million residents were eligible to vote in the polls. A second round of polling could be held if there is no outright winner. ... Malam Bacai Sanha, who served as interim president from 1999-2000, was the ruling party candidate. He faced his biggest challenges from opposition leader and former President Kumba Yala, who was overthrown in a 2003 coup, and from Henrique Rosa, who served as interim president from 2003-2005. All three leading candidates have promised to bring peace and stability to the nation. They have also promised to tackle the drug trade in Guinea-Bissau, which has become a transit point for gangs shipping cocaine from South America to Europe."

2.84 EQUATORIAL GUINEA

EQG-1963 411 EQG Bonifacio Ondo Edu 15/12/1963 12/10/1968

Lentz. "When Equatorial Guinea was granted independence [from Spain, HG] on October 12, 1968, Ondu Edu went into exile in Gabon. He was extradited to Equatorial Guinea in November of 1968 and detained by the Macias Nguema government. Ondu Edu was charged with conspiracy and was murder with member of his family in January of 1969." See Lentz 1994, p. 260; *Washington Post* 13 October, 1968, p. A22. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 14, November 1968, records he ran in the Sept. 22 Presidential election, notes had was Prime Minister at the time. *Los Angeles Times* Oct. 3, 1968, p. 2 records that EQ will become independent Oct. 23.

EQG-1968 411 EQG Macias Nguema 12/10/1968 03/08/1979

For his entry as a result of elections, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 14, November 1968, which records that "the former Spanish province of Equatorial Guinea achieved independence on October 12. ... Following the referendum on the Independence Constitution in August, Presidential elections were held in the territory on Sept. 22, ... Senor Francisco Macias (44), the first President of the new State, comes from Rio Muni and, as stated above, had been Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of Public Works since the setting up of an autonomous Government in 1964."

Military coup, *The New York Times* 6 August, 1979, p. A1. Macias first went into hiding in his home village, where he was captured by government troops on 18 August, 1979. He was sent to Bata prison to await trail. Macias Nguema was convicted on charges of murder and corruption and was executed on September 29, 1979. Was Vice President in the Government Council. "Macias Nguema challenged Ondu Edu for Equatorial Guinea's presidency in elections held in September of 1968. When Equatorial Guenea was granted independence from Spain on October 12, 1968, Macias Nguema established a government with himself as minister of defense." Fr.encarta.msn, however, notes: "Ayant remporté l'élection présidentielle en auto 1968 ...."

Hence, having won the presidential election of 1968. Appointed by national unity party; Ousted in coup; prison; executed 29 Sept 1979. Surives an aborted coup (supported by Spain?) in March 1969, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 15, April, 1969.

Theodore Dalrymple, "On Evil," *The New English Review*, Tuesday, January 16, 2007. "I passed through several extraordinary countries, for example Equatorial Guinea, where the first (democratically elected) president after independence from Spain had been overthrown and executed by his nephew. Francisco Macias Nguema was one of the great unsung political monsters of the Twentieth Century, the century par excellence of political monsters. He kept the national treasury under his bed, had all people who wore eyeglasses executed on the grounds that they were dangerous intellectuals, introduced forced unpaid labour and killed or drove into exile a third of the population. His nephew who overthrew him, who until then had been his accomplice, was somewhat of an improvement, though still a dictator (and to this day is President): whenever he left the capital, the power supply was switched off as no longer being necessary."

BBC News `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8094012.stm` notes "President Teodoro Obiang Nguema came to power in August 1979 in classic style, deposing his uncle, Macias Nguema, who fled but was later captured and executed."

EQG-1979 411 EQG Nguema Mbasogo 03/08/1979 31/12/2004

BBC News `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8094012.stm` notes "President Teodoro Obiang Nguema came to power in August 1979 in classic style, deposing his uncle, Macias Nguema, who fled but was later captured and executed. Despite its new-found oil wealth, 60% of the people of Equatorial Guinea live on less than a dollar a day. But they clearly all love President Nguema, as he won 97% of the vote at the last election in 2002." Born on 4 June 1942. See The *Washington Post*, Aug. 7, 1979, p. A1. See also The *Washington Post*, Aug. 19, 1979, p. A1, A14.

Theodore Dalrymple, "On Evil," *The New English Review*, Tuesday, January 16, 2007. "I passed through several extraordinary countries, for example Equatorial Guinea, where the first (democratically elected) president after independence from Spain had been overthrown and executed by his nephew. Francisco Macias Nguema was one of the great unsung political monsters of the Twentieth Century, the century par excellence of political monsters. ... His nephew who overthrew him, who until then had been his accomplice, was somewhat of an improvement, though still a dictator (and to this day is President): whenever he left the capital, the power supply was switched off as no longer being necessary."

2.85 GAMBIA

GAM-1965 420 GAM Jawara 18/02/1965 22/07/1994

Lentz: from the University of Glasgow, qualified as a veterinary surgeon. In 1972 a constitutional amendment provided for the election of the President by the people. Sir Dawda Jawara is elected. In July 1981 troops from Senegal put down a coup attempt against the Gambian government. In Feb. 1982 Gambia and Senegal, who have always had close relations, formed a confederation called Senegambia. The confederation collapsed in Sept. 1989 when Gambia sought greater powers. On Jan. 8, 1991 Gambia and Senegal signed a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation which replaced the former confederation agreement. On Feb. 18, 1991 Pres. Dawda Jawara pardoned all the prisoners implicated in the coup attempt of 1981. In Dec. 1991 Pres. Jawara announced his intention to resign, although later reversed his decision at the request of his People's Progressive Party (PPP). On Feb. 14, 1992 Pres. Jawara announced presidential and legislative elections for April 29, 1992. The elections resulted in Pres. Jawara being re-elected for his 5th term as president while the PPP won the majority of seats in legislative elections. In April 1993 the leader's of the banned Movement for Justice Party in Africa party from the abortive 1981 coup attempt returned to reactivate the legalized party. Removed in a military coup, *The Independent* (London) 7/24/1994, p. 12. Rulers.org, "he was granted asylum by Senegal and later lived in exile in London." An unconditional amnesty for him was announced in December 2001 and returned on June 1, 2002. Bloodless coup, asylum in Senegal.

GAM-1994 420 GAM Jammeh 22/07/1994 31/12/2004

See Fr.encarta.msn: He was a lieutenant. For his bizarre exploits, see `http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/21/world/africa/21gambia.html?hp`

2.86 MALI

MLI-1960 432 MLI Keita 22/09/1960 19/11/1968

Removed in a military coup, Lentz 1994, p. 537. Imprisoned, see Chicago Tribune, November 21, 1968, p. B20, "Military Committee Takes Over in Mali."

MLI-1968 432 MLI Traore 19/11/1968 26/03/1991

For his entry, Chicago Daily Defender, November 20, 1968, p.28, "Leftist Army Officers Overthrow Mali Regime" which lists him as an army major. See also Chicago Tribune, November 21, 1968, p. B20, "Military Committee Takes Over in Mali," which ranks him a Lieutenant. Other sources confirm he was a Lieutenant.

Ousted in a military coup and under arrest. Military takes over after popular unrest by a democracy movement and general strike, New York Times 5/26/1991, p. 6. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 43, December 1997 notes: "The death sentences passed in 1993 against former President Moussa Traoré and a number of his former colleagues [see 39307], including Sekou Ly, Mamadou Coulibaly and Ousmane Coulibaly, were commuted to life imprisonment on Dec. 9. No judicial executions had been carried out in Mali since 1980. Traoré had been deposed as President in March 1991 [see pp. 38083-84]. The announcement of the amnesty by President Alpha Oumar Konaré followed the decision of Nov. 18 to close the Kidal prison, an institution in the heart of the Sahara desert which had often been used to house political prisoners."

MLI-1991 432 MLI Amadou Toure 26/03/1991 06/06/1992

Is a general, educated at the military academy at Kati (1969-1972), later at the École de guerre in Paris (1989-1990). Britannica Online records he was first educated as a teacher.

MLI-1992 432 MLI Konare 06/06/1992 08/06/2002

Had to give up power, according to the constitution the president could be reelected only once. He was elected and then resigned under foreign pressure. *The Wilson Quarterly*, Miracle in Mali, by Robert Pringle.

`http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=wq.essay&essay_id=178661`

"After his second term, Konaré-who reputedly once said that what Africa needs is more living ex-presidents-gracefully accepted retirement. Malian law wisely provides a comfortable personal residence for term-limited ex-chiefs of state, on the theory that it will help to discourage post-retirement coup plotting. But Konaré didn't need it: He is now chairman of Africa's top regional organization, the African Union. With Konaré out of the picture, ATT, Mali's erstwhile Cincinnatus, retired from the army, ran for election in 2002, and won handily. Meanwhile, the former dictator, Traoré, had been tried and sentenced to death for political and economic crimes. But Konaré pardoned him, and he is now living comfortably in Bamako with his once-controversial wife, whose extended family had been the economic power behind his regime."

MLI-2002 432 MLI Amadou Toure 09/06/2002 31/12/2004

Toure is a general.

2.87 SENEGAL

SEN-1960 433 SEN Senghor 20/08/1960 31/12/1980

First African to obtain "l'agrégation de grammaire en 1935", he teaches in France, is imprisoned by the Germans. Died on 20 December 2001.

For coup attempt, see Chicago Daily Defender, January 22, 1963, p. 6 "Africa's Political Pot Brews Unrest, Crises." "President Leopold Senghor, 56, sent Premier Mamdou Dia into island exile after Dia attempted a coup by taking over the Parliament building with his personal gendarmes."

SEN-1981 433 SEN Diouf 01/01/1981 01/04/2000

Elected Secretary General of the International Organization of Francophony (OIF) in 2002. Loses the election.

SEN-2000 433 SEN Abdoulaye Wade 02/04/2000 31/12/2004

2.88 BENIN

BEN-1960 434 BEN Maga 01/01/1960 27/10/1963

Ousted in a military coup, *The New York Times* 28 October, 1963, Lentz 1994, p. 86. Lentz: Under house arrest, but not prosecuted, ordered released in September 1965.

BEN-1963 434 BEN Soglo 28/10/1963 19/01/1964

Christophe Soglo. Lentz: Promoted to general by the new government. Joined the French army in 1931. See The *Washington Post*, Dec. 18., 1967, p.A1. "U.S. Ambassador Clinton Knox reported that Soglo was unharmed and that he was under house arrest with his wife." Later exiled to France.

BEN-1964 434 BEN Apithy 19/01/1964 29/11/1965

For his ouster, see *The New York Times*, November 28, 1965, p. 11. "Dahomey President Ousted By Assembly." "COTONOU, Dahomey, Nov. 27 (Reuters)–The People's Assembly deposed President Dourou Migan Apithy today and replaced him with the Vice President and Premier, Justin Ahomadegbe. ... Mr. Apithy, who became President on Jan. 19, 1964, had refused to attend the special assembly. He remained at the Presidential residence in Port-Novo, the seat of government 12 miles from here, and sent a message saying there was no point in attending because he had been expelled from the party and most members of the assembly had already decided against him." Then, *Chicago Tribune*, November 29, 1965, p. 2. "Army Seizes African State of Dahomey." "COTONOU, Dahomey, Nov. 29, [Monday] (UPI) – The army apparently seized control of the government today when President Sourou Migan Apithy refused to resign as ordered by the People's assembly. ... Well-informed sources said the army ordered the resignation of Apithy and Vice President Justin Ahomadegbe." Also, *The New York Times*, November 30, 1965, p. 11 "Two Dahomey Leaders Ousted by Head of Army." "COTONOU, Dahomey, Nov. 29 (Reuters)–Dahomey's army leader, Gen. Christophe Soglo, today stages his second coup d'état in 25 months, seeking to end a political crisis. In a bloodless coup the general dismissed President Sourou Migan Apithy and Premier Justin Ahomadegbe—whose Government he helped to form two years ago—and appointed the President of the National Assembly Tahiro Congacou, to head a Provisional Government."

Sourou Migan Apithy. Lentz: received a degree in accounting from the Paris National School of Economic and Social Organization. Removed in a military coup, provisional civilian government, *The New York Times* 30 November, 1965, p. 11. He was put under house arrest, later exile in France. See *The New York Times*, Dec. 23, 1965, p.13.

BEN-1965-1 434 BEN Congacou 29/11/1965 22/12/1965

For his entry, see *The New York Times*, November 30, 1965, p. 11 "Two Dahomey Leaders Ousted by Head of Army." "COTONOU, Dahomey, Nov. 29 (Reuters)–Dahomey's army leader, Gen. Christophe Soglo, today stages his second coup d'état in 25 months, seeking to end a political crisis. In a bloodless coup the general dismissed President Sourou Migan Apithy and Premier Justin Ahomadegbe—whose Government he helped to form two years ago—and appointed the President of the National Assembly Tahiro Congacou, to head a Provisional Government."

For his ouster in a coup, see *Chicago Daily Defender*, December 23, 1965, p. 2 "Dahomey Army Stages Coup 2d Time." "The Dahomey army staged a coup for the second

time in less than a month today, taking complete control of this West African nation. In a proclamation read in Cotonou radio, Gen. Christophe Soglo said he had dissolved parliament, local government, and all political parties. The constitution has been suspended, he said, and a new one will be drawn up as soon as possible."

Lentz: Born to the royal house of Djougou. President of the National Assembly (born in 1913 - died in 1994), first installed by, then deposed by Christophe Soglo. See *The New York Times*, Dec. 23, 1965, p.13. He is ousted by Soglo, who has put other two leaders first into power and then overthrew them. Put under house arrest. Leader of the November military coup now takes power himself. This is still coded as coup, as all previous political institutions are discontinued, *The New York Times* 23 December, 1965, p. 13.

BEN-1965-2 434 BEN Soglo 22/12/1965 17/12/1967

For his entry, see *Chicago Daily Defender*, December 23, 1965, p. 2 "Dahomey Army Stages Coup 2d Time." "The Dahomey army staged a coup for the second time in less than a month today, taking complete control of this West African nation. In a proclamation read in Cotonou radio, Gen. Christophe Soglo said he had dissolved parliament, local government, and all political parties. The constitution has been suspended, he said, and a new one will be drawn up as soon as possible."

Removed in a military coup, Lentz 1994, p. 88; *The New York Times* 18 December, 1967. "Army Group Seizes Control in Dahomey." COTONOU, Dahomey, Dec. 17 – Young offivers of this West African country's small army toppled the regime of President Christophe Soglo at dawn today and set up a military revolutionary committee to form a provisional government. Maj. Maurice Khouandete, about 35 years old, Cabinet director for Col. Alphonse Alley, the army Chief of Staff, announced the overthrow in a broadcast." The United States Ambassador, Clinton Knox, reported that General Soglo, 58, was unharmed but under house arrest with his wife. ... One of the factors behind the take-over was the growing split between northern and southern elements in the army. General Soglo is a Fon tribesman from the South. Colonel Alley is a Widji-Widji tribesman from the North."

Chicago Tribune, December 20, 1967, p. B16 "French Shield Ousted Chief in Dahomey." "Gen. Christophe Soglo, 58, toppled from the presidency by a bloodless coup Sunday, took refuge in the French embassy here today. Gen. Soglo took his French-born wife with him."For his subsequent exile in France, see *Chicago Tribune*, December 24, 1967, p. 2 "Deposed President of Dahomey in Paris."

DELETED: Figurehead

BEN-1967-1 434 BEN Kouandete 17/12/1967 22/12/1967

For Maurice Koundété's entry, see *The New York Times* 18 December, 1967. "Army Group Seizes Control in Dahomey." COTONOU, Dahomey, Dec. 17 – Young officers of this West African country's small army toppled the regime of President Christophe Soglo at dawn today and set up a military revolutionary committee to form a provisional government. Maj. Maurice Khouandete, about 35 years old, Cabinet director for Col. Alphonse Alley, the army Chief of Staff, announced the overthrow in a broadcast." The United States Ambassador, Clinton Knox, reported that General Soglo, 58, was unharmed but under house arrest with his wife. ... One of the factors behind the take-over was the

growing split between northern and southern elements in the army. General Soglo is a Fon tribesman from the South. Colonel Alley is a Widji-Widji tribesman from the North."

Alley is the real leader behind the scenes?

Lentz: Military, attended military school in France. Is prevented by army infighting from keeping power after leading the coup that ousted previous president. Lentz 1994, p. 88.

BEN-1967-1 434 BEN Alley 17/12/1967 01/08/1968

For his entry, see *The New York Times* 18 December, 1967. "Army Group Seizes Control in Dahomey." COTONOU, Dahomey, Dec. 17 – Young officers of this West African country's small army toppled the regime of President Christophe Soglo at dawn today and set up a military revolutionary committee to form a provisional government. Maj. Maurice Khouandete, about 35 years old, Cabinet director for Col. Alphonse Alley, the army Chief of Staff, announced the overthrow in a broadcast." The United States Ambassador, Clinton Knox, reported that General Soglo, 58, was unharmed but under house arrest with his wife. . . . One of the factors behind the take-over was the growing split between northern and southern elements in the army. General Soglo is a Fon tribesman from the South. Colonel Alley is a Widji-Widji tribesman from the North."

Lentz: joined the French army. Tried for allegedly plotting. Convicted to ten years. Released later. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 30, November 1984 notes: "A presidential communique of Aug. 1 announced an immediate amnesty for all political prisoners in Benin, with the exception of those implicated in the 'ignoble and barbarous imperialist armed aggression of Sunday Jan. 16, 1977'. The amnesty did, however, include Lt.-Col. Alphonse Alley, who had been President from December 1967 to July 1968 and had been sentenced to 20 years' detention in May 1973 for his part in a coup attempt of that year; (ii) Maj. Jean-Baptiste Hacheme and Maj. Ibrahim Chafi, who had also been implicated in the 1973 coup attempt; and (iii) several persons sentenced to death for their part in an attempted coup of January 1975, including Capt. Janvier Assogba and Dr Emile Derlin Zinsou, President in 1968-69."

The New York Times, May 25, 1969, p.16 "Togo General, Citing 'Popular Will,' Retains Power. Lome, Togo, May 20 - A week ago the President of the Togo Republic, Gen. Etienne Eyadama, received a telephone call from Col. Alphonse Alley in neighboring Dahomey. Colonel Alley, who once headed a military regime in Dahomey, complained that his country's civilian Government was giving him a bad time. He said it was trying to force him to go to Washington to assume a nonexistent job. "It serves you right." General Eyadema is reported to have replied, "for being stupid enough to give power back to the politicians. Don't think I'm ever going to be that dumb." The story, from authoritative sources, illustrates the current situation in this long, narrow West African nation whose seacoast extends along the Bight of Benin for less than 33 miles."

Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 12, 1969, p. 4 "African turbulence." Reports "More recently, evidence that a kind of gang warfare was occurring inside the Army gave strong hints that another Dahomeyan coup might be near. This rivalry showed itself in the jailing of ex-Colonel Alley, who turned the military government over to Dr. Zinsou, and two attempts on the life of Colonel Kouandete." *The New York Times*, Oct. 5, 1969, p. 70 "Dahomey Ex-Chief Jailed. Cotonou, Dahomey, Oct. 4 - Former President Alphonse Alley today was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment on charges of having acted

against internal security. Colonel Alley, chief of state from 1967 to 1968, was accused of having attempted to kidnap the army chief, Maurice Kouandete, last July 11." Note: about three weeks before one year after losing office. Because he transferred power to the civilian Zinsou, we code his exit as regular.

BEN-1968 434 BEN Zinsou 01/08/1968 10/12/1969

On his entry, *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 12, 1969, p. 4 "African turbulence." Reports on Kouandete's military coup, HG "The most recent repetition of this process occurred in 1968. It included presidential elections won by a minority candidate due to a widespread boycott of the voting; the annulment of those elections by the Military Revolutionary Committee; the designation of Dr. Zinsou as President and a postdesignation tour of the country by him in which he tried to really support and some sense of legitimacy for his government."

See also, *Chicago Tribune*, December 11, 1969, p.B18. "Ambush Ends Zinsou Rule Of Dahomey." "COTONOU, Dahomey, Dec. 10 (Reuters)–Army leaders seized power in this West African republic today after assassins tried to kill President Emile Derlin Zinsou, 51, and his bodyguards. Lt. Col. Maurice Kouandete, 30 [unclear], armed forces chief of staff, announced on Dahomey radio that Zinsou had been ousted. Kouandete himself had survived several assassination attempts and had led a previous coup."

For his imprisonment, see *Chicago Tribune*, December14, 1969, p. 26 "Democratic Guides Set Up For Dahomey." "The three-men directorate said it would free deposed President Emile Derlin Zinsou, detained since Wednesday's coup ...."

Lentz: Placed fourth in elections of 1970. after the coup by Mathieu Kerekou went into exile in Paris. Sentenced to death in absentia. Returned after Kerekou's defeat in the elections of March 1991. *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 12, 1969, p. 4 "African turbulence." Reports "The civilian government of Dr. Emile Zinsou fell to military control after a gun battle in the presidential palace. Dr. Zinsou is reported under heavy military guard at the northern town of Natitingou ..." Hence, entry and exit are both irregular, and he is considered 'jailed.' *The New York Times* 11 December, 1969, p. 2, Lentz 1994, p. 88.

BEN-1969-1 434 BEN Kouandete 10/12/1969 13/12/1969

On his entry, see *Chicago Tribune*, December 11, 1969, p.B18. "Ambush Ends Zinsou Rule Of Dahomey." "COTONOU, Dahomey, Dec. 10 (Reuters)–Army leaders seized power in this West African republic today after assassins tried to kill President Emile Derlin Zinsou, 51, and his bodyguards. Lt. Col. Maurice Kouandete, 30 [unclear], armed forces chief of staff, announced on Dahomey radio that Zinsou had been ousted. Kouandete himself had survived several assassination attempts and had led a previous coup." See also *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 12, 1969, p. 4 "African turbulence."

Coup leader loses out in distribution of spoils, Lentz (1994), p. 88. No evidence of an intra-armed forces struggle. See also *The New York Times*, December 14, 1969, p. 84. "Dahomean Army Appoints 3-Man Junta to Rule Nation." COTONOU, Dahomey, dec. 13 (Agence France-Presse) – Lieut. Col. Paul Emile de Souza was appointed today as head of the three-man military junta set up by the Dahomean Army to rule the country. Colonel de Souza was head of the military cabinet of President Emile Zinsou, who was ousted in a coup d'état Wednesday. The two other members of the junta are Lieut. Col. Maurice Kouandété, army chief of staff who led the coup, and Lieut. Col. Benoit

Sinzogan, commander of the gendarmerie."

BEN-1969-2 434 BEN Paul-Emile de Souza 13/12/1969 07/05/1970

For his entry see *The New York Times*, December 14, 1969, p. 84. "Dahomean Army Appoints 3-Man Junta to Rule Nation." COTONOU, Dahomey, dec. 13 (Agence France-Presse) – Lieut. Col. Paul Emile de Souza was appointed today as head of the three-man military junta set up by the Dahomean Army to rule the country. Colonel de Souza was head of the military cabinet of President Emile Zinsou, who was ousted in a coup d'état Wednesday. The two other members of the junta are Lieut. Col. Maurice Kouandété, army chief of staff who led the coup, and Lieut. Col. Benoit Sinzogan, commander of the gendarmerie."

See also (with his name spelled as Lt. Col. Paul Emile Deslusa) *The Washington Post*, Times Herald, December 14, 1969, p.30 "Election Pledged in Dahomey." He is a member of a delegation of former presidents that visits President Soglo in 1994 together with Maga, Zinsou, Ahomadegbe and Kerekou. For his presidency see -against Lentz-not just rulers.org also: `http://www.datamass.net/li/list-of-presidents-of-benin.html`.

The Washington Power, April 5, 1970, p. 29 "Elections Annulled." COTONOU, Dahomey, April 4 (AP)–Lt. Col. Paul Emile de Souza, chairman of the military directorate that seized power last December, has annulled month-long elections for a presidency and legislature and declared a "government of national union" will be formed within a month."

For him handing over power, see *The New York Times*, May 3, 1970, p. 34 "Leaders in Dahomey Agree On a Civilian Government." "Formed President Hubert Maga has announced that he would head Dahomey's first civilian Government since President Emile-Derlin Zinsou was ousted by a military coup last December. Mr. Maga, who was President of this Southwest African nation from 1960 to 1963, said in a broadcast that he would lead a three-man presidential commission, with the presidency rotating every two years. The two other commission members are former Premier Justin Ahomadegbe and former President Sourou Migan Apithy."

For his post-exit fate as Chief of Staff, surviving an assassination attempt, see *The New York Times*, February 24, 1972, p. 9 "Dahomean Sergeant Slain In Attack on Chief of Staff." "Col. Paul-Emile de Souza, chief of staff of Dahomey's army, and his bodyguards shot and killed an attacker earlier today during an attempt on the colonel's life by soldiers who were reported to have tried to take over "strategic national points." The colonel was slightly wounded."

BEN-1970 434 BEN Maga 07/05/1970 07/04/1972

For his entry, see *The Ne York Times*, May 3, 1970, p. 34 "Leaders in Dahomey Agree On a Civilian Government." "Formed President Hubert Maga has announced that he would head Dahomey's first civilian Government since President Emile-Derlin Zinsou was ousted by a military coup last December. Mr. Maga, who was President of this Southwest African nation from 1960 to 1963, said in a broadcast that he would lead a three-man presidential commission, with the presidency rotating every two years. The two other commission members are former Premier Justin Ahomadegbe and former President Sourou Migan Apithy."

Lentz: again arrested and held in a military camp, released in 1981. Appointed, arrested and imprisoned in October.

BEN-1972-1 434 BEN Ahomadegbe 07/04/1972 26/10/1972

Military coup, and arrested. *The New York Times* 27 October, 1972, p. 2.

BEN-1972-2 434 BEN Kerekou 27/10/1972 04/04/1991

Fr.encarta.msn: He is a cousin of Commandant Maurice Kouandete. See also for his fate rulers.org.

BEN-1991 434 BEN Soglo, C 04/04/1991 04/04/1996

Nicephore Soglo is the cousin of Colonel Christophe Soglo. Lentz notes several unsuccessful coup attempts in 1992. Encarta.msn.com. Received degrees in public and private law and in economic from the University of Paris and the École d'Administration in Paris. Died 02/17/2005. The Benin Constitution of December 1990 forbids Beninois of over 70 years from presenting themselves for presidential elections.

BEN-1996 434 BEN Kerekou 04/04/1996 31/12/2004

2.89 MAURITANIA

MAA-1960 435 MAA Ould Daddah 28/11/1960 10/07/1978

Removed in a military coup. *The New York Times* 11 July, 1978, p. B19. See fr.encarta.msn. Imprisoned for 15 months, allowed to leave Maritania for France in October 1979. Condemned in 1980 for high treason, amnesty several years later. Triumphant return in 2001.

MAA-1978 435 MAA Ould Mohamed Salek 10/07/1978 06/04/1979

Colonel. Fr.encarta.msn has his name as Mustafa Ould Salek. He was clearly the leader of the coup. Lentz notes that he was removed in a coup on April 6. Serves on as figurehead. He was arrested in March 1982 for conspiring against the government and sentenced to ten year imprisonment. ***Keesing's*** (Vol.25 November 1979) notes that "It was reported that Col. Ould Salek had been eager to announce an unconditional withdrawal by Mauritania from the southern sector of Western Sahara (known as Tiris El Gharbia), which it had occupied since February 1976 following the Spanish withdrawal."

Reshuffle of ruling military council, new strongman is PM, *New York Times*. 4 June, 1979, p. A3, "Mauritanian President Resigns 11 Months After Coup." "The announcement said only that President Salek had decided to resign for "personal reasons," and had been replaced by Colonel Luly, the Minister for Public Works and Education. ... On April 6, Mr. Bousseif staged a coup in which Colonel Salek lost most of his powers but was kept on as a figurehead chief of state."

MAA-1979-1 435 MAA Ould Bouceif 06/04/1979 27/05/1979

Lentz notes he has most of the power in the government even while Salek continued as head of state. He was killed in a plane crash. Associated Press, *Boston Globe*, Dec. 13, 1984, p.8, confirms Lentz. ***Keesing's***, Vol.25, November 1979 also does. Notes Ould Bouceif was Lt. Colonel.

MAA-1979-2 435 MAA Ould Sidi 27/05/1979 31/05/1979

Lentz: served in the army, rose to the rank of Lt. Colonel. Removed from his posts of influence. Lexis Nexis notes: BBC, March 25, 1981 Notes that a special tribunal had sentenced to death on 24 March for of those accused of involvement in the 16th march coup attempt. The four include Lt. Col. Ahmed Salem Ould Sidi.

Facts on File, March 20, 1981, notes: "The other coup leader, Ahmed Salem Ould Sidi, was captured in the fighting. Sidi had been one of the signers of the Polisario accord. He broke with the government several months later and fled to Morocco." BBC, of August 6, 1979, notes that this is the same guy.

MAA-1979-3 435 MAA Ould Ahmed Louly 03/06/1979 04/01/1980

Ould Ahmed Louly, (Lt. Col.). In 1980 he was overthrown and replaced by Premier Lt.-Col. Heydalla (= Haidalla).

"Premier topples president and takes power in the ruling Military Committee of National Salvation," *Washington Post* 6 January, 1980, p. A18. Xinhua General Overseas News Service, July 12, 1980 records that celebrating armed forces day, ex-chairmen of the military committee Moustapha Ould Mohamed Saleck and Mohamed Mahmoud Ahmed Louly were present on the rostrum. Rulers.org records: "When Lieut.Col. Mohamed

Mahmoud Ould Louly took over as head of state in June 1979, replacing Col. Mustafa Ould Salek, Haidalla, who became defense minister, was already seen as the "strong man" of the military government, ..."

MAA-1980 435 MAA Ould Haidalla 04/01/1980 12/12/1984

Associated Press, Boston Globe, Dec. 13, 1984, p.8. Ousted while out of the country for a summit meeting. Lost power as a result of a bloodless coup while he was out of country.

Rulers.org records: "In a palace revolution on Jan. 4, 1980, Haidalla seized power from Louly, replacing him as head of state and of the Military Committee for National Salvation. He retained the posts of premier and defense minister. ... On July 5 [1980], he officially abolished slavery. In 1984, while Haidalla was out of the country, Lieut.Col. Maaouya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya seized power in a coup. Haidalla was a presidential candidate in the Nov. 7, 2003, elections. He was arrested on November 9, on suspicion of plotting a coup, and released after receiving a suspended five-year prison sentence on December 28." Haidalla is president.

Barbara Geddes notes that Haidallah tried to marginalize the military and formed a civilian government in 12/80. The military intervened and forced him to replace the prime minister with Taya, the army chief-of-staff, and to include 6 officers in the cabinet. From then until 12/84, there was a power struggle between Haidallah and Taya, which Haidallah gradually lost. By 12/84, Taya had fully consolidated his power, and Haidallah was forced from government. Geddes notes that Haidallah was certainly the stronger in 1980, she can't tell which was stronger in 1981-1983, and Taya was stronger in 1984 and afterwards. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 30, May1984, Taya "The former Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, Col. Moaouia Ould Sidi Mohamed Taya, returned to the post of Army Chief of Staff which he had held prior to becoming Prime Minister in April 1981." See also *The New York Times* 13 December, 1984, p. 12.

MAA-1984 435 MAA Ould Sid Ahmed 12/12/1984 03/08/2005

Maaouya Ould Sidi Ahmed Taya. Chief of the general staff, Colonel. See CNN, Wednesday, 3 August 2005. Soldiers in Mauritania stage a coup when Taya is out of the country for King Fahd's funeral. CNN reports he "is reportedly in Niger's capital, Niamey, on his way back from Riyadh." ***Keesing's*** Vol. 30, May 1984, Taya "The former Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, Col. Moaouia Ould Sidi Mohamed Taya, returned to the post of Army Chief of Staff which he had held prior to becoming Prime Minister in April 1981."

Keesing's Vol. 51, August 2005. "A group of army officers overthrew President Maaouiya Ould Sid Ahmed Taya in a bloodless coup on Aug. 3. The presidential guard troops took control of the headquarters of the armed forces and the state radio and television buildings in Nouakchott, the capital, when Taya was out of the country attending the funeral of King Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia. ... The successful coup followed failed attempts to remove President Taya in June 2003 [see p. 45452] and August 2004 [see p. 46148]. Taya was granted political asylum in Qatar on Aug. 22 on condition that he refrained from political activity .... The 17-member military junta-16 colonels and a captain–declared on Aug. 3 that Col Ely Ould Mohamed Vall, the national police chief and a former confidant of President Taya, was "President" of the MCJD, which would rule for a maximum of two years to establish "favourable circumstances for an open and

transparent democracy"."

Rulers.org notes "Overthrown on Aug. 3, 2005, while he was in Saudi Arabia attending the funeral of King Fahd, he went first to Niger, then left for The Gambia on August 9 and on August 21 for Qatar where he was given political asylum."

Keesing's Vol. 52, April 2006: "Article 26 of the constitution was amended to reduce the presidential term from six to five years. The amended article 27 prohibited the president from holding "any other public or private employment position or be linked to any leadership position of any political party". The amended article 28 stated that it was "possible for the president to be elected for a second term" and the amended article 99 stated that it was "forbidden to call into question the principle of electing the president of the republic for a five-year term renewable once". Keesings Vol. 52, June 2006: Voters overwhelmingly approved a number of constitutional amendments in a national referendum held on June 25. The amendments had been approved by the ruling military junta, the Military Council for Justice and Democracy (MCJD), in April and included a provision to limit to two the number of presidential terms [see p. 47189]. Almost 97 per cent of voters approved the changes; turnout was recorded at over 76 per cent."

MAA-2005 435 MAA Ould Mohamed Vall 03/08/2007 19/04/2007
Ely Ould Mohamed Vall

MAA-2007 435 MAA Ould Cheikh Abdallahi 19/04/2007 06/08/2008

Born 1938. See BBC News, Saturday, 18 October, 2008, "US Sanctions for Mauritania Junta." `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7677449.stm` "The US has imposed a travel ban on some members of the military government in Mauritania, who overthrew President Sidi Ould Cheikh Abdallahi in August. The state department said the unnamed officials would not be allowed to visit the US because they were undermining the "return to constitutional rule". It also reiterated past calls for the unconditional release of Mr Abdallahi. Communications Minister Mohamed Abderrahmane Ould Moine said Washington had "incorrectly judged our situation". He also insisted that Mauritania remained "sufficiently prosperous" to "develop without problems in the event of international sanctions". The African Union suspended Mauritania's membership shortly after the coup and had threatened to impose further sanctions if Mr Abdallahi was not freed before 6 October. Former colonial ruler France and the World Bank also froze some of their aid in response, while the European Union is currently in talks with representatives of the government that could lead to sanctions. Earlier, US ambassador Mark Boulware told reporters that Washington believed that the elections promised in 14 months' time by military leader Maj-Gen Mohamed Ould Abdelaziz "can have no legitimacy". Gen Abdelaziz declared himself president of the Higher State Council on 6 August after ousting Mr Abdallahi, the country's first democratically-elected president, in a military coup."

The *New York Times* `http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2008/12/21/world/AP-AF-Mauritania.html?_r=1&emc=eta1` of December 21, 2008, "Deposed Mauritanian President Freed" notes: "NOUAKCHOTT, Mauritania (AP) – The deposed president of Mauritania was set free Sunday after 4 1/2 months under house arrest and immediately began working to retake power from the junta that overthrew him, a spokesman said. Sidi Ould Cheikh Abdallahi was meeting in his home village with staff and supporters and plans to "fight for his legitimate power to be restored," said Kaber Ould Hamoudi, the president's

chief of staff. France welcomed Abdallahi's release and called for the junta that rules his northwest African nation to step down. ... The U.S. and France, the country's former colonial ruler, canceled aid to Africa's newest oil producer after Aballahi was overthrown by a military coup. The junta had announced under international pressure that they planned to release Abdallahi by Dec. 24. ... Hamoudi said soldiers woke Abdallahi's family shortly after 3 a.m., banging on the door of his home in Lemden, where the military had placed him under 24-hour surveillance. The security forces demanded his staff wake the 70-year-old president, who was not told where he was going and was not allowed to be accompanied by his family. They took him to his home in the capital, Nouakchott – 150 miles and a three-hour drive away – and dropped him off, telling him he had been set free, said Hamoudi. ... Mauritania has had numerous coups since independence from France in 1960. It appeared the country had turned a corner last year when a different military junta organized elections deemed free and fair. But less than 1 1/2 years after taking office, Abdallahi had a falling out with the country's top generals, firing several of them. Hours later, the same generals announced a coup, taking Abdallahi into custody and imprisoning his wife and children in the presidential palace."

BBC News, 6 February 2009, `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7874066.stm` "Sanctions put on Mauritania junta" reports "After the coup, Sidi Mohamed Ould Cheikh Abdallahi was held under house arrest until December 2008."

MAA-2008 435 MAA Ould Abdel Aziz 06/08/2008 –/–/20–

Born, 1956. See BBC News, Saturday, 18 October, 2008, "US Sanctions for Mauritania Junta." `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7677449.stm` "The US has imposed a travel ban on some members of the military government in Mauritania, who overthrew President Sidi Ould Cheikh Abdallahi in August. The state department said the unnamed officials would not be allowed to visit the US because they were undermining the "return to constitutional rule". It also reiterated past calls for the unconditional release of Mr Abdallahi. Communications Minister Mohamed Abderrahmane Ould Moine said Washington had "incorrectly judged our situation". He also insisted that Mauritania remained "sufficiently prosperous" to "develop without problems in the event of international sanctions". The African Union suspended Mauritania's membership shortly after the coup and had threatened to impose further sanctions if Mr Abdallahi was not freed before 6 October. Former colonial ruler France and the World Bank also froze some of their aid in response, while the European Union is currently in talks with representatives of the government that could lead to sanctions. Earlier, US ambassador Mark Boulware told reporters that Washington believed that the elections promised in 14 months' time by military leader Maj-Gen Mohamed Ould Abdelaziz "can have no legitimacy". Gen Abdelaziz declared himself president of the Higher State Council on 6 August after ousting Mr Abdallahi, the country's first democratically-elected president, in a military coup."

See also BBC News, 6 February 2009, `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7874066.stm` "Sanctions put on Mauritania junta" reports: "The African Union (AU) has imposed sanctions, including a travel ban and a check on bank accounts, on Mauritania's military junta, it has announced. The AU says it will urge the United Nations to extend the measures so they are applied by every country. The move comes amid speculation that General Mohamed Ould Abdelaziz could contest elections, set for 6 June. He seized power in August 2008 from Mauritania's first democratically elected president. After the coup, Sidi Mohamed Ould Cheikh Abdallahi was held under house arrest until Decem-

ber 2008. The African Union's Peace and Security Council Chairman Manuel Domingos Augusto told the AFP news agency that the sanctions included "a travel ban on civilian and military members of the junta, the systematic refusal of visas and checks on their bank accounts". Spanish news agency Efe quotes sources close to Mauritania's military leader as saying that he told ministers on Thursday that he would contest the June poll. There has been intense international pressure on the coup leaders to return the country to democracy. Former colonial power France and the US had cancelled their aid, pending Mr Abdallahi's release. The AU also suspended the country following the 6 August coup. Mr Abdallahi became Mauritania's first democratically elected leader in 2007 after a coup two years earlier, partly instigated by Gen Abdelaziz. On 6 August, Mr Abdallahi, as president, tried to dismiss four senior army officers, including Gen Abdelaziz, the head of the presidential guard, who responded by launching the coup."

2.90 NIGER

NIR-1960 436 NIR Diori 03/10/1960 15/04/1974

Military coup, *The New York Times* 16 April, 1974, p. 1. For fate, see rulers.org. Imprisoned for six years.

NIR-1974 436 NIR Kountche 17/04/1974 10/11/1987

Lentz: Educated in French military schools and joined the French army in 1949. Lt.-Col. Dies of a brain tumor.

NIR-1987 436 NIR Seibou 10/11/1987 16/04/1993

Lentz: Colonel in the Niger army. A cousin of President Kountche. Chief of the general staff. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 43, December 1997. Released from Prison on Dec. 1997 having been detained for over a month on charges of embezzlement. For his safe post-exit fate, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 42, February 1996.

NIR-1993 436 NIR Ousmane 16/04/1993 27/01/1996

Mahamane Ousmane was deposed in a military coup (January 27, 1996). Elected to the Parliament in 1999, he was elected President of the National Assembly of Niger on 29 December 1999. ***Keesing's*** (Vol.43 (1997) records: The Interior Ministry confirmed on Jan. 14 that three opposition leaders had been formally arrested the previous day, having been under house arrest since Jan. 11. They were former President Mahamane Ousmane, Tandja Mamadou and Mahamadou Issoufou; all three had stood against Mainassara in the July presidential elections [see p. 41178]. (See also Vol. 42 (1996): Brig.-Gen. Ibrahim Barre Mainassara, whose controversial election on July 7-8 led to violent street protests and the house arrest of defeated candidates [see p. 41178], was sworn in as President on Aug. 7. French Co-operation Minister Jacques Godfrain attended the ceremony, promising France's friendship and co-operation.) For more on the military coup, see New York Times 29 January, 1996.

NIR-1996 436 NIR Mainassara 27/01/1996 11/04/1999

See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 46, January 2000. Coup, assassinated by presidential guards. The Sunday Telegraph (Sydney, Australia) 11 April, 1999, p. 44.

NIR-1999-1 436 NIR Wanke 11/04/1999 22/12/1999

Chief of the Presidential Guard. See also fr.encarta.msn.

NIR-1999-2 436 NIR Mamadou 22/12/1999 31/12/2004

Elected.

2.91 CÔTE D'IVOIRE

CDI-1960 437 CDI Houphouet-Boigny 07/08/1960 07/12/1993

For coup attempt, see Chicago Daily Defender, January 22, 1963, p. 6 "Africa's Political Pot Brews Unrest, Crises." Survives another coup attempt in June 1973. `http://www.etat.sciencespobordeaux.fr/_anglais/chronologie/ivorycoast.html` Dies as a result of natural causes.

CDI-1993 437 CDI Konan Bedie 07/12/1993 25/12/1999

Henri-Konan Bédié was born in 15 May 1934. (In 1998 Bédié changes his term in office from five to seven years.) Military coup by disgruntled former army chief of staff Robert Guei. *Washington Post*, 25 December, 1999, p. A01. After coup flees by airplane to Togo and thence to France. Remained in France until October 2001, when invited back to Côte d'Ivoire.

CDI-1999 437 CDI Guei 25/12/1999 25/10/2000

Robert Guei is former general. After coup he leaves for his native village of Gouessesso. Then later flees the country. (See Fredriksen 2003, p.48 & 184). Deposed in popular uprising. Guei interfers with vote count after elections, is forced to resign after popular unrest. *Financial Times* (London, England) 26 October, 2000, p. 11.

CDI-2000 437 CDI Laurent Gbagbo 26/10/2000 31/12/2004

2.92 GUINEA

GUI-1958 438 GUI Toure 02/10/1958 26/03/1984

Dies as a result of natural causes, but followed by a coup. See ***Keesing's***, Vol. 30, July 1984.

GUI-1984-2 438 GUI Beavogui 27/03/1984 03/04/1984

Keesing's, Vol. 30, July 1984. "Mr Lansana Beavogui, who had been Prime Minister since 1972, emerged as interim leader of Guinea immediately following the death of the President. Under the terms of the constitution, the political bureau of the PDG was to meet to choose a new leader within 45 days. On April 3, however, the armed forces-comprising the Army, Navy, Air Force, Gendarmerie and people's militias-announced that they had assumed collective responsibility for government, and that an 18-member (later increased to Comite militaire de redressement national (CMRN) had been established. The PDG was dissolved, as was the National Assembly, the constitution was suspended and a dusk-to-dawn curfew imposed. Guinea's national borders were closed temporarily and public meetings were banned. The 40-day period of mourning proclaimed on the death of President Sekou Toure was abrogated."

Military coup by Conte, Beavogui arrested and imprisoned, *Washington Post* 4 April 1984, p. A19. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 31, July 1985: "Mr Lansana Beavogui, who had been Prime Minister between 1972 and the death of President Sekou Toure in March 1984, died on Aug. 21 in hospital in Conakry after receiving treatment for an illness. He had been held in the Kindia prison since the coup along with other former ministers. Mr N'Famara Keita, the former Minister of Energy, died in prison on Sept. 1."

GUI-1984-3 438 GUI Conte 03/04/1984 22/12/2008

Keesing's Vol. 42, February 1996 "Attempted military coup." ***Keesing's*** Vol. 43, April 1997, "Alleged Coup plot" reports another coup plot, by three Belgian nationals.

BBC New, Sunday 21 January 2007 "Guinea president asks for support." "The president of Guinea, Lansana Conte, has urged the country's people and army to support him despite ongoing protests and 12 days of a general strike. Mr Conte has faced calls to step down from unions over his handling of the economy and because of his poor health. ... Mr Conte seized power in a 1984 coup but has since won three elections. He is in his 70s but suffers from diabetes. ... The current general strike is the third in the last year."

BBC News, 16 February 2007, "Weapons entering Guinea, PM warns". "Guinea's new prime minister has warned that unnamed groups are bringing arms and ammunition into the country, which remains under martial law. ... Last month, the unions called off their 18-day strike after Mr Conte promised to hand over powers to a prime minister. But they renewed the strike action call after saying the man Mr Camara, was too close to Mr Conte. The unions want Mr Conte to step down, saying he has mismanaged the economy."

GUI-2008 438 Moussa Camara 23/12/2008 ??/??/????

The *New York Times* of 23 December 2998, "Coup Attempt in Guinea After Strongman Dies" reports: "he 24-year reign of Guinea's president, one of Africa's longest-ruling strongmen, ended in confusion and chaos on Tuesday as a group of soldiers seized on his death to proclaim a coup that was immediately challenged by government officials.

Troops in armored personnel carriers took to the streets of Conakry, the capital of Guinea, an impoverished West African state, but there were no immediate reports of bloodshed, according to news agencies. Rather, the "putsch," as one lawmaker called it, began to unfold in time-honored fashion with a group of officers taking control of the airwaves to announce that the Constitution and the government had been suspended. Soon afterward, the government denied the claim. Prime Minister Ahmed Tidiane Souaré said in a state broadcast that he was speaking from his office and that his government "continues to function as it should," The Associated Press reported. The prime minister was responding to statements by a uniformed army officer on state television and radio that a group calling itself the National Council for Democracy and Development was "taking charge of the destiny of the Guinean people," news agencies reported. "The Constitution is dissolved," the officer was quoted as saying. "The government is dissolved. The institutions of the republic are dissolved." President Lansana Conté, 74, whose death on Monday after a long, unspecified illness was announced in the early hours of Tuesday, belonged to a generation of African leaders the so-called Big Men who seized power through the gun and ruled ruthlessly. The claimed coup attempt mirrored Mr. Conté's own rise to power in a military takeover in 1984, after the death of his predecessor, Ahmed Sékou Touré. Mr. Touré ruled with an iron fist when the country became independent from France in 1958. ... Mr. Conté faced at least two attempts by military elements to eject him from office. He formed a political party to win elections in 1993, 1998 and 2003, but the ballots were widely depicted by independent monitors as fraudulent. Mr. Conté's ill health was an open secret among his people for many months, but he did not groom a successor, leaving a power vacuum that some officers and soldiers apparently sought to fill. There was some doubt about the military's appetite for a takeover. ... Agence France-Presse said the takeover was announced by a military captain called Moussa Dadis Camara, who said a "consultative council" of civilian and military personnel would run the country to combat "deep despair," revive the economy and fight corruption. The military broadcast, starting around 7:30 a.m. local time, followed a night of confusion. According to news reports, Mr. Conté's death was announced at 2 a.m. at a news conference of civilian and military leaders. Mr. Somparé, the president of the National Assembly, urged the Supreme Court to follow the Constitution and name him president. Mr. Conté's stewardship of Guinea drew widespread accusations of abuse from human rights monitors. In August, Human Rights Watch said in an assessment that Guinea had "been rocked by civil unrest that has typically been met with brutal and excessive use of force by government security forces." "In January and February 2007, security forces violently repressed a nationwide strike called to protest corruption, bad governance and deteriorating economic conditions, resulting in the deaths of more than 130 protesters," the assessment said. Human Rights Watch also cited evidence of police torture of detainees to extract confessions, among other abuses. The reported coup attempt on Tuesday followed signs of a profound malaise in the country, verging on mass unrest. Last month, frustrated youths took to the crumbling streets of Conakry for three days, throwing stones and setting tires on fire in escalating protests over high gas prices. Witnesses said that at least one person was killed when government troops shot at demonstrators. The threat of a coup emerged long before Tuesday. In May, soldiers took the army's second in command as a hostage to protest poor pay and living conditions."

See also The *New York Times* of December 25, 2008 "Guinea Coup Leader Sets

Deadline for Civilian Leaders to Show Up" "CONAKRY, Guinea (AP) – Guinea's coup leader solidified his hold over this impoverished West African nation Thursday as the prime minister who served under its late dictator surrendered and stepped down along with dozens of other government leaders. While some welcomed new military leader Capt. Moussa Camara as a break with the past, others worried he will try to cling to power like the strongman whose death this week touched off the political crisis. Camara had ordered Prime Minister Ahmed Tidiane Souare and other leaders of Guinea's government and armed forces to come out of hiding and turn themselves in at a military barracks within 24 hours. If they did not, he threatened to organize a nationwide search for them. Souare's mother, Aissatou, told The Associated Press in a telephone interview that her son was no longer prime minister and that he and the other ministers went to the barracks to avoid being hunted down. ... The developments reflected the growing power of the coup leaders who made their move in the hours after the death Monday night of dictator Lansana Conte who had held power for nearly a quarter century. Souare had not been seen in public since Camara's group of junior officers declared a coup Tuesday, though he had claimed a day later to be still in control. Camara has declared himself Guinea's interim leader and pledged to hold a presidential election in two years. ... Under Guinea's constitution, parliament leader Aboubacar Sompare was next in line to be president. His whereabouts were unknown. He went into hiding shortly after he announced Conte's death early Tuesday on state-TV and urged Guineans to follow the law which would have made him president."

See also The *New York Times* December 25, 2008 "Leader of Coup in Guinea Installs Governors." "Captain Moussa Dadis Camara's junta was endorsed by deposed Prime Minister Ahmed Tidiane Souare on Thursday, but Washington condemned the coup in the world's biggest exporter of aluminum ore bauxite and demanded an immediate return to civilian rule. "We are patriots ... We have no intention of clinging on to power," Camara, whose junta has promised to hold an election in two years' time, said in comments broadcast by France 24 TV. "We must hold an election, free and transparent, in a dignified way to honor Guinea, to honor the Guinean army. The future of our country is peace, freedom, reconciliation," said the army officer, little known before the coup. ... The coup went ahead in the political vacuum caused by the death on Monday of President Lansana Conte, the diabetic chain-smoking general who had ruled the former French colony with an iron fist since seizing power in 1984. Camara, chosen on Wednesday to lead the 32-member National Council for Democracy and Development junta, has vowed to fight the corruption that he said had become endemic under Conte's rule. He says he will not stand in the planned election."

2.93 BURKINA FASO

BFO-1960 439 BFO Yameogo 05/08/1960 03/01/1966

Maurice Yaméogo, 11 Dec 1959 - 4 Jan 1966. He was deposed by a military coup, after a labor unions crises, resulting in strikes and rioting, *The New York Times* 4 January, 1966, p. 2. The *Washington Post*, Jan. 6, 1966, p.A17."Lt. Col. Sangoule Lamizana, who deposed Yameogo, announced in a radio broadcast that Yaméogo was in a safe place being guarded by the military." But also reports that President Yaméogo "welcomed the coup." See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 12 (1966) January. He also survives suicide attempt.

BFO-1966 439 BFO Lamizana 03/01/1966 13/01/1971

Fr.encarta.msn say he's a colonel, chief of staff. Meant to step down. Born in 31 January 1916.

BFO-1971 439 BFO Gerard Kango Ouedraogo 13/01/1971 08/02/1974

For his ouster, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 9, 1974, p. S11 "Upper Volta rule seized by army." "OUAGADOUGOU, Upper Volta, Feb. 8 (UPI) – President Sangoule Lamizana said today his 1,750 man army has taken power, suspended the constitution and dissolved Parliament in this landlocked West African republic. . . . the move followed a dispute between Lamizama and Prime Minister Gerard Kango Ouedraogo and the resignation of to leading cabinet ministers, Foreign Minister Joseph Conombo and Heatlh Minister Ali Barraud. Lamizana said in a radio broadcast a new government of national renewal would be formed soon made up of army officers and civilians."

Military coup, *The New York Times* 9 February, 1974, p. 23. Lentz says he later served as president of the National Assembly from 1978 until 1980. He was ousted by Lamizana.

BFO-1974 439 BFO Lamizana 08/02/1974 25/11/1980

For his entry, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 9, 1974, p. S11 "Upper Volta rule seized by army." "OUAGADOUGOU, Upper Volta, Feb. 8 (UPI) – President Sangoule Lamizana said today his 1,750 man army has taken power, suspended the constitution and dissolved Parliament in this landlocked West African republic. . . . the move followed a dispute between Lamizama and Prime Minister Gerard Kango Ouedraogo and the resignation of to leading cabinet ministers, Foreign Minister Joseph Conombo and Heatlh Minister Ali Barraud. Lamizana said in a radio broadcast a new government of national renewal would be formed soon made up of army officers and civilians."

Sangoulé Lamizana was overthrown by Colonel Saye Zerbo. Military coup, *Washington Post* 26 November1980, p. A10. United Press International, November 26, 1980. "Military sources in Abidjan said Lamizana still was under house arrest in the Upper Volta capital of Ougadougou. They said several members of the ousted regime also were taken into custody." See also Xinhua General Overseas News Service, November 27, 1980. Former President Sangoule Lamizana . . . confined in a military camp near the capital.

BFO-1980 439 BFO Zerbo 25/11/1980 07/11/1982

Military coup, arrested in September 1983. *Washington Post* 8 November, 1982, p. A25.

BFO-1982 439 BFO J. P. Ouedraogo 07/11/1982 04/08/1983

Medical doctor and military commander. Ouster is led by recently arrested paratrooper commander who mobilizes 250 troops. He is not an active member of the military at the time of the coup.

For a detailed chronology of his life until 1989, see `http://www.thomassankara.net/article.php3?id_article=0022`; Lentz 1994, p. 122. Detained until 1985.

For his ouster and house arrest, see *The Chicago Tribune*, August 6, 1984, p. 2 "Upper Volta coup leader tied to Libya." "Moderate President, Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo was reported under house arrest Friday, overthrown by a Marxist former premier with ties to Libya. The bloody overnight coup was the third in three years in this impoverished West African nation, and it took place one year before a promised return to civilian rule. ... Capt. Thomas Sankara, 35 a hero in a 1974 border war with Mali, announced the coup on national radio and pledged to end what he called the "domination of foreigners and neo-colonialism. ... Sankara was a key member of the group of junior officers who put the Western-oriented Ouedraogo, an army doctor, in power in a coup last Nov.7."

Unknown if his is related to earlier leader, Gerard Kango Ouedraogo.

BFO-1983 439 BFO Sankara 04/08/1983 15/10/1987

For his entry, see *The Chicago Tribune*, August 6, 1984, p. 2 "Upper Volta coup leader tied to Libya." "Moderate President, Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo was reported under house arrest Friday, overthrown by a Marxist former premier with ties to Libya. The bloody overnight coup was the third in three years in this impoverished West African nation, and it took place one year before a promised return to civilian rule. ... Capt. Thomas Sankara, 35 a hero in a 1974 border war with Mali, announced the coup on national radio and pledged to end what he called the "domination of foreigners and neo-colonialism. ... Sankara was a key member of the group of junior officers who put the Western-oriented Ouedraogo, an army doctor, in power in a coup last Nov.7. He was Ouedraogo's premier from February to May, then was jailed for a month for arranging a "surprise visit" to Upper Volta by Libyan leader Moammar Khadafy."

Rulers.org notes "He served briefly as secretary of state for information under Col. Saye Zerbo in 1981 but resigned from that post following a dispute with Zerbo. A captain of paratroops, Sankara was believed to have set up the coup that ousted Zerbo on Nov. 7, 1982, and brought Maj. Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo to power. It was thought that in 1980 Sankara had already planned to overthrow Zerbo's predecessor, Maj.Gen. Sangoulé Lamizana, but had been preempted by Zerbo. He served as premier under Ouedraogo during January-May 1983 and then was purged from the ruling People's Salvation Council on suspicion of subversive activity, including the cultivation of close links with Libya. He was held in custody for two weeks and afterward placed under house arrest. With the support of a company of paratroopers, Captain Sankara took power on Aug. 4, 1983; the takeover cost some 15 lives. He aimed to make his country agriculturally self-sufficient and to improve public health and the position of women. He was responsible for changing Upper Volta's name to Burkina Faso ("land of the upright people") and made a serious effort to reduce official extravagance and corruption. One of the third world's more charismatic leaders, his undoubted popularity owed not a little to a talent probably possessed by few other heads of state: the ability to accompany his own songs - on revolutionary themes - on the electric guitar. He was ousted on Oct. 15, 1987, in a military coup led by Capt. Blaise Compaoré. Sankara and 12 of his aides who had been executed were buried the following day."

Military coup, *Washington Post* 16 October, 1987, p. A33. Assassinated.

BFO-1987 439 BFO Campaore 15/10/1987 31/12/2004

`http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8094012.stm` notes that Blaise Comparore was Sankara's number two man. "Africa's top 10 'big men"' "Mystery still surrounds the death of President Blaise Compaore's predecessor and friend, Thomas Sankara. But after he was shot dead by a group of soldiers in October 1987, Mr Compaore, as his number two, stepped into the breach. President Compaore has since won three elections, scraping in last time round in 2005 with 80% percent of the vote."

2.94 LIBERIA

From: http://www.liberiapastandpresent.org "The term of office: In 1847 the President's term of office was two years. During the Administration of President Arthur Barclay the term of office was changed to four years, in 1907/08. His cousin President Edwin Barclay had it changed to eight years, in 1935/36. It was restored to four years under President Tubman - who was elected a record number of six times. During the Tolbert Administration, in 1975/76, it was again changed to eight years. At present the presidential term of office is six years whereas the president can only succeed to himself once."

LBR-1872 450 LBR Joseph Jenkins Roberts 01/01/1872 27/06/1875

Joseph Jenkins Roberts had been the first president. Born in the US, in Virginia. See The Constitution, Feb. 22, 1876. Apparently, he was in England for health reasons between 27 June and 30 November. See also: http://www.liberiapastandpresent.org/GardinerAnthonyW.htm. Which notes that He was Vice-President under J. J. Roberts. "When President Roberts became very ill and left for England for medical treatment, in June 1875, Vice-President Gardiner was appointed 'Acting President'." Encyclopedia Britannica: Previous president, Edward J. Roye was deposed and imprisoned at Monrovia. Roberts was called back to office.

LBR-1875 450 LBR Anthony William Gardiner 27/06/1875 03/01/1876

LBR-1876 450 LBR James Spriggs Payne 03/01/1876 07/01/1878

See: http://www.dacb.org/stories/liberia/payne_james.html. He is from Virginia, US. He was born on 19 December 1819.

LBR-1878 450 LBR Anthony William Gardiner 07/01/1878 20/01/1883

Chicago Daily Tribune, Mar. 11, p.2. "President A. W. Gardner [HG, sic] had felt compelled to resign his office owing to extreme ill-health and disability from paralysis. The Legislature granted him $1,000 and expenses of removal to his home in Grand-[illegible] County. Vice-President A. J. Russell [HG, sic] was sworn in as President Jan. 20." See: http://www.liberiapastandpresent.org/GardinerAnthonyW.htm. Which notes that he was Vice-President under J. J. Roberts. "When President Roberts became very ill and left for England for medical treatment, in June 1875, Vice-President Gardiner was appointed 'Acting President'. ... President Gardiner was inaugurated in January 1878. He was elected two more times, but did not finish his third presidential term. On January 20, 1883 President Gardiner resigned, upset and disappointed, the last victim of the Northwest Boundary Question that had been under discussion since 1860. This decision made Anthony W. Gardiner the first president of Liberia who voluntarily resigned. ... It was during the Administration of http://www.saburchill.com/history/chapters/empires/0054.html. Two months later, in March 1883, the British Government annexed the territory west of the Mano river." Based on this much more extensive site, I conclude that he resigned, not for health.

LBR-1883 450 LBR Alfred Francis Russell 20/01/1883 07/01/1884

See http://www.liberiapastandpresent.org/19thcColonist.htm#Alfred\%20F.\%20Russell Born in Kentucky. "He was Vice-President when President Anthony William

Gardiner's handling of a boundary dispute with the British was disapproved by a number of senators. Vice-President Russell shared the criticism and soon headed the opposition against Gardiner's willingness to give up a large part of Liberian territory. President Gardiner resigned over the boundary question on January 20, 1883. Russell served his unexpired term from January 20, 1883 to January 7, 1884 when he was succeeded by Hilary Richard Wright Johnson who had won the elections held in May 1883. Alfred Francis Russell died on April 4, 1884. The following year the disputed territory was officially ceded to Great Britain ('the Galinas territory')." He dies 3 months after out of office, his fate is censored.

LBR-1884 450 LBR Hilary R. W. Johnson 07/01/1884 04/01/1892

Hilary Richard Wright Johnson. Circumstantial, but based on http://digilib.nypl.org/dynaweb/digs/wwm97264/@Generic__BookTextView/7544;pt=7650, I conclude he was OK after he left office.

LBR-1892 450 LBR Joseph James Cheeseman 04/01/1892 12/11/1896

More details are available at http://www.liberiapastandpresent.org/Presidents.htm#chronological\%20order, which notes that he died in office.

LBR-1896 450 LBR William David Coleman 12/11/1896 11/12/1900

Born in the US, Kentucky. Resigned. Ran again form the presidency in 1901, 1903 and 1905. http://www.liberiapastandpresent.org/ColemanWilliamDavid.htm "Interestingly, the succession of President Coleman also was a controversial issue. As the Vice-President, J.J.Ross, had died, the Speaker of the House, Robert H. Marshall, was the constitutional successor. Marshall, however, was considered to be incompetent and the Legislature repealed the existing presidential succession law (dating from 1873) and chose Secretary of State Garretson W. Gibson as the new President. With his 70 years Gibson became the oldest person in Liberian history to assume the presidency"

LBR-1900 450 LBR Garretson Wilmot Gibson 11/12/1900 04/01/1904

His entry is questionable. We code it as an constitutional entry, even while VP position unfilled, Lentz notes he is selected to take over, and was Minister in the Coleman Cabinet. For (circumstantial) evidence of his good post-exit fate. See The *Washington Post*, May 25, 1908, p.4. He completes Coleman's term.

LBR-1904 450 LBR Arthur Barclay 04/01/1904 01/01/1912

See Lentz.

LBR-1912 450 LBR Daniel E. Howard 01/01/1912 05/01/1920

LBR-1920 450 LBR Burgess King 05/01/1920 03/12/1930

See: http://www.liberiapastandpresent.org/ResignedPresidents.htm#Coleman "Following publication of the Christy report, the House of Representatives started the procedure to impeach President King who hastily resigned. He was succeeded by Secretary of State Edwin Barclay." Per above, that is a constitutional transfer. Note that the Vice-President also resigned. http://www.liberiapastandpresent.org/Presidents.htm#King "After his resignation ex-President King retired to private life and exploited his private rubber plantation. By the time William V.S. Tubman came into the highest

office, in 1944, he was publicly respected as an elder statesman and occupied various public positions. In 1947 he became the first Liberian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the USA, in Washington DC. Later, he also became Liberia's first Permanent Representative to the United Nations. In 1952 he retired permanently from public service. He was active in the Protestant Episcopal Church and as a Mason until 1961 when he died at the age of 90 years." Government resigned as allegations against gov. participation in slave trade came to the fore. He was born in 12 March 1871.

LBR-1930 450 LBR Edwin Barclay 03/12/1930 31/12/1943

Nephew of President Arthur Barclay (1904-1912). Lentz: post-exit fate: "retired from politics for the next decade but returned to challenge Tubman for the presidency in 1953."

LBR-1944 450 LBR Tubman 01/01/1944 23/07/1971

`http://www.liberiapastandpresent.org/Presidents.htm#chronological\%20order`: Died as a result of natural causes.

LBR-1971 450 LBR Tolbert 23/07/1971 12/04/1980

`http://www.liberiapastandpresent.org/Presidents.htm#chronological\%20order`: Military coup, shot. *The New York Times* 13 April, 1980, p. 1.

LBR-1980 450 LBR Doe 12/04/1980 09/09/1990

Samuel Kanyon Doe. Rulers.org notes: "A member of the Krahn (Wee) tribe, he enlisted in the army in 1969. He was promoted from private to corporal and first sergeant within two days in 1975, and became a master sergeant in 1979. ... Before dawn on April 12, 1980, Doe led a group of 17 Krahn soldiers to the Liberian executive mansion, where they killed 30 officials and guards and Pres. William R. Tolbert, Jr., a member of the Americo-Liberian elite. Later, 13 prominent Tolbert associates were summarily tried and executed. After the coup Doe assumed the rank of general and established a People's Redemption Council (PRC) composed of himself and 14 other low-ranking officers to rule the country. He suspended the nation's constitution until 1984, when a new constitution was approved by referendum. In 1985 he was voted president in what opponents denounced as a rigged election. He defeated a coup attempt that November and took the oath of office on Jan. 6, 1986. His term of office was burdened by deteriorating economic conditions, and his life was continually threatened by assassination attempts and plots, which he suppressed with considerable brutality. These actions, along with Doe's favouritism toward his own Krahn tribe, sparked a rebellion against him that began in eastern Liberia in late 1989. By July 1990 the rebel forces had advanced into the capital city of Monrovia, but Doe refused to yield power. As the civil war continued, he was captured and killed by the rebel forces of Prince Yormie Johnson."

`http://www.liberiapastandpresent.org/Presidents.htm#chronological\%20order`: Rebels wound the President and take him prisoner, he subsequently dies, *Washington Post* 11 September, 1990, p. A1.

LBR-1990 450 LBR Sawyer 22/11/1990 07/03/1994

`http://www.liberiapastandpresent.org/Presidents.htm#chronological\%20order` diverges from rulers.org. This site lists 6 (!) presidents during the civil war. Amos Sawyer (Nov.1990 - Aug. 1993,) Bismark Kuyon (Aug. 1993 - Nov. 1993), Philip Banks (Nov.

1993 - Feb. 1994), David Kpormakor (Feb. 1994 - Sept. 1995), Wilton Sankawulo (Sept. 1995 - Sept. 1996), Ruth Perry (Sept. 1996 - Aug. 1997).

Keesing's, Vol. 40, March 1994, records: "After months of delay the transition period finally began on March 7 with the inauguration of the five-member Council of State, chaired by David Kpormakor, and of the 35-seat Transitional Legislative Assembly. Further progress was stalled as the three main factions in the civil war– the outgoing interim government headed by Amos Sawyer, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia and the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (Ulimo)–failed to reach agreement on the distribution of Cabinet portfolios."

Keesing's Vol. 39, November 1993 records: "On Nov. 13 the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) accused the interim administration of attempting to slow down the transition further still, after it replaced Bismark Kuyon as Chair of the Council of State with Philip Banks, Minister of Justice in the interim government. The Sawyer administration denied these allegations, and noted that the NPFL had itself changed one of its own nominees on the Council–Gen. Isaac Mousa having replaced Dorothy Musuleng-Cooper as First Deputy Chair earlier in the month."

See also ***Keesing's*** Vol. 40, February 1994: "With a date for the commencement of the transition period yet to be set, the five-member Council of State, established in July 1993 under the Cotonou peace treaty to assume executive power during the transition, on Feb. 28 elected David Kpormakoras Chair. Kpormakor a representative of the interim government headed by Amos Sawyer, replaced another Sawyer nominee, Philip Banks (appointed in November). The Council also elected Thomas Ziah of the United Liberation Movement Liberia for Democracy (Ulimo), and Issac Mousa of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), as first and second deputy chair respectively; the remaining places were filled by Banks and Ulimo member Mohamed Sheriff." We rely on ***Keesing's*** documentation, and go with the government and Amos Sawyer. Teaches at Indiana University in 2002. Imprisoned under Doe.

See `http://alumni.indiana.edu/magazine/200401/presprof.html`, where Sawyer notes: "I was trying to run the Centre for Democratic Empowerment until November 2000 .... It was then that Taylor had my office raided. I was beaten. The director was stabbed. They tried to rape the women. This was the clearest of signals to leave." He was installed by ECOWA as president of interim government.

LBR-1994 450 LBR Kpormapkor 07/03/1994 01/09/1995

Personal e-mail communication with Tiawan Saye Gongloe, now at the Carr Center for Human Rights at Harvard. After summer 2005, he can be reached at: tsgon2002@yahoo.com "Chairman David Kpomakpor (1994 - 1995) He was replaced by the parties to the Liberian conflict in 1995 with Wilton Sankawulo. After his replacement, he lived in Liberia for a few years before coming to the United States. He now lives in Staten Island, New York. I have no further information on what he is doing for a living. He is a lawyer by profession and before his elevation to the chairmanship of the council of state of the Liberian National Transitional Government, Kpomakpor was a law professor at the University of Liberia and later associate justice of the Supreme Court of Liberia. He was my professor in law school."

LBR-1995 450 LBR Sankawulo 01/09/1995 03/09/1996

Agence France Press - English, August 28, 1996, notes that Perry "replaced Wilton

Sankawulo who was dropped from the six-member council comprising three warlords for "lack of effective leadership." Africa News. December 11, 2001, notes that Sankawulo was "former English instructor at the University of Liberia and former speechwriter for Samuel Doe" *Financial Times*, February 27, 2002, notes that he is OK at this time, and a professor, debated what to do about the resolution of the Liberian problem.

Personal e-mail communication with Tiawan Saye Gongloe, now at the Carr Center for Human Rights at Harvard. After summer 2005, he can be reached at: tsgon2002@yahoo.com "Chairman Wilton Sankawolu (1995-1996) Following the April 6, 1996 street battle among the factions in Monrovia, the parties to the Liberian conflict replaced Sankawolu with Madam Ruth Sando Perry. The last information that I got on Sankawolu is that he lives in Texas, USA. I also heard that he recently published a novel. I don't know the title of the novel. Before Sankawolu became Chairman of the Council of State, he was teaching literature at the University of Liberia and working in the office of the President of Liberia from the presidency of William R. Tolbert to Samuel K. Doe, as a speech writer, with the title of Assistant Minister. Following his replacement, Sankawolu went back to the University of Liberia to teach and was there until the last round of battle in Monrovia in 2003".

LBR-1996 450 LBR Perry 03/09/1996 02/08/1997

Female. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 43, July 1997: "One of the last acts of the TLA was to pass legislation on July 17 setting the limits of the presidential and legislative terms to four years." `http://www.ikuska.com/Africa/Historia/biografias/biografias_d1.htm#perry`. Born on 16 July 1939. Exiled in 1995 and 1996.

Personal e-mail communication with Tiawan Saye Gongloe, now at the Carr Center for Human Rights at Harvard. After summer 2005, he can be reached at: tsgon2002@yahoo.com. "Chairman Ruth Sando Perry(1996-1997) She was here in Boston last year as a presidential fellow at Boston University. She resides in Liberia and frequently travels between the State of Ohio and Liberia. I understand that she has an NGO in Ohio called the Perry Center(you can check on this) which was set with the help of some American friends after she left office. In Liberia she is active with the Liberian women movement and other community based activities such as soliciting and distributing relief items. Ruth Perry was a Senator in the government of Samuel Doe on the ticket of the opposition Unity Party, prior to the Liberian civil conflict. She was replaced by Charles Taylor on August 2, 1997 when he was sworn in as elected president of Liberia."

LBR-1997 450 LBR Taylor 02/08/1997 11/08/2003

He was elected, and he resigned in 2003. Under indictment for crimes against humanity. *Washington Post.* 2 October 2005: "Since being forced from the presidency in 2003, Taylor has lived in luxurious exile in Nigeria, even though a U.N.-backed court indicted him on 17 counts of crimes against humanity and Interpol has issued a warrant for his arrest. He occupies a large compound, donated by the Nigerian government, on one of the nicest beaches in the country. And he enjoys the company of his family and his own entourage of well-armed guards and aides." *The New York Times*, March 26. Online: `http://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/26/international/africa/26taylor.html` Reports that "Nigeria said Saturday that it would end the asylum of the deposed Liberian dictator Charles G. Taylor and turn him over to the Liberian government for trial. Mr. Taylor, a warlord-turned-president spawned a bloody cycle

of civil wars that killed 300,000 people across West Africa in the 1990's. He was indicted by the United Nations-backed Special Court here in Sierra Leone in 2003 for war crimes and crimes against humanity during this country's decade-long insurgency. But the court has been unable to arrest Mr. Tayolr, who left Liberia as rebels narrowed in on him in 2003. Instead, he went into exile in Nigeria, where authorities agreed in an internationally brokered deal to grant him safe haven in order to end 14 years of civil war in Liberia. "God willing, I will be back," the flamboyant Mr. Taylor said as he bid farewell to his country. Since agreeing to accept Mr. Taylor, the Nigerian government has rebuffed many attempts to put him on trial before the international court, saying it was awaiting a request from an elected Liberian government. Liberia's new president, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, raised the issue this month with President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, describing it as an important part of bringing stability to Liberia." *Washington Post*, March 29, 2006 `http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/03/29/AR2006032900879.html` "Monrovia, Liberia, March 29 - Fugitive former Liberian president Charles Tayolro was handed over to U.N. custody here Wednesday afternoon, immediately after being repatriated from Nigeria, and placed on a U.N. helicopter en route to Sierra Leone where he faces war crimes charges before a U.N.-backed tribunal. The dramatic developments followed his arrest in a Nigerian town on the border Cameroon [HG, sic] early this morning, a day after he disappeared from a guarded compound in souther Nigeria."

LBR-2003-1 450 LBR Moses Zeh Blah 11/08/2003 14/10/2003
`http://www.liberiapastandpresent.org/Presidents.htm#chronological\%20order:`
Personal e-mail communication with Tiawan Saye Gongloe, previously at the Carr Center for Human Rights at Harvard. After summer 2005, he can be reached at: tsgon2002@yahoo.com "Let me now say the little that I know on each of the leaders that you mentioned in your email to me. First, let me clarify that except for Moses Blah all of the leaders named in your email carried the title of Chairman and not president. President Moses Blah (August 11, 2003-October 14, 2003) Following the resignation of Charles Taylor, under pressure on August 11, 2003, his vice president Moses Blah succeeded him as president in obedience of the constitution of Liberia. On October 14, 2003, when Gyude Bryant was installed as Chairman of the National Transitional Government of Liberia, Moses Blah stepped down from office. Currently, he lives in Monrovia as a retired president enjoying the full benefit of his status."

LBR-2003-2 450 LBR Bryant 14/10/2003 31/12/2004
Personal e-mail communication with Tiawan Saye Gongloe, previously at the Carr Center for Human Rights at Harvard. After summer 2005, he can be reached at: tsgon2002@yahoo.com. Charles Gyude Bryant "is not yet out of office. He is the current head of government until a new president is elected in October this year. I cannot say anything further about him, since he does not yet have a life out of office." BBC News Friday, 19 january 2007 "Liberia ex-leader probed on graft." "Liberia's ex-President Gyude Bryant has been questioned by police on allegations of corruption committed during his two years in office. Mr Bryant headed the country during a transitional phase after the end of the 14-year civil war in 2003. His government is accused by the regional body Ecowas, which oversaw the peace process, of stealing state funds. He told the BBC that he had expected the probe on graft but not to have his other decisions questioned too.

President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf came to power a year ago promising to crack down on corruption. ... After sitting before the investigation board Mr Bryant told the BBC he was disappointed with some aspects of the process. "I did not expect that my executive decisions would be investigated.... [I am] disappointed because I see a constitutional crisis looming in our country.""

BBC News, Saturday, 8 December 2007: "Liberia ex-leader freed from jail." "Liberia former leader Gyude Bryant, who was arrested on Friday over corruption allegations, has now been released. Police had detained him after he failed to appear in court to answer charges of embezzling some $1m while in office. He was freed after receiving a summons to court on Monday, an unnamed judicial source told the French news agency AFP. Mr Bryant, who headed the country during a transitional phase after the end of the 14-year civil war in 2003, denies the charges. The former leader, who was charged in February, smiled as he left Monrovia Central Prison on Saturday afternoon, AFP reported. On Friday, as he was being taken to jail, he said that he was being rewarded for restoring peace and democracy with detention."

See also BBC News, 1 May 2009, "Liberia ex-leader wins $1m case." `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8029338.stm` which reports that "A Liberian jury acquits former President Gyude Bryant on charges of embezzling $1m while in office."

2.95 SIERRA LEONE

SIE-1961 451 SIE Margai, M 27/04/1961 28/04/1964
Sir Milton Margai, older brother of Albert M. Margai, next leader.

SIE-1964 451 SIE Margai, A 29/04/1964 17/03/1967
Albert M. Margai, younger brother of Milton Margai. House arrest and exile.

SIE-1967-1 451 SIE Lansana 21/03/1967 23/03/1967
Young officers depose coup leader as head of National Reformation Council, *The New York Times* 27 March, 1967, p. 4. He was arrested and detained. Later he was given diplomatic position in New York.

DELETED
SIE-1967-2 451 SIE Genda 23/03/1967 27/03/1967
National Reformation Council once more changes mind and settles on new leader, *The New York Times*, 29 March, 1967, p. 7. He was Sierra Leone's ambassador to Liberia. For his exit, see *The New York Times*, March 29, 1967, p. 7 "Freetown Greets New Junta Chief." He was a Lieutenant Colonel, and ethnically a Mende. The article makes it clear he could not have been the effective leader, since he was out of the country. The article also notes "The rejection of Colonel Genda was officially made known to him when the plane put down overnight in Las Palmas. There, he received word from the council ordering him not to return home, even as a private citizen."

SIE-1967-2 451 SIE Juxon-Smith 27/03/1967 19/04/1968
For his entry, see *The New York Times*, March 29, 1967, p. 7 "Freetown Greets New Junta Chief." The article notes he was a Lieutenant Colonel, and 34 years old. Removed in a military coup led by NCO. *The New York Times* 19 April, 1968, p. 2. He was arrested, charged with treason.

SIE-1968 451 SIE Stevens 19/04/1968 28/11/1985
Keesing's Vol. 34, May 1988. "Former President Siaka Stevens, the honorary chairman of the ruling All People's Congress (APC), denied in a BBC interview on April 10, 1987, any involvement in the attempted coup [of March 23, HG] and refuted reports that he was under house arrest, confirming a government communiqué issued on April 6 to the same effect."

SIE-1985 451 SIE Momoh 28/11/1985 29/04/1992
Keesing's Vol. 33, April 1987. "At a ceremony in Freetown (the capital) on Jan. 26, 1986, Maj. -Gen. Joseph Saidu Momoh, then 49, was officially inaugurated as President of Sierra Leone, following his election the previous October as sole candidate of the ruling All People's Congress (APC). He succeeded Dr Siaka Stevens, who had handed over effective power to the President-elect on Nov. 28, 1985, when Maj. -Gen. Momoh became secretary-general of the APC and Dr Stevens took on the new post of honorary

party chairman." He was overthrown in military coup, *The New York Times* 1 May, 1992, p. 10. He is exiled in Guinea.

SIE-1992 451 SIE Strasser 01/05/1992 17/01/1996

Keesing's Vol. 42, January 1996: "Strasser, 29, was allowed safe passage out of the country and, according to the Economist of Jan. 20, had "a place booked at a British university". He had taken power in a coup in April 1992, overthrowing the civilian government of Joseph Saidu Momoh [see pp. 38853-54; 38900]."Valentine Esegragbo Strasser, was ousted in coup, was 29, enrolled in law school at Warwick in Coventry, England. He was elected immediately after a military coup. For his removal in a military coup, see *Washington Post* 17 January, 1996, p. A23.

SIE-1996-1 451 SIE Bio 17/01/1996 29/03/1996

Keesing's Vol 42, March 1996. Brigadier-General. See Lexis Nexis: Financial Times Information. Panafrican News Agency. April 22, 2005. "Freetown, Sierra Leone (PANA) - Sierra Leone Vice President Solomon Berewa has accused the chairman of the former National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC), Brigadier Julius Maada Bio of corruption, saying the government would prosecute the ex-junta leader."

SIE-1996-2 451 SIE Kabbah 29/03/1996 25/05/1997

Military coup led by junior officers, apparently disgruntled about low pay. *Washington Post* 26 May, 1997, p. A21. Exile, see below.

SIE-1997 451 SIE Koroma 25/05/1997 12/02/1998

He was removed thanks to ECOWAS.

SIE-1998 451 SIE Kabbah 10/03/1998 31/12/2004

Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, was the first democratically elected president. But a violent military coup ousted President Kabbah's civilian government in May 1997. On March 10, 1998, after ten months in exile (flees to Guinea), Kabbah resumed his rule over Sierra Leone. He returned to office after Nigerian forces defeat military.

2.96 GHANA

GHA-1952 452 GHA Nkrumah 21/03/1952 24/02/1966

Lentz: Target of assassination attempts in 1962 (twice) and 1964. On May 1, 1961, he assumed complete control of Ghana, eliminated the opposition, and jailed many of its leaders. (Autogolpe?) On February 24, 1966, while Nkrumah was on a visit to Peking, China, the army moved against his regime and ousted his government. Nkrumah returned to Africa and settle in Conakry, Guinea, where President Sekou Toure named him co-president of Guinea. On April 27, 1972, Nkrumah died of cancer while in exile in Conakry." See for his ouster, New York Times 24 February, 1966, p. 1.

GHA-1966 452 GHA Ankrah 24/02/1966 03/04/1969

The *Washington Post*, April 3, 1969, p.A15. "Gen. Joseph Ankrah resigned as head of state today after investigation into fund-raising for political purposes disclosed that he had received money from a private company, an official statement said. No mention of any punishment afterwards in ProQuest. See also Lentz.

GHA-1969-1 452 GHA Afrifa 03/04/1969 03/09/1969

Brigadier. Lentz: he remained a member of the supervisory Presidential Commission until the following year. From December of 1970 he served as a member of the Council of State under President Akufo-Addo. When another military coup ousted the civilian government, Afrifa's resistance to the coup leaders resulted in his arrest and detention until July 3, 1973. He remained in political retirement until 1978 .... He was elected to Parliament in June of 1979. Afrifa was arrested following the coup led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings in June of 1979. He was charged with abuse of power and misuse of state fund and executed near Accra on June 26, 1979.

GHA-1969-2 452 GHA Busia 03/09/1969 13/01/1972

Driven into exile under Nkrumah. Military oup while out of the country, exile in England. For details on the coup, and the officers involved, see Valerie Plave Bennet, "The Motivation for Military Intervention," *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 4, December 1973, pp.659-674. Also, see *The New York Times* 13 January, 1972, p. 1.

GHA-1972 452 GHA Acheampong 13/01/1972 05/07/1978

For details on the coup that brought him to power, and the officers involved, see Valerie Plave Bennet, "The Motivation for Military Intervention," *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 4, December 1973, pp.659-674.

Lentz: "He continued to serve as head of the ruling Supreme Military Council until he was ousted by other members of the council on July 5, 1978. He was detained by the new government and was dismissed from the army following his release." Again arrested following the coup led by Jerry Rawlings in June of 1979. He was tried on charges of corruption and was executed in Accra on June 16, 1979.

GHA-1978 452 GHA Akuffo 05/07/1978 04/06/1979

Military coup, *The New York Times* 5 June, 1979, p. A3. Lentz, executed by the Junta under Rawlings, June 26, 1979.

GHA-1979-1 452 GHA Rawlings 05/06/1979 24/09/1979

Lentz. Was retired from the air force in November 1979. He entered politics on a full time basis and was briefly arrested in November of 1980 on charges of plotting against the government. Transfers power to Limann.

GHA-1979-2 452 GHA Limann 24/09/1979 31/12/1981

Military coup, led by ex-military ruler (Rawlings) who was forced to retire from military, *Financial Times* (London,England) 2 January, 1982, p. 2. Protective custody until September 1983.

GHA-1981 452 GHA Rawlings 31/12/1981 07/01/2001

The New York Times, Jan 8, 2001, p. A16. "President Jerry Rawlings, ... stepped down after reaching a constitutional two-term limit as elected president."

BBC News, 3 June 2005, "Is there life after the presidency?" `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4607269.stm` notes: "Former Ghanaian President Jerry Rawlings on the other hand has carved a new career for himself as a UN volunteer and public speaker ...."

GHA-2001 452 GHA John Agyekum Kufuor 08/01/2001 31/12/2004

The New York Times, Jan 8, 2001, p. A16. John Kufuor, and Oxford-trained lawyer and businessman.

2.97 TOGO

TOG-1960 461 TOG Olympio 27/04/1960 13/01/1963

See Lentz. Shot to death by his pursuers at the gates of the (US) embassy on January 13, 1963. Assassinated in a military coup by NCOs. *The New York Times* 14 January, 1963, p. 1. *The New York Times*, January 21, 1963, p.10 "Death in Togo." "... President Nkrumah of Ghana is said to have subsidized agitation in Togo against its President, Sylvanus Olympio. The two presidents once were close friends but fell out because of Nkrumah's attempt to organize a "Pan-African movement" which Olympio said amounted to "black imperialism." Last week Mr. Olympio, 60, was assassinated an his Government overthrow in a coup. It was started by a group of former noncommissioned officers who said they had not intended to kill the President; he was shot while seeking sanctuary in the U.S. Embassy. The soldiers served in the French colonial army during the years before France granted independence to her African domains and had been demanding jobs in the Togo Government."

The New York Times, May 25, 1969, p. 16, "Togo General, Citing 'Popular Will,' Retains Power. .... General Eyadema, who is 32 years old, has only a fifth-grade education; he entered the French Army at 16 and served in both Indochina and Algeria. He has admitted that he fired the shot that killed Togo's first President, Sylvanus Olympio, on Jan. 13, 1963, almost three years after the country became independent of French administration as a United Nations trusteeship."

The Washington Post, January 14, 1967, p.A7 "Togo Army Deposes President" The article notes "The coup occurred on the fourth anniversary of the assassination of Togo President Sylvanus Olympio in a dispute with the army which then installed Grunitzky–Olympio's brother-in-law–as President."

TOG-1963 461 TOG Grunitzky 16/01/1963 13/01/1967

Removed in a military coup, see *The New York Times*, January 14, 1967, p. 2 "Colonel Says He Seized Power In Togo to Prevent 'Civil War'." "COTONOU, Dahomey, Jan. 13 – Togo's 1,200-man army quietly overthrew the Government of President Nicolas Grunitzky early today without bloodshed. The first word of the take-over reached this neighboring state when the Togo radio announced this morning that the army had seized power to "put an end to the confused political situation." The voce was that of Lieut. Col. Etienne Edyadama, head of the armed forces. A former sergeant in the French army who saw combat in Indochina and Algeria, the 35-year old colonel spoke in a flat, matter-of-fact voice, as if he were reading a roll-call. ... In a broadcast later today, Colonel Eyadama declared a state of emergency throughout the country, a pencil-thin land 600 miles long and about 30 miles wide. He also suspended the Constitution and the National Assembly, and banned all political parties."

See also *Washington Post* 14 January, 1967, p. A7. See also Lentz.

Exile in Ivory Coast.

The Washington Post, January 14, 1967, p.A7 "Togo Army Deposes President" The article notes "The coup occurred on the fourth anniversary of the assassination of Togo President Sylvanus Olympio in a dispute with the army which then installed Grunitzky–Olympio's brother-in-law–as President."

TOG-1967-1 461 TOG Dadjo 13/01/1967 14/04/1967

For the coup that removes Colonel Kleber Dadjo, see *The New York Times*, April 16, 1967, p. 20. "Chief of Staff Takes Over The Presidency of Togo." "LOME, Togo, April 15 (Reuters)—Lieut. Col. Etienne Eyadama, Chief of Staff of Togo's armed forces, announced last night that he was taking over as the country's President and dissolving the ruling National Reconciliation Committee set up after the bloodless coup he led against President Nicholas Grunitzky last January. He said on the Lomé radio that he would preside over a new government made up of four military men and eight civilians. He will also be Defense Minister. The other Ministers are: *Justice*–Col. Kleber Dadjo. ...."

In a reshuffle of the National Reconciliation Committee the leader of the January 1967 coup takes over, Lentz 1994, p. 754. Minister of Justice in Eyadama's cabinet. Retired from the army and the government in 1969.

TOG-1967-2 461 TOG Eyadema 14/04/1967 31/12/2004

see *The New York Times*, January 14, 1967, p. 2 "Colonel Says He Seized Power In Togo to Prevent 'Civil War'." "COTONOU, Dahomey, Jan. 13 – Togo's 1,200-man army quietly overthrew the Government of President Nicolas Grunitzky early today without bloodshed. The first word of the take-over reached this neighboring state when the Togo radio announced this morning that the army had seized power to "put an end to the confused political situation." The voce was that of Lieut. Col. Etienne Edyadama, head of the armed forces. A former sergeant in the French army who saw combat in Indochina and Algeria, the 35-year old colonel spoke in a flat, matter-of-fact voice, as if he were reading a roll-call."

The New York Times, May 25, 1969, p. 16, "Togo General, Citing 'Popular Will,' Retains Power. .... General Eyadema, who is 32 years old, has only a fifth-grade education; he entered the French Army at 16 and served in both Indochina and Algeria. He has admitted that he fired the shot that killed Togo's first President, Sylvanus Olympio, on Jan. 13, 1963, almost three years after the country became independent of French administration as a United Nations trusteeship."

Dies in office in 2005. His son takes over with questionable legality, later elected.

2.98 CAMEROON

CAO-1960 471 CAO Ahidjo 01/01/1960 06/11/1982

Ahmadou Ahidjo steps down for reasons of health on November 6, 1982. Lentz' records: "The following year Ahidjo tried to regain power and was accused by President Biya of plotting against the government. Ahidjo went into exile and was tried and sentenced to death in absentia, though the sentence was later commuted." So he resigns presidency for health reasons. Tries to regain power the following year. Later on goes to exile.

CAO-1982 471 CAO Biya 06/11/1982 31/12/2004

BBC News' `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8094012.stm` notes "In November 1982, Cameroon's first post-independence leader, Ahmadou Ahidjo, formally resigned due to ill-health, and handed the presidency to his Prime Minister, Paul Biya. Since then Mr Biya has won five elections, which - say the opposition – is not surprising, given that the votes have always been overseen by senior ruling party figures."

2.99 NIGERIA

NIG-1960 475 NIG Balewa 01/10/1960 15/01/1966

Assassinated in a military coup. See *Chicago Tribune*, January 23, 1966, p.3. "Overthrown Lagos Chief, 53, Is Buried." "KADUNA, Nigeria, Jan. 22 [Reuters] – Nigerian Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was buried today, 24 hours after his decomposing body was found on the outskirts of Lagos. He was a victim of the uprising that swept his government from power a week ago. ... Balewa, 53, was kidnaped at the start of the military revolt and was the subject of a wide-spread search after it was quelled. ... The military government was set up after Maj. Gen. Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi took control of the country in the wake of disturbances plotted by junior officers." Also *The New York Times*, 16 January, 1966, p. 1.

For more details on the partial success of the coup, see *The New York Times*, July 30, 1966, p.7 "Ironsi, Man in the Middle." "KINSHASA, The Congo, July 29–The uprising by Nigerian Army insurgents reflects the mounting dissatisfaction of young southerners in and out of the army with the Government of Maj. Gen. Johnson T. U. Aguiyi-Ironsi. To a number of southern intellectuals and young army officers, General Ironsi has betrayed the original coup by the army's "young Turks" in January. That coup achieved its main objective in overthrowing the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, who was killed along with the Premiers of the Western and Northern Regions. But the "young Turks" failed to win ultimate power for themselves. This power fell to General Ironsi, who was on the assassination list of the coup leaders but escaped death and rallied the majority of the army to the Government's side. Many of the coup leaders were killed in the aftermath of the uprising. But several, including Ma. Chukwuma Nzeogwu, who held power briefly in the North, gave themselves up to General Ironsi after a pledge that they would escape reprisal. This pledge was not honored and Major Nzeogwu and his lieutenants were imprisoned."

He was a Muslim.

NIG-1966-1 475 NIG Ironsi 15/01/1966 29/07/1966

See *Chicago Tribune*, January 23, 1966, p.3. "Overthrown Lagos Chief, 53, Is Buried." "KADUNA, Nigeria, Jan. 22 [Reuters] – ... The military government was set up after Maj. Gen. Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi took control of the country in the wake of disturbances plotted by junior officers."

For his ouster, see *The New York Times*, July 30, 1966, p.7 "Ironsi, Man in the Middle." "KINSHASA, The Congo, July 29–The uprising by Nigerian Army insurgents reflects the mounting dissatisfaction of young southerners in and out of the army with the Government of Maj. Gen. Johnson T. U. Aguiyi-Ironsi. To a number of southern intellectuals and young army officers, General Ironsi has betrayed the original coup by the army's "young Turks" in January. That coup achieved its main objective in overthrowing the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, who was killed along with the Premiers of the Western and Northern Regions. But the "young Turks" failed to win ultimate power for themselves. This power fell to General Ironsi, who was on the assassination list of the coup leaders but escaped death and rallied the majority of the army to the Government's side. Many of the coup leaders were killed in the aftermath of the uprising. But several, including Ma. Chukwuma Nzeogwu, who held power briefly in the North,

gave themselves up to General Ironsi after a pledge that they would escape reprisal. This pledge was not honored and Major Nzeogwu and his lieutenants were imprisoned."

See also *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 12, September, 1966 Nigeria, Page 21613. "Mutinous units of the Nigerian Army on July 29 seized Major-General Aguiyi-Ironsi (the head of the National Military Government) and Lieutenant-Colonel Adekunle Fajuyi (Governor of the western group of provinces) at Ibadan, and also occupied the barracks at Ikeja, near Lagos. The Government there upon declared a state of emergency for the towns of Ibadan, Ikeja, and Abeokuta in terms of the decrec of Feb. 16 on the Proclamation of Military Areas [see 21517 A]. ... On Aug. I Lieutenant-Colonel Yakubu Gowon, the Army Chief of Staff, announced that he had taken over control of Nigeria. He stated that with the consent of the majority of the suprreme Military Council he would "shoulder the responsibility of the nation and the Army" and confirmed that general Ironsi had been kidnapped by the mutineers, adding that his whereabouts and fate were unknown."

See also *The New York Times* 30 July, 1966, p. 1. "Nigeria's Leader Seized In Mutiny."

For reports that he was killed in the fighting, see *The Christian Science Monitor*, August 5, 1966, p.2. "Key Figures in Nigeria Coup." For confirmation, see *The New York Times*, August 27, 1966, p. 8. "Nigerians Disclose Ironsi Was Slain in Uprising."

NIG-1966-2 475 NIG Gowon 29/07/1966 29/07/1975

For his entry, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 12, September, 1966 Nigeria, Page 21613. "Mutinous units of the Nigerian Army on July 29 seized Major-General Aguiyi-Ironsi (the head of the National Military Government) and Lieutenant-Colonel Adekunle Fajuyi (Governor of the western group of provinces) at Ibadan, and also occupied the barracks at Ikeja, near Lagos. ... On Aug. I Lieutenant-Colonel Yakubu Gowon, the Army Chief of Staff, announced that he had taken over control of Nigeria. He stated that with the consent of the majority of the suprreme Military Council he would "shoulder the responsibility of the nation and the Army" and confirmed that general Ironsi had been kidnapped by the mutineers, adding that his whereabouts and fate were unknown."

See also *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 8, 1966, p.2. "Released Prisoner Holds Key To Nigeria's Future, Stability." "The country's new young military ruler, British-trained Lt. Col. Yakuba Gowon, 31, ordered Awolo released and paid him the honor of going to Lagos Airport to greet him personally on his arrival from Calabar [prison], in the eastern region."

Overthrown in military coup while out of the country, exile in England. *The New York Times* 30 July, 1975, p. 1. Also, *The New York Times*, February 17, 1976, p. 3 "Leader of Nigerian Rebels Tried to Telephone Gowon."

NIG-1975 475 NIG Ramat Mohammed 29/07/1975 13/02/1976

Killed in unsuccessful coup attempt, *The New York Times* 15 February, 1976, p. 1 & 22. "Nigeria Confirms Killing Of Leader." "LAGOS, Nigeria, Feb.14–Gen. Murtala Rama Muhammed, the Nigerian head of state, was assassinated yesterday at the onset of a short-lived coup attempt, the Nigerian Government confirmed in a broadcast today. Lieut. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, chief of staff of the armed forces, was named head of the military Government that has ruled here since a coup last summer, the broadcast said.

. . . General Obasanjo had been the second most powerful man in the Government. He is a member of the Yoruba Tribe, ... Today's Government broadcast said General Obasanjo's appointment had been made "unanimously.""

NIG-1976 475 NIG Obasanjo 13/02/1976 01/10/1979

For his entry, see *The New York Times* 15 February, 1976, p. 1 & 22. "Nigeria Confirms Killing Of Leader." "LAGOS, Nigeria, Feb.14–Gen. Murtala Rama Muhammed, the Nigerian head of state, was assassinated yesterday at the onset of a short-lived coup attempt, the Nigerian Government confirmed in a broadcast today. Lieut. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, chief of staff of the armed forces, was named head of the military Government that has ruled here since a coup last summer, the broadcast said. . . . General Obasanjo had been the second most powerful man in the Government. He is a member of the Yoruba Tribe, ... Today's Government broadcast said General Obasanjo's appointment had been made "unanimously.""

Lentz: served on several government commissions and retired from government to become a farmer. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 41, March 1995: "On March 13 Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, who had stepped down as head of state in 1979 in favour of a civilian government [see pp. 30621-28], was arrested, four days after the arrest of his former Vice-President, Gen. Shehu Yar'Adua. Both Obasanjo and Yar'Adua had campaigned vocally for the restoration of an elected civilian government. An influential delegate at the National Constitutional Conference (NCC), Yar'Adua had sponsored the December 1994 NCC motion that the military should relinquish power on Jan. 1, 1996 [see p. 40312]. Obasanjo was reportedly released on March 24, but was then placed under house arrest with his passport confiscated. Yar'Adua remained in prison."

NIG-1979 475 NIG Shagari 01/10/1979 31/12/1983

Keesing's Vol. 30, May 1984: "A coup led by high-ranking army officers on Dec. 31, 1983, overthrew the civilian government of President Shehu Shagari (who had been sworn in only three months previously for a further four-year term) and established a 19-member Supreme Military Council. Announcing the coup early in the morning of Dec. 31, Brig. Sanni Abacha stated that certain sections of the 1979 constitution had been suspended and the external borders had been closed; communications links with the outside world were severed and a dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed. Political parties were banned, and all holders of public office were to resign their posts and report to the police. In a later broadcast on the same day, Maj.-Gen. Mohammed Buhari was named as the new Head of State, Chairman of the Supreme Military Council and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. (The curfew was lifted on Jan. 3, 1984, when international air flights also resumed; Nigeria's borders were reopened on Jan. 23.) Overthrown in coup, house arrest." See also *The New York Times* 1 January, 1984, p. 1.

NIG-1983 475 NIG Buhari 31/12/1983 27/08/1985

Military coup, arrested, detained, *Washington Post* 28 August, 1985, p. A1. Candidate for president in the April 2007 presidential elections for the ANPP.

NIG-1985 475 NIG Babangida 27/08/1985 26/08/1993

Keesing'sVol. 39, November 1993, suggests that Babangida may have been a figurehead for Abacha. See ***Keesing's*** Vol.41, March 1995. Also ***Keesing's*** Vol. 44, July 1998 which notes that Abubakar was a close associated of Bagangida. Ibrahim Babangida

lost power on 26 August 1993. He was forced out of Aso Rock under questionable circumstances. He first went to Egypt for a 4 week trip with his wife and 2 of their 4 children on December 1. Ibrahim Babangida has lived a life of recluse in his Minna mansion and has neither purged himself of all the atrocities he committed against Nigerians, nor apologised for the evil and misrule that he foisted on this nation. He resigned following unrest. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 39, August 1993, "Departure of Babangida," however, notes: "Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, in power since the military coup of Aug. 27, 1985, stepped down as President on Aug. 26 and handed over power to a non-elected Interim National Government. The term of office of this administration was set to end on March 31, 1994. Babangida had repeatedly reaffirmed his intention of relinquishing the presidency by Aug. 27, 1993, meeting a deadline set in November 1992, in the context of the promised return to civilian democratic rule. However, pro-democracy campaigners expressed bitterness and anger that the long-promised restoration of democracy remained delayed, and there was mounting unrest as protesters demanded that power be handed over to Moshood Kashimawo Olawale "MKO" Abiolaof the Social Democratic Party (SDP), the presumed winner of the aborted June presidential elections. Members of the new administration of civilians and soldiers were handpicked by Babangida. Chief Ernest Adegunle Shonekan, named as its head (effectively President), had hitherto been chairman of the outgoing Transitional Council, and several members of the new Cabinet had also served in the Transitional Council."

NIG-1993-1 475 NIG Shonekan 26/08/1993 17/11/1993

Ernest Shonekan. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 41, October 1995, notes that Chief Ernest Shonekan was a personal representative of Abacha. Head of Transition Government, (1996-97, Chairman, Vision 2010 Committee who's goal is for Nigeria to derive its entire wealth from agriculture and industry). He was civilian appointed as interim leader, and was forced out after 3 months.

Keesing's Vol. 39, November 1993, "Military takeover" also notes: On Nov. 17, after an 82-day period of civilian rule, albeit by a non-elected administration, Nigeria came once again under the control of the military. The Defence Minister, Gen. Sanni Abacha, took over as head of state, having forced the resignation of Chief Ernest Adegunle Shonekan, head of the Interim National Government (ING). Abacha's takeover confirmed the belief that he had been in effective control of the government since the resignation of President Ibrahim Babangida in August. Abacha had been a key player both in the 1983 coup, which brought an end to the 1979-83 Second Republic civilian government of Shehu Shagari, and in the 1985 military putsch which installed Babangida as head of state and himself as Babangida's deputy. Shonekan's short-lived ING administration had been dogged by problems since its installation in August, and in the days preceding the coup the beleaguered Shonekan had come under increasing pressure. .... Late on Nov. 17, following a four-hour meeting with Abacha and other senior military figures, Shonekan announced his resignation as head of state and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Abacha immediately took over both positions." Defense minister sacks the interim president, New York Times 11/18/1993, p. 15.

NIG-1993-2 475 NIG Abacha 17/11/1993 08/06/1998

General. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 44, July 1988. Sudden death.

NIG-1998 475 NIG Abubakar 09/06/1998 29/05/1999

Keesing's Vol. 51, January 2005. "The Oputa panel's report recommended that the three former military rulers-Gen. Muhammed Buhari (1983-85) [see pp. 32841-43; 33956-59]; Gen. Ibrahim Babangida (1985-93) [see pp. 33956-59; 39582]; and Gen. Abdulsalam Abubakar, who led a short military transition government following the death of Gen. Sani Abacha in 1998 [see pp. 42321-22; 42924-25]-be barred from holding public office in Nigeria ever again. Among the panel's findings was a call for an investigation into Babangida's role in the murder of Dele Giwa, an investigative journalist, who was assassinated by a parcel bomb in October 1986 [see p. 34856]. The panel also declared that Buhari should be held responsible for his part in the execution of three alleged drug traffickers in 1984. At the time Buhari ordered the executions by presidential decree. Abubakar was judged to be accountable for the death of politician Chief Moshood "MKO" Abiola in July 1998 [see p. 42380]." Had faced charges of money laundering and theft from Swiss authorities, in connection with charges against the family of the late dictator Gen. Sani Abacha.

In December 2006, Abubakar, now Vice President under Obasanjo, is chosen by the opposition party Action Congress as its candidate for the April 2007 presidential election.

NIG-1999 475 NIG Obasanjo 29/05/1999 31/12/2004

Apparently, attempted to seek an unconstitutional third term. Abubakar is his Vice-President. See BBC News: 21 December 2006, "Nigeria VP's jet grounded in Spat." `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6201277.stm.`

Obasanjo replaces Atiku Abubaker days later: BBC News 24 December 1006: "Nigeria to replace Vice President." `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6207277.stm`.

NIG-2007 475 NIG Umaru Yar'Adua 29/05/2007

For his regular entry, see *Washington Post*, May 29, 2007, "Umaru Yar'Adua Sworn in as Nigerian President." "Tuesday's inauguration both elevated Yar'Adua, 56, a soft-spoken former northern governor and chemistry professor, and marked the end of outgoing President Olusegun Obasanjo's two terms in office. Both men have hailed it as the first turnover in power between democratically elected governments in Nigeria's turbulent history, but that claim is clouded by serious doubts about the legitimacy of last month's vote. Both foreign and domestic observers said it was so flawed as to not represent the will of voters."

2.100 GABON

GAB-1960 481 GAB Mba 17/08/1960 17/02/1964

Chicago Tribune, February 19, 1964, p. 14 "Army Takes over in Gabon; No Shots Fired. African Nation's Strongman Put Under Arrest." "Libreville, Gabon, Feb. 19-The 600-man Gabon army seized power in a bloodless coup today and arrested President Leon M'Ba. M'ba announced his resignation in a statement broadcast to the west African nation and signed by himself and army leaders. He then was placed under house arrest and a junta began forming a provisional government that will exclude elements of his toppled regime." For more on M'ba at the time of his ouster, see *The New York Times*, February 19, 1964, p. 16 "Ousted Gabonese;" the article record that Mba "was born in Gabon in 1902 and was educated in Roman Catholic schools in Libreville, the capital. He is a member of the Fang tribe, the largest in Gabon. ...In his youth he served as a local administrator for the French and also wrote for newspapers. His moderately nationalist sentiments disturbed the French administration and he was exiled to Ubangi-Chari, now the Central African Republic, where he remained from 1933 to 1946. Despite this experience, he became one of Africa's leading exponents of a policy of cooperation with the colonialist power. ...In August, 1960, he became Chief of State and moved to consolidate his power by eliminating his rivals from positions of political influence. In the February, 1961, election his slogan was "The French elect de Gaulle and the Gabonese elect Mba." He received 99.6 per cent of the vote. The Assembly that was elected at the same time changed the Constitution, placing all executive power in Mr. Mba's hands and reducing its own prerogatives considerably. The Gaonese Leader's liking for President de Gaulle extends to sharing the latter's scorn for Parliament. In January, he dissolved it, ostensibly for reasons of economy, and in the elections that were to have been held next Sunday the membership was to have been reduced from 60 to 47. Mr. Mba and his wife had 11 children."

Los Angeles Times, Feb. 20, 1964, P.3. notes "French troops flown from nearby African nations Wednesday snuffed out a 24-hour revolutionary regime and restored Leon Mba, who had been imprisoned in the presidential palace, as Gabon's chief of state." New York Times 19 February, 1964, p. 1. Mba was reelected in 1964 and 1967 until his death in Nov. 1967. So, for 1964, we code his post tenure fate as zero, meaning he was OK.

GAB-1964-1 481 GAB Aubaume 17/02/1964 19/02/1964

Jean-Hilaire Aubame or Aubaume; supposedly an old political rival of M'ba. See Chicago Tribune, February 19, 1964, p. 14 "Army Takes over in Gabon; No Shots Fired. African Nation's Strongman Put Under Arrest." "Libreville, Gabon, Feb. 19-The 600-man Gabon army seized power in a bloodless coup today and arrested President Leon M'Ba."

Los Angeles Times, Feb. 20, 1964, p.3. "French End Army Revolt in Gabon" notes "French troops flown from nearby African nations Wednesday snuffed out a 24-hour revolutionary regime and restored Leon Mba, who had been imprisoned in the presidential palace, as Gabon's chief of state." French troops intervene, old president reinstated. *The New York Times* 20 February, 1964, p. 1. Aubaume is arrested and imprisoned.

GAB-1964-2 481 GAB Mba 20/02/1964 28/11/1967

See above. Restored with French help. Natural death.

GAB-1967 481 GAB Bongo 28/11/1967 31/12/2004

He is the son-in-law of Denis Sassou-Nguesso, President of Congo-Brazzaville, 1979-1992; 1997 - .... His wife died in March 2009.

BBC News, 7 June 2009, "Gabon leader Omar Bongo 'is dead"' http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8088382.stm reports "Africa's longest-serving leader, President Omar Bongo of Gabon, has died at the age of 73, French media say. Mr Bongo had been treated in a clinic in the Spanish city of Barcelona. He was reported to have cancer, and had suspended his activities in May. There is no official confirmation of the reported death. Gabon's prime minister said he was "not aware" of it. Mr Bongo has led the oil-producing state since 1967, and faces a French inquiry into corruption allegations. The death of the Gabonese veteran leader was reported by AFP news agency, who quoted a French government source, and also by the website of French magazine Le Point, quoting a source close to Mr Bongo's entourage. But later Prime Minister Jean Eyeghe Ndong told Gabonese TV that he had been "very surprised" to read the reports. ... Mr Bongo became vice-president in 1967, taking over as head of state later that year after the death of Gabon's first post-independence President, Leon Mba. Mr Bongo is one of three African leaders being investigated for alleged embezzlement by a French judge - the others are Denis Sassou-Nguesso of the Republic of Congo and Teodoro Obiang Nguema of Equatorial Guinea. It is alleged that the properties owned by Mr Bongo's family in France could not have been purchased with official salaries alone. Mr Bongo denied any wrongdoing. Analyst say he has built a powerful dynasty in the former French colony during his years in office. Opposition leaders have claimed his son, Ali-Ben Bongo, currently defence minister, is being manoeuvred to take over. In 1973, Mr Bongo converted to Islam, changing his name to El Hadj Omar Bongo. His wife, Edith Lucie Bongo, President Sassou-Nguesso's daughter, died in March 2009."

BBC News 9 June 2009 "Bongo's son calls for Gabon calm" http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8090514.stm reports "It emerged in May that the president, who had led Gabon since 1967, was being treated in a Spanish clinic, amid unconfirmed reports he had cancer. Under the constitution, the leader of the Senate, Rose Francine Rogombe, an ally of Mr Bongo, should take over as interim leader and organise elections within 45 days. But opposition leaders have claimed that Ali-Ben Bongo has already been lined up to take over, and question whether any election would be free and fair. ... Observers say the ruling Gabonese Democratic Party (PDG) has been deciding who should succeed him, with his 50-year-old son a leading contender."

2.101 CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

CEN-1960 482 CEN Dacko 13/08/1960 01/01/1966

Removed in a military coup, house arrest until 1976. *The New York Times*, 2 January, 1966, p. 1. "Central African Regime Ousted; New Chief Expels Chinese Reds." BANGUI, Central African Republic, Ja.1–Col. Jean Bedel Bokassa, chief of staff of the Central African Republic's army, seized power and ousted President David Dacko early today. ... The deposed President was placed under house arrest in the colonel's residence."

CEN-1966 482 CEN Bokassa 01/01/1966 21/09/1979

Uncle of Dacko. His obituary in the *The New York Times*, notes that he is overthrown by French paratroopers while on an official trip to Libya. *The New York Times*, Nov. 5, 1996, p. B7. "Jean-Bedel Bokassa, Self-Crowned Emperor Of the Central African Republic, Dies at 75" (Obituary) "Mr. Bokassa's sometimes brutal 14-year rule, including two years as his country's self-proclaimed Emperor, ended in 1979 when French paratroopers overthrew his Government while Mr. Bokassa was on an official trip to Libya. France justified its intervention in the Central African Republic by citing stories of Mr. Bokassa's supposed cannibalism of imprisoned schoolchildren. In 1986, Mr. Bokassa, who was living in exile in the Ivory Coast, returned home to face charges against him that included murder and treason. ... In September 1979, in one of the first actions of its type in Africa in which foreign troops were used to overthrow a leader in power, 700 French paratroopers took control of Bangui while Mr. Bokassa was in Libya. Citing the growing repressiveness of his rule, and the reports of cannibalism, France installed Mr. Dacko, whom it had prompted Mr. Bokassa to overthrow 14 years earlier, as President."

Returned in 1986, then in exile in Ivory Coast, to face charges against him. Sentenced to death for assassinations, concealing corpses and embezzlement. He served seven years in prison before he was finally pardoned by Kolingba."

Lentz: "Bokassa was on a visit to Libya when he was ousted in a coup led by former president David Dacko on September 21, 1979. Bokossa went into exile in the Ivory Coast. He was tried in absentia and sentenced to death in December 1980. Bokassa went into exile in France, but returned to the Central African Republic in October of 1986. He was arrested on tried on charges that included murder and cannibalism. He was convicted ... in June 1987 and was sentenced to death. The sentence as commuted to life imprisonment and hard labor in Bangui's Ngaaba Prison by President Andre Kolingba in February of 1988."

CEN-1979 482 CEN Dacko 21/09/1979 01/09/1981

The New York Times, Nov. 5, 1996, p. B7. "Jean-Bedel Bokassa, Self-Crowned Emperor Of the Central African Republic, Dies at 75" (Obituary) "In September 1979, in one of the first actions of its type in Africa in which foreign troops were used to overthrow a leader in power, 700 French paratroopers took control of Bangui while Mr. Bokassa was in Libya. Citing the growing repressiveness of his rule, and the reports of cannibalism, France installed Mr. Dacko, whom it had prompted Mr. Bokassa to overthrow 14 years earlier, as President."Cousin of Bokassa. See The *Washington Post*, Sept. 2, 1981, p.A19. NY Times, Mar. 22, 1982, P. A2. Notes: "A civilian, David Dacko, replaced Emperor Bokassa, but, with his acquiescence, the army took over last

September. . . ." Removed in a military coup, *Washington Post* 2 September, 1991, p. A19.

CEN-1981 482 CEN Kolingba 01/09/1981 22/10/1993

Armed forces chief of staff. Runs again in April 2005, where he gets 16% of the vote. Lexis Nexis: Africa News, October 6, 2003. Apparently attempted a failed coup on 28 May, 2001 and fled to Uganda. Condemned in absentia to death, but amnestied.

Lexis Nexis, BBC, March 16, 1994. "11 March: The former president of the Central African Republic, General Andre Kolingba, was "struck off" the ranks of the army under a decree signed today by his successor, Ange-Felix Patasse, the national radio announced in Bangui."

CEN-1993 482 CEN Patasse 22/10/1993 15/03/2003

Ange-Félix Patassé. Rulers.org notes on him: "He worked for the department of agriculture from 1959 to 1965 and first entered government as rural development minister in 1966. He was appointed prime minister by Pres. Jean-Bédel Bokassa in September 1976, and joined Bokassa in converting to Islam in October, taking the name Mustapha Patassé, which he soon dropped again. He remained prime minister when Bokassa declared himself emperor in December 1976. Bokassa was overthrown by David Dacko in 1979. After Dacko was deposed in 1981, Patassé was accused of leading an unsuccessful coup and fled to Togo. He returned to the Central African Republic for elections held in 1992. The elections were ruled invalid by the Supreme Court and rescheduled for 1993. Patassé won the election, which was certified by a delegation of international observers. He was reelected in 1999. He survived a series of mutinies in the 1990s (put down with French help) and said he believed he was picked by God to lead the poor, landlocked state. Despite the republic's diamond mines he never found enough money even to pay his officials. In March 2003 he was overthrown and soon after fled the country. An international arrest warrant was issued in August 2003 for embezzlement of public funds of an amount of 70 billion CFA francs and other charges. Patassé, in exile in Togo, was chosen in November 2004 as the presidential candidate of his party for the 2005 elections, but he was disqualified. In August 2006 he was sentenced in absentia to 20 years' imprisonment with hard labour."

See, for more on him, ***Keesing's*** Vol. 42, November 1996. Several earlier coup attempts, put down with Libyan support. Rebels take over under Francois Bozizé, while Patassé attends regional summit in Nigeria. *The Independent* (London), March 17, 2003. For his eventual exile in Togo, see *The New York Times*, March 22, 2003, p. A5, "Africans Hail Coup Leader."

CEN-2003 482 CEN Francois Bozize 15/03/2003 31/12/2004

For his entry, see *The New York Times*, March 16, 2003, p. N.3 "Rebels Gain in Capital of Central African Republic." "BANGUI, Central African Republic, March 15 (AP) – Insurgents loyal to a former army chief captured the Central African Republic's airport, large swathes of its capital and several presidential residences today while the president was out of the country. Intense artillery and small-arms fire began at midafternoon as the rebels entered the capital, Bangui, from the north. The fighters identified themselves to residents as loyalists of a former army chief, François Bozizé, whose forces narrowly failed to capture the capital during fighting in October. . . . The attacks in this

coup-prone nation came while President Ange-Félix PatassÉ visited the capital of Niger for a meeting of African heads of state. By tonight, Mr. Patassé was in the Cameroon capital, Yaounde, where a large contingent of police officers was seen escorting him into the city's heavily guarded Hilton Hotel."

2.102 CHAD

CHA-1960 483 CHA Tombalbaye 11/08/1960 13/04/1975
Killed in a military coup. *The New York Times* 14 April, 1975, p. 2

CHA-1975 483 CHA Malloum 15/04/1975 23/03/1979
Félix Malloum, resigns as part of peace agreements with rebels, brokered by Nigeria, thus coded with foreign involvement. See *Los ANgeles Times*, March 21, 1979, p.A8. "French to Withdraw Troops From Chad as Factions Reach Accord." Also *The New York Times*, 25 March, 1979, p. 22, "President Malloum of Chad Quits And Leaves With Nigerian Aides." "LAGOS, Nigeria, March 24 (UPI) – President Felix Malloum of Chad resigned yesterday and flew here with members of a Nigerian delegation that negotiated an end to weeks of fighting in Chad, it was disclosed today."

For more details on military activity *Washington Post*, 25 March, 1979, p. A13. "Chad Officials Resign in Peace Agreement."

Could be considered a coup of Northerners against Southerners. See *The New York Times*, Jun. 19, 1979, p. A2. Flees on March 24.

Exile.

DELETED: Figurehead
CHA-1979-2 483 CHA Shawa 29/04/1979 22/08/1979
Lol Mahamat Shawa. For his entry, see *Los Angeles Times*, May 1, 1979, p. OC2 "News in Brief." May have been a figurehead. *Christian Science Monitor*, May 8, 1979, p. 4 "Chad opts for power sharing" notes: "Mr. Shawa . . . is not the most powerful man in Chad. That role belongs to Goukouni Weddeyeh, Interior Minister in the new government, and top man in the once Libyan-backed front for the National Liberation of Chad (FROLINAT)." Negotiations among rebel factions, goes to Paris in exile. See Lentz.

CHA-1979 483 CHA Oueddei 23/03/1979 07/06/1982
Goukouni Oueddei. Enters as a result of the Kano Peace Agreement, 23 March 1979. Regular entry. Steps down temporarily for Shawa, who heads a provisional government by the four rebel factions, but Oueddei remains the real power. *Christian Science Monitor*, May 8, 1979, p. 4 "Chad opts for power sharing" notes: "Mr. Shawa . . . is not the most powerful man in Chad. That role belongs to Goukouni Weddeyeh, Interior Minister in the new government, and top man in the once Libyan-backed front for the National Liberation of Chad (FROLINAT)."

Rulers.org notes a family relationship with an important previous leader: "He was one of the few sons of the Derdei, the spiritual and religious leader of the Toubou, who survived the civil war that began in 1967 in protest against the excesses of Pres. N'Garta Tombalbaye's government police. Oueddei indirectly shared his father's prestige; the latter's authority was unchallenged until his death, though he was for a time an exile in Libya. Oueddei's political career started in November 1976, when the Toubou guerrilla fighters of the National Liberation Front (Frolinat) chose him as their leader to replace his main rival, Hissne Habré. An ardent nationalist, Oueddei asserted Chad's independence

from interference by Nigeria, Sudan, Libya, and France, while attempting to use France to counter all the other foreign countries involved. In March 1979 he was appointed president of the new Provisional State Council and then, in May, minister of state responsible for the interior. On August 21 the leaders of the 11 principal political and ethnic factions, meeting in Lagos, Nigeria, signed an agreement on national reconciliation. Oueddei, who represented the Popular Armed Forces, one of the three major combatant groups, was to become president of a "Transitional Government of National Union" – the name being a clear indication of the extreme fragility of the country's political institutions. On September 3 an interim committee headed by Oueddei was set up to assure day-to-day government while negotiations proceeded. Finally, after a six-day gathering at Douguia, the composition of the new government was agreed upon on November 10. He was overthrown by Habré in 1982. Since then he lives in exile in Algiers, Algeria, except for a brief return in 1993 to take part in the Sovereign National Conference."

See Lentz. Under house arrest in Tripoli Libya in August 1985. For his exile, see *The New York Times*, June 23, 1982, p. B11. Overthrown when the capital falls to the rebels, *The New York Times* 8 June, 1982, p. 11. Placed under house arrest in Libya in July 1983, thus he was in exile.

CHA-1982 483 CHA Habre 19/06/1982 02/12/1990

Rulers.org notes "He was entrusted by Pres. N'Garta Tombalbaye with a confidential mission to Abba Siddick, leader of the rebel Chad National Liberation Front (Frolinat). He went over to Frolinat and became "leader of the Army of the North." In 1974 he first attracted international attention when he took hostage the French archaeologist Françoise Claustre, who was subsequently released on payment of a Fr 10 million ransom by the French government. He did not remain in command of Frolinat, however. In October 1976 he was ousted by another rebel leader, Goukouni Oueddei, with Libyan support. Habré, sometimes reported dead, escaped with some followers to The Sudan. He emerged in January 1978 as commander of part of Frolinat's forces, the Armed Forces of the North (FAN), and signed an accord with Pres. Félix Malloum at Khartoum, Sudan, leading to a cease-fire that was supported by Libya. However, this proved as ineffective as a cease-fire arranged in March between Oueddei and the Chad government, also with Libyan backing. On Aug. 29, 1978, he won sudden international respectability when Malloum appointed him premier of Chad. Habré resigned with Malloum in March 1979 after the Kano, Nigeria, agreement that put Oueddei at the head of a Transitional Government of National Union (GUNT). Habr was a minister in the GUNT until disagreement with Oueddei again forced him into exile in The Sudan. He returned at the head of the FAN in November 1981, when the final struggle for supremacy began. On June 7, 1982, the FAN entered the capital, N'Djamena; Habré was then in effective control of Chad, although the southern part of the country was not won over until September. He was overthrown in 1990 and went into exile in Senegal. In 2005 an investigating judge in Belgium charged Habré with crimes against humanity and torture and issued an international arrest warrant. He was arrested on November 15, but a Senegalese court disqualified itself from ruling on the Belgian government's request to extradite him on November 25; he was released and allowed to remain in Senegal until January 2006 when the African Union summit was to decide his fate. The summit set up a group of legal experts to consider the options for his trial; in July it was decided that he be tried in Senegal."

Hissène Habré flees as rebels take the capital, French forces stand by. *The New York*

Times 12-2-1990, p. 3. For his exile, first in Cameroon, see *The Washington Post*, December 2, 1990, p.a.29 "Chad Leader Flees; Rebels Enter City; France Organizing Evacuation Flights."

See also BBC New, 20 February 2009, "Ex-Chad leader faces court move." `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7901359.stm` "Belgium has lodged a case at the International Court of Justice seeking to compel Senegal to prosecute former Chadian President Hissene Habre. Mr Habre, who is accused of crimes against humanity, has lived in Senegal since being removed from power in 1990. He is accused of killing and torturing tens of thousands of opponents during his eight-year rule, charges he denies. The African Union has told N'Djamena to prosecute him, but it has reportedly said the procedure would be too costly. In August, Senegalese Justice Minister Madicke Niang said 18bn CFA francs ($35m) were likely to be needed to fund the trial. 'Universal jurisdiction' Mr Habre, sometimes dubbed "Africa's Pinochet", settled in Senegal after he was deposed in 1990 by Chadian President Idriss Deby. A commission of inquiry has said Mr Habre's government was responsible for some 40,000 politically motivated murders and 200,000 cases of torture. He denies knowledge of the crimes. Belgium has been pushing to have Mr Habre put on trial since a Belgian national of Chadian origin and several Chadian nationals filed complaints in Belgian courts between November 2000 and December 2001. Belgium's "universal jurisdiction" law allows prosecutions for crimes against humanity wherever they are committed. In September 2005, Belgium issued an international arrest warrant for the former Chadian leader relating to the activities of his intelligence service, which is accused of arbitrary arrests, mass murder and systematic torture. Mr Habre was arrested by the Senegalese authorities two months later, but a court ruled that he could not be tried there and rebuffed Belgium's extradition request. The African Union ordered Senegal to put Mr Habre on trial in 2006, but since then N'Djamena has said it is having financial difficulties. "Senegal's failure to prosecute Mr Habre, if he is not extradited to Belgium to answer for the acts of torture that are alleged against him, violates the [UN] Convention against Torture," Belgium said in documents filed on Thursday, according to the International Court of Justice (ICJ). The ICJ said Belgium was seeking an order compelling Senegal to put Mr Habre on trial, or else extradite him "so that he can answer for his crimes". Belgium also wants the court to take to take "all the steps within its power to keep Mr Habre under the control and surveillance of the judicial authorities of Senegal", so that he can not flee Senegal. Human Rights Watch (HRW) said Belgium's lawsuit move was an important step towards ensuring Mr Habre did not escape justice."

CHA-1990 483 CHA Deby 04/12/1990 31/12/2004

Idriss Déby. *The Washington Post*, December 2, 1990, p.a.29 "Chad Leader Flees; Rebels Enter City; France Organizing Evacuation Flights" notes "Guerrilla fighters marched into this capital after President Hissene Habre fled the country today, Western diplomats said. Habre and much of his government sought refuge in neighboring Cameroon, the diplomats said. The French government began organizing the evacuation of their citizens and other foreign nationals living in this north-central African nation, a former French colony. The Habre government had insisted that the three-week rebellion led by former armed forces chief Idriss Deby was being funded, armed and directed by Libya. Earlier this week the United States called the uprising "the latest example of Libya's ongoing efforts to destabilize legitimate governments." Libya has denied any involvement. The French government, which has about 1,000 foreign legionnaires stationed in Chad and

sent 150 paratroops to bolster the force, called the rebellion a personal vendetta between Deby and Habre. Deby helped Habre oust former president Goukouni Oueddei in 1982 but was charged with attempting a coup against Habre in April 1989. Deby escaped and established a base in eastern Sudan, from where he launched his offensive Nov. 10. It was not immediately known how many rebels marched into the city today, but they appeared to be advance patrols. The Agence France-Presse news agency, citing sources in Ndjamena, said Deby would march into the capital Sunday at the head of a force of guerrillas and government army deserters. Western diplomats in Ndjamena and high-ranking sources in Paris, all speaking on condition of anonymity, said Habre and his family fled to neighboring Cameroon in a military transport plane before dawn today. They said government ministers and their entourages escaped across a bridge into Cameroon, just west across the Chari River from Ndjamena. Alingue Bawayeu, president of Chad's National Assembly and apparently the highest-ranking government official left in Ndjamena, appealed for calm in an address on Radio Chad. Bawayeu, under the protection of French troops, said he was leading an interim government composed of National Assembly members and had opened negotiations with Deby. Troops deserted en masse after news spread of Habre's flight, and looting was reported in the capital."

2.103 CONGO

CON-1960 484 CON Youlou 15/08/1960 15/08/1963

Ousted after mob protests and riots, *The New York Times* 16 August, 1963, p. 1. "Youlou Forced Out By Brazzaville Mob." "BRAZZAVILLE, Congo Republic, Aug. 15– President Fulbert Youlou, bowing to a chanting mob that surrounded the Presidential palace, resigned today on the Congo Republic's third anniversary of independence from French rule. The Congolese Army, an African force commanded by Lieut. Col. René Jean of the French Army, took over as a provisional government." He was overthrown by labor leaders.

For his imprisonment, see *Los Angeles Times*, August 18, 1963, p.G11 "Trial of Ousted Congo Republic Chief Asked."

For his rise to power, see *The New York Times*, August 14, 1963, p. 4 "Successful Politicians." Before his election as Mayor of Brazzaville he was a Roman Catholic parish priest.

CON-1963 484 CON Debat 16/08/1963 04/09/1968

For his entry, see *The Washington Post*, August 18, 1963, p.A22 "New Brazzaville President Calls for Austerity Period." "BRAZZAVILLE, Congo Republic, Aug.17 (AP)–Provisional Premier Alphonse Massamba-Debat told his countrymen today that the nation will have to go through a period of austerity. . . . Massamba-Debat, who took over yesterday after the overthrow of President Fulbert Youlou, said after an emergency meeting that the country's budget deficit was considerable." The article notes he was a former school teacher.

Military stages coup on August 3rd but only later removes the president from office, *The New York Times* 5 September, 1968, p. 31. Retires to his native village. *The New York Times*, March 26, 1977, p. 7. Executed March 25, 1977, after being convicted of plotting the assassination of President Marien Ngouabi.

CON-1968 484 CON Raoul 04/09/1968 01/01/1969

The New York Times, Jan. 2, 1969, p.17 notes he remains Premier. He was a Major. Demoted in March 1972, for their parts in an abortive coup d'état of Feb 22, 1972. See *The New York Times*, March 26, 1972, p.4

CON-1969 484 CON Ngouabi 01/01/1969 18/03/1977

Killed in unsuccessful coup attempt, Lentz 1994, p. 193.

CON-1977 484 CON Opango 18/03/1977 05/02/1979

Resigns after criticizing the ruling party's economic policy. Since he has military rank and decision making power resides with the party's military committee, this will be coded as power struggle within the military, arrested and detained. Lentz 1994, p. 193.

CON-1979 484 CON Nguesso 08/02/1979 20/08/1992

Rulers.org notes "In 1975 the paratroop colonel became defense minister under Pres. Marien Ngouabi. He was a founder member of the Congolese Labour Party (PCT) in 1969 and during the 1970s fulfilled several important party functions. He came to power in 1979, when a PCT party congress appointed him president to replace the stridently anti-Marxist Joachim Yhombi-Opango, who lost control by alienating the left. Sassou

conformed to the party line in public while firmly anchoring Congo's economy to the West. After a wave of strikes and street protests, he was forced to approve a national conference to chart the country's path to multiparty elections, with the PCT forced to fight for its political life after an unbroken rule of over 20 years. The conference gradually undermined Sassou's authority, electing an interim prime minister and reducing Sassou to a figurehead; all executive powers were transferred to the premier and he was removed from command of the armed forces. His presidency came to an end when he was knocked out in the first round of the 1992 election. His Cobra militia fought loyalists of Pres. Pascal Lissouba in 1993-94 clashes. Sassou subsequently left for France, returning home in January 1997 planning to contest presidential elections due to be held in July. The poll was derailed and fighting began after government soldiers surrounded his home on June 5 as part of a pre-poll crackdown on private militia. He emerged victorious in October and became president again. He was confirmed in elections in 2002, which his main opponents were barred from contesting. He was chairman of the Organization of African Unity in 1986-87 and of the African Union in 2006-07."

Denis Sassou-Nguesso was a general. See `http://www.ikuska.com/Africa/Historia/biografias/biografias_r.htm#sasso`: "En 1993, apoyado por su milicia "Cobra", se levantó militarmente contra el Presidente iniciando una guerra civil que acabaría con la vida de más de 2.000 personas antes de que se firmara la paz en 1994. Abandonó el país y se refugió en Francia, de donde volvió en enero de 1997 para presentarse a las elecciones presidenciales que iban a celebrarse en julio de ese mismo año. Pero el 5 de junio, las tropas del Presidente Lissouba rodearon la casa de Sassou abortando la posibilidad de unas elecciones democráticas. Las fuerzas de Sassou ganaron en octubre y fue nombrado de nuevo Presidente del Congo, a la vez que Lissouba se exiliaba en Londres. El 10 de marzo de 2002 es reelegido con el 89% de los votos contra el 2.7% de su contrincate, Joseph Kignoumbi Kia Mboungou."

For his exit, see *The New York Times*, October 17, 1997, p. A11 "In Brazzaville, a Triumphant Rebel Mocks His Ousted Enemy." The article notes "Under pressure from trade unions and other opponents to open the political system, General Sassou-Nguesso agreed in 1991 to the convening of a "national conference," a reform-minded gathering of leading citizens that stripped him of most of his power and organized national elections. Having been disavowed by the population, General Sassou-Nguesso, a northerner, threw his support to a coalition backing Mr. Lissouba, a southerner and former Prime Minister who won the presidency in the country's first democratic election in 1992."

CON-1992 484 CON Lissouba 31/08/1992 15/10/1997

For his entry and exit, see Rulers.org which notes "His Pan-African Union for Social Democracy, the largest party in the national assembly, provided him with a stepping stone to becoming the country's first democratically elected president in 1992. He initially enjoyed the support of Sassou, but relations between the two men soured. The ethnic and personal rivalry that underpins politics in the Congo boiled over into bloody clashes after a disputed 1993 parliamentary poll. At least 2,000 people died in Brazzaville as Lissouba supporters fought militia loyal to 1992 runner-up Bernard Kollas and to Sassou. Gabon's Pres. Omar Bongo and UN special envoy Mohamed Sahnoun brokered a peace deal in 1994. Both Lissouba and Sassou planned to contest presidential elections on July 27, 1997. But on June 5, Lissouba's troops surrounded Sassou's home in a crackdown on private militia. Fighting ensued that derailed the planned election. Lissouba's own

Koykoy and Mamba militia fought alongside his supporters in the army, as they did in 1993-94, but Sassou's forces won in October. Lissouba went into exile in London. In 1999 he was convicted in absentia for an assassination plot against Sassou-Nguesso and sentenced to 20 years in prison. In December 2001 he was further convicted on treason and corruption charges and sentenced to 30 years hard labour. Since September 2004 he lives in Paris."

For his exit, see *The New York Times*, October 17, 1997, p. A11 "In Brazzaville, a Triumphant Rebel Mocks His Ousted Enemy." The article notes "Under pressure from trade unions and other opponents to open the political system, General Sassou-Nguesso agreed in 1991 to the convening of a "national conference," a reform-minded gathering of leading citizens that stripped him of most of his power and organized national elections. Having been disavowed by the population, General Sassou-Nguesso, a northerner, threw his support to a coalition backing Mr. Lissouba, a southerner and former Prime Minister who won the presidency in the country's first democratic election in 1992."

CON-1997 484 CON Nguesso 15/10/1997 31/12/2004

Denis Sassou-Nguesso returns to power. See also above for his previous term in office.

2.104 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO/ZAIRE

DRC-1960-1 490 DRC Lumumba 30/06/1960 14/09/1960
Ousted in a military coup, *The New York Times* 15 September, 1960, p. 1. Later murdered.

DRC-1960-2 490 DRC Mobutu 14/09/1960 20/09/1960
See Lentz.

DRC-1960-3 490 DRC Kasavubu 20/09/1960 25/11/1965
Removed in a military coup, *The New York Times* 25 November, 1965, p. 1.

DRC-1965 490 DRC Mobutu 25/11/1965 16/05/1997
Mobutu fled following the onslaught of Kabila's forces. *Washington Post* 17 May, 1997, p. A.01.

DRC-1997 490 DRC Laurent Kabila 16/05/1997 16/01/2001
Killed by bodyguard Rashidi Kasereka. Unresolved speculation if he acted as part of wider coup plans. Military tribunal later on tries and sentences alleged conspirators, some to death. *The Daily Telegraph* (LONDON), 23 January, 2001, p. 14; *The Guardian* (London) 8 Jaunary, 2003, p. 11.

DRC-2001 490 DRC Joseph Kabila 17/01/2001 31/12/2004
Son of Laurent Kabila. He took over after his father's assassination.

2.105 UGANDA

Additional source (with thanks to Ursula Daxecker): Gertzel, Cherry. 1980. "Uganda after Amin: The Continuing Search for Leadership and Control." *African Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 317. (Oct., 1980), pp. 461-489.

UGA-1962 500 UGA Obote 09/10/1962 25/01/1971

Military coup by Amin, asylum in Tanzania. *The New York Times* 26 January, 1971, p. 1.

UGA-1971 500 UGA Amin 25/01/1971 11/04/1979

Idi Amin Dada. He was removed by Tanzanian invasion, exile into Libya. *Washington Post* 11 April, 1979, p. A22.

UGA-1979-1 500 UGA Yusuf Lule 13/4/1979 20/6/1979

For leaders 1979-85 after Amin, see Tindigarukayo (1988). Lule had been driven into exile by Amin. Had been a former minister in the colonial government and chairman of the Public Service Commission and Vice Chancellor of Makerer University. See Gertzel, Cherry. 1980. "Uganda after Amin: The Continuing Search for Leadership and Control." *African Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 317. (Oct., 1980), pp. 461-489; pp. 468, 485-6. Has entry date 13/4. Not imposed by Tanzania. He was elected by the UNLF, thanks to support from Colonel Tito Ikello, Obote's commander. Gertzel, p. 472: "Lule's withdrawal did not however resolve the question or settle satisfactorily where power lay. On the one hand, the appeal to legality was largely irrelevant since it was Tanzania's refusal to support him, rather than recognition of the Council's claim to supremacy, which actually forced Lule out of office. Thus Godfrey Binaisa, having assumed the presidency, survived in the first place because of his own political skills, but also because Tanzania was unwilling, it seemed, on a second occasion, to support a particular group in the continuing contest for control. [Fn. 53. ... See also Weekly Review, 6 and 20 July 1979, for Lule's account of his enforced stay in Dar es Salaam following his removal from State House."

`http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/april/14/newsid_2524000/2524553.stm`, has entry date 14/4. Rulers.org: "Lule, Yusufu K(ironde) (b. April 10, 1912, Kampala, Buganda, Uganda - d. Jan. 21, 1985, London, England), president of Uganda (1979). From 1955 he was one of three African ministers in the colonial government, and in 1962 he became chairman of the Uganda Public Service Commission. In 1964 he became principal at Makerere, a constituent college of the University of East Africa. In 1970 Makerere became an independent university under the direct control of Pres. Milton Obote, with whom Lule had political differences. Lule left Uganda for England, where he served as assistant secretary-general in charge of education on the Commonwealth Secretariat for two years. He then spent seven years as secretary-general of the Association of African Universities. In March 1979 he became the head of the Uganda National Liberation Front, a coalition of forces opposed to Ugandan dictator Idi Amin. Following the Tanzanian-backed invasion of Uganda and Amin's overthrow, Lule was chosen to lead a provisional administration. Sworn in as president on April 13, he soon encountered difficulties because of his refusal to include supporters of Obote in his government and his failure to consult with others. After a vote of no confidence by the National Consultative Council, he resigned and was replaced on June 20 by Godfrey L. Binaisa. He returned to exile in London. After Obote became president again in

December 1980, Lule was an outspoken opponent of Obote's government. In 1981 he became chairman of the National Resistance Movement, the political wing of the National Resistance Army, which was engaged in guerrilla operations in Uganda."

Keesing's Vol. 25, September 1979, records "By this time [June, HG] it was widely believed that Professor was being held in Tanzania against his will. ...On JUuly 8, however, Professor Lule left Tanzania for London, where he arrived the next day. " For Lule's exit, also see Chicago Tribune, June 21, 1979, p. B12. "Uganda Repalces President."

UGA-1979-2 500 UGA Binaisa 20/06/1979 12/05/1980

Godfrey Binaisa. Born, May 30, 1920. Rulers.org: "Unlike many of Obote's critics, Binaisa was not among those who welcomed Idi Amin's coup in 1971. He was forced into exile and began a law practice in New York City, which he used as a base to campaign against Amin's rule. After the overthrow of General Amin in April 1979, Uganda needed an experienced and impartial leader capable of firmly reestablishing law and order and of binding up the tribal and religious wounds inflicted during years of tyrannical rule. When the first man chosen to take Amin's place as president, Yusufu Lule, proved unequal to this difficult task, he was replaced in June by Binaisa. He returned to Uganda on April 13, 2001, after more than 10 years of self-imposed exile in the United States." He was overthrown in a military coup on May 10, 1980, *The New York Times* 13May 1980, p. A1. Returned to Uganda in 2002 from self-imposed exile in New York where he was a practicing lawyer.

From Gertzel, p. 473: "From the beginning of the new year, however, relations between President and Council became increasingly hostile. It was not therefore altogether surprising when in May the former [Binaisa, HG] was removed, this time by the Military Commission of the Front acting independently of the Council." Also see, ***Keesing's*** Vol. 26, November 1980.

While exit thus clearly is irregular, for entry see: *Los Angeles Times*, Jun 21, 1979, p. B4 "President Ousted ..." records, Godfrey Binaisa, a former attorney general was chosen as president by the Uganda National Liberation Front, a group of about 25 exile factions whose unity began disintegrating two months ago, soon after they and the Tanzanian military ousted Amin. The National Consultative Council, the ruling coalition's top policy-making arm, which is also the temporary legislature, named Binaisa after Lule was forced to step down in a dispute over cabinet appointments."

UGA-1980-1 500 UGA Paulo Muwanga 18/05/1980 17/12/1980

Served in Obote's government as minister of defense and vice president. Arrested in 1986, and imprisoned until October 1990. Muwanga was Chair of the Presidential Commission, 22/5/1980 until 15/12/1980

UGA-1980-2 500 UGA Obote 17/12/1980 27/07/1985

Military coup, exile in Kenya. *Washington Post* 28 July, 1985, p. A1.

UGA-1985 500 UGA Okello 29/07/1985 29/01/1986

Rulers.org notes: "He joined the King's African Rifles in 1940 and served as a corporal with the colonial forces in Somaliland during World War II. After the Somaliland campaign he underwent further military training in Kenya. Promoted to the rank of sergeant, he went to Burma at the close of the war. He finally returned to Uganda in 1955 and

was given officer's rank when the country became independent seven years later. After independence he enjoyed rapid promotion and became army chief of staff in 1970. When Idi Amin seized power in 1971, Okello immediately went into exile in Tanzania and, with Milton Obote, played a major role in keeping alive the opposition to Amin's rule. In 1979 he led the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA), which, with the support of the Tanzanian military, succeeded in ending Amin's rule. He was made commander of the Ugandan armed forces. Though well past retirement age and no longer physically fit, Okello was retained in his post by Obote because of his past loyalty, his army seniority, and the fact of his being from the Acholi tribe, which made up at least half of the army's strength. Okello was one of the very last men whom Obote would have suggested of being disloyal to him. However, after the Acholi soldiers – dissatisfied over recent army promotions – decided to mutiny under the leadership of Brig. Basilio Okello (no relation), Tito Okello was invited to take over the country's leadership (July 1985). Six months later, he was overthrown by Yoweri Museveni, who had waged a 5-year bush war against Obote. Okello fled to southern Sudan with the remnants of his army. He returned home in 1993 under an amnesty granted by Museveni."

Rebels take capital by force, *The New York Times*, 30 January, 1986. He surrenders to Museveni, absolved of crimes by troops under his command.

UGA-1986 500 UGA Museveni 29/01/1986 31/12/2004

BBC News' `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8094012.stm` "After years in the bush fighting a rebellion, ex-army officer Yoweri Museveni led his National Resistance Army into Kampala in January 1986 to seize power. He toppled Basilio Okello, who had himself overthrown Milton Obote in a military coup six months earlier. Mr Museveni has also won three elections, but only last time, in 2006, were candidates allowed to run on a party-political basis."

2.106 KENYA

KEN-1963 501 KEN Kenyatta 12/12/1963 22/08/1978
He died in his sleep.

KEN-1978 501 KEN Moi 22/08/1978 30/12/2002

KEN-2002 501 KEN Mwai Kibaki 31/12/2002 31/12/2004

2.107 TANZANIA/TANGANYIKA

TAZ-1961 510 TAZ Nyerere 09/11/1961 05/11/1985
See Lentz. Degree in economics at the University of Edinburgh. Remained chairman of the Revolutionary party of Tanzania until August 1990.

TAZ-1985 510 TAZ Mwinyi 05/11/1985 05/11/1995

TAZ-1995 510 TAZ Mkapa 05/11/1995 31/12/2004
Electoral fraud alleged in 1995 and 2000.

2.108 ZANZIBAR

ZAN-1961 511 ZAN Shamte Hamadi 05/06/1961 12/01/1964

Rebels from the African majority population sweep the Arabic Sultan out of power. *The New York Times* 13 January, 1964, p. 1. Five year detention, jailed.

ZAN-1964 511 ZAN Kassim Hanga 12/01/1964 27/04/1964

Coup, then merges with Tanzania. For entry, see Chicago Tribune, Jan. 13, 1964, p. 1. Is she or Karume the effective leader? We go with Hanga, see *The New York Times*, June 3, 1964, p.9. Hanga is PM, Karume is President. See *The New York Times*, April 25, 1964, p.16. Becomes minister in Julius Nyerere's government. (Nyerere put Zanzibar under the direct authority of its former president, Abeid Amani Karume.

2.109 BURUNDI

BUI-1962 516 BUI Mwambutsa 01/07/1962 08/07/1966

Lentz: Survived a rebellion by members of the Hutu tribe in 1965. He was deposed by his son, while out of the country. Lentz 1994, p.124. He remained in exile in Geneva, where he died on April 26, 1977.

BUI-1966-1 516 BUI Ntare 08/07/1966 28/11/1966

Prince Charles Ndizeye, later King Ntare. Son of Mwambutsa. He is first deposed by military coup while out of the country. New York Times 29 November, 1966, p. 1. Later executed after a new coup attempt.

BUI-1966-2 516 BUI Micombero 28/11/1966 01/11/1976

Lentz. Exile in Somalia after a peaceful coup by the military. New York Times 3 November, 1976, p. 40.

BUI-1976 516 BUI Bagaza 09/11/1976 03/09/1987

See *The New York Times*, Oct. 22, 1993, p.A3. Military leader is overthrown by military coup while away at international conference, *Washington Post* 4 September, 1987, p. A27. Exile in Belgium.

BUI-1987 516 BUI Buyoya 03/09/1987 10/07/1993

For Pierre Buyoya's post-exit fate, see *The New York Times*, July 30, 1996, p. A4, which reports he "left gracefully, setting up the Foundation for Peace, Unity and Democracy."

BUI-1993-1 516 BUI Ndadaye 10/07/1993 21/10/1993

Melchior Ndadaye won elections, was ousted in a military coup. See *The New York Times*, 22 October, 1993, p. 3. Encyclopedia Britannica says he was killed in the coup. *The New York Times*, October 23, 1993, p. 6 "Burundi Seals Borders as 30,000 Flee Coup" notes that "Mr. Ndadaye, a 40-year-old former banker, was elected in June in Burundi's first free multiparty elections, becoming the first member of the Hutu majority and the first man without a military background to assume the presidency since independence from Belgium in 1962."

For the coup, see *The Christian Science Monitor*, October 22, 1993, p. 6 "Military Coup In Burundi Dissolves New Democracy." "Four months after presidential elections broke a 30-year minority grip on power in Burundi, the minority-controlled military launched a coup yesterday and reportedly captured the country's new president. ... In June elections that international observers judged to be fail Melchior Ndadaye led a successful drive of the majority Hutu to oust the Tutsi minority regime of Pierre Buyoya. ... Radio Kigali reported that some 100 paratroopers seized the president's residence with four tanks of the 11th Armored Division. President Ndadaye and several of his top aides were reported to be under arrest. In a Monitor interview in August, Ndadaye acknowledged his country faced a potential coup. ... The coup was reportedly led by former military head of state Jean-Baptiste Bagaza." See also *The New York Times*, October 22, p. A3 "Leader of Burundi Killed in a Coup by an Ethnic Rival." For confirmation that Ndadaye was killed, see also *The New York Times*, October 25, 1993, p.

A11 "President of Burundi Was Killed In Coup, Leaders of the Army Say." Confirmation is in *The New York Times*, October 25, 1993, p. A11 " President of Burundi Was Killed In Coup, Leaders of the Army Say."

The *Washington Post*, July 26, 1996, p. A.01 "Army Seizes Power in Burundi; Ex-Ruler Replaces Leader Hiding in U.S. Envoy's Home" records that the coup was unsuccessful.

BUI-1993-2 516 BUI Ngeze 21/10/1993 27/10/1993

François Ngeze, also spelled Ngueze. For his entry, see *The New York Times*, Oct. 22, 1993, p.A3. Coup allegedly masterminded by Bagaza. Ngeze was Interior Minister.

For his entry, see The *Washington Post*, Oct. 23, 1993, p. A. 18. The person behind the coup, probably also army chief of staff, Lt. Col. Jean Bikomagu. The *Washington Post*, Oct. 24, 1993, p. A.39: "Francois Ngeze, named by the military as new head of state, said on state-run Burundi Radio that he had been forced to support the paratroopers who ousted Ndadaye. "Around midday on Thursday, I was taken by force by soldiers to solve the question of security of our country," Ngeze said."

For his ouster, see *Times - Picayune*, Oct. 29, 1993, p. A.18: "Radio Burundi said Ngeze had been placed under house arrest by police and that 15 army officers who took part in the coup had fled the country to escape arrest. The military had been seeking amnesty for the soldiers, a proposal firmly rejected by the prime minister and her supporters."

For the collapse of the coup, see *The Christian Science Monitor*, October 29, 1993, p. 9 "Burundi Army Learns Democracy Has Roots." "The state-controlled Radio Burundi reported yesterday that the military putsch had collapse. The democratically elected government is preparing to resume control. Observers say that many in the military now realize that they cannot resist the pull of democratization in the country. The military, though dominated by the minority Tutsi ethnic group, proved not to as monolithic as it appeared. The Army coup plotters who seized power in Burundi Oct. 21, ran into stiff opposition from all angles: the public, the international community, and the military itself. "The made a coup without taking into account the change in the world," says Mutombo Mulami of the Nairobi-based All Africa Council of Churches. Previous military coups and ethnic massacres in Burundi since independence in 1962 brought little world attention or condemnation, Mr. Mulami says. Not this time. Foreign governments quickly condemned the coup. Donors cut aid.... In the Burundi capital, Bujumbura, some senior Army officers have been distancing themselves from the coup plotters. Calling themselves the "legalists," they have been speaking on state-run Television and radio, denouncing the coup and calling for the government's return. Burundi Communications Minister Jean-Marie Ngendahayo, interviewed in August, offered another reason why coups in Burundi may not be as simple as before. Many i the military realize "they can't stop the process of democratization," because the Hutus, who comprise 85 percent of the population, will rise up against them"

See also *The New York Times*, October 24, 1993, p. 10 "Troops in Burundi Seek Amesty." "KIGALI, Rwanda, Oct. 23 (Reuters) – Burundi's army chief said today that the troops who took part in a coup on Thursday were ready to surrender power in return for an amnesty. "The military men have accepted that the Government rules again, buti should examine the question of amnesty for those who participated in the coup," the army chief, Liet. Co. Jean Bikomagu, told the Burundi Radio, monitored in neighboring

Rwanda. François Ngeze, a former Interior Minister who was named head of state by the military rulers, told the Burundi Radio that he had been forced to take a leadership role in the coup. "Around midday I was taken by force by soldiers to solve the question of security of our country," he told the radio. "In some areas we have managed to restore security and all we want now is that the fundamental law of the country be restored.""

On the questionable status of his control see *The New York Times*, October 25, 1993, p. A11 " President of Burundi Was Killed In Coup, Leaders of the Army Say." ""It is very difficult to say who has power now," the Prime Minister [= Sylvie Kinigi] told the reporters at the embassy. "The army does not seem to want to lose it. I have no military, no police force, and no control of the media. I have nothing." The Prime Minister said she believed that the coup leaders had panicked when they realized they that [*sic*] were faced with a popular uprising by Burundians who overwhelmingly voted for Mechior [*sic*] Ndadaye, a Hutu, as their first elected President in June. She asserted that 60 percent of the army was still loyal to her and that the coup had been organized by officers mainly from the Burure Province, home to many of the Tutsi aristocracy that for many generations has rules Burundi, a landlocked nation of about 6 million people. ... Those accused of leading the coup, meanwhile, have sought to distance themselves from its aftermath. The army chief, Lieut. Col. Bikomagu, who has denied any role in the coup, told the Burundi Radio, that soldiers who toppled Mr. Ndadaye were ready to surrender in return for an amnesty. Jean-Baptiste Bagazu, who governed Burundi from 1976 to 1987 and who recently returned from exile, told the Belgian radio that the coup did not have sufficient support, saying: "Contrary to what you might believe abroad, the coup has failed. There was, of course, the assassination of President Ndadaye, but there was no other government to replace his. The coup leaders did not have the support of the population nor of the entire army."

BUI-1993-3 516 BUI Kinigi 27/10/1993 05/02/1994

BBC, February 10, 1995. Female. "Kinigi escaped death by taking refuge at the French embassy in Bujumbura in October 1993. ... Kinigi, who has returned to her banking profession, is attending "Audience Africa", a five-day development forum."

BUI-1994-1 516 BUI Ntarymira 05/02/1994 06/04/1994

He died in plane crash. The plane crash is widely known to have been an assassination. *Washington Post* 4/7/1994, p. A18.

BUI-1994-2 516 BUI Ntibantunganya 06/04/1994 25/07/1996

Sylvestre Ntibantunganya was overthrown in a military coup in July 1996. The *Washington Post*, July 26, 1996, p. A.01 "Army Seizes Power in Burundi; Ex-Ruler Replaces Leader Hiding in U.S. Envoy's Home" records, "The coup d'état was widely expected since President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, a Hutu civilian, fled to the U.S. ambassador's home Tuesday evening, citing fears for his life. Although bloodless, the takeover effectively destroyed a fragile experiment in democratic coalition government in this central African country, which long has been riven by ethnic hatred between its dominant Tutsi minority and an 85 percent Hutu majority. Defense Minister Firmin Sinzoyiheba, in a radio broadcast announcing the military takeover, declared the National Assembly and political parties suspended. He said demonstrations and strikes are illegal. The minister said retired major Pierre Buyoya, a Tutsi who headed an earlier military government, has

been named interim head of state because in the past he had "tried to unify Burundi and he tried to put democracy in place." The coup marked the fourth successful overthrow of a Burundian regime since the country's independence from Belgium in 1962. Buyoya, 46, reputed to be a relative moderate in Burundi's ethnic crucible, became president for the first time in 1987, when the military toppled the head of state. After overseeing Burundi's first free elections in 1993, Buyoya turned over power to Melchior Ndadaye, a Hutu. Ndadaye was slain in an unsuccessful military coup the same year; his successor, Cyprien Ntaryamira, died in an unexplained plane crash in 1994 and was replaced by Ntibantunganya. ...In his broadcast statement, Sinzoyiheba said the army decided to move because Ntibantunganya had "effectively resigned" by fleeing to Hughes's home and because genocide is "prevailing" in Burundi. Members of the president's party, the Front for Democracy in Burundi, said Ntibantunganya went into hiding in part because a top military official told him the army could no longer guarantee his safety."

He is given refuge in the home of the ambassador, not, apparently, the embassy, thus not exile. For him being OK, but in hiding, see Jean Baptiste Kayigamba. Inter Press Service. New York: Jun 11, 1997. pg. 1. "DEPOSED PRESIDENT COMES OUT OF HIDING" "Copyright Global Information Network Jun 11, 1997 KIGALI, June 11 (IPS) – The emergence of deposed Burundi President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya from hiding could mark a new phase in the troubled political history of the Central African nation. Ntibantunganya came out of hiding on June 7, nearly 11 months after he was ousted on July 25, 1996 in an army coup that brought ex-military ruler Major Pierre Buyoya back into power. The coup occurred two days after Ntibantunganya sought refugee at the U.S. Ambassador's residence in the capital Bujumbura amid growing chaos and an escalating rebellion by members of the country's Hutu majority. He had stayed in the residence for months, despite promises by the military regime to guarantee his safety. "If he left his hiding place, it is because he certainly felt that there has been a positive evolution of the situation, that things have stabilized," one Western diplomat in the capital, Bujumbura, told IPS. "One can guess that his hosts also played an important role in convincing him to go out." "The first thing to do after this long time in hiding is to thank the U.S. Ambassador to Burundi," Ntibantunganya declared after his re-emergence. He also praised the U.S. government and his relatives, whom he said had given him moral support."

BUI-1996 516 BUI Buyoya 25/07/1996 30/04/2003
For his entry, see *The New York Times*, July 27, 1996, p.3

BUI-2003 516 BUI Ndayizeye 30/04/2003 31/12/2004
BBC News, Monday, 15 January 2007. "Court frees ex-Burundi president." Former Burundi leader Domitien Ndayizeye and four others have been acquitted on charges of plotting to assassinate the president. Two others were convicted and sentenced to 15 and 20 years in prison. Mr Ndayizeye was leader under a power-sharing agreement intended to end years of ethnic conflict, before stepping down in 2005 after elections.

Diplomats criticised Mr Ndayizeye's arrest. The man convicted of organising the plot had alleged he was tortured. Ex-rebel leader Alain Mugabarabona was sentenced to serve 20 years in prison. Last August, he told local radio stations by phone from his prison cell that he was threatened with death. "This coup story has been invented by the Documentation Nationale," said Mr Mugabarabona , referring to Burundi's powerful presidential

police and intelligence service. “Everything I accused former President Domitien Ndayizeye, former Vice-President Alphonse-Marie Kadege and the others of was extorted by torture and threats,” said the official of the rebel National Liberation Forces (FNL). Mr Ndayizeye was succeeded by Pierre Nkurunziza, a former rebel leader who was elected by a landslide.”

2.110 RWANDA

RWA-1961 517 RWA Kayibanda 26/10/1961 05/07/1973
Military coup, house arrest. *The New York Times* 6 July, 1973, p. 3.

RWA-1973 517 RWA Habyarimana 05/07/1973 06/04/1994
Habyarimana dies in a suspicious plane crush. The plane crash is widely known to have been an assassination. *Washington Post* 4/7/1994, p. A18.

RWA-1994-1 517 RWA Sindikubwabo 06/04/1994 19/07/1994
The *New York Times*, December 18, 2008, "Rwandan Convicted of Genocide" (`http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/19/world/africa/19rwanda.html?hp` reports: "The court said that Colonel Bagosora had been "the highest authority in the Rwandan Defense Ministry with authority over the military" in the days after the death of President Juvenal Habyarimana on April 6, 1994. ... On April 7, 1994 — the day after the air crash — Col. Bagosora was responsible for the killing of the Rwandan prime minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana; the president of the Constitutional Court, Joseph Davaruganda; and three top opposition figures: Frederic Nzamurambaho, Landoald Ndasingwa and Faustin Rucogoza, the court ruled."
The Guardian (London), December 13, 1995, *The Guardian* Foreign Page, p. 11, notes that Sindikubwabo have been living in Zaire. For his exile, see also the BBC, May 18, 1995. He achieved power in civil unrest erupting after Presidents plane was likely shot down.

RWA-2000 517 RWA Paul Kagame 19/07/1994 31/12/2004
Formerly we had Bizimungu in from 19/07/1994 until 23/03/2000.
Keesing's Vol. 50, June 2004. "Former President Pasteur Bizimungu was sentenced on June 7 to 15 years' imprisonment having been found guilty of embezzlement, inciting civil disobedience, and criminal association. He was cleared, however, of the main charge of threatening state security and thereby avoided the life term sought by the prosecution. Former Social Affairs Minister Charles Ntakirutinka received a 10-year sentence for inciting civil disobedience and criminal association and six others received five-year prison terms. Bizimungu, a moderate Hutu, had been installed as a figurehead leader after the 1994 genocide. He had been one of the few Hutus to have joined the mostly Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) when it was formed by exiles in Uganda. He had resigned as President in 2000 after falling out with his then deputy, current President Paul Kagame [see p. 43444]. After his resignation from office, Bizimungu became a vocal critic of Kagame's RPF-led government and in mid-2001 he was placed under house arrest after forming a new political party [see pp. 44143; 44198]. Bizimungu was arrested again in April 2002 [see p. 44714], the charges stemming from accusations that he and Ntakirutinka had fuelled hostility against the Tutsi minority which took power after the genocide."
Keesing's Vol. 47, May 2001, "It was reported on May 31 that former President Pasteur Bizimungu had been placed under house arrest [for resignation of Bizimungu see p. 43444]. Bizimungu had been about to announce the formation of a new political party." More than a year after his loss of office. He resigned in protest over Parliament's use of an anticorruption campaign to attack Hutu cabinet members.

DELETED: because a figurehead.

RWA-1994-2 517 RWA Bizimungu 19/07/1994 23/03/2000

Keesing's Vol. 50, June 2004. "Former President Pasteur Bizimungu was sentenced on June 7 to 15 years' imprisonment having been found guilty of embezzlement, inciting civil disobedience, and criminal association. He was cleared, however, of the main charge of threatening state security and thereby avoided the life term sought by the prosecution. Former Social Affairs Minister Charles Ntakirutinka received a 10-year sentence for inciting civil disobedience and criminal association and six others received five-year prison terms. Bizimungu, a moderate Hutu, had been installed as a figurehead leader after the 1994 genocide. He had been one of the few Hutus to have joined the mostly Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) when it was formed by exiles in Uganda. He had resigned as President in 2000 after falling out with his then deputy, current President Paul Kagame [see p. 43444]. After his resignation from office, Bizimungu became a vocal critic of Kagame's RPF-led government and in mid-2001 he was placed under house arrest after forming a new political party [see pp. 44143; 44198]. Bizimungu was arrested again in April 2002 [see p. 44714], the charges stemming from accusations that he and Ntakirutinka had fuelled hostility against the Tutsi minority which took power after the genocide."

Keesing's Vol. 47, May 2001, "It was reported on May 31 that former President Pasteur Bizimungu had been placed under house arrest [for resignation of Bizimungu see p. 43444]. Bizimungu had been about to announce the formation of a new political party." More than a year after his loss of office. He resigned in protest over Parliament's use of an anticorruption campaign to attack Hutu cabinet members.

For his release, see BBC New, 6 April 2007, "Rwanda ex-leader freed from jail." "Former Rwandan President Pasteur Bizimungu has been released from jail after being given a presidential pardon three years into a 15-year sentence. He had been found guilty of trying to form a militia, inciting ethnic violence and embezzlement. Mr Bizimungu became president in 1994, after the genocide in which 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were killed. But he resigned after falling out with rebel leader Paul Kagame, who later took over as president."

2.111 SOMALIA

SOM-1960 520 SOM Osman Daar 01/07/1960 10/07/1967

Arrested after coup of October 1969. See Lentz. "He stepped down from office after completing his term on July 10, 1967. He was elected to the National Assembly, where he served until the military coup of 1969. Osman Daar was arrested by the military government and was detained until April of 1973."

SOM-1967 520 SOM Shermarke 10/07/1967 15/10/1969

Assassinated by police officers while touring Northern Somalia. *The New York Times*, 16 October, 1969, p. 1. "Policeman Slays Somali President." He earned a doctorate in political science from Rome University in 1958. For the claim that no motive was found, see *The Washington Post*, October 16, 1969, p. A28. "Assassin Kills President of Somalia."

SOM-1969 520 SOM Siad Barre 21/10/1969 26/01/1991

Rulers.org notes: "He belonged to the small Marehan clan of the Darod clan group in the south. He joined the Somali police force after the British took control in 1941 and rose to the post of chief inspector. When Somalia was returned to Italian sovereignty in 1950, Barre was sent to the military academy in Italy. He transferred to the Somali national army when it was formed (1960), and by 1966 he held the rank of major general and had become commander in chief. After taking state power in a bloodless military coup against the elected government in October 1969, Barre made himself head of a Supreme Revolutionary Council and imposed autocratic rule through a personality cult and the harsh enforcement of an official ideology called "Scientific Socialism." He strengthened relations with the Soviet Union, officially outlawed clan loyalties (while using clan elders to establish order in rural areas), and promoted literacy with a newly introduced Roman alphabet. He later renounced his ties with the Soviets and sought U.S. aid, but allegations of human rights abuses hurt his international standing. He was OAU chairman in 1974-75. By 1990 fighting among clans and between clan militias and the government forced Barre to promise reforms, including free elections. He was forced out of office in January 1991 and in 1992 went into exile in Nigeria."

Ousted by guerrillas, who take the capital by force, *Washington Post* 1/28/1991, p. A6. Exile in Kenya, then Nigeria.

SOM-2000 520 SOM Abdiqasim Salad Hassan

Abdiqasim Salad Hassan 23/08/2000 31/12/2002. Limited control over territory.

2.112 DJIBOUTI

DJI-1977 522 DJI Gouled Aptidon 27/06/1977 08/05/1999
For his retirement, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 46, March 2000.

DJI-1999 522 DJI Guelleh 08/05/1999 31/12/2004
Keesing's Vol. 45, April 1999. Is chief of staff of outgoing pres. Aptidon.

2.113 ETHIOPIA

ETH-1871 530 ETH Yohannes IV 11/07/1871 09/03/1889
Emperor after civil war; assassinated.

ETH-1889 530 ETH Menelek II 09/03/1889 15/05/1911
Gains power in war following succession crisis. Son of Haile Malakot, King of Shoa; not related to Yohannes IV.

ETH-1911 530 ETH Joshua (Lij Yasu) 15/05/1911 27/09/1916
Grandson of Menelek, regular succession; deposed. Son of Menelek II's daughter Shewa Regga and Ras Mikael of Wello.

ETH-1916 530 ETH Judith (Zanditu) 27/09/1916 03/04/1930
Female. Monarchy: made empress after Lij was deposed. Daughter of Menelek II

ETH-1930 530 ETH Selassie 03/04/1930 15/05/1936
Second Cousin of Zauditu. Removed by Italian invasion, exile in England. Lentz 1999, p. 156.

ETH-1936 530 ETH K. of Italy/Emperor of Ethiopia 15/05/1936 07/04/1941
King of Italy/Emperor of Ethiopia. Deposed by South African and British troops under the command of Gen. A. C. Cunningham. Addis Abeba falls 7 April 1944. Emperor Selassie enters Addis Abeba on May 5 1941, the Duke of Aosta surrenders May 16. Lentz, 12999, p. 156. `http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_African_Campaign_\%28World_War_II\%29#The_capture_of_Addis_Ababa`.

ETH-1942 530 ETH Selassie 05/05/1942 12/09/1974
See above. Removed in a military coup, house arrest. *The New York Times* 13 September, 1974, p. 1. Second Cousin of Zauditu, etc. *The New York Times*, December 12, 2006 "Ethiopia's Ex-Dictator Convicted of Genocide" on Mengistu Mariam below reports that Mariam probably strangled Selassie.

ETH-1974-1 530 ETH Andom 12/09/1974 23/11/1974
He was ousted by more revolutionary members of the government and killed. See *The New York Times*, 5 February, 1977, p.7. "Emperor Haile Selassie was deposed in September 1974. The first chairman of the military council, Gen. Aman Andom, was put to death two months later with 50 other leading Ethiopians. General Tafari (=Banti, HG) succeeded him." On his exit, see *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 29, 1974, p. A1, A6: "He resigned, refused to reconsider, was ordered arrested and died last Saturday night in the siege of his home." Removed and executed by Provisional Military Council under leadership of Mengistu Haile Mariam, *The New York Times* 24 November, 1974, p. 1.

ETH-1974-2 530 ETH Banti 28/11/1974 03/02/1977
On his entry, see *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 29, 1974, p. A1. "Deposed Emperor Haile Selassie has agreed to turn over part of his fortune to the military rulers who overthrew him in exchange for his life, diplomatic sources said Thursday. In another development, the military men who now run Ethiopia appointed a new permanent chairman. Named to head the Provisional Military Administrative Council was Brig. Gen. Tafari Banti, 52,

who reportedly took the job after six other military men had declined the honor. . . . (cont. p.6) . . . Some diplomatic observers think Tafari may have been chosen as little more than the spokesman for the seven-man leadership of the military council. Lt. Gen. Aman M. Andom refused to agree with hard-line policies of the junta. He resigned, refused to reconsider, was ordered arrested and died last Saturday night in the siege of his home. Aman was a fighting man whose soldiers called him "the lion of the desert." Tafari is a mild-mannered man known as an administrator. He is not expected to disagree with the military council's decision to escalate the long-run war with guerilla forces in Eritrea, the seccessionist northern province, which Aman insisted could not be won by military force. . . . the 2nd Division . . . has fought unsuccessfully to quell the Eritrean Liberation Front. Gen. Tafari was commander of the 2nd Division for six weeks before getting his new job. He takes over from Maj. Mengistu Haile Mariam, who became acting chairman last Friday when the council ordered Aman's arrest. Mengistu has by far the more forceful personality of the two, and many feel he will remain the power behind the chairman. . . . Like Mengistu, Tafari came up from the ranks. . . . Tafari, then 19, took part in the liberation of Ethiopia from Italian rule in 1941. He served in various infantry divisions, and in 1965, as a lieutenant colonel, succeeded Aman as military attaché in Washington. He returned here in 1970 to serve in intelligence and supply posts. He was trained at U.S. Army schools in the United States on five differet occasions. He became a general in 1972."

Killed in a battle with Mengistu's supporters. He may be a figurehead for Marriam, see *The New York Times*, 5 February, 1977, p. 7, which records (Dateline, Feb. 4) "no public reaction to the killing yesterday of the chief of state, Brig. Gen. Tafari Banti, and six other members of the governing military council. . . . The official radio said yesterday that General Tafari and the others had been put to death for attempting to stage a coup against the revolution. But there were reports that they had actually been slain during the fighting among members of the council. The opposing factions were both said to be Marxist-Leninist, but General Tafari, the largely figurehead council chairman, and his supporters were generally viewed as more moderate than Colonel Mengistu, the first vice chairman of the council, and his followers. . . . The fighting yesterday apparently stemmed from a reorganization plan undertaken in December by two captains with the apparent aim of containing Colonel Mengistu's previously unlimited powers. For a time thereafter the colonel appeared to have lost some grounds."

ETH-1977 530 ETH Mengistu Marriam 11/02/1977 21/05/1991

Flees under onslaught of rebel forces, EPRDF marches on Addis Abeba, exile in Zimbabwe. Lentz 1994, p. 265; *Washington Post* 5/22/1991, p. A25.

The New York Times Times, 12 December 13, 2006 "Ethiopia's Ex-Dictator Convicted of Genocide." "An Ethiopian court convicted former dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam of genocide today, but Mr. Mengistu may never face punishment because he remains in exile in Zimbabwe. It was a marathon case, beginning 12 years ago, and along with Mr. Mengistu more than 70 other high-ranking former officials were found guilty of genocide. The trial, held in Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa, was one of the rare instances of an African country trying its own former leader. Mr. Mengistu ruled Ethiopia from 1977 to 1991, which included some of the darkest days of the country's history, when government soldiers rounded up tens of thousands of students and intellectuals and brutally killed them in a campaign called the "Red Terror." Human Rights Watch has labeled it "one

of the most systematic uses of mass murder by a state ever witnessed in Africa." Mr. Mengistu, 69, has been widely accused of killing many of the victims with his own hands, including Ethiopia's last emperor, Haile Selassie, who was strangled in bed, probably in 1975, and buried under a toilet. Mr. Mengistu was also, in a way, responsible for the extended famine in 1984-85 that claimed 1 million lives and reinforced the image of Ethiopia as a poor and desperate country. He first denied the famine was even happening and flew in planeloads of whiskey while his people starved. He was ousted by a guerrilla movement in 1991 and escaped to Zimbabwe, where he lives in a fancy – and heavily guarded – villa. The Zimbabwean government has indicated that it has no intention of extraditing him. According to Reuters, Ethiopia's High Court decision said that Mr. Mengistu and his top officers "have conspired to destroy a political group and kill people with impunity." The statement added "they set up a hit squad to decimate, torture and destroy groups opposing the Mengistu regime." Mr. Mengistu is scheduled to be sentenced later this month in absentia and could face death by hanging. Despite the magnitude of his crimes, many people in Addis Ababa seemed unfazed by today's guilty verdict. "We're more concerned with the new people in jail, the political prisoners, than with these old cases," said Addis Adugna, an architect."

For his exit and fleeing the country, see *The New York Times*, May 22, 1991, p. A1 "Rebel Cease-Fire Urge – Leader Is Reported to Be in Zimbabwe."

ETH-1991-1 530 ETH Gebre Kidan 21/05/1991 27/05/1991

For his entry, see *The New York Times*, May 22, 1991, p. A1 "Rebel Cease-Fire Urge – Leader Is Reported to Be in Zimbabwe." "Before he left, Colonel Mengistu, who held the title of President, handed control of the Addis Abeba Government to his Vice President, Lieut. Gen. Tesfaye Gebre-Kidan. ... Senior officials in the Government said General Tesfaye, who only took office as Vice President last month, would be little more than a figurehead. They said Prime Minister Tesfaye [Dinka, HG], who is no relation to the general, would effectively run the Government and attempt to negotiate a settlement with the guerillas. General Tesfaye was military administrator for Eritrea province until he was appointed Vice President. He was described by diplomats as a non-ideological officer with a decent record on human rights. He is reportedly popular with most groups in the army. Prime Minister Tesfaye is an economist and former Foreign Minister who has developed a good relationship with officials in the Bush Administration and Western Europe."

Acting president surrenders to rebel Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, Lentz 1994, p. 265.

Rulers.org notes "A longtime defense minister (1980-87) and then vice president, he was acting president for seven days after Marxist dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam fled the country in May 1991. When rebel forces rumbled into the capital, he took refuge in the Italian embassy, where he remained for the next 13 years. The former army colonel was tried in absentia for genocide and human rights violations committed during Mengistu's rule. Unconfirmed reports said Tesfaye died after a fight with Berhanu Bayih, a former foreign minister who had also taken refuge at the embassy. "It seems Tesfaye was hit on the head with a bottle. There were gashes on his head," said a hospital source."

Perhaps he should be replaced with the Prime Minister Tesfaye Dinka, but no information is available on his birthdate, or his post-tenure fate.

ETH-1991-2 530 ETH Meles Zenawi 27/05/1991 31/12/2004

Rulers.org notes: "In 1974 he helped set up the Marxist-Leninist League of Tigre, committed to fighting the Soviet-supported Marxist regime. Together with a small band of fellow Marxist students, Zenawi later launched the Tigre People's Liberation Front (TPLF), which from its small beginnings succeeded within 10 years in establishing control over the greater part of the province of Tigre despite opposition by the huge Ethiopian Army lavishly equipped with Soviet tanks, artillery, weapons, and aircraft. The TPLF widened its front in January 1989 by entering into an alliance with a mainly Amhara movement, the Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (EPDM), to form the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). The regime of Pres. Mengistu Haile Mariam collapsed in 1991, and Zenawi became interim president. ... [B]y the time the EPRDF was formed, Zenawi had become converted to parliamentary democracy. What was remarkable about the EPRDF was that it emerged victorious from an armed struggle but did not immediately take over power for itself; instead, it shared power with a wide cross section of representatives from the principal ethnic communities and political parties during a transition period while a democratic constitution was being negotiated. The new constitution came in 1995, and Zenawi then became prime minister, being reelected in 2000 and 2005."

First President, until 22 Aug 1995, then from 23 Aug 1995 Prime Minister.

The BBC `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7791523.stm`, 19 December 2008, "Ethiopian ex-PM freed from prison" notes: "Former Ethiopian Prime Minister Tamerat Layne has been released after spending 12 years in prison for corruption and abuse of power. He was dismissed from government in 1996 and convicted by the Ethiopian Supreme Court four years later. He was sentenced to 18 years in prison but state media said he was freed early after showing good behaviour. He was a key ally of current Prime Minister Meles Zenawi; their coalition ousted the military regime in 1991. The BBC's Elizabeth Blunt in the capital, Addis Ababa, says they were among three men at the top of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front coalition. The third was Seye Abreha, who went on to become defence minister but was also jailed for corruption not long after Tamerat. Last year, Seye was also given early release from prison. Our reporter says that while people do not dispute the corruption allegations against the two men - they also feel that it was to do with a power struggle within the ruling coalition. Mr Meles assumed the post of prime minister in 1995."

2.114 ERITREA

ERI-1993 531 ERI Afeworki 24/05/1993 31/12/2004

2.115 ANGOLA

ANG-1975 540 ANG Neto 11/11/1975 10/09/1979
Assumed control, natural death.

ANG-1979 540 ANG Dos Santos 10/09/1979 31/12/2004

2.116 MOZAMBIQUE

MZM-1975 541 MZM Machel 25/06/1975 19/10/1986
Ceasefire, dies in plane crush.

MZM-1986 541 MZM Chissano 06/11/1986 02/2/2005

MZM-2005 541 MZM Guebuza 02/2/2005
He had been a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of FRELIMO which took over in 1986.

2.117 ZAMBIA

ZAM-1964 551 ZAM Kaunda 24/10/1964 02/11/1991

Keesing's Vol. 45, November 1999, notes that "In June 1998 the Lusaka High Court had ordered the release from house arrest of Kaunda, who had been held in detention since December 1997 [see pp. 42321; 42109; 42052-53; 41990; 41948] after being linked to a failed coup attempt by junior army officers in October 1997 [see pp. 41850-51]."

Keesing's, Vol. 45, April 1999 "On April 1 former President Kenneth Kaunda appealed against a High Court ruling on March 31 which had stripped him of his Zambian citizenship. The High Court had revoked Kaunda's citizenship on the grounds that his parents were from Malawi [see p. 40761]. Four gunmen reportedly attempted to assassinate Kaunda on April 1. They opened fire upon his car as it reached his house, apparently unaware that Kaunda was not in the car at the time." He was defeated in elections, later jailed.

ZAM-1991 551 ZAM Chiluba 02/11/1991 02/01/2002

Keesing's Vol. 48, July 2002. "The National Assembly (the unicameral legislature) on July 16 voted unanimously in favour of lifting former President Frederick Chiluba's immunity from prosecution in order to allow an investigation into allegations of corruption during his 10 years in office."

Keesing's vol. 49, February 2003 "Former President Frederick Chiluba was formally charged on Feb. 24 with 59 counts of "theft by a public servant" during his 10 years in office prior to the election of President Levy Mwanawasa in December 2001 [see pp. 44493; 44540-41]. Chiluba's passport was seized to prevent him leaving the country, but he was freed on bail. He denied the allegations and said that he was the victim of a politically motivated witch-hunt. The National Assembly (the unicameral legislature) had in July 2002 voted to lift Chiluba's immunity from prosecution [see p. 44886]. The Supreme Court on Feb. 19 had unanimously decided not to restore Chiluba's immunity, thereby opening the way for formal charges to be leveled against him."

He abandons reelection attempt; arrested 5 Aug 2003.

BBC News, 3 June 2005, "Is there life after the presidency?" `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4607269.stm` notes: "In Malawi and in Zambia, former Presidents Bakili Muluzi and Frederick Chiluba tried unsuccessfully to get their country's constitution amended to allow them a third term in office. And in Mr Chiluba's case life after the presidency hasn't been as restful as he might have envisaged. He has been stripped of his immunity and has been in and out of court on corruption charges."

ZAM-2002 551 ZAM Levy Mwanawasa 03/01/2002 31/12/2004

2.118 ZIMBABWE

ZIM-1965 552 ZIM Smith 11/11/1965 23/05/1979

ZIM-1979 552 ZIM Muzorewa 29/05/1979 11/12/1979
Was a bishop. Detained by two intelligence officers in November 1983. For his fate, see Boston Globe, April 18, 1980, p.1. Detained in 1983-1984.

ZIM-1980 552 ZIM Mugabe 04/03/1980 31/12/2004

2.119 MALAWI

MAW-1964 553 MAW Banda 06/07/1964 21/05/1994

First Prime Minister (63-66), then President (66-94) Dies 24 November 1997.

Rulers.org: Muluzi's government tried him for the 1983 murder of four political opponents but he was found not guilty. He finally retired from politics in July 1997. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 41, September 1995 "On Sept. 15 former President Hastings Kamuzu Banda, on trial for murder [see p. 40633], was granted bail by the Supreme Court. Banda had been placed under house arrest in January because of his ill-health [see p. 40344]." ***Keesing's*** Vol. 41, January 1995 "Former President Hastings Kamuzu Banda was arrested on charges of murder and placed under house arrest on Jan. 5. John Tembo, treasurer-general of Banda's Malawi Congress Party (MCP) and his closest aide, had been detained on Jan. 4."

MAW-1994 553 MAW Muluzi 21/05/1994 24/05/2004

BBC News: Thursday 27 July 2006: "Malawi's former President Bakili Muluzi has been released on bail after being charged with corruption and fraud. After his arrest on Thursday morning, he was questioned by anti-corruption agents about financial transactions during his time in power. A spokesman for Mr Muluzi's United Democratic Front (UDF) party said the move did not come as a surprise, and called it "political persecution". Mr Muluzi fell out with his successor Bingu wa Mutharika after polls in 2004. Anti-Corruption Bureau (ACB) Director Gustave Kaliwo told a press conference that the former president was being charged with 42 counts of corruption, fraud and theft. .... Mr Muluzi stepped down as president after serving two terms in office in 2004. He handpicked Mr Mutharika to run for president on the UDF ticket. But eight months after his victory, the new president resigned from the UDF over what he says was hostility to his anti-corruption campaign. In April, Vice-President Cassim Chilumpha, who is close to Mr Muluzi, was arrested and charged with treason. He is on bail under strict conditions and may not leave his house without permission from the president."

The New York Times, May 25, 2008, "Malawi Ex-Leader Muluzi Held on Coup Charge: Lawyer." Accessed online, 25 May 2008. "LILONGWE (Reuters) - Former Malawian president Bakili Muluzi was arrested in connection with an alleged coup plot as he returned home from Britain on Sunday, his lawyer said. Five members of Muluzi's United Democratic Front (UDF) and three army generals were arrested last week on suspicion of being part of a plot to bring him to power, and an arrest warrant was issued for Muluzi. "He was ordered to follow the soldiers at (Lilongwe) airport and (they) asked him to board a military helicopter," Muluzi's lawyer Fahad Assani said. Muluzi became president in 1994 in an election that ended the dictatorship of Hastings Kamuzu Banda and one-party rule, and held power for 10 years. His successor, Bingu wa Mutharika, alienated many UDF members including Muluzi with a drive against corruption, and subsequently quit the UDF to form the Democratic Progressive Party. Muluzi, who was briefly investigated for corruption in 2006, remains a powerful political force and has been endorsed by the UDF as its candidate in next year's presidential election. The other eight accused have all been released on bail."

BBC News, 27 February 2009, "Ex-Malawi leader on theft charges." `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7912077.stm` "Ex-Malawian President Bakili Muluzi has appeared in court accused of stealing $11m (£7.7m) in donor money. Mr Muluzi was charged

on 80 counts of allegedly siphoning aid cash into his private account. The 66-year-old was arrested earlier after turning himself in to the Anti-Corruption Bureau in Blantyre. Mr Muluzi, who denies any wrongdoing, is to stand in a presidential election in May. The authorities denied claims the case was politically motivated."

BBC News, 3 June 2005, "Is there life after the presidency?" `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4607269.stm` notes: "In Malawi and in Zambia, former Presidents Bakili Muluzi and Frederick Chiluba tried unsuccessfully to get their country's constitution amended to allow them a third term in office. "

MAW-2004 553 MAW Bingu wa Mutharika 24/05/2004 31/12/2004

2.120 SOUTH AFRICA

SAF-1910 560 SAF Louis Botha 31/05/1910 27/08/1919
Lentz: died of influenza. Previously head of other state.

SAF-1919 560 SAF Smuts 03/09/1919 29/06/1924
See Lentz.

SAF-1924 560 SAF Hertzog 30/06/1924 05/09/1939
See Lentz.

SAF-1939 560 SAF Smuts 06/09/1939 03/06/1948
See Lentz.

SAF-1948 560 SAF Malan 03/06/1948 30/11/1954
Lentz: "Malan resigned as prime minister due to ill health on November 30, 1954. He died following a stroke in Capetown on February 7, 1959." Newspapers of the day don't mention ill health, although he's 80, rather that he carefully planned the transfer of power. "British Commonwealth diplomats in London speculated Malan's retirement probably was due to three reasons: (1) his declining health; (2) the recent ill health of his wife, who is his closes political advisor and constant companion, and (3) recent differences with Nationalist Party strong man Johannes G. Strydom, who long has urged stronger action toward the party's prime aims of race segregation and establishment of South Africa as republic. ... There were no recent indications that the Prime Minister was in ill health. ... The London Daily Express reported from Johannesburg, however, that Malan was pale and tottering and leaned on a bodyguard during the service."
The evidence shows that he chose to step down.

SAF-1954 560 SAF Strijdom 02/12/1954 23/08/1958
See Lentz: Heart disease.

SAF-1958-1 560 SAF Swart 23/08/1958 03/09/1958
See Lentz.

SAF-1958-2 560 SAF Verwoerd 03/09/1958 06/09/1966
Lentz 1994, p.697. Stabbed to death be a mentally deranged parliamentary messenger. Assassinated.

SAF-1966-1 560 SAF Donges 06/09/1966 13/09/1966
See Lentz.

SAF-1966-2 560 SAF Vorster 13/09/1966 28/09/1978
Lentz. Forced to retire "after a commission held that he had been aware of the financial irregularities that had taken place in his government." Now a change from PM to Presidential system.

SAF-1978 560 SAF Botha 28/09/1978 18/01/1989
See Lentz. He suffered a stroke. According to `http://kapstadt.org/suedafrika/geschichte/louis_botha/` he is related to Louis Botha, earlier PM, but not recorded

how distant. Botha was not related to contemporary National Party politician Roelof Frederik Botha ("Pik"), who served as foreign minister.

SAF-1989-1 560 SAF Heunis 19/01/1989 15/03/1989
See Lentz.

SAF-1989-2 560 SAF Botha 15/03/1989 14/08/1989
See Lentz.

SAF-1989-3 560 SAF deKlerk 15/08/1989 10/05/1994
See Lentz.

SAF-1994 560 SAF Mandela 10/05/1994 16/06/1999

SAF-1999 560 SAF Mbeki 16/06/1999 31/12/2004

2.121 TRANSVAAL

TRA-1872 563 TRA Burgers 01/07/1872 12/04/1877

Thomas Burgers was born in 15 April 1834. See *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 22, 1899, p. 3. After his removal "shortly afterwards retired on a British pension to Cape Town, ..." Cape Town is in the Cape Colony. Encyclopedia Britannica: graduated a doctor of theology from the University of Utrecht. "Burgers surrendered the republic to Sir Theophilius Shepstone and his annexing force of 25 policemen representing the British Crown. Burgers then retired into obscurity."

He was deposed because of British annexation. Fully acquiesced in the necessity for annexation. He accepted a pension from the British government, and settled down to farming in Hanover, Cape Colony. Thus his post tenure fate is coded as he was fine.

TRA-1877 563 TRA Shepstone 12/04/1877 04/03/1879

On his background, see *The New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1879, p.3. For the annexation process described, see *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 22, 1899, p. 3 "Britain's Stepchild, the story of the annexation of the Transvaal." Encyclopedia Britannica says, "Burgers surrendered the republic to Sir Theophilius Shepstone and his annexing force of 25 policemen representing the British Crown."

TRA-1879 563 TRA Lanyon 04/03/1879 08/08/1881

William Owen Lanyon. He was defeated in battle.

TRA-1881 563 TRA Triumvirate 08/08/1881 09/05/1883

Triumvirate 08/08/1881-09/05/1883. Paulus Kruger, Marthinus Wessel Pretorius & Petrus Jacobus Joubert. Gen Joubert is in Liverpool in September 1890, leaving for the USA, *The New York Times*, Oct. 1890, p.2. The *Washington Post*, Dec. 11, 1884, p.1. notes that "Vice-President Joubert, of the Transvaal, resigned his office a few days ago [dateline Dec. 10)] because on the receipt of the British ultimatum the Boers applied for German protection."

On Pretorius, see his Obituary: *The New York Times*, May 24, 1901, p.9. He was Transvaal's first president. On the Triumvirate, see also *Los Angeles Times*, July 23, 1899, p.3. Granted independence by UK.

TRA-1883 563 TRA Kruger 09/05/1883 10/09/1900

Lentz: "British troops occupied Pretoria on June 5, 1900, and Kruger fled to Europe. After Treaty of May 31, 1902, Kruger settled in Holland and died in Clarens, Switzerland, on July 1, 1904." He was born in 10 October 1825.

TRA-1900 563 TRA Schalk Willem Burger 10/09/1900 31/05/1902

He is referred to as a General. His wife is captured by the British July 1901.

TRA-1902 563 TRA Milner 21/06/1902 01/04/1905

Crown colony under Britain.

TRA-1905 563 TRA Palmer 02/04/1905 04/02/1907

TRA-1907 563 TRA Louis Botha 04/02/1907 31/05/1910

After the Treaty of Vereeniging, Transvaal became province of the Union of South Africa.

2.122 ORANGE FREE STATE

OFS-1873 564 OFS Johannes Henricus Brand 16/06/1873 14/07/1888
Encyclopedia Britannica: Born in 6 December 1823. Died July 14, 1888. Educated at the University of Leiden, in law.

OFS-1888 564 OFS Blignaut 14/07/1888 10/01/1889
Born in 26 June 1841. See `http://www.blignaut.co.za/indi.php?qrin=1583`.

OFS-1889 564 OFS Reitz 10/01/1889 11/12/1895
The web page on Blignaut notes that Reitz resigned for reasons of poor health. This is confirmed in the Washington post, Feb. 23, 1986, p.17.
For his Obituary, see *The New York Times*, Mar, 28, 1934, p.23. Lawyer. From 1989 to 1902, Secretary of State of the South African Union. He was born in 5 October, 1844.

OFS-1895 564 OFS Blignaut 11/12/1895 04/03/1896
See above.

OFS-1896 564 OFS Steyn 04/03/1896 31/05/1902
Martinus Theunis. Lentz "Suffering from poor health at the war's end, he went to Europe to recuperate." Country Annexed by Britain

OFS-1902 564 OFS Milner 23/06/1902 01/04/1905
Country was granted self rule.

OFS-1905 564 OFS Palmer 02/04/1905 07/06/1907

OFS-1907-1 564 OFS Hamilton John Goold-Adams 07/06/1907 27/11/1907

OFS-1907-2 564 OFS Fischer 27/11/1907 31/05/1910
Country is incorporated in Union of South Africa.

2.123 NAMIBIA

NAM-1990 565 NAM Nujoma 21/03/1990 31/12/2004

BBC News, 3 June 2005, "Is there life after the presidency?" `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4607269.stm` notes: "recently retired Namibian President Sam Nujoma has decided to go back to school and study geology at the University of Namibia."

2.124 LESOTHO

LES-1966 570 LES Jonathan 04/10/1966 20/01/1986

Launches an *auto-golpe*. *Los Angeles Times*, February 1, 1970, p.F3 "Lesotho Prime Minister Admits Seizing Power." ""I have seized power. I admit it." Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan said Saturday. "I am not ashamed of it. I have done if for the welfare of my country and I know that in my country the majority of people are behind me," he said at a news conference. Chief Jonathan said that King Moshoeshoe II "has technically abdicated" because he meddled in Tuesday's general election by addressing a political meeting. The prime minister said he was prepared to go before the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to prove that acts of intimidation forced him to void the election, the first for this new nation inside South Africa. "The counting of votes has been officially abandoned and the election declared invalid," he said."

The New York Times, April 26, 1970, p.6 "Talks Deadlocked in Lesotho Crisis." "Talks on how to end the constitutional crisis in Lesotho are reported to be at a standstill between Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan and two opponents he detained when he seized power in a coup d'état last January. The stalemate is expected to delay the resumption of British aid to this mountain state within South Africa. That aid has been suspended since April 1, and Lesotho, which was a British colony until 1966, appears to be beginning to feel the financial pinch. The general expectation is that South Africa will step in with help. The British decision to cut off aid followed the coup by the Prime Minister in January when he appeared to be losing the nation's first general election since independence." The article also notes that Jonathan sent King Moshoeshoe II into virtual exile for six months to the Netherlands."

Military coup after South African govt boycotts landlocked nation – could be coded as exitcode 5 (with foreign involvement), *Washington Post* 21 January, 1986, p. A9. Dies of stomach cancer in South Africa 5 April 1987. Great-grandson of King Moshoeshou I.

LES-1986 570 LES Lekhanya 24/01/1986 02/05/1991

Commander in the Lesotho army. Military coup, house arrest. *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 2 May 1991, p. 15. See also, *The New York Times*, May 1, 1991, p. A7. "Lesotho's Military Leader Ousted by Army Officers."

LES-1991 570 LES Ramaema 02/05/1991 02/04/1993

Major General.

LES-1993 570 LES Mokhehle 02/04/1993 17/08/1994

Dr. Ntsu Mokhehle. Was arrested and imprisoned by Jonathan in January 30, 1970, see *The New York Times*, February 2, 1970, p.2 "Leader of Lesotho Jails 30 Opponents." For his Obituary, see *The Guardian*, (Manchester (UK)), Deb. 22, 1999, p. 15, which records "His university studies at Fort Hare culminated in a MSc degree with distinction, but although he taught for a while in South Africa, his career at Basutoland High School in his native Lesotho was brief. He was expelled by the then colonial education authorities because of his political activities."

See *The Independent*, August, 26, 1994. **Lexis Nexis** shows basically Mokhele was fine post tenure, after coup of 17 August 1994. This amounts to a "Royal Coup." We code King Letsie III as the leader from 17 August to 14 September. Mokhehle was born in

1963. In essence under pressure from South Africa, Letsie III backs down, and re-appoints Mokhele. See also *The Guardian* (London) 8/18/1994, p. 22.

LES-1994-1 570 LES Letsie III 17/08/1994 14/09/1994

For his entry see *The New York Times*, August 18, 1994,p.A13 "Lesotho Troops Fire on Protesters Against King." "Maseru, Lesotho, Aug. 17 (AP)–A power struggle pitting the King of Lesotho against the elected Government turned deadly today when troops fired on thousands of protesters marching on the royal palace. ... The Crowd was protesting the monarchy's move to abolish Lesotho's first democratically elected Government in 23 years, and some people began throwing stones, the South Africa Press Association said. ... King Letsie III said on state radio early today that he was dissolving the Cabinet of Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhele. The 30-year-old King promised quick elections. Until then, he said, Lesotho would be run by a provisional council that he would appoint. Prime Minister Mokhele closeted himself most of the day, then emerged late in the evening and declared the King's announcement unconstitutional. "The King has breached the provisions of the Constitution relating to the role of the monarch and his oath of office," Mr. Mokhele said. He urged people to remain calm and said he expected security forces to support him. King Letsie's decision appeared to be a maneuver to hand power to his father, former King Moshoeshoe II, who was forced from the throne by the military in 1990, but retains some popular support."

The Christian Science Monitor, September 7, 1994, p. 20 "U.S., Cuba Continue to Disagree;" "Lesotho tensions ease." The brief article reports "Landlocked Lesotho breathed easier Sept. 6 after its powerful neighbors lifted a threat to impose sanctions to back the restoration of the elected government ousted last month. Botswana, South Africa, and Zimbabwe pronounced themselves satisfied with moves being taken by King Letsie, who toppled Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhele's government, in reinstating him. But the beleaguered king faced new pressure, this time from Lesotho's influential pro-democracy group, which gave him a Sept. 7 deadline to act or face mass revolt." See also *The Christian Science Monitor*, September 21, p. 8 "Striving for links after decades of hostility" which reports "In land-locked Lesotho, a tiny mountain kingdom with a turbulent political history, South Africa has been instrumental – with Zimbabwe and Botswana – in crafting an agreement that this month reinstated the democratically elected government of Ntsu Mokhele after it has been summarily dismissed last month by King Letsie III."

Letsie III is the son of King Moshoeshoe II, thus related to Jonathan.

LES-1994-2 570 LES Mokhehle 14/09/1994 29/05/1998

For his re-entry, see *The Christian Science Monitor*, September 7, 1994, p. 20 "U.S., Cuba Continue to Disagree;" "Lesotho tensions ease." The brief article reports "Landlocked Lesotho breathed easier Sept. 6 after its powerful neighbors lifted a threat to impose sanctions to back the restoration of the elected government ousted last month. Botswana, South Africa, and Zimbabwe pronounced themselves satisfied with moves being taken by King Letsie, who toppled Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhele's government, in reinstating him. But the beleaguered king faced new pressure, this time from Lesotho's influential pro-democracy group, which gave him a Sept. 7 deadline to act or face mass revolt." See also *The Christian Science Monitor*, September 21, p. 8 "Striving for links after decades of hostility" which reports "In land-locked Lesotho, a tiny mountain kingdom

with a turbulent political history, South Africa has been instrumental – with Zimbabwe and Botswana – in crafting an agreement that this month reinstated the democratically elected government of Ntsu Mokhele after it has been summarily dismissed last month by King Letsie III."

Dr. Ntsu Mokhehle. Retires from office and dies 7 January, 1999. For his Obituary, see *The Guardian*, (Manchester (UK)), Deb. 22, 1999, p. 15, which records "His university studies at Fort Hare culminated in a MSc degree with distinction, but although he taught for a while in South Africa, his career at Basutoland High School in his native Lesotho was brief. He was expelled by the then colonial education authorities because of his political activities."

LES-1998 570 LES Mosisili 29/05/1998 31/12/2004

SAF and BOT send troops in 1998 to restore order, forms government with opposition, then reelected in 2002

2.125 BOTSWANA

BOT-1966 571 BOT Khama 30/09/1966 13/07/1980

BOT-1980 571 BOT Masire 13/07/1980 31/03/1998
See Boston Globe, Mar. 11, 2005, p. A.10. Takes up a nine months post as this year's president-in-residence at BU in 2005.

BOT-1998 571 BOT Mogae 31/03/1998 31/12/2004

2.126 SWAZILAND

SWA-1968 572 SWA Sobhuza II 06/09/1968 21/08/1982

Lentz reports: "Sobhuza continued to seek Swaziland's independence, which was finally granted on September 6, 1968. He initially ruled under a British-designed constitution, which provided for a constitutional monarchy. Sobhuza promoted a new constitution in April of 1973 which allowed him to rule as an absolute monarch."

For an obituary, see *The Chicago Tribune*, September 4, 1982, p.W_A6 "Swaziland king has a showcase seat at his own funeral."

Another potential example of an 'auto-golpe'.

SWA-1982 572 SWA Dzeliwe Shongwe 21/08/1982 10/08/1983

Senior wife of King Sobhuza II and became queen regent. See *The Chicago Tribune*, September 4, 1982, p.W_A6 "Swaziland king has a showcase seat at his own funeral." The article reports "The royal council, called the Liqoqo, is still considering which of the king's estimated 400 sons will succeed him. Meanwhile, the senior wife will rule." See also *The New York Times*, October 5, 1982, p. A2 "African Kingdom's Secret: Grooming a New Ruler" which reports on the succession "The complex arrangments, dictated by custom and the need to avoid strife among the more forceful and ambitious of Sobhuza's elder sons, might be summed up by a formula like this: The King is dead. Long live the Authorized Person. "The Authorized Person," it has been announced, will act on behalf of a 16-member royal council, called the Liqoqo, and the Queen Mother. Traditionally Swaziland has been a dual monarchy in which responsibility is shared between a king, known as the Ngwenyama, or Lion, and the Ndlovukazi, or She Elephant, as the Queen Mother is called. When the King dies, the She Elephant reigns. All that is generally known about the present Queen Mother is her name, which is Dzewile, and the fact that she was selected by Sobhuza from among the wives for the role she must now play. Rumor has it that she is in her mid-50's, ... The Authorized Person, who will act in her name, is a senior prince named Sozisa, who was generally unknown outside the traditional sector before he was identified in a proclamation. ... The latest unconfirmed report, which can be regarded as better than a rumor but less than fact, is that his name is Makhosetive (according to a variant spelling, Makhosemvelo) and that he has already been sent overseas with his mother to be educated." See also Lentz.

For her effective control, see *The Washington Post*, April 29, 1983, p. A20 "Swift Revolution in Swaziland leaves Mystery of Succession" which reports "Prince Mabandla Dlamini, who was especially chosen for the job three years ago by the aging King Sobhuza II, was dismissed by the order of Queen Regent Dzewile on March 18, eight months after Sobhuza's death." The same article also sheds light on the supposed "Authorized Person" by noting "It is considered disrespectful to speculate on the succession, but foreigners here say the choice is an 11-year old named either Prince Makhosetive or Makhosemule. He is said to be in school in Britain and will be named officially only when is schooling is finished."

The article also indicates that she should be considered effective ruler: "Mabandla won most of the early rounds in the rivalry, mainly because of the support of Dzewile and the police force. He dismissed a key member of the Liqoqo, Prince Polycarp Dlamini, from his Cabinet and named him ambassador to Washington. On Feb. 15 he suspended parliament and began ruling by decree, claiming there had been an attempted coup

against him. He ordered the arrest for sedition of two royal members of the Liqoqo, and both were refused bail and kept in Mbabane jail. The queen regent endorsed all these moves. Then subtly the tide began to turn against Mabandla. The queen regent changed her mind about Prince Polycarp and ordered his reinstatement. ... On March 15, Dzeliwe summoned Swaziland's 400 chiefs to her royal cattle corral at Lebamba, ..., to make clear her support for Mbandla. But during the next 48 hours great pressure apparently was exerted on Dzeliwe to change her mind. George Msibi, a powerful member of the Liqoqo and one of Mbandla's arch-opponents, admitted in an interview that other members of the royal family had called on the queen regent on the morning of March 17. "They asked her to explain certain things about the procedure she had followed at the meeting on the 15th," Msibi said. "I don't think they threatened her. I don't think it came to that." Whatever was said, it clearly had a dramatic effect on Dzeliwe. By that evening she had agreed to sigh the dismissal order, which was published in a special issue of the Government Gazette the next day. Mabandla, bewildered by the sudden turn of events, clung tentatively to office through the weekend. But on March 21, when it became evident the police force that had been firmly behind him was not going to back him against the queen regent's order, Mabandla slipped away to his remote mountain home near Piggs Peak, north of Mbabane. He later fled with his family to South Africa. The quiet coup ended when Dzeliwe again summoned the chiefs to her corral and named Bhekimpi as the new prime minister. Msibi, in the interview, hinted that the meeting had been about the arrest of two family members for sedition. It seems Mabanla may have incurred the wrath of the royal family, which put the queen regent at odds with them–and herself in danger. Some observers think the pressure on her may simply have been a hint from the Liqoqo that unless she stopped backing Mabandla they might change their plans and name the new king now. If they did that, his own mother would immediately become *ndluvukazi* (she-elephant) in Dzeliwe's place and take over as regent until the young prince turns 21. But others more versed in the tribal lore say it would be improper to make so direct a threat against the monarch, and that more subtle hints may have been left in the air. Msibi seemed to confirm that."

For her ouster, see *Los Angeles Times*, August 10, 1983, p. A2 "Swaziland Deposes 'Great She Elephant,' Names New Ruler." "Senior members of the Royal Family today ousted Queen Regent Dzeliwe, known as "the Great She Elephant," because of suspicions that she was being manipulated by people seeking to topple the monarch. She was replaced as regent by Queen Ntombi, mother of Prince Makhosetive, a 15-year-old student at a school in Dorset, England, who becomes king on his 21st birthday. The replacement of Dzeliwe, who had ruled since the death a year ago of King Sobhuza II, was announced in the official Government Gazette. As new ruler, Queen Ntombi gains the title of "Great She Elephant.""

The Chicago Tribune, August 11, p. 14 "Great She Elephant ousted in Swaziland" reports the additional detail "Dzeliwe reportedly tried last week to dissolve the Royal Supreme Council of State and call elections."

The New York Times, August 11, 1983, p. A9 "Swaziland Queen Loses Power Fight." By Joseph Lelyveld. "The ouster of Queen Dzeliwe, whom the monarch had selected from among his 70 or so wives for the sensitive task of overseeing asuccession, was described in a terse announcement as being in accord with "Swazi law and tradition." But some Swazis said they saw it as a violation of tradition, intended to consolidate the hold on power of the

most conservative elements in the royal household. . . . But Swazis who regarded today's developments as something of a usurpation pointed out that the queenly succession is supposed to await the new king's accession. That, at least, is what happened in 1921 when Sobhuza II was named King and his grandmother stepped down as She Elephant in favor of his mother."

Based on the last article, we consider this an irregular exit, although it is a an ambiguous case. See also Lentz 1994, p. 717. She was born in 1927.

SWA-1983 572 SWA Ntombe Thwala 10/08/1983 25/04/1986

For her entry, see *Los Angeles Times*, August 10, 1983, p. A2 "Swaziland Deposes 'Great She Elephant,' Names New Ruler." "Senior members of the Royal Family today ousted Queen Regent Dzeliwe, known as "the Great She Elephant," because of suspicions that she was being manipulated by people seeking to topple the monarch. She was replaced as regent by Queen Ntombi, mother of Prince Makhosetive, a 15-year-old student at a school in Dorset, England, who becomes king on his 21st birthday. The replacement of Dzeliwe, who had ruled since the death a year ago of King Sobhuza II, was announced in the official Government Gazette. As new ruler, Queen Ntombi gains the title of "Great She Elephant."" Also see *The Washington Post*, April 29, 1983, p. A20 "Swift Revolution in Swaziland leaves Mystery of Succession" which reports "It is considered disrespectful to speculate on the succession, but foreigners here say the choice is an 11-year old named either Prince Makhosetive or Makhosemule. He is said to be in school in Britain and will be named officially only when is schooling is finished. . . . [On Dzeliwe's struggle with the Liqoqo] The quiet coup ended when Dzeliwe again summoned the chiefs to her corral and named Bhekimpi as the new prime minister. Msibi, in the interview, hinted that the meeting had been about the arrest of two family members for sedition. It seems Mabanla may have incurred the wrath of the royal family, which put the queen regent at odds with them–and herself in danger. Some observers think the pressure on her may simply have been a hint from the Liqoqo that unless she stopped backing Mabandla they might change their plans and name the new king now. If they did that, his own mother would immediately become *ndluvukazi* (she-elephant) in Dzeliwe's place and take over as regent until the young prince turns 21. But others more versed in the tribal lore say it would be improper to make so direct a threat against the monarch, and that more subtle hints may have been left in the air. Msibi seemed to confirm that. "

She was born in 1950. See also ***Keesing's*** Volume 33, April 1987.

SWA-1986 572 SWA Mswati 25/04/1986 31/12/2004

Mswati III is the son of King Sobhuza II and Queen Ntombe. He was chosen as king designate following the death of Sobhuza in August 1982. Sent to Sherborne School in Great Britain for his education while a regency council ruled Swaziland. For his entry, coronation and consolidation of his rule by the arrest of one of his brothers (?), Prince Mfanasibili Dlamini, see ***Keesing's*** Volume 33, April 1987. See also the previous two entries.

2.127 MADAGASCAR

MAG-1864 580 MAG Rainilaiarivony 15/07/1864 30/09/1895

P.M Rainilaiarivony. After French protectorate on Madagascar on September 30, 1895, he was exiled in Algiers where he died in August 1896. Defeated by France.

MAG-1960 580 MAG Tsiranana 26/06/1960 08/10/1972

Hands power over to military after violent student protests – likely not a coup, as President retains his office and hangs on to it until finally forced out after further popular unrest, Lentz, 1994, p.528. "In May of 1972 his government was faced with a crisis when riots and demonstrations broke out throughout the country. He turned power over to a military government under General Gabriel Ramanantsoa, and Tsiranana was forced to resign as president on October 8, 1972."

See also *Washington Post* 22 May, 1972, p. A6. Lentz: Arrested for complicity in the assassination of President Richard Ratsimandrava in February of 1975. Trsiranana was acquitted of all charges. Resigns after crisis, later refuses to support appointed replacement.

MAG-1972 580 MAG Ramanantsoa 12/10/1972 05/02/1975

His successor orchestrates ouster from within military regime, Lentz 1994, p. 529. See also *The New York Times*, February 6, 1975, p. 10 "Malagasy Leader Gives Up His Power." "TANANARIVE, Madagascar, Feb. 5 (Reuters) – Maj. Gen. Gabriel Ramanantsoa, head of state of the Malagasy Republic, has handed over full executive powers to the Interior Minister, Lieut. Col. Richard Ratsimandrava, the Madagascar radio said today. General Ramanantsoa dissolved the Government Jan. 25 following a reported attempt at a coup by one of his military advisers. But the Government continued in a caretaker capacity."

He went into retirement and in May of 1979 he went to Paris for medical treatment. He died in a Paris military hospital on May 9, 1979.

MAG-1975-1 580 MAG Ratsimandrava 05/02/1975 11/02/1975

See Lentz. Killed by paramilitary security organ members; could be unsupported or an attempted military coup. After the assassination there is a threat of civil war between supporters of toppled Pres. Tsirana (1972) and current regime. The assassins are actually members of Tsirana's former Republican Guard. *The New York Times* 14 February, 1975, p. 6; *Chicago Tribune*, 13 February, 1975, p. 16. See also *Chicago Tribune*, February 12, 1975, p.14 "Madagascar Chief Assassinated." The article notes "New of Ratsimandrava's death was given in a radio broadcast by Gen. Gilles Andriamahazo, minister of state in the week-oold [*sic*] government. He said he was speaking as chairman of a newly formed body, the "National Committee of Military Leadership." Col. Ratsimandrava, 43, took over as head of state only last Wednesday after the resignation of Gen. Gabriel Remanantsoa." See also *The Washington Post*, June 13, 1975, p.A16. "Assassination, Feuds Leave Madagascar in Turmoil." (Poorly readable copy.)

For evidence suggesting this was indeed a coup, see *Chicago Tribune*, February 13, 1975, p.16. "Assassins give up in Madagascar. "Most of the police rebels blamed for the assassination of the Malagasy head of state surrendered to security forces at their camp outside the capital, informed sources said here Wednesday night. It was not known if

Col. Brechard Rajaonarison, presumed leader of an abortive New Year's Eve coup, was among those who surrendered."

MAG-1975-2 580 MAG Gilles Andriamahazo 11/02/1975 15/06/1975
Lentz: resigned from the military in 1976. Disputed election, both maintain governments but Ravalomanana eventually prevails and Ratsiraka flees to France.

MAG-1975-3 580 MAG Ratsiraka 15/06/1975 27/03/1993
See above.

MAG-1993 580 MAG Zafy 27/03/1993 05/09/1996
Keesing's Vol. 42, September 1996. Impeached. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 43, January 1997. Runs for president again, loses.

MAG-1996 580 MAG Ratsirahonana 05/09/1996 09/02/1997
Keesing's Vol. 44, February 1998. Appointed honorary chairman of a new opposition party.

MAG-1997 580 MAG Ratsiraka 09/02/1997 06/07/2002
Keesing's, Vol. 48, July 2002. Fled to the Seychelles and then on to France. Disputed election, Ratsiraka does not accept opposition victory, both maintain governments but Ravalomanana eventually prevails. Ratsiraka leaves country for Seychelles. *Le Figaro*, 6 July, 2002.

MAG-2002 580 MAG Marc Ravalomanana 06/07/2002 17/03/2009
BBC News, Saturday, 23 December 2006. "Madagascar confirms poll result" Madagascar's constitutional court has confirmed the victory of incumbent President Marc Ravalomanana in the 3 December election. Mr Ravalomanana gained 54.8% of the vote in the first round of the poll, securing a second five-year term. ... The court took an additional two weeks to confirm the result due to the time taken to collect the ballot boxes from the furthest regions of the island, some 1,600km (1,000 miles) long. Mr Ravalomanana is expected to be formally sworn in within the first half of January. In 2001, the island nation was pushed to the brink of civil war after the then-incumbent Didier Ratsiraka refused to accept defeat. Roland Ratsiraka, nephew of the former president, gained 10.14% of the vote, coming third after former parliamentary speaker Jean Lahiniriko, who gained 11.65%. In mid-December authorities said they had arrested an army general wanted over a coup attempt last month. The officer, known as General Fidy, took control of a military base in November and called on the army to remove President Marc Ravalomanana."

See *New York Times*, "Two leaders claim to govern Madagascar," 31 January 2009: `http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/01/world/africa/01madagascar.html?_r=1&hp`. See also *New York Times*, "Madagascar President Cedes Power," March 17, 2009. "ANTANANARIVO (Reuters) - Madagascar's military chiefs formally endorsed opposition leader Andry Rajoelina as president of a transitional authority on Tuesday, ending a months-long power struggle on the Indian Ocean island. "We give full powers to Mr Andry Rajoelina to become president of the high transitional authority," navy Admiral Hyppolite Ramaroson told reporters. Former President Marc Ravalomanana resigned on Tuesday and asked Ramaroson to form a military government, but the top brass rejected

the idea of the security forces running the country. Despite concerns from abroad that he should have gone to the ballot box, Rajoelina mustered sufficient domestic support to consolidate power on the huge, mineral-rich island off the coast of southeast Africa. The man whose street protests since the start of 2009 bulldozed the president into stepping down immediately assumed authority, marching into Ravalomanana's city-center offices. The opposition said elections would be held within two years. "We can say that we are free. There is a lot of work that awaits us. It is the path Madagascar must take," Rajoelina said. The army chief of staff had earlier said he favored Rajoelina, 34, a former disc jockey and sacked mayor of Antananarivo, to run the country. "If we go with the vice-admiral we will throw ourselves into another crisis," Colonel Andre Ndriarijaona told Reuters. Some dissenting voices in the military had been quashed, diplomatic sources said. The African Union, which opposes any unlawful transfer of power on a continent only too familiar with bloody uprisings, demanded the constitution be respected. Rajoelina, however, is too young to become president. According to the constitution, the head of the upper house of parliament should become interim leader with elections held within 60 days."

See also BBC News, 17 March 2009 "Madagascar president forced out" `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7948196.stm`.

See also the *Financial Times*, March 16, 2009, "Tanks storm Madagascar presidential palace." `http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/baedcf38-1244-11de-b816-0000779fd2ac.html` "By Tom Burgis in Johannesburg. Published: March 16 2009 16:21 — Last updated: March 16 2009 23:46 There was a heavy military presence on the streets of Madagascar on Monday night after the opposition leader refused to accept the presidents offer of a referendum to end a stand-off that appears to be nearing boiling point. Reports suggested tanks under the command of renegade officers loyal to opposition leader Andry Rajoelina had stormed the presidential palace. Marc Ravolmanana, the president, is holed up at his residence in a different part of Antananarivo, the Indian Ocean island's capital. The pair have been locked in a power-struggle since late last year in which at least 100 people have been killed. Mr Rajoelina, who was dismissed as mayor of Antananarivo by the president last month after he rallied thousands in anti-government protests, now looks to have the upper hand. "Initially it looked as though [Mr Rajoelina] wanted to impeach the president but increasingly he looks ruthless in his approach," said Kissy Agyeman-Tobogo, a Madagascar specialist with Global Insight, the risk consultancy. "The president doesn't want to yield but if it gets ugly he may be forced to step down." Mr Rajoelina emerged from hiding over the weekend and has twice declared himself president, spurning his rival's offer off a referendum to settle the matter. Members of the parallel government he has formed were quoted as demanding the presidents arrest. Another day of brinkmanship on Monday began with reports of mortar-fire in the capital. The army, which has a history of staying out of political disputes, splintered into rival factions after rebel commanders ousted the chief-of-staff last week. The African Union, which held an emergency meeting on the crisis on Monday, condemned what it called an "attempted coup d'etat." Fanja Ratsimbazafy, head of the Red Cross on the island, told the FT the uneasy calm of the weekend had given way to large numbers of soldiers confronting groups of presidential supporters who had responded to his radio broadcast calling them to protect his residences. Under Mr Ravolmanana's five-year rule, Madagascar has attracted investments into its rich deposits of titanium and bitumen. But even before the collapse in demand for vanilla, its main export crop, many Malagasy were becoming disaffected as

their own lot failed to improve while the president, a former dairy tycoon, and others in a well-connected elite, prospered handsomely."

Also, the *Financial Times* March 17, 2009 "Madagascar's president steps down." "Madagascar's president on Tuesday capitulated in the face of mass opposition protests and an armed rebellion, raising hopes that three months of unrest that has claimed at least 100 lives will be resolved without further bloodshed. Besieged in his official residence on the outskirts of Antananarivo, the Indian Ocean island's capital, Marc Ravalomanana handed power to the military after seven years in power, adding to the growing tally of recent African coups. "After deep reflection, I have decided to dissolve the government and give up power so that a military directorate can be established," the president said in a radio broadcast. "This decision was very difficult and very hard, but it had to be made. We need calm and peace to develop our country." His resignation appears to further the cause of Andry Rajoelina, who was sacked as mayor of the capital after he led demonstrations and accused the president of treating the country like his own private company. However, with the army divided and the African Union earlier condemning what it called "an attempted coup d'etat", it is not yet clear what the division of the spoils will be. Kgalema Motlanthe, president of South Africa and current chair of the regional bloc, expressed concern over "the unconstitutional attempts undertaken by the opposition that led to the resignation of the democratically elected president". A local news website reported that the military rulers would hold a presidential election within 24 months and "take necessary measures to restore order". Mr Rajoelina faces one immediate conundrum if he is to secure power: Madagascar's constitution stipulates that a presidential candidate must have reached his or her fortieth birthday. The former disc jockey known as "TGV" for his high-speed style is 34. Hours before his resignation, Mr Ravalomanana had remained defiant, vowing to die rather than abandon his supporters. But his fate had been sealed over the weekend, when his opponents spurned his last-ditch offer of a referendum and Mr Rajoelina declared himself the rightful ruler. Having already seized his ceremonial palace, the mutinying soldiers who now appear to comprise the most potent military force on the island looked ready to march on the president himself. One diplomat in the region said Mr Ravalomanana had held discussions with foreign embassies towards securing a safe exit from the country. The US embassy denied media reports that it had given sanctuary to the ousted leader."

See also BBC News: 17 April 2009, "Warrant for Madagascar ex-leader." `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8005303.stm`. "The new leader of Madagascar, Andry Rajoelina, has issued an arrest warrant for the president he ousted last month, Marc Ravalomanana. ... Justice minister Christine Razanamahasoa announced on state radio that Mr Ravalomanana had misused government funds. Mr Rajoelina took power with the military's backing after months of street protests. African nations condemned the takeover as a coup. On Wednesday, Mr Ravalomanana, who is in exile in Swaziland, said he was intending to return to Madagascar."

MAG-2009 580 MAG Andry Rajoelina 17/03/2009 ??/??/20??

See BBC News: 17 April 2009, "Warrant for Madagascar ex-leader." `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8005303.stm`. "The new leader of Madagascar, Andry Rajoelina, has issued an arrest warrant for the president he ousted last month, Marc Ravalomanana. ... Mr Rajoelina took power with the military's backing after months of street protests. African nations condemned the takeover as a coup."

See also BBC News, 30 April 2009, "Charges against Madagascar 'PM"' `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8026448.stm` which reports "The man appointed as prime minister by Madagascar's ousted President Marc Ravalomanana has been charged with threatening the security of the state. Manandafy Rakotonirina, 70, was seized by heavily-armed soldiers and police from a five-star hotel in the capital, Antananarivo, on Wednesday."

2.128 COMOROS

COM-1975-1 581 COM Abdallah 06/07/1975 03/08/1975

For his entry, see ***Keesing's Record of World Events*** (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 19, April, 1973 French, Page 25814 1931-2006 Keesing's Worldwide, LLC - All Rights Reserved. "Elections for an expanded 39-member Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands were held on Dec. 3, 1972, and resulted in a substantial victory for a three-party coalition advocating independence from France. Campaigning together under the name of the Union, the coalition won 34 seats against five gained by the Mouvement mahorais, a party on the island of Mayotte in favour of maintaining existing relations with France.

The coalition consisted of the Rassemblement democratique du peuple comorien (RDPC), which held 17 of the 31 seats in the previous Chamber elected in 1971 [see 24922 A], the Union democratique comorienne (UDC), which had held 10 seats, and the Parti pour l'evolution des Comores (PEC), which reflected the views of the more extreme Mouvement de liberation nationale des Comores (Molinaco), based in Tanzania and supported by the Organization of African Unity's Liberation Committee. Another participant contesting the elections was a new party led by Prince Said Ibrahim, Prime Minister in 1970-72.

The Government led by Prince Said Ibrahim had been defeated on a motion of censure on June 12, 1972, and the Prince had been replaced as Prime Minister on June 16 by Prince Said Mohamed Jaffar, leader of the RDPC, at the head of a reduced Cabinet of seven members compared with 10 previously. On Sept. 10 the RDPC and the UDC had announced that they would join forces with a view to promoting independence "in friendship and co-operation with France", and on Oct. 17 it had been reported that Molinaco had agreed to join a united front consisting el the three groups. The December elections had been precipitated by the resignation of Prince Said Mohamed Jaffar as Prime Minister on Oct. 18, followed by the formal dissolution of the Comorian Chamber of Deputies by the French Cabinet on Nov. 15.

On Dec. 5 Comoro Radio confirmed the victory of the Union and announced that the coalition had won 85 per cent, 73 per cent and 72 per cent of the popular vote on the islands of Anjouan, Grand Comoro and Moheli respectively, although on Mayotte the Union's share was only 26 per cent.

Of the four islands of the group, Grand Comoro returns 18 members to the Chamber of Deputies, Anjouan 13, Mayotte five and Moheli three.

The newly constituted Chamber of Deputies confirmed its support for the policies of the Union in a motion adopted on Dec. 23 by 34 votes to five (comprising all the representatives of Mayotte) authorizing the Government to study the means of achieving independence. On Dec. 26 M. Ahmed Abdallah, the representative of the Comoros in the French Senate, was elected Prime Minister, Prince Said Mohamed Jaffar becoming the new President of the Chamber of Deputies.

M. Abdallah (54), a businessman and a representative of Anjouan, had been a member of the French Semite since 1959 and had been President of the Chamber in the Comoros prior to its dissolution in November. On Jan. 7, 1973, M. Abdallah announced the composition of his new Government, which comprised seven members as before, but did not include representatives of either Mayotte or Moheli, all the deputies from both islands

having opposed M. Abdallah's election."

Overthrown by coup, but military involvement is unclear: *The New York Times* attributes coup to an opposition group, thus this is coded as rebel activity, *The New York Times* 4 August, 1975, p. 3. Lentz and internet sources are unclear about military involvement. Coup is led by Soilih, Abdallah who is later forced into exile in France.

Africa News, October, 1995 "Comores Cocktails and Kalashnikovs in Coup-Coup Land." *Mail and Guardian* (Johannesburg, October 6, 1995 by Eddie Koch. Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. The article reports "August 1975. President Ahmed Abdallah is deposed in a coup after winning the country's first elections three years earlier. Denard's mercenaries install a young populist leader called Ali Soilih as president. Denard leaves the islands for three years to embark on other African adventures."

The Times (London), December 1, 1989, "'Frightener' with a fading mission; Bob Denard; Man in the News." Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. The article suggests that Denard was the man behind Abdallah: "M Denard might well feel that he had every right to rule. It was he, apparently, who put Abdallah in the presidential seat when the Comoros declared independence from France in 1975, and it was he who knocked him off it a month later, only to reinstate him in 1978 when it became clear that his substitute, President Ali Soilih, was a disaster."

COM-1975-2 581 COM Soilih 03/08/1975 13/05/1978

Military coup, *The New York Times* 14 May, 1978, p. 8. Killed on 29 May 1978. Wikipedia notes that he was the half brother of Djohar.

Africa News, October, 1995 "Comores Cocktails and Kalashnikovs in Coup-Coup Land." *Mail and Guardian* (Johannesburg, October 6, 1995 by Eddie Koch. Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. The article reports "May 1978. Denard and a 30-strong commando overthrow Soilih – who, in the intervening years, imposed a rigid form of socialism on the islands and tried to smash their traditional Islamic strucuture [*sic*]. They restore Abdallah to power and Denard effectively rules the islands by turning his dogs of war into a Garde Presidentielle that becomes the military, and economic, power behind the throne."

DELETED

COM-1978-1 581 COM Atthoumani 13/05/1978 21/05/1978

Keesing's Vol. 24, July 1978, notes that he was a nephew of Prince Said Mohammed Jaffar who had preceded President Soilih as head of state.

Africa News, October, 1995 "Comores Cocktails and Kalashnikovs in Coup-Coup Land." *Mail and Guardian* (Johannesburg, October 6, 1995 by Eddie Koch. Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. The article reports "May 1978. Denard and a 30-strong commando overthrow Soilih – who, in the intervening years, imposed a rigid form of socialism on the islands and tried to smash their traditional Islamic strucuture [*sic*]. They restore Abdallah to power and Denard effectively rules the islands by turning his dogs of war into a Garde Presidentielle that becomes the military, and economic, power behind the throne."

DELETED: Figurehead

COM-1978-2 581 COM Abdallah 21/05/1978 26/11/1989

Africa News, October, 1995 "Comores Cocktails and Kalashnikovs in Coup-Coup Land." *Mail and Guardian* (Johannesburg, October 6, 1995 by Eddie Koch. Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. The article reports "May 1978. Denard and a 30-strong commando overthrow Soilih – who, in the intervening years, imposed a rigid form of socialism on the islands and tried to smash their traditional Islamic strucuture [*sic*]. They restore Abdallah to power and Denard effectively rules the islands by turning his dogs of war into a Garde Presidentielle that becomes the military, and economic, power behind the throne."

President Ahmed Abdallah Abderemane was assassinated by rebel group led by ex-army commander, New York Times 28 November, 1989, p. 9. Bob Denard a former French commando seized control of the island nation until French paratroops forced him out a month later. (source BYLINE: Lynne Duke, *Washington Post* Foreign Service DATELINE: JOHANNESBURG, Sept. 28). For his removal, see also The *Washington Post*, November 28, 1989, p. A29, "Comoro Islands' Leader Shot to Death" which reports "President Ahmed Abdallah, 72, who ruled the Comoros for all but three years since 1972, reportedly was killed during an attack in the presidential palace in Moroni, the capital, on Grand Comore island. .... Abdallah was allegedly slain by a man identified as Ahmed Mohammed, a top army soldier who resigned his commission recently after a dispute with the president." Later reports in *The New York Times*, December 9, 1989, p.1 & 7, "Mercenary Holding Island Nation Seeks Deal" which notes that "Sometime after midnight on Nov. 27, the 70-year-old President Abdallah was killed when an anti-tank missile slammed into his bedroom. The attack was initially attributed to disgruntled military officers.

Africa News, October, 1995 "Comores Cocktails and Kalashnikovs in Coup-Coup Land." *Mail and Guardian* (Johannesburg, October 6, 1995 by Eddie Koch. Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. The article reports "March 1985. Comorian members of the Presidential Guard stage a mutiny against their white mercenary commanders. The presence of the mercenaries – and accusations that they were plundering the island's coffers – leads to another bungled coup attempt in November 1987. Both uprisings are brutally supressed [*sic*] on Denard's orders. ...November 1989. President Abdallah is shot dead during a heated argument with Denard and a mercenary colleague called Commandant Marques, after the president comes under strong pressure from France and South Africa, now led by reformist President FW De Klerk, to get rid of the mercenaries. Denard is widely believed to be the assassin, but claims the president was accidentally shot by one of his own aides – who was panicking because the Comoros armed forces were busy staging a coup of their own! The murder, still unresolved, leads to Denard being forced into exile. Djohar is elected as president."

COM-1978-NEW 581 COM Bob Denard 13/05/1978 27/11/1989

Africa News, October, 1995 "Comores Cocktails and Kalashnikovs in Coup-Coup Land." *Mail and Guardian* (Johannesburg, October 6, 1995 by Eddie Koch. Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. The article reports "March 1985. Comorian members of the Presidential Guard stage a mutiny against their white mercenary commanders. The presence of the mercenaries – and accusations that they were plundering the island's coffers – leads to another bungled coup attempt in November 1987. Both uprisings are brutally supressed [*sic*] on Denard's orders. ...November 1989. President Abdallah

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For Denard's obituary, see *The Independent*, 16 October 2007 "Bob Denard." Accessed from the Web `http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/bob-denard-396988.html` It reports "Gilbert Bourgeaud (Bob Denard), mercenary: born Bordeaux 7 April 1929; six times married (eight children); died Paris 13 October 2007. ... It is now generally acknowledged in France that Denard was, for decades, the secret, deniable, armed agent of Jacques Foccart, the shadowy "Mr Africa" of successive French presidents. He was also, however, a willing tool of the apartheid regime in South Africa, becoming in the 1980s the virtual ruler of the Comoros, which provided a staging post for busting western trade sanctions against Pretoria. In 1995, after the collapse of apartheid and a shift towards a more aloof French African policy, he staged one coup too many. He landed on the Comoros with 33 mercenaries in a large inflatable speed boat. A few days later, he surrendered without firing a shot after France sent an expeditionary force to arrest him. Denard spent 10 months in jail in Paris awaiting trial for his alleged role in the assassination of a previous Comoros president in 1989. He was acquitted and "retired" to his small vineyard in Médoc. At a second trial this summer for his role in the 1995 Comoros coup, he was convicted of "conspiracy to commit a crime" and sentenced to serve a year in jail. The sentence was never applied because of his increasingly severe Alzheimer's disease. ... The first of several Denard-assisted coups in the Comoros occurred in May 1978, when the President, Ali Soilih, was murdered in circumstances which have never been fully explained. Denard always stoutly denied having been involved in this or any other assassination. "I was a soldier," he said at one of his trials. "Never a murderer." While living in the Comoros over the next decade, and using the islands as a base for other military excursions in Africa, Denard converted to Islam. He lived luxuriously on a 1,800 acre farm and claimed an Islamic right to marry a sixth wife, without having divorced from several of his previous ones. He had eight children in all."

Denard's obituary in *The New York Times* "Bob Denard, Hired Gun for Coups, Is Dead at 78." Accessed from the web at `http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/16/world/europe/16denard.html` also notes he was the effective ruler "he left his biggest mark in Comoros, starting in 1975, when he organized a coup d'état against President Ahmed Abdallah Abderemane. Three years later, he reinstated Mr. Abdallah and became the country's de facto leader as head of the presidential guard."

For his exit this time, see *The Times* (London), December 1, 1989, "'Frightener' with a fading mission; Bob Denard; Man in the News." Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. "French radio yesterday suggested M Denard was loading a plane prior to departure. His split with President Abdallah is said to have arisen out of a refusal by Pretoria to continue financing the mercenaries." See also *The Washington Times*, December 18, 1989, p. A2 "9 Comoros mercenaries return to Europe." Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. The article reports "Mr. Denard, forced out of the Comoros Friday after last month's mysterious assassination of President Ahmed Abdallah, was in South Africa yesterday and reportedly

unwilling to return to France, where he faces criminal charges for leading an unsuccessful 1977 coup attempt in Benin." This implies Denard left the Comoros on 18 December 1989.

Note that the French had landed troops on the island on Deember 15th. See "BBC SUmmary of World Broadcasts" December 18, 1989. "Comoros calm reigns French troops to "reorganize" Comoran forces." Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**.

COM-1989 581 COM Djohar 18/12/1989 29/09/1995

Said Mohamed Djohar. *The New York Times*, Nov 28, 1989, p.A9. records that before he entered office, Djohar was the head of the Supreme Court in Comoros (then spelled Comoro...). *The Washington Times*, December 1, 1989, p. A2 "Acting Comoros leader promises elections." Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. The article reports "Mohamed Djohar, acting president of the Comoros islands after the weekend killing of President Ahmed Abdallah, said yesterday new elections would be held within 40 days."

He only becomes effective leader once Denard, still head of the presidential guard, leaves. *Africa News*, October, 1995 "Comores Cocktails and Kalashnikovs in Coup-Coup Land." *Mail and Guardian* (Johannesburg, October 6, 1995 by Eddie Koch. Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. The article reports "The murder [of Abdallah], still unresolved, leads to Denard being forced into exile. Djohar is elected as president."

In October 1995 Djohar was briefly overthrown in a coup, again led by French mercenary Col Bob Denard. After six days Djohar was restored to power by French troops and Denard was sent to France to face trial. In November 1995, while Djohar was absent from the country, the acting prime minister, Caabi el Yachroutu Muhammad, declared himself interim president and appointed a government of national unity. Djohar disputed Yachroutu's action and appointed a rival government under Said Ali Muhammad. Djohar was exiled to Réunion but was allowed to return in January 1996 in a non-political capacity. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 41 (1995) & Vol. 42 (1996). See also The Independent (London) 2 October, 1995, p. 11. He was impeached in 1991, but had returned to power with backing of France.

On Djohar also see *Sidney Morning Herald*. September 30, 1995: Sultan Chouzour, a former Comoros ambassador to France, said scores had been wounded in the fighting, and that the mercenaries had today moved Mr. Djohar to a military camp under their control. He said Mr. Djohar had refused to sign a declaration handing over constitutional authority to the invaders. He was arrested. Afterwards Djohar is released and flies to Reunion for a medical check-up. Evidence emerged that Paris and the Chirac government actually was behind the Denard coup to remove Djohar. *Sunday Herald*, October 15, 1995. `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/5097618.stm` Tuesday, 20 June 2006 "French 'dog of war' spared jail." Reports: Denard is later tried in France, and convicted and sentenced to a five year suspended jail sentence for his part in the abortive 1995 coup.

For his post-tenurefate, he was first imprisoned, then released, went to the French embassy and subsequently to Réunion. For his imprisonment, see *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, October 5, 1995, "Comoros Coup ends as mercenary leader Denard gives himself up." Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. "The French intervention forced Denard and his troops to release Comoros President Said Mohamed Djohar, taken prisoner when the coup started a week ago."

Wikipedia notes that he was the half brother of Ali Soilih.

DELETED: Figurehead

COM-1995-1 581 COM Combo 29/09/1995 02/10/1995

The real power behind the coup is Bob Denard and his mercenaries.

For Captain Ayouba Combo's entry, see *The New York Times*, October 1, 1995, p.3 "Rebels Control Comoros Capital." "Army rebels backed by mercenaries were in control of the capital of the Comoros Islands today, after the coup d'état on Thursday in the Indian Ocean archipelago. The first foreign journalists in Moroni received reports that gendarmes back by about 40 soldier were still loyal to the deposed President, Said Mohammed Djohar. But the coup leader, Capt. Combo Ayouba, told the reporters, "There is no fighting on the island, all is calm. . . . Captain Combo heads a Transitional Military Committee but said an interim president would be named shorty before multiparty elections in the island nation, an Islamic republic of about 450,000 people. Captain Combo defended the crucial role played in the coup by a French mercenary, Bob Denard, who also holds the Comoran nationality. . . . One of the first acts of Mr. Denard's mercenaries when they landed on Grande Comore, the archipelago's main island, on Thursday was to free Captain Combo from jail. "The Comoro resistance was hidden in the country for three years," said Captain Combo, who had been detained since a failed coup in 1992. "Bob Denard came to liberate this country – we are friends. He came to give a hand.""

See also *The Independent*, October 2, 1995 "Coup captain takes over in the Comoros" p. 11. Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. "Moroni - A military officer in jail until three days ago announced himself leader of the island territory of the Comoros yesterday. Captain Combo Ayouba, imprisoned after a failed 1992 coup attempt, said in an interview on the terrace of the presidential palace that he had plotted from jail last Thursday's seizure of power, by a French mercenary, Bob Denard. Moroni, the capital, was calm yesterday. Children swam in the ocean despite a rainstorm, and a few rebel soldiers guarded key installations, such as the radio station, site of the only serious clash of the coup. Mr Denard and more than a dozen other foreign mercenaries involved in the coup had finished their job and would play no role in the new government, Captain Ayouba said. He suggested most of the mercenaries would be asked to leave, but said Mr Denard, 66, was a Comorian citizen entitled to live in the country. Captain Ayouba is a long-time associate of Mr Denard, who has led previous coups in the Comoros and elsewhere in Africa. The captain heads a "Military Transition Committee" that accuses the ousted president, Said Mohamed Djohar, of corruption and acting against the constitution. He said Mr Djohar was unhurt but in custody, and would probably stand trial. "We are going to change this country," said Captain Ayouba, 42. "We got support from the army for a quick change." His ruling committee has promised to consult all political parties in setting up an interim leadership that would hold national elections. No date has been proposed for the talks. On Saturday the overthrown government and an opposition party pleaded for international help in driving out the mercenaries. France, the former colonial power, has refused so far to intervene militarily, although it has put its 4,000 troops in the region on full alert, and French navy ships carrying landing craft are on the high seas. The deposed prime minister, Caambi el Yashourtu, called from his refuge in the French embassy for France to take action. France has cut aid to the Comoros, and has called for a return to constitutional order."

See also *Sunday Times*, October 1, 1995. Byline Mwambu Wanendeya, Moroni, and

Jon Swain. Accessed by **Lexis Nexis**. "CAPTAIN Combo Ayouba, the new leader of the Comoros Islands, was cheered by his subjects yesterday. But the legendary French mercenary who brought him to power in a bloody coup last week fared less well. The islanders burned a poster of the "white foreigner" in the street. "You are the president," they chanted at Combo before setting fire to the poster of Bob Denard, the mercenary who led the coup that sprung Combo from jail and propelled him to the head of a transitional military council. At an airport press conference yesterday, Combo, bearded and dressed in a new camouflage uniform studded with grenades and ammunition, praised the old French soldier of fortune who, at 66, had interrupted his retirement near Bordeaux to hire out his gun just when the era of the mercenary seemed over. "I cannot consider him to be a mercenary. He is a soldier like all of us soldiers. He came to liberate us," said Combo before driving away. But the head of an armed detachment at the airport did not think Denard's mercenaries would stay long. "The white men came to liberate us and now that we are in control they will depart after one week," he predicted. ... Despite Combo's assurances the situation is likely to remain confused for several days. ... This time, too, there are suspicions of French collusion. A French colonel and a captain, who were in charge of the Comoran president's security, had reportedly let Denard's mercenaries into his quarters on Thursday."

The Independent on 5 October 1995 published the following news. "A six-day coup in the Indian Ocean archipelago of the Comoros ended yesterday with an invasion by hundreds of French troops and a stand-off with the French mercenary who led the uprising. The troops, chiefly from units stationed in French territories and bases in the region but also including units flown from mainland France, landed at dawn on the main island of the archipelago, seizing two airports and the immediate surrounds of the French embassy. The troops, which included Foreign Legion detachments from the French island of Mayotte, were supported by helicopters and warships. "Colonel" Bob Denard, the 66-year-old mercenary, freed President Said Mohamed Djohar, whom he had been holding since launching the coup last Thursday, but was still negotiating his surrender last night. ... It was Mr. Yachourtu who announced an amnesty for the 400 to 700 Comorians implicated in the coup – though not for the 30 or so mercenaries led by Denard – and the establishment of a broad-based government of national unity to be formed after consultations with all parties, including those in opposition."

The Washington Post, October 04, 1995, p. A16 "Explosions, Gunfire Rock Comoran Capital." Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. The article reports "A coup leader, Capt. Combo Ayouba, had named three opposition politicians on Monday to assume control and set up elections. But one of them, Udzima party leader Omar Tamou, pulled out, saying that coup leader Denard and other mercenaries should leave immediately and let Comorans decide their own future. The two men named as co-presidents – Said Ali Kemal and Mohamed Taki Abdoulkarim – said the mercenaries should stay at least through elections planned for January or February." Said Ali Kemal was Head of the Shuma party and Mohamed Taki Abdulkarim was chairman of the national Union for Democracy.

See also *Washington Post* 5 October, 1995, p. A31.

DELETED: Figurehead

COM-1995-2 581 COM Abdoulkarim 02/10/1995 05/10/1995

Rulers.org presents the following entry on him: "Taki Abdoulkarim, Mohamed (b.

Feb. 20, 1936, Mbeni, Grande Comore, Comoros - d. Nov. 6, 1998, Beit Salam, Moroni, Comoros), president of the Comoros (1996-98). A long-time politician and a former minister, he was speaker of the Federal Assembly in 1982-84, and then went into exile in France. Returning in 1990, he unsuccessfully challenged Said Mohamed Djohar in presidential elections, then went back into exile. Emerging again in 1992, he served briefly as Djohar's prime minister, but was dismissed and later was linked to an abortive coup attempt. He went back into hiding until September 1995 when he supported the overthrow of Djohar by Robert Denard's mercenaries and was briefly installed as co-president until French troops landed and ousted the mercenaries. In March 1996 he emerged as winner of presidential elections in the coup-prone Indian Ocean island state. Taki, of the National Union for Democracy, took 64.2% of the votes in the second round."

For his position as co-leader with Combo, see *The Independent*, November 12, 1998, p. 6, "Obituary: Mohamed Taki Abdoulkarim" accessed through **Lexis Nexis** which reports "In September 1995 the president, Said Ahmed Djohar, who had been elected in 1993, was ousted by the mercenary military leader Colonel Bob Denard, who called on Taki to be Co-President. The French Army then intervened and arrested Denard, taking him to prison in Paris."

COM-1995-1 581 COM Bob Denard 29/09/1995 05/10/1995

Based on the reports, and Denard's previous role/rule in the Comoros, we code him as the effective leader.

For Bob Denard's entry, see *The New York Times*, October 1, 1995, p.3 "Rebels Control Comoros Capital." "Army rebels backed by mercenaries were in control of the capital of the Comoros Islands today, after the coup d'état on Thursday in the Indian Ocean archipelago. The first foreign journalists in Moroni received reports that gendarmes back by about 40 soldier were still loyal to the deposed President, Said Mohammed Djohar. But the coup leader, Capt. Combo Ayouba, told the reporters, "There is no fighting on the island, all is calm. ... Captain Combo heads a Transitional Military Committee but said an interim president would be named shorty before multiparty elections in the island nation, an Islamic republic of about 450,000 people. Captain Combo defended the crucial role played in the coup by a French mercenary, Bob Denard, who also holds the Comoran nationality. ... One of the first acts of Mr. Denard's mercenaries when they landed on Grande Comore, the archipelago's main island, on Thursday was to free Captain Combo from jail. "The Comoro resistance was hidden in the country for three years," said Captain Combo, who had been detained since a failed coup in 1992. "Bob Denard came to liberate this country – we are friends. He came to give a hand.""

For his exit, see *The Independent* (London), October 6, 1995, p. 14 "Comoros coup leader surrenders to France." "Bob Denard and his two dozen soldiers of fortune surrendered to French special forces and police yesterday, a week after he launched his third coup in the Comoros islands. In driving rain, "Colonel" Denard was the first to walk out of military headquarters and undergo a body search by two French commandos. He appeared relaxed, joking with French journalists. The commandos then escorted Africa's most notorious general-for-hire to a car. Two of his lieutenants followed and were placed in separate cars. The three vehicles sped to an abandoned airfield near Moroni's harbour, and from there Mr Denard boarded a helicopter for Hahaya airfield, 12 miles north of the city. He had negotiated with French officers yesterday, agreeing to surrender after

being assured his men would not be harmed. 11I don't consider myself a prisoner," Mr Denard told journalists as he surrendered. "There are no conditions, there is no surrender." Mr Denard claimed to have taken over the Comoros to save them from a corrupt president. But one Comorian, Abda Mohamed, smiled as he watched the motorcade go by the harbour. "He's gone. It is good," he said. "Now the French must leave us alone." ... Hours after the French took control on Wednesday, Mr Denard freed Mohamed Djohar, the president he deposed one week ago, and announced he was ready to give up on his latest coup attempt. Mr Denard, grey-haired and limping after decades of soldiering, has staged several coups on this poverty-stricken chain of islands between Mozambique and Madagascar, which he ruled through figurehead presidents from 1978 to 1989, when France negotiated his departure. Wednesday's intervention seemed to mark an end to French tolerance for the buccaneering figure who has claimed to have served French interests around Africa. At least three people died and 11 were injured in the dawn assault on Wednesday. The dead included two Comorian soldiers and a motorcycle rider killed by gunfire while transporting a French news photographer. The French had demanded Mr Denard's unconditional surrender, saying they had issued an international warrant for his arrest. Prosecutors in France said that he had illegally left the country as they investigated his role in the 1989 death of another Comorian president, Ahmed Abdallah Abderrahmane. In a radio broadcast on Wednesday, the Prime Minister, Mohammed Caabi el Yachroutou, who hid in the French embassy during the coup, announced an amnesty for all soldiers who supported the uprising. Opposition groups accuse Mr Djohar of incompetence and corruption and have demanded new elections as soon as possible. They were unlikely to support the new coalition government Mr Yachroutou announced in a fax sent to France on Wednesday."

The Washington Post, October 04, 1995, p. A16 "Explosions, Gunfire Rock Comoran Capital." Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. The article reports "A coup leader, Capt. Combo Ayouba, had named three opposition politicians on Monday to assume control and set up elections. But one of them, Udzima party leader Omar Tamou, pulled out, saying that coup leader Denard and other mercenaries should leave immediately and let Comorans decide their own future. The two men named as co-presidents – Said Ali Kemal and Mohamed Taki Abdoulkarim – said the mercenaries should stay at least through elections planned for January or February." Said Ali Kemal was Head of the Shuma party and Mohamed Taki Abdulkarim was chairman of the national Union for Democracy.

COM-1995-2 581 COM el-Yachroutu 05/10/1995 26/01/1996

For his entry see *The Independent* on 5 October 1995 which published the following story. "A six-day coup in the Indian Ocean archipelago of the Comoros ended yesterday with an invasion by hundreds of French troops and a stand-off with the French mercenary who led the uprising. ... It was Mr. Yachourtu who announced an amnesty for the 400 to 700 Comorians implicated in the coup – though not for the 30 or so mercenaries led by Denard – and the establishment of a broad-based government of national unity to be formed after consultations with all parties, including those in opposition."

For his control, see *The New York Times*, October 22, 1995, p.10 "Why Some Leaders Stay Home." "The Comoros, a group of three islands off Africa's east coast, will send Foreign Minister Mohammed Caabi el Yachroutou. But he is actually running the country, following a coup on Oct. 4 that ousted President Said Mohamed Djohar." See also "BBC

Summary of World Broadcasts." October 24, 1995, "Comoros; Prime minister to remain as interim president until elections." Source: Radio France Internationale, Paris, in French 1830 gmt 22 Oct 95. "In Comoros, the National Reconciliation Conference, which included the main political parties, has just taken a decision which will dash President Said Mohamed Djohar's hopes of returning to power. Three weeks after Bob Denard's failed coup, the conference decided that the interim president, Prime Minister Caabi El Yachroutou, should remain in power while new elections are prepared ...."

Member of the later Assoumani cabinet.

COM-1996-1 581 COM Djohar 26/01/1996 25/03/1996

For his entry, see "BBC Summary of World Broadcasts," January 25, 1996. Source: Radio France Internationale, Paris, in French 1730 gmt 23 Jan 96. Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. "A political solution is being sought to the Comoran crisis. After two days of talks in Madagascar under the aegis of the UN, delegations representing the government and President Djohar have just reached an agreement which makes provision for the head of state's return to Moroni. President Djohar was compelled to leave the archipelago last October during an abortive coup carried out by the French mercenary, Bod Denard. Chantal Lorho reports: [Lorho] Four months in exile, that is enough; it was necessary to make concessions and I could not refuse, my return is the main thing: this is what President Djohar said after the announcement of the agreement signed by his representatives and those of the national union government set up after Bob Denard's abortive coup in Moroni. President Djohar did not say what concessions he had made, but the Comoran foreign minister was more forthcoming: according to Muzawoir Abdallah, Mohamed Said Djohar agreed to renounce his presidential prerogatives and to retain only the symbolic aspects of power. As for the OAU, it said the two sides had agreed to hold free and fair general elections on 6th and 16th March this year. There remains an unknown quantity: will President Djohar run for a second mandate? He did not rule this out today. This will depend on my party, he said. As for the Comoran prime minister, he said it was impossible for President Djohar to run since the new electoral code sets an age limit for candidates of 70 years of age, and President Djohar is more than 80 years old."

It was determined that he could not stand for the elections of March 1996.

COM-1996-2 581 COM Abdoulkarim 25/03/1996 06/11/1998

See above. Rulers.org presents the following entry on him: "In March 1996 he emerged as winner of presidential elections in the coup-prone Indian Ocean island state. Taki, of the National Union for Democracy, took 64.2% of the votes in the second round. His opponent, Abbas Djoussouf, joined other Comoros leaders in congratulating Taki on winning what observers said was a fair and peaceful poll. Taki expressed his satisfaction with the outcome of the election. He told Radio Comoros: "Perhaps for the first time in the history of our country, the election of a president has proceeded democratically, freely and transparently. For this we are indebted above all to France, to the French government, and to the international organizations." He said he would unite Comorans and would not represent any particular region. He promised an economic revival with foreign aid, though it was not clear where this would come from. When in 1997 the island of Anjouan declared its independence, he immediately sent federal troops, but this only fueled the aggression of the secessionists. He died in office."

COM-1998 581 COM Massounde 06/11/1998 30/04/1999

Enters as a result of Abdoulkarim's natural death in office.

Ousted in a military coup, on pretext of stopping violent demonstrations against an independence movement on one of the islands constituting the archipelago. The *The New York Times* 1 May, 1999, p. 7. *The Independent*, May 1, 1999: THE ARMY of the Comoro Islands overthrew the civilian government of President Tadjiddine Ben Said Massonde yesterday in a bloodless coup. Last weekend President Tadjiddine's government had granted greater autonomy to the two smaller islands of Anjouan and Moheli. The government's move triggered three days of violent protests on the main island, Grande Comoro, led by opposition politicians. House arrest. See following news: May 1: *Chicago Sun-Times*: The army said President Tadjidine Ben Said Massonde and other government officials had been asked to remain in their homes. May 1: *The Herald*, Glasgow: The army seized control of the three-island Comoros Republic in a bloodless coup yesterday and placed government leaders under house arrest.

COM-1999 581 COM Azali Assoumani 30/04/1999 21/01/2002

Colonel. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 48, January 2002. He resigned from power. See following news;

The New York Times "DATELINE: MORONI, Comoro Islands, May 6. Col. Azaly Assoumani, who led a bloodless coup in the Comoro Islands last week, was sworn in today as the Indian Ocean nation's new President. Colonel Azaly, who also assumed the posts of Prime Minister and Defense Minister, named a new Government and a 12-member committee of state."

For his entry see also *Africa News* "Comoros; 18 coups in 24 years." Byline: Gunston Chola, Times of Zambia (Lusaka). "A statement read on the national radio yesterday and monitored by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in Nairobi named a Col Alliase Azemane as the new leader of the island lying 320km off the east cost of Africa between Mozambique and Madagascar. And as a tradition, the constitution of the country has been dissolved and all democratic machinery put on hold."

COM-2002-1 581 COM Hamada Madi 22/01/2002 26/05/2002

COM-2002-2 581 COM Azali Assoumani 27/05/2002 31/12/2004

He was appointed after two disputed elections.

2.129 MAURITIUS

MAS-1968 590 MAS Ramgoolam 12/03/1968 16/06/1982

Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam. Ramgoolam is not coded as removed by a coup. See the following news: The *The New York Times*, June 13, 1982, Sunday, Late City Final Edition, HEADLINE: SOCIALIST ALLIANCE SWEPT INTO OFFICE IN MAURITIUS VOTE, BYLINE: By JOSEPH LELYVELD, Special to the New York Times DATELINE: PORT LOUIS, Mauritius, June 12 BODY: "The party that has ruled this Indian Ocean island democracy since independence 14 years ago was routed so completely in elections today that it was left with not a single seat in Parliament. In a clean sweep, the opposition - the Mauritian Militant Movement and its smaller ally, the Mauritian Social Democratic Party - won election of all their candidates in the 60 constituencies. The only two members of the new Parliament not belonging to the victorious alliance are representatives of a local party on Rodrigues, an island dependency 250 miles to the east, where the victors ran no candidates. The vote was a repudiation of the Labor Party and its leader, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, the 82-year-old Prime Minister, and brought to power a party that was pledged to limited nationalization under a program of "Socialism with a Mauritian face." It has also promised to be nonaligned and to campaign in international forums such as the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations against the American military presence on the island of Diego Garcia, 1,250 miles away. Closing Port to Superpowers. Sir Seewoosagur's Government had claimed Diego Garcia, a British owned island that was once administered under the same authority as Mauritius, but indicated that it would be satisfied to see the Americans stay for the 43 years remaining on a 50-year lease if they paid rent. The outgoing Prime Minister said the opposition planned to lead Mauritius into the Soviet camp. But the Mauritian Militant Movement is pledged to close the harbor of Port Louis to Soviet as well as to United States naval vessels. Both big power have used it until now. The winning alliance drew support from all elements of a polyglot population of one million, nearly 70 percent of whom trace their origins to the Indian subcontinent. Sir Seewoosagur had hired a political consultant from Massachusetts, Joseph Napolitan, to prepare a series of American style television commercials. The Prime Minister's supporters wore T-shirts that proclaimed: "Forward with Ram to the Year 2000." Raising the prospect of the world's first centenarian Prime Minister, they painted the slogan "chacha power" on fences and gateposts in his constituency of Triolet. Chacha is a Hindustani term of affection for an uncle. Prime Minister Runs Fourth. But the power was apparently spent. The Prime Minister, who got 58 percent of the vote in his constituency in the last election, in 1976, came in fourth today, with 33 percent. he stunning victory followed a four-month display of democracy in action that left virtually every thoroughfare canopied with campaign banners and covered - not just the walls but the roadways themselves - with painted slogans and party symbols. The vote appears to have been on generational rather than communal lines, with the 36 percent of the electorate that is under the age of 30 responding to the alliance's promises of jobs. Paul Berenger, 37 years old, who has been the driving force of the Mauritian Militant Movement since it was founded in 1969, winced when he was asked whether the electorate had not in effect created a one party state. "Please, don't say that," he replied. "Don't use words like that. You're going to get me frightened." In fact, he said, to assure the 28 parties that were shut out of Parliament, his party intended to amend the Con-

stitution to entrench the provision guaranteeing a free election every five years. A three quarters majority is required for most significant amendments. The Mauritian Militant Movement has also pledged to take the island out of the British Commonwealth, where it recognizes Queen Elizabeth II as the chief of state, and make it a republic. Conciliation Gesture Possible. Aneerood Jugnauth, a Hindu lawyer who is the nominal leader of the Mauritian Militant Movement and the next Prime Minister, raised the possibility during the campaign that the outgoing Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur, might be made the first President as a gesture of reconciliation. The party also plans to amend the Constitution to revise the commitment to provide full and immediate compensation in the event of nationalization. But Mr. Berenger said its mandate would not lead it to push its Socialist program beyond the cautious goals outlined in the party manifesto. "This is not going to make us go any faster than we meant to go," he said. Mr. Berenger, who took part in the Paris student rising in 1968, said he hoped relations with the United States would be "very cordial," and he momentarily made light of his campaign charges that the Central Intelligence Agency had interfered on behalf of Sir Seewoosagur. "We'll call them in every time we have an election," he said."

MAS-1982 590 MAS Anerood Jugnauth 16/06/1982 22/12/1995
For his constitutional entry, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 28, 1982, October.

MAS-1995 590 MAS Ramgoolam N. 22/12/1995 17/09/2000
Navin Ramgoolam, was the son of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam (Rulers.org).

MAS-2000 590 MAS Anerood Jugnauth 18/09/2000 30/09/2003
For his post tenure fate, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 49, October 2003. Jugnauth resigned in 2003 and was elected president by the legislature.

MAS-2003 590 MAS Paul Berenger 30/09/2003 31/12/2004

2.130 MOROCCO

DELETED: Outside of Domain

MOR-1859 600 MOR Muhammed IV 28/08/1859 11/09/1873

The New York Times, Sept. 20, 1873, p.5 reports, "London, Sept. 19,–The Emperor of Morocco is dead. A civil war has broken out in Morocco between the son and brother of the deceased Sultan, and the trade of the country is paralyzed."

MOR-1883 600 MOR Abu Ali al-Hasan 25/09/1873 07/06/1894

Hasan I; son of Muhammed IV.

MOR-1894 600 MOR Abd al-Aziz 07/06/1894 05/01/1908

Son of Sultan Hasan I. Coup by brother, eventually brother accepts to become a French protectorate

MOR-1956 600 MOR Mohammed V 02/03/1956 26/02/1961

Youngest of three sons of Sultan Yusef, who was the son of Sultan Hasan I.

MOR-1961 600 MOR Hassan II 26/02/1961 23/07/1999

Son of Mohammed V.

MOR-1999 600 MOR Muhammad VI 23/07/1999 31/12/2004

Son of Hassan II.

2.131 ALGERIA

ALG-1962-1 615 ALG Ben Khedda 03/07/1962 25/09/1962

Lentz: "He was arrested in July of 1964 and spent much of the next several decades in prison or under surveillance." ***Keesing's*** Vol. 9, July 1963, shows he was OK then. He was arrested in July 1964.

ALG-1962-2 615 ALG Bella 26/09/1962 19/06/1965

Military coup, jailed until 1980. *The New York Times*, 20 June, 1965, p. 1.

ALG-1965 615 ALG Boumedienne 19/06/1965 27/12/1978

ALG-1978 615 ALG Bitat 27/12/1978 07/02/1979

Lentz. After stepped down, "then resumed his position as National Assembly president, where he remained until his retirement in 1990."

ALG-1979 615 ALG Benjedid 07/02/1979 11/01/1992

Chadli Benjedid. Rulers.org notes "He adopted the nom de guerre Chadli (Arabic Shadhili) when he became a soldier in the Algerian liberation movement (FLN) in the 1950s. He rose through the ranks of the guerrilla forces in Wiliya (military region) 2, becoming commander of the 13th Battalion on the Tunisian frontier in 1960. Later he joined the staff of Col. Houari Boumedienne on the Moroccan border. In 1962, shortly after Algeria won independence, he joined Boumedienne and Ahmed Ben Bella in overthrowing the Ben Khedda provisional government. He then restored order in the old Wiliya 2 area and was appointed commander of the Constantine military region in 1963. In 1964 he took over command of the Oran military region and was instrumental in Boumedienne's coup against President Ben Bella in June 1965. After the coup, Bendjedid was appointed to the Revolutionary Council, but his main concern was to ensure his control over the Oran military command. In 1969 he was promoted to the rank of colonel. He served as minister of defense from November 1978 to February 1979, when he assumed the presidency, following the death of Boumedienne. As president, Bendjedid stressed agricultural production and consumer goods, increasing the role of the private sector in Algeria's economy. He was reelected in 1984 and 1988. In 1989, in response to popular protests, he introduced a variety of democratic reforms, but these failed to satisfy an increasingly assertive Islamic fundamentalist movement. When the fundamentalists gained a resounding victory in elections held on Dec. 28, 1991, Bendjedid's position was weakened, and he was eased out of office by Algerian military leaders on Jan. 12, 1992."

Military stops electoral process worried about Islamist gains, *New York Times*, 12 January, 1992, p. 1. He resigns under pressure, military assumes power and cancels elections. Benjedid was OK after coup.

ALG-1992-1 615 ALG Boudiaf 14/01/1992 29/06/1992

Rulers.org notes "He fought in the French army in World War II, but later became a central figure in the nationalist movement against France, being a co-founder of the Organisation Spciale, and in 1954 he joined Ahmed Ben Bella on the National Liberation Front (FLN) leadership council. After being captured and imprisoned by the French (1956-62), Boudiaf and Ben Bella were released to form a provisional government in

newly independent Algeria, with Boudiaf as deputy premier. But he soon fell out with Ben Bella and founded the Party of the Socialist Revolution (PRS). He was arrested on June 21, 1963, and after being interned for several months, he went into exile in Morocco (1964), where he denounced the increasingly corrupt FLN. In January 1992, with the Islamic fundamentalists on the verge of winning parliamentary elections, he was invited to return as the head of a military-backed High State Committee. But once in office, he was equally outspoken against the fundamentalists and against corruption by government officials. He proposed a new 60-seat National Assembly from which both fundamentalists and old-time politicians of the FLN would be excluded, and spoke of holding presidential elections in early 1994, hinting he might run. On June 29, 1992, he was assassinated while giving a speech at the opening of a new cultural centre. Lembarek Boumaarafi, a member of the presidential guard with Islamist sympathies, was blamed for the killing and, in June 1995, sentenced to death. However, many believe that the assassination was planned by people within the establishment."

Mohamed Boudiaf was assassinated by group of armed and uniformed assailants during public speech – although identity of attackers is unclear, their appearance suggests attack by an organized political group, most likely the FIS. *The New York Times* 6/30/1992, p. 8.

ALG-1992-2 615 ALG Kafi 02/07/1992 31/01/1994
See Lexis Nexis: BBC August 30,1995.

ALG-1994 615 ALG Zeroual 31/01/1994 27/04/1999

ALG-1999 615 ALG Bouteflika 27/04/1999 31/12/2004
BBC News, 10 April 2009, "Landslide win for ALgeria leader" ⟨`http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/em/fr/-/2/hi/africa/7993671.stm`⟩ reports " Algeria's President Abdelaziz Bouteflika has been re-elected to his third consecutive term in office, official results show. Interior Minister Yazid Zerhouni said President Bouteflika secured 90.24% of the vote in Thursday's election."

2.132 TUNESIA

TUN-1859 616 TUN Muhammad III 23/09/1859 28/10/1882

Muhammad III as-Sadiq, Tunis, 23 Sep 1859 - 28 Oct 1882, (b. 1814 - d. 1882), See *The New York Times*, Oct.29, 1882. "Sidi Mohamed el Sadok, Bey of Tunis, died on Friday night of an intestinal disorder, which assumed the form of gangrene." So we code his death a result of natural death. He is not overthrown by foreign power. He was born in 1813. Bey forced to accept French protectorate status. Member of the Bany al-Husayn Dynasty, thus related to previous Bey(s).

TUN-1943 616 TUN Muhammad al-Amin 15/05/1943 25/07/1957

Actually a revolution – assembly abolishes the monarchy, New York Times 26 July, 1957, p. 1. Bey deposed by parliament, house arrest. Member of the Bany al-Husayn Dynasty, thus related to previous Bey(s).

TUN-1957 616 TUN Ben Ali Bourguiba 25/07/1957 07/11/1987

For failed coup attempt against Habib Bourguiba, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 13, 1963, p. 7 "Begin Trial of Leaders of Tunisia Plot." See also *The New York Times*, June 30, 1963, p.20 "Tunis Subsidizes Regime's Critics."

Prime minister declares president senile and names himself president, *Washington Post* 8 November, 1988, p. A1. House arrest.

TUN-1987 616 TUN Zine Al-Abidine Ben Ali 07/11/1987 31/12/2004

Ben Ali is Prime minister and declares president Bourguiba senile and names himself president, *Washington Post* 8 November, 1988, p. A1. See also `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8094012.stm`

2.133 LIBYA

LIB-1951 620 LIB Idris 24/12/1951 01/09/1969

Son, or closest relative to previous Sheikh Sayyid Ahmad ibn Sayyid Muhammad ash-Sharif as-Sanusi, the previous ruler of Libya. Removed in a military coup, exile in Egypt. *The New York Times* 2 September, 1969, p. 1.

LIB-1969 620 LIB Qaddafi 01/09/1969 31/12/2004

2.134 THE SUDAN

SUD-1956-1 625 SUD Al-Azhari 01/01/1956 04/07/1956

Lentz: "remained a leader of the Opposition during the military rule of Ibrahim Abboud and was arrested for antigovernment activities in July of 1961. Azhari remained imprisoned until January of 1962. He was active in the coup that ousted Abboud in November of 1964 and served as a member of the ruling Presidential Council. He became head of state as chairman of the council on June 10, 1965, Azhari was ousted in a coup led by Gaafar al-Nimeiry on May 25, 1969. He was detained by the new government until his death in Khartoum from a heart attack at the age of 69 on August 26, 1969."

The New York Times, Jan 29, 1962, p.3 "The Government released today ten political prisoners, including two Premiers, who were arrested in July on charges of having criticized the military regime. The two former Premiers are Ismail el Azhari and Abduallah Khalil."

He was arrested in July 1961.

SUD-1956-2 625 SUD Khalil 05/07/1956 17/11/1958

Removed in a military coup, *The New York Times* 18 November, 1958, p. 1.

See *Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 17, 1958, p.4. Was a Brigadier; *Christian Science Monitor* notes "It is quite possible that the coup could have been carried out with the acquiescence of Premier Abdula Khalil. .... He is known to have been a friend of General Abboud."

The New York Times, Nov. 18, 1958, p.24 also reports "London sees evidence that premier approved Army's Move to thwart Cairo." *The New York Times*, Nov. 27, 1958, p. 24 reports "Mr. Khalil said he knew beforehand of General Abboud's coup and approved it."

The New York Times, Jan 29, 1962, p.3 "The Government released today ten political prisoners, including two Premiers, who were arrested in July on charges of having criticized the military regime. The two former Premiers are Ismail el Azhari and Abduallah Khalil."

For being OK, first year out, See *The New York Times*, July 16, 1960, p.3, where he is warned to avoid politics. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, August 25, 1970, p.36.

SUD-1958 625 SUD Abboud 18/11/1958 01/11/1964

For his entry, See *Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 17, 1958, p.4. On his background, see *The New York Times*, Mar. 22, 1958, p.3. Was a General, career soldier. Remains figurehead president until 15 November 1964. Resigns as army commander, Nov. 15. *The New York Times*, March 23, 1965, p. 31: Four of his aides, thrown in jail, put on trial and acquitted. His obituary, *The New York Times*, Sept. 9, 1983, p. D18, notes: "After resigning, he lived for some time in Britain." Pittsburg Courier, December 12, 1964, Vol. 5, iss. 48, p.14: "...revolt in the Sudan has recently deposed the military dictator, General Abboud, who is now eating off the fate of the impoverished land, in a London hotel, ..."

Military regimes gives way to civilian government after violent mass protests, *Washington Post* 1 November, 1964 p. A1.

SUD-1964 625 SUD al-Khalifa 01/11/1964 14/06/1965
Lentz: subsequently ambassador to Italy until 1968.

SUD-1965 625 SUD Maghoub 14/06/1965 25/07/1966
Lentz: Law degree from Khartoum Law school.

SUD-1966 625 SUD Mahdi 26/07/1966 15/05/1967
Sadiq al-Mahdi, great-grandson of the Mahdi, Muhammad Ahmad and grandson of Sayyid Abdel Rahman al-Mahdi. Lentz: "Mahdi was arrested for treason following the ouster of President Ismail al-Azhari in 1969. He was exiled in April of 1970, but subsequently returned to the Sudan. He was rearrested in February of 1972 and remained imprisoned until April of 1974. Mahdi was again exiled, and was the leader of an unsuccessful coup against President Gaafar al-Nimeiry in July of 1976. ... Mahdi was again arrested in September of 1983 and remained in prisoned [sic] until December of 1984. .... Ousted by a coup on June 30, 1989. He was arrested and remained under house arrest until November of 1989."
For Fate, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 14, October, 1968.

SUD-1967 625 SUD Maghoub 18/05/1967 23/05/1969
Removed in a military coup, Lentz 1994, p.712. But Lentz also notes "Maghoub became ill in December of 1968 and spent the next three months in treatment out of the country." In ***Keesing's*** under the name of Mahgoub.
Keesing's Vol. 15, June 1969, notes: "In his statement of May 26 Mr. Awadalla disclosed that all but four of the Ministers in the previous Government had been traced and placed under "protective arrest." Ex-President al Azhari and Mr. Maghoub, at first kept only under house arrest, were transferred to prison on May 29."

SUD-1969 625 SUD Nimeiri 25/05/1969 19/07/1971
Lentz: "Left-wing military officers staged a coup on July 19, 1971, and captured Nimeiry ... but troops loyal to the government restored him to power on July 22, 1971. The coup leaders were tried and executed, and Nimeiry was elected president of the Sudan on September 30, 1971. ... General 'Abd ar-Rahman Siwar ad-Dahab ousted the government in a military coup on April 6, 1985, while Nimeiry was returning from a visit to the United States. He went into exile in Egypt following his ouster."
Keesing's Vol. 17, August 1971. "Left-wing Coup against General al Nemery." "Major Hashem el Atta (35), one of the original members of the Free Officers' Group which had seized power in the Sudan in May 1969, but who had been removed from the Revolutionary Command Council and the Government in November 1970, was on July 19 reported by Cairo Radio to have seized power. According to a statement made on July 21 by one of his associates, Major Mohammed Ahmed al Rih, the coup was completed within 40 minutes by forces of an armoured division led by Major el Atta and supported by the Presidential Guard, who surprised General al Nemery with other members of the Revolutionary Command Council at his residence and placed them all under arrest. According to a Beirut report, the coup was led by Brigadier Abdel Rahman Sharaf, commander of the Presidential Guard, and Colonel Abdel Moneim Mohammed Ahmed, commander of the Third Armoured Regiment, who were said to be in full control in Khartoum. The Iraqi News Agency reported the same day that, in announcing his coup, Major el Atta had declared that it was aimed at "correcting the course of the

May and October revolutions" by overthrowing General al Nemery's regime which, he asserted, had been set up by "a corrupted clique". He promised "democracy for all popular organizations", home rule for the southern Sudan–which was to be administered by its own "sincere citizens", a new Government, land reform, loyalty to all Arab and African alliances, and continued support for the cause of the Palestine guerrillas. Major el Atta also announced the release of 49 political prisoners, the revocation of all emergency laws passed by General al Nemery, and the banning of all political groups set up under the latter's regime, in particular of the Sudanese Socialist Union. On July 20 Major el Atta announced the formation of a seven-member Revolutionary Council consisting of Colonel Babiker al Nur Osman as chairman; Major Hashem el Atta as deputy chairman and C.-in-C. of the armed forces; Major Farouk Osman Hamadalla; Major al Rih; Major Mohammed Mahgoub Osman, a brother of the Communist Party's general secretary, Mr. Abdel Khaliq Mahgoub; another major; and Captain Moaweyah Abdul Hai (but not Brigadier Sharaf and Colonel Moneim Ahmed)."

SUD-1971-1 625 SUD Babiker al-Nur Osman 19/07/1971 22/07/1971

See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 17, August 1971, "Restoration of General al Nemery's Regime." "According to the version given in the Cairo newspaper Al Ahram later of events in the Sudan during the period from July 19 to 22, Major el Atta's coup had allegedly been organized by Mr. Abdel Khaliq Mahgoub–the secretary-general of the Communist Party of the Sudan–from the Bulgarian Embassy in Khartoum, where he was said to have found asylum after his escape from prison at the end of June. According to Al Ahram, he had sought contact with "opportunist" officers, who had taken advantage of the absence of the Minister of Defence, then leading a military delegation to Yugoslavia, and of the Air Force commander, then in Moscow; the rebels had been joined only by part of the Khartoum garrison–the Third Armoured Regiment and the Presidential Guard–who had disarmed the paratroops in Khartoum, whereas most garrisons in the provinces had opposed the coup; popular resistance to the coup had increased during the next few days, and a demonstration called for July 22 by the Communist Party had led to big counter-demonstrations calling for the return of General al Nemery; and the latter had thereupon been reinstated with the help of soldiers of the same units which had first supported Major el Attn. Major el Atta, this version said, had called for "popular resistance" to "foreign interference" but had been arrested shortly afterwards. .... While some fighting was still being reported to be going on in Khartoum, a special military court sentenced four of the coup leaders to death, and they were executed by firing squad on July 23. In addition to Major el Atta, they were Colonel Abdel Moneim Mohammed Ahmed, Lieutenant-Colonel Osman Hussein of the Presidential Guard and Captain Moaweyah Abdul Hai. General al Nemery announced the same day that of the soldiers loyal to his regime, imprisoned by the rebels on July 19 and attacked by them when the counter-coup began, 16 officers and 14 n.c.o.s had been killed. Later he stated that a total of 38 persons had been killed and 119 wounded during the counter-coup."

For trial and execution, see also ***Keesing's*** Vol. 17, August 1971. "Arrest, Trial and Execution of Plotters and Leading Communists." ***Keesing's*** Vol. 17, August 1971 "Statements by General al Nemery" also notes: "The following day General al Nemery disclosed that immediately after his return to power he had approached President Kadhafi of Libya with a request to be "presented" with Colonel Babiker al Nur and Major Osman Hamadalla. He expressed his gratitude to the U.A.R. and Libya for having provided

practical aid in crushing the coup, and in particular thanked President Kadhafi for having arrested the two coup leaders."

SUD-1971-2 625 SUD Nimeiri 22/07/1971 06/04/1985

See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 17, August 1971, "Restoration of General al Nemery's Regime." "Major-General al Nemery's return to power was announced late on July 22 by Omdurman Radio, which said that forces loyal to him, led by Lieutenant Mohammed All Kerbassi and supported by other officers who had refused to join Major el Atta's Revolutionary Council, had seized Khartoum radio station, occupied the presidential palace, freed General al Nemery and arrested all leaders of the July 19 coup. The declaration of a state of emergency throughout the country was announced by Major Abou Kassem Ibrahim."

Removed in coup, *Washington Post* 7 April, 1985, p. A1 For his exit and exile, see *The New York Times*, April 7, 1985, p. A1.

SUD-1985 625 SUD Abdul Rahman Swaredahab 06/04/1985 06/05/1986

In ***Keesing's*** found under General Saw el Dahab. Lentz has Siwar ad-Dahab. Lentz; Promoted to Field Marshall in 1987.

SUD-1986 625 SUD Al-Mirghani 06/05/1986 30/06/1989

Elected; deposed in military coup, briefly imprisoned. *Washington Post* 1 July, 1989, p. A1.

SUD-1989 625 SUD Al-Bashir 30/06/1989 31/12/2004

2.135 IRAN

IRN-1848 630 IRN Nasir Ad-Din 13/09/1848 01/05/1896

See *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 2, 1896, p. 2; photocaption: Masir-ed-din, Shah of Persia, Assassinated Yesterday. Encyclopedia Britannica: Born in July 17, 1831, Died May 1, 1896. Assassinated.

IRN-1896 630 IRN Muzaffar ad-Din 02/05/1896 08/01/1907

Lentz: Son of Nasir ad-Din. Signs a constitution that takes effect on December 30, 1906. Dies of a heart attack on January 8, 1907.

IRN-1907 630 IRN Mohammed Ali Shah 08/01/1907 16/07/1909

Eldest son of Muzaffar-ad-Din. See Lentz. He was deposed by pro-constitutional reformists, exile in Russia.

IRN-1909 630 IRN Sultan Ahmad 16/07/1909 21/02/1922

Son of Shah Mohammed Ali. He was deposed while out of the country.

Coup on 21 February 1921 `http://www.iranian.com/History/Feb99/RezaShah/index.html`, led by Tabataba'i, Sayyid Zia od-Din and Reza Khan. Sultan Ahmad is not deposed yet. Sayyed Zia is PM from the coup until May 24, 1921, when Reza Khan puts Qavam al-Saltaneh in place (after internal power struggle). Reza himself became PM in October 1923. This is when his power became absolute: Nikki Keddie (1999, "Qajar Iran and the rise of Reza Khan 17-96-1925) says: "[The British] did not object when Ahmad Shah, then preparing to leave for Europe, named Reza Khan prime minister. As Reza kept control of the army [he was war minister previously], this made his position so strong as to leave the shah without any power." p. 81. Since Reza's power rested on his control of the armed forces this is coded as a military coup. Exile in 1923.

IRN-1922 630 IRN Reza Khan 21/02/1922 16/09/1941

Coup on 21 February 1921 `http://www.iranian.com/History/Feb99/RezaShah/index.html`, led by Tabataba'i, Sayyid Zia od-Din and Reza Khan. Sultan Ahmad is not deposed yet. Sayyed Zia is PM from the coup until May 24, 1921, when Reza Khan puts Qavam al-Saltaneh in place (after internal power struggle). Reza himself became PM in October 1923. This is when his power became absolute: Nikki Keddie (1999, "Qajar Iran and the rise of Reza Khan 17-96-1925) says: "[The British] did not object when Ahmad Shah, then preparing to leave for Europe,named Reza Khan prime minister. As Reza kept control of the army [he was war minister previously], this made his position so strong as to leave the shah without any power." p. 81 It therefore can be disputed if the shah's rule ends in 1921 or 1923. He becomes king in 1925; resigns in favor of son as he expects to be deposed by allies, exile in South Africa.

IRN-1941 630 IRN Mohammad Reza 16/09/1941 30/04/1951

Son of Reza Khan. Parliament forces the shah to appoint a new prime minister, *The New York Times* 30 April, 1951, p. 8. Later goes into exile.

IRN-1951 630 IRN Mohammad Mossadeg 30/04/1951 19/08/1953

Shah dismisses prime minister, but he refuses to leave. Shah leaves country in face of rioting, but military eventually ensures the prime ministers fall. Shah moves first, so

I code this as action by other government actor, otherwise a military coup coding might be in order. Lentz 1994, p. 401; *The New York Times* 20 August, 1953, p. 1. Arrested and imprisoned.

IRN-1953 630 IRN Mohammad Reza 19/08/1953 16/01/1979
As above, son of Reza Khan. Shah leaves country after mass protests and failing support through the armed forces, Lentz 1994, p. 396. Exile.

IRN-1979 630 IRN Ayatollah Khomeini 01/02/1979 03/06/1989
Dies as a result of natural causes.

IRN-1989-1 630 IRN Khamenei 04/06/1989 03/08/1989

IRN-1989-2 630 IRN Rafsanjani 17/08/1989 03/08/1997

IRN-1997 630 IRN Khatami 03/08/1997 31/12/2004

2.136 TURKEY

TUR-1861 640 TUR Abdul Aziz 25/06/1861 30/05/1876

Son of previous Sultan. Encyclopedia Britannica: born in 9 February, 1830, died, June 4, 1876. "His death a few days later was attributed to suicide." The Atlanta Constitution, Aug. 31, 1904, p.4. argues he was assassinated. His deposition on the May 30 1876 was hailed with joy throughout Turkey; a fortnight later he was found dead in the palace where he was confined, and trustworthy medical evidence attributed his death to suicide. Coup by liberal party.

TUR-1876-1 640 TUR Murad V 30/05/1876 30/08/1876

Son of previous ruler. The Atlanta Constitution, Aug. 31, 1904, p.4. House, or rather "Palace arrest," ("his place of confinement in the Cheragan palace . . . " later jailed. "The confinement of Murad has been one of the most cruel character."

TUR-1876-2 640 TUR Hamid II 30/08/1876 27/04/1909

Son of Sultan Abdul Mejid I, who ruled 1839-1861. He suppresses parliamentarism; later deposed by parliament; confined.

TUR-1909 640 TUR Mahmud Sefket Pasha 27/04/1909 23/01/1913

Also Mahmud Shefket Pasha. He was appointed by parliament; deposed in coup by Young Turks. See *The New York Times*, Dec. 28, 1913, p. SM11: Assassinated, as was the Turkish commander in Chief, Nazim Pasha. For his assassination, see also *The New York Times*, June 12, 1913, p. 3 "Grand Vizier Slain by Assassins."

TUR-1913 640 TUR Enver Pasha 23/01/1913 08/10/1918

He had dictatorial powers. He fled to Berlin when Turkey signed armistice.

TUR-1918 640 TUR Mehmet VI Vahidettin 08/10/1918 01/11/1922

Also a son of Abdul Mejid I; hence brother of Hamid II. He was deposed by nationalists, exile in Italy. Los Angeles Times 11 February, 1922, p. I1; Lentz 1999, p. 439.

TUR-1922 640 TUR Ataturk 01/11/1922 10/11/1938

TUR-1938 640 TUR Inonu 11/11/1938 22/05/1950

TUR-1950 640 TUR Menderes 22/05/1950 27/05/1960

Prime Minster; deposed in a military coup and executed. New York Times 28 May, 1960, p. 1.

TUR-1960 640 TUR Gursel 27/05/1960 10/11/1961

TUR-1961 640 TUR Inonu 10/11/1961 13/02/1965

Elected PM.

TUR-1965-1 640 TUR Urguplu 13/02/1965 27/10/1965

TUR-1965-2 640 TUR Demirel 27/10/1965 12/03/1971

Lentz erroneously has the coup date in February. *The New York Times*, March 13, 1971, p.1 records "President Suleyman Demirel resigned under and ultimatum from the military leaders to quit or face a military takeover. It amounted to a coup d'tat [sic, HG] by communiqué."

TUR-1971 640 TUR Erim 19/03/1971 17/04/1972
He was shot and killed by leftist terrorists July 19, 1980.

TUR-1972 640 TUR Melen 22/05/1972 15/04/1973
Lentz: Subsequently served in the Turkish Senate. Shot and killed by leftist terrorists at his summer home in Kartal, near Istanbul, on July 19, 1980.

TUR-1973 640 TUR Talu 15/04/1973 25/01/1974

TUR-1974-1 640 TUR Ecevit 25/01/1974 07/11/1974

TUR-1974-2 640 TUR Irmak 17/11/1974 31/03/1975

TUR-1975 640 TUR Demirel 31/03/1975 21/06/1977

TUR-1977-2 640 TUR Ecevit 21/06/1977 21/07/1977

TUR-1977-1 640 TUR Demirel 21/07/1977 21/12/1977

TUR-1978 640 TUR Ecevit 01/01/1978 12/11/1979
Lentz: When the military ousted the government of Demirel in September of 1980, Ecevit was briefly detained by the military government. He was again arrested by the military regime in December of 1981 and was released in February of 1982. He was rearrested in the following April and was imprisoned from August until October of 1982.

TUR-1979 640 TUR Demirel 12/11/1979 20/09/1980
Military takes over after widespread political violence, *Washington Post* 9-12-1980, p. A1. He was arrested, and released the following month.

TUR-1980 640 TUR Evren 20/09/1980 23/11/1983
Lentz: remained president until November 9, 1989.

TUR-1983 640 TUR Ozal 13/12/1983 09/11/1989

TUR-1989 640 TUR Akbulut 09/11/1989 24/06/1991

TUR-1991-1 640 TUR Yilmaz 24/06/1991 20/11/1991

TUR-1991-2 640 TUR Demirel 20/11/1991 16/05/1993

TUR-1993-1 640 TUR Erdal Inonu 16/05/1993 25/06/1993
Son of previous Inonu!

TUR-1993-2 640 TUR Ciller 25/06/1993 06/03/1996
Female.

TUR-1996-1 640 TUR Yilmaz 06/03/1996 28/06/1996

TUR-1996-2 640 TUR Erbakan 28/06/1996 30/06/1997

He was forced to resign by military. *The Washington Times*, July 18, 1997, p.A16 "Army runs Turkey behind scenes; General eager to stifle Islamists's social and political clout." Accessed trhough **Lexis Nexis**. "NICOSIA, Cyprus - The recent ups and downs of Turkish politics have confirmed one key factor: The Turkish army is in power, albeit behind the scenes. It has moved in a determined way to confirm this power by obtaining the removal of an Islamist prime minister, Necmettin Erbakan; it has restricted the role of Koranic schools; it has forced the government to purge senior officers accused of religious leanings; and it has increased military cooperation with Israel. Officially, the army is not in politics. But the second-largest military force in NATO has an assigned role to "thwart domestic threats." And this includes Kurdish separatists as well as politicians who want to clamp a mantle of medieval Islam on a country ideologically moved westward by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk 70 years ago." See also *The New York Times*, July 1, 1997, p. A3. "Turkey's Islamic Rule Ends as Secular Leader Takes Over." Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. "Mr. Yilmaz's Government is likely to enjoy the support of Turkey's powerful military commanders, who applied heavy pressure to force Necmettin Erbakan, the leader of an Islamic party, from the prime minister position this month. The commanders asserted that Mr. Erbakan was undermining secular democracy and leading the country toward fundamentalism."

Keesing's Vol. 44, January, 1998: "After a seven-month trial, Turkey's Constitutional Court outlawed the opposition Islamist Welfare Party (RP) on Jan. 16, stating that it had conspired against the secularist order. The party leader and former Prime Minister, Necmettin Erbakan, and six other RP officials were also banned from political office for five years. The court's 11 judges ruled 9-2 in favour of upholding a charge brought in May 1997 by Vural Savas, chief public prosecutor of the Supreme Court of Appeals, that the RP was "undermining Turkey's secular regime and bringing the country to the brink of civil war" [see p. 41652]. It was reported that Erbakan, who had resigned the premiership in June 1997 [see p. 41702], intended to appeal to the European Court of Human Rights against the ruling. Whilst many political commentators criticized the court's decision, President Suleyman Demirel defended it on the grounds that it had underlined that "no one has the right to violate the laws of the Turkish republic"."

Keesing's, Vol. 49, December 2003: Sentencing of Erbakan The Supreme Court of Appeals in Ankara, the capital, on Dec. 2 sentenced former Islamist Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan, 77, to two years and four months in prison for misappropriating 1,000 billion Turkish lira from the now defunct Welfare Party (RP). However, he was allowed to defer serving his sentence for a year for medical reasons. An appeal by Erbakan, claiming that the Constitutional Court should inspect other political parties, was on Dec. 29 rejected by the Supreme Court of Appeals, which upheld Erbakan's sentence. [For legal charges against RP leaders see p. 42457.]

TUR-1997 640 TUR Yilmaz 30/06/1997 11/01/1999

TUR-1999 640 TUR Ecevit 11/01/1999 18/11/2002

TUR-2002 640 TUR Abdullah Gul 19/11/2002 14/03/2003

He became PM as Erdogan banned from serving. Becomes Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister in the Erdogan cabinet.

TUR-2004 640 TUR Erdogan 14/03/2003 31/12/2004

Keesings, Vol. 49, March 2003 records: "Recep Tayyip Erdogan, leader of the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP), was on March 9 elected to the GNA after winning a seat in a by-election with about 85 per cent of the vote in the eastern province of Siirt, following constitutional amendments allowing him to stand [see p. 45157; for background see below; see also p. 44997]. His election victory enabled Erdogan to assume the office of Prime Minister from AKP deputy leader Gul, who had been occupying the post on a temporary basis. President Ahmet Necdet Sezer on March 11 officially asked Erdogan to form a new government. Erdogan's streamlined 23-member Cabinet was approved by the President on March 14 [for previous 25-member Cabinet see p. 45099]. Only minor changes were made to the four-month-old Cabinet, with Gul replacing Yasar Yakis as Foreign Minister and taking over as Deputy Prime Minister for human rights from Ertugrul Yalcinbayir."

2.137 IRAQ

IRQ-1932 645 IRQ Faisal I 03/10/1932 08/09/1933
He was nominated by UK, confirmed in plebiscite. Died because of natural causes.

IRQ-1933 645 IRQ Ghazi 08/09/1933 04/04/1939
Son of King Faisal I. He died as a result of an automobile accident. (perhaps it was not an accidental)

IRQ-1939 645 IRQ Abdul-Ilah 04/04/1939 02/05/1953
Brother of Ghazi's estranged wife. After Faisal II comes of age, continues to be a close advisor of the king. He was assassinated in coup against Faisal II.

IRQ-1953 645 IRQ Faisal II 02/05/1953 14/07/1958
Son of King Ghazi. Nephew of Abdul-Ilah. He was assassinated in a military coup. *The New York Times*, May 6, 1958, p.5 "New Parliament Elected in Iraq." Re the parliamentary elections of 5 May 1958: "Premier Nuri as-Said and several others of the Cabinet are members of the appointed Senate and therefore were not involved in the day's balloting." *The New York Times*, June 3, 2007, "Iraq's Curse: A Thirst for Final, Crushing Victory" "Nuri al-Said, who tried to flee after a military coup in 1958 by scurrying through eastern Baghdad dressed as a woman. He was shot dead. His body was disinterred and hacked apart, the bits dragged through the streets."

IRQ-1958 645 IRQ Karrim Kassem 14/07/1958 08/02/1963
Removed in a pro-Nasser military oup, tried, executed. New York Times 9 February, 1963, p. 1.

IRQ-1963 645 IRQ Salem Aref 08/02/1963 13/04/1966
Served in the Iraqi military and was a commander in the Arab Israeli war of 1948. He died in a helicopter crash.

IRQ-1966 645 IRQ Rahmen Aref 17/04/1966 17/07/1968
Brother of Abdul Salam Mohammed Arif. Educated at the Baghdad Military Academy and served in the Iraqi Army. Coup by the Pan-Arab wing of the Baath party. Since new president is a military officer I code this as military coup. Lentz 1994, p. 410; *Washington Post* 18 July, 1968. Exile.

IRQ-1968 645 IRQ Hassan Al-Bakr 17/07/1968 16/07/1979
Keesing's Vol. 26, February, 1980: "President Ahmed Hassan Bakr on July 16, 1979, announced his resignation from the offices of President, Chairman of the ruling Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) and secretary-general of the regional command of the Baath party, and named as his successor to all three posts Mr. Saddam Hussein, Deputy Chairman of the RCC and deputy secretary-general of the Baath, who had long been considered the most powerful political leader in Iraq. President Bakr (67), who announced his decision to retire for health reasons in a television and radio broadcast to the nation, had come to power following the overthrow of President Aref on July 17, 1968." He dies three years later.

IRQ-1979 645 IRQ Saddam Hussein 16/07/1979 09/04/2003

Saddam Hussein is a distant cousin of Bakr. Captured after being in hiding inside Iraq, by the American occupation army on December 13, 2003 (The *Washington Post*, "Saddam Hussein Captured," December 15, 2003, p.C14), executed by hanging December 30, 2006. See *The New York Times*, 30 December 2006, "The Defiant Despot Oppressed Iraq for More Than 30 Years."

IRQ-2003-1 645 IRQ Tommy Ray Franks 09/04/2003 21/04/2003
Obviously imposed by the US.

IRQ-2003-2 645 IRQ Jay Garner 21/04/2003 12/05/2003
Obviously imposed by the US.

IRQ-2003-3 645 IRQ Paul Bremer 12/05/2003 28/06/2004
Obviously imposed by the US.

IRQ-2004 645 IRQ Iyad Allawi 28/06/2004 31/12/2004

2.138 EGYPT

EGY-1922 651 EGY Fuad I 28/02/1922 28/04/1936

EGY-1936 651 EGY Farouk 28/04/1936 22/07/1952

Son of Fuad I. Removed in a military coup, *The New York Times* 24 July, 1952, p. 1. Encyclopedia Britannica notes that "Sadat favoured the immediate public execution of King Faruq I and some members of the establishment, but Nasser vetoed the idea and permitted Faruq and other to go into exile." Monarchy abolished shortly after, exile in Italy.

EGY-1953 651 EGY Naguib 23/07/1952 14/11/1954

Lentz: Because of Naguib's connections with the organization (Muslim Brother hood, HG) he was placed under house arrest [in 1954, HG] at his home outside of Cairo. He was released by Present Anwar Sadat in 1971, the year after Nasser's death." He entered and exited in my opinion unconstitutionally. Encyclopedia Britannica's article on Nasser: "in the spring of 1954, in a complicated series of intrigues, Naguib was deposed and placed under house arrest, and Nasser emerged from the shadows and named himself prime minister." Their article on Naguib: "In 1952 the Free Officers helped Naguib win election as president of the officers club in opposition to a man backed by King Farouk. The Free Officers engineered a coup that overthrew Farouk that July, and they saw Naguib as the man to represent their new regime to the public. Thus in 1953 he became president of the newly formed republic, although he had a more conservative political outlook than did Nasser and many of the other Free Officers. Naguib wanted to see a speedy return to constitutional government and objected to the summary sentences that were passed on various politicians by the Revolutionary Tribunal. In February 1954 he resigned the presidency, but demands by civilian and military groups impelled him to resume the office. Nasser, however, steadily consolidated his own position and became prime minister. He shrewdly acceded to some of Naguib's wishes by allowing the revival of political parties and calling for a constituent assembly to draft a constitution. An assassination attempt was made on Nasser in 1954 in which Naguib was vaguely implicated. Naguib was placed under house arrest, which was eased in 1960 and ended about 1970, and he ceased to play any role in Egyptian politics." Resigned.

EGY-1954 651 EGY Nasser 17/11/1954 28/09/1970

For his entry see Nation's business, Dec. 1954, 42, 24, p.74. Also Encyclopedia Britannica article.

EGY-1970 651 EGY Sadat 28/09/1970 06/10/1981

Assassinated by soldiers during a parade, motivated by Muslim fundamentalism, Lentz 2002, p. 199 f. Could be coded as military forces or other. Very similar to Indira Ghandi.

EGY-1981 651 EGY Mubarak 14/10/1981 31/12/2004

2.139 SYRIA

SYR-1943 652 SYR Kuwatli 17/08/1943 30/03/1949

The New York Times, March 28, 1949, p. 1 reports "Strikes and demonstration in Syria, in protest against the Government's decision to start armistice talks with Israel, were reported." Removed in a military coup, exiled in Egypt. *The New York Times* 31 March, 1949, p. 1. See also The Christian Science Monitor, March 30, 1949, p. 7 "Syrian Army Head Seizes Control in Midnight Coup." "United States Minister James Hugh Keeley, Jr. reported from Damascus to Washington that President Shukri al Kuwalti [sic, HG], Prime Minister Khaled Bey Azem, and his entire cabinet had been arrested. ... "We have been compelled to undertake this change in the regime," Brigadier Zaim said. The commander cabled the United Nations that the Syrian Army took its action to put an end to internal anarchy."

The New York Times, March 31, 1949, p.8 "British Predicted Uprising by Arabs" reports "British predictions that defeat in Palestine would cause political upheaval in Arab states were fulfilled today in Syria, where the army seized control of the government. Those familiar with Arab politics were surprised but not astonished. One well-informed Arab said revolts had been contemplated in all Arab capitals because of dissatisfaction with the failure of existing regimes to protect Arab interests in Palestine."

Chicago Daily Tribune, April 3, 1949, p. 33 "Syria's Coup Leader Named Head of State" reports that President Al Sayed Shukri al Kuwatly, who was arrested in the army's bloodless coup Wednesday, was taken to a camp in the east Syrian desert." For his imprisonment, see also *The New York Times*, April 10, 1949, p. 29 "Syrian Chief Tells Israel to Beware."

SYR-1949-1 652 SYR Al-Zaim 30/03/1949 13/08/1949

For his entry, see The *Christian Science Monitor*, March 30, 1949, p. 7 "Syrian Army Head Seizes Control in Midnight Coup." "Brig. Husni el Zaim, commander of the Syrian Army, said the military coup was ordered because of "attacks against the army, inside as well as outside the House of Representatives." ... The army chief said the revolutionary movement was "purely local and has no foreign implications." This was taken to mean that the new government probably would proceed with the scheduled armistice negotiations with Israel."

Los Angeles Times, August 16, 1949, p. 12 "Bloody Syria Result of Tyranny" reports that Zayim organized a "so-called plebiscite [on] June 25 when he was unanimously elected President of Syria."

Removed in a military coup, and executed. *The New York Times* 15 August, 1949, p. 1; also *The New York Times*, Oct. 31, 1950, p. 13 reports, "on Aug. 14, General Hinnawi-then a colonel-had colonel Zayim and his Premier arrested and shot."

The New York Times, March 31, 1949, p. 8 "Denies Foreign Implications" reports "Arab sources at Lake Success said he [= Zayin, HG] was a politically independent professional soldier who fought in the Arab revolt against the Turks in the first World War and for Vichy forces in 1941 in Syria. He was trained at the French military academy of St. Cyr. He is 50 years old."

SYR-1949-2 652 SYR Hinnawi 13/08/1949 19/12/1949

On his entry and the coup that removes and executes Zaim, see The *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 15, 1949, p. B6 "Army Executes Ruler of Syria And His Premier."

On his exit in a military coup, see *The New York Times*, Dec. 20, 1949, p. 1. Lentz, 1994, p.731. *The New York Times*, Oct. 31, 1950, p. 13. "Beirut, Lebanon, Oct. 30-Gen. Sami Hinnawi, who organized a coup in Syria last year, was shot deat at a streetcar stop here today. The police said the killer was Ahmed Barazi, cousin of former Premier Mohsen Bey Barazi, who was executed on General Hinnawi's orders after his coup. ...on Aug. 14, General Hinnawi-then a colonel-had colonel Zayim and his Premier arrested and shot. General Hinnawi assumed the title Commander in Chief, but after a general election he himself was arrested. He was released last month." *Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 15, 1950, p. 3 "Slaying Jolts Syrian Pro-Hashemites" which records the "recent assassination of Gen. Sami Hinnawi ...." SYR-1949-3 652 SYR Shishakli 14/12/1949 28/02/1954 For his entry, see *Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 15, 1950, p. 3 "Slaying Jolts Syrian Pro-Hashemites." Military coup forces him to resign, exile in Brazil, murdered. *The New York Times* 1 March, 1954, p. 1; Lentz 1994, p. 732. *The New York Times*, Oct. 31, 1950, p. 13, records, he "escaped with slight wounds from an ambush Oct. 11 in a plot on his life."

SYR-1954 652 SYR Atassi, H. 28/02/1954 06/09/1955

Rulers.org: died December 5, 1960. "After the 1955 elections he retired to private life in Homs." For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, Dec. 7, 1960, p. 43.

SYR-1955 652 SYR Kuwatli 06/09/1955 01/02/1958

Rulers.org: "He fell into disagreement with Nasser in 1959, however, and once again went into exile, where he remained until his death." See also Lentz, he went to Beirut, Lebanon. Other spelling: Quwwatli, or Quwatli. We can not find, when, in 1959 he went into exile, but very likely after 1 Feb so we code post tenure fate as 0.

SYR-1958 652 SYR Nasser (president of UAR) 01/02/1958 28/09/1961

Military coup, country withdrawn from UAR. *The New York Times* 29 September, 1961, p. 1. See also *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 7, November, 1961 Syria, Syrian, Page 18437. "A successful army coup aimed at the secession of Syria from the United Arab Republic and the restoration of Syrian independence took place in Damascus in the early hours of Sept. 28. The coup was carried out by a number of high-ranking Syrian officers in the U.A.R. Army and followed secret talks by their leaders with President Nasser's personal representative, Field-Marshal Abdel Hakim Amer; during these talks strong dissatisfaction was reported to have been expressed by the Syrian officers at the alleged preferment of Egyptian officers and the increasing introduction of the latter in Syrian units."

SYR-1961-1 652 SYR Al-kuzbari 28/09/1961 01/12/1961

For the entry of Dr. Mamoun Kuzbari, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 7, November, 1961 Syria, Syrian, Page 18437. "Meanwhile a civilian Government consisting largely of techniciansamong them several prominent bankershad been set up in Damascus on Sept 29 under the Premiership of Dr. Maresun Kuzbari, a former Vice-President of the Syrian Republic."

Lentz: he left the government in March of 1962. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 8, September 1962 notes Kuzbari resigned as president of the Assembly in September, 1962. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 9, April 1963 says he is arrested after the Coup, together with Kudsi and several others.

SYR-1961-2 652 SYR El-Kudsi 01/12/1961 28/03/1962

Keesing's Vol. 8, June 1962: The second military coup which took place in Damascus on March 28 was followed by a period of political confusion; a section of the Army which supported Syria's reunion with the United Arab Republic seized power in Aleppo on April 1, but the revolt collapsed two days later. After prolonged negotiations with the General Command (the ruling military junta), President Nazim el Kudsi, who had been held a prisoner since the coup, was reinstated on April 13 on the understanding that the members of the Constituent Assembly would resign, and three days later a transitional Government was formed which largely reversed the previous Government's conservative social policy. Details of political developments since the coup are given below under cross-headings." See also *The New York Times* 29 March, 1962, p.1.

SYR-1962-1 652 SYR Zahreddin 28/03/1962 13/04/1962

The New York Times Mar 8, 1963 records he has been arrested. See also *The New York Times*, May 1963. (Less than a year after out)

SYR-1962-2 652 SYR El-Kudsi 13/04/1962 08/03/1963

Keesing's Vol. 9, April 1963, notes that the Revolutionary Council reimposed the state of emergency on March 9, ... "President Kudsi and Mr. Hourani were placed under house arrest immediately after the coup, and many political leaders, officers, and journalists were arrested, including General Zahreddin, Dr. Kuzbari Dr.Maarouf Dawalibi (a former Premier), Major-General AzizAbdel Karim (the former Minister of the Interior), and Mr. Attar. Dr. Azem escaped over his garden wall into the Turkish Embassy next door, and was granted political asylum by the Turkish Government; the Embassy was surrounded by troops to prevent his escape, and was stoned by hostile demonstrators on March 10. It was reported on the same day that about 100 people had been arrested, most of them Communists or supporters of Mr. Hourani, but there were no executions or mass arrests comparable with those which had followed the coup in Iraq."

Military coup, refuge in Turkish embassy. *The New York Times* 9 March, 1963, p. 1.

SYR-1963-1 652 SYR Atassi, L. 09/03/1963 27/07/1963

Louai al-Atassi,(Major-General) He was the chairman of the National Revolutionary Command Council. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 10 (1964). A General. Ousted as leader of Revolutionary Council after internal power struggle, Lentz 1994, p. 733. Cannot find information on his fate. Unclear, but highly doubtful if related to other Attassi leaders, H, and H.

SYR-1963-2 652 SYR Al-Hafiz 27/07/1963 25/02/1966

See Lentz. Removed in a military coup, wounded and imprisoned. New York Times 26 February, 1966, p. 3.

SYR-1966 652 SYR El-Atassi, N. 25/02/1966 13/11/1970

Also spelled as (Nureddin) Attassi. Very unlikely he is related to the earlier Attassi leaders, L. and H. For his entry, see the *Washington Post*, Feb 26, 1966, p. A11 and *The*

New York Times, February 26, p.3 "Syrian Coup Put 2 Ex-Leaders Back in Power." Removed in a military coup, house arrest, imprisoned. *The New York Times* 14 November, 1970, p. 1.

SYR-1970 652 SYR Al-Khatib 18/11/1970 22/02/1971
Lentz: subsequently chosen as president of the Federation of Arab Republics and served until 1975.

SYR-1971 652 SYR Al-Assad H. 22/02/1971 10/06/2000
Dies from natural causes.

SYR-2000 652 SYR Bashar al-Assad 11/06/2000 31/12/2004
Son of Hafiz Al-Assad, previous ruler.

2.140 LEBANON

LEB-1943 660 LEB EL Khoury 22/11/1943 18/09/1952

Lentz: he was forced to resign. *Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 18, 1952, p. 11 "The President of Lebanon, Bechari el Khoury, has resigned and left the administration of the country in the hands of the Army commander until Parliament elects a new President. ... The Army commander is Gen. Fuad Shehab. ... Armored vehicles appeared in the streets of Beirut .... Before the President resigned, 14 deputies - including three former Premiers - issued a joint communiqué asking him to resign immediately and calling on the public to continue the strike until this demand was fulfilled." Looks a lot like a coup, but not quite. Khoury was a lawyer. *Washington Post*, Sept. 19, 1952, p. 17: "Political informants stressed, however, that today's switch was not a military coup. ... Under constitutional procedure, Parliament must choose a new President within eight days for this republic ...."

For his Obituary, see *The New York Times*, Jan 12, 1964, p.93. "In 1949 Parliament amended the Constitution to allow President el-Khoury to be elected a second term. ... After his resignation, Mr. el-Khoury lived in political retirement in his country home in a coastal village 12 miles north of Beirut."

LEB-1952-1 660 LEB Chebab 19/09/1952 23/09/1952

LEB-1952-2 660 LEB Chamoun 23/09/1952 23/09/1958

LEB-1958 660 LEB Chehab 23/09/1958 23/09/1964

Lentz: Also notes he briefly held power after el-Khoury resigns in 1952. "Chehab refused an offer by a majority of Parliament to remain president for a second term ... He remained a powerful figure in Lebanese politics and had the support of the army and the intelligence services."

LEB-1964 660 LEB Helou 23/09/1964 23/09/1970

See Lentz.

LEB-1970 660 LEB Franjieh 23/09/1970 23/09/1976

See Lentz

LEB-1976 660 LEB Sarkis 23/09/1976 23/09/1982

Lentz: "Sarkis suffered from ill health as his term of office came to an end. ... Sarkis retired to Paris, where he died at the age of 60 after a long illness on June 27, 1985." Does not qualify as exile, because it seems due to his health.

LEB-1982 660 LEB Gemayel, Amin 23/09/1982 23/09/1988

Boston Globe, Dec. 1, 1989. Is at Harvard as a fellow at CFIA in 1989.

LEB-1988 660 LEB Aoun 23/09/1988 05/11/1989

Lentz: Appointed by Gemayel. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 37, August, 1991. "Gen. Michel Aoun, the rebel Maronite leader who launched an unsuccessful "war of liberation" against Syrian forces in Lebanon in the late 1980s, arrived in exile in France on Aug. 29. Aoun had been living in the French embassy in Beirut since Syrian and Lebanese forces toppled

his "government" in October 1990. Aoun's departure into exile was made possible on Aug. 26 when the National Assembly approved a law providing a general amnesty for crimes committed during the civil war (1975-90). Aoun and his two colleagues, Gen. Issam Abu Jamrah and Gen. Adgar Ma'luf, were subsequently given a special pardon by President Elias Hrawi. The pardon stipulated that Aoun, Jamrah and Ma'luf should live abroad for at least five years and would lose their immunity if they engaged in political activity during that period. Some US$30,000,000 held by Gen. Aoun in European bank accounts would be frozen pending a negotiated settlement." Transitional government. Later rebels and flees country.

LEB-1989-1 660 LEB Moawad 05/11/1989 22/11/1989

Rulers.org notes "A member of a powerful Maronite Christian family in the north of Lebanon, he became involved in politics and was a member of parliament from 1957 to 1989. Between 1960 and 1982 he served in a number of posts, including chairman of the Administration of Justice Parliamentary Commission (1959-61), chairman of the Budget and Finance Commission (from 1960), minister of post and telecommunications (1961-64), minister of public works (1969), and minister of education and fine arts (1980-82). ... In a special session of parliament, on Nov. 5, 1989, he was elected president - a post Lebanon's 1943 charter specified had to be held by a Maronite - over the objections of Maronite Gen. Michel Aoun, who denounced Moawad as a Syrian puppet. Moawad pledged to implement an Arab League-sponsored plan for peace between Muslims and Christians that included a Syrian role in the process, but he was killed just 17 days later by a car bomb that also took the lives of over 20 others. The bombing took place as Moawad and other officials returned from a ceremony celebrating the 46th year of Lebanese independence from French rule. In 2005 his widow Nayla (b. July 3, 1940, Bsharri, Lebanon) became minister of social affairs – Lebanon's first female minister."

Assassinated using a remote bomb. Perpetrators unclear. If Syrian backed rebels involved, exitcode needs to change to 3. *Washington Post* 24 November, 1989.

LEB-1989-2 660 LEB Elias Hrawi 23/11/1989 24/11/1998

LEB-1998 660 LEB Emile Lahoud 24/11/1998 31/12/2004

Keesing's Vol. 50, August 2004 "After weeks of speculation and political manoeuvring, the Cabinet held an extraordinary meeting on Aug. 28 and approved a constitutional amendment which provided for a three-year extension to the mandate of President Emile Lahoud. Lahoud's six-year term of office had ended in November and he was constitutionally bound to refrain from running for a second term [for election of Lahoud in October 1998 see p. 42584]. The constitutional amendment required approval by a two-thirds majority of the 128-member National Assembly (the unicameral legislature). In October 1995 the National Assembly had approved a three-year extension to the presidential term of Lahoud's predecessor, Elias Hrawi [see p. 40800]."

LEB-2008 660 LEB Michel Suleiman 25/05/2008

He was army chief of staff, and considered a compromise candidate. For his entry, see *The New York Times*, 25 May 2008, accesses online, "Lebanon's New President Is Sworn In," notes "Michel Suleiman was sworn in as Lebanon's president Sunday after parliament elected him in long-delayed vote following an 18-month political stalemate that brought the country to the brink of another civil war. The new president praised

Hezbollah's fight against Israel and also said there needs to be a dialogue over the future of the group's arsenal, addressing key demands of both the Iranian-backed militants and their political rivals. ... The Hezbollah-led opposition and Western-backed government agreed last week to elect Suleiman as part of their deal to end the political crisis. The presidential vote had been postponed 19 times since November when the last president, Emile Lahoud, left office. ... As the session got under way, four lawmakers objected to the vote, saying the constitution must be first amended to allow a sitting army chief to run for the post. But Berri rejected their requests. Lebanon's constitution bans serving top government officials, including army commanders, from becoming president. Parliament should have to amend the constitution but experts said this time around is an exception because the president's post is vacant."

2.141 JORDAN

JOR-1921 663 JOR Abdullah Al-Hussein 11/04/1921 20/07/1951

Son of King Husein ibn Ali of Al ?ijaz (the Hejaz). He was appointed by UK. For his assassination, see The Hartford Courant, July 21, 1951, p.1 and The *Washington Post*, July 21, 1951, p.1 "Jordan King Abdullah Assassinated by Arab." See also *The New York Times* 21 July, 1951, p. 1; Lentz 1994, p. 466.

JOR-1951-1 663 JOR Abdullah El-Hashim 20/07/1951 06/09/1951

Naif. Youngest son of King Abdullah. See *The New York Times*, August 11, 1952, p. 5, which reports "Available members [to succeed Talal, HG] are Talal's exiled brother, Prince Naif, now in Beirut. .... On June 4 .... The Premier charged a few days later that Talal's younger brother, Prince Naif, was plotting to seize the throne. The Premier accused Naif of conducting intrigues from Beirut. He added that Prince Naif had attempted to take control while the Prince was regent during the period between the death of Abdullah and the return of Talal from Switzerland." He was regent for his brother.

JOR-1951-2 663 JOR Ibn Abdullah-Hashim 06/09/1951 11/08/1952

Eldest son of King Abdullah. Talal was mentally ill, removed by parliament. See Lentz. Also for his ouster: *The New York Times*, Aug. 12, 1952, p. 1. He was mentally unfit, exile in Egypt.

JOR-1952 663 JOR Hussein Ibn Talal El-Hashim 11/08/1952 07/02/1999

Oldest son of King Talal, and grandson of King Abdullah. He died from natural causes.

JOR-1999 663 JOR Abdullah Ibn H. El-Hashimi 07/02/1999 31/12/2004

A career military officer. The eldest son of Hussein and his English-born second wife, Antoinette Gardiner.

2.142 ISRAEL

ISR-1948 666 ISR Ben Gurion 14/05/1948 08/12/1953

ISR-1953 666 ISR Sharett 08/12/1953 03/11/1955

ISR-1955 666 ISR Ben Gurion 03/11/1955 16/06/1963

ISR-1963 666 ISR Eshkol 19/06/1963 26/02/1969

ISR-1969-1 666 ISR Allon 26/02/1969 17/03/1969
Commander in the Haganah, one founder of Palmach. Retires from IDF in 1950

ISR-1969-2 666 ISR Meir 17/03/1969 03/06/1974

ISR-1974 666 ISR Rabin 03/06/1974 08/04/1977
IDF Chief of Staff.

ISR-1977-1 666 ISR Peres 08/04/1977 21/06/1977
Not a General, but in 1948, Shimon Peres was appointed head of Israel's navy.

ISR-1977-2 666 ISR Begin 21/06/1977 10/10/1983
Leader of Irgun, at least partially responsible for the attack on the King David Hotel. Otherwise, not a member of IDF. See `http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/biography/begin.html`

ISR-1983 666 ISR Shamir 10/10/1983 14/09/1984
One of the principal leaders of Lohamei Herut Yisrael (Lehi). Shamir joined Israel's security services in the mid-1950's.

ISR-1984 666 ISR Peres 14/09/1984 20/10/1986

ISR-1986 666 ISR Shamir 20/10/1986 12/07/1992

ISR-1992 666 ISR Rabin 12/07/1992 04/11/1995
Assassinated by radical Jewish student. *Washington Post* 5 November, 1995.

ISR-1995 666 ISR Peres 04/11/1995 18/06/1996

ISR-1996 666 ISR Netanyahu 18/06/1996 06/07/1999
Not a general. His brother led and died in the famous Entebbe raid.

ISR-1999 666 ISR Barak 06/07/1999 07/03/2001
General, most decorated in Israeli history.

ISR-2001 666 ISR Ariel Sharon 08/03/2001 31/12/2004
General. Forbidden to take position of Minister of Defence and such as a result of the 1982 massacres at Shabra and Chatilla, for which he was held indirectly responsible.

2.143 SAUDI ARABIA

SAU-1927 670 SAU Aziz 20/05/1927 09/11/1953

King Ibn Saud, who was born 'Abdul-ul-'Aziz ibn 'Ab-ul Rahman ibn Feisal al Saud. Son of Emir Abdur Rahman and the grandson of Emir Feisal, who ruled the Nejd from 1834 until 1867.

SAU-1953 670 SAU Saud 09/11/1953 02/11/1964

Lentz: "the Council of Ministers forced Saud's abdication as king on November 2, 1964. Saud went into exile in Europe." Third son of Ibn Saud. He resigns due to poor health.

SAU-1964 670 SAU Faisal 02/11/1964 25/03/1975

Son of King Ibn Saud, so brother or half brother of Saud. Slain by nephew. Nephew gets decapitated later, and has no apparent political gain from his dead, so this is most likely murder out of personal motives. Lentz 2002, p. 164 f.

SAU-1975 670 SAU Khalid 25/03/1975 13/06/1982

Son of King Ibn Saud. Half brother of Faisal.

SAU-1982 670 SAU Fahd 13/06/1982 01/01/1996

Son of king Ibn Saud. So half brother of Khalid and Faisal. Rulers.org: has a stroke in 1995. Then Abdullah takes over. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 42, February 1996: "It was announced on Feb. 21 that King Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz had reassumed full control of Saudi Arabia's affairs following his recovery from illness. A royal order issued on Jan. 1 had entrusted Fahd's half-brother, Crown Prince Abdullah ibn Abdul Aziz, to "undertake the affairs of state" while the King enjoyed "rest and recuperation". No details had been given about the nature of Fahd's illness, although it was widely reported that he had suffered a stroke [see p. 40928]. Encyclopedia Britannica notes: "Fahd suffered a stroke in 1995 and on January 1, 1996, handed over control of the government to his half brother Crown Prince Abdullah. Less than two months later, Fahd returned to power, though Abdullah continued to handle the day-to-day affairs of the country." King Fahd dies August 1, 2005.

SAU-1996 670 SAU Abdullah 01/01/1996 31/12/2004

2.144 YEMEN (ARAB REPUBLIC OF YEMEN)

YEM-1904 678 YEM Yahya 04/06/1904 17/02/1948

Killed by assassins, but their identity is unclear, see The *Washington Post*, March 7, 1948, p. C8, "Father Slain on Auto Ride, Prince of Arab Kingdom Says." The assassination seems to have political motives, so I will code this as rebel activity. For the coup that removes him, see also *The New York Times* February 20, 1948, p. 1 "Yemen Head Killed With 3 Sons, Aide."

His death was already reported, but later denied, one month earlier. For his entry into power, supposedly elected, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January (NB!) 16, 1948, p. 22. "King Yehia, Ruler of Yemen 30 Years, dead; Elect Another."

YEM-1948-1 678 YEM Ibn Ahmed Alwazir 17/02/1948 13/03/1948

For the coup that brings him to power, see *The New York Times* February 20, 1948, p. 1 "Yemen Head Killed With 3 Sons, Aide." The article reports that "El Sayed Abdullah Ibn Ahmed el Wazir, one of Yemen's religious leaders and former First Minister, had been elected Iman (Islamic leader) replacing Yahya. ... El Wazir is described here as a wealthy owner and coffee exporter who was head of the delegation that concluded a peace treaty with Saudi Arabia following a frontier war seventeen years ago."

See Lentz. Crown prince assembles army of royalist supporters and throws out ruler, Lentz 1994, p. 846. Tried and hung. *The New York Times*, April 10, 1948, p. 7 "Deposed Ruler of Yemen is Reported Executed."

Ibn Ahmed Alwazir most likely is the son of Ahmed el Wazir. The *Christian Science Monitor*, April 14, 1948, p. 15 "Son of Former King Executed in Yemen," reports "Ahmed el Wazir, former Pretender to the Throne of Yemen, has been hanged on a charged of assassinating the former ruler, it was announced officially here. Ahmed el Wazir was a son of the former King, Imam Yehia. Announcement of the execution was made by Prince Abdullah, a brother of Ahmed el Wazir." Hence, Ibn Ahmed Alwazir most likely is a grandson of the former king.

YEM-1948-2 678 YEM Ibn Yahya Hamid 13/03/1948 18/09/1962

Son of Yahya.

YEM-1962-1 678 YEM Al-Badr 18/09/1962 27/09/1962

Son of Hamid. Lentz. "He was forced from the throne by a rebellion on September 27, 1962. He was initially reported to have been killed, but reemerged the following month to lead the royalist forces in a civil war against the republican government in San'a." Later returns to Yemen to lead the royalists forces in 1969, but fled Yemen for London in February 1970. See also ***Keesing's*** Vol. 10, February 1964. Removed in a military coup, Lentz 1994, p. 846. Leads royalist forces afterwards.

YEM-1962-2 678 YEM Al-Sallal 27/09/1962 05/11/1967

Lentz: Educated at the Baghdad Military College. Removed in a military coup, exile in Baghdad. *The New York Times* 5 November, 1967, p. 14.

YEM-1967 678 YEM Al-Iryani 05/11/1967 13/06/1974

Military coup, exile. *Washington Post* 14 June, 1974, p. A22.

YEM-1974 678 YEM Al-Hamadi 13/06/1974 11/10/1977

Assassinated, killers never identified. Lentz 2002, p. 175 f.; New York Times 12 October, 1977, p. 9.

YEM-1977 678 YEM Al-Ghashmi 11/10/1977 24/06/1978

Killed by bomb delivered by diplomatic envoy of the South Yemeni president. This is confirmed by both Lentz and newspaper coverage. It is unclear however if this was a hostile act of war, so I code this as assassination by unsupported individual. *The New York Times* 25 June, 1978, p. 1; Lentz 1994, p. 847.

YEM-1978 678 YEM Saleh al-Hashidi 17/07/1978 31/12/2004

2.145 YEMEN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC(SOUTH YEMEN)

YPR-1967 680 YPR Al-Shaabi 30/11/1967 22/06/1969

Power seized before independence; bloodless coup by fired interior minister. Lentz 1994, p. 842. Arrested

YPR-1969 680 YPR Ali Rubayyi 24/06/1969 26/06/1978

Rulers.org notes "On June 24, 1978, Ahmad al-Ghashmi, leader of neighbouring Yemen (Sana), was killed in the explosion of a bomb concealed in the briefcase of an envoy from Aden, who was also killed by the blast. As Ali's regime was blamed for the killing, a power struggle ensued with Abdul Fattah Ismail, the powerful general secretary of the United Political Organization. Ali had reportedly been unhappy with his country's growing involvement in Soviet-Cuban operations in the Horn of Africa and was trying to improve relations with Yemen (Sana) and its conservative ally Saudi Arabia. According to Arab diplomats, the pro-Soviet Ismail summoned the central committee to an emergency session on June 25 to discuss Sana's charge that Ali was responsible for Ghashmi's assassination; Ali claimed he was framed, but the committee voted 121-4 to suspend Ali from government and party activities pending an investigation; Ali and his three supporters left the meeting shortly after midnight; Ali then ordered the Aden army garrison stationed in barracks near the presidential palace to shell the central committee headquarters; Ismail and the others escaped to a hideout on the outskirts of the city; Ali sent out orders to three other garrisons to march on Aden but the central committee ordered Defense Minister Ali Antar to counterattack; Antar brought out militia forces to seal off the city and ordered the air force to strike at the presidential palace; Antar's militiamen marched on the palace, and shortly before dusk Ali surrendered. Ali was put on trial and executed by firing squad the same day."

Killed in fighting between loyalist troops and a Soviet/GDR trained militia that broke out after government internal dissent. *New York Times* 27 June, 1978, p. NJ17. Since the militia is not the official military this will be coded as rebel action.

This is a tricky case: it seems he was removed by regular means, but refuses to accept his dismissal, is his exit then irregular?

YPR-1978-1 680 YPR Ali Nassir Hassani 27/06/1978 27/12/1978

YPR-1978-2 680 YPR Ismail 27/12/1978 02/04/1980

Lentz: bloody feud with Hassani, "Ismail reportedly stepped down from office for reasons of health on April 2, 1980 .... Ismail was killed on January 13, 1986." As a result of the feud with Hassani. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 27, March 1981. Still is chairman of YSP in 1981. Facts on File World New Digest, April 25, 1980. "Abdel Fattah Ismail resigned April 23 as president of South Yemen and secretary general of the ruling Yemeni Socialist Party, Aden radio announced. He was replaced by his premier, Ali Nassar Mohammed al-Hasani. [See 1978, p. 1022E1] Ismail was given the honorary post of chairman of the party. Western and Arab diplomats speculated that Ismail actually had been ousted in a power struggle with Mohammed. Their differences were said to have centered over plans for unification with North Yemen. Mohammed reportedly had opposed an early merger. His supporters, according to Western diplomats, feared that Ismail might make a premature unification deal with North Yemen before key areas in the north could be

infiltrated by the south. [See 1979, p. 250B1]" See also Newsweek, May 5, 1980, p.60, which reports: "President Abdul Fattah Ismail resigned suddenly for mysterious reasons of "health" and was replaced by his Prime Minister, Ali Nasser Mohammed."

YPR-1980 680 YPR Ali Nassir Hassani 02/04/1980 24/01/1986

Resigns after attempted coup that kicks off fighting between communist party factions, Lentz 1994, p. 842; *The New York Times* 24 January, 1986, p. 3. Into exile in northern Yemen.

YPR-1986 680 YPR Attas 24/01/1986 22/05/1990

Becomes prime minister of the republic of Yemen after the merger. Yemen merged with North Yemen, first by agreement, then by civil war.

2.146 KUWAIT

KUW-1950 690 KUW Abdullah As-Sabah 29/01/1950 24/11/1965
Oldest son of Sheikh Salim al-Mubarak, who ruled Kuwait from 1917 until 1921.

KUW-1965 690 KUW Sabah As-Sabah 24/11/1965 31/12/1977
Brother of Abdullah.

KUW-1978 690 KUW Jabir As-Sabah 01/01/1978 02/08/1990
Son of Sheikh Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, who served as Kuwait's sultan from 19211 until 1950. He was deposed by Iraqi invasion, exile in Saudi Arabia. *Washington Post* 2 August, 1990, p. A1.

KUW-1990 690 KUW Saddam Hussein 02/08/1990 20/04/1991
He withdrew under attack from UN coalition.

KUW-1991 690 KUW Jabir As-Sabah 20/04/1991 31/12/2004
See above. *The New York Times*, January 22, 2006. "Kuwait Moves to Strip Power from Ill Emir." For details: `http://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/22/international/middleeast/22kuwait.html` "DUBAI, United Arab Emirates, Jan. 21 - A succession crisis in Kuwait continued Saturday, as the country's cabinet began proceedings to remove the ailing new emir. The extraordinary move occurred amid growing concern over who should lead the oil-rich city-state after the death of Emir Sheik Jaber al-Ahmad al-Sabah last Sunday. The crown prince, Sheik Saad al-Abdullah al-Sabah, believed to be 76, immediately became emir under the Constitution, and he has insisted that Parliament call a special session to allow him to take the oath of office. But members of the cabinet say his poor health will keep him from governing properly. Recently, he has appeared in public in a wheelchair and has not spoken, raising speculation about whether he would even be able to recite the oath of office. His supporters have suggested that the procedure be done behind closed doors or shortened to prevent embarrassment. The cabinet is moving to transfer power to the prime minister, Sheik Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah, also thought to be 76. Sheik Sabah, who is the late emir's half brother, is in good health and has run the day-to-day affairs of the government for years. In announcing the move, the Parliament released a statement to Kuna, Kuwait's official news agency, specifically citing the emir's health. "The Council of Ministers expresses its deepest sorrow and sadness about the health condition of His Highness Emir Sheik Saad al-Abdullah al-Salem al-Sabah, may God protect him," the statement said. Under Kuwait's Constitution, Parliament may declare the emir unfit to govern with a two-thirds majority. An article of the succession law says that if the emir fails to meet the conditions for ruling, or is incapable of carrying them out for health reasons, the cabinet may replace him. The government-controlled Kuwaiti television reported Friday that a delegation from the royal family had urged Sheik Sabah to take over as emir, and Sheik Sabah had agreed to do so. The broadcast then showed family members congratulating him; Sheik Saad did not appear."

Times Online, January 24, 2006. Available at `http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,251-2008129,00.html` "The Kuwaiti parliament today voted unanimously to depose the country's ailing emir on health grounds, ending a nine-day leadership crisis. The country's cabinet met tonight and named the prime minister as the successor to

Sheikh Saad al-Abdullah al-Sabah. Justice Minister Ahmad Baqer told Reuters an official letter with Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah's nomination would be sent to parliament tomorrow and that he expected a voting session to be held on Sunday or Monday. Kuwait controls 10 per cent of the world's reserves of crude oil. The nomination of Sheikh Sabah as its new ruler ended the political uncertainty which had gripped Kuwait since Sheikh Saad , who is 76 and incapacitated by illness, became emir on January 15 after the death of his cousin. According to some reports, he was too unwell even to say the oath of office. Sheikh Sabah, a cousin of Sheikh Saad, has already been de facto ruler for four years because of the ill-health of both the late emir and Sheikh Saad. "After listening to the medical report, the assembly with its 65 members agreed to remove (Sheikh Saad) from the post of emir," said Jassem al-Kharafi, the Speaker of the parliament. He added that there were no conditions attached to the emir's abdication letter, which arrived shortly after the vote had taken place."

2.147 BAHRAIN

BAH-1971 692 BAH Isa Ibn Al-Khalifah 15/08/1971 06/03/1999
Son of Sultan Sulman bin Hamad al-Khalifah, who ruled 1941-1961.

BAH-1999 692 BAH Hamad Isa Ibn Al-Khalifah 06/03/1999 31/12/2004
Son of Isa.

2.148 QUATAR

QAT-1971 694 QAT Ahmed Ath-Thani 03/09/1971 22/02/1972

Cousin takes over while sheik is on hunting trip in Iran. The cousin is premier and deputy ruler, but not formal a military person, so this is not coded a military coup. *The New York Times* 23 February, 1972, p. 11; Lentz 1994, p. 658.

QAT-1972 694 QAT Khalifah Ath-Thani 22/02/1972 27/06/1995

Cousin of Ahmed. He was the fourth son of Hamad bin Ali al-Thani of the ruling Thani dynasty. Khalifa's grandfather Ali bin Abdallah al-Thani was emir (ruled 1913-1949) during Britain's rule of Qatar, and Khalifa's father was heir apparent before dying in 1947. Son and Crown Prince, Hamad Bin Khalifa al-Thani, forces father to leave the country. *The New York Times* 6/27/1995, p. 3.

QAT-1995 694 QAT Amad Al Thani 27/06/1995 31/12/2004

Son of Khalifah.

2.149 UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

UAE-1971 696 UAE An-Nahayan 02/12/1971 31/12/2004
He rules as head of the Council.

2.150 OMAN

For Oman, pre-1937, see: Thomans, Bertram. 1938. "Arab rule under the Al Bu Said dynasty of Oman, 1741–1937." In Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. 24, 1938. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Amen House. E.C. 27–53. He notes, p. 34: "the instability of rule engendered by the principle of no fixed succession." Badr Saif was killed by his son, Said, who dies naturally, and is succeeded by Thuwaini who was assassinated by his own son, who is driven into exile by a cousin. He (Azzan) was killed in the fight against Turki, a son of the late son. P.37.

OMA-1871 698 OMA Turki ibn Sa'id 30/01/1871 04/06/1888

Son of previous ruler, Sa'id Ibn Sultan. Died in 1888. Thomas notes that "In 1888 Saiyid Turki was succeeded by his second son, Saiyid Gaisal; Sayid Faisal, in 1913, by his eldest son, Saiyid Taimur ....; and Saiyid Taimur, on abdication in 1931, was succeeded by his eldest son, Saiyid Sa'id, the present ruler. It is noteworthy that the last two rulers have succeeded by the principle of primogeniture, a feature almost without precedent in the history of their house, and one facilitated by an equally unprecedented though wise step on the part of British authorities in according them recognition as heirs apparent during the lifetime of their predecessors." P.38.

OMA-1888 698 OMA Faysal ibn Turki 04/06/1888 05/10/1913

Son of previous ruler.

OMA-1913 698 OMA Taimur ibn Faysal 09/10/1913 10/02/1932

Son of previous. Abdicates, dies in 1965. Less than perfect control of the interior.

OMA-1932 698 OMA Sa'id ibn Taimur 10/02/1932 23/07/1970

Son of previous. Encyclopedia Britannica for entry and exile of his father. According to a not very flattering story in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Mar. 4, 1938, p.14, he "receives $225,000 a year to govern in name only a tiny patch of hill and desert on the Persian gulf at the southeast corner of the Arabian desert. He spends most of his time across the gulf in India."

He defeats coups by Imams in 1954; coup by son, exile in England. *The New York Times* 27 July, 1970, p. 4.

OMA-1970 698 OMA Qabus Bin Said 23/07/1970 31/12/2004

Son of previous.

2.151 AFGHANISTAN

AFG-1868 700 AFG Shir 'Ali Khan 08/09/1868 21/02/1879

Encyclopedia Britannica, has him dying, Feb. 21, 1879. "The British executed a well-planned three-pronged drive into Afghanistan. Shir 'Ali tried to rally the tribes to his support with little success. He then placed his son Yaqub Khan on the throne and fled toward Turkistan; he died during the journey." We don't know if he was killed or just died. He flees to exile. Son of former Emir.

AFG-1879-1 700 AFG Mohammad Ya'qub Khan 21/02/1879 12/10/1879

Amir Muhammad Yaqub Khan. Son of former. Encyc. Brit notes "The Treaty of Gandamak (Gandomak [sic, HG]; May 26, 1879) recognized Ya'qub Khan as emir. ... On September 3, 1879, the British envoy and his escort were murdered in Kabul. British forces were again dispatched, and before the end of October they occupied Kabul. Ya'qub abdicated and was given exile in India, where he died in 1923. Shir 'Ali Khan dies in Mazar-i-Shariff, and Amir Muhammad Yaqub Khan takes over until October 1879. Amir Muhammad Yaqub Khan gives up the following Afghan territories to the British: Kurram, Khyber, Michni, Pishin, and Sibi. Afghans lose these territories permanently.

AFG-1879-2 700 AFG Mohammad Jan 12/10/1879 31/03/1880

AFG-1880 700 AFG Abdor Rahman Khan 22/07/1880 03/10/1901

Son of Afzal Khan and grandson of earlier Emir: Dost Mohammed Khan. See Lentz.

AFG-1901 700 AFG Habibullah Khan 03/10/1901 20/02/1919

Assassinated, some websites draw a vague connection to dissatisfaction with his pro-British policies among the young (e.g. `http://rulers.org/indexh1.html`). Nothing more is known about assassin. Lentz (2002) notes he was assassinated by one of his subjects (p. 30). Coded as assassination by unsupported individual, since no open political organization or movement is associated with the death. Son of previous.

AFG-1920 700 AFG Amanullah Khan 01/01/1920 14/01/1929

Lentz. Third Son of Habibullah. He was forced to abdicate by his brother, exile in Italy.

AFG-1929-1 700 AFG Inayatullah Khan 14/01/1929 17/01/1929

Lentz: Brother of previous, eldest son of Habibullah kicks out king. Lentz 1999, p. 11; *The New York Times* 18 January, 1929, p. 3. Exile.

AFG-1929-2 700 AFG Habibullah Ghazi 17/01/1929 17/10/1929

Loyalist army troops take back the throne after long fighting. Debatable if this should be coded as military or rebel action. These troops never were under the command of the current ruler, Habibulla. Coded as rebel action, unlike for example Peru, where two army factions are fighting each other in the 30s. Lentz 1999, p. 11; New York Times 18 October, 1929, p. 5.

AFG-1929-3 700 AFG Nadir Shah 17/10/1929 08/11/1933

See Lentz. Cousin of Amanullah. He was assassinated, apparently in revenge for put the former ambassador to Moscow to death, New York Times 14 November, 1933, p. 12.

See also The *Washington Post*, Nov. 9, 1933 p. 1. On Nadir Shah's assassination. "Nadir Shar was 51 years old and won his throne in October 17, 1929, by election following the abdication of the former king, Amanaullah, who was his nephew and whom he had served as foreign minister. Manaullah fled to Italy. His son, 19 years old is crowned." The new King orders an election on February 16, the date for the election is not found.

AFG-1933 700 AFG Hashim Khan 08/11/1933 14/05/1946

Lentz notes "He was the virtual ruler of Afghanistan during the early years of the reign of his nephew, Mohammed Zahir Shah. . . . Hashim remained as prime minister and Zahir's chief advisor until his retirement for health reasons on May 14, 1946. Hashim died in Kabul on October 26, 1953."

The New York Times, May 7, 1947, p. 55 notes that he was aboard a large passenger vessel departing from New York, bound for Liverpool. Could be for treatment, could be for exile. *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 27, 1951, p. 3 notes: "Hashim Khan, a third brother, then became Prime Minister, and ruled the country as virtual dictator until 1947. He then retired and turned over his post to his brother, Shah Mahmud, the present Prime Minister." Combined, these suggest more likely not exile, rather a visit for health reasons. But not definitive either way, unfortunately.

AFG-1946 700 AFG Mahmud Khan Ghazi 14/05/1946 07/09/1953

Brother of previous, uncle of the king. For his resignation, see *The New York Times*, Sept. 8, 1953, p. 7. "The announcement said the 65-year old Prime Minister, who had held the office for seven and one half years, submitted his resignation to King Zahir Shah yesterday on the ground of "indisposition and bad health."" He died on December 27, 1959, in northern Afghanistan.

Rulers.org, however, notes that he was removed in a bloodless coup by Sardar Daud Khan, then minister of the interior, see below: "In 1953 he [=Daud] seized power from his uncle in a bloodless coup."

AFG-1953 700 AFG Sardar M. Daud Khan 07/09/1953 10/03/1963

Sardar Mohammad Daud Khan. For his entry, see *The New York Times*, Sept. 8, 1953, p. 7. General and Minister of Defense and Home Affairs. Married to the King's sister, who is also his cousin. Lentz 1994, p. 15.

Rulers.org notes: "son of Sardar Mohammad Aziz Khan; cousin of Mohammad Zahir Shah. King Nadir Shah made him a major general in 1932; he subsequently served as military commander of several provinces and in 1939-47 of the central forces at Kabul. In 1946 Prime Minister Sardar Shah Mahmud Khan (his uncle) named him minister of defense. After a disagreement with Shah Mahmud, he was sent to Paris as ambassador in 1948. He returned a year later to serve as minister of the interior and head of tribal affairs. In the latter position he exacerbated the dispute between Afghanistan and the new state of Pakistan, vigorously promoting demands for self-determination in the Pashtun tribal territories of Pakistan. In 1953 he seized power from his uncle in a bloodless coup. During his tenure as prime minister (known as "Daud's decade") he modernized the Afghan state. He maintained a policy of nonalignment, playing off the United States and the Soviet Union against each other. Daud remained a Pashtun nationalist. In 1963

confrontation with Pakistan, which controlled the principal land route from Afghanistan to the sea, led to an economic crisis that forced him to resign. He was the main target of a 1964 constitutional provision in which members of the royal family were forbidden to stand for election or to serve as ministers. With the help of Soviet-trained army officers, he seized power on July 17, 1973. He proclaimed a republic and himself president. When he turned away from the U.S.S.R. in 1977, the latter increased its support for the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). In 1978, PDPA cells in the army launched a coup, during which Daud was killed."

For his exit, see also *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, March 12, 1963, "Strongman Quits as Afghan Premier." "Afghanistan's strongman, Prince Sardar Mohammad Daud, his country's Prime Minister for the past 91/2 years, resigned suddenly Saturday without any official explanation. ... Also out is Prince Sardar Mohammed Naim, Daud's borther who has been serving as Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. Both are cousins of Afghanistan's King, Mahammad Zahir Shah. The King, who has ruled since the assination [*sic*] of his father 30 years ago, generally has been considered a ceremonial father image to his countrymen, with Daul [*sic*] and Naim holding the real power. The palace, in announcing Daud's resignation, also mentioned that Daud has submitted a series of liberalized changes in Afghanistan's social structure that he hoped the new government would carry out. This presented the possibility that Daud's resignation may have been voluntary and that the departure of the royal family from the Cabinet may have been a long-planned step, similar to the one a few years ago that emancipated Afganistan's [*sic*] women from their heavy and disfiguring veils."

See also, *The New York Times*, March 22, 1963, p.3 "Speech by Afghan Leader Hints Move for Accord with Pakistan." The article notes "Afghanistan's demand that Pakistan grant independence to 7,000,000 Pushtuns was a key issue of the former government headed by Phince [*sic*] Mohammad Daud, a strong man who ruled Afghanistan for nearly a decade. His power seemed unassailable and his peaceful removal earlier this month by his cousins, King Mohammad Zahir, came as a surprise to most observers. However, it now appears that there has been growing dissatisfaction within the Royal family with Prince Daud's policies, especially his rigid stand on Pushtunistan. ... The King, who has been on the throne since Nov. 8, 1933, but who has always been overshadowed by some of his relatives, is reported to have asserted himself against Prince Daud with support from his son-in-law, Abdul Wali, a former army colonel."

DELETED: Attempts transition to Democracy.

AFG-1963 700 AFG Zahir Shah 10/03/1963 17/07/1973

Overthrown by son-in-law and ex-prime minister; since he is a military officer, this is coded as military coup, *The New York Times* 18 July, 1973, p. 1; Lentz 1994, p. 14. Coup while for health in Italy, exile there. Son of Mohammed Zahir Shah, who had become king in 1929. He is the Daoud's first cousin and brother-in-law.

For his Obituary, see the *The New York Times*, July 23, 2007 "Last King Of Afghanistan Dies, Aged 92." The obituary records, "Born in Kabul on October 15, 1914, Zahir Shah received part of his education in France and returned to Kabul for military training. He ascended the throne in 1933 after his father was assassinated by a deranged student. For two decades, the bookish king remained in the shadows, allowing three uncles to run the

government. But he gradually gained confidence and took full control in 1953, overseeing a cautious modernization of his backward realm. He supported an end to purdah – the wearing of the veil – for women, used foreign cash to develop the country's medieval infrastructure and managed to keep a balance between rival Soviet and Western interests. In 1973, while holidaying in Italy, Zahir Shah was ousted in a bloodless coup orchestrated by his cousin and brother-in-law, Prince Daoud, ending two centuries of rule by the Durrani dynasty. He then lived for 29 years in exile in Italy. Daoud was later killed in a coup and after Soviet troops entered the country in 1979 to prop up the communist government, Afghanistan has barely seen peace."

AFG-1963 700 AFG Mohammad Yusuf 10/03/1963 2/11/1965

For his entry, see *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, March 12, 1963, "Strongman Quits as Afghan Premier." "To replace Daud, the king named Mohammad Yusuf, the 48-year-old Minister of Mines and Industries. Yusuf, the son of a pauper, gained a doctorate of physics degree in Germany and previously served as Deputy Minister of Education. This is the first time a person outside the royal family will be running Afghanistan's government."

The Washington Post, Times Herald, September 7, 1963, p.A10, "Afghan Majesty" notes "In March, after nine years of authoritarian rule under Mohammad Daud, a first cousin of the King, Afghanistan launched an experiment in democracy sponsored by the monarch himself. A new government, headed by Mohammad Yousuf, is trying to shift from centralized monarchy to something closer to a constitutional monarch on the Western pattern."

For his exit see *The New York Times*, November 7, 1965, p.20 "Afghans Hit Bumps on Road to Modernized State." "After more than two years of apparently smooth political progress, Afghanistan is experiencing her first open difficulties in attempted to establish a democratically based constitutional monarch. Following several deaths in brief but violent student demonstrations in Kabul last week, the recently reappointed Premier, Mohammed Yousuf, and his new Cabinet resigned Oct. 29 after less than a week in office. Dr. Yousuf's resignation because of health had been rumored for months but he had been persuaded to remain. Apparently recent events changed his mind. ... Dr. Yousuf's first appointment as Premier, in March, 1963, had opened an era of swift change. He was the first commoner to hold the post in many years. With the assistance of the progressive King, Mohammed Zahir Shah, Premier Yousuf and his interim Cabinet had pushed through a series of reforms, including a new constitution that strictly limits the political role of the royal family and potentially gives the major governmental power to the House of the People, the lower house of Parliament, which is elected by free, universal, secret ballot. Work began on laws establishing an independent judiciary, a free press and political parties. In September, in the first nationwide election under the new laws. Afghanistan elected a Parliament. Despite widespread illiteracy and apathy, intense efforts to stimulate public interest and insure fair and honest voting were viewed as successful. Parliament, which opened Oct. 14, included a group of avowed anti-Government leftists led by a fiery young student leader. The King again named Dr. Yousuf, who had resigned with the interim cabinet Oct. 11, to form a government .... On Oct. 21, the Premier made an unscheduled visit to a closed session to postpone presentation of his new cabinet for several days. On Oct. 24 he was finally scheduled to submit the cabinet for approval before a session that

had been announced as public. Several days delay were anticipated. University students, arriving early, jammed the limited visitors' section of the house and overflowed into the chamber in what observers described as a sit-in. They created so much disorder that the meeting was adjourned and the house scheduled a closed session for the following day. Some members were than reported to have encouraged the students to demonstrate. On Oct. 25 the students returned to the Parliament building. When the police refused to allow them to enter, fighting broke out. The police, most of whom do not carry weapons, used their fists, sticks, stones and heavy leather belts. They arrested many and by mid-afternoon the students had been dispersed, only to regroup in other parts of the city. Joined by hangers-on from the bazaars, a large crowd headed toward the Premier's house, smashing several cars en route. Troops and tanks then joined the police to block the way. According to witnesses, most of the crowd melted away, but 200 or 300 marched on until tear gas was used. In the confusion a machine gun opened fire and the riot ended. Four students and by-standers were reported killed in this incident. In the course of the day an uncertain number, both policemen and students, were seriously injured. A number of persons are still hospitalized and students leaders were jailed for inciting riot. Meanwhile, Parliament had rushed through approval of the Cabinet, forgoing debate. Nevertheless, Dr. Yousuf resigned four days later."

AFG-1965 700 AFG Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal 2/11/1965 11/10/1967

For his entry, see *The New York Times*, November 3, 1965, p.8 "Afghan Government Gets Vote." "KABUL, Afghanistan, Nov.2 (Reuters)–The new Afghan Parliament today gave an overwhelming vote of confidence to the Government of Premier Mohammed Hashin Maiwandal.

See also *The New York Times*, November 7, 1965, p.20 "Afghans Hit Bumps on Road to Modernized State." "After more than two years of apparently smooth political progress, Afghanistan is experiencing her first open difficulties in attempted to establish a democratically based constitutional monarch. Following several deaths in brief but violent student demonstrations in Kabul last week, the recently reappointed Premier, Mohammed Yousuf, and his new Cabinet resigned Oct. 29 after less than a week in office. Dr. Yousuf's resignation because of health had been rumored for months but he had been persuaded to remain. Apparently recent events changed his mind. ... The appointment of Mr. Maiwandwal, long an ambassador to the United States, has brought some relaxation of tensions. The new Premier, who served in both of Dr. Yousuf's Cabinets, is popular and respected among both moderates and liberals."

For his exit, see *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, October 13, p.D5. "Ill Premier to Fly Here for Treatment." "Former Prime Minister Mohammed Hashim Mainwandwal left Kabul today for Washington, where he will be treated for an intestinal disease–at the U.S. Government's invitation. Maiwandwal tendered his resignation yesterday on health grounds. It was accepted by King Mohammed Zahir Shah. The King asked the government to remain in office until a new government is formed." For an earlier operation, also for intestinal problems, see *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, August, 29, 1967, p.A3, "Afghan Premier Has Operation."

See also *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 14, January, 1968 Afghanistan, Page 22479. "The Afghan Prime Minister, Mr. Maiwandwal, resigned on Oct. 11, 1967, the King asking Mr Abdallah Yakta, Minister of State, to assume the Premiership ad interim pending the formation of a new Government.

No reasons were given for Mr. Maiwandwal's resignation."

AFG-1967-1 700 AFG Abdallah Yakta 11/10/1967 1/11/1967

For his entry and exit, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 14, January, 1968 Afghanistan, Page 22479. "The Afghan Prime Minister, Mr. Maiwandwal, resigned on Oct. 11, 1967, the King asking Mr Abdallah Yakta, Minister of State, to assume the Premiership ad interim pending the formation of a new Government. No reasons were given for Mr. Maiwandwal's resignation. Mr Nur Ahmed Etemadi, First Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister in Mr. Maiwandwal's Cabinet, was appointed Prime Minister by King Zahir on Nov. 1 and formed a Government with the following membership: ...."

No information on his birthdate or death date.

AFG-1967-2 700 AFG Nur Ahmad Etemadi 1/11/1967 09/06/1971

For his entry, see *The Washington Post*, November 2, 1967, p.B2. "Afghan King Names New Premier." KABUL, Afghanistan, No. 1–King Mohammed Zahir Shah of Afghanistan has appointed Noor Ahmad Etemadi as his new premier, it was announced today. Etemadi was first Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister of the government of Premier Mohammed Hashin Mailwandwall, who resigned with his cabinet Oct.11"

For his exit, see *The New York Times*, June 6, 1971, p.7 "Afghans' Leader Quits In A Dispute." "Prime Minister Noor Ahmad Etemadi resigned in a dispute with Parliament on May 17, and no replacement has yet been named by the King, Mohammad Zahir Shah. Technically the nation is without a Government but the real problem, in the view of politicians, is whether Afghanistan's seven-year-old democracy is succeeding. ... Parliament moved against the Prime Minister by threatening a vote of no confidence, the equivalent of censure. In the face of this threat, Mister Etemadi left office."

See also *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 17, July, 1971 Afghanistan, Page 24718. "Mr. Nur Ahmed Etemadi resigned as Prime Minister on May 17 after a majority of the members of Parliament had threatened to pass a vote of no confidence in him. This threat had followed the Prime Minister's refusal to agree to a debate on a motion, supported by 137 out of the total of 244 M.P.s, asking that parliamentarians should receive answers to their questions directly from the Ministers concerned or from the Prime Minister himself. The latter had argued that under the Constitution members' questions could be answered only at certain intervals and in a comprehensive way, as otherwise the work of Parliament could not be dealt with in a continuous manner. ... At the King's request Mr. Etemadi continued as head of a caretaker Government until the appointment as Prime Minister on June 9 of Dr. Abdul Zahir (61), the Afghan Ambassador in Rome, previously President of Parliament, and a former Minister of Health.(Times - New York Times - Neue Zürcher Zeitung) (Prev. rep. 23712 A.)"

AFG-1971 700 AFG Abdul Zahir 09/06/1971 06/12/1972

For his entry, see *The New York Times*, June 6, 1971, p.7 "Afghans' Leader Quits In A Dispute." "It is understood that Afghanistan's Ambassador to Italy, Dr. Abdul Zaher, will be named by the King to replace [Etemadi]."

See also *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 17, July, 1971 Afghanistan, Page 24718. "At the King's request Mr. Etemadi

continued as head of a caretaker Government until the appointment as Prime Minister on June 9 of Dr. Abdul Zahir (61), the Afghan Ambassador in Rome, previously President of Parliament, and a former Minister of Health.(Times - New York Times - Neue Zürcher Zeitung) (Prev. rep. 23712 A.)"

For his exit, see *The New York Times*, September 26, 1972, p. 22 "Afghan Cabinet Resigns." "KABUL, Afghanistan, Sept. 25 (UPI)–Premier Abdual Záhir and his Cabinet resigned their posts last night after 14 months in office. Official sources said today that Dr. Záhir had told King Mohammed Záhir Shah that his Government had faced many difficulties in development programs. The sources said the resignation was mainly prompted by Government failure to overcome the effects of two years of drought."

See also *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, December 9, 1972, p.B7. "New Afghan Premier." "KABUL, Afghanistan, Dec. 8 (AP)–King Mohammed Zahir Shah has ordered foreign Minister Mohammed Musa Shafiq to form a government and seek a vote of confidence. He replaced Abdul Zahir who resigned as prime minister more than a month ago."

See especially, *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 19, January, 1973 Afghanistan, Page 25670. "King Mohammed Zahir Khan accepted on Dec. 6, 1972, the resignation of Dr. Abdul Zahir, the Prime Minister, and his Cabinet, after 118 of the 216 members of the Lower House of Parliament had expressed their lack of confidence in him because of alleged failure to deal promptly with famine conditions in the country [see below]. An earlier proffered resignation of the Prime Minister on Sept. 25, arising out of difficulties over the country's development programme, had not been accepted by the King."

AFG-1972 700 AFG Mohammad Musa Shafiq 12/12/1972 17/07/1973

For his entry, see *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, December 9, 1972, p.B7. "New Afghan Premier." "KABUL, Afghanistan, Dec. 8 (AP)–King Mohammed Zahir Shah has ordered foreign Minister Mohammed Musa Shafiq to form a government and seek a vote of confidence. He replaced Abdul Zahir who resigned as prime minister more than a month ago."

See especially, *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 19, January, 1973 Afghanistan, Page 25670. "The appointment of Dr. Musa Shafiq, hitherto Foreign Minister, as Prime Minister and of a number of other Ministers was announced on Dec. 12, 1972, as follows: ....Dr. Shafiq (40), educated at the Columbia Law School, U.S.A., and also at Al Azhar University in Cairo, had been prominently involved in the drawing up of the 1964 Constitution [see 20457 A]; later he was Ambassador to Egypt and became Foreign Minister in Dr. Zahir's Government in 1971."

For his exit see *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, July 18, 1973, p. A1. "Afghan Army Topples Vacationing Monarch." The article notes "There was no indication of the fate of the royal family or of members of the ousted government of Premier Mohammed Musa Safiq, a graduate of Columbia University Law School."

For his fate, see *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, July 23, 1973, p. A26. "Kabul Back to Normal after 'Textbook' Coup." "Observers say that most, of not all members of the royal family who were in Kabul at the time of the coup are safe. Queen Homeyra is reported under guard in the royal palace. The king, who was undergoing medical treatment in Italy, is still in Rome. The only members of the former Cabinet known to be

under arrest are Foreign Minister Musa Shafiq and Defense Minister Khan Mohammed." For his imprisonment, see also *The New York Times*, August 1, 1973, p. 13 "Two Weeks after Coup, Afghan Government Remains Paralyzed and Public Seems Mostly Apathetic."

AFG-1973 700 AFG Sardar M. Daud Khan 17/07/1973 27/04/1978

For his entry this time see Rulers.org, which notes: "son of Sardar Mohammad Aziz Khan; cousin of Mohammad Zahir Shah. King Nadir Shah made him a major general in 1932; he subsequently served as military commander of several provinces and in 1939-47 of the central forces at Kabul. ... He was the main target of a 1964 constitutional provision in which members of the royal family were forbidden to stand for election or to serve as ministers. With the help of Soviet-trained army officers, he seized power on July 17, 1973. He proclaimed a republic and himself president. When he turned away from the U.S.S.R. in 1977, the latter increased its support for the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). In 1978, PDPA cells in the army launched a coup, during which Daud was killed."

See also *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, July 18, 1973, p. A1. "Afghan Army Topples Vacationing Monarch." For his death, see *The New York Times* April 39, 1978, p.E2 "Cabal in Kabul Proves Fatal." "President Mohammad Daud, who himself seized power from his cousin and brother-in-law, King Mohammad Zahir Shah, in a coup five years ago, was killed by rebel soldiers reportedly led by Col. Abdul Khadir, once a Daud ally. The rebels said they had established a revolutionary government in the capital, Kabul – whatever that may mean. The day before the coup, teh Daud Government announced the arrest of several Communists. But personal rivalry seemed more a factor in the upheaval than the insurgents' political views. Colonel Khadir, a plotter of the 1973 coup that overthrew the Afghan monarch, was named commander of the air force by President Daud but was demoted less than a year later."

Lentz 1994, p. 15. He is Zahir Shah's first cousin and brother-in-law.

AFG-1978 700 AFG Taraki 30/04/1978 27/03/1979

Keesing's Vol. 26, May 1980, reports: "The groundwork for the introduction of combat troops into Afghanistan was believed to have been laid by a Soviet Deputy Defence Minister, Gen. Ivan G. Pavlovsky, during a lengthy stay in Afghanistan in August-October 1979 (in the course of which President Taraki was overthrown by Mr Amin). During this visit Gen. Pavlovsky was thought to have made a pessimistic assessment of the military position of the regime vis--vis the activities of anti-government insurgents. ... Furthermore, it was reported after the latest coup that President Taraki had been smothered to death with a pillow on Oct. 8, 1979, after his overthrow and thus had not, as previously claimed, died of illness or in a shooting incident." Apparently power struggle between president and PM & defense minister. Since PM & defense minister are not military personnel, this is coded as other domestic actor. Keesings vol. 26 , 1980, January, Afghanistan.

AFG-1979-1 700 AFG Amin 27/03/1979 27/12/1979

Soviets stage coup, bring back the new president from exile, and start massive air-lift of military personnel, BBC, 10-8-2004, `http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/1569826.stm`. *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 27, 1979, p. A1 "Afghanistan Coup! Pro-Soviet President Overthrown by Stronger Leftist" records, "Radio Kabul reported a coup

in Afghanistan with power seized by Babrek Karmel, a former deputy prime minister reportedly strongly pro-Soviet. The announced coup came as Soviet troops and equipment poured into the country to aid in an offensive against anti-communist rebels mounted by the government of President Hafizullah Amin, now reportedly overthrown." Chicago Tribune, Dec. 28, 1979, p. 1 "Report Soviet troops aid overthrow in Afghanistan" writes "Soviet troops, part of a contingent of 6,000 flown into the country in recent days, were believed to be fighting in support of the coup." *The New York Times* 29 December, 1979, p. 1. Amin is killed. But see also ***Keesing's*** Vol. 26, May 1980: "The groundwork for the introduction of combat troops into Afghanistan was believed to have been laid by a Soviet Deputy Defence Minister, Gen. Ivan G. Pavlovsky, during a lengthy stay in Afghanistan in August-October 1979 (in the course of which President Taraki was overthrown by Mr Amin). ... The Observer report conflicted with other assessments in the Western press of events surrounding the coup, many of which indicated that the USSR had been taken by surprise when Mr Amin overthrew President Taraki in September 1979, that Mr Amin had been unpopular with the Soviet Union because of his policies, and that he had rejected Soviet proposals for the introduction of combat forces to assist the Afghan Army in suppressing Moslem rebel activity. ... The deposed President Amin was reported to have been executed immediately after the coup on Dec.27 (some sources claiming that he was already dead by the time the coup was announced) together with members of his family including his brother, Mr Abdullah Amin (who as Chief of Intelligence headed the secret policeage 30031); those executed were said to have been found guilty by a revolutionary tribunal of crimes against the Afghan people. However, there were conflicting reports of the events leading up to the coup and of Mr Amin's fate. According to a report in The Observer of London on Feb. 17 attributed to "informed Russian sources in Moscow", Mr Amin was not executed but was killed by mistake."

Since Soviet forces at most "aid, " Amin is coded as removed by other domestic government actors with foreign support. (Depending on the assessment of the weight of the role of the Soviet army, Amin could be coded as removed by the threat or use of foreign force.)

AFG-1979-2 700 AFG Karmal 27/12/1979 04/05/1986

For his removal, see Lentz: "The Soviets became increasingly disillusioned with Karmal's inability to quell the Afghan civil war, and on May 4, 1986, he was replaced as leader of the People's Democratic party by Mahommed Najib. Karmal remained as figurehead president of the Revolutionary Council until November 24, 1986, when he retired to Moscow, where he dies.

See also Robert S. Greenberger, in the *Wall Street Journal*, May 5, 1986, p. 33 "Karmal Resignation From Afghan Post Is Seen as a Soviet Bid to Gain Support," which records "U.S. analysts noted that his successor, a staunch Karmal ally identified as Najibollah, party secretary and former head of secret police, is a member of the same ethnic group as many member of the anti-government guerillas. Mr. Karmal, for now, has retained his position as head of government."

See also The *Washington Post*, May 13, 1986, p. A1. "Afghan Leader Had Scrappy, Partisan Past." "Western diplomats in Islamabad, quoting reports from Kabul, said that during the recent transition from Babrak to Najibullah, Soviet troops and tanks guarded strategic points around Kabul, apparently to forestall any factional violence."

For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, Dec. 6, 1996, p. D17, which reports "He

was 67 and had spent most of his time after he stepped down living quietly in Russia, under Soviet pressure." And "Finally, in November 1986, he stepped down, saying he had heart trouble." Studied law and political science at Kabul University, earned a law degree. Arrested at age 20, and imprisoned for five years.

DELETED: Figurehead

AFG-1986 700 AFG Chamkani 24/11/1986 30/09/1987

Keesing's, Vol. 34, March 1988. Election of Najibullah as President (Nov. 30, 1987). Adoption of new Constitution. (Nov. 30, 1987). Chamkani has held the posts of President of the Revolutionary Council and Chairman of its Presidium in an acting capacity. Chamkani elected First Deputy Chairman of the Presidium on Sept. 30.

AFG-1986 700 AFG Najibullah 04/05/1986 16/04/1992

Rulers.org notes "He joined the Parcham ("Banner") faction of the communist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) in 1965 and was twice imprisoned for political activities. The PDPA staged a successful coup in 1978, but the Khalq ("People's") faction soon gained supremacy, and Najibullah briefly served as ambassador to Iran, but was fired for allegedly plotting the overthrow of the regime of Hafizullah Amin. He went into exile in Eastern Europe until the U.S.S.R. intervened (1979) and supported a Parcham-dominated government. He was made head of the secret police (Khad) and acquired a reputation of brutality and ruthlessness among the Islamic guerrillas who fought against the regime. In May 1986 Major General Najibullah was made general secretary of the PDPA, replacing Babrak Karmal. In December 1986, he became head of a commission writing a new constitution, and under that constitution he became president in November 1987. Karmal's Parcham faction was broadly based, and Karmal's rule had given the Soviet-imposed government the credibility it sought. However, Karmal was too nationalistic, while Najibullah showed total commitment to the U.S.S.R. As the guerrilla war grew in intensity, the Soviet Union pulled its troops out in 1989. Najibullah proved Western predictions of his regime's imminent collapse wrong and managed to hang on to power for nearly three more years, attempting to gain support by relaxing his strict control, but in 1992 he was finally forced from office by the rebels. He took refuge in a UN compound. Factional fighting continued, and when the Taliban militia took over Kabul in 1996, they summarily executed Najibullah."

Keesing's Vol. 32, December 1986 notes that Najib (ullah) was elected general secretary of the People's Democratic party (PDPA) on May 4, 1986.

Lentz notes: "Najib's successes as leader of the Afghan secret Policy (KHAD) impressed the Soviets to the extent that he was named to replace Babrak Karmal as general secretary of the people's Democratic party on May 4, 1986."

Keesing's, Vol. 34, March 1988. Election of Najibullah as President (Nov. 30, 1987). Adoption of new Constitution. (Nov. 30, 1987). Lentz: "He took refuge in the United Nations compound in Kabul on April 16, 1992. The Islamic government that succeeded him attempted to have him turned over to the government to stand trial for war crimes." *The New York Times*, Sept. 28, 1996, p.1: "In one of their first acts today, the Taliban removed a former President, Najibullah, from the United Nations compound

where he had lived since his Communist regime was overthrow [sic, HG] in 1992. The rebels then shot him in the head and hung his beaten and bloated body from a tower." Rebels advance on capital. He takes refuge in UN compound. *The New York Times* 17 April, 1992, p. 1.

See The *Washington Post*, May 13, 1986, p. A1. "Afghan Leader Had Scrappy, Partisan Past." Najibullah is from en elite family that is part of the large and important Ahmadzai tribe of Pashtuns. The article records "Western diplomats in Islamabad, quoting reports from Kabul, said that during the recent transition from Babrak to Najibullah, Soviet troops and tanks guarded strategic points around Kabul, apparently to forestall any factional violence."

Keesing's Record of World Events (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 42, September, 1996 Afghanistan, Page 41267. "The militant Islamic so-called student militia or talibaan, which had emerged suddenly in early 1995 as a major force [see pp. 40363; 40406; 40453] and which had in recent months been threatening the capital, Kabul, finally gained control of the city in September. Ousting the government of President Burhanuddin Rabbani, the talibaan moved swiftly to impose a strict Islamic regime. One of the first acts of the new regime was to order the execution of former communist President Najibullah, who since 1992 had remained in Kabul under UN protection. "

AFG-1992-1 700 AFG Mojadidi 28/04/1992 28/06/1992

The New York Times, May 8, 1992, p. A3. Had originally accepted the acting presidency for two months. After which Rabbani would come in. Deutsche Presse Agentur, October 24, 2001. "Mojadidi, who lives in exile in Copenhagen ...." Not clear when he left, under Rabbani or Taliban. He was an Islamic theologist.

Is he related to the Mojadidi who is quoted extensively, as the financial director of the Afghan National Liberation Front, in The *Washington Post*, May 13, 1986, p. A1. "Afghan Leader Had Scrappy, Partisan Past"?

AFG-1992-2 700 AFG Burhanuddin Rabbani 28/06/1992 27/09/1996

Taliban take Kabul. *The New York Times* 28 September, 1996, p. 1. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 43, May 1997, also Vol. 43, 1997, October 1997. Is OK, in Northern Afghanistan.

Keesing's Record of World Events (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 42, September, 1996 Afghanistan, Page 41267. "The militant Islamic so-called student militia or talibaan, which had emerged suddenly in early 1995 as a major force [see pp. 40363; 40406; 40453] and which had in recent months been threatening the capital, Kabul, finally gained control of the city in September. Ousting the government of President Burhanuddin Rabbani, the talibaan moved swiftly to impose a strict Islamic regime. One of the first acts of the new regime was to order the execution of former communist President Najibullah, who since 1992 had remained in Kabul under UN protection. ... On Sept. 27 it was confirmed that President Rabbani had fled the capital along with his recently reinstated Prime Minister, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar [see p. 41149]. Thousands of government troops were said to have abandoned their checkpoints around Kabul and to have headed north. They were pursued by the talibaan, who by Oct. 1 had advanced more than 100 km north of Kabul towards territory controlled by Dostam. His stance in this latest phase of the conflict was unknown, although formally he had allied himself with the Rabbani government under a peace agreement signed in August [see p. 41230]."

For his OK post-tenure fate, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's

Contemporary Archives), Volume 44, January, 1998 Afghanistan, Page 42018. "Former Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani arrived in Tajikistan on Jan. 5 to hold talks with President Imomali Rakhmonov concerning the conflict in Afghanistan. Rabbani highlighted the peaceful goals of the opposition United Islamic Front for Salvation of Afghanistan (UIFSA) and repeated calls for the establishment of a single Afghan government in which all factions and parties could be represented. During late December and early January Rabbani had been engaged in shuttle diplomacy, visiting both Pakistan and Iran in a bid to pressurise all sides involved in the conflict to begin negotiations."

AFG-1996 700 AFG Mullah Omar 27/09/1996 13/11/2001

He was overthrown by Northern Alliance supported by US, in hiding. *The New York Times* 13 November, 2001, p. 1.

AFG-2001 700 AFG Hamid Karzai 22/12/2001 31/12/2004

Installed by Americans and allies.

2.152 TURKMENISTAN

TKM-1990 701 TKM Niyazov 27/10/1990 21/12/2006

The New York Times, December 21, 2006. Saparmurat "Niyazov, 66, who crushed all dissent in his reclusive state and basked in a unique and bizarre personality cult while ruling a country with huge natural gas reserves, died overnight of cardiac arrest, state television said. His funeral was set for December 24 and the government fixed December 26 for the desert state's highest representative body to meet to decide on the succession and name a date for elections. Turkmenistan has never held an election judged to be free and fair by foreign monitors. Until the new polls, which have to be held within two months, Deputy Prime Minister Kurbanguly Berdymukhamedov, 49, will be acting head of state. But Niyazov, who held all top posts, left no designated heir and his sudden death raised concerns about the transfer of power in the ex-Soviet nation of 5 million, ... "I'm worried that a power struggle will start now. I just hope there will be no civil war," Rumina, a school teacher who declined to give her last name, told Reuters at a local market. ... Berdymukhamedov, the new acting president, is said by the opposition to be related to Niyazov. He was earlier named to head a commission handling the funeral. But the country's constitution appears to rule out an acting president standing as candidate for election as head of state."

BBC New Thursday, 21 December, 2006 "Obituary: Saparmurat Niyazov." `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/6199021.stm` "An alleged assassination attempt in 2002 was used by the president to crush his few remaining opponents, drawing condemnation from human rights groups and the US government. ... President Niyazov had long suffered from heart problems, publicly acknowledging for the first time in November 2006 that he had heart disease. ... Saparmurat Niyazov was born in 1940 but orphaned at an early age, growing up in a state orphanage. His father died in WWII and his mother was killed in the earthquake that devastated Turkmenistan's capital in 1948. ... The young Niyazov rose quickly up the Communist party ladder, becoming first secretary of then Soviet Turkmenistan at the age of 45." BBC News Thursday, December 21, 2006: Turkmenistan's 'iron ruler' dies.

`http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/6198983.stm` Turkmenistan's authoritarian president Saparmurat Niyazov, who ruled the Central Asian country for 21 years, has died aged 66, state TV has reported. ... Mr Niyazov died at 0110 local time (2010 GMT Wednesday) of a heart attack. ... Last month, the president publicly acknowledged he had heart disease. His funeral is set to take place on 24 December in the capital, Ashgabat. ... Deputy Prime Minister Kurbanguly Berdymukhamedov has been named head of the commission handling the funeral, state television said. According to Turkmen law, the president is succeeded by the head of the legislative body, the People's Assembly. But this post was held by Mr Niyazov himself. Turkmenistan has called an emergency meeting of its highest representative body for 26 December to decide on Mr Niyazov's succession, the government said. Mr Berdymukhamedov has also been named acting head of state until then, according to government sources." See below from the *The New York Times*, 12 December 2006 which reports that the chairman of the Majlis was Ovez Atayev and that he should succeed, according to the constitution. *The New York Times*, January 5, 2003 "When a Kleptocratic, Megalomaniacal Dictator Goes Bad," `http://www.nytimes.com/2003/01/05/magazine/05TURKMENISTAN.html?`

ex=1166850000&en=f4c687b0bfe67e4f&ei=5070 reports the coup attempt against Nyazov was on 25 November 2002.

TKM-2006 701 TKM Berdymukhamedov 21/12/2006 ????

BBC News Thursday, December 21, 2006: Turkmenistan's 'iron ruler' dies. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/6198983.stm Turkmenistan's authoritarian president Saparmurat Niyazov, who ruled the Central Asian country for 21 years, has died aged 66, state TV has reported. ... Mr Niyazov died at 0110 local time (2010 GMT Wednesday) of a heart attack. ... Last month, the president publicly acknowledged he had heart disease. His funeral is set to take place on 24 December in the capital, Ashgabat. ... Deputy Prime Minister Kurbanguly Berdymukhamedov has been named head of the commission handling the funeral, state television said. According to Turkmen law, the president is succeeded by the head of the legislative body, the People's Assembly. But this post was held by Mr Niyazov himself. Turkmenistan has called an emergency meeting of its highest representative body for 26 December to decide on Mr Niyazov's succession, the government said. Mr Berdymukhamedov has also been named acting head of state until then, according to government sources."

NY Times 21 December 2006. "Saparmurat Niyazov, Turkmen Leader, Dies at 66" "Intrigue immediately followed his death. According to the Turkmen constitution, upon the death of a president, the chairman of the Majlis, the country's lower house of parliament, becomes the acting president. But in Ashgabat, the Turkmen capital, power passed instead to a deputy prime minister, Gurbanguly Berdymukhammedov, and the state news agency announced that the prosecutor general had opened a criminal investigation against the Majlis chairman, Ovez Atayev. ... Acting President Berdymukhammedov is related to Mr. Niyazov. But Mr. Denison [a prof. at the University of Leeds who specializes in Turkmen politics] said in an e-mail message that he is a relatively unknown political figure and "probably not a long-term successor." One opposition figure, Khudaiberdy Orazov, a former chairman of Turkmenistan's central bank, said the appointment of Mr. Berdymukhammedov and the criminal charges against the Majlis chairman signaled that the country's security services were influencing events." BBC NEW on TV reported that the Speaker should constitutionally succeed, but that the PM has taken over. This would make Berdymukhamedov' entry irregular, but above mentions that Niyazov was Spekaer himself. The Guardian, December 22, 2006 "Turkmen power struggle begins after dictator's death."

http://www.guardian.co.uk/international/story/0,,1977896,00.html A power struggle for control of Turkmenistan began to unfold today after the death of the gas-rich country's dictator, Saparmurat Niyazov. The role of acting president should have been awarded to the head of parliament, Ovezgeldy Atayev. But the national security council ruled him out, saying he had been charged with criminal offences, which it did not specify. In his place the Niyazov loyalist and deputy prime minister, Kurbanguly Berdymukhamedov, was appointed, to the condemnation of exiled opposition leaders planning to return home. ... Mr Berdymukhamedov, a former dentist who bears a striking resemblance to Mr Niyazov, has said the people's council, the country's highest legislative body, would set a date on December 26 for presidential elections. He promised these would be held "on a democratic basis that has been laid by the great leader"." BBC News, December 22, 2006 "Turkmen leader pledges stability" reports "Under the constitution, the Parliament chairman Ovezgeldy Atayev should have become the interim

leader, but Mr Berdymukhamedov, the deputy prime minister, was named instead. He told state television that Mr Atayev had been sacked after a criminal probe was opened into his activities on Thursday." BBC News Thursday 28 December, 2006 "Turkmen 'heir apparent' emerges."

`http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/6213875.stm` "Turkmenistan's acting president has emerged as the likely successor to Saparmurat Niyazov, who died last week after 21 years of autocratic rule. Turkmen legislators amended the rules to allow Gurbanguly Berdymukhamedov to run, along with five other candidates, in February's presidential elections. And the country's top election official has already said Mr Berdymukhamedov is a "worthy" successor to Mr Niyazov. Exiled opposition leaders say they will run but hopes of real change are slim .... Candidates standing in the 11 February election will reportedly be able to address voters, but only through meetings organised by local authorities, and through the media, which is state owned. Their campaigns must also be funded from the state budget, the Associated Press quotes the new election law, published in Turkmen media, as saying. ... Mr Berdymukhamedov's candidacy received unanimous backing from the 2,500-strong People's Council, which amended the constitution on Tuesday to allow him to stand. Before the amendment, acting presidents were banned from contesting elections. Election chief Murad Kariyev said on Tuesday he would "do everything" he could to ensure Mr Berdymukhamedov won "because he is a worthy candidate". ... Little is known about Mr Berdymukhamedov because Mr Niyazov never allowed strong political leaders to come to prominence, the BBC's Natalia Antelava says. What is known, she says, is that Mr Berdymukhamedov is 49 years old, was deputy prime minister at the time of Mr Niyazov's death and is a rare survivor of the late president's many purges. He trained as a dentist before becoming health minister in 1997, presiding over the country's deteriorating health system. He also implemented one of Mr Niyazov's most controversial decrees - closing all rural hospitals and replacing 15,000 doctors with military physicians in 2005." *The New York Times* Sunday, February 11, 2007. "ASHGABAT (Reuters) - Turkmenistan voted for a new president on Sunday in its first contested election, but one virtually certain to be won by an aide to the country's former authoritarian leader who died in December. A European parliamentarian who monitored proceedings said the poll was not free and fair, but echoed diplomats who said it might herald gradual change in the reclusive, gas-rich Central Asian state. ... Many people appeared unsure of what to do and dropped unfolded ballot papers into the transparent boxes, invariably marked in favor of Berdymukhamedov, 49. He has sprung from relative obscurity to become the successor-in-waiting thanks to the backing of powerful figures in the armed forces and the large ranks of the internal security services, diplomats and the exiled opposition say. Many of Niyazov's former ministers ended up in prison or exile, where some have formed opposition movements banned from participating in the vote. Human rights groups say the country has a large number of political prisoners."

2.153 TAJIKISTAN

TAJ-1991-1 702 TAJ Kadreddin Aslonov 31/08/1991 23/09/1991

Aslonov is forced out by a vote by the parliament in Tajikistan. (Looks constitutional) See following news on Aslanov: "From the *Financial Times*, 24 September, 1991 COMMUNIST deputies in Tajikistan yesterday hit back at an attempt to ban their party by ousting the Soviet Central Asian republic's acting president and imposing a state of emergency. Deputies voted overwhelmingly to replace Mr. Kadreddin Aslonov, the acting president, with Mr. Rakman Nabiyev, the republic's former Communist party chief, and to revoke a decree issued on Sunday by Mr. Aslonov banning the party and sequestrating its assets. The Communist backlash, the first of any success in the Soviet Union since last month's failed coup, brought up to 5,000 protesters onto the streets of Dushanbe, the republic's capital, and into a tense stand-off with an equal number of Communist supporters in the city centre."

So Aslanov was deposed by parliament when he tried to ban communist party.

TAJ-1991-2 702 TAJ Nabiyev 23/09/1991 07/09/1992

On Rakhmon Nabiyev's death from a heart attack, see: ***Keesing's*** Vol. 39, April 1993. He died on 11 April, 7 months after he lost office. On his ouster, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 38, September 1992. Armed opposition fighters intercept president and force him to sign resignation, *The New York Times* 8/9/1992, p. 3. For his birthdate, see – from ProQuest – "Founding Presidents of Soviet Successor States: A Comparative Study." David C. Brooker. *Demokratizatsiya*. Washington: Winter 2004. Vol.12, Iss. 1; pg. 133, 13 pgs, which says some sources say 1930, others 1931. Rulers.org lists him as born on 5 October, 1930. He studied agriculture in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan. Had been leader of the Tajik Party in 1982. Former communist leader, deposed by militias, dies of heart attack in April 1993.

TAJ-1992-1 702 TAJ Iskandrov 07/09/1992 20/11/1992

On Akbarsho Iskandrov's (also spelled Iskandrov) entry, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 38, September 1992. "On Sept. 7, as hundreds of armed supporters of the Moslem- dominated opposition surrounded Dushanbe airport terminal, members of the coalition government formed in May and parliamentary opposition leaders prevented Nabiyev from leaving for his northern home region of Khodzhent, and after several hours of talks forced him to resign. Constitutionally, presidential powers passed to the Chair of the Supreme Soviet, Akbarsho Iskandrov, who on Sept. 24 appointed Abdumalik Abdullojanov as acting Prime Minister. On Sept. 18 Iskandrov had established a new Defence Ministry, although no minister was appointed."

See also *The Independent*, September 10, 1992, p. 9 "Tajik leader pledges to steer away from Islam." Accessed through **Lexis Nexis** "Mr Iskandarov took on the functions of President after Mr Nabiyev resigned on Monday under intense pressure from the combined democratic and Islamic opposition."

He does not seem in total control, see "BBC Summary of World Broadcasts" October 7, 1992, "Tajik President Government Unable to Disarm Warring Factions." SOURCE: Interfax news agency, Moscow in English 1432 gmt 5 Oct 92. "President Akbarsho Iskandarov thinks the government does not have enough power at present to disarm the republic's conflicting detachments representing various political trends. In an exclusive

interview with Interfax, he put all the blame for the present situation on ex-President Rakhmon Nabiyev. The latter signed a decree setting up a national guard corps in Tajikistan but "let things slide" he failed to put the forces stationed in Tajikistan under the republic's jurisdiction, as a result of which "sovereign and independent Tajikistan has neither its own army nor its own armaments"."

For his exit, see *BBC Summary of World Broadvasts/The Monitoring Report*, November 20, 1992. "Exit Iskandarov as Kulyab leader is voted new Tajik president." Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. "The Tajik Supreme Soviet on 19th November voted by 140 to 54 to confirm the resignation of acting President Iskandarov, ITAR- TASS reported the same day. Iskandarov offered his resignation on the 12th along with that of his government and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet but, although deputies confirmed the latter in their session on the 18th, they agreed to debate the possibility of reinstating Iskandarov himself. In his address to the Supreme Soviet, Iskandarov said that he was "very unhappy that the fratricidal war is continuing and my efforts have failed to produce the desired effect." He added that the country needed "a leader who enjoys the support not only of the deputies but the whole nation". After the session Iskandarov told the French news agency AFP that he thought the stage was now set for a communist come back. "The next Tajik government will be dominated by Communists," he said, adding that "now the people of Tajikistan can see what games the Communist deputies are playing". Later the same day, Interfax reported that the Supreme Soviet had nominated Imoli Rakhmanov, the chairman of Kulyab executive committee, as the new president."

See also ***Keesing's***, Volume 38, November, 1992 Tajikistan, Page 39192. "Acting President Akbarsho Iskandarov and his coalition government resigned on Nov. 10, calling for a ceasefire as pro-communist militias laid siege to Dushanbe and occupied much of Tajikistan. Iskandarov's Islamic coalition had survived an attempted coup in October by supporters of the former communist President Rakhmon Nabiyev, whose removal from power in September sparked off a smouldering civil war [see pp. 39097-98;39147] In a statement on Nov. 10, however, the Iskandarov government said that it was resigning to save the country from destruction. Maj.-Gen. Mukhriddin Ashurov, commander of the force in Tajikistan, had already resigned from the State Council. More than 100,000 refugees had fled to Dushanbe from fighting in southern Tajikistan, according to the Red Cross, and were causing serious shortages of basic food. Blockades of the city by pro-communist forces prevented food supplies from getting through for much of November. Local militias, many backing the former communist leadership, were reported to control most of the south, including towns only 40 km from the capital. On Nov. 18 the Tajik Supreme Soviet, meeting in Khojand, away from the turmoil in Dushanbe, accepted the Iskandarov government's resignation."

Parliament (elected before Soviet Union broke up), installs new leader, but only after pro-ex-communist militias route Islamic forces supportive of the previous government, *Financial Times* (London, England) 11/26/1992, p. 4. ***Keesing's*** reports first resignation, but subsequently that he was 'forced' from office. He was sent to internal exile.

Keesing's, Volume 39, January, 1993 Tajikistan, Page 39272, notes "Relative calm returned to Dushanbe after the declaration of a state of emergency and the introduction of a curfew on Jan. 7. Meanwhile, government forces continued their offensive in the east of the country, focusing on the area around Garm and on Gorno- Badakhshan in the Pamir mountains, where members of the ousted government, including former President

Akbarsho Iskandarov, had taken refuge. ... According to Le Monde of Jan. 14 the communist take-over in November [see pp. 39192; 39237] had been accompanied by the systematic killing, under the direction of militia leader Sangak Sarafov among others, of supporters of the previous Islamic-democratic government."

The Guardian (London), November 21, 1992, p. 14, "Tajikistan Moves Back to the Past with Communist Chief." Accesses through **Lexis Nexis**. "parliament accepted the resignations of former president Rahman Nabiev, a Brezhnev-era politician who was forced out by armed militants, and the man who succeeded him, Akhbar Shah Iskandarov. Both resignations were accepted overwhelmingly but while parliament applauded Mr Nabiev, a former communist, it treated his successor with little respect. ... When the new government, once it is formed, comes to the capital from the north, it will have to negotiate with the irregulars or fight it out. The coalition government had been incapable of forming a new governing structure, had suffered a number of military set-backs and been out-manoeuvred politically. It has been unable to exert any authority outside Dushanbe, and at times scarcely within the capital."

See also *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, December 4, 1992, "Supreme Soviet Final Day New Minister; Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab Merge," SOURCE: (a) Tajik Radio, Dushanbe 1200 gmt 2 Dec 92. This records "Akbarsho Iskandarov was proposed as chairman of the committee for economic relations with foreign countries. However, his candidacy was not supported by the people's deputies; only 68 votes were cast in his favour."

This is a judgment call, but based on his resignation, his bid for chairman of the committee for economic relations with foreign countries and no evidence of the threat of the use of force against him personally (although he flees), we code this as a regular exit.

TAJ-1992-2 702 TAJ Rakhmonov 20/11/1992 31/12/2004

For his entry, see *BBC Summary of World Broadvasts/The Monitoring Report*, November 20, 1992. "Exit Iskandarov as Kulyab leader is voted new Tajik president." Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. " Later the same day, Interfax reported that the Supreme Soviet had nominated Imoli Rakhmanov, the chairman of Kulyab executive committee, as the new president."

See also ***Keesing's***, Volume 38, November, 1992 Tajikistan, Page 39192. "On Nov. 18 the Tajik Supreme Soviet, meeting in Khojand, away from the turmoil in Dushanbe, accepted the Iskandarov government's resignation. On Nov. 19 the deputies, elected during communist rule, elected Imoli Rakhmanov, a former communist and chairman of the executive committee in the southern Kulyab region, as Speaker of Parliament (the de facto president). Rakhmanov immediately pledged to end the fighting."

2.154 KYRGYZ REPUBLIC

KYR-1990 703 KYR Akayev 27/10/1990 31/12/2004

http://www.nytimes.com/2005/03/27/international/asia/27kyrgyzstan.html?hp&ex=1111899600&en=e6da3951aa41760a&ei=5094&partner=homepage

"Crisis Grips Kyrgyzstan; Ousted Chief Is in Russia" By CRAIG S. SMITH, Published: March 27, 2005. "BISHKEK, Kyrgyzstan, March 26 - Two days after President Askar Akayev fled Kyrgyzstan, the country was mired in a parliamentary crisis as members from the old and newly elected Parliament vied for power. Moscow confirmed that Mr. Akayev had been welcomed in Russia, where he went after a groundswell of protests across the country against vote-rigging in legislative elections that ended with a runoff on March 13. But he has not resigned as president and Kyrgyzstan's new authorities are struggling to establish the legal foundation of their rule."

2.155 UZBEKISTAN

UZB-1990 704 UZB Karimov 24/03/1990 31/12/2004

The New York Times, January 27, 2007. "Uzbek Leader Shows No Signs of Vacating." http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/world/AP-Uzbekistan-Karimov.html "Nearly a week after his term elapsed, the former Communist strongman who has kept a tight grip on Uzbekistan for more than 15 years shows no sign of vacating the presidential office. The clock ran out on Islam Karimov's second term on Sunday, but there has been no official recognition of the fact – a sign his hold on power remains strong and that he has no intention of leaving, analysts say. They say Karimov, who has eradicated opposition and silenced dissent in the Central Asian nation, appears to be exploiting a legal ambiguity. While the Uzbek constitution limits terms to seven years, the country also has a law that says a presidential election must be held in December of the year in which the term expires – in this case December 2007. "There is no sign that Karimov is preparing to leave and he is apparently going to stand for and get another term in December," said Michael Hall, Central Asia project director of the International Crisis Group think-tank. Karimov, who will turn 69 on Tuesday, became the top Communist boss in this former Soviet republic in 1989. He has won two presidential elections since the Soviet collapse – in 1991 and 1999 – and had his term extended twice, once through parliament and another time in a referendum. Both election victories were landslides with more than 90 percent of the votes, but neither was recognized by international observers as free or fair."

2.156 KAZAKHSTAN

KZK-1990 705 KZK Nazarbaev 24/04/1990 31/12/2004

BBC New, Monday 21 May, 2007 "Kazakhs pave way for president for life." "Nursultan Nazarbayev, who prides himself on leading the most advanced and democratic country in Central Asia, may have just become president for life. The Kazakh parliament voted overwhelmingly to allow Mr Nazarbayev to run for office as many times as he likes. .... Mr Nazarbayev's family is accused of controlling much of the country's business, no election here has ever lived up to international standards, most of the media is tightly controlled by the state and two leading opposition politicians have been murdered here in the last year and a half. Still Mr Nazarbayev has always insisted that democracy was his goal. He has also been ambitious about turning Kazakhstan into a serious international player and is very sensitive about his country's image overseas. With plenty of oil cash to spare, the government has been buying space in international newspapers and air-time on television channels, and promoting Kazakhstan as an island of stability and prosperity. But Mr Nazarbayev's critics have long said that genuine political reform is what is really needed to boost the country's image. For months now many of them have been waiting for constitutional changes that the president said would give more power to the parliament and make the country more democratic. A much more powerful president is what they got instead. The new constitution increased the number of the legislators and cut the length of the presidential term from five to seven years, but these changes are overshadowed by a generous exemption the law makes for Mr Nazarbayev himself. The MPs said as a founder of the modern Kazakh state, Mr Nazarbayev should be able to take part in the elections after his term expires in 2012. Having long exhausted their tolerance for dissent, Central Asian presidents did not groom obvious successors, but concentrated on holding on to power instead. In Uzbekistan, President Islam Karimov has been ignoring the issue of the next presidential elections, despite the fact that according to one reading of the law his term has already expired. In Tajikistan, Immomali Rakhmon has recently changed the constitution to allow him to run for the third term. But it was Mr Nazarbayev who invented what seems to be a perfect, constitutional solution to staying in power."

2.157 CHINA

CHN-1861 710 CHN Tz'u His 22/08/1861 15/11/1908

CHN-1908 710 CHN Zaifeng 02/12/1908 6/12/1911

Prince Chun Zaifeng (1883-1951). He ruled between 2 Dec 1908 and 6 Dec 1911.He ruled as regent (and was father) for the boy emperor. (visited his son every two months after the resignation). According to Wikipedia (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaifeng) "He was born in Beijing while his older half-brother reigned as the Guangxu Emperor, having been chosen by Empress Dowager Cixi in 1875 to succeed the Tonghzhi Emperor. His branch of the imperial family had thus obtained the highest status, and was in a close relationship with Cixi. In January 1891, although he was not yet eight years old, his father the 1st prince Chun died, and he was immediately made the new Prince of the First Rank Chun. ... Eventually, on October 10, 1911, the Wuchang Uprising started the Xinhai Revolution which was to overthrow the Qing dynasty. The court was forced to call Yuan Shikai back, despite the regent's deep aversion for him, as Yuan was the only one capable of defeating the revolutionaries. Yuan became prime minister on November 16. Prince Chun, now deprived of any real power, and with his worst enemy in power, stepped down on December 6, 1911 and was replaced by Empress Dowager Jonyu (his sister-in-law) as regent. As he returned to his home that day, he was quoted telling his family: ... After he returned to private life, the 2nd prince Chun remained a respected figure, both among the republicans and later the communists, who appreciated his peaceful stepping down from power and acceptance of the republic, in sharp contrast with Yuan Shikai or other warlords. Sun Yat-sen even paid him a visit in Beijing in September 1912, on which occasion he congratulated Prince Chun, and Prince Chun formally declared he accepted the new Republic of China."

CHN-1911 710 CH Empress Dowager Jonyu 06/12/1911 12/01/1912

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Empress_Dowager_Longyu Sister-in-law of Zaifeng. A cousin of the Guangxu Emperor (1875-1908) and a niece of the Empress Dowager Cixi. Married the Emperor Guangxu, February 26, 1889. She died a few months after the fall of the Qing dynasty, following an illness, she was 46 years old. She was born 1868. (Perhaps the real power is Yuan Shikai, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yuan_Shikai.)

CHN-1912-1 710 CHN Sun Yat-sen 12/01/1912 15/02/1912

See Encyclopedia Brit. http://search.eb.com/eb/topic?idxStructId=573870&typeId=13 "In September [192, HG], Yüan appointed Sun director general of railway development. Their entente might have lasted if Sung Chiao-jen, who had reorganized the Alliance Society into the Kuomintang and was serving as its head, had not been assassinated in March 1913, reportedly at Yüan's instigation. This precipitated a second revolution, in which Sun opposed Yüan. When the campaign failed, Sun fled once again to Japan. While there, he unavailingly sought Japanese aid by promising vast concessions in China, and he also alienated many revolutionaries by requiring them to take an oath of personal allegiance to him. He was also criticized for marrying his secretary, Soong Ch'ing-ling (November 1914), without divorcing his first wife."

CHN-1912-2 710 CHN Yuan Shih-kai 15/02/1912 06/06/1916

See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yuan_Shikai "The revolutionaries had elected Sun Yat-Sen as the first Provisional President of the Republic of China, but they were in a militarily weak position, and so they reluctantly compromised with Yuan. Yuan fulfilled his promise to the revolutionaries and arranged for the abdication of the child emperor Puyi in return for being named the President of the Republic, replacing Sun. Sun agreed, but asked that the capital be situated in Nanjing. Yuan, however, wanted his advantage geographically. Cao Kun, one of his entrusted subordinate Beiyang military commanders, fabricated a coup d'état in Beijing and TIanjin, apparently under Yuan's orders, to provide an excuse for Yuan not to leave his sphere of influence in Zhili (present-day Hebei province). The revolutionaries compromised again, and the capital of the new republic was established in Beijing. Yuan Shikai was elected Provisional President on February 14, 1912, by the Nanjing Provisional Senate, and sworn in on March 10." He died, apparently from uremia.

CHN-1916 710 CHN Li Yuan-Hung 06/06/1916 14/08/1917

CHN-1917 710 CHN Feng Kuo-chang 14/08/1917 04/09/1918
A general. See Lentz. Dies of pneumonia in Peking, December 28, 1919.

CHN-1918 710 CHN Hsu Shih-ch'ang 04/09/1918 02/06/1922
See Lentz.

CHN-1922 710 CHN Li Yuan-Hung 11/06/1922 14/06/1923
Feng Yuh-siang forces president to leave office. Chief of general staff conveys the threat. *Christian Science Monitor* 14 June, 1923, p. 1. See Lentz: Li went to Shanghai in September 1923 and then spent several months in Japan to recuperate from complications of diabetes. He goes to Japan to recuperate from diabetes.

CHN-1923 710 CHN Tsao Kun 05/10/1923 02/11/1924
Feng ousts Wu from command and takes over Peking Government, New York Times 4 November, 1924, p. 20, Lentz 1999, p. 83. House arrest.

CHN-1924 710 CHN Tuan Chi-jui 24/11/1924 20/04/1926
Flees as Chang Tso-Lin's army takes over, *Chicago Daily Tribune* 21 April, 1926, p. 16.

CHN-1926 710 CHN Chang Tso-lin 21/04/1926 10/10/1928
Killed in a train bombing committed by members of the Japanese army. These might not have acted officially. Britannica claims they were extremists who wanted to trigger the Japanese army to occupy Manchuria (http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9022432). The Columbia Encyclopedia confirms Japanese officers committed the bombing, but says motives are unclear (http://www.bartleby.com/65/ch/ChangTso.html). Coded as use of foreign force, but could also be "unsupported individuals" or "other" as members of the Imperial Japanese army had a tendency to take action without approval of their civilian leadership.

CHN-1928 710 CHN Chiang Kai-shek 10/10/1928 14/12/1937
For his entry, see *The New York Times*, October 14, 1928, p. E4 "China's New President." Fall of Nanking. *The New York Times* 14 December, 1937, p. 1.

CHN-1937 710 CHN Wang Kemin 14/12/1937 30/03/1940

Dies in 1945. A Japanese Puppet. Wikipedia, accessed 2 March 2007: "In 1931, Wang Kemin returned with Zhang Xueliang and took a post in the Peking Finance committee. In 1935 Wang was in the Kuomintang Hebei Government and had a post in the Northeast Government Affairs Committee, and the Peking Government Affairs Committee and other important posts. After the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937, Wang Kemin took the post of President administrative chairman of the Provisional Government of the Republic of China a Japanese Puppet State, basedin Beijing, formed on December 14, 1937. In March, 1940 the Republic of China Provisional Government merged with Wang Jinwei's Nanjing Nationalist Government. Wang Kemin took the post of North China Political Council chairmen. Wang Kemin turned over power in name to Wang Jingwei but in fact retained it. Afterward Wang Kemin became Nanjing Nationalist Government internal affairs head, and a Central Political Commissioner. Arrested as a traitor after the end of the war, on December 26, 1945 Wang committed suicide."

CHN-1940 710 CHN Wang Jingwei 30/03/1940 10/11/1944

See Lentz: Wang's health began to fail in 1944, and he went to Japan for treatment. He died in Nagoya on November 10, 1944.

CHN-1944 710 CHN Chen Gongbo 20/11/1944 01/08/1945

He was born in 1892 and died in 1946. He is the leader of China under Japanese occupation. *The New York Times*, Sept. 4, 1945. "The Central News Agency reported that Chen Kung-po, who was said by the Japanese to have committed suicide, is hiding in Japan. Chen, former president of the Nanking puppet government, was reported to have paid the Japanese $100,000,000 for his "living expenses" in Japan before departing." See also, *The New York Times*, Sept. 9, 1945.

Since the Chinese (nationalist and communist forces) led the reconquest from Japan on the ground, I will code this not as foreign intervention, but as rebel activity with foreign support. New York Times 26 August, 1945, p. 1

CHN-1946 710 CHN Chiang Kai-shek 26/12/1946 21/01/1949

Leaves mainland China after Communist prevail in civil war, Lentz 1994, p. 172.

CHN-1949 710 CHN Mao Tse-Tung 01/10/1949 09/09/1976

CHN-1976 710 CHN Hua Guofeng 07/10/1976 10/09/1980 See Lentz.

CHN-1980 710 CHN Deng Xiaoping 10/09/1980 19/02/1997

CHN-1997 710 CHN Jiang Zemin 19/02/1997 15/03/2003

CHN-2004 710 CHN Hu Jintao 15/06/2004 31/12/2004

2.158 TIBET

TBT-1875 711 TBT Tatsak Rinpoche 25/04/1875 15/06/1886

Nota Bene: ***The exit date is the best approximation; sources note that Tatsak Rinpoche lost office in 1886, but no date is given. We take the middle of the year as the best approximation. This is the only such approximation of the month of exit.***

"Desi" Shetra overthrows the Regent Rinpochey in the year of the Waterdog, or 1862 in a bloodless coup. The former regent then goes into exile. Shetra dies in 1864, and first the Kashag (Cabinet) takes over, but in 1868 the Palden Dondrub takes over in another coup (He had organized first coup). He rules for only three years. In 1871, Palden Dondrub oust him from office and the Kashag of Cabinet Ministers takes over. 12th Dalai Lama (Born in 1856) is enthroned in the Water Bird Year, or 1873, but "Never really performed the duties of his office ... and largely concentrated on his studies." Constitutional entry. Natural Death. After 12th Dalai Lama dies, on 25 April 1875 (was born in 1856): Regent Tatsak Rinpochey of Kundeling Monastery rules Tibet from 25 April 1875 to 1886. Constitutional entry. He dies in the fourth month of the Fire Dog Year (1886), when the Great Thirteenth was only eleven years old. Natural death. New Regent was Demo Tulku Trinley Rabgyey of Tengeling Monastery.

TBT-1886 711 TBT Demo Tulku Tr. Rabgyey 15/06/1886 08/01/1895

Demo Tulku Trinley Rabgyey. Regent Tatsak Rinpochey of Kundeling Monastery, dies in the fourth month of the Fire Dog Year (1886), when the Great Thirteenth was only eleven years old. New Regent was Demo Tulku Trinley Rabgyey of Tengeling Monastery.

TBT-1895 711 TBT 13th Dalai Lama 08/01/1895 17/12/1933

13th Dalai Lama gets in power "during the spring of the Wood Sheep Year, or 1895. His enthronement as head of state took place four months later, on the eighth day of that same year" (8 Jan 1895). Apparently he faced an attempted coup by the former regent and/or his brothers in 1899. He rules from 8 Jan 1895 to 17 December 1933. Constitutional Entry. Natural Death.

TBT-1933 711 TBT Radreng 17/12/1933 30/06/1941

Radreng Hutukto, the fifth Reting Rinpoche, Thupten Jamel Yishey Gyantsen. Regent for the Dalai Lama. Entry Constitutional. Exit Constitutional (Retreat). After 13th Dalai Lama dies: Reteng Rinpochey (= Fifth Reteng Tulku), 23 years old at the time. Born in 1912 (or 1911). Successor to Reteng was Regent Taktra Tulku. (Transfer is constitutional because Reteng goes into retreat. Reteng murdered a couple of years afterwards, when he thinks of coming back because of poor stewardship by Taktra.) Wikipedia, however, notes that he died in 1947 in the prisons of Lhasa's Potala, "apparently the victim of poisoning," Footnoted to Melvyn C. Goldstein A History of Modern Tibet, 1913-1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State. University of California Press: 1991. Ch.14, The Reting Conspiracy - Reting's Death, pp.510-516.

TBT-1941 711 TBT Taktra Rimpoche 30/06/1941 17/11/1950

He ruled between 16 January 1941 - 17 November 1950. Regent Taktra Tulku Constitutional entry and exit.

TBT-1950 711 TBT 14th Dalai Lama 17/11/1950 23/05/1951

14th Dalai Lama enthroned on 17 November 1950, when only 15 years old. He ruled between 17 November 1950 - 17 March 1959. He was born in 1935. He fled the country on March 17, 1959, when the Chinese invaded and declared Tibet a 'military district' of China under treaty provisions. *The New York Times* 28 May, 1951 , p. 11; *The New York Times* 24 May, 1951, p. 19; Wikipedia: `http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tenzin_Gyatso\%2C_14th_Dalai_Lama`. Flees, exile to India, where he set up Tibet's government-in-exile.

2.159 MONGOLIA

Sources consulted include Atwood, Christopher P. Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire. New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2004, gives a list of People's government and People's Republic, 1921-1900.

Alan J. K. Sanders, Historical Dictionary of Mongolia, 2nd Edition. Asian/Oceanian Historical Dictionaries, No. 42. Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc, 2003.

MON-1921-1 712 MON Chagdarjav 13/03/1921 16/04/1921

He was born in 1880. He gained power with the help of Russians. Lentz notes: After ouster, "He subsequently went to organize activities in Northwest Mongolia. He was arrested and executed with Bodo in September 1922." This was more than one year after out. The date of his execution is August 31. See Atwood.

MON-1921-2 712 MON Dogsomyn Bodo 16/04/1921 07/01/1922

Dogsomyn Bodo was born in 1895. Lentz notes: Subsequently arrested and charged with conspiring against the government and executed in September 1922. Atwood notes: he was the deputy PM under Danzin. Bodo was executed August 31, 1922. Atwood also notes that his resignation was accepted by Danzin.

MON-1922 712 MON Sükhebaatur 07/01/1922 23/02/1923

Sükhebaatur was born in 2 February 1893. Atwood notes that he was a General, Commander in Chief. "After completing a tour of the eastern frontier in November 1922, Sükhebaatur was replaced by Magsurjab as army minister while remaining commander in chief. On February 14, 1923, while inspected troops guarding against a counterrevolutionary plot allegedly timed for the WHITE MONTH (lunar new year), Sükhebaatur became ill. He was bedridden from the next day until his death on February 23. His death immediately occasioned suspicions of poisoning, which have continued to the present, although the only autopsy, done in Chita, considered a liver disease the likeliest cause of death."(521-22)

MON-1923 712 MON Danzin 23/02/1923 26/08/1924

Atwood notes that he was a general, but didn't really have a military career or experience as Sükhebaatur did. He was born to an unwed mother in 1885. He was elected party chairman at the People's Party assembly, March 1-3, 1921. He became Commander in Chief after Sükhebaatur's death. ... "Hoping to revive Mongolia's economy and finances, Danzin encouraged Chinese firms to return to Mongolia. This friendliness to Chinese firms alienated his former ally Elbeck-Dorzhi Rinchino, and Danzin's political supporters began to criticize openly the Buriat advisers as clever pied pipers of the naíve young Mongols. Criticism of Danzin's administration increased at the People's Party's Third Congress in August 1924, when Danzin suddenly withdrew in a huff to the city garrison. He may have been planning a coup d'état against Rincino, but he did not have the soldiers' support and was himself arrested and executed without a trial on August 30." (P.129-130)

Lentz notes: Danzan Khorloo, purged and executed in August 1924. *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 17, 1924, p. 1 notes Danzan had been shot by order of the Mongol Soviet. Hence, removed by other government actors. See also The *Washington Post*, Sept. 18,

1924, p. 5, which notes he was arrested August 26, and after a trial on a charge of plotting against the Urga government, was shot along with several minor officials of his regime.

MON-1924 712 MON Elbek-Dorzhi Rinchino 26/08/1924 15/07/1925 Outdate comes from Atwood's entry on Dambadorji "After Rinchino's recall to Russia in July 1925 . . . ." We've taken the middle of the month. Sanders has him as "Elbegdorj, Rinchingiyin." For details about his role in 1924-5, see also The International Newsletter of Communist Studies, Online 16, 2003, available at `http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/projekte/incs/home/data/pdf/INCS_16_ONLINE.pdf` which records that "after returning from Mongolia in 1925, he was sent to the Institute of Red Professors, Moscow. 1927 lecturer of the Communist University of the Works of the East. 1934 professor of the Faculty of political economy. Subjected to repression. Rehabilitated in 1957."

He was born in 16 May, 1888. Atwood notes that he was the Chairman of the Military Council. Born to an unwed mother. "After the congress [of 1924, HG] Rinchino was riding high in Mongolia. Nevertheless from fall 1924 he had constantly to fend off criticism from the Comintern's first official representative, the Kazakh Turar R. Ryskulov (1894-1938). The disagreements came to a head over Rinchino's advocacy of an adventurous pan-Mongolist policy in Inner Mongolia. The Comintern recalled both to Russia and entrusted a Balagan Buriat, Matvei I. Amagaev (1897-1939) , with eliminating pan-Mongolism in the Mongolian party. From 1925 Rinchino taught political economy in Moscow . . . . Rinchino was arrested on July 19, 1937, in the first wave of the great purge as a pan-Mongolist (now treated as a criminal offense) and a Japanese spy and executed a year later, on June 23." (p.477) Came into power with the installation of a new regime in Mongolia by the COMINTERN. Removed by COMINTERN for his disagreements with the representative in Mongolia. Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongolian Empire, p. 477. Since basically recalled by the Soviets, and no threat of the use of force, we code his manner of removal as irregular, but "other."

MON-1925 712 MON Dambadorji 15/07/1925 15/10/1928

Exit date is a combination of info from Atwood and Rulers.org. The latter has him out in October, we again take the middle of the month.

He was born in 1899. Atwood notes on p.126: After Rinchino's recall to Russia in July 1925 Dambadorji as party chairman and his allies ran Mongolia. . . . After more than a year of pressure Dambardorji's regime was overthrown at the People's Revolutionary Party's Seventh Congress (September – December 1928). Dambadorji was exiled to Moscow for study with Batsükh and their son. Ahmad. After 1932 he worked in Mongolia's embassy in Moscow before dying of disease in 1934." Sanders (p.75) notes on his death: "He died there on June 25, 1934, after "receiving an injection of poison.""

MON-1928 712 MON Gendün 15/10/1928 20/03/1936

He was born in 1895. Atwood notes that he was one of three Party Secretaries from 1928 to 1932, then Prime Minister from 1932 to 1936. At the party's Seventh Congress (autumn 1928) Moscow's Communist International (Comintern) mobilized the khodoo faction to overthrow the party chief Dambadorji, and Gendün was appointed one of three new party secretaries. . . . After tension-filled meetings with Stalin in December 1935 to January 1936, Gendün finally agreed to invite Soviet troops to Mongolia. Roundly criticized for impeding Soviet-Mongolian friendship at the next party plenum, Gendün

was relieved of all his duties on March 20, 1936, and exiled with his family to Crimea. On July 17, 1937, as part of Stalin's Great Purge, arrested and shot as a Japanese spy on 26 November 1937.

Lentz notes: he was expelled from the presidium of the central committee and removed from office that same month (March 1936). Gendung was charged with conspiring with General Demid in counterrevolutionary and pro-Japanese activities. He was purged and executed in 1937.

MON-1936 712 MON Choibalsan 22/03/1936 26/01/1952

Atwood notes (pp.12-13): Amur becomes PM after Gendung and before Choibalsang. He had been PM before, 21/2/1928 to 27/4/1930, after Tserendorji's death, but we don't have him as effective leader there. ... "Promoted to replace Gendün as prime minister on March 22, 1936, Amur was again a token. Real power lay with the interior minister Choibalsang and his hatchetman Lubsangsharab, as Joseph Stalin's Great Purge swept the country. Finally, on March 7, 1939, Lubsangsharab arrested Amur in a presidium meeting. In July he was deported to the Soviet Union. Interrogated with torture, he confessed to various imaginary crimes and was executed on February 10, 1941."

Atwood notes: Choibalsang is Commander in Chief, 1924-1928, and 1937-1950, Prime Minister 1939-1952. "Set up as ruler of Mongolia by Stalin's decree, he later showed unexpected nationalist tendencies. ... At age 12 he began living at a temple, where he was given the monastic name Choibalsang. ... Promoted to deputy PM under Gendün in December 1934. ... In February 1936, again on Soviet direction, Choibalsang became head of the Interior Ministry, the new security organ, and received the title of marshal. ... From 1934 his key policy decisions were always approved in his regular meetings with Stalin in Moscow. Even on minor matters Choibalsang never felt comfortable about any decision until he knew that Soviet advisers had approved it."

MON-1952 712 MON Tsendenbal 26/01/1952 23/08/1984

Atwood notes that he was an economist. (p.549) "On August 9, 1984, while vacationing in Moscow, the Kremlin Doctor Chazov diagnosed Tsedenbal as suffering from overwork, and top Soviet leaders summoned Batmönkh and D. Molomjamts, telling them Tsedenbal could no longer serve. On August 23 the Mongolian Politburo dismissed Tsedenbal from all positions. After his dismissal Tsendenbal lived in lonely retirement in Moscow with his wife and sons. .... Tsedenbal died in Moscow on April 21, 1991. and was buried in Ulaanbaatar." See also *Washington Post* 24 August, 1984. Coded as an irregular removal, but although clearly foreign dictated, since no threat or use of force, coded as "other."

MON-1984 712 MON Batmonh 23/08/1984 12/03/1990

Also listed as Batmonkh. Atwood notes that he attended Mongolian State University, from 1951 on lectured at Mongolian State University and then at the Higher Party School. After studying at the Soviet Communist's Party Academy of Social Sciences in Moscow (1958-61), he headed the Institute of Economics and then Mongolian State University. Chosen as premier in 1974. Both Tsedenbal and Batmonkh are of the Dorbod tribe.

MON-1990 712 MON Ochirbat 12/03/1990 20/06/1997

Sanders notes that he graduated with a degree in mining engineering from the Leningrad Higher School of Mining. He was awarded a higher degree (Candidate of Technical Sciences) for a study of the "erdenet" copper and molybdenum mine in 1975. "The 1992 constitution, which came into force in February, set the term of the presidency at four years and changed the country's name from the MPR to Mongolia, and Ochirbat became president of Mongolia and commander in chief. The Constitution Implementation Law of 1992 called the first general presidential elections in June 1993. After deselection by the MPRP, Ochirbat was nominated for the 1993 presidential elections by a coalition .... In the presidential election on June 6, winning 57.8 percent of the vote, Ochirbat defeated the MPRP candidate, Lodongiyn Tüdev, who gained 38.7 percent ...." [after losing the election of 1997] "Thereafter he became a company director and wrote books about mining. In March 2001 Ochirbat became a member of the National Advisory Council of the Democratic Party."

MON-1997 712 MON Bagabandi 20/06/1997 31/12/2004

2.160 TAIWAN

TAW-1949 713 TAW Li Tsung-jen 21/01/1949 28/02/1950

From Wikipedia, slightly suspect source in general, but lengthy and detailed entry. General of the Seventh Army in the Northern Expedition. "In April 28, 1948, Li was elected by the National Assembly as the vice-president, five days after his political opponent, Chiang Kai-shek became president. The day after Chiang resigned on January 21, 1949 as a response to the Chinese Communist uprisings and several victories, Li became the nominal acting president. Li attempted to negotiate with the communists in Beijing. ... In November 1949, before the establishment of the Chiang government in Taiwan in the following month, Li flew to New York for treating his chronic duodenum illness at the Hospital of Columbia University. ... Li doughtily vowed he would "return to crush" Chiang's movement once he went back to China. In January 1952, Chiang commanded the Control Yuan now in Taiwan to impeach Li in the "Case of Li Tsung-jen's Failure to carry out Duties due to illegal conduct", and officially relinquished Li of the position as vice-president in the National Assembly March 1954. Li became a communist sympathizer and moved to Beijing with the support of Zhou Enlai on July 20, 965. He died in Nanjing with a duodenum cancer at 78."

Lentz: "He then went to the United States for abdominal surgery. Chiang reformed the Nationalist government on Taiwan and reclaimed power on March 1, 1950. Li refused to go to Taiwan following his recovery. The Nationalist Assembly voted his ouster as vice president in 1954. Li remained in exile in the United States until July of 1965, when he returned to Peking."

Chiang Kai-shek reclaims power while president is in US for medical treatment. Kai-shek is a military figure, but not an active officer, so I code this as other domestic government officer taking over. New York Times 3-1-1950, p. 24. He was born on 13 August, 1890 and died on 13 January, 1969.

TAW-1950 713 TAW Chiang Kai-shek 01/03/1950 05/04/1975

Former ruler of another country, China.

TAW-1975 713 TAW Yen Chia-Kan 05/04/1975 20/05/1978

TAW-1978 713 TAW Chiang Ching-Kuo 20/05/1978 13/01/1988

Chiang Ching Kuo died as a result of a heart attack at the age of 77 in Taipei on January 13, 1988. He is the son of Chiang Kai-Shek.

TAW-1988 713 TAW Lee Teng-Hui 13/01/1988 20/05/2000

TAW-2000 713 TAW Chen Shui-bian 21/05/2000 31/12/2004

The *New York Times*, November 11, 2008, "Taiwan Detains Ex-President" `http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/12/world/asia/12taiwan.html?_r=1&hp&oref=slogin` reports: "Chen Shui-bian, the former president of Taiwan and an ardent advocate of continued independence for the island, was detained by police in Taipei late Tuesday after prosecutors sought his formal arrest on corruption and money laundering charges. Mr. Chen, who served two terms as president but was voted out of office in March with his administration mired in a corruption scandal, was led to court in handcuffs on Tuesday

afternoon after several hours of questioning by prosecutors. . . . Mr. Chen, 57, has denied any wrongdoing in the case and accused his successor, President Ma Ying-jeou, and the ruling Kuomintang Party of a politically motivated attack. Kuomintang officials insist they have not influenced prosecutors in the case. The detention is the latest chapter in a series of political dramas that have been unfolding in Taiwan for the past few years, as the island's two major parties, the Kuomintang and the Democratic Progressive Party, bicker over relations with China and trade accusations of corruption. Just over a year ago, Mr. Ma was indicted for misuse of funds while serving as mayor of Taipei, forcing him to step down. The Supreme Court later cleared him of the charges, paving the way for his presidential bid. Mr. Chen, one of Taiwan's most controversial political figures, was first elected in 2000. A populist with a penchant for fiery rhetoric, he was known during his two terms for his strong opposition to Beijing and his insistence that Taiwan, which separated from China in 1949, was not a part of the mainland. But during his second term, prosecutors began investigating whether Mr. Chen, his senior aides and his family members, including his wife, were involved in embezzling millions of dollars in campaign funds. Mr. Chen's son, daughter and other relatives have also been questioned; some have been named as defendants. Mr. Chen's approval ratings plummeted late in his second term, and there were huge protests in Taipei against his rule. Mr. Ma, who took office in May, has pushed for closer ties between mainland China and Taiwan and opened the possibility of reunification down the road. Last week, officials from Beijing even met in Taiwan with President Ma and other high-ranking officials, the highest level exchange in 59 years, though the meetings drew strong protests from D.P.P. members. Mr. Chen has suggested that prosecutors are focusing on him to win favor from Beijing. In recent weeks, with his party under siege because of the corruption investigation, he has accused President Ma of treason and selling out the island by moving closer to Beijing."

2.161 KOREA

See Chicago Daily, September 9, 1894, p. 11; "Tai-Won-Kun on Top." Tai-Won-Kun, known also as Prince Ni Kung. His son becomes King. Regent 21 January 1864 to 22 December 1873. The King had reached his majority in 1873 and the regency ended.

KOR-1864 730 KOR Yi Hyong 22/12/1873 20/07/1907

Reign name: Kojong. See Encarta.msn.com. on "Kojong": "Kojong's increasing opposition to the Japanese resulted in his forced abdication in 1907, and in 1910 Japan formally annexed the nation of Korea. Pensioned on the income of his own estates, Kojong lived in Japan until his death."

In 1907 he was forced to abdicate. See the news on him in *The New York Times*, July 17, 1907. p.5. It is very unlikely he was the 'real' leader. Much more likely were first his father: Tai Won Kun, and subsequently his wife, the Queen. He was under Japanese protectorate.

KOR-1907 730 KOR Yi Ch'ok 20/07/1907 29/08/1910

Related to previous ruler? Reign name: Sunjong He served as the head of the Royal House of Korea 1910-1926, thus his post tenure fate was fine.

2.162 NORTH KOREA

PRK-1948 731 PRK Kim Il-Sung 09/09/1948 08/07/1994

PRK-1994 731 PRK Kim Jong-Il 08/07/1994 31/12/2004
Son of Kim Il-Sung.

2.163 SOUTH KOREA

ROK-1948 732 ROK Rhee 15/08/1948 27/04/1960

Lentz: exile in Hawaii. He was refused permission to return to Korea in 1962. Syngman Rhee serves 4 years terms from 1948 to 1960. Initially he could serve only 2 terms, and then he changed the constitution to the effect that 1st presidents can serve 3 terms. (He tried to change it to 4 terms.) When Rhee resigns, the system becomes semi-presidential for about a year. See: `http://english.seoul.go.kr/today/about/about_03disc_0306.html` After the Korean war, the long-term ruling scheme of Rhee Seungman's regime brought a dictatorship in Korea and caused social corruption and injustice. Rhee's administration used illegal elections to maintain their regime. Student riots bring down government after fraudulent elections, *The New York Times* 27 April, 1960, p. 3.

ROK-1960-1 732 ROK Ho Chong 27/04/1960 12/08/1960

Lentz: "Ho Chong was named foreign minister in the government of Syngman Rhee in April of 1960. He succeeded to the presidency in the absence of a vice president when Rhee was forced to resign on April 27, 1960."

ROK-1960-2 732 ROK Myun Chang 12/08/1960 16/05/1961

He was born on 28 August 1899. He had been PM before, but then the country had a presidential system, This is the only time he was the leader in a parliamentary system. He leads the Democratic Party in the 7/29/1960 election and served as Prime Minister in the Second Republic until he lost power to the coup next year (5/16/1961). Removed in a military coup, *The New York Times* 18 May, 1961, p. 1. After the coup, he was confined for a while, and then was prosecuted and sentenced 10 years in prison for "anti-revolutionary activities." He was released soon after, but died in 1966." Personal communication from Won-ho Park. Removed in a coup by Park, Lentz has the date as 18/05, as does Rulers.org. See also: `http://english.seoul.go.kr/today/about/about_03disc_0306.html`

For his ouster in a coup, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 7, July, 1961 South Korea, Page 18211. "The South Korea Government led by Dr. John Chang was overthrown on May 16 by a military coup, and a "Supreme Council for National Reconstruction" assumed power under the chairmanship of Lieut.-General Chang Do Yung (the Army Chief of Staff), who formed a Cabinet on May 18. The new Government dissolved the National Assembly and all local government bodies; introduced a provisional Constitution whereby the Supreme Council became the supreme ruling body of the republic; banned all political parties and trade unions; arrested over 2,000 suspected Communists; suppressed the majority of newspapers; and carried out a drastic purge of the Civil Service. General Chang Do Yung was removed from the chairmanship of the Supreme Council and the Premiership on July 3, and was subsequently arrested on a charge of conspiracy; he was succeeded as chairman of the Council by Major-General Pak Chung Hi, the leader of the coup, and as Prime Minister by Lieut.-General Song Yo Chan. ... The armed forces launched a coup d'etat in Seoul at 3.30 a.m. on May 16, 1961, when parachute troops and marines under the command of Major-General Pak Chung Hi (deputy commander of the ROK Second Army) moved into the city under cover of darkness. Heavy fighting between the troops and the

police was reported to have taken place around the Central Government buildings, but the only casualties reported were six policemen killed while defending a bridge leading into the city. At 6 a.m. Seoul Radio announced that a "Military Revolutionary Committee" under the chairmanship of Lieut.-General Chang Do Yung, and with Major-General Pak Chung Hi as vice-chairman, had been established to run the country, and controlled all the major cities. Emergency decrees were issued by the Committee proclaiming martial law throughout the country, banning all public meetings, closing banks and schools, imposing a press censorship, closing airports and harbours, and ordering a 7 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew. ... The success of the coup was assured on May 17 when Lieut.-General Lee Hang Lim, commander of the First Field Army, announced his support. After General Lee's announcement the Air Force and Naval Chiefs of Staff also announced their support for the coup. The Military Committee was expanded on May 18 to 32 members, including representatives of all branches of the armed forces, and renamed the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction. General Lee, who was not included in the Council, was reported to have been arrested because of his hesitation in supporting the coup, and to have been succeeded in his command by Lieut.-General Pak Lim Hang. Dr. Chang and his colleagues emerged from hiding on May. 18 and held a Cabinet meeting at which they decided to resign, in token of their "moral and political responsibility for the situation," and to declare martial law retroactively from May 16, thus legalizing the Military Committee's action. Their resignation was formally accepted by President Yoon, who announced that the Government's powers had passed to the Supreme Council. Dr. Chang afterwards told reporters that he had decided to resign of his own free will and not under duress. President Yoon announced his own resignation on May 19, stating that he also assumed moral responsibility for the situation leading to the coup, but was persuaded to withdraw it on the following day; he told a press conference that he had reversed his decision because he had been told that his resignation would have detrimental effects on international relations and domestic problems. It was pointed out in the foreign Press that his retention of office obviated the necessity for the new regime to obtain international recognition."

ROK-1961 732 ROK Chang Do Yong 18/05/1961 03/07/1961

For his entry and exit, *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 7, July, 1961 South Korea, Page 18211. "The South Korea Government led by Dr. John Chang was overthrown on May 16 by a military coup, and a "Supreme Council for National Reconstruction" assumed power under the chairmanship of Lieut.-General Chang Do Yung (the Army Chief of Staff), who formed a Cabinet on May 18. The new Government dissolved the National Assembly and all local government bodies; introduced a provisional Constitution whereby the Supreme Council became the supreme ruling body of the republic; banned all political parties and trade unions; arrested over 2,000 suspected Communists; suppressed the majority of newspapers; and carried out a drastic purge of the Civil Service. General Chang Do Yung was removed from the chairmanship of the Supreme Council and the Premiership on July 3, and was subsequently arrested on a charge of conspiracy; he was succeeded as chairman of the Council by Major-General Pak Chung Hi, the leader of the coup, and as Prime Minister by Lieut.-General Song Yo Chan. ... The success of the coup was assured on May 17 when Lieut.-General Lee Hang Lim, commander of the First Field Army, announced his support. After General Lee's announcement the Air Force and Naval Chiefs of Staff also

announced their support for the coup. The Military Committee was expanded on May 18 to 32 members, including representatives of all branches of the armed forces, and renamed the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction."

He was born in 1923. Lentz notes that he was the army Chief of Staff. Chang was arrested after his ouster, and he was sentenced to death in January of the following year. His sentenced was commuted, however, and he was released later in the year. Power struggle in ruling military junta, with new leader of Supreme Council for National Reconstruction emerging. *The New York Times* 7 April, 1961, p. 1.

ROK-1962 732 ROK Hee Park 03/07/1961 26/10/1979

For his entry, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 7, July, 1961 South Korea, Page 18211. "The South Korea Government led by Dr. John Chang was overthrown on May 16 by a military coup, and a "Supreme Council for National Reconstruction" assumed power under the chairmanship of Lieut.-General Chang Do Yung (the Army Chief of Staff), who formed a Cabinet on May 18. ... General Chang Do Yung was removed from the chairmanship of the Supreme Council and the Premiership on July 3, and was subsequently arrested on a charge of conspiracy; he was succeeded as chairman of the Council by Major-General Pak Chung Hi, the leader of the coup, and as Prime Minister by Lieut.-General Song Yo Chan.

For his background, see "Profile of the President of the Republic of Korea, Chung Hee Park (PAK Chong-hui)." Memo. Department of State. CONFIDENTIAL. Date Declassified: Dec 15, 1994. Unsanitized. Complete. 2 page(s). Reproduced in Declassified Documents Reference System. Farmington Hills, Mich.: Gale, 2008. Document Number: $CK3100068234$. The memo reports: "President Park was born on September 30, 1917, the youngest son of a poor rural family of four brothers and two sisters, in the village of Kumi in North Kyongsan Province. After graduation from Taegu Normal School in 1936, Park taught school for three years. He was commissioned a lieutenant in the Japanese Army following his graduation from the Japanese military Academy at Zama in 1944. Returning to Korea, he began his Korean military service in the Constabulary. In November 1948, in the aftermath of the Yosu-Sunchon uprising, Park was arrested, courtmartialed as a communist, and sentenced to death. He turned state's witness, identified communists active in the army, and was reprieved. Upon the outbreak of the Korean war, he was reinstated in the army and recalled to active duty. He rose steadily in the ranks and by 1955 was commander of the 5th Army Infantry division. At the time of the 1961 coup he was deputy commander of the 2nd ROK Army. ... Park is a moderately heavy drinker. ... He smokes up to three packs of cigarettes a day. ... [Park speaks very little English] he is fluent in Chinese and Japanese. Park has been described as an avid reader of newspapers and historical works. [He has four children, 1 daughter from first marriage, two girls and a boy from second marriage.]"

Lentz notes that he entered the Manchukuo Military Academy under the Japanese administration of Korea in 1940. He entered the Japanese Imperial Military Academy two years later and graduated in 1944. Park served in the Japanese army as a lieutenant in Manchuria in during World War II. Hee Park was assassinated by intelligence chief.

Park served 5 year terms from 1961 to 1972. However, initially leaders could serve only 2 terms. In October 1961 this rule was changed to 3 possible terms. Moreover, from 1972 to 1979 the leaders could serve 6 year terms and there were no term limits. Roh and the leaders after him had 5 year terms and could only serve one term. Killed by chief

of intelligence agency while dining in restaurant. Likely not a military coup attempt, as the military does not take over government. Lentz 2002, p. 189; *The New York Times* 27 October, 1979, p. 1.

ROK-1979 732 ROK Choi Kuy Hay 26/10/1979 16/08/1980

ROK-1980-1 732 ROK Park Choong Hoon 16/08/1980 27/08/1980

He was born on 19 January 1919. Lentz notes that he was a Major General. He was the Premier when Choi steps down.

ROK-1980-2 732 ROK Chun Doo Hwan 27/08/1980 25/02/1988

General. Only one term of 5 years is allowed in the Constitution since 1987. Lentz: Attended the Korean Military Academy. Narrowly survived a bomb blast in Rangoon, Burma, on October 9, 1983, while on a state visit. "He made a public apology on November 23, 1988, for human rights abuses that occurred during his term of office. He then went into internal exile at a Buddhist temple in the Sorak mountains. Prosecuted in 1995 and served jail time.

Keesing's Vol. 43, 1997, December: "Two former Presidents Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo, were released from prison on Dec. 22, after a pardon was granted by the outgoing President Kim Young Sam. President-elect Kim Dae Jung endorsed the move which was described as an attempt to promote national unity at a time of economic crisis. Roh and Chun had been found guilty of charges connected with the 1979 military coup, the 1980 suppression of the Kwangju uprising and the amassment of illegal slush funds. In August 1996 Chun had been sentenced to death and Roh to a long term of imprisonment [see pp. 41226-27]. In December 1996 an appeals courts had commuted Chun's death sentence to life imprisonment and cut Roh's prison term [see p. 41408]. The Supreme Court had upheld the reductions in April 1997 [see p. 41592], and in September Lee Hoi Chang had called publicly for an amnesty to be granted to Roh and Chun."

Chun Doo Hwan stepped down when his term ended. He was prosecuted in 1995 and served jail time. He was sent to internal exile.

ROK-1988 732 ROK Roh Tae Woo 25/02/1988 25/02/1993

Prosecuted in 1995 and served jail time. Lentz: educated at military schools, retired as four-star general.

Keesing's Vol. 43, 1997, December: Two former Presidents, Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo, were released from prison on Dec. 22, after a pardon was granted by the outgoing President Kim Young Sam. President-elect Kim Dae Jung endorsed the move which was described as an attempt to promote national unity at a time of economic crisis. Roh and Chun had been found guilty of charges connected with the 1979 military coup, the 1980 suppression of the Kwangju uprising and the amassment of illegal slush funds. In August 1996 Chun had been sentenced to death and Roh to a long term of imprisonment [see pp. 41226-27]. In December 1996 an appeals courts had commuted Chun's death sentence to life imprisonment and cut Roh's prison term [see p. 41408]. The Supreme Court had upheld the reductions in April 1997 [see p. 41592], and in September Lee Hoi Chang had called publicly for an amnesty to be granted to Roh and Chun.

ROK-1993 732 ROK Kim Young Sam 25/02/1993 25/02/1998

In 1998, Justice Minister Park Sang Cheon gave his approval on April 18 for prosecutors to question former President Kim Young Sam over his role in the [financial] crisis. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 44, 1998, April, and also Vol. 44, 1998, May.

ROK-1998 732 ROK Kim Dae Jung 25/02/1998 25/02/2003
Had been condemned to death on September 17, 1980 on a charge of conspiring to seize power. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 26, December 1980.

ROK-2003 732 ROK Roh Moo Hyun 25/02/2003 31/12/2004

2.164 JAPAN

For Recent Rulers of Japan, see: http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0855080.html

JPN-1868 740 JPN Mutsuhito (Emperor) 03/01/1868 22/12/1885

JPN-1885 740 JPN Ito 22/12/1885 30/04/1888

JPN-1888 740 JPN Kuroda 30/04/1888 24/12/1889
See for him being OK until next appointment: *The New York Times*, Sept. 1, 1896, p. 3. "The New Japanese Premier."

JPN-1889 740 JPN Yamagata 24/12/1889 06/05/1891
General. Lentz: He became leader of the Choshu militia following the inception of the Meiji Restoration. Yamagata traveled to Europe to study Western military methods in 1869. He was born in 22 April, 1838.

JPN-1891 740 JPN Matsukata 06/05/1891 08/08/1892

JPN-1892 740 JPN Ito 08/08/1892 18/09/1896

JPN-1896 740 JPN Matsukata 18/09/1896 14/04/1897
See The *Washington Post*, Sept. 19, 1896, p.1.

JPN-1897-1 740 JPN Kuroda 14/04/1897 08/06/1897
President of the privy council. See *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 9, 1898, p. 11.

JPN-1897-2 740 JPN Matsukata 08/06/1897 12/01/1898

JPN-1898-1 740 JPN Ito 12/01/1898 30/06/1898
See *The New York Times*, Jan. 13, 1898, p. 7.

JPN-1898-2 740 JPN Okuma 30/06/1898 31/10/1898
For entry, see *The New York Times* June 27, 1898, p.7. His is the first party Cabinet in the history of Japan. See *The New York Times*, June 29, 1898, p.7. According to Boston Daily Globe, Nov. 7, 1898, p. 2 "New Japanese Cabinet" he resigned on October 31. See also *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 7, 1898, p.2 and The *Washington Post*, Nov. 7, 1898, p.2. For his OK fate, see also *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1899, p. 1 and *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Aug. 15, 1899, p.5.

JPN-1898-3 740 JPN Yamagata 07/11/1898 19/10/1900
See Boston Daily Globe, Nov. 7, 1898, p. 2 "New Japanese Cabinet." Has him as Field Marshal - was promoted in 98, and Marquis. This cabinet contains no member who is connected with the political parties. See also *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 7, 1898, p.2. He was born on 22 April 1838.

JPN-1900 740 JPN Ito 19/10/1900 10/05/1901
Lentz and Rulers.org have him exiting on 2 June. But *The New York Times*, May 14, 1901, p. 6 "Marquis Saionju Japan's New Premier" reports "Washington, May 13, – The resignation of Marquis Ito, Premier of Japan has been announced to the Japanese

Legation here. Marquis Ito was the only one of the Cabinet officers to retire. His is succeeded by Marquis Saionji, on of the counselors of the Emperor, and an ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs." *Los Angeles Times*, May 31, 1901, p.4, dateline May 11 reports also "Accompanying the Cabinet muddle comes the somewhat alarming report of Marquis Ito's illness, he having been seized on the 7th inst. with an attack of vertigo resulting in a fainting fit, and indicating, with other symptoms, the presence of serious brain trouble."

Lentz: Becomes the first Japanese resident-general of Korea in 1906. He forced the abdication of the Korean emperor and established the country as a Japanese protectorate. He resigned in 1909 to again head the privy council. Ito was touring Manchuria when he was assassinated at a railway station in Harbin by An Chung Gun, a Korean Nationalist, on October 26, 1909.

JPN-1901-1 740 JPN Saionji 10/05/1901 02/06/1901

For his entry, see: *The New York Times*, May 14, 1901, p. 6 "Marquis Saionju Japan's New Premier" reports "Washington, May 13, – The resignation of Marquis Ito, Premier of Japan has been announced to the Japanese Legation here. Marquis Ito was the only one of the Cabinet officers to retire. His is succeeded by Marquis Saionji, on of the counselors of the Emperor, and an ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs."

JPN-1901-2 740 JPN Katsura 02/06/1901 07/01/1906

A Lt. General, see *The New York Times*, June 29, 1898, p.7

JPN-1906 740 JPN Saionji 07/01/1906 14/07/1908

JPN-1908 740 JPN Katsura 14/07/1908 30/08/1911

JPN-1911 740 JPN Saionji 30/08/1911 21/12/1912

JPN-1912 740 JPN Katsura 21/12/1912 20/02/1913

Lentz: Katsura's health failed soon after he left office, and he died in Tokyo on October 10, 1913.

JPN-1913 740 JPN Yamamoto, G. 20/02/1913 16/04/1914

JPN-1914 740 JPN Okuma 16/04/1914 09/10/1916

JPN-1916 740 JPN Terauchi 09/10/1916 29/09/1918

Military education, entered the army in 1871. Died November 3, 1919.

JPN-1918 740 JPN Hara, T. 29/09/1918 04/11/1921

Stabbed to death by a 19-year old right-wing fanatic. Lentz 1999, p. 269; *The New York Times* 5 November, 1921, p. 1.

JPN-1918 740 JPN Uchida 04/11/1921 13/11/1921

Lentz notes that he had a law degree. He was born in 1865.

JPN-1921 740 JPN Takahashi, K. 13/11/1921 11/06/1922

Lentz: In office as finance minister in 1934. On February 26, 1936, he was shot and hacked to death with a sword by right-wing militants who conducted a purge of moderate Japanese statesmen and politicians as part of a failed military uprising.

JPN-1922 740 JPN Kato, Tomosaburo 11/06/1922 24/08/1923

For Kato's death, see also *The New York Times*, Aug. 25, 1923, p. 7. Kato "died apparently from a complication of maladies that weakened his heart. He suffered an internal hemorrhage during the night which was the direct cause of his death."

JPN-1923-1 740 JPN Uchida 24/08/1923 12/09/1923

He was born in 1865. For his entry to office see: *The New York Times*, Aug. 25, 1923, p. 7. See also *The New York Times*, Sept. 4, 1923, p.2. For his exit from office see also Rulers.org. Although Yamamoto was appointed before Sept. 4 and Lentz records him in on Sept. 2, Uchida is still Acting PM, and promulgates martial law on Sept. 4.

JPN-1923-2 740 JPN Yamamoto, G. 12/09/1923 29/12/1923

JPN-1923-2 740 JPN Kiyoura 29/12/1923 11/06/1924

JPN-1924 740 JPN Kato, Takaaki 11/06/1924 28/01/1926

JPN-1926 740 JPN Wakatsuki 29/01/1926 17/04/1927

Lentz notes that he attended Tokyo University.

JPN-1927 740 JPN Tanaka, G. 17/04/1927 02/07/1929

Chicago Daily Tribune, Sept. 29, 1929, p. C3, notes: "Baron Gitchi Tanaka, 66, former premier of Japan, died today of angina pectoris. He resigned his cabinet on July 2 last. He suffered a heart attack at 5:30 this morning and died three hours later." He dies less more then 6 months after out, and is OK in the meantime.

JPN-1929 740 JPN Hamaguchi 02/07/1929 14/11/1930

Lentz: "Hamaguchi was shot and seriously injured by Tomeo Sagoya, a young right-wing extremist, at the Tokyo train station on November 14, 1930. Baron Shidehara, the foreign minister acted as head of the government while Hamaguchi recuperated. He attempted to resume his duties on March 10, 1931 but was unable to. He underwent two more surgeries and stepped down on April 13, 1931. Hamaguchi died in Tokyo of his injuries on August 25, 1931." See also *The New York Times* 14 November, 1930, p. 1

JPN-1930 740 JPN Shidehara 14/11/1930 13/04/1931

Lentz: Law degree from Tokyo Imperial University's Law College.

JPN-1931-1 740 JPN Wakatsuki 13/04/1931 11/12/1931

JPN-1931-2 740 JPN Inukai 13/12/1931 15/05/1932

Lentz: Shot to death at his official residence in Tokyo during an uprising by rightist military officers on May 16, 1932. Correct date is May 15, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 16, 1932, p. 2 "Japan's Premier is fifth leader slain in 12 years" which is also his obit. Apparently, he was a journalist. See also *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 16, 1932, p. 1. The assassination is an act of political terrorism, it is not part of a military takeover. In Japan at the time the military acts much as a political party, and the assassins claim membership of the Young Officers' Association. This is much more similar to the slaying of Austrian chancellor Dollfuss by Nazi radicals than a military coup. Accordingly coded

as removal by domestic rebel force. Lentz 1999, p. 273; *The New York Times* 16 May, 1932, p. 1

JPN-1932-1 740 JPN Takahashi, K. 16/05/1932 26/05/1932

He was born in 1854. Lentz notes that Takahashi also led a short lived government following the assassination of Tsuyoshi Inukai on May 16, 1932, until Makoto Saito forced a government on May 26, 1932. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 16, 1932, p. 1 also reports that Takeahashi was appointed premier to succeed the slain Inukai. Saito received the command to form a cabinet on May 22, says he does not expect to submit the names of the ministers for a week. See *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 23, 1932, p. 9.

JPN-1932-2 740 JPN Saito, M. 26/05/1932 07/07/1934

Saito received the command to form a cabinet on May 22, says he does not expect to submit the names of the ministers for a week. See *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 23, 1932, p. 9. Is Admiral. See also Rulers.org

Lentz: "Saito was considered a moderate in the military and was killed by right-wing militarists who conducted a purge of moderate Japanese statesmen and politicians as part of a failed military uprising on February 26, 1936." Which is more than a year after out.

JPN-1934 740 JPN Okada 07/07/1934 06/03/1936

Lentz: Another Admiral. Narrowly escaped assassination when the militants burst into his residence [February 27, 1936] and killed his brother-in-law by mistake. He was initially reported to have been killed in the assault. Okada resigned soon after and was replaced by Koki Hirota on March 9, 1936.

JPN-1936 740 JPN Hirota 09/03/1936 23/01/1937

Lentz: "Attended Tokyo University. .... Hirota was arrested by the US occupation forces after the war and tried as a Class A war criminal by the Tokyo International Military Tribunal. He was convicted of war crimes and sentenced to death on November 12, 1948. Hirota was executed at Sugamo Prison outside Tokyo on December 23, 1948." Is more than 11 years after out.

JPN-1937-1 740 JPN Hayashi 02/02/1937 31/05/1937

Lentz: Attended Army War College.

JPN-1937-2 740 JPN Konoe, F. 31/05/1937 05/01/1939

He was indicted for war crimes. He committed suicide on 16 December 1945.

JPN-1939-1 740 JPN Hiranuma 05/01/1939 29/08/1939

Lentz: Arrested by the Allied occupation forces after the war and tried as a Class A war criminal by the International Military Tribunal in Tokyo. He was sentenced to life imprisonment at Sugamo Prison on November 12, 1948 ... released from prison for hospital treatment in June 1952 ... died at Tokyo hospital on August 20, 1952. He was sentenced to life imprisonment at Military Tribunal after war.

JPN-1939-2 740 JPN Abe, M. 30/08/1939 14/01/1940

Attended Military Academy and Army War College. Lentz: Listed as war criminal by the allied occupation forces but never indicted.

JPN-1940-1 740 JPN Yonai 14/01/1940 16/07/1940
Attended Naval Academy.

JPN-1940-2 740 JPN Konoe, F. 16/07/1940 17/10/1941
Lentz: He was involved in revising the Japanese constitution when the occupation authorities indicted him as a war criminal. Konoe committed suicide by taking poison at his Tokyo home on December 16, 1945, rather than turn himself over for confinement and trail.

JPN-1941 740 JPN Tojo 17/10/1941 18/07/1944
General. Lentz: Arrested as a Class A war criminal by the Allied occupation authorities flowing Japan's surrender in August 1945. He made an unsuccessful attempt to kill himself before he was imprisoned. He was indicted by the International Military Tribunal in Tokyo and convicted of war crimes on November 12, 1948. Tojo was hanged at Sugamo Prison outside of Tokyo on December 23, 1948. See also The *Washington Post*, Sept. 13, 1945, p.1.

JPN-1944 740 JPN Koiso 18/07/1944 05/04/1945
Lentz: Attended the Army War College. Arrested by the Allied occupation forces following Japan's surrender and tried by the International Military Tribunal in Tokyo as a Class A war criminal. He was sentenced to life imprisonment at Sugamo Prison on November 12, 1948. Koiso died of a chest tumor at the US Army hospital in Tokyo on November 3, 1950. On his arrest in November 1945, see The *Washington Post*, Nov. 20, 1945, p.6.

JPN-1945-1 740 JPN Suzuki, Kantari 07/04/1945 17/08/1945
Attended the Naval Academy and Naval War College. After dismissal, is President of the Privy Council. OK until January 1946. See *The New York Times*, January 18, 1946, p.9. Britannica has him as born on 18 January 1868. Apparently an assassination attempt on his life after he is out. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, April 18, 1948, p. 68. (Which also reports his birthdate as, though contested, 24 December 1967). "Militarists who blamed him for the surrender burned both his homes in August, 1945, and he was forced to live as a fugitive until the martial fever subsided." Japan surrenders to the USA.

JPN-1945-2 740 JPN Douglas MacArthur 02/09/1945 11/04/1951

JPN-1951 740 JPN Matthew Bunker Ridgway 11/04/1951 28/04/1952
Restoration of self rule.

JPN-1952 740 JPN Yoshida, Shiregu 29/04/1952 07/12/1954
Had been PM before, but under US occupation (22/5/1946-24/5/1947) and did not have effective power.

JPN-1954 740 JPN Hatoyama 09/12/1954 20/12/1956
Lentz: Hatoyama's failing health contributed to his resignation as prime minister and party leader on December 20, 1956. He died in Tokyo of a heart attack on March 7, 1959. See for his retirement: The *Washington Post* and Times Herald, Dec. 2, 1956, p.

E3. He does seem "ailing" so we could code him as exit due to ill health, but it's only a "contributing" factor, so we'll keep him as losing office regularly and constitutionally.

JPN-1956 740 JPN Ishibashi 23/12/1956 23/02/1957

Both Lentz, rulers.org and the *Washington Post* and Times Herald, Feb. 23, 1957, p. A7 note he resigns for reasons of health.

JPN-1957 740 JPN Kishi 25/02/1957 18/07/1960

From rulers.org: "After the Japanese surrender in 1945 Kishi was imprisoned as a (Class A, HG) war criminal by the Allied occupation authorities, but he was released without trial in 1948."

Lentz: "On July 14, 1960, Kishi was stabbed in the leg by an ultranationalist. Kishi recovered from his wounds, but resigned office four days later on July 18, 1960."

He is the brother of Eisake Sato, in power from 1964 to 1972 and the grandfather of Shinzo Abe, in power since 2006.

JPN-1960 740 JPN Ikeda 18/07/1960 25/10/1964

Lentz: "In September of 1964 Ikeda was hospitalized with a throat ailment. His health prevented him from continuing as prime minister and he resigned on October 25, 1965, and turned over the government to Eisaku Sato. Ikeda died of throat cancer in Tokyo on August 13, 1965." We have coded Ikeda as exit = 2, since he was forced to resigned from the post as prime minister for health reasons on 25 October 1964 and died of throat cancer within a year.

JPN-1964 740 JPN Sato 09/11/1964 05/07/1972

Lentz: is brother of Nobusuke Kishi. Law degree from Tokyo Imperial University. Wins the Nobel Peace Prize in 1974.

JPN-1972 740 JPN Tanaka 06/07/1972 09/12/1974

Lentz: forced to resign on December 9, 1974. "Tanaka was arrested on charges of accepting $1.6 million in bribes to arrange the purchase of Lockheed aircraft for Japan's airlines. Tanaka continued to be a major figure in Japanese politics and led a powerful wing of the Liberal-Democratic party. He was instrumental in the selection of Japan's next four prime ministers. Tanaka's legal troubles continued, and after a lengthy trial, he was convicted on bribery charges in 1983. He was sentenced to four years in prison and given a substantial fine. He appealed his conviction and remained a powerful leader in Japanese politics until he suffered a serious stroke in 1985." See The *Washington Post*, Oct. 29, 1975, p. C2.

JPN-1974 740 JPN Miki 09/12/1974 24/12/1976

JPN-1976 740 JPN Fukuda 24/12/1976 07/12/1978

JPN-1978 740 JPN Ohira 07/12/1978 12/06/1980

JPN-1980-1 740 JPN Ito 12/06/1980 17/07/1980

JPN-1980-2 740 JPN Suzuki 17/07/1980 26/11/1982

JPN-1982 740 JPN Nakasone 26/11/1982 06/11/1987
Lentz: Majored in Political Science at the University of Tokyo. Implicated in bribery (Recruit) scandal.

JPN-1987 740 JPN Takeshita 06/11/1987 02/06/1989
Implicated in bribery (Recruit) scandal.

JPN-1989-1 740 JPN Uno 02/06/1989 09/08/1989
Lentz: Forced to resign, following a sex scandal involving a part-time geisha.

JPN-1989-2 740 JPN Kaifu 09/08/1989 06/11/1991

JPN-1991 740 JPN Miyazawa 06/11/1991 09/08/1993

JPN-1993 740 JPN Hosokawa 09/08/1993 25/04/1994

JPN-1994-1 740 JPN Hata 25/04/1994 29/06/1994

JPN-1994-2 740 JPN Murayama 29/06/1994 11/01/1996

JPN-1996 740 JPN Hashimoto 11/01/1996 30/07/1998

JPN-1998 740 JPN Obuchi 30/07/1998 02/04/2000
Obuchi should be coded as having lost power for health reasons. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 46, May 2000: Keizo Obuchi, the former Prime Minister and Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) president, died in hospital on May 14, aged 62, six weeks after suffering a stroke which was blamed on overwork [see p. 43512]. ... In an effort to avoid the crisis which had occurred over Obuchi's illness, Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori announced a plan of succession in mid-May. The first in line was his Chief Cabinet Secretary, Mikio Aoki, followed by Foreign Minister Yohei Kono. Soon after Obuchi's death, Prime Minister Mori hinted that he would call a general election for June 25, the date of Obuchi's birthday. See *The New York Times*, April. 4, 2000, p. A22: "A new prime minister will soon be named to replace Rr. Obuchi, who was left in a coma by a stroke over the weekend and is not expected to recover. For more than 24 hours the Japanese public was fed misleading information disguising the gravity of Mr. Obuchi's condition. Then came a hasty announcement that power was being passed, or a caretaker basis, to a cabinet official, Mikio Aoki, who appears to lack the political stature to hold the job on his own."

JPN-2000-1 740 JPN Mikio Aoki 02/04/2000 05/04/2000

JPN-2000-2 740 JPN Yoshiro Mori 05/04/2000 26/04/2001

JPN-2001 740 JPN Junichiro Koizumi 26/04/2001 26/09/2006

JPN-2006 740 JPN Shinzo Abe 26/09/2006 12/08/2007
He is the grandson of Nobusuke Kishi, prime minister from 1957 to 1960. He abruptly resigns on 12 September 2007 and checks into the hospital the next day for "digestive problems and a lack of appetite brought on by fatigue and stress, according to his doctor at Keio University Hospital here. Party officials had cited Mr. Abe's poor health as one

reason behind his resignation." *The New York Times*, September 13, 2007 "Japanese Prime Minister Hospitalized."

JPN-2007 740 JPN Yasuo Fukuda 12/08/2007 ?

He is the son of Takeo Fukuda, PM in 1977. See BBC News, Online, Thursday, 15 November 2007 "Past echoes in Japan-US summit." "Japan's Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda will arrive at the White House for his meeting with President Bush 30 years after his father, also prime minister, took part in a similar summit. In March 1977, Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda met President Carter at a time when there was a huge trade imbalance in Japan's favour."

Perhaps Taro Aso.

The Guardian (UK), September 2, 2008, "Controversial hardliner set to replace Japanese PM" notes "Aso, a former foreign minister whom Fukuda appointed secretary general of the ruling Liberal Democratic party (LDP) only last month, hails from solid political stock. His grandfather, Shigeru Yoshida, twice served as prime minister in the decade after the war, while his wife is the daughter of another former leader, Zenko Suzuki. Aso's younger sister is married to the Prince Tomohito of Mikasa, a cousin of Emperor Akihito."

2.165 INDIA

IND-1947 750 IND Nehru 15/08/1947 27/05/1964
Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. Law degree. Natural death.

IND-1964-1 750 IND Nanda 27/05/1964 09/06/1964

IND-1964-2 750 IND Shastri 09/06/1964 11/01/1966

IND-1966-2 750 IND Nanda 11/01/1966 24/01/1966

IND-1966-1 750 IND Gandhi, I. 24/01/1966 22/03/1977
Female, daughter (only child) of Jawaharlal Nehru. Lentz: "Gandhi was arrested on charges of corruption in October of 1977, but she was released for lack of evidence several days later." On her being jailed: Los Angeles Times, Oct. 3, 1977, p. A1.

IND-1977 750 IND Desai 24/03/1977 15/06/1979

IND-1979 750 IND Charan Singh 28/07/1979 14/01/1980

IND-1980 750 IND Gandhi, I. 14/01/1980 31/10/1984
Lentz: Assassinated on May 21, 1991. Assassinated by two radical Sikh members of her body guard. Maybe code as 11. *Washington Post* 31 October, 1984, p. A1; *Washington Post* 1 November, 1984, p. A31, for political background

IND-1984 750 IND Gandhi, R. 31/10/1984 02/12/1989
Son of Indira Ghandi, grandson of Nehru. Assassinated on 21 May 1991.

IND-1989 750 IND Pratap Singh 02/12/1989 10/11/1990

IND-1990 750 IND Shekhar 10/11/1990 21/06/1991

IND-1991 750 IND Rao 21/06/1991 16/05/1996

IND-1996-1 750 IND Vajpayee 16/05/1996 01/06/1996

IND-1996-2 750 IND Gowda 01/06/1996 21/04/1997

IND-1997 750 IND Gujral 21/04/1997 19/03/1998

IND-1998 750 IND Vajpayee 19/03/1998 22/05/2004

IND-2004 750 IND Manmohan Singh 22/05/2004 31/12/2004

2.166 BHUTAN

BHU-1926 760 BHU Wangchuk Jigme 21/08/1926 24/03/1952
Son of previous king.

BHU-1952 760 BHU Wangchuck, Jigme Dorji 24/03/1952 21/07/1972
Son of the above leader.

BHU-1972 760 BHU Wangchuck, Jigme Singye 21/07/1972 20/07/1998
Son of the above leader. In 1998 he creates the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers. From ***Keesing's***, Vol. 44, July 1998: "In early July King Jigme Singye Wangchuk unveiled a package of political reforms which were intended to curtail the power of the monarchy. Under the reforms, the legislature (the Tsogdu) was given the power to dismiss the King through a two-thirds vote of no confidence in his rule. King Wangchuk also gave up his right to nominate the Council of Ministers (Cabinet) and handed this responsibility to the Tsogdu (although the King retained the right to assign portfolios to the elected members). The reforms were seen as an attempt to satisfy the growing popular movement for the establishment of a multi-party democracy in Bhutan. In addition to dissolving the Cabinet (to allow for the selection of a new one), the King also stepped down from his position as its Chairman. He was replaced in this post by Lyonpo Jigme Yoser Thinley, who also became Foreign Minister. New Council of Ministers of Bhutan Lyonpo Jigme Yoser Thinley Chairman of Council of Ministers; Foreign Minister Lyonpo Yeshey Zimba Finance Lyonpo Sangay Ngedup Health and Education Lyonpo Thinley Gyamtsho Home Affairs Lyonpo Kinzang Dorji Agriculture Lyonpo Khandu Wangchuk Trade and Industries." Based on this and the information on Rulers.org we code post tenure fate as zero.

BBC News: Friday 15 December 2006: Bhutanese King steps down early. "King Jigme Singye Wangchuk of Bhutan has abdicated to make way for his son. The king made his announcement in a royal edict read out late on Thursday at a council of ministers meeting. He had been in power for three decades and announced a year ago that he planned to step down in 2008. He did not say why he was going earlier. Bhutan becomes a parliamentary democracy under a new constitution in 2008. It is not clear when Crown Prince Jigme Kesar Namgyal will be crowned. ... King Wangchuk gave up absolute power in 1998 and has ruled since in conjunction with the government, an assembly and a royal advisory council. He announced a year ago that he would step down and be succeeded by his son when the country holds its first national democratic elections in 2008. Crown Prince Jigme Kesar Namgyal studied at Oxford before returning to Bhutan to assist his father at the peak of the Bhutanese military offensive against anti-Indian rebels from the state of Assam in December 2003. He will be the fifth king of Bhutan. A date for his coronation has yet to be announced. "The prince needs enough experience and exposure in the art of governance, so the king has decided to step down earlier than planned," a member of the royal staff who did not wish to be named told the BBC over the phone. When he made his announcement a year ago, the king said he would begin handing over responsibility to his son immediately. In September 2006, officials said the 2008 polls would pave the way for a two-party system in Bhutan. The authorities say there will be no restrictions on who is allowed to vote. A draft constitution currently provides for two houses of parliament – a 75-member national assembly and a 25-member national council – with the king as

head of state. Correspondents say the king likes to project the image of a simple lifestyle, preferring to work in a small log cabin above the capital while his fortress-like palace is used by his four wives, all of whom are sisters."

BHU-1998 760 BHU Lyonpo Jigme Thinley 20/07/1998 09/07/1999
He was born in 1952.

BHU-1999 760 BHU Lyonpo Sangay Ngedup 09/07/1999 20/07/2000
Zimba, Wangchuk and Dorji seem to rotate from one position to another and stay in the cabinet at different posts. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 49, July 2003.

BHU-2000 760 BHU Lyonpo Yeshey Zimba 20/07/2000 08/08/2001

BHU-2001 760 BHU Lyonpo Khandu Wangchuk 08/08/2001 14/08/2002

BHU-2002 760 BHU Lyonpo Kinzang Dorji 14/08/2002 30/08/2003
See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 51, March 2005: "The draft of a 34-article constitution was published and distributed on March 26, intended to replace a royal decree of 1953 which gave the King absolute power. The draft, which was completed in 2002, was not presented to the Cabinet by King Jigme Singye Wangchuck until November 2004 [see p. 46311]. Chief Justice Lyonpo Sonam Tobgye, head of the drafting committee, said that the King wanted all of Bhutan's citizens to read the draft and send in suggestions before the constitution was ratified by a referendum by the end of 2005."

BHU-2003 760 BHU Lyonpo Jigme Thinley 30/08/2003 18/08/2004

BHU-2004 760 BHU Lyonpo Yeshey Zimba 18/08/2004 31/12/2004

2.167 PAKISTAN

PAK-1947 770 PAK Jinnah 15/08/1947 11/09/1948
Jinnah died a natural death.

PAK-1948 770 PAK L. Khan 11/09/1948 16/10/1951
L. Khan was assassinated by a Muslim extremist. *The New York Times* 17 October, 1951, p. 1.

PAK-1951 770 PAK Nazimuddin 17/10/1951 17/04/1953

PAK-1953 770 PAK Mohammed Ali 17/04/1953 08/08/1955
See Lentz. This is Mohammed Ali Bogra, Rulers.org list the Bogra surname. He is not the same guy as Muhammed Ali Chaudri, next prime minister. For him stepping down as prime minister, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Aug. 8, 1955, p. A6. "Ali steps down as Pakistan's Prime Minister." Apparently (The *Washington Post* and Times Herald, Aug. 10, 1955, p. 7), he had been promised the immediate job of Ambassador to France and eventually the Washington embassy.
He is appointed Ambassador Aug. 24, 1955. *The New York Times*, Aug. 25, 1955, p. 2. The article notes that he had held the post until two years ago. Hence, does not look like exile at all. The article also notes he is not related to the present Prime Minister, Chaudry Mohammed Ali.

PAK-1955 770 PAK Chaudhri M. Ali 11/08/1955 12/09/1956
For his entry, see *The New York Times*, Aug. 11, 1955, p. 3 "New Pakistan Chief Seeking a Coalition."

PAK-1956 770 PAK Shahid Suhrawardy 12/09/1956 17/10/1957
Lentz: He was arrested for antigovernment activities in January of 1962 and sentenced to a year in prison. See `http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shahid_Suhrawardy`.

PAK-1957-1 770 PAK Chundrigar 17/10/1957 16/12/1957
For his appointment as Prime Minister, see *Christian Science Monitor* (Christian Science Monitor), Oct. 17, 1957, p. 5 "Chundrigar Wins Top Pakistan Post." He was a well-known lawyer and former law minister.

PAK-1957-2 770 PAK Khan Noon 16/12/1957 07/10/1958
Lentz 1994, p. 612: "He retained office until Mohammed Ayub Khan imposed a military government on October 27, 1958. He continued to serve as leader of the Republican party." President abrogates constitution and grants power to military. Rivzi (1985), p.203 "[Ayub's] chance to exercise supreme power came in October 1958, when President Mirza declared martial law in order to ward off a general election, in which both his own and Ayub's position would have been in jeopardy. Mirza abrogated the constitution, dismissed the cabinet, banned the political parties, and canceled the elections, while Ayub, who was appointed Chief Martial Law Adminstrator (CMLA), //[p.204]// soon disposed of Mirza." See also *The New York Times* 8 October, 1958, p. 1.

PAK-1958 770 PAK Ayub Khan 07/10/1958 25/03/1969

Lentz: Ayub resigned from office on March 25, 1969, and retired to private life. He resigned faced with "massive student demonstrations throughout the country," handed over power to associate. ***Keesing's*** March and May 1971 suggest near peasant revolt. See in particular, Vol. 15, May 1969 "Resignation of President Ayub Khan." For the revolts and unrest, see: *The New York Times*, March 20, 1969, p.1 "Mob Slayings Sweep Rural East Pakistan." *The New York Times*, March 20, 1969, p.2 "Regime Gives Warning." *Los Angeles Times*, March 25, 1969, p. A.4 "Pakistan Mobs Reported on Way to Dacca." And especially, *The New York Times*, Mar. 26, 1969, p.1 "Ayub Khan Quits, Places Pakistan in Army's Hands," which records "The 61-year President announced the abrogation of the Constitution he handed down seven years ago and the dissolution of the national and provincial assemblies, saying his Government had lost complete control of the situation. ... Last month, bowing to widespread demands, the former field marshall told the nation that he would step aside at the end of his term on March 23, 1970, and that the next regime would be chosen by direct elections. ... The coup that brought Mr. Ayub to power canceled one that was scheduled for early 1959, and his speech tonight appeared to cancel another."

Rivzi (1985), p.214 records "The government's authority disappeared fast. Yahya, the Commander-in-Chief, made it clear that if the army was to intervene it would not do so merely to bolster Ayub's regime, but would do so under his own leadership. Ayub, having lost his only remaining base of support, decided to abdicate. Ironically, however, Ayub left as he came: by breaching the constitution. Rather than hand over power to the Speaker as provided by the constitution, he wrote to Yahya, that having "come to the conclusion that all civil administration and constitutional authority in the country has become ineffective" he would hand over to "the Defence Forces of Pakistan .... The only effective and legal instrument."" Exit is therefore irregular, martial law is instated immediately by his successor.

PAK-1969 770 PAK Yahya Khan 31/03/1969 20/12/1971

For his entry, and some background on him, see *The New York Times*, March 26, 1969, p. 6 "New Pakistani Chief." He is assigned by the President to take over the country and establish Martial law. So he enters not by election, but by appointment. He is considered Ayub's Man. And *The New York Times* article notes "General Yahya is reported here to have been assured of the loyalty of the two other branch commanders, the chiefs of the air force and navy, at a meeting called by Field Marshall Ayub before he stepped down."

For his entry also see ***Keesing's***, Vol. 15, May 1969 "In a broadcast on March 26 General Yahya Khan stated that he had no political ambitions other than the creation of conditions conducive to the establishment of constitutional government. "You have already heard Field-Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan's speech which was broadcast yesterday," the general said, "and by now you must also have read his letter of March 24 which is addressed to me and has been published in the Press. As is evident from this letter, Field-Marshal Ayub Khan took all possible steps in the past few weeks to come to some arrangement whereby a peaceful and constitutional transfer of power could take place. As we all know, his efforts did not meet with success. He therefore called upon me to carry out my prime duty of protecting this country from utter destruction.""

See ***Keesing's*** Vol.18, February 1972. After he resigned, he had a stroke then put under house arrest. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 18, July 1972. Supreme Court "unanimously ruled

that President Yahya Khan's regime had been illegal and unconstitutional." ***Keesing's*** Vol. 18, February 1972 records: "Demonstrations against the military regime began in the main towns on Dec. 18. The most violent was in Peshawar, where a crowd attempted to burn down President Yahya Khan's house. In Lahore several thousand people took part in a procession led by an Army major in uniform, shouting such slogans as "Quit or be shot", and in Rawalpindi civil servants paraded with placards saying "We demand a full account" and "Give us civilian government". The demonstrations continued until Dec. 20, when they threatened to degenerate into riots. In Karachi, where a general strike was declared, demonstrators stoned the Soviet airline's offices; mobs set fire to liquor stores in both Karachi and Islamabad as a protest against the alleged drunkenness of the ruling military junta; and buildings were also reported to have been set on fire in Lahore and Peshawar. ... It was officially announced on Dec. 18 that Mr. Bhutto had been asked to return from New York immediately, and that on his arrival "power will be transferred to a representative Government to be formed under the new Constitution". An official spokesman said on Dec. 19 that "President Yahya Khan has decided to resign his office as soon as he hands over the Government to the representatives of the people tomorrow"."

For evidence this amounted to removal due to the threat of force, see *The New York Times*, December 20, 1971, p. 1. "Pakistan Asserts President Yahya Is Quitting Today." "The sudden announcement about General Yahya Khan was viewed as the result of powerful military and civilian pressure on the President to resign following Pakistan's brief but disastrous war with India. Such pressure, especially from the Air Force, has stopped just short of a coup d'état and it was apparently made clear to the President that a coup would probably result if he did not step aside."

Keesing's February 1972, "Purge of Armed Forces and Administration" records: In addition to the generals retired on Dec. 20, President Bhutto retired the C.-in-C. of the Navy (Vice-Admiral Muzaffar Hasan), the Naval Chief of Staff (Rear-Admiral Rashid Ahmed), four other senior naval officers and three major-generals on Dec. 28, 1971– Commodore Hasan Hafiz Ahmed being appointed acting C.-in-C. of the Navy–and seven more generals on Jan. 12, 1972. It was commented that the purge did not affect the Air Force high command, which was reported to have played a key role in forcing President Yahya Khan to resign." *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 20, 1971, pp. A1 & 8 "Yahya Khan will step down today." "The former head of the Pakistani air force, Chief Air Marshal Asghar Khan, said Sunday Yahya Khan should be placed on "open trial for this disgraceful episode in Pakistani history." The *Washington Post*, Times Herald, Dec. 20, 1971. p. A1 "Pakistani President to Resign" "The announcement of his planned resignation came in the wake of a mass procession through the streets here led by the former commander in chief of the air force, Air Mashal Asghar Khan, who was followed by people yelling "Hang Yahya," according to news agency reports."

PAK-1971 770 PAK Bhutto 20/12/1971 05/07/1977

Military coup four months after contested election that Bhutto won, Lentz 1994, p. 609. Executed.

For his ouster, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 23, September, 1977 Pakistan, Page 28565. "The general elections held in Pakistan on March 7 [see 28301 A], which resulted in a decisive victory for the ruling Pakistan People's Party (PPP), were denounced by the opposition Pakistan National

Alliance (PNA) as "rigged". Protest demonstrations and strikes led to violent rioting in many cities and towns which continued until May 20, about 350 people being killed. Talks between representatives of the Government and the PNA which opened on June 3 resulted in the conclusion of an agreement on July 2 that the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies should be dissolved and new elections held in October, but this was rejected by the PNA general council, which demanded further concessions from the Government. Fearing civil war, the Army carried out a coup on July 5, leading members of the Government and the PNA were arrested, the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies were dissolved and a martial law regime was established, headed by the Army Chief of Staff, General Mohammad Zia ul-Haq."

PAK-1977 770 PAK Zia 05/07/1977 17/08/1988

Zia ul Haq. Died in a plane crash. Jones and Olken "Hit or Miss" code him as assassinated. Sources conclude "sabotage" but nothing definite.

The *Washington Post*, September 21, 1988, p. A19 "Zia Conspiracy Theories." "Published comments by unidentified U.S. officials suggest no evidence so far that sabotage was involved, much less that a finger is pointed at the Kremlin. But from the start, Pakistani investigators publicly confirmed sabotage to murder the principal architect [sic, HG] of anti-Soviet policy in Afghanistan. Privately, they see a sophisticated modus operandi that points to the Soviet KGB or at least the Khad, the KGB's protégés in the puppet Afghan government." *The New York Times*, Nov. 20, 1990, p. A7 "Pakistan's New Government Reopens Probe of Zia Crash." "The Pakistani Government has reopened an investigation into the plane crash in which President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq was killed more than two years ago, the police said today. The crash on Aug. 17, 1988, of a C-130 transport plane killed General Zia, about a dozen of the country's top-ranking military officers and the United States Ambassador, Arnold L. Raphel. No one has been specifically blamed, but an inquiry by the Pakistani Air Force, the United States Air Force and others concluded that it was "an act of sophisticated technical sabotage."" Hence we code this as an assassination.

PAK-1988-1 770 PAK Ishaq Khan 17/08/1988 02/12/1988

The New York Times, August 18, 1988, p. A1, "An Unclear Succession" notes "President Mohammad Zia Ul-Haq so thoroughly dominated Pakistani public life since he seized power in a military coup in 1977 that his death in a plane crash today left no individual in line to succeed him. ...No politician or any one military leader looms as a likely successor, particularly since May 29, when General Zia, without warning, deposed the elected Government headed by Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo and dissolved the National Assembly and the country's provincial governments. He ordered new general elections, which are scheduled for Nov. 16."

Ghulam Ishaq Khan becomes acting president. His obituary in *The New York Times*, October 28, 2006, p. A.13 "Ghulam Ishaq Khan, 91, Former President of Pakistan" notes: "Mr. Khan was considered a close aide of General Zia. In February 1985, Mr. Khan was elected chairman of the Senate. As per constitutional arrangement, Mr. Khan assumed the role of president after General Zia's plane crash in August 1988 and was formally elected president that December." For his caretaker role, see *The Christian Science Monitor*, August 18, 1988, pp.1 &5, "US uncertainty at loss of key ally.

The new army chief of staff is General Mirza Aslam Beg (he is 57). See *The Wall Street*

Journal, August 22, 1988, p.1. "Pakistan Waits to See If President's Death Brings Martial Law." See also *The New York Times*, August 22, 1988, p. A1. "Pakistan After Zia." The article notes "If General Beg, 57 years old, now the country's only surviving four-star general, decided to seize power, the American officials said, he could not be counted on to continue close military cooperation with the United States. "He's a professional soldier with no political ambitions, but he's independent-minded and unpredictable," said a senior Pentagon official who knows General Beg. "He's hard to figure out and, unlike other Pakistani generals, he hasn't been particularly friendly with us." Because President Zia successfully insulated the military from politics, some senior Administration officials say, General Beg is strong enough to command the loyalty of Pakistan's armed forces. Under this analysis, he is likely to proceed cautiously by acting in concert with the four corps commanders under the civilian leadership. "He's not a commanding figure in his own right who would automatically assume the mantle of Zia," said one senior official. ... Mr. Ishaq Khan, 73, an economist with no popular base, is not regarded as a likely permanent successor to President Zia"

Ishaq Khan remains president until 1993, wins the election of 12 December 1988.

For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, October 28, 2006, p. A.13 "Ghulam Ishaq Khan, 91, Former President of Pakistan." See also *The Washington Post*, November 3, 2006, p.B.7, "Ghulam Ishaq Khan Pakistan President."

PAK-1988-2 770 PAK Bhutto Benazir 02/12/1988 06/08/1990

For her entry as a result of victory in elections of November 16, 1988, see *The Washington Post*, December 2, 1988, p. A29, "Bhutto Appointed in Pakistan; State of Emergency Revoked." "ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, Dec.1–Pakistan People's Party leader Benazir Bhutto was named prime minister tonight, making the 35-year-old daughter of the later prime minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto one of the youngest leaders of a major country and the only woman to lead a modern Islamic state. ... She is to be sworn in to office on Friday." Friday is December, 2.

Female. Daughter of Bhutto. Benazir Bhutto, was dismissed from office by President Farooq Leghari on 5 November 1996. *The New York Times*, Aug. 9, 1990, p. A22 "Defeat for Democracy in Pakistan", writes "Benazir Bhutto's removal as Prime Minister of Pakistan has the smell of a constitutional coup ... President Khan arbitrarily dismissed her over charges of corruption and incompetence." See also *The New York Times*, Aug. 12, 1990, p. E4, "In Fractious Pakistan, Governments Change, The Military Remains." We code this as a constitutional exit since the President did have the authority to dismiss the PM. Her husband was arrested for taking bribes. In April 1999 a court convicted her and her husband on corruption charges, but they escaped to London.

For the murky role of the armed fores, see *The New York Times*, August 9, 1990, p. A9: "Ms. Bhutto accuses the army of masterminding her downfall and accuses the military of plotting to keep her from returning to power. The Chief of Army Staff, Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg, said on Monday that the military had not been invivled [*sic*] in politics and would not become involved in the future. Today, Mr. Jatoi, avoiding a direct question on the army's role, said that it was "unfortunate that the former Prime Minister should have involved the armed focres in this issue." "The armed forces have played a positive role in restoring democracy in this country," he said. He did not deny that the military played a part in changing the Government."

The High Court finally upholds the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto, see *The New York*

Times, October 15, 1990, p. A5 "High Pakistan court Upholds Dismissal of Bhutto." "A high court in Lahore today upheld President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's dismissal of Prime Minister BEnazir Bhutto's Government on Aug. 6. ... The court also ruled that the appointment of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi as caretaker Prime Minister could not be questioned. ... Diplomats and supporters of Ms. Bhutto said the ruling probably oweed more to intimidation of the court by Mr. Ishaq Khan than to a dispassionate review of the evidence."

Assassinated on 27 December 2007. BBC News, 27 December 2007. "Obituary: Benazir Bhutto." "Like the Nehru-Gandhi family in India, the Bhuttos of Pakistan are one of the world's most famous political dynasties. Benazir's father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was prime minister of Pakistan in the early 1970s. His government was one of the few in the 30 years following independence that was not run by the army. Born in 1953 in the province of Sindh and educated at Harvard and Oxford, Ms Bhutto gained credibility from her father's high profile, even though she was a reluctant convert to politics. She was twice prime minister of Pakistan, from 1988 to 1990, and from 1993 to 1996. Stubbornness On both occasions she was dismissed from office by the president for alleged corruption. ... The determination and stubbornness for which Ms Bhutto was renowned was first seen after her father was imprisoned and charged with murder by Gen Zia ul-Haq in 1977, following a military coup. Two years later he was executed. Ms Bhutto was imprisoned just before her father's death and spent most of her five-year jail term in solitary confinement. She described the conditions as extremely hard. During stints out of prison for medical treatment, Ms Bhutto set up a Pakistan People's Party office in London, and began a campaign against General Zia. She returned to Pakistan in 1986, attracting huge crowds to political rallies. After Gen Zia died in an explosion on board his aircraft in 1988, she became one of the first democratically elected female prime ministers in an Islamic country. Corruption charges During both her stints in power, the role of Ms Bhutto's husband, Asif Zardari, proved highly controversial. He played a prominent role in both her administrations, and has been accused by various Pakistani governments of stealing millions of dollars from state coffers - charges he denies, as did Ms Bhutto herself. Many commentators argued that the downfall of Ms Bhutto's government was accelerated by the alleged greed of her husband. None of about 18 corruption and criminal cases against Mr Zardari has been proved in court after 10 years. But he served at least eight years in jail. He was freed on bail in 2004, amid accusations that the charges against him were weak and going nowhere. Ms Bhutto also steadfastly denied all the corruption charges against her, which she said were politically motivated. She faced corruption charges in at least five cases, all without a conviction, until amnestied in October 2007. She was convicted in 1999 for failing to appear in court, but the Supreme Court later overturned that judgement. Soon after the conviction, audiotapes of conversations between the judge and some top aides of then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif were discovered that showed that the judge had been under pressure to convict. Ms Bhutto left Pakistan in 1999 to live abroad, but questions about her and her husband's wealth continued to dog her. She appealed against a conviction in the Swiss courts for money-laundering. During her years outside Pakistan, Ms Bhutto lived with her three children in Dubai, where she was joined by her husband after he was freed in 2004."

PAK-1990-1 770 PAK Jatoi 06/08/1990 06/11/1990

Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi. He becomes caretaker Prime Minister, see *The New York*

Times, August 9, 1990, p. A9 "Caretaker Premier Pledges Investigation of Bhutto." "Pakistan's new caretaker Prime Minister, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, who took office Monday after the abrupt dismissal of Benazir Bhutto's Government, pledged today to investigate and punish those responsible for what he called "the worst corruption in Pakistan's history." ... Ms. Bhutto accuses the army of masterminding her downfall and accuses the military of plotting to keep her from returning to power. The Chief of Army Staff, Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg, said on Monday that the military had not been invivled [*sic*] in politics and would not become involved in the future. Today, Mr. Jatoi, avoiding a direct question on the army's role, said that it was "unfortunate that the former Prime Minister should have involved the armed focres in this issue." "The armed forces have played a positive role in restoring democracy in this country," he said. He did not deny that the military played a part in changing the Government."

The New York Times, October 15, 1990, p. A5 "High Pakistan court Upholds Dismissal of Bhutto." "A high court in Lahore today upheld President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's dismissal of Prime Minister BEnazir Bhutto's Government on Aug. 6. ... The court also ruled that the appointment of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi as caretaker Prime Minister could not be questioned. ... Diplomats and supporters of Ms. Bhutto said the ruling probably oweed more to intimidation of the court by Mr. Ishaq Khan than to a dispassionate review of the evidence."

For the transfer of power see *The New York Times*, November 7, 1990, p. A3: "New Pakistani Premier Is Sworn In."

PAK-1990-2 770 PAK Sharif 06/11/1990 18/04/1993

For his entry, see *The New York Times*, November 7, 1990, p. A3: "New Pakistani Premier Is Sworn In."

Keesing's Vol. 39, May 1993 notes that Pakistan's Supreme Court ruled that the President's dissolution of the National Assembly and dismissal of Sharif as Prime Minister had exceeded "the ambit of the powers conferred on the president ... and has therefore been passed without lawful authority." Hence the removal should be coded as "irregular," and Mazari's entry—appointed by Khan—also as irregular. For his dismissal here, see also ***Keesing's*** Vol. 39 April 1993 and also *Washington Post* 4/19/1993, p. A1.

See also *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 39, April, 1993 Pakistan, Page 39412. "Using controversial presidential powers under the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan on April 18 dismissed the government of Prime Minister Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif, accusing it of "maladministration, corruption, and nepotism". Balkh Sher Mazari, a dissident member of the Pakistan Muslim League (PML), the dominant party in the outgoing coalition, was immediately sworn in as acting Prime Minister of an interim government. Khan also ordered the dissolution of the National Assembly and promised tha fresh elections would be held on July 14. Khan claimed in a nationally televised address that the Sharif government had grossly misused state funds and "unleashed a reign of terror" against its political opponents, and that it had been implicated in the circumstances surrounding the death in January of the Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Asif Nawaz Janjua [see p. 39271]; the Sharif government had on April 12 appointed a judicial commission to inquire into allegations by Nawaz's widow that he had been poisoned. Sharif, claiming that his dismissal was illegal, vowed to prove his case in court, and threatened on April 19 to take the issue onto the streets and to fight his dismissal "in every nook and cranny of the

country". On April 20 his supporters in Punjab, his home province, organized a 24-hour general strike. The Eighth Amendment, introduced in 1985 by the then President, Gen. Mohammad Zia ul Haq, had been used by him in 1988 to dismiss the government of M. K. Junejo [see p. 36218], and was used again in 1990, this time by Khan, to dismiss the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government of Benazir Bhutto [see p. 37653]. Sharif had announced in February the appointment of a National Assembly committee to consider a repeal of the Eighth Amendment."

PAK-1993-1 770 PAK Mazari 18/04/1993 26/05/1993
See `http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Balakh-Sher-Mazari`

PAK-1993-2 770 PAK Sharif 26/05/1993 18/07/1993
Keesing's Vol. 39, July 1993 reports: Prime Minister Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan resigned on July 18 amid reports of strong pressure from the Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Abdul Waheed."

PAK-1993-3 770 PAK Qureshi 19/07/1993 19/10/1993
See ***Keesing's*** above. Crises of power resolved when both PM and president resign.

PAK-1993-4 770 PAK Bhutto Benazir 19/10/1993 05/11/1996
Female. Daughter of Bhutto. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 47., April 2001 reports that Bhutto had been living in exile since 1999 and her husband Asif Ali Zardari imprisoned in Pakistan since 1996. Dismissed again, power handed over to military. Dismissed from office by president after corruption allegations, *Financial Times* (London, England) 5 November, 1996, p. 1.

For her exit, see also John F. Burns, in The *New York Times*, November 5, 1996, pp. A1, A14 "Pakistan's Premier Bhutto is Put Under House Arrest." "ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, Tuesday, Nov. 5 – Pakistan's President dismissed Prime Minister BEnazir Bhutto as Pakistan's head of government early today, justifying the action with a proclamation that depicted her administration as incompetent, corrupt and defiant of constitutional restraints on executive power. Ms. Bhutto's husband, Asif Ali Zardari, who has been widely accused of enriching himself from kickbakcs on Government contracts, was reported to have been arrested while trying to flee the country. After months of warning, President Farooq Leghari, apparently fearing violent resistance by Ms. Bhutto's supporters, dismissed the government in a midnight swoop. As the proclamation was being read over the state radio, troops surrounded many key installations here in Islamabad, the capital, including Ms. Bhutto's official residence, the Prime Minister's office and the state television headquarters. But at dawn, the only shooting appeared to be by opponents of Ms. Bhutto firing into the air in celebration. "I am satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the government of the federation cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, and an appeal to the electorate is considered necessary," Mr. Leghari said in his proclamation. He called for new elections in February 1997, but that deadline appeared doubtful in light of the prosecutions that are expected to follow the wide-ranging allegations against Ms. Bhutto, her husband and other members of her Government. Mr. Leghari, a political ally of Ms. Bhutto who turned against her, acted after issuing several pointed warnings in recent weeks that he would use his presidential power to dismiss the Government if it did not take actions to curb corruption, end interference with the judiciary and take firm control of the country's plumetting economy. The

economy has been weighed down by uncontrolled Government spending and a mounting national debt of nearly $30 billion that has been absorbing more that 60 percent of government revenues in taxes. ... In his proclamation, Mr. Leghari dissolved the National Assembly and appointed a 10-member caretaker administration of experts, headed by a little-known figure, Malik Meray Khalid. Mr. Khalid is a former speaker of Parliament whose most recent post has been as rector of Islamic University in Islamabad."

As the heading of the article suggest, she was most likely put under house arrest. See also John F. Burns, The *New York Times*, November 7, 1996, P. A3 "Pakistan Officials Free a Defiant Bhutto From Custody." "ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, Nov. 6 – Benazir Bhutto emerged today from what the new caretaker Government called "protective custody" and condemned President Farooq Leghari, who dismissed her as Prime Minister, as another of the "self-styled messiahs" she said have repeatedly trampled on democracy in Pakistan. Ms. Bhutto summoned reporters to the Prime Minister's residence in Islamabad within hours of a scheduled court hearing on a writ challenging restrictions placed on her when the President dismissed her Government early Tuesday. The hearing became irrelevent [*sic*] because lawyers for the caretaker Government told the court that Ms. Bhutto had been freed of all restraints, ..."

The Pakistani Supreme Court found substantial evidence of corruption. See The *New York Times*, January 30, 1997, p. A3, "High Court Finds Bhutto Corrupt, Ending Her Bid to Block Election." "... President Farooq Leghari dismissed Ms. Bhutto's Government in November, two years before her term was to expire. He accused her of driving Pakistan toward economic ruin, stealing billions from the national treasury and using the police in Karachi to quash a rival political movement. Ms. Bhutto denied the charges. But Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah told the court there was abundant evidence to support the charges, and in a 6–1 ruling, the judges upheld the President's actions and ordered the general elections to go ahead as scheduled. "There is significant proof of corruption," Justice Shah said. "There is enough evidence which shows the Government was involved in extrajudicial killings.""

PAK-1996 770 PAK Khalid 05/11/1996 17/02/1997

For his entry, see John F. Burns, in The *New York Times*, November 5, 1996, pp. A1, A14 "Pakistan's Premier Bhutto is Put Under House Arrest." "ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, Tuesday, Nov. 5 – Pakistan's President dismissed Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto as Pakistan's head of government early today, justifying the action with a proclamation that depicted her administration as incompetent, corrupt and defiant of constitutional restraints on executive power. ... Mr. Leghari dissolved the National Assembly and appointed a 10-member caretaker administration of experts, headed by a little-known figure, Malik Meray Khalid. Mr. Khalid is a former speaker of Parliament whose most recent post has been as rector of Islamic University in Islamabad."

See also John F. Burns, The *New York Times*, November 7, 1996, P. A3 "Pakistan Officials Free a Defiant Bhutto From Custody." "ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, Nov. 6 – ... Wasting no time, the caretaker administration of Prime Minister Malik Meraj Khalid, 80, a one-time Bhutto family loyalist like Mr. Leghari, held its first Cabinet meeting .... The new Government lent is weight to Mr. Leghari's call for a new era of corruption-free, economically responsible stewardship of Pakistan's affairs by announcing a range of cutbacks in privileges for Government officials, including a 50 percent cut in the salaries of Cabinet ministers, a limit of one official car for each minister, the end of paid trips abroad

for medical treatment for senior officials, and the immediate closing of so-called V.I.P. lounges for politicians and high-ranking officials at all airports."

For his planned exit, see John F. Burnes, The *New York Times*, November 8, 1996, p. A8, "Pakistan's Bhutto Quandary." "In the proclamation issued earlier this week dismissing Ms. Bhutto, President Farooq Leghari set new elections for Feb. 3, 1997. The caretaker administration he appointed, led by Prime Minister Malik Meraj Khalid, renewed the commitment after its first Cabinet meeting on Wednesday."

For his transfer to Sharif, see The *New York Times*, February 18, 1997, p. A10 "New Pakistan Prime Minister Takes Office."

PAK-1997 770 PAK Sharif 17/02/1997 12/10/1999

For his entry into office, see The *New York Times*, February 18, 1997, p. A10 "New Pakistan Prime Minister Takes Office."

Sharif tried to limit military/presidential power, and tried to fire Gen. Pervez Musharraf, dismissed in coup; first imprisoned then exile. *Washington Post* 13 October, 1999, p. A01. For his pardon, release from prison and exile to Saudi Arabia, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 46, December 2000.

PAK-1999 770 PAK Musharraf 14/10/1999 31/12/2004

Chief of Staff.

Maneuvered into transitioning to democracy in 2008. Zardari, husband of Benazir Bhutto in. For his background, and suspicions of graft and murder against him, as well as his time in jai, see: John F. Burns, in The *New York Times*, November 5, 1996, pp. A1, A14 "Pakistan's Premier Bhutto is Put Under House Arrest."

2.168 BANGLADESH

BNG-1971 771 BNG Syed Nazrul Islam 11/04/1971 10/01/1972

Lentz: Vice President of Bangladesh in January 1975. ... Following the overthrow of Mujib in August of 1975, he was removed from office and imprisoned. Nazrul Islam was imprisoned in Dhaka jail, where he was murdered along with other prominent political figures on November 3, 1975. He was born in 1925.

BNG-1972 771 BNG Sheikh Mujib Rahman 13/01/1972 15/08/1975

Assassinated in a coup. Rizvi (1985), p.225 "The fatal attack came from an unexpected quarter. On 15 August 1975, Mujib and almost all of his family were massacred by a group of young army officers, some of whom had been dismissed by Mujib and therefore harboured a personal vendatta, and who did not appear to be connected with any larger group in the army or outside. The killers had acted on their own, and not even their senior officers had been aware of the impending massacre."

However, *Los Angeles Times*, August 15, 1975, p. OC_D1. "Bangladesh President Slain in Military Coup" reports this was a military coup: "The armed forces seized power in Bangladesh today and killed President Mujibur Rhman in the coup, Bangladesh radio reported from Dacca. The radio, in a broadcast monitored by the Press Trust of India news agency, said former Commerce Minister Khandakar Mastaque Ahmed led the coup against the Bangladesh founding president. "Under the leadership of Khandakar Moshtaque Ahmed, the armed forces have taken over in Bangladesh," the radio reported."

The judgment this was a coup is supported by *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 22, January, 1976 Bangladesh, Page 27521. "The group of officers who had killed President Mujibur Rahman and seized power on Aug. 15, 1975[see 27381 A], were themselves overthrown on Nov. 8 by a bloodless military coup led by Brigadier Khalid Musharaf, the commander of the Dacca garrison, and were forced to leave Bangladesh."

BNG-1975-1 771 BNG Mustaque Ahmed 15/08/1975 06/11/1975

For his entry see *Los Angeles Times*, August 15, 1975, p. OC_D1. "Bangladesh President Slain in Military Coup." "The armed forces seized power in Bangladesh today and killed President Mujibur Rhman in the coup, Bangladesh radio reported from Dacca. The radio, in a broadcast monitored by the Press Trust of India news agency, said former Commerce Minister Khandakar Mastaque Ahmed led the coup against the Bangladesh founding president. "Under the leadership of Khandakar Moshtaque Ahmed, the armed forces have taken over in Bangladesh," the radio reported."

See also ***Keesing's*** Vol. 21, October 1975. Had studied law at Dacca University. He seems to be OK. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 22, January 1976. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 23, March 1977 records that he was arrested on Nov. 30, 1976. That is three weeks after one year after ousted.

Lentz reports: "Mustaque broke with the Awami party in 1976 and formed the Democratic Action Committee. He was arrested shortly afterwards and remained imprisoned until 1980." ***Keesing's*** Vol. 23, July 1977 reports that he was sentenced to five years rigorous imprisonment and a fine by a special martial law court on Feb. 24.

Military coup after infighting, Keesing Volume 22, 1976, January, Bangladesh, `http://keesings.gvpi.net/keesings/lpext.dll?f=templates&fn=main-h.htm`. Arrested

and imprisoned.

For his ouster in a coup, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 22, January, 1976 Bangladesh, Page 27521. "The group of officers who had killed President Mujibur Rahman and seized power on Aug. 15, 1975[see 27381 A], were themselves overthrown on Nov. 8 by a bloodless military coup led by Brigadier Khalid Musharaf, the commander of the Dacca garrison, and were forced to leave Bangladesh. President Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed, who had taken office after President Mujib's death, resigned on Nov. 6, and was succeeded by the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Abusadat Mohammad Sayem An army mutiny on Nov. 7, however, in turn overthrew the new regime, and power passed into the hands of President Sayem and the chiefs of staff of the three armed services. Details of these and subsequent events are given below."

DELETED: Figurehead.

BNG-1975-2 771 BNG Sayem 06/11/1975 21/04/1977

Lentz: served as chief justice of the Supreme Court. On November 6, 1975, he was chosen as a compromise candidate to serve as president of Bangladesh. .... Sayem resigned the presidency for health reasons on April 21, 1977. ***Keesing's***, Vol. 23, July 1977 also notes health reasons. *Los Angeles Times*, April 21, 1977, p.A1. "Bangladesh Leader." "NEW DELHI. India (AP)–Army strong man Ziaur Rahman became president of Bangladesh today following the resignation of President A. M. Sayed, due to illness, India's national news agency reported." However, see also *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 10, 1977, p.18. "Rahman to ask for vote." "General Rahman was nominated for the presidency by his predecessor, Abu Sadat Mohammed Sayem, on April 21 – a move allowable here when the officeholder is unable to function for any reason. Mr. Sayed, the former chief justice of Bangladesh, said he was stepping down for health reasons. Observers say this ended a dichotomy, in that General Zia [Ziaur Rahman] already was the country's virtual top executive as chief martial-law administrator with Mr. Sayem holding the post in the technical sense."

Hence, his "illness" is definitely suspect, but no direct evidence of any nature of the threat or use of force by the military is available.

He was a figurehead, where Ziaur was the real effective leader.

BNG-1975-2 771 BNG Ziaur Rahman 06/11/1975 30/05/1981

For his entry, see *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 10, 1977, p.18. "Rahman to ask for vote." "General Rahman was nominated for the presidency by his predecessor, Abu Sadat Mohammed Sayem, on April 21 – a move allowable here when the officeholder is unable to function for any reason. Mr. Sayed, the former chief justice of Bangladesh, said he was stepping down for health reasons. Observers say this ended a dichotomy, in that General Zia [Ziaur Rahman] already was the country's virtual top executive as chief martial-law administrator with Mr. Sayem holding the post in the technical sense."

See also *The New York Times*, May 30, 1981, p. 20. "Bangladesh Reports Death of President Ziaur Rahman." "General Zia had just been fired as army Chief of Staff in 1975 when he took power after the assassination of Sheik Mujib. Mastaque Ahmed, who had seized the presidency in a coup three months earlier, had tried to strip General Zia

of his power and that caused the military to move against him. IN 1978, General Zia ran for a five-year term as President. He won overwhelmingly, although opponents said the voting was rigged."

Assassinated during military coup attempt, Lentz 1994, p. 70. See also *The New York Times*, May 31, 1981, p.1. "Bangladesh Leader Is Shot And Killed In A Coup Attempt." "NEW DELHI, May 30 – President Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh was shot and killed in the port city of Chittagong early today and a broadcast by the Dacca radio said a little-known opposition group was responsible for the assassination. ... Another broadcast quoted the Government as saying that a group called Biplabi Parishad was responsible for the assassination and it called on a Maj. Gen. Manzur Ahmed to surrender. The organization was said to include rebels from the armed forces, and Major General Ahmed was believed to be its leader. Later radio reports said the rebels were led by Maj. Gen. Abdul Manzur, The Associated Press reported. The rebels claimed to have taken control of the Government."

BNG-1981 771 BNG Sattar 30/05/1981 20/03/1982

For his entry, see *Chicago Tribune*, May 30, 1981, p.2. "President Zia of Bangladesh is slain." "Bangladesh President Ziaur Rahman, 45, was killed Saturday morning "by miscreants" at the Bangladesh port of Chittagong, Bangladesh Radio said in a broadcast monitored here Saturday morning. Abdus Sattar, chief justice of the Supreme Court, took over temporarily as president, the broadcast said, adding that a 40-day period of mourning had been proclaimed."

The New York Times, May 31, 1981, p.1. "Bangladesh Leader Is Shot And Killed In A Coup Attempt." This article reports that Abdus Satter was Vice President.

Keesing's Vol. 28, May 28 notes that Gen Ershad "told foreign journalists on March 27 that Mr. Sattar would not be arrested, as "he was an honourable man, but was unable to run his party or give leadership to the nation"." See also for him being OK, ***Keesing's*** Vol. 30, June 1984. See also The *Washington Post*, March 27, 1982, p. A25, which reports that he remained at his private residence, and it was unclear if he was under house arrest. Deposed in a military coup, *The New York Times* 24 March, 1982, p. 5.

DELETED: Figurehead.

BNG-1982 771 BNG Chowdhury 27/03/1982 11/12/1983

A High Court judge. United Press International, December 11, 1983. "Lt. Gen. Hussain Muhammad Ershad, who took power in a bloodless military coup 20 months ago, declared himself president Sunday in a move he called a step toward democracy in Bangladesh. Ershad, who had ruled the country as chief martial law administrator, dissolved his 20-member council of ministers and immediately reappointed them as a presidential Cabinet. Outgoing President Abulfazal Muhammad Ahsanuddin Chowdhury, who was appointed by Ershad after the takeover, resigned immediately after the military chief signed an amendment to his martial law proclamation making himself president. "I think it is necessary for me to assume the responsibility of president for a smooth transition from martial law to democracy," Ershad said in a recorded television and radio speech broadcast nationwide late Sunday." He seems OK, but nothing found on him. He dies August 30, 2001. Banglapedia.search.com suggests he was OK. He also was more or less a figurehead president.

BNG-1982 771 BNG Ershad 27/03/1982 06/12/1990

From The Xinhua General Overseas News Service, December 11, 1983, Sunday: Item No. 121136. "Bangladesh chief martial law administrator Hussein Muhammad Ershad today took over as state president shortly after outgoing president Ahsanuddin Chowdhury had resigned, said an official announcement. Ershad assumed the office of president through amending the proclamation of martial law which was issued in march 1982. the amendment said that the chief martial law administrator "shall be the president of the republic," the official announcement said." Copied from Lexis Nexis, typos are as is, HG. See Lentz and Rulers.org: jailed until 1997, then again in November 2000. See also, United Press International, December 11, 1983, cited above "Lt. Gen. Hussain Muhammad Ershad, who took power in a bloodless military coup 20 months ago, declared himself president Sunday in a move he called a step toward democracy in Bangladesh. Ershad, who had ruled the country as chief martial law administrator, dissolved his 20-member council of ministers and immediately reappointed them as a presidential Cabinet. Outgoing President Abulfazal Muhammad Ahsanuddin Chowdhury, who was appointed by Ershad after the takeover, resigned immediately after the military chief signed an amendment to his martial law proclamation making himself president. "I think it is necessary for me to assume the responsibility of president for a smooth transition from martial law to democracy," Ershad said in a recorded television and radio speech broadcast nationwide late Sunday." For his fate see Lentz. Forced to resign after weeks of popular unrest, and emergency rule and jailed, *Washington Post* 12/5/1990, p. A21.

BNG-1990 771 BNG Ahmed 06/12/1990 20/03/1991

Lentz: "Ahmed served as chief justice of Bangladesh's Supreme Court. He was selected to serve as interim president by the two major political parties following the ouster of President Hossain Mohammed Ershad." Seems quite close to regular in this situation. After he stepped down, he returned to his duties as chief justice, and later served as President from 1996 to 2001. Has same birthday as Ershad.

BNG-1991 771 BNG Khaleda Zia 20/03/1991 30/03/1996

Female. Widow of Assassinated President Ziaur Rahman. Parliamentary system is restored through the 12th amendment to the Constitution in 1991. Born in 1945.

BNG-1996-1 771 BNG Mohammad H. Rahman 30/03/1996 23/06/1996

Mohammad Habibur Rahman. See `http://banglapedia.search.com.bd/HT/R_0027.htm`. I can't believe he, too, is born on 1 Feb 1930, like Ershad and Ahmed. And I can't find documentation for it. Justice, in accordance with the 13th amendment to the constitution–last retiring Chief justice–is head of caretaker government. Born in 1930.

BNG-1996-2 771 BNG Hasina Wazed 23/06/1996 15/07/2001

Female. Eldest of five children of former leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Born on 28 Sept. 1947 BBC News, 22 April 2007, "Bangladesh ex-PM's return blocked." "Bangladesh's ex-Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina has been prevented from boarding a flight home from London after the Dhaka government barred her return. The military-backed interim government has asked all international airlines not to carry her. It says she will be arrested over the deaths of four protesters during a riot last October if she

returns home. Sheikh Hasina has vowed to return to Bangladesh to clear her name and participate in elections. Speaking on leaving Heathrow airport in London, Sheikh Hasina said the Bangladeshi authorities had sent a letter to British Airways, telling them not to carry her or they would not be allowed to land in Dhaka. "I am ready to go to jail if necessary but I want to go back to my country," she said, adding that she would now consider her next moves. Sheikh Hasina, who leads the opposition Awami League, left Bangladesh in late March, a few weeks after the interim government declared a state of emergency. Sheikh Hasina seems set to soon be joined in exile by her bitter political rival, another former prime minister, Khaleda Zia, reports the BBC's John Sudworth from Dhaka. Bangladeshi government sources say Khaleda Zia, has agreed to go to Saudi Arabia, as soon as the visa clearance has been given by the Saudi authorities. They are the two most powerful political leaders in Bangladesh, and violence between their supporters led to the cancellation of January's general election and the imposition of a state of emergency. Now the military-backed caretaker government appears on the brink of implementing what some here dub the "minus-two solution", completely removing the two women from the political scene, our correspondent says."

On her continuing troubles, see BBC News, Wednesday 27 February, 2008, "Ex-Bangladesh PM faces new charge." `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\_asia/7267525.stm`

BNG-2001-1 771 BNG Latifur Rahman 15/07/2001 10/10/2001

See `http://banglapedia.search.com.bd/HT/R_0279.htm`. Justice, in accordance with the 13th amendment to the constitution, is head of caretaker government. Born in 1936.

BNG-2001-2 771 BNG Khaleda Zia 10/10/2001 31/12/2004 (29/10/2006)

Female, see above, widow of former President. Born in 1945

From "The Australian - The World." October 30, 2006, Coup threat after Bangaldesh violence. `http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,20867,20665800-2703,00.html` "VIOLENT political clashes have erupted across Bangladesh for a third straight day despite attempts by rival political groups to reach a compromise over the installation of a caretaker government to run the country ahead of general elections in January. At least 14 people have been killed and hundreds injured in the violence between supporters of the ruling, four-party, Islamist-linked Government led by the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) of the outgoing Prime Minister, Begum Khaleda Zia, and the 14-party opposition Awami League headed by Sheik Hasina, daughter of the country's founding father, Sheik Mujibur Rahman. Last night, amid fears that the army could intervene to stage yet another of the coups that have been a feature of Bangladesh's political history, President Iajuddin Ahmed intervened in the crisis and effectively gave the rivals a day in which to agree on a caretaker prime minister. Officials of both the BNP and the Awami League, alarmed by the possibility of another coup, said they would work together to seek a compromise that would end the chaos that has reduced the capital, Dhaka, and other cities to war zones. The violence surrounds Bangladesh's unique system of government which requires an administration at the end of its five-year term to hand over power to an unelected interim government charged with organising an election within 90 days. Begum Zia's five-year term ended on Friday and she was due to hand power to her handpicked candidate for the post of caretaker prime minister, former chief justice K.M.Hasan. But

the Awami League, seeking to wrest power from Begum Zia, refused to accept Judge Hasan's nomination, claiming him to be a biased former member of the BNP. And it promised to launch a protest movement that would close down the country – something that it has effectively done, with all roads into Dhaka from the rest of Bangladesh now cut. Fortuitously, in view of the opposition to his nomination, Judge Hasan, who was due to be sworn in on Friday, announced he was unwell, so the handover of power was postponed and will not now take place until Begum Zia and Sheik Hasina agree on a candidate. Bitter rivals, the two leaders have not spoken directly to each other in years. Parliament has regularly been boycotted by whichever party is not in power, and street violence has become a regular feature of the country's political process. But the level and the extent of the violence this time has stunned political observers, and there are fears that unless it is soon brought under control the army will step in. ...."

BBC News Sunday 29 October 2006. "Interim role for Bangladesh head." "Bangladeshi President Iajuddin Ahmed has been sworn in as head of an interim government after the main political parties failed to agree a candidate. Installed in a televised ceremony at his office, he is charged with ensuring fairness in January's elections. ... His decision to take the job without opposition backing is said to be the last constitutional option available. But there are fears that the move could trigger more protests. A former professor of soil science, Mr Ahmed is in his seventies and had a heart bypass operation five months ago. ... Mr Ahmed was sworn in by Chief Justice JR Mudassir Hossain, in a ceremony attended by senior diplomats, civil servants and politicians. ... On Saturday Mr Hasan pulled out just before he was due to be sworn in. The president urged parties to find a replacement by Sunday afternoon. Mr Ahmed then held separate talks with party leaders, but failed to reach agreement on a compromise candidate. Under Bangladesh's unique system, when an administration comes to the end of its term it hands over to an unelected interim government which has 90 days to organise elections. The opposition has been demanding a say in choosing the chief adviser. Correspondents say Bangladeshi politics is especially bitter because of the personal rivalry between Ms Hasina Mrs Zia. They have led the country in alternate terms since 1991 but have not spoken for years." BBC News, 22 April 2007, "Bangladesh ex-PM's return blocked." "Bangladesh's ex-Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina has been prevented from boarding a flight home from London after the Dhaka government barred her return. The military-backed interim government has asked all international airlines not to carry her. It says she will be arrested over the deaths of four protesters during a riot last October if she returns home. ... Sheikh Hasina, who leads the opposition Awami League, left Bangladesh in late March, a few weeks after the interim government declared a state of emergency. Sheikh Hasina seems set to soon be joined in exile by her bitter political rival, another former prime minister, Khaleda Zia, reports the BBC's John Sudworth from Dhaka. Bangladeshi government sources say Khaleda Zia, has agreed to go to Saudi Arabia, as soon as the visa clearance has been given by the Saudi authorities. They are the two most powerful political leaders in Bangladesh, and violence between their supporters led to the cancellation of January's general election and the imposition of a state of emergency. Now the military-backed caretaker government appears on the brink of implementing what some here dub the "minus-two solution", completely removing the two women from the political scene, our correspondent says." BBC News, 25 April 2007. "Bangladesh u-turn on former PMs." "Bangladesh's emergency government has lifted all restrictions on two of the country's

most powerful politicians, Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina. Awami League leader Sheikh Hasina was no longer banned from returning from abroad, a government statement said. It also said there were no restrictions on the movements of her arch rival Khaleda Zia, who has been held under virtual house arrest in Dhaka. She has reportedly been under pressure to go into exile in Saudi Arabia."

From BBC News, "Q & A: Bangladesh Crisis." http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/6255773.stm "Former Bangladeshi Prime Minister Khaleda Zia has been arrested, charged with corruption and placed in detention. The move comes shortly after more charges were levelled against her arch rival Sheikh Hasina, also a former prime minister who has been under arrest for some time. ... Khaleda Zia has now been charged with corruption in relation to the choice of who should run two state-run container depots during her second term in office as prime minister. Earlier this year she was charged with tax evasion. Sheikh Hasina faces a new charge of taking illegal payments of some $435,000 from an electricity company. She is already under investigation for extortion and murder. Both women deny any wrongdoing. ... The chief of Bangladesh's Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC), Hasan Mashhud Chowdhury told the BBC in July that some 200 people had been questioned or detained awaiting trial so far. He said that many more arrests could be expected in the coming months. Khaleda Zia's elder son, Tarique Rahman, was placed in custody in March. Her younger son is now in custody too, as well as several former BNP cabinet ministers. The Awami League's General Secretary, Abdul Jalil, is also in custody."

On her continuing troubles, see BBC News, Wednesday 27 February, 2008, "Ex-Bangladesh PM faces new charge." http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7267525.stm

2.169 MYANMAR (BURMA)

Additional sources: Frank N. Trager, Burma, From Kingdom to Republic. New York: Praeger, 1996. C. L. Keeton, King Thebaw and the Ecological Rape of Burma, Delhi: Manohar Book Service, 1979. John. F. Cady, A History of Modern Burma. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

MYA-1853 775 MYA Mindon Min 18/02/1853 01/10/1878
Trager, p. 38. Overthrew his brother Pagan Min in a Palace coup.

MYA-1878 775 MYA Thibaw Min 01/10/1878 29/11/1885
Trager, p.40, Thibaw surrenders and is exiled to India. See also Keeton, pp. 275-291. Is one of 24 sons of Mindon. Slightly irregular entry, but seems to have been standard in these cases. Thibaw Min, The British conquered upper Burma in 1885. He was exiled.

MYA-1885 775 MYA Taingda Mingyi 29/11/1885 01/01/1886
Hlutdaw (National Council) 29/11/1885 12/28/1985. This is a ministerial title, but no name or birthdate is given, and his always referred to as Taingda or the Taingda. See Keeton p.299 on how he "ruled" under the British until December 28, after which he is deported to either Rangoon or Calcutta, and the Kinwun is brought back to Mandalay. (Also Cady, p.127) Keeton. P. 299: "Bernard allowed Sladen to retain the Taingda until December 28, 1885. Then, Bernard had the Taingda deported to Rangoon and the Kinwun brought back to Mandalay." On 1 January 1886, Lord Dufferin proclaimed the annexation of the remnant kingdom of Burma. His entry seems slightly irregular, but after the King is ousted, he (and the Kinwun) are the two highest council (Hlutdaw) members left around. Hence, keep entry as regular. Myanmar is annexed to India.

MYA-1948 775 MYA U Nu 04/01/1948 12/06/1956
U Nu invited military to take over.

MYA-1956 775 MYA U Ba Swe 12/06/1956 01/03/1957
Lentz: remained minister of defense until 1958. "Ba Swe was detaining following the military coup in 962 led by General Ne Win. He was released in 1966."

MYA-1957 775 MYA U Nu 01/03/1957 29/10/1958
Coup, detained until 1966.

MYA-1958 775 MYA Ne Win 29/10/1958 15/03/1960

MYA-1960 775 MYA U Nu 04/04/1960 02/03/1962
Removed in a military coup, *The New York Times* 2 March, 1962, p. 1. Released in 1992.

MYA-1962 775 MYA Ne Win 02/03/1962 25/07/1988
Encarta.msn.com: "As a result of antigovernment riots in March and June 1988, Ne Win officially retired from politics and suggested that a multiparty system might be better for the nation." Dies 5 December 2002.

Encyclopedia Britannica: "In March 2002, however, he was placed under house arrest following the imprisonment of several family members who were accused of plotting a

coup against the country's military junta; no charges were brought against Ne Win, but he remained under house arrest until his death." Under house arrest since March 7, 2002. Had a heart attack in September 2001.

The Washington Times, December 21, 2002, notes: "Ne Win was forced aside in 1988 after the military killed thousands of pro-democracy demonstrators during a failed uprising in Rangoon, the capital of Burma, which Ne Win's successors renamed Myanmar. From 1988 to 2002, the regime allowed the aged ex-despot to dwell in oblivion as a wealthy recluse in Rangoon, where he spent much of his time and fortune building a Buddhist pagoda in hopes of ensuring a happy afterlife. But last March, his world crumbled. Ne Win's favorite, business-savvy daughter, Sandar Win, and her husband and their three adult sons were arrested by the military junta."

The Statesman (India) December 18, 2002, reports: "Ne Win", means "Sun of Glory" or "Brilliant as the Sun" as a nom de guerre to conceal his Sino-Burmese origins. His real name was Shu Maung. Also: "Despite denials by the SLORC, Ne Win remained politically influential well into the 1990s."

MYA-1988-1 775 MYA Sein Lwin 25/07/1988 12/08/1988

Ecarta.msn.com notes: Following Ne Win's retirement in July 1988, Myanmar endured three months of political turmoil. The head of the riot police took control of the government .... Leadership then shifted to a civilian associate of the military, Maung Maung." Encyclopedia Britannica: "known as the "Butcher of Rangoon." Newspapers (from Lexis Nexis) strongly suggest that Sein Lwin, Maung Maung and Saw Maung are all Ne Win puppets! See for example, *The New York Times*, September 22, 1988, Section A, Page 10, Column 3. Byline: Seth Mydans.

For his death, see Herald Sun (Melbourne, Australia), April 21, 2004, p. 67. For another obit and his post-exit fate, see The Associated Press, April 10, 2004, BC Cycle, Section: International News. Byline: By Aye Aye Win.

MYA-1988-2 775 MYA Maung Maung 19/08/1988 18/09/1988

Encyclopedia Britannica: "Western-educated lawyer, judge and government official." For his obituary, see *Los Angeles Times*, July 3, 1994, p.26 Born on 11 January, 1925. Died on 2 July, 1994. Deposed by a military coup against the government, *Washington Post*, 19 September, 1988, p. A1.

MYA-1988-3 775 MYA Saw Maung 18/09/1988 23/04/1992Encarta.msn.com notes: "... the military staged a coup against the government it had created. On September 18, 1988, Defense Minister General Saw Maung announced the formation of a State Law and Order Restoration Council. ...."

The New York Times, April 24, 1992, p. A6. "Myanmar's state radio said on April 23, 1992, that General Saw Maung, the head of the military government, has been replace because of ill health. General Than Shwe replaced Saw Maung." *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1992, p. 11, notes that Gen. Than Shwe was the deputy chairman and army commander. Also: "Saw Maung, 63, had been widely reported to be suffering from a nervous disorder, and many of his public speeches have verged on the incoherent in recent months. He previously gave up the posts of foreign minister and defense minister to colleagues. Than Shwe, 58, has been holding the jobs of army commander, deputy chairman of the junta, deputy supreme commander of the defense forces, and defense minister.

However, analysts long have believed that the key junta figure has been Khin Nyunt, its secretary. Since 1988, he has been involved in key decisions and policy deliberations while Saw Maung has usually dealt with generalities."

But, The Daily Yomiuri, Feb 1, 1993, p. 3 records: "A Myanmar junta source, who called Saw Maung's resignation a "coup d'état," said that SLORC First Secretary Khin Nyunt played a key role in prompting the resignation. Khin Nyunt is a young, influential figure who is one of the few permitted to freely visit the residence of former Myanmar President Ne Win, the country's most influential political figure. According to the source, Ne Win approved last March Khin Nyunt's request to allow him to force Saw Maung to resign. A diplomatic source in Yangon speculated that Khin Nyunt wanted Saw Maung out of power because he was not flexible enough to achieve the level of democracy needed in the country to convince Western nations, and Japan, to lift their economic sanctions and resume aid to Myanmar. It is commonly believed that Khin Nyunt, who is not popular among Myanmar's military personnel, persuaded Than Shwe to assume the post of SLORC chairman to maintain military unity. Studying Thai Experience It is slowly becoming clearer that SLORC, which is virtually led by Khin Nyunt, aims to install a civilian government that would actually be run by the military."

Facts on File, August 14, 1997 has his obituary and notes: "he resigned as Burma's ruler in 1992 after exhibiting increasingly bizarre behavior, including declaring himself the reincarnation of an ancient Burmese king; born in December 1928 in Mandalay; died July 24 in Yangon, Myanmar (formerly Burma) of a heart attack."

See also for his post exit fate the obituary in *The New York Times*, July 27, 1997, Section 1, p. 30. This also notes: "But for all General Saw Maung's authority and the brutality with which he exercised it, few believed that he was the ultimate power in his country. The man who has called the shots in Myanmar, most observers agree, is Gen. Ne Win, General Saw Maung's longtime mentor. ... After General Ne Win stepped down under popular pressure in July 1988, the appointment of his hand-picked successor, Gen. Sein Lwin, caused a surge in protests. General Saw Maung, who became Defense Minister, established his hart-line credentials by ordering troops into Rangoon, as the capital was then known, to help the security police battle the demonstrators. General Sein Lwin was forced to resign after 17 bloody days, but Gen. Saw Maung retained his ministry under the next leader, Maung Maung, a Ne Win civilian protégé. Mr. Maung Maung failed to win the confidence of the protestors, and demonstrations continued. Finally General Ne Win had enough. According to widespread reports at the time, he summoned General Saw Maung to his home one night and ordered him to organize a coup the next day. General Saw Maung did just that, and was installed as head of a new military junta on Sept. 18. More than 1,000 civilians were killed before the protesters were finally driven from the streets. The end of General Saw Maung's rule came after he began acting erratically. When he began speaking of himself as the reincarnation of an 11th-century Burmese king, he became an embarrassment. He resigned in April 1992 and was replaced by his deputy, Gen. Than Shwe, another Ne Win protégé, who continues to serve as chairman of the junta. General Saw Maung, whose survivors include his wife and three children, has since dropped almost completely out of public sight. So did his mentor, General Ne Win, who nevertheless, in his mid-80's, is still believed by many to be pulling the strings of Government."

The Statesman (India) December 18, 2002, also refers to his removal as a coup: "Al-

coholic and delusional, Saw Maung was removed in a palace coup after Army Day in 1992."

The source for the Japanese paper seems credible claiming it was a coup, but Saw Maung had also clearly been sick. We code this as exit as due to Ill Health; the majority of sources refers to his ill health, which probably is also the reason for his removal if he is removed "irregularly" and a decision on "unconstitutional" removal in Myanmar has to be guesswork.

MYA-1992 775 MYA Than Shwe 23/04/1992 31/12/2004

Los Angeles Times, April 24, 1992, p. 11, notes that Gen. Than Shwe was the deputy chairman and army commander. Also: "Saw Maung, 63, had been widely reported to be suffering from a nervous disorder, and many of his public speeches have verged on the incoherent in recent months. He previously gave up the posts of foreign minister and defense minister to colleagues. Than Shwe, 58, has been holding the jobs of army commander, deputy chairman of the junta, deputy supreme commander of the defense forces, and defense minister. However, analysts long have believed that the key junta figure has been Khin Nyunt, its secretary. Since 1988, he has been involved in key decisions and policy deliberations while Saw Maung has usually dealt with generalities."

See: Myanmar Junta Leader Rumored Ousted in Coup. `http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/international/international-myanmar.html` Published: August 24, 2005 BANGKOK (Reuters) - Rumors swirled in army-ruled Myanmar and neighboring Thailand on Wednesday that junta strongman Senior General Than Shwe has been removed by the powerful army commander. Reports suggested Than Shwe, head of a military junta which has ruled the former Burma in various forms since 1962, had been ousted by number two General Maung Aye although Yangon was calm and people said there was no extra security on the streets. A Thai intelligence official told Reuters his organization was trying to determine the truth of the Rumors in the absence of official comment from the Yangon government. "We've heard Maung Aye has seized power from Than Shwe, citing allegations of corruption and his involvement in illegal trade of weapons," he said. He said Thura Shwe Man, the number three general in the ruling State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), was rumored to have been assigned to investigate Than Shwe's alleged crimes. However, Thai Foreign Minister Kantathi Suphamongkhon told reporters: "So far, everything is just a rumor. I am still sticking to my plan to visit Myanmar late this month." Soe Myint, editor of the pro-democracy Mizzima News Web site mizzima.com, which is based in New Delhi, said there had been tension among the generals for some time. "From what I have heard, a five-member group of generals led by General Maung Aye staged the coup during a weekly cabinet meeting on Monday," he told Reuters in the Indian capital. "The group accused Than Shwe of nepotism and said he was incapable of running the country. Ever since, there has been a total blackout and there has been no news from the cabinet meeting," Soe Myint said. UNDER ARREST? Than Shwe has not been seen on state television since August 20 when he met U.N. envoy and former Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, but official newspapers on Wednesday reported his message of congratulations to Ukraine on its independence day. Diplomats in Yangon said they believed he was on a provincial tour. "We understand he is out of town and this rumor did not start in Yangon, but outside the country," a Southeast Asian diplomat said. The opposition National League for Democracy (NLD) also played down the Rumors. "So far as we can confirm, this rumor is more likely not to be true. The situation

across the city is quite normal," NLD spokesman Nyan Win told Reuters. But the Thai language newspaper Phuchatkan reported on its Web site at manager.co.th that Maung Aye, the army commander-in-chief had ordered Than Shwe detained at a Yangon hospital on Tuesday. "General Maung Aye has taken over power since midnight on August 23," the newspaper said, citing Thai intelligence sources. The former Burma has been ruled by the military in various guises since a coup in 1962 and is reviled in the West for its alleged human rights abuses and confinement of democracy icon Aung San Suu Kyi since May 2003. Yangon says it is moving toward democracy along a seven-stage roadmap it unveiled in August 2003. However, few take its rulers seriously, especially with Suu Kyi languishing under house arrest and her party effectively excluded from talks to draw up a new constitution, which are set to resume in December. Than Shwe, 73 and an expert in psychological warfare, seized the junta leadership in 1992 with the help of General Khin Nyunt, who was ousted as prime minister and military intelligence chief last October. The Norway-based Democratic Voice of Burma reported on its Web site, dvb.no, on Monday that Than Shwe's son-in-law, Teza, was being investigated for corruption.

2.170 SRI LANKA (CEYLON)

SRI-1948 780 SRI Senanayake, Don 04/02/1948 22/03/1952
Dies in horseback riding accident.

SRI-1952 780 SRI Senanayake, Dudley 26/03/1952 12/10/1953
Son of Don. Lentz: "Senanayake was suffering from poor health and could not stand the strain of office. He stepped down on October 12, 1954.' HG: should read 1953.
Resignation for ill health in confirmed in news reports of the day. See *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 13, 1953, p. 24 (acute stomach trouble brought on by political opposition) and *The New York Times*, Oct. 13, 1953, 16.

SRI-1953 780 SRI Kotelawala 12/10/1953 11/04/1956
News reports suggest he was OK. Lentz notes that "Kotelawala retired to Great Britain until the late 1970s after he relinquished office", but *The New York Times*, Mar 10, 1957, p. 32 notes him as OK, speaking to the annual conference of the United National Party. He retired to Great Britain.

SRI-1956 780 SRI Bandaranaike, S.W.R.D 12/04/1956 26/09/1959
Shot by a Buddhist monk. Lentz 1994, p. 707; *The New York Times* 26 September, 1959, p. 1.

SRI-1959 780 SRI Dahanayake 26/09/1959 21/03/1960

SRI-1960-1 780 SRI Senanayake, Dudley 21/03/1960 22/07/1960

SRI-1960-2 780 SRI Bandaranaike, S 31/05/1970 23/01/1977
Widow of assassinated Bandaranaike S.W.R.D. Lentz: In 1980, she was expelled from the Parliament and deprived of her political rights for alleged corruption while in office. Pardoned in 1986.

SRI-1977 780 SRI Jayewardene 23/01/1977 02/01/1989
Lentz: Law degree. Sponsors a new constitution that provided for an executive presidency, and stepped down as prime minister to become president on February 3, 1978. He narrowly avoided death in a grenade attack on the Parliament in August of 1987. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 40, February 1994: "Wijetunge argued that under the existing system (i.e. the "presidential" Constitution introduced in 1978, prior to which the presidency had been a largely ceremonial appointive office; there was a danger of the votes of the majority Sinhalese population being divided–between the ruling United National Party (UNP) and the opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP)–in such a way as to give the minority Tamil population a decisive say in determining the outcome."

SRI-1989 780 SRI Premadasa 02/01/1989 01/05/1993 Killed when an explosive-laden bicyclist attacked him during a May Day parade in Colombo He was assassinated in suicide bombing. *The New York Times* 5/2/1993, p. 1.

SRI-1993 780 SRI Wijetunge 01/05/1993 12/11/1994

For plans to kill both Wijetunge and Kumaratunga, and W's being OK, see Lexis Nexis, Xinhua News Agency, May 14, 1995. Item No: 0514039.

SRI-1994 780 SRI Kumaratunga 12/11/1994 31/12/2004

Female, and daughter of both SWRD Bandaranaike, and Srimavo Bandaranaike. She survived a suicide bomber 5 meters away.

2.171 MALDIVES

http://www.maldivesculture.com/maldives_constitution.html Constitution of the Republic of the Maldives that came into force in 1968 (and amended in 1970, 1972, and 1975) has been repealed and replaced by a new Constitution assented to by the President of the Republic on 27 November 1997. The new Constitution came into force on 1 January 1998. "Article 4 of the Constitution of the Maldives provides that the powers of the state comprise of the executive, the legislature, and the administration of justice ("the judiciary") and those powers vest in the citizens. This Article further provides that the executive power vests in the President of the Republic and the cabinet ministers, the legislative power vests in Parliament, and the judicial power vests in the President of the Republic and the courts. In theory the three powers are identified separately and they appear to be independent of each other. However, those powers are, in effect, administered collectively as a composite whole. To this effect, Article 3 states: The State of the Maldives shall, in accordance with this Constitution, be the territory of the Maldives, the citizens of the Maldives and the powers of the state as a composite whole. Article 33 then designates the President of the Republic as the "head of state" and "head of government". It is said: The President shall be the Head of State, Head of Government and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and the Police of the Maldives." Maldives became independent on July 26, 1965. Presidential system

MAD-1953 781 MAD Ali Didi 02/09/1953 12/12/1957

http://www.maldivesroyalfamily.com/maldives_suvadives_phillips.shtml also lists him as Ibrahim Faamuladeyri Kilegefan. Which would imply he married the daughter of the Sultan Mohamed Imaduddine VI. http://www.guide2womenleaders.com/Maldive_Heads.htm records, "Eggamugey Ibrahim Faamuladeyri Kilegefan and Princess Gulistan Imaduddine, the daughter of Sultan Mohamed Imaduddine VI (1892-1903)." Lentz notes that the previous leader, President Amin Didi, was ousted irregularly on Sept. 3, 1953, and died January 19, 1954, from injuries received when beaten by a crowd of angry demonstrators. Ali Didi is in power as joint president-prime minister from Sept. 3, 1953, until Sultanate is restored on March 7, 1954. Ali Didi subsequently named to head a new gov't as PM. *The New York Times*, April 4, 1958, p.5: "Britain reached an agreement with Maldivian Prime Minister Ibrahim Ali Didi to build an air base at Gan. The Prime Minister resigned last December, ostensibly because of ill health. His successor, Ibrahim Nassir, opposed the agreement and requested its revision." For his entry, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sept. 5, 1953, p. B10 "Maldive Islands President Forced Out in Food Scarcity." This article records Ibrahim Ali Didi as 63 years old. For his exit, see *The New York Times*, Feb. 5, 1958, p. 5 "Maldive Riot Bared. Mob is Said to Have Forced Prime Minister to Quit." "Colombo, Ceylon, Feb. 4-The former Prime Minister of the Maldive Islands was forced out of office in December by a hostile crowd that surrounded his palace, according to reports circulating in Ceylon. Ibrahim Ali Didi was officially reported to have resigned because of ill health." The latter was reported in *The New York Times*, Dec. 19, 1957, p. 5 "Maldive Premier Named." For subsequent consensus that Ali Didi was forced to resign, see *The New York Times*, October 14, 1959, p. 6 "Britain's Air Base in Maldives Gains." No information on his subsequent fate.

Personal communication from Chris Abdul-Wahhab chrisx@xtra.co.nz "Eggamugey Ibrahim Ali Didi (who held the peerage title of Faamuladeyri Kilegefan) died in 1975 and

was survived by four daughters who are still alive (Eggamugey is the family name). He was acting prime minister in 1953 and prime minister from 1954 to 1958. He was also a member of the ruling Council of Regency (in the absence of a reigning monarch) from 1945 to 1952 and its president for some time. His paternal grandfather Eggamugey Hassan Didi also held the peerage title of Faamuladeyri Kilegefan but did not hold public office other than being a senior courtier. Ibrahim Didi's father Eggamugey Tuttu Ali Didi did not hold any public office. Eggamugey Hassan Didi's father (Ibrahim Didi's great grandfather) was a very wealthy commoner and businessman who married a lady of the previous ruling dynasty (Diyamigily). Ibrahim Ali Didi's paternal aunt Eggamugey Um-Kalthum Didi was the consort of the Sultan Mohamed Imaduddine VI. Ibrahim Ali Didi's first wife was his own first cousin the Princess Gulistan, daughter of the Sultan Mohamed Imaduddine VI and Princess Consort Um-Kalthum Didi. Their daughter the Princess Tuttu Goma (also known as Fatimath Ibrahim Didi) married Ahmed Zaki who was Prime Minister of the Maldives from 1972 to 1975. The Princess Tuttu Goma is still alive but not too well and lives in Male. Her (and Ahmed Zaki's) son Ismail Shafeeu is currently the Minister of Defence in the Maldives. The Princess Tuttu Goma was nominated in 1952 to become the reigning Queen (Sultana) of the Maldives and she accepted the throne but her installation as Queen was vetoed by the mullahs, headed by the chief mullah of the time Abdullah Fahmi Didi. Although the Maldives had not had a reigning queen for several centuries, constitutionally women were still allowed to succeed to the throne. It was following this that the first (short-lived) republican constitution was promulgated. The mullahs ensured that subsequent constitutions explicitly barred women from the position of head of state. So technically until 1 January 1953, women were permitted to become head of state in the Maldives. The Princess Tuttu Goma (Fathimath Ibrahim Didi) was the president of the Senate in the short-lived first republic (1953-1954). Ibrahim Ali Didi was a physician of the Eastern tradition by training and continued to offer medical services to selected families throughout his political and diplomatic career. He was my family's physician even while he was prime minister. I remember him examining me when I was unwell (until about the mid 1960s) and prescribing herbal medication. His first wife, the Princess Gulistan was my father's first cousin on her father's side." Second email: "He married all four ladies one after another; not concurrently in the Islamic style. His second wife Titti Goma was a daughter of another first cousin of his who was the daughter of his aunt Eggamugey Medu Didi and the Sultan Ibrahim Nooreddine. Ibrahim Nooreddine was the uncle of the Sultan Mohamed Imaduddine VI. From this marriage he had a daughter by the name of Jameela. His third wife Tuttu Manippuluge Goma was also a granddaughter of the Sultan Ibrahim Nooreddine. From that marriage he had a daughter by the name of Aishath. His fourth wife Aminah Didi was the widow of Hassan Farid Didi who was interior minister of the Maldives and de facto head of government, who was presumed dead when a British warship that was carrying him was sunk by the Imperial Japanese Navy. This lady was a descendant of the Athireegey family of which Hassan Farid Didi was also a member on his father's side. From that marriage Ibrahim Didi had his youngest daughter Khadeeja. Ibrahim Didi's first three wives died while married to him, probably in childbirth. He divorced his fourth wife while he was in office as prime minister. The divorce was rather controversial, as she was allegedly unfaithful (which was, and still is, nothing unusual in the Maldives). He did not remarry, but I understand that he proposed to a lady (who is still alive) who declined the offer. A correction of a slight error in the

previous mail please- my apologies: Ibrahim Ali Didi's great grandfather (the wealthy businessman Thoddu AliManiku) did not marry a lady of the previous ruling dynasty (Diyamigily). He married a lady of the Athireegey family who were descended from Dom Luis de Sousa, a descendant of the Christian kings of the Maldives of the Hilaaly Dynasty. The Athireegey family are cousins of the last reigning dynasty, also through the Prince Dom Luis. It was Ibrahim Didi's grandfather, Hassan Didi who married the lady of the previous Diyamigily Dynasty. Now an opinion, if I may: Ibrahim Ali Didi was a person who demonstrated a high degree of integrity in both his private and public life. During his tenure in office as Prime Minister, the Maldives experienced anything that comes remotely close to democracy. Both his predecessors and successors, to this day, have all been autocrats. He resigned when he was unsuccessful (as a result of anti-Western sentiments fomented by some opportunists) in gaining support of parliament to ratify a 100-year agreement to lease Gan Island and the Mamendu District of Hitadu Island, both in Addu Atoll, to the United Kingdom air force (RAF). When he knew he did not have the numbers to ratify the treaty, he tended his resignation to the Sultan. He could have disbanded parliament or assumed emergency powers to force his will but he chose not to do that. The failure of the lease agreement precipitated the breakaway United Suvadive Islands Republic in the southern atolls. I believe Ibrahim Ali Didi could have avoided the rebellion and resolved the issue more amicably. Perhaps democracy would have survived and the current tensions over the re-introduction of democracy could have been avoided (I am just theorising) Third e-mail: He stayed in Male for the most part and carried the title of "Advisor to the Government", although his advice was never sought. He was not harassed and was respectfully ignored. As far as I know the only public function at which he officiated after he stepped down was when he opened a new building for the government's main school for girls in the late 1960s. He spent a great deal of time in Colombo (Sri Lanka) in the 1960s, with his youngest daughter Khadeeja, who was attending primary school there. By and large he was fine and was privately retired pursuing his herbal medicine practice. He was seen in public often as his main means of transport after retirement was foot. He visited with his family and friends regularly on foot."

MAD-1957 781 MAD Nasir 12/12/1957 11/11/1978

Fully: Ibrahim Nasir Rannabandeyri Kilegefan For his entry, see *The New York Times*, Dec. 19, 1957, p. 5 "Maldive Premier Named."

Lentz: "subsequently went to Singapore, and in 1980 he was charged with embezzlement of public funds. Nasir was convicted in absentia and banished for 25 years. He was granted a pardon in July of 1990 by President Maumoon Abdual Gayoom." The *Washington Post*, Nov. 11, 1978, p. A18 notes Gayoon [sic, HG] is "succeeding Ibrahim Nasir, 54, who retired because of ill health." ***Keesing's*** Vol. 25, February 1979 confirms this: "Mr. Gayoom (42), who had been Minister of Transport at the time of his election as President, had gained a master's degree in Islamic studies at the AI-Azhar University in Cairo, had been a university lecturer in Nigeria and had formerly been the Maldives' permanent representative at the United Nations. In late June 1978 he had been nominated by the Majlis (Parliament) as presidential candidate following the announcement by President Ibrahim Nasir (52) that for health reasons he did not wish to be considered for re-election. (Mr. Nasir had been President of the Maldives since it became a republic for the second time in 1968–having from December 1957–until that date been Chief

Minister, and later Prime Minister. During his second presidential term he had in March 1975 concurrently resumed the duties of Prime Minister following the banishment of the then head of government, Mr. Ahmed Zaki.)"

Wikipedia, though, suggests "Maldives's 20 year period of authoritarian rule under Nasir abruptly ended in 1978 when he fled to Singapore. A subsequent investigation revealed that he had absconded with millions of dollars from the state treasury." We go with the ill health, even though it feels like something sketchy is going on, because he announced more than 6 months before he won't run for reelection.

First Nasir was PM, later became president, resigned and fled to Singapore.

MAD-1978 781 MAD Gayoom 11/11/1978 31/12/2004

2.172 NEPAL

NEP-1846 790 NEP Jang Bahadur Kunwar 17/09/1846 25/02/1877

NEP-1877 790 NEP Rana Udip Singh 27/02/1877 21/11/1885
Rana Udip Singh, (b. 1825 - d. 1885). Was killed in 1885.

NEP-1885 790 NEP Bira S. J. Bahadur Rana 23/11/1885 05/03/1901
Bira Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana. Lentz: Brother of Jang Bahadur Rana, the initiator of the powerful Rana family's claims to the hereditary prime ministership in 1848. Apparently arranged the murder of Rana Udip.
The Rana family allegedly claimed the hereditary Prime Ministership of Nepal.

NEP-1901-1 790 NEP Dev Shumshere J. B. Rana 15/03/1901 26/06/1901
Dev Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana. Brother of Bira. Born in 1862.

NEP-1901-2 790 NEP Chandra Rana 26/06/1901 22/06/1929
Brother of Bira

NEP-1929 790 NEP Bhim Rana 22/06/1929 01/09/1932
Brother of Bir and Chandra.

NEP-1932 790 NEP Juddha Rana 01/09/1932 28/11/1945
Younger Brother of Bim. On his fate see Lentz: retires to western Nepal, and dedicates the remainder of his life to religious contemplation.

NEP-1945 790 NEP Padma Rana 28/11/1945 09/02/1948
Brother of Juddha.

NEP-1948 790 NEP Mohan Rana 09/02/1948 18/02/1951
Son of former PM Chandra Shumshere. King wins power struggle against prime minister who rules by hereditary tradition and ensures power to himself. According to Lentz, Rana goes into exile on on 16 Nov 1951. *Chicago Daily Tribune* 19 February, 1951, p. B10; Lentz 1994, p. 573. Exile in India.

NEP-1951 790 NEP Tribhuvan 18/02/1951 13/03/1955
Only son of King Prithvi. See *The New York Times*, Oct. 6, 1982, p. B10: Kunwar Inderjit Singh, Former Nepal Premier. "...led a coup, and ruled Katmandu for two days in 1952 before the army moved against him and he fled to Tibet. The Chinese Communists then took him to China and they sent him back to Nepal in 1955, after asking King Mahendra to allow him to return and grant him an amnesty. He served as Prime Minister for four months in 1957."

NEP-1955 790 NEP Mahendra 14/03/1955 31/01/1972
Son of King Tribuvan. Perhaps launches an "auto-golpe" in 1960. Lentz: "The new king attempted to democratize Nepal. He appointed a new government on January 27, 1956, and allowed the formation of political parties to participate in a free election in 1959. The king dismissed the government of B. P. Koirala on December 15, 1960, revoked the constitution, and restored the monarchy to full power."

NEP-1972 790 NEP Birendra 31/01/1972 09/11/1990

Son of King Mahendra. King Birendra of Nepal, the queen and six other members of the royal family were shot dead by Crown Prince Dipendra in Katmandu in a (drug or alcohol induced) rampage. The *Washington Post* 2 June, 2001, A01. Elinor Ostrom–private communication, 9 May 2008–informs me that many people in Nepal hold Gyanendra responsible for the murder of his brother.

CIA World Factbook (`https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/np.html`)reports: "Reforms in 1990 established a multiparty democracy within the framework of a constitutional monarchy."

Country Studies (`http://countrystudies.us/nepal/53.htm`), reports "On September 10, 1990, the commission presented King Birendra with the draft of a new constitution, which would preserve the king's status as chief of state under a constitutional monarchy but establish a multiparty democracy with separation of powers and human rights. As agreed upon earlier, the king turned the draft constitution over to Prime Minister K.P. Bhattarai and his cabinet for review and recommendations. The draft was discussed extensively and approved by the interim cabinet. ... On November 9, 1990, King Birendra promulgated the new constitution and abrogated the constitution of 1962. The 1990 constitution ended almost thirty years of absolute monarchy in which the palace had dominated every aspect of political life and political parties were banned."

NEP-1990 790 NEP Krishna Prasad Bhattarai 09/11/1990 26/05/1991

NEP-1991 790 NEP Girija Prasad Koirala 26/05/1991 30/11/1994

NEP-1994 790 NEP Man Mohan Adhikari 30/11/1994 12/09/1995

NEP-1995 790 NEP Sher Bahadur Deuba 12/09/1995 12/03/1997

NEP-1997-1 790 NEP Lokendra Bahadur Chand 12/03/1997 07/10/1997

NEP-1997-2 790 NEP Surya Bahadur Thapa 07/10/1997 15/04/1998

NEP-1998 790 NEP Girija Prasad Koirala 15/04/1998 31/05/1999

NEP-1999 790 NEP Krishna Prasad Bhattarai 31/05/1999 22/03/2000

NEP-2000 790 NEP Girija Prasad Koirala 22/03/2000 26/07/2001

NEP-2001 790 NEP Sher Bahadur Deuba 26/07/2001 04/10/2002

Keesing's Record of World Events (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 48, October, 2002 Nepal, Page 45044. "Nepal's political crisis deepened in October as King Gyanendra on Oct. 4 dismissed Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba and his entire Council of Ministers (Cabinet) for "incompetence", temporarily assumed executive powers, indefinitely postponed elections due for Nov. 13, and appointed an interim government under a monarchist former Prime Minister. Under article 127 of the 1990 constitution that allowed the King to intervene to "resolve difficulties", Gyanendra sacked Deuba after the Prime Minister asked for a one-year postponement of the elections for fear of disruption by the underground Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), which had

called a general strike for Nov. 1113. It was the first dismissal by a king of an elected government since the end of absolute monarchy in 1990."

The Economist, October 12, 2002. U.S. Edition, accessed through **Lexis Nexis** reports: "THERE was a rare consensus this week among Nepal's politicians that King Gyanendra had gone against the spirit of the country's 1990 constitution when, on October 4th, he dismissed the elected government on the grounds of incompetence. Although the palace denies that the move was a royal coup, the king has officially assumed executive authority until further notice. Yet in what a jaded electorate has come to see as typical behaviour, Nepal's party leaders are now busy jostling for position in the next administration, rather than upholding the sacred trust they claim was violated. Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah, Nepal's 12th king, ascended the throne in June 2001 after his nephew, Crown Prince Dipendra, murdered almost all his family in a crazed palace massacre."

DELETED: 1990 Constitution made Nepal a constitutional monarchy.

NEP-2001 790 NEP Gyanendra Bir B. S. Deva 02/06/2001 11/10/2002

Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva. He was the brother of the former king. First, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 48, October, 2002 Nepal, Page 45044. "Nepal's political crisis deepened in October as King Gyanendra on Oct. 4 dismissed Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba and his entire Council of Ministers (Cabinet) for incompetence", temporarily assumed executive powers, indefinitely postponed elections due for Nov. 13, and appointed an interim government under a monarchist former Prime Minister. Under article 127 of the 1990 constitution that allowed the King to intervene to "resolve difficulties", Gyanendra sacked Deuba after the Prime Minister asked for a one-year postponement of the elections for fear of disruption by the underground Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), which had called a general strike for Nov. 1113. It was the first dismissal by a king of an elected government since the end of absolute monarchy in 1990."

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Keesing's Record of World Events (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 48, November, 2002 Nepal, Page 45093. The article reports "King Gyanendra on Nov. 18 expanded the interim Cabinet formed in October [see p. 45044] after consultation with Prime Minister Lokendra Bahadur Chand. According to the Nepal news website of Nov. 18, the new appointments included one defector from the opposition United Communist Party of NepalMarxist and Leninist (UCPN), businessmen, and independents."

Elinor Ostrom–private communication, 9 May 2008–informs me that many people in Nepal hold Gyanendra responsible for the murder of his brother.

NEP-2002 790 NEP Lokendra Bahadur Chand 11/10/2002 05/06/2003

For his entry, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 48, November, 2002 Nepal, Page 45093. The article reports "King Gyanendra on Nov. 18 expanded the interim Cabinet formed in October [see p. 45044] after consultation with Prime Minister Lokendra Bahadur Chand. According to the Nepal news website of Nov. 18, the new appointments included one defector from the opposition United Communist Party of NepalMarxist and Leninist (UCPN), businessmen, and independents."

NEP-2003 790 NEP Surya Bahadur Thapa 05/06/2003 03/06/2004

NEP-2004 790 NEP Sher Bahdur Deuba 03/06/2004 31/12/2004

CIA World Factbook:
(`https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/np.html`) reports "While stopping short of reestablishing parliament, the king in June 2004 reinstated the most recently elected prime minister who formed a four-party coalition government. Citing dissatisfaction with the government's lack of progress in addressing the Maoist insurgency and corruption, the king in February 2005 dissolved the government, declared a state of emergency, imprisoned party leaders, and assumed power. The king's government subsequently released party leaders and officially ended the state of emergency in May 2005, but the monarch retained absolute power until April 2006. After nearly three weeks of mass protests organized by the seven-party opposition and the Maoists, the king allowed parliament to reconvene in April 2006. Following a November 2006 peace accord between the government and the Maoists, an interim constitution was promulgated and the Maoists were allowed to enter parliament in January 2007."

BBC News, 16 February 2007: "King of Nepal is stoned by crowd." "... Nepal's king, traditionally regarded as an incarnation of the Hindu god Vishnu, has become highly controversial since assuming absolute power in 2005. The attack is the first of its kind since he stepped down following nation wide protests in April 2006. ... There has been strong public feeling against the monarch since he gave up power. Nepal's reinstated parliament has since stripped him of most of his traditional powers as the country gears up for elections in June. The elected parliament is then set to decide the future role of the monarchy or whether it should be abolished."

2.173 THAILAND

THI-1868 800 THI Rama V 01/10/1868 23/10/1910

THI-1910 800 THI Rama VI 23/10/1910 26/11/1925
Son of Rama V.

THI-1925 800 THI Rama VII 26/11/1925 10/12/1932
Youngest son of Rama V. Educated at Eton, and the Woolwich Military Academy in England, and later the Ecole Superieure de Guerre in France. Coup against him on 24 June 1932, but he still remains powerful enough to struggle against the coup plotters. *Christian Science Monitor*, June 21, 1933, p. 1 reports "A constitutional monarchy was established June 24, 1932, after a sudden revolt, resulting in one fatality. The King thereupon signed a constitution, and a new Siamese Senate was formed. King Prajadhipok was permitted to name the executive committee and dissolve Parliament. Three days after the revolt the King reascended the throne." Lentz: A group of high ranking civil and military officials forced Prajadhipok to end the absolute monarchy and accept constitutional rule in 1932. On December 10, 1932, he granted a constitution. He abdicated the throne on March 2, 1934. He went into exile in England. Encyc Brit says he went to England in early 1934 and abdicated in March 1935. Coup, leads to parliamentarism, abdicates 2 March 1934. See Wikipedia: `http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siamese_coup_d\%27\%C3\%A9tat_of_1932` See also *The New York Times* 25 June, 1932, p. 1; Lentz 1999, p. 432. Anecdote from `http://anecdotage.com/index.php?aid=8306`: "What did the late King Prajadhipok, the last absolute ruler of Siam (now Thailand), do to prepare himself financially for life after his anticipated overthrow in the early 1930s? He took out unemployment insurance with French and British insurance companies. Then, having failed to suppress the newly formed constitutional government, he accepted his ouster, collected on the policies and lived comfortably in England for the remaining six years of his life."

THI-1932 800 THI Phraya Mano 10/12/1932 20/06/1933
Phraya Manopakorn Nititada. Enters as a result of the King's new constitution which was the result of the 24 June coup d'état. According to Wikipedia, a lawyer and married to a Lady-in-waiting of the Queen. The main people behind the coup called themselves the People's Party (Khana Ras). *The New York Times* confirms a military coup happened on June 21. Lentz 1999, p. 433; *The New York Times* 21 June, 1933, p. 38. Exile.

THI-1933 800 THI Phahon 20/06/1933 21/12/1938
General Phraya Phahol Pholphayuhasena. According to Wikipedia, one of the leaders of the coup of 24 June 1932, and a close friend of Hermann Göering. For his entry, see *Christian Science Monitor*, June 21, 1933, p. 1

The New York Times, Oct. 13, 1933, p. 1 reports "General Phya Bahol, commander-in-chief of the army, headed a bloodless revolt last June 20 against the new State Council headed by Phya Manopakarama, liberal successor to Pradit. Three days later General Phya Bahol became Prime Minister but said he would act only temporarily in that post because he was an army man."

THI-1938 800 THI Plaek Pibulsongkram 26/12/1938 02/08/1944

Encyclopedia Britannica notes that the two leaders who became the nucleus for the overthrow of the absolute monarch were Pridi Phanomyong (http://search.eb.com/eb/topic?idxStructId=475880&typeId=13) and Luang Phibun Songkhram, (Phibungsongkram) http://search.eb.com/eb/topic?idxStructId=455772&typeId=13 http://search.eb.com/eb/article?tocId=9059632 who was then [1920s, HG] studying military science in France. Encyclopedia Britannica notes that "Phibunsongkhram's government collapsed (July 1944) and a civilian government took power, controlled from behind the scenes by Pridi Phanomyong."

THI-1944 800 THI Pridi Banomyong 02/08/1944 21/08/1946

Also known as Pridi Phanomyong. Encyclopedia Britannica reports: "He served as minister of finance (1938-41) under Phibunsongkhram but resigned in protest against pro-Japanese policies and was appointed regent for the boy king Ananda Mahidol, then at school in Switzerland. As regent, Pridi directed the anti-Japanese underground Free Thai Movement in the later years of the war and engineered the downfall of Phibunsongkhram's government in 1944. Over the next two years, Pridi was the real power behind successive civilian governments as Thailand, successfully avoiding treatment as an ally of Japan, regained international respectability. In March 1946 Pridi himself became prime minister, the first to have been popularly elected. Public support for his government was shattered, however, after King Ananda was found dead of gun wounds on June 9, 1946. Pridi was unjustly held responsible, in part because of his earlier radicalism and reputed republican sympathies, and in August he was forced to resign. When the army staged a coup d'état in November 1947, Pridi fled the country; by 1951, after coup attempts on his behalf had failed, he took up residence in China. In 1970 Pridi left China for France, continuing to voice his criticism of the Thai military regimes."

THI-1946 800 THI Plaek Pibulsongkram 21/08/1946 16/09/1957

See Lentz. Encyclopedia Britinnica: "After a brief experiment with democracy in 1956-57, when political parties were allowed and free speech encouraged, he was ousted by military colleagues who had tired of the corruption and inefficiency of his government. He then fled to Tokyo, where he lived until his death." Ousted in a military coup, *The New York Times* 17 September, 1957, p. 1. Exile in US and Japan.

THI-1957-1 800 THI Pote Sarasin 21/09/1957 27/12/1957

He was born on 25 March 1906.

THI-1957-1 800 THI Thanon Kittakachorn 27/12/1957 20/10/1958

Thanon Kittakachorn was born on 11 August 1911. Lentz notes that: "His government was unstable and collapsed on October 20, 1958. Sarit Thanarat staged another military coup the same day, and Thanon was named deputy premier in Sarit's military government."

THI-1957 800 THI Sarit 20/10/1958 08/12/1963

He leads the coup that ousts the government on September 16, 1957. He was seriously ill with cirrhosis of the liver and General Thanon Kittakachorn was elected prime minister. Sarit went to the United States to receive medical treatment at Walter Reed Army Hospital. He returned to Thailand after his recovery and led another coup that placed him in charge of the government on October 20, 1958. ... He was hospitalized in

November 1963 for hear and lung ailments and died at an army hospital in Bangkok at the age of 55 on December 8, 1963.

THI-1963 800 THI Thanon Kittakachorn 08/12/1963 13/10/1973

Perhaps launches an "auto-golpe" in November 1971. Lentz: "He dissolved the Parliament and banned political parties in November 1971." Lentz: Coup in 1973. Exile in Singapore, and returned to Thailand in September of 1976 and became a Buddhist monk. Loses backing of King and military leadership after massive student protests that descend into violence, *Washington Post* 15 October,1973, p. A1. Return to civilian rule, exile in Singapore.

THI-1973 800 THI Sanya 14/10/1973 21/02/1975

Lentz: served as privy councilor to the king the following year.

THI-1975-1 800 THI Seni Pramoj 21/02/1975 06/03/1975

For being OK, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 21, April, 1975. See also Vol. 22, July 1976, which notes he is "a member of a noble family of royal descent, is a lawyer and diplomat by profession. When Minister to Washington in 1941 he refused to hand over his Government's declaration of war on the United States, and formed the Free Thai Movement to struggle against the Japanese and the pro-Japanese Thai Government. After the war he founded the Democratic Party and became Prime Minister for four months in 1945-46. He represented Thailand at the hearings before the International Court of Justice in 1962 on the dispute with Cambodia over Preah Vihear. He formed his second Government after the elections in January 1975, but resigned a fortnight later when he failed to obtain a vote of confidence from the House." Drafts new Thai constitution between 1977-1978.

THI-1975-2 800 THI Kukrot Pramoj 17/03/1975 16/04/1976

Younger brother of Seni Pramoj. For post tenure fate see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 24, March, 1978.

THI-1976-1 800 THI Seni Pramoj 20/04/1976 06/10/1976

Older brother of Kukrot. Military takes over after bloody student protests, *The New York Times* 7 October, 1976, p. 1. See also *Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 1977, p.B21 "Elections in 1978 Slated in Thailand." "Thailand's military rulers announced steps toward elections next year and said that until then the country would be run by a government backed by the armed forces. An interim constitution, laying the groundwork for elections was announced at the same time, three weeks after the military ousted a civilian government and ousted a civilian government it had put into office a year earlier."

For the coup that overthrows him, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 22, December, 1976 Thailand, Page 28103. "At 6 p.m. on Oct. 6 a group of 24 officers of the high command of the three armed services seized power, calling themselves the "National Administrative Reform Council" (NARC). The junta included Admiral Sa-ngad Chaloryu, who had been appointed Defence Minister on the previous day [see above], as chairman; Air Chief Marshal Kamol Dejatungka, Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces and C.-in-C. of the Air Force, as vice-chairman; General Kriangsak Chamanan, Deputy Supreme Commander, as general secretary General Boonchai Bamrungpongse, the former Army C.- in-C.; General Sirm Na Nakorn, the newly-appointed Army C.- in -C.; Admiral Amorn Sirikaya, the Navy

C.-in-C.; General Srisuk (or Sisuk) Mahintharathep, Director-General of Police General Pralong Veerapreeya; Lieut.-General Yod Dhephasdin Na Ayuthaya, Assistant Army C.-in-C.; Major-General Aroon Thawasin, commander of the 1st Infantry Division, 10 other generals, two other admirals and two other air chief marshals."

For his post tenure fate see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 24, March, 1978.

THI-1976-2 800 THI Sangad 06/10/1976 22/10/1976

For his entry in a coup, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 22, December, 1976 Thailand, Page 28103. "At 6 p.m. on Oct. 6 a group of 24 officers of the high command of the three armed services seized power, calling themselves the "National Administrative Reform Council" (NARC). The junta included Admiral Sa-ngad Chaloryu, who had been appointed Defence Minister on the previous day [see above], as chairman; Air Chief Marshal Kamol Dejatungka, Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces and C.-in-C. of the Air Force, as vice-chairman; General Kriangsak Chamanan, Deputy Supreme Commander, as general secretary General Boonchai Bamrungpongse, the former Army C.- in-C.; General Sirm Na Nakorn, the newly-appointed Army C.- in -C.; Admiral Amorn Sirikaya, the Navy C.-in-C.; General Srisuk (or Sisuk) Mahintharathep, Director-General of Police General Pralong Veerapreeya; Lieut.-General Yod Dhephasdin Na Ayuthaya, Assistant Army C.-in-C.; Major-General Aroon Thawasin, commander of the 1st Infantry Division, 10 other generals, two other admirals and two other air chief marshals."

For his exit, see *Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 1977, p.B21 "Elections in 1978 Slated in Thailand." "Thailand's military rulers announced steps toward elections next year and said that until then the country would be run by a government backed by the armed forces. An interim constitution, laying the groundwork for elections was announced at the same time, three weeks after the military ousted a civilian government and ousted a civilian government it had put into office a year earlier. . . . The document appeared to establish a delicate balance of power between the military council, led by former navy chief Adm. Sangad Chaloryu and the government. Gren. Kriangsak Chamanan, armed forces supreme commander will be the new prime minister, according to official sources. The king is expected to appoint him formally today."

He is Chairman of the National Policy Council from 12 November, 1977 until his death from a heart attack in Bangkok on 23 November, 1980.

Lentz: Attended the Royal Navy Cadet Academy and subsequently joined the Thai Navy.

THI-1976-3 800 THI Thanin Kraivichien 22/10/1976 20/10/1977

For him taking over, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 22, December, 1976 Thailand, Page 28101. "The coalition Government in Thailand headed since April 1976 by Mr Seni Pramoj [see 27842] was overthrown by a military coup on Oct. 6, when a junta calling itself the "National Administrative Reform Council" seized power. A fresh constitution which replaced Parliament for four years by a nominated "National Administrative Reform Assembly" was promulgated on Oct. 22, and a new Cabinet was formed on the same day by Mr Thanin Kraivichien, a Supreme Court judge."

For his ouster, see . . . *Los Angeles Times*, November 12, 1977, p.12. "General Appointed Thai Minister." "The commander of the Thai military, Gen. Kriangsak Chamanan,

was appointed prime minister Friday to replace Thanin Kraivichien, ousted by the military in a bloodless coup Oct. 20. Kriangsak, who was named supreme commander of Thailand's military forces less than two months ago, was among the senior military officers who ousted Thanin's year-old government in Thailand's eighth change of government in four years."

See also *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume XXIV, March, 1978 Thailand, Page 28861. "Mr Thanin Kraivichien's Government was overthrown on Oct. 20, 1977, by a military coup in Bangkok, and a "Revolutionary Council" of 23 high-ranking officers took power. This body, which was headed by Admiral Sá-ngad Chaloryu, undertook to hold general elections in 1978 and to promote friendly relations with the Indo-Chinese countries. A Cabinet was formed on Nov. 12 by General Kriangsak Chamanan, Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, and a Legislative Assembly was nominated on Nov. 16 to draft a new constitution. An agreement with Vietnam for the normalization of relations was announced on Dec. 2. Details of these and other recent developments are given below."

Many sources point out he was more repressive than the military.

Little information on his post-tenure fate. (Most likely he is OK.) Wikipedia `http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thanin_Kraivichien`, accessed May 9, 2008 notes "Currently Tanin is one of 18 members of the Privy Council to King of Thailand which is the most respected position that Thai commoners could have in the court of the monarch."

THI-1977-1 800 THI Sangad 020/10/1977 12/11/1977

For his entry and exit, see *Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 1977, p.B21 "Elections in 1978 Slated in Thailand." "Thailand's military rulers announced steps toward elections next year and said that until then the country would be run by a government backed by the armed forces. An interim constitution, laying the groundwork for elections was announced at the same time, three weeks after the military ousted a civilian government and ousted a civilian government it had put into office a year earlier. ... The document appeared to establish a delicate balance of power between the military council, led by former navy chief Adm. Sangad Chaloryu and the government. Gren. Kriangsak Chamanan, armed forces supreme commander will be the new prime minister, according to official sources. The king is expected to appoint him formally today."

Lentz: Attended the Royal Navy Cadet Academy and subsequently joined the Thai Navy.

THI-1977-2 800 THI Kriangsak 12/11/1977 29/02/1980

For his entry, see *Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 1977, p.B21 "Elections in 1978 Slated in Thailand." "Thailand's military rulers announced steps toward elections next year and said that until then the country would be run by a government backed by the armed forces. An interim constitution, laying the groundwork for elections was announced at the same time, three weeks after the military ousted a civilian government and ousted a civilian government it had put into office a year earlier. ... The document appeared to establish a delicate balance of power between the military council, led by former navy chief Adm. Sangad Chaloryu and the government. Gren. Kriangsak Chamanan, armed forces supreme commander will be the new prime minister, according to official sources. The king is expected to appoint him formally today."

Lentz: arrested and detained in February 1986.

THI-1980 800 THI Prem 03/03/1980 04/08/1988

Lentz: survives coup attempts (April 1981 and September 1985) and retired from active politics after out. Prem survived several coup attempts.

THI-1988 800 THI Choonhavan 04/08/1988 23/02/1991

Rulers.org: only son of Marshal Pin Choonhavan, a prominent army general who led the 1947 coup that brought Filed Marshal Phibulsongkhram to power. Lentz for his exile. Military coup, exile. *The New York Times* 2/24/1991, p. 14.

THI-1991 800 THI Panyarachun 07/03/1991 04/04/1992

Interim PM.

THI-1992-1 800 THI Kraprayoon 05/04/1992 24/05/1992

Served in the Thai army, and rose to the position of commander of the army. New caretaker cabinet. His repression in mind may of demonstrations led to the "unprecedented intervention" by King Bhumipol Adulyadey after which Suchinda resigned. For him being OK, see: Lexis Nexis: The Straits Times, July 2, 1993, p.15.

THI-1992-2 800 THI Panyarachun 10/06/1992 23/09/1992

See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 40, July 1994 for his OK fate.

THI-1992-3 800 THI Leekpai 23/09/1992 13/07/1995

For his OK fate, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 42, November 1996.

THI-1995 800 THI Silapa-Archa 13/07/1995 01/12/1996

THI-1996 800 THI Chavalit Yongchaiyudh 01/12/1996 09/11/1997

Also a General. For being OK, see The Australian, November 10, 1998, p. 8.

THI-1997 800 THI Leekpai 09/11/1997 09/02/2001

Apparently had a heart condition during his tenure, which he kept secret all this time. Operation in January 2002.

THI-2001 800 THI Thaksin Shinawatra 10/02/2001 31/12/2004

The New York Times, September 19, 2006. Filed 12:43 pm. "BANGKOK, Thailand (AP) – The Thai military launched a coup against Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra on Tuesday night, circling his offices with tanks, seizing control of TV stations and declaring a provisional authority pledging loyalty to the king. An announcement on Thai television declared that a "Council of Administrative Reform" with King Bhumibol Adulyadej as head of state had seized power in Bangkok and nearby provinces without any resistance. At least 14 tanks surrounded Government House, Thaksin's office. Thaksin was in New York at the U.N. General Assembly and declared a state of emergency via a government-owned TV station. A convoy of four tanks rigged with loudspeakers and sirens rolled through a busy commercial district warning people to get off the street for their own safety. A senior military official, speaking on condition of anonymity because of the sensitivity of the situation, said army Commander-in-Chief Gen. Sondhi Boonyaratkalin had used the military to take over power from the prime minister. Thaksin has faced calls to step down amid allegations of corruption and abuse of power. Massive rallies earlier

this year forced Thaksin to dissolve Parliament and call an election in April, three years ahead of schedule. The poll was boycotted by opposition parties and later annulled by Thailand's top courts, leaving the country without a working legislature."

He is removed while at the UN in New York to give a speech. Subsequently, he flies to London.

ABC News: Sept. 22, 2006, reports "Later on Wednesday, he flew to London, where in a statement, he urged all parties to work "towards national reconciliation for the sake of our King and country." His statement expressed hope that "the new regime will quickly arrange a new general election," but made no mention of any plans to return home and reclaim his government seat. Such an omission is perhaps unsurprising, given the likelihood of criminal charges awaiting him. The coup leader, Gen. Sonthi Boonyaratglin, gave an ominous warning of things to come, when asked whether the military would seize Thaksin's assets in Thailand. "Anybody who has committed a wrongdoing must be held responsible," he said. Sonthi announced today that he had set up a committee to investigate Thaksin's assets and that he planned to appoint a new prime minister within two weeks."

The International Herald Tribune, Sept. 24, 2006 suggests he took enormous amounts of money out of the country, right before the coup, perhaps he had foreknowledge? "Bags suggest a Thaksin withdrawal." "BANGKOK Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra of Thailand carried a large number of suitcases out of the country before he was deposed in last week's coup d'état, The Associated Press reported Sunday, leading to speculation that the billionaire had whisked part of his fortune overseas. When Thaksin departed Sept. 9 for a meeting of European and Asian leaders in Finland, his government aircraft was loaded with 58 large suitcases and trunks, The AP said. The news agency identified its source as an official from Thai Airways International who requested anonymity. A second aircraft flown by Thai Airways was also dispatched from Bangkok to meet up with the prime minister days before the Sept. 19 coup, The AP quoted the airline official as saying. That aircraft carried 56 suitcases, The AP said. .... It is possible that the suitcases contained personal belongings or government documents. But even if they all contained cash, the prime minister would have been able to carry only a small part of his fortune, about $116 million, in 58 normal-size suitcases, said Hugo van Reijen, an expert on banknotes." The Thai reaction is relatively favorable, with the public believing that Thaksin was systematically undermining democracy, and perhaps even planning an auto-golpe, and the only way to restore democracy was by the Army's coup. See: International Herald Tribue, Setp. 24, 2006, "New Analysis: Coup turns democracy on its head."

The money would have been heavy but manageable: $1 million in $100 bills weighs about 10 kilograms, or 22 pounds, van Reijen said. If the money was in baht, Thaksin would have been able to take considerably less.

For a profile of Thaksin Shinawatra, see BBC News, 28 February, 2008 "Profile: Thaksin Shinawatra." `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/1108114.stm` The article records that "Born in 1949 in the northern city of Chiang Mai, Mr Thaksin started his career as a police officer. In 1973, he received a government scholarship to study for a masters degree in criminal justice in the United States. When he returned he went into business, and during the late 1980s began building a telecommunications empire, helped by cornering state monopolies. He founded Thai Rak Thai (Thais Love Thais) in 1998, and its rapid emergence transformed Thai politics. Mr Thaksin swept into office in 2001,

soundly defeating the old guard from the Democrat Party. Poorer voters liked his offers of cheap medical care and debt relief, his nationalist platform and his contempt for the "Bangkok elite". But big business also liked him for his CEO style of government and his "Thaksinomics" policies which created a new boom in the country where the Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s began. Mr Thaksin also won support for his handling of the tsunami relief effort after the 2004 Indian Ocean disaster, which devastated parts of south-western Thailand. Other things were not so easy. He had to face the fallout from his government's suppression of news of an outbreak of bird flu, as well as criticism over the violent deaths of more than 2,500 people during a crackdown on drugs in 2003. Thailand's Corruption Commission found he had failed to declare all of his wealth, and he was also criticised over the government's handling of the upsurge in violence in the largely Muslim south. Yet each time he faced pressure, Mr Thaksin appeared to ride out the storm, his backing among his key supporters - Thailand's rural voters - apparently unscathed."

Samak Sundaravej.

The *New York Times*, September 9, 2008, "Thai Leader Is Ordered to Resign." `http://www.nytimes.com/2008/09/10/world/asia/10thai.html?_r=1&ei=5070&emc=eta1&oref=slogin`

"Prime Minister Samak Sundaravej was forced from office on Tuesday when a court ruled that he had violated the Constitution by accepting payments to appear on cooking shows while in office. His party said it would name Mr. Samak to succeed himself, a move that seemed to defy the spirit of the court ruling and to ensure that Thailand's political crisis would continue. ... The confrontation has hobbled the government, hit financial markets, damaged the country's vital tourist trade and raised fears of violence or a possible military coup. "P.P.P. will propose Samak as prime minister on the grounds that he's the party leader, and the wrongdoing was petty and not triggered by mismanagement," said Witthaya Buranasiri, an official of Mr. Samak's People Power Party. Mr. Samak made no immediate comment, but he has said he would abide by the court's ruling. Parliament is scheduled to choose a new prime minister on Friday, with all parties eligible to put forward candidates. ... The protesters accuse Mr. Samak of corruption and incompetence and say he is a stand-in for former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, who was ousted in a coup two years ago this month. Mr. Thaksin is in London, where he is seeking political asylum in an attempt to evade corruption charges. He says the charges are politically motivated. ... Until a new prime minister is seated, an interim government will be led by a brother-in-law of Mr. Thaksin, Deputy Prime Minister Somchai Wongsawat, who is also minister of education. ..."

2.174 CAMBODIA (KAMPUCHEA)

CAM-1953 811 CAM Sihanouk 09/11/1953 18/03/1970

Overthrown by defense minister while out of the country. New York Times 19 March, 1970, Lentz 1994, p. 129. Exile in China.

CAM-1970 811 CAM Lon Nol 18/03/1970 10/04/1975

Rulers.org notes: "He entered the French colonial service (1937), becoming a magistrate, then governor of Kratie province (1945), head of the national police (1945, 1951), and governor of Battambang province (1947, 1954). He joined the army as lieutenant colonel (1952) and led a successful campaign against the insurgent Viet Minh as an area commander. He became army chief of staff (1955) and commander in chief (1960) and rose to the rank of lieutenant general in 1961. He was defense minister (1956, 1958, 1959-66), deputy premier (1963-66), and premier (1966-67), resigning after a serious car accident left him hospitalized for several months. He returned to the cabinet as defense minister in 1968 and one year later regained the premiership, also keeping the defense portfolio until 1971. He was a prime architect of the March 1970 coup that overthrew Norodom Sihanouk as head of state. Abandoning Sihanouk's policy of neutrality in the Indochina war, he established close ties with the United States and South Vietnam, permitting their forces to operate on Cambodian territory. The U.S. bombing raids against Vietcong bases in Cambodia resulted in growing alienation of the peasants, and the Communist Khmer Rouge grew from about 3,000 guerrillas to 30,000. After a heart attack in 1971 he resigned (and was raised to the rank of marshal), but it was decided that he should remain titular premier, and he soon took full power again. In March 1972, he installed himself as president. On April 1, 1975, with Khmer Rouge insurgents only a few miles from the capital, he left the country. He lived first in Hawaii but moved to California in 1979."

Flees after Khmer Rouge close in on capital. *The New York Times* 13 April, 1975, p. 1. Exile to Bali then Honolulu.

CAM-1975 811 CAM Pol Pot 11/04/1975 07/01/1979

Vietnam invades Cambodia — nominally, there are Cambodian resistant fighters involved in capturing Phom Phen, but the military victory is achieved by the use of 13 Vietnamese divisions. New York Times 1 January, 1979, p. A1.

CAM-1979 811 CAM Heng Samrin 07/01/1979 14/01/1985

For being OK, see ***Keesing's*** Vol.33 April, 1987.

CAM-1985 811 CAM Hun Sen 14/01/1985 21/09/1993

Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, June 30, 1994, Vol. 157, Iss. 26, pp.14-16. Leader of the CCP, lost the elections and forced a power-sharing agreement with the election victors, Funcinpec and its leader Ranaridh. "But deep mistrust continues to divide the two parties, and the CPP has successfully maneuvered to retain real control over the military, state administration, provincial structures and security services."

Rulers.org reports his birthday as 5 August, 1952, with this footnote: "His birthday was long thought to be April 4, 1951. But on his supposed 53rd birthday in 2004, he declared that his true birthday was Aug. 5, 1952. He had forgotten his real birth date and

misreported it in official documents when he became a soldier in 1970." Rulers.org also reports: "On July 5, 1997, Hun Sen ordered troops to attack the stronghold of Ranariddh. He and his party named a token FUNCINPEC official, Ung Huot, to replace the prince as first prime minister, but Hun Sen continued his tactics of domination and intimidation. In 1998 he became sole prime minister. King Sihanouk awarded him the honorary title of Samdech in 1993." We drop the period of supposed co-equal prime ministers, because Hun Sen still held most power and out-maneuvered Ranaridhh. See below.

CAM-1993 811 CAM Ranariddh 21/09/1993 06/07/1997

San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 18, 1993, p. A.10 "Cambodia's two major political parties agreed yesterday that Prince Norodom Ranariddh should be the principal civilian leader of Cambodia's first postwar government, with his 70-year-old father, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, restored as king. The agreement will end an interim arrangement in which Prince Ranariddh, the French-educated legal scholar who leads the royalist party that won national elections in May, has shared power equally with Hun Sen, the leader of the rival political party and the former prime minister in the Vietnamese-installed government that came to power in 1979. Under the new agreement, Prince Ranariddh will assume the title first president, with Hun Sen his chief deputy, or second president. Hun Sen, whose party came in second in the elections, initially said he and Prince Ranariddh should continue to have equal authority and the same title. ... Even though Hun Sen agreed yesterday to a demotion, he and his party, the Cambodian People's Party, will doubtless continue to wield significant power, since they command the loyalty of much of the army and the police. Hun Sen said yesterday that while he will now have a lesser title, he will have a say in all major decisions of the new government. "The working system will not change," he said. "The only change is the new title." Prince Ranariddh agreed that Hun Sen will maintain broad authority. "I will continue to implement the consensus rule," the prince said. "I have to have the consent of Hun Sen."" He lost standoff with Hun Sen and fled.

CAM-1997 811 CAM Hun Sen 06/07/1997 31/12/2004

Rulers.org reports: "On July 5, 1997, Hun Sen ordered troops to attack the stronghold of Ranariddh. He and his party named a token FUNCINPEC official, Ung Huot, to replace the prince as first prime minister, but Hun Sen continued his tactics of domination and intimidation. In 1998 he became sole prime minister. King Sihanouk awarded him the honorary title of Samdech in 1993."

He assumed control when Ranariddh fled, questionable but probably regular.

2.175 LAOS

LAO-1951 812 LAO Souvanna Phouma 21/11/1951 25/11/1954

Rulers.org notes: "One of 23 children of Viceroy Boun Khong, he helped set up a provisional government at the end of World War II. The return of French troops drove him into a three-year exile (1946-49). During his first term as prime minister he successfully negotiated the country's independence in 1953. In his second term he achieved, if only temporarily, one of his basic goals - formation of a "government of national union." Afterwards he became ambassador to France (1958-59). A moderate conservative and nationalist, he tried to steer a centre course between the various factions within the country and the foreign powers directly or indirectly involved in the affairs of the region. In 1960 he led the government for four months before he had to flee to Cambodia. Bitter over U.S. intervention on behalf of the Laotian rightists, he set up a new capital at Ban Khangkhai on the Plain of Jars and arranged for Soviet and Chinese aid. In 1961 and 1962 a series of meetings between Prince Souphanouvong and Prince Boun Oum led eventually to the Geneva agreement of 1962, which created a coalition government led by Souvanna Phouma. His efforts to maintain neutrality were in vain, and he came to lean more and more on the U.S., while the leftist Pathet Lao stepped up its offensive. Corruption increased in Laos, as did U.S. and Thai influence. As the U.S. withdrew from the region, he led a final coalition in 1974-75. After the Communists took over in Saigon, the Pathet Lao quickly established itself in Vientiane, and Souvanna Phouma was retired with the nominal title of government adviser."

Lentz: remained in the government as deputy PM and minister of defense.

LAO-1954 812 LAO Katay Don Sasorith 25/11/1954 21/03/1956

Lentz: Katay Sosorith remained in the Souvanna government as deputy PM and also served as minister of the interior and justice. He died, December 29, 1959.

LAO-1956 812 LAO Souvanna Phouma 21/03/1956 22/07/1958

Lentz: Subsequently sent to France to serve as Laos's ambassador. Can't find a reference on that. He seems to have been OK, nevertheless. For his obituary, see *The New York Times*, Jan 11, 1984, p. D. 19.

LAO-1958 812 LAO Sananikone 15/08/1958 31/12/1959

Los Angeles Times, December 31, 1959, p. 1: "Vientiane, Laos, Dec. 31 (Thursday). Prime Minister Phoui Sananikone and his cabinet submitted a mass resignation to King Sawang Watthana of Laos today. Informed sources said the king rejected the resignations and ordered the Phoui cabinet to remain in office until April general elections." *The New York Times*, Dec. 31, 1959, p. 3 notes "Mr. Phoui's resignation followed the death Tuesday of Deputy Premier Katay Don Sasorith. Mr. Katay was president of the ruling Rally of the Lao People (R. L. P.) party, which controls thirty-six seats in the fifty-nine-member National Assembly. Mr. Phoui, the party vice president, has the personal allegiance of only about a fourth of the party. Following Mr. Katay's death, members of the right-wing opposition, the Committee for Defense of the National Interest (C.D.I.N.) predicted that Mr. Phoui would resign and then seek an alliance with them."

On the other hand, see, *The New York Times*, Jan. 1, 1960, p. 1 and in particular *The New York Times*, Jan. 4, 1960, p. 4. "Military in Laos Tightens Control." Which

reports "Vientiane, Laos, Jan. 3 - This Buddhist kingdom is now under control of the Laotian army. But the army denies that it has carried out a coup. Brig. Gen. Phoumi Nosavan, Laotian strong man and one of the leaders of the reform group known as the Committee for the Defense of the National Interest said in an interview: "Laos has been without a civilian government since New Year's Day, when the resignation of Premier Phoui Sananikone was accepted by King Savang Vathana. The resignation is reported to have resulted from pressure by the reform group. A dispute arose over what the group considered to be appeasement by Mr. Phoui toward the Communists and over his interpretation of the electoral law. General Phoumi labeled as Communist propaganda charges that the army had staged a coup and that supporters of the former Premier were in danger. The general said: "We are in power at present only because the National Assembly is taking an unconstitutional attitude toward the electoral law. Under the Constitution the National Assembly and he Government should have terminated Dec. 25 when their four-year mandate expired. When the National Assembly is willing to dissolve and permit the King to act constitutionally and appoint a provisional Government prior to holding national elections, then we will be more than willing to had back the reins of power to the civilians." Premier Phoui, with the support of the Assembly, contended that, despite the end of their terms Dec. 25, the Cabinet and the Assembly could continue to function until the next election. The Committee for the Defense of the National Interest, seven of whose members held Cabinet seats, had insisted that the Government must go out of existence Dec. 25 and had demanded immediate elections. As a result of the dispute the reform group's members resigned from the Cabinet Dec. 15. The Premier is said to have felt elections were not possible at present because of the state of insecurity caused by the rebellion started last August by the pro-Communist Pathet Lao. General Phoumi contended that elections were possible and that a democratic form of government could solve the problem of Communist infiltration. The general said the military would take over the Prime Minister's office until the crisis was resolved. Meanwhile, troops are patrolling Vientiane streets and guarding all major installations, including cable and wireless offices."

Based on this later and fuller report, we code his exit as irregular. Lentz: Goes into exile in Thailand following the Communist takeover in May of 1975, then goes into exile in France.

LAO-1959 812 LAO Nosavan 31/12/1959 07/01/1960

For entry, see *The New York Times*, Jan. 4, 1960, p. 4. "Military in Laos Tightens Control." Lentz: Rose to become chief of staff of the anti French revolutionary forces. ... Served in the Og Long government as minister of national defense, and remained a powerful figure in government until Captain Kong led a neutralist military coup in August 1960. Leads a revolt against Kon Le. (see *The New York Times*, Aug 12, 1960, p. 3. The *Washington Post*, Aug. 27, p. A4.) Briefly served in the Souvanna Phouma coalition cabinet.

LAO-1960-1 812 LAO Kou Abhay Og Long 07/01/1960 31/05/1960

For entry, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 6, February 1960. Nothing on his fate.

Kou Abhay Og Long ruled between 7 Jan 1960 - 3 Jun 1960. (b. 1892 - d. 19..). He was the head of an interim government, charged with preparing for new elections. His party won all 59 seats. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 6. (1960) suggest this was NOT a coup.

So does Lentz. "General elections were held in Laos on April 24 and May 8, all the 59 seats in the National Assembly being won by supporters of groups represented in the outgoing caretaker Government led by M. Kou Abhay–a right-wing coalition composed chiefly of members of the Committee for the Defence of National Interests (C.D.I.N., the strongly anti-Communist group supported by Laotian Army leaders) and of the conservative Laotian People's Rally. All the nine candidates presented by the extreme-left Neo Lao Haksat (led by Prince Souphanou-vong-elow) were unsuccessful, as were the ten candidates of the neutralist left-wing Santiphab Phenk Kang led by M. Quinim Pholsena. ... The caretaker government resigned on May 30 and a new coalition government was formed on June 2 by Prince Tiao Somsanith, who also retained the Interior portfolio which he had held under M. Kou Abhay-. The other Ministers were: M. Khamphan Panya–Foreign Affairs; General Phoumi Nosavan–Defence, Sports, Youth, and Ex-servicemen; M. Inpeng Suryadhay–Finance and Planning; M. Keo Viphakorn –Economy and Rural Affairs; M. Ngon Sananikone–Justice; M. Koukeo Saycocile–Health; M. Phanga Nith Singharaj–Public Works, Posts and Telegraphs; M. Nhouy Kou Abhay-Education; M. Leuam Insisiengmay–Information. The Cabinet comprised seven members of the Paxasangkhom, two Independents (M. Nhouy Abhay and M. Leuam Insisiengmay), and one member of the Laotian People's Rally (M. Ngon Sananikone). Five Ministers had been members of the caretaker government, though with changed portfolios in some cases." Coup attempt against Prince Souvannah, 19 April 1964 - May 1964. Fails.

LAO-1960-2 812 LAO Somsanith 31/05/1960 09/08/1960

Prince Tiaio Somsanith. For his entry by means of an election, see Keesing's Record of World Events (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 6, June, 1960 Laos, Page 17476 1931-2006 Keesing's Worldwide, LLC - All Rights Reserved. Jun 1960 - General Election. - New Government. - Escape of Prince Souphanouvong.

"General elections were held in Laos on April 24 and May 8, all the 59 seats in the National Assembly being won by supporters of groups represented in the outgoing caretaker Government led by M. Kou Abhaya right-wing coalition composed chiefly of members of the Committee for the Defence of National Interests (C.D.I.N., the strongly anti-Communist group supported by Laotian Army leaders) and of the conservative Laotian People's Rally. All the nine candidates presented by the extrme-left Neo Lao Haksat (led by Prince Souphanouvongsee below) were unsuccessful, as were the ten candidates of the neutralist left-wing Santiphab Phenk Kang led by M. Quinim Pholsena.

Exact evaluation of the respective strength of the victorious groups in the new Assembly was made difficult by the fact that many of their candidates stood officially as Independents. On May 2, however, after the first ballot, a new political partythe Democratic Party for Social Progress, or Paxasangkhomwas formed under C.D.I.N. auspices; Prince Tiao Somsanith, formerly a member of the Laotian People's Rally, became leader of the new party's parliamentary group, which claimed the support of 32 members of the new Assembly.

Among the other successful candidates were two leaders of the Laotian People's Rally and former Prime Ministers, M. Phoui Sananikone and Prince Souvanna Phouma (who was elected president of the Assembly at its opening session on May 25), as well as one of the leading figures in the C.D.I.N., M. Khamphan Panya (Foreign Minister in the caretaker Government); the outgoing Defence Minister, General Phoumi Nosavan, regarded as the principal C.D.I.N. leader, was not a candidate for election. A notable feature of

the elections was the size of the pro-government majorities in individual constituencies, one of the largest being that of an Army-supported candidate who polled 18,189 votes against 11 for an Independent and four for the Neo Lao Haksat candidate."

See for him being OK, *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 24, 1960, p. 12 and in particular *The New York Times*, Aug 16, 1960, p. 1 "Laotian Neutralist Is Named Premier" continued on p. 8. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 7 March 1961 which lists that he led a parliamentary delegation on November 30 1960. See also: Vol. 6 (1960). Removed in a Military coup led by neutralist Kong Le, Lentz 1994, p. 501. He was fine post tenure. Later on he lives outside his country, so maybe he was exiled later.

LAO-1960-3 812 LAO Kong Le 09/08/1960 15/08/1960

Lentz: A Captain in the Military. For his entry, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Aug. 12, 1960, p. A12 and The *Washington Post*, Times Herald, Aug. 11, p. A9. The latter notes he is "a veteran of a military indoctrination course at Fort Benning, Ga. ...," Had received further training the United States and the Philippines in 1957. For his exit, see *The New York Times*, Aug. 17, 1960, p. 14. "Laotian Premier Appoints Cabinet. ... Vientiane, Laos, Aug. 16 - Premier Souvanna Phouma .... Offered the Cabinet after Capt. Kong Le, whose rebel force seized the administrative capital a week ago, succeeded in removing Oune Sananikone as Assembly President. ... Captian Kong Le and armed guards attended the session. ... A crowd around the Assembly protested the delay in voting on the Cabinet, but the Assembly nevertheless recessed. Captain Kong Le marched at the head of a small procession of demonstrators from the Assembly through the city and back to his headquarters. He expressed approval of the new Government, which is regarded by observers here as relatively undistinguished except for Prince Souvanna Phouma." Hence, he is coded as leaving office in a regular manner.

Keesing's Vol. 6, October 1960 reports: "Captain Kong Lae was placed under two week's "technical arrest" by the Prime Minister on Oct. 18 for his action in organizing, on his own initiative, a special welcome for the Soviet Ambassador at Vientiane airport on Oct. 13. Prince Souvanna explained that Captain Kong Lae would not be placed under any restraint during the period of his arrest and would continue to carry out his military duties, but that the punishment would be entered in his record. (Le Monde, Paris - Times - Daily Telegraph - Guardian - *The New York Times*)"

Keesing's Vol. 7, March 1961 shows him still fighting, and in Dec. 10 becoming second vice-president. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 27, November 1981 reports he had gone into exile in 1966. Lentz reports, "The assassination of Colonel Ketsana Vongsouvan, Kong Le's chief of staff, on February 12, 1963, led to a schism in the neutralist forces, and Kong Le was forced into exile in Paris the following year." See *Los Angeles Times*, April 20, 1964, p.1, continued p. 18 which says the leader of Pathet Lao asks Gen Kong Le to cooperate resolutely, so he must have been in the country.

Kong Le, in 1966 was dismissed as army chief and left the country, now lives in exile, primarily in the United States.

LAO-1960-4 812 LAO Souvanna Phouma 15/08/1960 10/12/1960

For meeting between Phoumi Nosavan and Souvanna Phouma, in Pnompenh, Cambodia, March 1961 and Phouma's exile there, see *The New York Times*, March 10, 1961, p. 3, also, ***Keesing's*** Vol. 7, March 1961. Removed in a rightists military coup, Lentz 1994, p. 499.

LAO-1960-5 812 LAO Boun Oum 13/12/1960 22/06/1962

Phoumi Nosavan is Deputy PM and Defence Minister. Probably the regime's strong man and real power (See The *Washington Post*, Aug 28, 1962, p. A8.) See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 7, March 1961. Lentz: "Boun Oum left Laos for Thailand in 1974 as the Pathet Lao became more dominant in the government. When the Pathet Lao abolished the monarchy in December of 197, Boun Oum went into exile in Paris. He was tried in absentia by the government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and sentenced to death." Date of judgment is Sept. 4, 1975. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 22, January, 1967. For him being OK, see also, *The New York Times*, Feb 9, 1965, p. 11. Also, ***Keesing's*** Vol. 10, October, 1964.

LAO-1962 812 LAO Souvanna Phouma 24/06/1962 19/04/1964

Had degrees (in France) in architecture and electrical engineering.

Keesing's Vol. 10, October, 1964, reports: "In the early hours of April 19, 1964, a right-wing military junta, led by General Khouprasith Abhay (commander of the Vientiane military region) and General Siho Lanphouthacoul (commander of the right-wing military police), seized control in Vientiane and placed Prince Souvanna and the neutralist members of his Government under house arrest. Troops and police had taken up their positions during the previous night, erected barricades across the roads leading Gilt of the town, and occupied the airport. Sporadic firing took place between 2 and 4.30 a.m. on April 19 as the troops guarding the neutralist Ministers tried to resist those sent to arrest them, but the only persons killed were two members of the military police. No attempt was made to arrest the Pathet Lao Secretaries of State, who were protected by the I.C.C.'s guards. A communiqué broadcast at 8 a.m. announced that a "Revolutionary Committee of the National Army" had taken over the powers previously held by the Government; according to a subsequent statement, the committee consisted of 18 generals and 58 other officers, with General Khouprasith as chairman and General Siho as vice-chairman. During the morning a statement alleged to have been issued by Prince Souvanna was broadcast, in which he announced that he had resigned his powers to the Revolutionary Committee. General Khouprasith, who is the son of a former Premier, M. Kou Abhay, took a prominent part in the battle for Vientiane in 1960, ..."

Coup is also reported in *The New York Times*, April 19, 1964, p. 1. It is reported as collapsing the day after in *Los Angeles Times*, April 20, 1964, p.1, which also reports: "The diplomatic reports late Sunday said Souvanna had been released from house arrest by the coup leader, Gen. Kouprasith Abhay, and was on his way to the Plain of Jars for a conference. Gen. Kouprasith reportedly had apologized for the coup attempt and was included in the conference party.

LAO-1964-1 812 LAO Kouprasith 19/04/1964 20/04/1964

Son of previous ruler: Kou Abhay.

Keesing's Vol. 10, October, 1964, reports: "In the early hours of April 19, 1964, a right-wing military junta, led by General Khouprasith Abhay (commander of the Vientiane military region) and General Siho Lanphouthacoul (commander of the right-wing military police), seized control in Vientiane and placed Prince Souvanna and the neutralist members of his Government under house arrest. Troops and police had taken up their positions during the previous night, erected barricades across the roads leading Gilt of the town, and occupied the airport. Sporadic firing took place between 2 and 4.30 a.m. on April 19 as the troops guarding the neutralist Ministers tried to resist those

sent to arrest them, but the only persons killed were two members of the military police. No attempt was made to arrest the Pathet Lao Secretaries of State, who were protected by the I.C.C.'s guards. A communiqué broadcast at 8 a.m. announced that a "Revolutionary Committee of the National Army" had taken over the powers previously held by the Government; according to a subsequent statement, the committee consisted of 18 generals and 58 other officers, with General Khouprasith as chairman and General Siho as vice-chairman. During the morning a statement alleged to have been issued by Prince Souvanna was broadcast, in which he announced that he had resigned his powers to the Revolutionary Committee. General Khouprasith, who is the son of a former Premier, M. Kou Abhay, took a prominent part in the battle for Vientiane in 1960, ..."

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For his entry-and leadership of the coup-see Chicago Tribune, April. 20, 1964, p. 1 "Report Coup Fails in Laos." Which also notes that "Gen. Phoumi Nosava ... was not mentioned among the leaders of the coup." See also *The New York Times*, Apr. 20, 1964, p. 14. "Key Figure in Laos Kouprasith Abhay" which has lots of detail on him. "He is thought to be about 37 or 38. ... His father was the late Kou Abhay, who was President of the King's Council and one of the country's most respected men."

For him being OK after the coup, see *Los Angeles Times*, April 29, 1965, p. 30 which reports he commanded government operations against rightist rebels. See also *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 25, 1964, p. A5.

LAO-1964-2 812 LAO Souvanna Phouma 20/04/1964 02/12/1975

Lentz: Served as advisor to the next government. On him being OK, see his obituary, *The New York Times*, Jan 11, 1984, p. D.19. The *Washington Post*, Jan 11, 1984, p. B6 reports that during this episode of tenure, in 1974, he had suffered a severe heart attack. Entry this second time is regular because coup collapses and country reverts back to legitimate ruler. King abdicates after communists win civil war with Northern Vietnamese military assistance, `http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/laos.htm`.

Rulers.org notes "As the U.S. withdrew from the region, he led a final coalition in 1974-75. After the Communists took over in Saigon, the Pathet Lao quickly established itself in Vientiane, and Souvanna Phouma was retired with the nominal title of government adviser."

LAO-1975 812 LAO Phomivihane 02/12/1975 25/11/1992

msn.encarta.com: New Constitution comes into effect in 1992, and president becomes main executive. Kaysone Phomvihane: dies a natural death in office on 21 November.

LAO-1992 812 LAO Phounsavanh 25/11/1992 24/02/1998

Reports suggest aging and that he was fine after losing power. ALso spelled as Nouhak Phoumsavan. For his entry, see *New Yrork Times*, November 26, 1992, p. A. 11 "Laos Reports a Hard-liner is Named to Leader's Post."

LAO-1998 812 LAO Siphandon 24/02/1998 31/12/2004

For his succession, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 44, February 1998.

2.176 VIETNAM

Sources on Vietnam include: Nguyen-Van-Thai and Nguyen-Van-Mung, *A Short History of Viet-Nam*, Saigon: The Times Publishing Company, 1958. Joseph Buttinger, *The Smaller Dragon, a political history of Vietnam*, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958. Danny J. Whitfield, *Historical and Cultural Dictionary of Vietnam*, Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1976 William Duiker, *Historical Dictionary of Vietnam*, Lanham, Md.: The Scarecrow Press, 1998

VNM-1847 815 VNM Tu Duc 10/11/1847 17/07/1883

Nguyen & Nguyen: Second son of Thieu-Tri. His older brother was forced to drink poison. His accession marks the abandonment of the primogeniture tradition. Exit date is also from Nguyen & Nguyen. Names of Kings come from Nguyen & Nguyen, p. 226. The *Washington Post*, Aug 4, 1883, p.1 reports that "Aug. 3. - A dispatch from Saigon of to-day's date states that Tuduc, the king of Annam, died on the 20th of July, and was succeeded by Phudac."

VNM-1883-1 815 VNM Duc Duc 20/07/1883 23/07/1883

Nguyen & Nguyen: p. 285-6: "Tu-Duc had no sons, but had adopted three of his nephews: Duc-Duc, Chanh-Mong, and Duong-Thien. According to the Imperial testament, Duc-Duc should have become emperor, with Tran-Tien-Thanh, Nguyen-Van-Tuong, and Ton-That-Thuyet acting as Regents. It was stated in the testament that Duc-Duc, the oldest of the three adopted sons, should succeed to the throne in spite of his eye infirmity and of his loose character, because the country needed an adult ruler. On the occasion of the enthronement ceremony, Ton-That-Thuyet and Nguyen-Van-Tuong, on the basis of this phrase, dismissed the meeting of the court and postponed the decision to another meeting, held three days later. They made public the repudiation of Duc-Duc contained in the testament. ... The youngest brother of Tu-Duc, Hong-Dai, was proclaimed Emperor under the name of Hiep-Hoa. Duc-Duc's fate was prison, where he died." Rulers.org has him dying in 1883.

VNM-1883-2 815 VNM Hiep Hoa 30/07/1883 29/11/1883

See above on his irregular entry. Brother of Tu-Duc. Rulers.org: Often referred to as Hiep Hoa. *The New York Times*, December 14, 1883, p.1 reports: Paris, Dec. 13. - The Paris publishes a telegram from Saigon stating that a revolution has taken place at Hue, and that the King of Annam has been killed. The Ministry have no information relative to the report. London, Dec. 13, – A Hong Kong dispatch to Reuter's Telegram Company says it is stated that that Hiephema, King of Annam, has been poisoned by the anti-French party at Hue. ... London, Dec. 14. - A dispatch to the Standard from Hanoi dated Dec. 5 confirms the reports of the breaking out of a revolution at Hue and the poisoning of King Hiephema. The new King of Annam is Tiephoa.

Nguyen & Nguyen, p. 286: "Thuyet and Tuong ... requested the Queen Mother, mother of Tu-Duc, to repudiate Hiep-Hoa and enthrone Duong-Thien, youngest of the three adopted sons of Tu-Duc. Hiep-Hoa was forced to take poison; and Tran-Tien-Thanh, who refused to endorse Hiep-Hoa's repudiation, was assassinated on order of Thuyet and Tuong. Power then fell into the hands of Nguyen-Van-Tuong and Ton-That-Thuyet, for the Emperor Kien-Phuc, former Prince Duong Thien, was only fifteen years old."

VIE-1883 815 VIE Regency 02/12/1883 14/10/1885

Nguyen Van Tuong & Ton That Thuyet were in power from 2 December 1883 to 14 September 1885. The variable Born in is coded as missing, because there are two regents. Nguyen Van Tuong was born in 1824 and he died in 1886. Ton That Thuyet, was born in 1835 and he died in 1913.

Nguyen & Nguyen: (p.286-7) note that: "Power then fell into the hands of Nguyen-Van-Tuong and Ton-That-Thuyet, for the Emperor Kien-Phuc, former Prince Duong Thien, was only fifteen years old. Kien-Phuc reigned for six months before he died from illness. The throne should have legally passed to the remaining nephew, adopted son of Tu-Duc, Changh-Mong, but Thuyet and Tuong did not enthrone him. He was an adult, and they chose instead his twelve-year old brother, Ung-Lich, in order to keep the power in their own hands. Ung-Lich was given the royal name of Ham-Nghi." On p. 290, they note that the new treaty of June 6, 1884 between France and Vietnam was signed by the French Government and Nguyen-Van-Tuon, Pham-Than-Duat, and Ton-That-Phan for the Imperial Court. After the uprising of 5 July 1885, half of the Court officials, headed by Nguyen-Van-Tuong returned to Hue to surrender, and the other half, headed by Ton-That-Thuyet, took Emperor Ham-Nghi to the Jungle . . . to continue the fight. Tuon is order by the French to lure the King back. He fails and, p. 294, "he was exiled by the French to Tahiti two months later. There he died of illness." Eventually, Ton-That-Thuyet goes to China to ask for help.

Duiker, 2nd edition also notes that: Nguyen Puoc Minh, better known as Ham Nghi, fled the imperial palace to launch a movement of anti-French resistance in July. Brother of Emperor Kien Phuc. He rose to the throne at age 12. "In July 1885 he fled the capital of Hue with Regent Ton That Thuyet to launch the Can Vuong resistance movement against French occupation. In September he was replaced on the throne by his brother Dong Khanh. Captured in November 1888, Ham Nghi was sent to live out his life in exile in Algeria, and he died there in 1947." (p.91)

VNM-1885 815 VNM Dong Khanh 14/10/1885 28/01/1889

Nguyen & Nguyen, (p.29-7) notes that: "On September 14, 1885, while Ham-Nghi was still at large the French proclaimed Chanh-Month Emperor under the Royal name of Dong-Khanh. The new ruler proved to be obedient and compliant to French rule. Nephew of Emperor Tu Duc and an elder brother of Emperor Ham Nghi. Note that Duiker also records him in power until 1889, but Whitfield has him dying in January 1888.

The *Washington Post*, March 10, 1889, p. 1 notes: "San Francisco, March 9. - The Courier de Haiphong of January 31 says, Emperor Dong Kanh of Annam died suddenly at Hue. It is not known whether his death was from natural causes or the result of a police revolution."

VNM-1889 815 VNM Thanh Thai 01/02/1889 03/09/1907

Nguyen Phuoc Buu Lan Thanh Thai. Son of Emperor Duc-Duc. Nguyen & Nguyen, p. 297: On January 28, 1888 [HG: sic], a little over two years from the time of his enthronement, Dong-Khanh died. The then French Resident Superior in Hue, Rheinart, established Duc-Duc's son Buu-Lan on the throne under the royal name of Thanh-Thai. Buu-Lan was in prison with his mother when the Court representatives came to release him and put him on the throne. As he was then only ten years old, Nguyen-Trong-Hop and Truong-Quang-Dan became regents. Exiled to Reunion. Thanh Thai was exiled first

to Vung Tau and then to Reunion Island in 1916. In 1945 he was allowed to return home but was kept under house arrest in Vung Tau, South Vietnam. French colonialization

2.177 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

DRV-1945 816 DRV Ho Chi Minh 02/09/1945 03/09/1969
He died a natural death.

DRV-1969 816 DRV Le Duan 03/09/1969 10/07/1986
He died a natural death.

DRV-1986-1 816 DRV Truong Chinh 10/07/1986 18/12/1986
Lentz: Remained President until June 18th, 1987.

DRV-1986-2 816 DRV Nguyen Van Linh 18/12/1986 27/06/1991
Dies April 27, 1998. For his OK fate, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 44, April, 1998, also Vol. 43, December 1997, and in particular, Vol. 38, May, 1992.

DRV-1991 816 DRV Do Muoi 27/06/1991 29/12/1997
Appointed afterwards as advisor to the central committee, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 43, December 1997.

DRV-1997 816 DRV Phieu 29/12/1997 22/04/2001
For his entry, and him being a General, and conservative hardliner, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 43, December 1997. For him being OK, suggested by: "The lessons of Le Kha Phieu: Changing rules in Vietnamese politics," in *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, April 2002, Vol. 24, Iss. 1, pp.121-146.

DRV-2001 816 DRV Nong Duc Manh 23/04/2001 31/12/2004
For his entry, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 47, April 2001.

2.178 REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

RVN-1954-1 817 RVN Pham Buu Loc 12/01/1954 16/06/1954

Is cousin of emperor Bao Dai. Welcomes Diem back to Saigon on 25th of June. No info on his fate.

RVN-1954-2 817 RVN Quat 16/06/1954 26/06/1954

Lentz reports that he "briefly served as acting premier in 1954. He was involved in an unsuccessful coup attempt against President Ngo Dinh Diem in 1960 and was imprisoned until Diem's ouster in 1963."

RVN-1954-3 817 RVN Ngo Dinh Diem 26/06/1954 01/11/1963

Rulers.org has Quat as interim PM, 16 June - 26 June 1954. The *Washington Post* and Times Herald, June 17, 1954, p.4 reports that Ngo Dinh Diem was asked to form a government on the 16th. Lentz also does NOT insert Quat (although mentions it later in entry for Quat), but has a three day interim between Buu Loc and Diem. The *Washington Post* and Times Herald, June 26, 1954, p.5: Diem as out of the country in Paris on the 25th. He is welcomed on the plane by Buu Loc. Murdered in a military coup, *The New York Times* 2 November, 1963, p. 1.

RVN-1963 817 RVN Minh 01/11/1963 30/01/1964

Military coup by General Nguyen Khanh; exile 25 October 1964. See *The New York Times*, October 25, 1964, p.1 "Vietnam Council Chooses Civilian as Chief of State. ...." Also Lentz 1994, p. 828.

RVN-1964-1 817 RVN Khahn 30/01/1964 04/11/1964

The New York Times, October 25, 1964, p.1 "Vietnam Council Chooses Civilian as Chief of State. ...Mr. Suu is designating Tran Van Huong, a 61-year-old nationalist politician and former Mayor of Saigon, as Premier. Mr. Huong replaces Maj. Gen. Nguyen Khanh, who has led a caretaker government since he was forced to step down amid rioting and confusion in Saigon late in August. ...Demands for civilian government were raised by Buddhist and student groups during the August riots. Their outcry was taken up by militant political movements, including those of Buddhist intellectuals at the universities of Hue and Saigon. General Khanh bowed to these demands by promising to step down as Premier and to resume his purely military duties."

RVN-1964-2 817 RVN Van Huong 04/11/1964 26/01/1965

Military takeover after Buddhist anti-government demonstrations, *The New York Times* 27 January, 1965, p. 1; Lentz 1994, p. 830. Unsuccessful candidate for the presidency in 1967.

Immediate post-exit fate is unclear; he serves as Prime Minister in 1969.

For the looming threat of a coup, see, for example, *Los Angeles Times*, January 25, 1966, p.1 "Viet General Narrowly Avert Another Coup." This is the day before his ouster.

For his ouster in a coup d'état, see *The New York Times*, January 28, 1965, p. 1 "Khanh Names Civilian Premier; Buddhists Halt Demonstrations." "Lieut. Gen. Nguyen Khanh declared today that the armed forces had assumed national sovereignty but would restrict their role to that of a mediating one in the political crisis confronting South

Vietnam. General Khanh, the commander in chief, said at a new conference that two of the leaders of the Huong Government, which was toppled yesterday in an army coup d'état, would remain on in caretaker roles until the formation of a new government."

RVN-1965-1 817 RVN Khahn 26/01/1965 20/02/1965

For his entry through a coup d'état, see *The New York Times*, January 28, 1965, p. 1 "Khanh Names Civilian Premier; Buddhists Halt Demonstrations." "Lieut. Gen. Nguyen Khanh declared today that the armed forces had assumed national sovereignty but would restrict their role to that of a mediating one in the political crisis confronting South Vietnam. General Khanh, the commander in chief, said at a new conference that two of the leaders of the Huong Government, which was toppled yesterday in an army coup d'état, would remain on in caretaker roles until the formation of a new government."

Nguyen Khahn survives military coup, but is ousted by leadership of armed forces, *The New York Times* 21 February, 1965, p. 1. He became an ambassador, left the country, diplomatic exile. He was exiled in the US. (***Keesing's*** Vol. 11 (1965) September. The Military Directorate announced on Aug. 7 [1965, HG] that Lieut. General Nguyen Khanh (the former Prime Minister, who was living in the United States) had been removed from the active list and ordered to return to face an inquiry into corruption charges against him, and that General Pham Van Dong had been dismissed from the Army. Major-General Do Cau Tri, who had gone into exile after being implicated in the coup of Sept. 13, 1964, was also ordered to face an inquiry into his conduct.)

For his ouster, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 11, April, 1965 South Vietnam, Page 20651. "The political situation in South Vietnam remained highly unstable throughout the period from November 1964 to March 1965, owing to the repeated intervention in politics of the armed forces, organized in a newly-formed Armed Forces Council. This body dissolved the High National Council (the nominated legislature) on Dec. 20, 1964, and overthrew M. Tran Van Huong's civilian Government on Jan. 27, 1965, after Buddhist leaders had organized a campaign of mass demonstrations against it. A new Cabinet was formed on Feb. 16 by Dr. Phan Huy Quat. An attempted coup by a group of officers in Saigon on Feb. 19 collapsed for lack of support; immediately after, however, the Armed Forces Council removed General Nguyen Khanh from his post as C.-in-C., replacing him by General Tran Van Minh, and forced him to leave the country."

RVN-1965-2 817 RVN Quat 20/02/1965 12/06/1965

For his entry, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 11, April, 1965 South Vietnam, Page 20651. "The political situation in South Vietnam remained highly unstable throughout the period from November 1964 to March 1965, owing to the repeated intervention in politics of the armed forces, organized in a newly-formed Armed Forces Council. This body dissolved the High National Council (the nominated legislature) on Dec. 20, 1964, and overthrew M. Tran Van Huong's civilian Government on Jan. 27, 1965, after Buddhist leaders had organized a campaign of mass demonstrations against it. A new Cabinet was formed on Feb. 16 by Dr. Phan Huy Quat. An attempted coup by a group of officers in Saigon on Feb. 19 collapsed for lack of support; immediately after, however, the Armed Forces Council removed General Nguyen Khanh from his post as C.-in-C., replacing him by General Tran Van Minh, and forced him to leave the country."

Removed because military takes over, *The New York Times* 12 June, 1965. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 27, April 1981 reports: "Dr Phan Huy Quat, the former leader of the right-wing Dai- Viet party, who served as the South Vietnamese Foreign Minister in 1964-65 and as Prime Minister for four months in 1965, died in Chi-Hoa prison on April 27, 1979." Phan Huy Quat ruled between 20/2/1965 and 12/6/1965. See, ***Keesing's*** Vol. 11 (1965).

For his exit see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 11, September, 1965 South Vietnam, Page 20981. "The civilian Government led by Dr. Phan Huy Quat decided on June 11 to hand over power to the military leaders, following a prolonged constitutional crisis which was intensified by Catholic agitation against the Government. A military junta headed by Major-General Nguyen Van Thieu then took power, and on June 19 a Cabinet was formed by Air Vice-Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky, commander of the Air Force. Details of these and other recent political developments in South Vietnam are given below."

For evidence this amounts to a coup, see *The New York Times*, June 12, 1965, p. 1. "Saigon's Premier Resigns, Yielding Rule To Generals." "SAIGON, South Vietnam, Saturday, June 12 –The generals of South Vietnam have once again taken power from the civilians by removing Premier Phan Huy Quat and Chief of State Phan Khac Suu. When a delegation of the country's military leaders called on the Premier last night to inform him of their decision, Dr. Quat submitted his resignation. Dr. Suu, whose disagreement with Dr. Quat had led to the intervention, also resigned along with the head of the National Legislative Council, Maj. Gen. Pham Xuan Chieu. The military leaders obtained the agreement of Dr. Quat, Dr. Suu and General Chieu to remain in their posts temporarily until replacements could be made. . . . Despite attempts to give the appearance of legality to the transfer of power, yesterday's actions constituted a military take-over much like the one that served to remove Premier Tran Van Huong last January. The generals had first moved against Dr. Quat yesterday by voting him from office with 9 ballots against him, 3 in his favor and 11 abstentions. A delegation then met for six hours with Premier Quat, Dr. Suu and other Cabinet officers. The resignations were announced shortly after midnight."

RVN-1965-3 817 RVN Van Thieu 14/06/1965 21/04/1975

For his entry, see See *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 11, September, 1965 South Vietnam, Page 20981. "The civilian Government led by Dr. Phan Huy Quat decided on June 11 to hand over power to the military leaders, following a prolonged constitutional crisis which was intensified by Catholic agitation against the Government. A military junta headed by Major-General Nguyen Van Thieu then took power, and on June 19 a Cabinet was formed by Air Vice-Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky, commander of the Air Force. Details of these and other recent political developments in South Vietnam are given below."

He resigned and fled to Taiwan. Resigns in the face of Northern Vietnamese military progress. Since there were two governments prior to Northern victory I code this as use of foreign force. Lentz 1994, p. 829.

RVN-1975 817 RVN Minh 28/04/1975 30/04/1975

Country incorporated in Democratic Republic; detained. South Vietnamese govt. surrenders to Northern troops. Since there were two governments prior to Northern victory I code this as use of foreign force. *The New York Times* 30 April 1975.

2.179 MALAYSIA

MAL-1957 820 MAL Rahman 31/08/1957 15/04/1959

Tuanku Abdul Rahman. Which is the same name as the President. Full name is Abdul Rahman ibni al-Marhum Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah. Lentz: Stepped down, and led the Alliance party in state elections.

MAL-1959-1 820 MAL Razak 15/04/1959 21/08/1959

Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein. Lentz: continued to serve as deputy prime minister.

MAL-1959-2 820 MAL Rahman 21/08/1959 22/09/1970

Tuanku Abdul Rahman. Which is the same name as the President. Full name is Abdul Rahman ibni al-Marhum Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah. Lentz: remained interested and wrote a weekly newspaper column until 1987.

MAL-1970 820 MAL Razak 22/09/1970 14/01/1976

Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein. Lentz: "Abdul Razak was hospitalized in London in December of 1975 for acute leukemia. He died in London at the age of 53 on January 14, 1976." Died suddenly.

MAL-1976 820 MAL Hussein Bin Onn 14/01/1976 16/07/1981

Lentz: educated locally and at the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dan. Studied law in London and returned to Malaya to establish a law practice. ...resigned from office on July 16, 1981, following a coronary bypass operation." ***Keesing's*** Vol. 27, September, 1981 reports: "Malaysia's federal Prime Minister since 1976, Datuk Hussein bin Onn (59), announced on May 15, 1981, that he would not stand for re-election as president of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO, the dominant component of the ruling National Front coalition) when the party held its general assembly in the following month, and that he would relinquish the federal premiership soon after the holding of that assembly. Datuk Hussein's decision was taken on health grounds following a six-week visit to the United Kingdom for medical treatment earlier in 1981 during which he had undergone a coronary by-pass operation on Feb. 7."

MAL-1981 820 MAL Mahatir Bin Mohammad 16/07/1981 31/10/2003

MAL-2003 820 MAL Ahmad Badawi 31/10/2003 31/12/2004

2.180 SINGAPORE

SIN-1959 830 SIN Lee Kuan Yew 05/06/1959 28/11/1990

Lentz: Lee was sworn in as prime minister on June 5, 1959. Lee led Singapore into a federation with Malaya, Sarawak, and Sabah to form Malaysia on September 16, 1963. Rivalry and conflicts between Lee and Malaysian prime minister Tunku Abdul Rahman resulted in Singapore withdrawing from Malaysia on August 9, 1965, and becoming an independent republic. Lee remained prime minister and his party retained power in general elections in 1968.

SIN-1990 830 SIN Goh Chok Tong 28/11/1990 12/08/2004

Goh Chok Tong is OK, after losing office. Rulers.org reports: Retiring on Aug. 12, 2004, he became senior minister and replaced new prime minister Lee Hsien Loong as chairman of the Monetary Authority of Singapore (central bank).

SIN-2004 830 SIN Lee Hsien Loong 12/08/2004 31/12/2004

Son of Lee Kuan Yew. Degree in Mathematics, Cambridge and Harvard educated. See
`http://www.ndtv.com/morenews/showmorestory.asp?slug=Lee+wins+Singapore+polls&id=87646`

2.181 BRUNEI

BRU-1967 835 BRU Muda H. B. M. Waddaulah 04/10/1967 31/12/2004

Full name: Muda Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzadin Waddaulah. Son of previous Sultan. Educated at Victoria Institute in Malaysia and Sandhurst Royal Military Academy in Great Britain.

2.182 PHILIPPINES

PHI-1946 840 PHI Roxas 04/07/1946 16/04/1948
Lentz: Degree in law. Heart attack.

PHI-1948 840 PHI Quirrino 16/04/1948 30/12/1953
Lentz: law degree. "Despite poor health, Quirino was a candidate for reelection in 1953. ... Magsaysay defeated Quirino, ... His health continued to deteriorate, and he died of a heart attack at his home in Novaliches at the age of 65 on February 28, 1956."

PHI-1953 840 PHI Magsaysay 30/12/1953 17/03/1957
Lentz: educated at the University of the Philippines and at the Jose Rizal College Institute of Commerce, where he graduated in 1932. He subsequently worked as an auto mechanic. .... He was killed when the C-47 twin-engine transport he was a passenger in exploded and crashed on Mt. Bago, hear Cebu City, on March 17, 1957." The *Washington Post* and Times Herald, March 18, 1957, p. A1 reports: "Philippines President Ramon Magsaysay and 24 other persons were killed Sunday in the flaming crash of the presidential C-47 airliner on a mountain on Cebu Island. Officials suspected sabotage." The *Washington Post* and Times Herald, March 21, 1957, p. A14 reports that Col. Richardo Papa, deputy constabulary chief said that evidence indicated no foul play was involved in the death of the president. But the article ends "Walker Stone, editor in chief of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, quoted Magsaysay as saying eight days ago: "They're going to try to bump me off in this (election) (campaign. They know they can't win if I live."" The *Washington Post* and Times Herald, April. 28, 1957, p. A6 reports that "The chief of the Philippine Constabulary said today that metal fatigue caused the plane crash in which President Ramon Magsaysay and 25 other persons died March 17. Brig. Gen. Manuel F. Cabal told a Senate investigating committee that the possibility of "direct or indirect" sabotage had been ruled out."

PHI-1957 840 PHI Garcia 17/03/1957 14/11/1961
For entry, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 18, 1957, p.6. He was a politician, poet, former law student and teacher. And Vice President. Lentz: Remained an influential figure and was chosen president of the Constitutional Convention in June of 1971. He died three days later of a heart attack at his home in Quezon City at the age of 74 on June 14, 1971.

PHI-1961 840 PHI Macapagal 14/11/1961 30/12/1965
Diosdado Macapagal. On his OK post tenure fate the year after out, see The *Washington Post*, Times Herald, March 12, 1966, p. A12 and Chicago Tribune, Dec. 15, 1968, p. A9.

PHI-1965 840 PHI Marcos 30/12/1965 25/02/1986
For his entry, see Los Angeles Times, November 14, 1965, p. J4. "Filipinos Elect Marcos." And, *Christian Science Monitor*, November 23, 1965, p.14 "Filipinos develop local politics."

Marcos and Aquino both claim elections for themselves and both hold inaugural ceremonies, Marcos departure involved call for protests by the church, popular unrest, opposition from within the military and foreign pressures, Lentz 1994, p. 641; *Washington*

Post 24 February, 1986, p. A1 for example of public protest; *Christian Science Monitor* 4 March, 1986, p. 1 for role of opposition within military. Exile.

PHI-1986 840 PHI Aquino 25/02/1986 30/06/1992

PHI-1992 840 PHI Ramos 30/06/1992 30/06/1998

PHI-1998 840 PHI Estrada 30/06/1998 20/01/2001

Joseph Estrada, His birthname, according to Rulers.org was Joseph Marcelo Ejercito. Former actor. Rulers.org reports: "On May 11, 1998, he was elected president in generally peaceful elections. But he reeled from one controversy after another soon after taking office and in October 2000 a former political ally, provincial governor Luis "Chavit" Singson, stunned the nation with revelations that he had handed Estrada more than 400 million pesos in bribes from illegal gambling syndicates. Impeachment proceedings collapsed after the prosecution walked out in disgust when pro-Estrada senators voted to keep out of the trial bank records which prosecutors said would show the fortune Estrada had been keeping in banks using aliases. On Jan. 20, 2001, at the peak of a "people power" revolt in which hundreds of thousands of Filipinos surged into the streets demanding his head, Estrada left the presidential palace for the last time. In 2007 he was found guilty of corruption and given a life sentence."

This is a difficult call, we code this as a regular removal because he voluntarily steps down. However, this could also be coded as an irregular removal, with exitcode==2, where the leader lost power as a result of domestic popular protest without foreign support.

Keesing's Vol. 47, December 2001. On trial on charges of economic plunder, graft, perjury, and the illegal use of an alias. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 47, July 2001: arraigned in an anti-Corruption court on July 10. ***Keesing's*** Vol. 47, May 2001: "The streets were largely calm by May 3 and Arroyo made the conciliatory gesture of visiting her opponent Estrada, who had been charged in April with economic plunder and detained in a high security prison [ibid.]." Ousted by Supreme Court.

The New York Times, September 12, 2007. "MANILA, Wednesday, Sept. 12 – A Philippine anticorruption court on Wednesday convicted a former Philippine president, Joseph Estrada, of illegally acquiring wealth while in office and sentenced him to a maximum of 40 years in prison. The court found Mr. Estrada guilty of plunder, but acquitted him on a perjury charge. The court also ordered the confiscation of several properties, including mansions, that he acquired while in power. The plunder case stemmed from accusations that he received more than $85 million in kickbacks from tobacco taxes, commissions from the purchase of shares by a government insurance fund and payoffs from illegal gambling operators, and that he used a fictitious name in a bank account. The perjury case stemmed from charges that he misstated his income. Mr. Estrada, 70, has been in detention for more than six years. He was ousted in an uprising prompted by the charges, as well as accusations of womanizing and heavy drinking in the presidential palace. Those allegations deeply offended the Catholic Church, which led, along with so-called civil society groups and leftist organizations, huge demonstrations against him. The current president, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, who was Mr. Estrada's vice president, took over the presidency after his ouster in 2001. Mr. Estrada, a former movie star who is hugely popular among the Filipino poor, has repeatedly denied the accusations, saying they were politically motivated."

PHI-2001 840 PHI Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo 21/01/2001 31/12/2004

Female. She was vice president under Estrada. She was the daughter of Diosdado P. Macapagal, president 61-65. Studied economics at Georgetown University. Has a doctorate in economics from the University of the Philippines, Quezon City in 1986. She was a University Professor.

2.183 INDONESIA

INS-1945 850 INS Sukarno 17/08/1945 18/12/1948

nl.encarta.msn.com: Son of teacher, who belonged to the lower nobility of Java. Educated as civil engineer at the Technical Academy at Bandung. First Dutch - Indonesian war 21 July – 5 August 1947. Second Dutch - Indonesian War, 19 December 1948 – 11 August 1949. Lentz: Captured by Dutch paratroopers at the nationalists' headquarters in Jogjakarta December 18, 1948. He was exiled to Prapart until July of 1949, when the Dutch were forced by world opinion to release him and grant Indonesia independence. For his capture see also *The New York Times*, Dec. 27, 1948, p. 1 and *The New York Times*, Dec. 29, 1948, p.1. Exiled to Propat.

INS-1948 850 INS Louis Beel 18/12/1948 19/05/1949

Studied law in Nijmegen, doctorate: "Self-rule or dependent decentralization." After being High Commissioner in Indonesia from October 1948, he resigns in May 1949, because of disagreements with the government on it's policies regarding Indonesia. In October he becomes extraordinary professor in Nijmegen. Returned to the Netherlands, later PM. Dutch governor, resigns over objections to Indonesia's path to independence, *The New York Times* 20 May, 1949, p. 11.

INS-1949-1 850 INS A. H. J. Lovink 19/05/1949 27/12/1949

Antonius Hermanus Johannes Lovink. Source: `http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/BWN/lemmata/bwn5/lovink` Studied trade economics at the Ruprecht-Karls Universität in Heidelberg. Left for the Netherlands immediately after he signed the transfer of authority and power. Became ambassador in Ottawa afterwards. He is 'forced' to go back to the Netherlands, now a different country: hence exile. Born on12 July 1902.

INS-1949-2 850 INS Sukarno 27/12/1949 12/03/1966

Military takes finally over after it crushed the communist coup attempt in the fall of 1965, Lentz 1994, p. 389. House arrest.

INS-1966 850 INS Suharto 12/03/1966 21/05/1998

The New York Times, May 30, 2000, p. A3: "May 29 – Under intense pressure to get tough, the Indonesian government placed former President Suharto under house arrest today as it sought to try him on charges of corruption and abuse of power." Almost two years after he lost power. For exit, see *The New York Times*, May 21, 1998, p. 1. Resigns after riots, later faced with criminal charges and house arrest.

INS-1998 850 INS Habibie 21/05/1998 20/10/1999

Was Vice President under Suharto. For entry, see *The New York Times*, May 21, 1998, p. 1. For his OK fate, see *The New York Times*, May 28, 2000, p.3.

INS-1999 850 INS Wahid 20/10/1999 23/07/2001

For his ouster by parliament, see *The New York Times*, July 23, 2001, p. A1.After ousted heads for the US for a medical checkup. *The New York Times*, July 27, 2001, p. A1. Looks like the medical check up, at Johns Hopkins is legit. See *The New York Times*, Aug. 4, 2001, p. A7.

INS-2001 850 INS Megawati Sukarnoputri 24/07/2001 20/10/2004
Female. Daughter of Sukarno.

INS-2004 850 INS Bambang Yudhoyono 20/10/2004 31/12/2004

2.184 EAST TIMOR

ETM-2002 860 ETM Gusmao 20/05/2002 31/12/2004
Had been jailed by the Indonesians.

2.185 AUSTRALIA

AUL-1901 900 AUL Edmund Barton 01/01/1901 24/09/1903
Lentz: Graduated from University of Sydney; subsequently judge.

AUL-1903 900 AUL Alfred Deakin 24/09/1903 26/04/1904
Lentz: Graduated from Melbourne University, Law.

AUL-1904-1 900 AUL J.C Watson 26/04/1904 18/08/1904
John Christian Watson. Subsequently Australia's High Commissioner in London in 1909, where he stayed until 1915.

AUL-1904-2 900 AUL George Reid 18/08/1904 05/07/1905

AUL-1905 900 AUL Alfred Deakin 05/07/1905 13/11/1908

AUL-1908 900 AUL Andrew Fisher 13/11/1908 02/06/1909

AUL-1909 900 AUL Alfred Deakin 02/06/1909 29/04/1910

AUL-1910 900 AUL Andrew Fisher 29/04/1910 24/04/1913

AUL-1913 900 AUL Joseph Cook 24/04/1913 17/09/1914

AUL-1914 900 AUL Andrew Fisher 17/09/1914 27/10/1915
Lentz: "the burden of leading the country during the war led to his resignation on October 27, 1915. He subsequently served as Australia's high commissioner in England, where he remained until 1921."

AUL-1915 900 AUL Hughes 27/10/1915 03/02/1923

AUL-1923 900 AUL Bruce 03/02/1923 22/10/1929

AUL-1929 900 AUL Scullin 22/10/1929 06/01/1932

AUL-1932 900 AUL Lyons 06/01/1932 07/04/1939
Lentz: Returned to office twice, 1934, and 1937.

AUL-1939-1 900 AUL Page 07/04/1939 26/04/1939

AUL-1939-2 900 AUL Menzies 26/04/1939 29/08/1941
Lentz: Law degree form the University of Melbourne. After ousted, remained in the government of Arthur Fadden as minister of defense coordination until the Labor Party, under Joseph Curting, came to power in October 1941.

AUL-1941-1 900 AUL Fadden 29/08/1941 07/10/1941

AUL-1941-2 900 AUL Curtin 07/10/1941 30/04/1945

Lentz: Suffered a heart attack in November 1944 and died of a heart ailment in Canberra on July 6, 1945. Lentz's entry on Forde- - next item – shows he was replaced on April 30.

AUL-1945-1 900 AUL Forde 30/04/1945 13/07/1945

Lentz: Forde was deputy prime minister and minister for the army from 1941 to 1946. . . . He became acting prime minister of Australia on April 30, 1945, following the illness of John Curtin. . . . From 1946 until 1953 Forde was Australian high commissioner to Canada.

AUL-1945-2 900 AUL Chifley 13/07/1945 19/12/1949

Lentz: suffered a heart attack in 1950, and on June 13, 1951, he died suddenly in Canberra.

AUL-1949 900 AUL Menzies 19/12/1949 26/01/1966

For his exit (not ill health) see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 12, February 1996.

AUL-1966 900 AUL Holt 27/01/1966 19/12/1967

For his entry see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 12, February 1996. Lentz: "The 59-year old Holt was lost and presumed drowned on December 16, 1967, while skindiving in Port Philip Bay by the town of Portsea." Law degree from Melbourne University. Died in swimming accident.

AUL-1967 900 AUL McEwen 19/12/1967 10/01/1968

AUL-1968 900 AUL Gorton 10/01/1968 10/03/1971

Rulers.org has the nice anecdote that ***he*** voted ***himself***, deliberately, out of office. After the Liberal party member split 33-33.

AUL-1971 900 AUL McMahon 10/03/1971 05/12/1972

AUL-1972 900 AUL Whitlam 05/12/1972 11/11/1975

Lentz: Law degree from Sydney University. "In an unprecedented move, the governor-general, Sir. John Kerr, dismissed Whitlam as prime minister and called for new elections." Looks very much an irregular removal. See also ***Keesing's*** Vol. 21, December 1975.

AUL-1975 900 AUL Fraser 11/11/1975 11/03/1983

Lentz: called elections nine months before required by law.

AUL-1983 900 AUL Hawke 11/03/1983 19/12/1991

AUL-1991 900 AUL Keating 19/12/1991 11/03/1996

AUL-1996 900 AUL Howard 11/03/1996 31/12/2004

2.186 PAPUA NEW GUINEA

PNG-1975 910 PNG Somare 16/09/1975 11/03/1980

PNG-1980 910 PNG Chan 11/03/1980 02/08/1982

PNG-1982 910 PNG Somare 02/08/1982 21/11/1985

PNG-1985 910 PNG Wingti 21/11/1985 04/07/1988

PNG-1988 910 PNG Namaliu 04/07/1988 17/07/1992

PNG-1992 910 PNG Wingti 17/07/1992 30/08/1994

PNG-1994 910 PNG Chan 30/08/1994 22/07/1997

PNG-1997 910 PNG Skate 22/07/1997 14/07/1999

Keesing's Vol. 45, November 1999 reports that "Former Prime Minister Bill Skate appeared in court on Nov. 22 charged with an insurance fraud dating from 1990, before he had entered the legislature . . . " Vol. 45, December 1999: "Former Prime Minister Bill Skate was charged on Dec. 6 with the attempted theft of over 5,000 kina from the National Capital District (NCD) commission during his tenure as governor of the commission . . . ."

Vol. 46, July 2000 It was reported by Radio Australia on July 13 that former Prime Minister Bill Skate had been charged with attempting to pervert the course of justice in relation to an insurance fraud case against him which was due to be heard later in the year . . . ."

Acquitted on the theft charges, see ***Keesing's*** 47 November, 2001 "The National Court on Nov. 27 acquitted former Prime Minister Bill Skate of a charge of misappropriating 5,763 kina (US$1.00=3.8620 kina as at Nov. 30, 2001) during his tenure as governor of the National Capital District Commission (NCDC) for lack of evidence [see pp. 43319; 44061]. Skate, who still faced two further criminal cases, claimed that the charges against him were politically motivated."

PNG-1999 910 PNG Morauta 14/07/1999 05/08/2002

PNG-2002 910 PNG Somare 06/08/2002 31/12/2004

2.187 NEW ZEALAND

NEW-1906 920 NEW Ward 06/08/1906 28/03/1912

NEW-1912-1 920 NEW Thomas Mackenzie 28/03/1912 10/07/1912
On his election to office, see *Christian Science Monitor*, March 23, 1912, p. 6. (Note that Lentz omits Mackenzie.) *Christian Science Monitor*, July 10, 1913, p. 2. High Commissioner in London next year. For his appointment, see *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 7, 1912, p.20 & *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 16, 1912, p.12.

NEW-1912-2 920 NEW Massey 10/07/1912 10/05/1925

NEW-1925-1 920 NEW Bell 14/05/1925 30/05/1925
Bell was born on 31 March 1851. Lentz notes that he had a Law degree from St. John's College, Cambridge.

NEW-1925-2 920 NEW Coates 30/05/1925 07/12/1928

NEW-1928 920 NEW Ward 10/12/1928 15/05/1930
Lentz: "He stepped down due to poor health on May 15, 1930, and died on July 8, 1930."

NEW-1930 920 NEW Forbes 8/05/1930 27/11/1935

NEW-1935 920 NEW Savage 27/11/1935 26/03/1940

NEW-1940 920 NEW Fraser 01/04/1940 12/12/1949
Lentz: died exactly one year after he left office, from heart failure.

NEW-1949 920 NEW Holland 13/12/1949 20/09/1957
Lentz: "Suffering from failing health, he retired on September 20, 1957 .... Died in Wellington on August 5, 1961." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sept. 21, 1957, p. 3, also notes "Sidney G. Holland, 64, who resigned because of poor health." For his obit, which also mentions ill health, see *The New York Times*, Aug 5, 1961, p. 17.

NEW-1957-1 920 NEW Holyoake 20/09/1957 12/12/1957
For his entry, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sept. 21, 1957, p. 3, which refers to him as "a self-educated farmer."

NEW-1957-2 920 NEW Nash 12/12/1957 12/12/1960

NEW-1960 920 NEW Holyoake 12/12/1960 07/02/1972

NEW-1972-2 920 NEW Marshall 07/02/1972 08/12/1972

NEW-1972-1 920 NEW Kirk 08/12/1972 31/08/1974

NEW-1974 920 NEW Rowling 06/09/1974 12/12/1975

NEW-1975 920 NEW Muldoon 12/12/1975 26/07/1984

NEW-1984 920 NEW Lange 26/07/1984 08/08/1989

NEW-1989 920 NEW Palmer 08/08/1989 04/09/1990

NEW-1990-1 920 NEW Moore 04/09/1990 27/10/1990

NEW-1990-2 920 NEW Bolger 27/10/1990 08/12/1997
Rulers.org: Ambassador from 6 April 1998 until 2001.

NEW-1997 920 NEW Shipley 08/12/1997 10/12/1999
Jenny Shipley, Female.

NEW-1999 920 NEW Clark 10/12/1999 31/12/2004
Helen Clark, Female.

2.188 SOLOMON ISLANDS

SOL-1978 940 SOL Kenilorea 07/07/1978 31/08/1981

SOL-1981 940 SOL Mamaloni 31/08/1981 19/11/1984
For his death, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 46, January 2000. Died on 11 January, 2000.

SOL-1984 940 SOL Kenilorea 19/11/1984 01/12/1986

SOL-1986 940 SOL Alebua 01/12/1986 28/03/1989

SOL-1989 940 SOL Mamaloni 28/03/1989 18/06/1993

SOL-1993 940 SOL Hilly 18/06/1993 31/10/1994
Keesing's Vol. 40, November 1994, says dismissed by the Governor General in October. For more details, suggesting this was irregular and unconstitutional, see ***Keesing's*** Vol. 40 October 1994: "The Solomon Islands underwent a constitutional crisis in October as Prime Minister Francis Billy Hilly waged a protracted, but ultimately unsuccessful, struggle to resist efforts to remove him from office. The crisis began in early October when the opposition declared that it controlled a majority in the country's 47-member National Parliament and would launch a no confidence motion against Billy Hilly at the earliest opportunity. The defection of two members of the coalition government in September had reduced the number of government legislators to 22, although with parliament not due to reconvene until Nov. 18, Billy Hilly's position appeared secure in the short term. Governor-General Moses Pitakaka, who had taken office in June, intervened in the political process on Oct. 13 by dismissing Billy Hilly from office on the grounds that he no longer commanded a parliamentary majority. The Prime Minister refused to stand down, however, and asked the country's judiciary to rule on the legality of Pitakaka's move. The case was examined by both the High Court of the Solomon Islands and, later, by the Court of Appeal. This latter body on Oct. 23 ruled in favour of Pitakaka's right to dismiss Billy Hilly. In a private ceremony on Oct. 24, Pitakaka swore in opposition leader and former Prime Minister Solomon Mamalonias caretaker Prime Minister. He also issued a proclamation which declared the post of prime minister vacant, appealed for nominations, and directed the Speaker of parliament to convene the legislature in order to elect a prime minister. Notwithstanding the judicial decision, Billy Hilly continued to refuse to leave office, and rejected Mamaloni's claims to have succeeded him. After further legal consideration, his assertion that he could be dismissed only after a parliamentary vote of no confidence was upheld by the judiciary on Oct. 26, whereupon Pitakaka immediately lodged an appeal against the decision. However, heightening the confusion and further undermining Billy Hilly's position, the ruling also found that the Governor-General was not required to take advice from a minority government. The crisis ended on Oct. 31 when Billy Hilly accepted the untenability of his position and informed Pitakaka of his resignation."

Based on ***Keesing's*** we code this is an irregular and unconstitutional removal from office. At minimum, without Pitakaka's action, he could have stayed until Nov. 18.

SOL-1994 940 SOL Mamaloni 31/10/1994 27/08/1997
He DOES get elected legally later, but is entered illegally, see previous entry.

SOL-1997 940 SOL Ulufa'alu 27/08/1997 05/06/2000

Keesing's Vol. 46, June 2000: "An armed coup on June 5, carried out by an ethnic militia, the Malaita Eagles Force (MEF), forced the resignation of Prime Minister Bartholomew Ulufa'alu [for appointment see p. 41779] and the election at the end of the month by the National Parliament (the legislature) of a new Prime Minister. A group of MEF gunmen took Ulufa'alu hostage having raided police armouries, seized key installations and set up road blocks around Honiara, the capital of the Solomon Islands on the island of Guadalcanal. Andrew Nori, the MEF's lawyer and a former Finance Minister [see p. 40189], emerged as the group's leader when he held a press conference demanding Ulufa'alu's resignation. ... Ulufa'alu was released on June 9, saying that he was willing to resign if he lost a parliamentary vote of confidence planned for June 16. In the event Ulufa'alu, himself a Malaitan, resigned on June 13, accusing Australia and New Zealand of having condoned the coup its debasement of democracy."

The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia) 6 July, 2000, p. 27, notes that Ulufa'alu resigned already June 5, after one of two warring ethnic militia, the Malaita Eagle Force (MEF), seized control of the capital Honiara – on June 30 Mannasseh Sogavare gets elected as new leader. Sydney Morning Herald, notes on 3 July 2000 that Ulufa'Alu now leads the opposition. He seems to be fine subsequently. Bartholemew Ulufa'alu under house arrest and held him for four days.

SOL-2000 940 SOL Sogavare 30/06/2000 17/12/2001

Keesing's Vol. 46, June 2000: "After negotiations facilitated by Australia between the IFM and the MEF and between the Prime Ministers of Guadalcanal and Malaita provinces, the Solomon Islands Governor General Sir John Ini Lapli set a date for a meeting of the National Parliament to choose a new Prime Minister. Leader of the opposition People's Progressive Party [for appointment see p. 43367] and former Finance Minister Manasseh Sogavare was elected Prime Minister on June 30 by 23 votes to the 21 cast for Home and Cultural Affairs Minister Leslie Boseto. A third contender, former Prime Minister Francis Billy Hilly, received no votes."

He loses office when the new elected parliament on 16 December 2001 elects (with 29 out of 50 votes) Kemakeza (but retains his seat in Parliament in elections on 5 December, see Agence France Presse – English, December 7, 2001, "Solomon Islands PM retains seat after mix-up over defeat."

BBC World Wide Monitoring, from Papua New Guinea Post Courier Web site on 9 November 2001. "Solomon Islands: PM prevented from leaving office, country by "angry crowd"." " Text of report entitled "Solomon's PM under pressure" published by Papua New Guinea Post-Courier web site on 9 November Honiara: Solomon Islands' Prime Minister Manasseh Sogavare was yesterday being prevented from leaving his office - and the country - by an angry crowd."

BBC Worldwide Monitoring, March 4, 2002, from SOURCE: Solomon Islands Broadcasting Corporation text web site, Noniare, in English 4 Mar 02 notes "Caretaker Prime Minister in the absence at the Commonwealth summit of Sir Allan Kemakeza Manasseh Sogavare has blamed development partners for the failure in retrieving guns still at large with some former militants."

SOL-2001 940 SOL Kemakeza 17/12/2001 20/04/2006

Sir Allan Kemakeza. For his regular entry into office, see Associated Press Worldstream, December 17, 2001, "Solomon Islands elects new prime minister." Byline, Ray Lilley. "Sir Allan Kamekeza won election Monday as prime minister of the troubled Solomon Islands after being sacked from the previous government over a funds scandal. In a secret ballot of the newly elected 50-seat Parliament, Kemakeza beat three other contenders, taking 29 votes on the first ballot. Bartholomew Ulufa'alu, who as prime minister was ousted by armed rebels last year, took just three votes. ... Kemakeza was knighted for his part in brokering the Townsville peace accord which defused civil strife between natives of the main island of Guadalcanal and the nearby island of Malaita. But he was sacked from his post as deputy prime minister earlier this year after paying himself an estimated dlrs 700,000 in compensation money for personal property losses and damage."

Kemakeza, who heads the Peoples' Alliance Party, also won support from a group known as the Association of Independents after former Finance Minister Snyder Rini withdrew from the ballot.

SOL-2006 940 SOL Snyder Rini 20/04/2006 04/05/2006

Seattle Post Intelligencer, Wednesday, April 19, 2006. `http://seattlepi.nwsource.com/national/1106AP_Solomon_Islands_Unrest.html` "The rioting erupted Tuesday after Snyder Rini was elected prime minister by 50 lawmakers chosen in an April 5 parliamentary election. Rini is seen as having close links with the corruption-tainted administration of his predecessor, Sir Allan Kemakeza. Rini was Kemakeza's deputy prime minister. On Wednesday afternoon, Solomons' Governor General Sir Nathaniel Waena went on national radio to appeal for calm and signed off on a 12-hour curfew in Honiara beginning at 6 p.m."

SOL-2006 940 SOL Sogavare 04/05/2006 12/12/2007

Second time in office. BBC News, 13 December 2007, "Solomon Islands PM ousted in Vote." "The prime minister of the Solomon Islands, Manasseh Sogavare, has been ousted in a vote of no-confidence. Mr Sogavare is reported to have accepted the decision, saying "parliament voted me in and parliament voted me out". His hold on power was weakened early in November when nine ministers and three backbenchers defected from government. There have been no reports of unrest, but large numbers of police are patrolling the capital, Honiara. According to Reuters news agency, Mr Sogavare told parliament: "The office does not belong to my father or my family, and I have no reason to remain in this office if I believe the allegations levelled against me are true". Mr Sogavare was appointed in May 2006 after the election of the original choice, Snyder Rini, sparked rioting. Chinese homes and business were attacked after Mr Rini was accused of using money from Chinese and Taiwanese backers to bribe MPs into voting for him. ... The opposition had previously called for Mr Sogavare to resign to "protect the integrity of parliament". But he refused and in Thursday's no-confidence motion, put forward by opposition leader Fred Fono, he was defeated by 25 votes to 23."

2.189 FIJI

FJI-1970 950 FJI Mara 10/10/1970 13/04/1987

Loses election. Ratu Mara is minister of Foreign Affairs and Civil Avaition in the Rabuka government. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 33, July 1987.

FJI-1987-1 950 FJI Bavadra 13/04/1987 14/05/1987

Keesing's. Vol. 33, July 1987: "The new Bavadra government was removed from power on May 14, however, by a military coup led by Lt. -Col. Sitiveni Rabuka, the third in command of the 2,600-strong Fijian Armed Forces (over 95 per cent of whom were Melanesian). The resulting constitutional crisis was eventually resolved through the establishment of an interim Advisory Council under the chairmanship of the Governor-General, Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau, which was charged with executive authority until a new election could be held under an amended constitution." See also, *The New York Times* 14 May, 1987, p. 1. Briefly house arrest.

Keesing's Record of World Events (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 35, November, 1989 Fiji, Page 37043, reports "Timoci Bavadra, 55, the Fijian Prime Minister deposed by a military coup in May 1987 [see pp. 35251-55], died of cancer on Nov. 3. Bavadra had led a coalition government consisting of native Melanesians and Fijians of Indian extraction (the two main ethnic groups within the country) for 32 days before being overthrown by Melanesian troops led by Maj.- Gen. Sitiveni Rabuka. Adi Kuini Bavadra, widow of the former Prime Minister, on Nov. 23 accepted an invitation to take over the leadership of the Labour Party, and promised to continue her late husband's struggle to restore constitutional normality to Fiji. Bavadra, a Melanesian chief from the country's main island of Viti Levu, became leader of the newly formed Labour Party in 1985. After the general election of April 1987 he became Prime Minister in alliance with the predominantly Indian National Federation Party (NFP), and thereby ended 17 years of Melanesian rule by the conservative Alliance Party led by Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara. The new government, committed to a neutralist, non-nuclear foreign policy and a racially-bipartisan, socialist domestic policy, was overthrown in May 1987."

FJI-1987-2 950 FJI Rabuka 14/05/1987 05/12/1987

Rabuka, Sitiveni (Ligamamada), byname Steve Rabuka. ***Keesing's***. Vol. 33, July 1987: "The new Bavadra government was removed from power on May 14, however, by a military coup led by Lt. -Col. Sitiveni Rabuka, the third in command of the 2,600-strong Fijian Armed Forces (over 95 per cent of whom were Melanesian). The resulting constitutional crisis was eventually resolved through the establishment of an interim Advisory Council under the chairmanship of the Governor-General, Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau, which was charged with executive authority until a new election could be held under an amended constitution."

Rulers.org notes "He commanded the Fiji contingent in Lebanon in 1980 and Fiji's 2nd Battalion with the Sinai Peacekeeping Force in 1984. In between, he served as general staff officer in charge of training; in 1985 he became staff officer (Operations and Training) and was ranked third in the Fijian Army. On May 14, 1987, he led a coup that overthrew the recently elected coalition government of Timoci Bavadra. Although Rabuka justified the coup as being necessary to preserve the peace between Indians and ethnic Fijians and to protect the land rights and political power of the latter, his move paved the way

for some of the worst violence in the islands' history. On September 25 he staged a second military takeover in his effort to consolidate a power base. This move evoked angry responses, particularly from Australia and New Zealand, which imposed economic sanctions on Fiji. He called a meeting of diplomats from major countries on September 28, but they were prepared to recognize only Gov.-Gen. Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau as head of state. Despite the opposition, Rabuka declared Fiji a republic in October, ending its 113-year link with the British crown. Rabuka's rank as lieutenant colonel had been confirmed in 1982, and after the first coup he was promoted to full colonel and made commander of the Fiji military forces by the governor-general. Following the second coup, he was made brigadier-general. As internal and foreign confidence in Fiji continued to decline and the country neared economic collapse, he admitted defeat and on December 5 announced that he would relinquish power to a civilian government. He later served as elected prime minister (1992-99)."

Keesing's Record of World Events (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 35, November, 1989 Fiji, Page 37043, reports: "Attempts by the Governor-General to ensure a return to civilian rule based upon all party consensus were dashed when Rabuka staged a second coup in September [see pp 35567-70] with the avowed aim of revising the constitution in order to exclude permanently the country's Indian population from power, and which led to Fiji's establishment as a republic. Civilian power was nominally restored in December 1987 with the establishment of an interim government pending the holding of fresh elections under a new constitution which would favour the Melanesians. The interim government was due to be dissolved in early December 1989 but it was announced on Nov. 27 that its term in office had been extended until Jan. 5, 1990."

Keesing's Vol. 33, July 1987: "At 10 am on May 14 a group of 10 masked soldiers led by Lt. -Col. Rabuka burst in to the chamber of the House of Representatives, forcibly abducted Dr Bavadra and the other 27 members of the governing coalition, and imprisoned them in an Army barracks five km outside Suva. Rabuka stated that the constitution was henceforth suspended and declared himself the chief minister of an interim ruling council whose 17 members included Ratu Mara and other leading elements of the former Alliance government. Lt. -Col. Rabuka, a Methodist lay preacher, claimed that his action was essential for the maintenance of order and the prevention of racial violence. Brig. Ratu Epeli Nailataiau, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces since 1980, who was in Australia at the time of the coup, stated his continuing support for the constitution, his abhorrence of the coup and his disregard of the rebel claim that he had been dismissed from his post. ... During the course of May 17 the Governor-General refused to swear in, and thereby legitimize, Rabuka's Council of Ministers. He was supported by the Chief Justice, Sir Timoci Tuivaga, and by the country's seven Supreme Court judges, who stated their 'undivided and complete loyalty' to the constitution. Nevertheless, in the evening of May 18 it was announced that Ratu Ganilau had sworn in Lt. -Col. Rabuka as Chief Minister 24 hours earlier and had agreed to legitimize similarly the position of the other members of the Council of Ministers."

Keesing's, Volume 34, March, 1988 Fiji, Page 35781, notes "Appointment of President and Prime Minister (Dec. 5, 1987). Formation of Cabinet (Dec. 6, 1987). Presentation of budget (Dec. 17, 1987). The process by which civilian rule was nominally restored in the newly proclaimed republic of Fiji began with the appointment as Presi-

dent of Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau (formerly the country's Governor General) on Dec. 5, 1987 [see page 35570]. The self-proclaimed military government of Brig. Sitiveni Rabuka, which had installed the President, formally relinquished power, and Ratu Ganilau then appointed Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara as Prime Minister and invited him to form a civilian administration."

For his post-tenurefate, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 36, January, 1990 Fiji, Page 37189. "Fiji returned to full civilian rule on Jan. 5 when Maj-Gen. Sitiveni Rabuka, who had led two military coups in 1987 [see pp. 35251-52; 35667-70], resigned as Minister of Home Affairs and returned to military duties as head of the armed forces. "

FJI-1987-3 950 FJI Mara 05/12/1987 02/06/1992

Brit. Encyc.: Election of May 1999 is first under the new constitution. "Rabuka resigned from Parliament and was elected chair of the Great Council of Chiefs, a body with wide influence as well as a formal constitutional role."

Keesing's Record of World Events (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 35, November, 1989 Fiji, Page 37043, reports: "Civilian power was nominally restored in December 1987 with the establishment of an interim government pending the holding of fresh elections under a new constitution which would favour the Melanesians. The interim government was due to be dissolved in early December 1989 but it was announced on Nov. 27 that its term in office had been extended until Jan. 5, 1990."

FJI-1992 950 FJI Rabuka 02/06/1992 19/05/1999

Keesing's Record of World Events (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 38, May, 1992 Fiji, Page 38917, reports "On May 23-30 Fiji held its first general election since the two military coups of 1987 [see pp. 32251-55; 35567-70]. In July 1990 a new Constitution had institutionalized the dominance of ethnic Fijians in a 70-member House of Representatives and an appointed Senate [see p. 37614]. The Fijian Political Party (FPP), with Maj.-Gen. Sitiveni Rabuka as its president, won 30 of the 37 House of Representative seats reserved for ethnic Fijians. Rabuka, who in May 1987 had ousted the civilian government elected one month earlier, was appointed Prime Minister on June 2 and named a coalition government on the following day."

A new Constitution is promulgated and adopted in 1997.

For his exit, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 45, May, 1999 Fiji, Page 42948 which reports "Prime Minister Sitiveni Rabuka's Fijian Political Party (SVT) was swept from power in elections to the House of Representatives (the lower house of the bicameral legislature) on May 815. It was defeated by a coalition of parties led by the ethnic Indian-dominated Fiji Labour Party (FLP), with the result that Mahendra Chaudhry, 56, leader of the FLP, became Fiji's first ethnic Indian Prime Minister."

FJI-1999 950 FJI Chaudhry 19/05/1999 19/05/2000

For his regular entry, see *Keesing's Record of World Events* (formerly Keesing's Contemporary Archives), Volume 45, May, 1999 Fiji, Page 42948 which reports "Prime Minister Sitiveni Rabuka's Fijian Political Party (SVT) was swept from power in elections to the House of Representatives (the lower house of the bicameral legislature) on May 815. It was defeated by a coalition of parties led by the ethnic Indian-dominated Fiji Labour

Party (FLP), with the result that Mahendra Chaudhry, 56, leader of the FLP, became Fiji's first ethnic Indian Prime Minister."

He was an ethnic Indian. Held hostage by George Speight during the coup. See ***Keesing's*** Vol. 46, May, 2000 and Vol. 46, October, 2000. The Irish Times 27 May, 2000, p. 13; The New Zealand Herald 27 May, 2000. Speight does get thrown in jail, he was arrested on July 26.

The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia), July 14, 2000, p. 2 "Fiji crisis finished: now for sanctions," accessed through **Lexis Nexis** records that "Failed businessman George Speight launched the coup on May 19, seizing the parliament building and taking the country's first Fijian-Indian Prime Minister Mahendra Chaudhry and his entire cabinet hostage. ... Mr Chaudhry confirmed he had been severely beaten on the second night of the coup. He and his son Rajendra, who was also freed yesterday, had faced many anxious moments as they feared further repercussions. Mr Chaudhry had been living on one meal a day for the past six weeks." The date for the coup is confirmed in numerous other sources.

The New York Times, May 30, 2000, p. A8 "Fiji Military Takes Control And Declares Martial Law" notes "Mr. Speight proclaimed himself the new leader of Fiji, but President Mara had declared a state of emergency and claimed executive powers for himself. The two sides negotiated through the indigenous Fijian Great Council of Chiefs."

The *European report*, July 26, 2000, EUROPEAN REPORT: EU THREATENS TO SUSPEND DEVELOPMENT AID TO FIJI AND HAITI, notes that on 27 May President Mara was forced to fire the democratically elected Prime Minister.

DELETED

FJI-2000-1 950 FJI Ratu Josefa Iloilo 27/05/2000 04/07/2000

CIA World Factbook, accessed 4 May 2008 `https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/fj.html`, reports "chief of state: President Ratu Josefa ILOILOVATU Uluivuda (since 18 July 2000); note - ILOILOVATU was reaffirmed as president by the Great Council of Chiefs in a statement issued on 22 December, and reappointed by the coup leader Commodore Voreqe BAINIMARAMA in January 2007 head of government: Prime Minister Laisenia QARASE (since 10 September 2000); note - although QARASE is still the legal prime minister, he has been confined to his home island; the president appointed Commodore Voreqe BAINIMARAMA interim prime minister under the military regime."

`http://www.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/asiapcf/12/05/fiji.coup.tues.ap/index.html` 5 December 2006."[Fiji] has lurched from one political crisis to the next since the military twice grabbed power in 1987 to ensure political supremacy for the 51 percent majority indigenous Fijians, cutting out the 44 percent ethnic Indian minority. Gunmen, angry those advantages were being eroded by the first Indian-led elected government, seized Parliament in a 2000 coup that brought Qarase, a moderate nationalist, to power in a deal brokered by Bainimarama. Qarase has since won two elections, based partly on populist policies that appealed to indigenous Fijians. Bainimarama sees himself as the guardian of Fiji's constitutional guarantees to all Fijians, and opposed as racist legislation proposed by Qarase that would pardon conspirators in a 2000 nationalist coup and secure coastal land rights for indigenous Fijians."

He becomes President from 18 July 2000 on.

FJI-2000-1 950 FJI Bainimarama 29/05/2000 14/07/2000

For Voreqe Bainimarama's entry, see *The New York Times*, May 30, 2000, p. A8 "Fiji Military Takes Control And Declares Martial Law." "PACIFIC HARBOR, Fiji, May 29 (Reuters) – Fiji's military said today that it was taking control of the country and declared martial law, stepping into a crisis in which the prime minister has been held hostage y gunmen since May 19. The head of the armed forces, Commodore Frank Bainimarama, announced tonight that the military was taking power.'

The Weekend Australian July 8, 2000. p. 12. "Army gives new ground to Speight". Byline Christopher Dore. "Mr Qaranivalu insisted military commander Frank Bainimarama, who took over executive control of Fiji when he imposed martial law on May 29, step down as head of state."

The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia), July 14, 2000, p. 2 "Fiji crisis finished: now for sanctions," accessed through **Lexis Nexis** suggests that the crisis ended July 14, and hence the end of his rule and the beginning of the new leadership. The article also notes that "the military caved into Speight's demands, the elected government has been revoked and Fiji's constitution, granting equality to all races in Fiji, has been thrown out."

For the irregular nature of his ouster, see *The Gazette* (Montreal, Quebec), B1, load date, July 14, 2000. "Rebels kill Fijian democracy." Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. which records "Yesterday morning, the rebels tearfully hugged their 18 remaining hostages as they freed them from their long imprisonment in the country's Parliament complex. Later in the day, the Great Council of Chiefs, Fiji's traditional power, elected Ratu Josefa Iloilo as the country's new president. The council made its choice under the gun of a wave of civil disturbances that seemed to be spinning out of control." See also *The Economist*, July 15, 2000, Vol. 356, Iss. 8179, p. 39, 2 pgs. "Until last week, Mr Speight's efforts to oust Commodore Bainimarama as head of state had appeared to have failed. The army was gradually isolating the rebels inside their Parliament stronghold and had set up a new civil interim administration charged with bringing Fiji back to normality. Yet Mr Speight never seemed likely to surrender without a fight, and the army from the start has been reluctant to storm the Parliament. On July 4th, soldiers patrolling nearby were engaged in a brief shoot-out with the rebels, one of whom later died in hospital. That caused a wave of anger against the army across the country and sparked the mutiny at the barracks on Vanua Levu. Local chiefs and civilians poured into the barracks to support the leader of the mutineers, Lieutenant Rupeni Vosayaco, who is a grandson of Mr Speight's chief of security."

He remains Military Commander, however. Rulers.org notes "In July he signed an agreement with Speight that ended the crisis. Speight was arrested and charged with treason. But just four months later, soldiers in the army who had stayed loyal to Speight staged a bloody mutiny at the army's barracks. Eight men were killed and Bainimarama fled for his life. In 2006 Bainimarama demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase because of the latter's support for a controversial bill that would offer amnesty to some of those involved in the 2000 coup. When Qarase refused, Bainimarama himself staged a coup to remove him. A month later (January 2007) he gave up the presidential powers he had taken and became interim prime minister." No evidence he fled the country. *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, November 06, 2000, "Prominent chiefs,

officer said identified as behind mutiny." Accessed through *Lexis Nexis*. "An attempt to kill Cdre Bainimarama was foiled after he escaped from the army camp via a bush trek to Namadi Heights. Three soldiers loyal to him died in the ensuing shoot-out with rebels. Retaliatory action against the mutineers led to the death of five rebels. Twenty-eight people, including civilians, are admitted at the hospital nursing injuries from the incident."

FJI-2000-2 950 FJI Laisenia Qarase 14/07/2000 31/12/2004

For his entry see *Sydney Morning Herald* (Australia), July 8, 2000. "More talk as rebel chaos deepens; Figi Coup." Byline Malcolm Brown. "The newly installed Prime Minister, Mr Laisenia Qarase, virtually overlooked in the swirl of the past two days, said his Government was capable of accomplishing its task of rebuilding Fiji if given the opportunity. But he said it needed the support of the Fijian people." See also, for the end of the coup crisis and the beginning of Qarase's leadership, *The Gazette* (Montreal, Quebec), B1, load date, July 14, 2000. "Rebels kill Fijian democracy." Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. which records "Yesterday morning, the rebels tearfully hugged their 18 remaining hostages as they freed them from their long imprisonment in the country's Parliament complex. Later in the day, the Great Council of Chiefs, Fiji's traditional power, elected Ratu Josefa Iloilo as the country's new president. The council made its choice under the gun of a wave of civil disturbances that seemed to be spinning out of control."

CIA World Factbook reports "Free and peaceful elections in 1999 resulted in a government led by an Indo-Fijian, but a civilian-led coup in May 2000 ushered in a prolonged period of political turmoil. Parliamentary elections held in August 2001 provided Fiji with a democratically elected government led by Prime Minister Laisenia QARASE. Re-elected in May 2006, QARASE was ousted in a December 2006 military coup led by Commodore Voreqe BAINIMARAMA, who initially appointed himself acting president. In January 2007, BAINIMARAMA was appointed interim prime minister."

See also `http://www.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/asiapcf/12/05/fiji.coup.tues.ap/index.html` 5 December 2006, The military seized control of Fiji on Tuesday after weeks of threats, locking down the capital with armed troops and isolating at home the elected leader whose last-minute pleas for help from foreign forces were rejected. The coup was the fourth armed takeover in the South Pacific country in 19 years, and had its roots in the same ethnic divide that produced the previous three. Commodore Frank Bainimarama, the armed forces chief, announced in a nationally broadcast evening statement that, "As of 6 o'clock this evening, the military has taken over the government, has executive authority and the running of this country." He said he had assumed some powers of the president and was using them to dismiss Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase, elected in May. He named Dr. Jona Senilagakali, a military medic with no political experience, as caretaker prime minister and said a full interim government would be appointed next week to see the country through to elections that would restore democracy sometime in the future. The move was denounced by elected officials and the president, the police force, and countries and international organizations with connections with Fiji. ... Fiji is among the richest and most developed nations in the South Pacific, attracting up to 400,000 tourists a year to resorts built on idyllic beaches. It also exports sugar and gold. But it has lurched from one political crisis to the next since the military twice grabbed power in 1987 to ensure political supremacy for the 51 percent majority indige-

nous Fijians, cutting out the 44 percent ethnic Indian minority. Gunmen, angry those advantages were being eroded by the first Indian-led elected government, seized Parliament in a 2000 coup that brought Qarase, a moderate nationalist, to power in a deal brokered by Bainimarama. Qarase has since won two elections, based partly on populist policies that appealed to indigenous Fijians. Bainimarama sees himself as the guardian of Fiji's constitutional guarantees to all Fijians, and opposed as racist legislation proposed by Qarase that would pardon conspirators in a 2000 nationalist coup and secure coastal land rights for indigenous Fijians."

BBC News, 5 December 2006: `http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/6208758.stm` "Fiji's military commander has seized control of the country, marking the fourth coup in two decades. Commodore Frank Bainimarama said in a televised address he had assumed executive powers and dismissed Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase. Cmdr Bainimarama accused the prime minister of corruption and leading Fiji on a path of doom. Mr Qarase, who said he would now retire from politics, accused the military of bringing "shame to the country". He said Cmdr Bainimarama was feeding the country lies about his government. "What the military has done is raped our constitution," Mr Qarase said. "They have brought shame to the country... and all right-thinking people should stand up and fight for our democracy - by peaceful means of course," he said. "Fiji has now become a laughing stock in the international arena." ... Australian Prime Minister John Howard earlier said he had turned down a request from Mr Qarase to send troops to prevent a coup. "The possibility of Australia and Fijian troops firing on each other in the streets of Suva was not a prospect that I for a moment thought desirable," Mr Howard said."

ABC News, Dec. 5, 2006: `http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory?id=2700867` "Commodore Frank Bainimarama told a news conference that he was using special powers under the constitution to assume the powers of the president and replace Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase. He said he would soon return the powers to President Ratu Josefa Iloilo, who he expected to appoint a full interim government. Elections to restore democracy would follow, he said. Qarase said he was under effective house arrest, and that he was powerless to stop the military takeover, which came after troops surrounded his house, set up checkpoints in the capital, Suva, and seized official vehicles from government ministers."

See also the brief radio interview with the New Zealand ZB: `http://www.stuff.co.nz/stuff/0,2106,3889390a12,00.html` "PRESENTER: Now we have heard reports of ministerial vehicles being taken and locked down. The police have lost their weapons. Where are you now, and what sort of guard are you under? QARASE: I am in my residence. They've taken my vehicles, they've taken the vehicles of other ministers, and at the moment there are soldiers outside, fully armed. And there are two roadblocks mounted on either end of the steep [inaudible] where I live. PRESENTER: Now for us in New Zealand, we've been watching these events unfold over the last - well, it's been several weeks really. It was almost as though this was going to be a coup that wasn't a coup. It wasn't going to happen. Is that how - was that your feeling? QARASE: Yeah, for quite a long time I thought it was never going to happen, until the last few days. PRESENTER: Okay. And your feeling's now that you're effectively under house arrest? QARASE: The effect is looking that way, yeah. ... PRESENTER: Now Prime Minister, just before we go are you feeling safe, do you feel in danger, and where will you

be staying over the next few days? QARASE: I will be staying at my residence. What will happen to me I don't know. There is rumour that they are going to take me and leave me on one of the islands close to the capital - actually the island where George Speight is locked up. So I might end up there but there's nothing much I can do." VOA NEWS 6 December 2006: `http://www.voanews.com/english/2006-12-06-voa15.cfm` "The coup leader swore in a caretaker prime minister Wednesday to head the interim government. Dr. Jona Senilagakali is a military physician with no political experience. ... The military has flown ousted Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase out of Suva to his village on a remote island, rounded up his supporters and dissolved parliament. But Mr. Qarase remained defiant, saying he is still the country's legitimate leader. The bloodless coup continues to attract international condemnation. The United States has suspended aid to Fiji and said the Qarase government should be reinstated. Australia and New Zealand have also suspended military ties with Fiji and imposed travel sanctions."

BBC News, 5 October, 2007 "Fiji to lift state of emergency." "Fiji's military-led government says it will lift the state of emergency it imposed last month when deposed PM Laisenia Qarase re-entered politics. A military spokesman said that the measures would end on Saturday because there was no threat to the nation. Mr Qarase was ousted in a coup in 2006 but returned to the capital, Suva, in September from voluntary exile. Military leaders accused him and his party of trying to destabilise the country, and took the emergency steps. The state of emergency has worried the international community and drawn strong criticism from Fiji's major aid donors. 'No threat' Military spokesman Lt-Col Mosese Tikoitoga said that there was no need to prolong the measures, which allowed the government to restrict public protests and detain people without charge. "The military is confident and we want to inform the public of Fiji that we do not see any threat to the nation or its people," he said. A previous state of emergency was lifted in May, five months after the military took power. Mr Qarase, meanwhile, on Thursday began a legal challenge against the military leaders who deposed him. His lawyers are arguing that the coup was illegal and all government actions since then have been invalid."

For Ilolio and Qarase and his successor, see *The Dominion Post* Wellington, New Zealand), April 15, 2008 p. 1 "Death for coups, says Rabuka." Accessed through **Lexis Nexis**. "FIJI'S original coup plotter Sitiveni Rabuka wants capital punishment reintroduced for any more traitors – but only after the latest coup leader, military strongman Voreqe Bainimarama, and his allies are given constitutional immunity for their actions. Mr Rabuka's proposal comes amid growing concern that Commodore Bainimarama might find himself forced to reimpose martial law. Last month deposed Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase argued in the Fiji Supreme Court that the December coup was illegal and that the military government had no authority. Legal speculation in Suva is that the court will come out on Mr Qarase's side, prompting fears that the military will then abrogate the constitution and declare martial law. Writing in the Fiji Sun newspaper, Mr Rabuka said that before the ailing 87-year-old President Josefa Iloilo died, the deposed parliament needed to be reconstituted to give immunity to the military leaders, cabinet ministers and supporters. Parliament would then be dissolved, and in its place an "interim bureaucratic government" would get an election under way. Commodore Bainimarama would retired on a generous pension. With that, Mr Rabuka said, capital punishment would be reactivated for "any future treasonable activities"."

3 Sources

3.1 Web-based sources

Among general sources we relied primarily Lentz (1994,1999) and Spuler (1997). We have also relied on a large number of country specific sources, which will be identified in the complete version of the case description file.

Many websites provide helpful information on heads of states. In particular, we have benefited tremendously from B. Schemmel's exceptional web site (`http://www.rulers.org`) for data on heads of states and their dates of tenure.

Ben Calhoun's website on world statesmen `http://www.worldstatesmen.org` also contains useful information about many historical polities.

As well as Francesco Chirico's website: `http://www.geocities.com/francesco.chirico/`

Roberto Ortiz de Zárate's Biografías de Líderes Políticos website `http://www.terra.es/personal2/monolith/00index.htm` provides biographies for many political leaders.

The online supplement to Vanhanen's (2000) Polyarchy dataset `http://www.sv.ntnu.no/iss/data/vanhanen/` contains notes on events in many countries.

Lijphart's Election Archive (`http://dodgson.ucsd.edu/las/`) contains a Latin American Election statistics section that provides summary of many events for particular countries.

General sources for the Americas include Nohlen (1993 & 2005).

The following web sites provided useful information during the course of the project:

`http://www.famousamericans.net`

`http://www.biografiasyvidas.com`

`http://www.nytimes.com`

`http://www.washingtonpost.com`

`http://www.consortiumnews.com`

`http://news.bbc.co.uk`

`http://www.edufuturo.com` provides excellent information on Ecuadorian Presidents.

`http://www.explored.com.ec/ecuador/baqueriz.htm`

`http://www.mmrree.gov.ec` Ecuador ministry of external relations website

`http://www.washingtonpost.com`

http://www.cnn.com

http://www.nrc.nl

http://www.wordiq.com

http://de.encarta.msn.com/

http://www.macedonian-heritage.gr

http://www.datamass.net

http://www.ikuska.com

http://www.liberiapastandpresent.org

http://www.dacb.org

http://www.blignaut.co.za

http://www.infoplease.com

http://www.nationmaster.com

http://www.maldivesculture.com

http://www.inghist.nl

http://www.worldstatesmen.org

http://www.lexisnexis.com

http://www.consortiumnews.com

http://www.chron.com Houston Chronicle web site

http://proquest.umi.com The Historical Newspapers collections was crucial.

www.chicagotribune.com

http://www.inghist.nl

www.timesherald.com

http://www.monitor.bbc.co.uk BBC Worldwide Monitoring

http://www.sibconline.com.sb Solomon Islands Broadcasting Corporation web site

http://www.auyantepui.com/historia/presidentes.html and http://www.auyantepui.com/historia/posesiones.html for Venezuelan Presidents, with details on profession and election dates

http://countrystudies.us/venezuela/39.htm

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