

## Estonia

### Vanderbilt

Estonia is considered a democracy from 1919 to 1933. We lack Cheibub et al data on regime type, but Estonia during this time was a parliamentary democracy (US Library of Congress; US Dept. of State). “Independent Estonia's early political system was characterized by instability and frequent government turnovers. The political parties were fragmented and were about evenly divided between the left and right wings. The first Estonian constitution required parliamentary approval of all major acts taken by the prime minister and his government. The Riigikogu (State Assembly) could dismiss the government at any time, without incurring sanctions. Consequently, from 1918 to 1933 a total of twenty-three governments held office” (US Library of Congress).

From 1918-1920 Estonia was engaged in a War of Liberation. Konstantin Päts of the Union of Rural People (EMRL) party ruled as Prime Minister (PM) from independence in 1918 to 1919. In May 1919 Otto August Strandman of the Labor Party (ETE) became PM in coalition with the People's Party (ER) and the Estonian Workers' Socialist Democrat Party (ESDTP or SDE).<sup>1</sup> This is a SOLS change. In November 1919 Jaan Tõnisson of the ER became PM in coalition with the ETE/ESDTP. This is a SOLS change. The war ended in 1920. Estonia signed the Tartu Peace Treaty with Russia and joined the League of Nations as a sovereign state. On 30 July 1920 Tõnisson's coalition broke apart and Tõnisson ruled out of coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (07/30/1920). In October 1920 Ants (Hans) Piip, ETE, became State Elder<sup>2</sup> out of coalition. This is a SOLS change. In 1921 Päts of the Unions of Farmers (PK) became State Elder (according to Worldstatesmen, Päts's former party EMRL became the PK in 1921) in coalition with ETE and the Christian People's Party (KRE). This is a SOLS change. In 1922 Juhan (Johannes) Kukk, ETE, became State Elder in coalition with PK. This is a SOLS change. In 1923 Päts, PK, once again became State Elder in coalition with ER/ETE/KRE. This is a SOLS change. In March 1924 Friedrich Karl Akel, KRE, became State Elder in coalition with ETE/ER. This is a SOLS change. In December 1924 Jüri Jaakson, ER, became State Elder in coalition with ETE/KRE/PK/ESDTP. This is a SOLS change. In 1925 Jaan Teemant, PK, became State Elder in coalition with ETE/Ansiedler/KRE/ER.<sup>3</sup> This is a SOLS change. In 1926 the Labor Party left Teemant's coalition, which changed from PK/ETE/Ansiedler/KRE/ER to PK/Ansiedler/KRE/ER. This is a minor SOLS change (7/12/1926).

(For 1927, Archigos lists Uluots as effective ruler between February 22 and November 22 with some sources.<sup>4</sup> This person is neither listed by Cahoon (2000) nor Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell (2000). The Estonian Government Website also does not list him as PM in 1927. Uluots seems to have been PM acting as President in 1940-1944 instead (Miljan 2004, 480). Since we could not find evidence that he was indeed PM during this time, we do not code him.)

In 1927 Jaan Tõnisson, ER, became State Elder in coalition with PK/Ansiedler/ETE. This is a SOLS change. In 1928 August Rei of the Estonian Socialist Party of Workers (ESTP)<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> All coalition party information from 1919 to 1933 is derived from Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell (2000, 117).

<sup>2</sup> Starting with Piip's rule, after the promulgation of the new constitution, State Elder was used to designate the Prime Minister. They are two names for the same role.

<sup>3</sup> Ansiedler is German for “settler.”

<sup>4</sup> Archigos does cite some sources (e.g., Lentz, Parming and Keesing's information), though its description about Uluots is ambiguous.

<sup>5</sup> The Estonian Worker' Socialist Democrat Party (ESDTP) became ESTP in 1925.

became State Elder in coalition with KRE/ETE/Ansiedler. This is a SOLS change. In 1929 Strandman, ETE, once again became State Elder in coalition with KRE/PK/Ansiedler. This is a SOLS change. In 1931 Päts, PK, once again became State Elder in coalition with ER/ESTP. This is a SOLS change.

In February 1932 Teemant of the PKK became State Elder in coalition with ER/ETE/Ansiedler. This is a minor SOLS change (2/19/1931). In July 1932 Karl August Einbund, PKK, became State Elder in coalition with Ansiedler/NCP. (National Centre Party (NCP) was a coalition of parties that included the ER/ETE/KRE.) This is a minor SOLS change (7/19/1932). In November 1932, after multiple unsuccessful attempts to form a new government, Päts of PK<sup>6</sup>, once again became State Elder in coalition with SDE and Center. This is also a minor SOLS change. (Note: Regarding transitions from Pats (PK) to Teemant (PKK) and from Einbund (PKK) to Pats (PK) in 1932, we code them as minor SOLS changes. Since PKK was a merger of PK and agrarian parties, it seems appropriate to code minor changes with them.) Starting with 1932, Polity codes Estonia as being in a transition period. After some parties withdrew their support from Päts' cabinet, in May 1933 Tõnisson, ER, became State Elder in coalition with Ansiedler. This is a SOLS change. In October 1933 Päts, PK, again became State Elder out of coalition. He initially was an interim leader, but ultimately established his own dictatorship. This is a SOLS change.

“By the early 1930s, Estonia's political system, still governed by the imbalanced constitution, again began to show signs of instability. As in many other European countries at the time, pressure was mounting for a stronger system of government. Several constitutional changes were proposed, the most radical being put forth by the protofascist League of Independence War Veterans. In a 1933 referendum, the league spearheaded replacement of the parliamentary system with a presidential form of government and laid the groundwork for an April 1934 presidential election, which it expected to win. Alarmed by the prospect of a league victory and possible fascist rule, the caretaker prime minister, Konstantin Päts, organized a pre-emptive coup d'état on March 12, 1934” (US Library of Congress). Päts' coup had the support of commander-in- chief of the Estonian army, Johan Laidoner. After the coup, Päts dissolved the parliament, banned political parties, declared martial law, and ruled by decree. In 1935 Päts' party affiliation changes from PK to Fatherland League (I). This is not a SOLS change. A referendum legalized his presidency in 1936. Päts hand-picked members of the constituent assembly and banned all parties aside from his Popular Front for the Implementation of the Constitution. He held the right to appoint and dismiss the government and dissolve the parliament and rule by decree. The prime ministers he chose were yes-men and in 1936, the face of Pats replaced Estonia's coat of arms on the main series of stamps, which loudly proclaimed Estonia Patsonia” (Taagepera 1993, 56). The consolidation of power in the person of Päts and his tendency to rule together with close associates suggests that this was a personalist system.

In June 1940, the USSR made ultimatums to both Estonia and Lithuania to allow access of Soviet troops, Päts had to resign, and Estonia became a member of the USSR. According to COW, Estonia lost its independence on June 16, 1940.

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<sup>6</sup> Regarding Pats' sols, see Keesing's World News Archives (keywords: Pat Estonia) : Nov 1932 - New Cabinet.

Source: Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell (2000, 117)

Date	Prime minister	Parties in Government
5.9.1919	O Strandman	Lab. P.P. Soc.Dem.
11.18.1919	J. Tõnisson	P.P. Lab. Soc.Dem.
7.30.1920	J. Tõnisson	P.P.
10.26.1920	A. Pliip	Lab.
6.25.1921	K. Päts	Farm. Lab. Chri.
11.21.1922	J. Kukk	Lab. Farm.
8.2.1923	K. Päts	Farm. P.P. Lab. Chri.
3.26.1924	F. Akel	Chri. Lab. P.P.
12.16.1924	J. Jaakson	P.P. Lab. Chri. Farm. Soc.Dem.
12.15.1925	J. Teemant	Farm. Lab. Settl. Chri. P.P.
7.12.1926	J. Teemant	Farm. Settl. Chri. P.P.
3.4.1927	J. Teemant	Farm. Settl. Chri. P.P.
12.9.1927	J. Tõnisson	P.P. Farm. Settl. Lab.
12.4.1928	A. Rei	Soc.Dem. Chri. Lab. Settl.
7.9.1929	O. Strandman	Lab. Chri. Farm. Settl.
2.12.1931	K. Päts	Farm. P.P. Soc.Dem.
2.19.1932	J. Teemant	Farm. P.P. Lab. Settl.
7.19.1932	K. Einbund	Farm. Settl. N.C.P.
1.9.1932	K. Päts	non-political
5.18.1933	J. Tõnisson	P.P. Settl.
10.21.1933	K. Päts	non-political

Estonia is coded as a parliamentary democracy from independence in 1991 until 2008. Edgar Savisaar of the Rahvarinne party (R, also known as the Popular Front) became Estonia's first PM at independence as head of an interim government (See Lagerspetz and Vogt 2004, 90). There is no SOLS change at independence. In January 1992, in an economic crisis, Savisaar resigned and Tiit Vahi of EK. "Savisaar's transportation minister, Tiit Vähi, was charged with forming a new government, which was billed as one of technocrats and caretakers in advance of parliamentary elections in the fall. (US Library of Congress)" (Also referred to as caretaker government by Centre for the Study of Public Policy University of Aberdeen.) This is not a SOLS change.

The first post-independence elections were held later in 1992, once the Vahi government had accomplished its tasks of the passage of naturalization requirements for citizenship, the Constitutional referendum, and currency reform. Mart Laar of the Isamaa party became PM in coalition with the Moderates and Estonian National Independence Party (ERSP). Since Laar is the first regular leader (Savisaar and Vahi are both interim), we treat him according to the "newly independent states" rule and do not code a SOLS change.

In 1994 Andres Tarand, Non-Party, became PM. This was a caretaker government (Centre for the Study of Public Policy University of Aberdeen; Frucht 2005, 89). This is not a SOLS change. In 1995, Vahi now of the Koonderakond ja Maarahva Ühendus (KMU), an election coalition of the Coalition Party (K) and Rural Union (MU) became PM in coalition with the Centre Party (K). Vahi's party affiliation according to Woldendorp et. al. (2000) was KMU-K. This is a SOLS change. On November 3, 1995 the coalition composition changed from

KMU/K to KMU/R with Vahi continuing as PM (Woldendorp et. al. 2000). This is a minor SOLS change. On December 2, 1996 the R party left the coalition and KMU became the single ruling party with Vahi, KMU-K, at its head (Woldendorp et. al. 2000). This is a minor SOLS change.

In 1997 Mart Siimann, KMU-K, became PM. This is not a SOLS change. In 1999 Mart Laar, "Isamaaliit" Pro Patria Union (IERSP, merger of "Isamaa" and the ERSP) became PM in coalition with the Estonian Reform Party (ERK) and the Moderates. This is a SOLS change. In 2002 Siim Kallas, ERK (or RE), became PM, in coalition with the Centre Party (or KESK) (Centre for the Study of Public Policy University of Aberdeen). This is a SOLS change.

In 2003 Juhan Parts, Res Publica (ResP), became PM in coalition with the ERK (or RE) and the People's Union (ERT, Eestimaa Rahvaliid). This is a SOLS change. In 2005 Andrus Ansip, ERK, became PM. The first government he formed also included KesK and ERL. This is a SOLS change (Inter-Parliamentary Union Database). The coalition remained in place until the 2007 elections, which led to a coalition of Ansip's Reform Party, the Pro Patria and Res Publica Union (IRL), (which took 29) and the SDE (which won 10 seats). The government took office on April 5, 2007 (Inter-Parliamentary Union Database). We code a minor SOLS change on that date.

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