Greece
Vanderbilt

Greece is considered authoritarian from 1919 to 1926, but it does display features of a parliamentary democracy with PM shifting power from 1926 to 1935. During the time, Greek politics were characterized by a split between Republicans (who supported Venizelos) and Royalists (who supported King Constantine). "Now, Republicans opposed Royalists or, more concretely, Venizelists were pitted against anti-Venizelists in a prolonged clash of two great blocs centered around Venizelo's Liberal Party and the People's Party of Panayis Tsaldaris. The distinction between Venizelists and anti-Venizelists had less to do with the regime form as such and was not primarily determined by class-based antagonisms, opposing social ideologies or fundamental differences in economic or foreign policy. Rather, the two camps were essentially national coalitions, rooted in regional loyalties and bound to the pursuit of particularistic interests according to the rules of patronage politics [...]" (Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell 2000, 216-217). This account suggests that the time period does not fit any of the particular Geddes regime types and should be coded as non-specified non-democracy, i.e. based on the pre-designated successor rule.

In 1919 Eleftherios Kiriakou Venizelos of the Liberal Party (KF) ruled as Prime Minister (PM). In November 1920 Venizelos lost the election and anti-Venizelist Dimitrios Rallis of the People's Party (Laiko Komma – LK) (SOLS change - Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell 2000, 277; Koliopoulos et.al. 2010, 87; Mavrogordatos 1983, 44). Rallis was a big supporter of the monarchy and asked Queen Olga to become regent and prepare the return of her son Konstantinos I (House of Denmark)[1] (Gelardi, Koliopoulos e.a. 2010, 87). The transition to King Konstantinos I (House of Denmark) can therefore be seen as Rallis' pre-designated successor and this is not a SOLS change. We code Greece as monarchy from 1920 to 1921 (see Keridi 2009, 177 Appendix B; and Shyy 2001, 104).

Konstantinos I then led what would come to be known as the "Asia Minor Debacle" (or Catastrophe)—in which Greek troops were defeated by Turkish nationalists, and were then forced to evacuate. Greek communities on Asia Minor were then expelled, and Greece had to withdraw from Thrace (Keridis 2009, 16-17). When the Greek defeat to Turkey loomed in 1922, two colonels (Plastiras and Gonatas) who were strong supporters of Venizelos asked the King to resign and formed a Revolutionary Committee. The transition to Plastiras is thus a SOLS change, but since Gonatas can be considered a pre-designated successor of Plastiras (they jointly established the Revolutionary Committee), the assumption of the PMship by Gonatas is not a SOLS change.

In 1924, the monarchy was abolished and the second Greek Republic was declared. In January 1924 Venizelos, KF, once again became PM after Gonatas and Plastiras retired (SOLS change - Kitromilides 2008, 169). For health reasons, he only stayed in office very briefly and pre-designated Georgios Konstantinou Kaphantaris, LP, as his successor. This is not a SOLS change. Kaphantaris was forced to resign under military pressure in March 1924 and the leftwing

[1] Some sources name this dynasty as House of Gluecksberg Dynasty or House of Oldenburg. We follow Morby.

Venizelist Alexandros Panagiotou Papanastasiou, who had left the LP to establish the Republican Union (DE), proclaimed the Republic (SOLS change – Dragoumēs 1995). The KF split into three: Progressive Liberals under Kafandares, Conservative Liberals under Michalakopoulos, and Sofoules (Mavrogordatos 1983, p.32). In July 1924 Themistoklis Panagiotou Sophoulis, KF, became interim PM (Mavrogordatos 1983: 33). Since he is an interim leader, this is not a SOLS change. In October 1924, Andreas Michalakopoulos of the rightwing Venizelist Conservative Republican Party (CR) (see Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell 2000, 229; Mavrogordatos 1983, 43), which was a splinter of the KF became PM. This is a SOLS change since the last regular leader was from the DE.

In 1925 Theodoros Michail Pangalos, Mil, staged a coup and took power. This is a SOLS change. In the face of the coup the divided parties united and in August 1926 General Georgios Kondilis overthrew the Pangalos dictatorship. Kondilis was allowed to form a government to oversee elections. While we don't find sources that explicitly call him interim, we consider him as an interim leader due to his role at that time. First, he prepared new republican constitution in Sep. and prepared election (see Shrader, 199, 11; Spyropoulos et al. 1992, 50). Second, he did not run for that election. Given these government's mandates, Kondilis' government should be seen as an interim government. Thus, we code no SOLS change.

From 1926 until 1935 Greece is considered a parliamentary democracy, with the autocratic regime starting with Metaxas (see Derouen and Heo 2007, 369; Robbers 2006, 352; Spyropoulos et al. 2009, 50). Following the first democratic elections a broad cabinet was formed under the leadership of the "colorless" Alexandros Thrasivoulou Zaimis (non-party),[2] with the goal of settling the military issue and drafting a constitution. The Zaimis cabinet consisted of the Liberal Party (KF), Conservative Liberals (ConLib), the Farmer-Labour Party (FLP), the People's Party (LK), and the Free Opion Party (FOP - Mavrogordatos 1984, 36). There were at least three cabinet shake-ups in Zaimis' government (therefore minor changes should be coded). According to several sources (see Mavrogordatos 1984, 36; Woodhouse 1984, 218), the LK dropped in August 1927, the FLP dropped in February 1928, and the ProgLib dropped in May 1928.

Following the elections of August 1928, Venizelos' Liberal Party (KF) had a majority of 178 seats. Moreover, Venizelos could count on the support of a large block of rightwing Venizelist parties –i.e. the Conservative Republican Party (CRP), the Progressive Party (PP), the Farmer-Labour-Party (FLP), the National Radical Party (NRP), the Progressive Union (PU), and independent Republicans - which provided his government with the support of as much as 226 seats of 248 parliamentary seats (Kitromilides 2008, 195-6; Berg-Schlosser 2000, 228; Maurogordatos 1984, 36-40). This is a SOLS change. (Note: Since we consider a block of rightwing Venizelist parties as an electoral coalition, we do not code individual parties. Rather, we code LK as a Venizelos' SOLS).

We do not have exact information with respect to minor sols changes during the Venizelos government of 1928-1932. We know that Venizelos' enjoyed a huge and stable parliamentary majority, but that his government saw frequent changes of cabinet ministers. Moreover, an economic crisis and a "personalized and an arbitrary style of decision

[2] Zaimis was originally an anti-Venizelist, but considered neutral.

making" (Mavrogordatos 1984, 40) slowly eroded his Venizelist faction in parliament (Kitromilides 2008, 195-6). From 1930 the leaders of three of the four largest coalition partners – i.e. the Progressive Party, the Farmer-Labour-Party, and the National Radical Party - began attacking the government and by 1932 only Venizelos' Liberal Party and the Conservative Republican Party remained in his government (Maurogordatos 1984, 40; Berg-Schlosser 2000; 228). Therefore, we code a minor SOLS change in 1932 (date unclear) and code a coalition of KF/CRP/PP/FLP/NRP/PU/Ind before 1932 and a coalition of KF/CRP afterwards, while there is some uncertainty with this coding.

On May 26 1932 Venizelos resigned and the more leftist Venezelist Papanastasiou (DE) briefly becomes PM but does not receive enough support from Venizelos to undertake his economic reforms (Kitromilides 2008, 214). Consequently, Venizelos is forced to return heading an all KF cabinet. Because Papanastasiou is in power for less than a month this is a SOLS change30 ABA scenario. Following the inconclusive elections of September 1932, Tsaldaris (LK) formed a minority government in November composed of (extreme) rightwing anti-Venizelist parties: the People's Party, Free Opinion, and the National Radical Party (Kitromilides 2008, 215). This is a SOLS change.[3] (Note: Since there is uncertainty about each cabinet composition in this year, we code PM's party only in our spreadsheet. We know that PM's party had the vast majority of seats in most of the cases. Thus, listing only PM's SOLS can be justified. Accordingly, we code major SOLS change only.)

In January 1933 Venizelos formed a rightwing coalition consisting of the Liberal Party, the Conservative-Republican Party, the Farmer-Labour-Party and parts of the Agrarians (Ag - SOLS change). However, because Venizelos' coalition only had a slim majority of 6 seats, Venizelos immediately called for new elections. These elections were won by the 'United Opposition', the extreme rightwing anti-Venizelist camp. However, immediately following the elections on 6 March 1933, the Venizelist general Plastiras (Mil) took power in a coup. The coup was short-lived, however, as Plastiras' coup lacked support (sols30—ABC scenario). Four days later, the Anti-Venizelists formed a coalition headed by Tsaldaris of the People's Party (LK). This is a SOLS change. The anti-Venizelist camp gained 136 (54%) of 248 seats and consisted of the People's Party, the Free Opion Party (FOP), the National Radical Party (NRP), and the remainder of the Agrarians (Ag)[4] (Berg-Schlosser 2000, 229). (Note: since there is uncertainty about each cabinet composition in this year, we code PM's party and major SOLS change only in our spreadsheet.)

Tensions between Venizelists and Anti-Venizelists remained high. Tsaldaris was unable to keep his hold on the extremist elements within his government. Especially, ex-general Kondilis of the National Radical Party (NRP) increased his influence on the military as minister of war. March 1935 a failed Venizelist coup was responded to with a massive purge, further increasing Kondilis' power. Also in March, ex-general Metaxas' Free Opion party left the coalition because

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[3] Berg-Schlosser (2000, 228) also lists independent Royalists anti-Venizelists as part of Tsaldaris anti-Venizelist block, but does not enter into details with respect to the composition of the coalition.

[4] It is unclear if all four parties provided cabinet members, to Tsaldaris' coalition, but it is clear that these parties formed the source of leadership support of his coalition. The people's party was with 118 seats by far the dominant member in the coalition.

of a conflict with Kondiis. New elections were held from which the Venizelists abstained. As a result the People's Party and National Radical Party won an astounding victory. Further competition between Tsaldaris (PP) and the radical Kondilis (NRP) culminated in the Tsaldaris being overthrown by the royalist military and Kondilis assuming dictatorship. (SOLS change) The remainder of the general assembly (only 82 members) was forced to proclaim the restoration of the monarchy (Mavrogordatos 1984, 46-51).

The return of the King resulted in the dismissal of both Kondilis and Tsaldaris, the establishment of a caretaker government under Demertzes[5] (KF – alternatively monarchist) and an amnesty for the leaders of the March Venizelist coup. The Demertzes' government oversaw new elections, but remained in power because the People's Party and Liberal Party could not come to an agreement. In only a few months time period major party leader Venizelos, Kondilis, Tsaldaris passed away. When Demertzes died as well on April 12 1936, the king appointed Metaxas as interim leader. A few months later, in August of 1936, Metaxas established a dictatorship with support of the monarchy that would last until well into WWII . Consequently we code a SOLS change as Metaxas assumes power on 22 April 1936 (Maurogordatos 1984, 51-57).

Metaxas was a General that was associated with the Freethinkers party, an ultra-right party. He had the support of conservative forces- the monarchy, royalists, and military officers that supported the monarchy (Kofas 1983: 53). Metaxas shut down the parliament, suspended the constitution, banned all parties including his own, and took control of the police and the military. In 1938, he purged the group that had brought him to power (i.e. the royalists) and replaced them with Metaxists (Kofas 1983, 54). Generally, he appointed people loyal to him. Kofas (1983, 206) speaks of "two stages: 1) until 1938 the power base was mainly conservative and Metaxas relied on the crown and royalist political and military circles, 2) 'The New State' relied on the police as main organ while the military stayed under control of the crown and played only a minor role before 1940." We consider this to be a personalist dictatorship because Metaxas consolidated power in his person. Metaxas unexpectedly died in January 1941 in the middle of the war against Italy.

In January 1941, the King nominated Alexandros Georgiou Korizis of the National Bank of Greece, Non-Party, as PM. However, this is not a SOLS change since Korizis was Metaxas' predesignated successor ("Greece: 80-Day Premier"). Accordingly, his government is a continuation of the Metaxas' personalist regime. After Korizis committed suicide, in April 1941 Emmanouil Ioannou Tsouderos, Non-Party, became PM (Hionidou 2006, 10). We consider Tsouderos a provisional leader. He came to power because of the sudden death of Korizis and only served for one week. Thus, we do not code SOLS change. Greece became occupied by Germany and Tsouderos' government went into exile in Egypt. According to COW, Greece lost its independence (from April 23, 1941 to Oct. 13, 1944).

In 1944 Greece is no longer under occupation and is considered a democracy through 1945. Georgios Andreou Papandreou, EK, returned from exile in Egypt to become PM. This is a

[5] The neutral government had the main task to oversee new elections. Also Gerolymatos (2004) and Fisher (2007; 176) refer to the Demertzes' government as a caretaker government.

SOLS change since his SOLS is his Center Union party rather than the King who appointed the least leaders prior to occupation.

Greece is coded as a parliamentary democracy from 1945 until 1967.[6] Some history is necessary here for contextual understanding. Prior to World War II, the country was ruled by a dictator, Ioannis Metaxas, whose official title was prime minister (Hertzler 1940, 165). He died just prior to Greece's defeat and occupation by Germany in 1941, which lasted until 1944. During the occupation, the "de jure government recognized by the Allies was the exile government of King George II" (Stavrianos 1952, 42) and his appointed governments, whose leaders succeeded the former dictator in the role of prime minister. However, during German occupation, leftist Greek resistance groups within Greece began to amass power, the most influential of these being the National Liberation Front (EAM). "Toward the end of the occupation period it [the EAM] reached such proportions that it became virtually a de facto government and consequently a rival of the regime in exile" (Stavrianos 1952, 42). Consequently, the EAM was included in the 1944 national unity government, which was headed by Georgios Papandreou of the Center Union (CU, referred to as EK by Cahoon 2011), a rightist and anti-communist (Dear and Foot 2001, 399). Britain sought a firm hand in post-WWII Greek political affairs; they negotiated with the Soviet Union for sole influence in Greece in return for a relinquishing to the Soviets of their influence in Romania. With British and royal support, G. Papandreou came back from exile to Greece as the Germans retreated in October 1944. In December, tensions arising from demobilization of the guerilla resistance groups and the creation of a national army led to discontent among leftist elements in the army and government. This led to a communist uprising in December, and the EAM left the national unity government as a result. On December 30th, at the urging of the British, King George II appointed Archbishop Damaskinos his regent in Greece until the survival of the monarchy could be voted upon in a plebiscite (Cahoon 2011; Dear and Foot 2001, 401; Clogg 1992, 17).

In January 1945, as a result of his inability to deal with the communist uprising, G. Papandreou was "replaced" with General Nikolaos Plastiras, Mil (Dear and Foot 2001, 401). This leader transition is difficult to code. Since Greece is considered a democracy and the two leaders' affiliations are different, this should be coded a SOLS change. Since both Papandreou and Plastiras were supported by the royalists and the British, who had "assumed policing powers in Greece" in Feb 1945 (Kofas 1989, 39), this should not be a SOLS change. To be consistent with our coding rules we have to code a SOLS change here. ((However, it seems wrong that Greece is a democracy during 1945. Greece held their first national elections after WWII in 1946. Until then, all of the PMs after the dictatorship that ended in 1941 were appointed under British pressure by King George II or Archbishop Damaskinos in a constitutional monarchy. At the very least it's an interim period, because no elections are held and all PMs get into office by appointment until 1946.)) In April 1945, Plastiras resigned in a scandal and Damaskinos in his role as regent appointed Petros Voulgaris, also Mil, to the premiership (TIME 1945). This is not a SOLS change. The Voulgaris cabinet "was dissolved in October 1945 after it was overwhelmed by a multitude of problems" (Kofas 1989, 34). Archbishop Damaskinos became "acting" PM (Cahoon 2011) until Panagiotis Kanellopoulos of the National Unionist Party (EEK) was

[6] There are a lot of parties that we couldn't find the full names for.

appointed PM later that month (Kofas 1989, 34). Kanallopoulos governed for less than 30 days, so we code a SOLS-30 here. None of the other changes are SOLS changes. Kanellopoulos resigned and Themistoklis Sophoulis of the Liberal Party (LIB-Sof, referred to a KF by Cahoon 2011) formed a government in late 1945. This is a SOLS change. Sophoulis called for national elections to take place in March 1946. Kofas (1989, 38) explains that during this period "the nation's fate was determined primarily by Anglo-American advisers" and an "oligarchy." Throughout 1945 the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) sought participation in government while "right-wing forces, with the tacit support of the British, unleashed a terrorist campaign not only against the communists, but also against communist sympathizers, socialists, and centrists" (Clogg 2003, 40).[7]

Elections were held in March 1946 as planned, with the leftists abstaining. Panagiotis Poulitsas, Non-Party, became PM in coalition with the People's Party (POP), the National Political Union (NPU), and the Liberal Party (LIB) (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 238). Woldendorp et al. refer to this government as an interim government which would also explain its short duration (two weeks). This is not a SOLS change. Konstantinos Tsaldaris, POP, then became PM in coalition with LIB-Nat (National Liberal Party) and LIB-Ref (Refugees' Liberal Party). This is a SOLS change. "The election, which was marred by low turnout and considerable fraud, gave power to the People's Party, a loose coalition of the old Populist Party with Metaxasists, monarchists, and anticommunists. The new leader of the government was Konstantinos Tsaldaris, a nephew of the prewar Populist leader" (US Library of Congress).

The plebiscite on the monarchy was held in September 1946, two years ahead of schedule and used "coercion if not outright rigging" to restore the monarchy with 68 percent of the popular vote (US Library of Congress 1994). The restoration was seen as a betrayal. The US Library of Congress explains "Although there was widespread opposition to the idea of a communist government, there also was deep antipathy to the monarchy in general and especially to King George, who had been tainted by his closeness to Metaxas." The leftists took up arms to protest and a civil war began in late 1946.

In 1947 Dimitrios Maximos, POP, became PM in coalition with NPU, LIB-Nat, LIB-Ref, Party of "Venizelian Liberals" (LIB-Ven), SocDem (Social Democrats), and NP (National Party of Greece).[8] This is a minor SOLS change (Jan 27 1947). In March 1947 U.S. President Truman pledged $400 million in aid and military assistance to Greece as part of the Truman Doctrine (Library of Congress). In August Tsaldaris, POP, once again became PM out of coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (Aug 29 1947). A month later, Sophoulis (LIB-Sof), became PM in coalition with POP. This is a SOLS change (Sept 8 1947). In 1949 LIB-Ven joined Sophoulis' coalition along with New Party and NU. This is a minor SOLS change (Jan 20 1949). On July 1 Alexandros Diomidis, LIB-? (according to Wolderndorp et al.), became PM in coalition with POP, LIB-Sof, LIB-Ven, and NU. We code this as a minor SOLS change although it could be a major one if Diomidis' liberals are different from Sophoulis.

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[7] This period is referred to as the "white terror." From Feb 1945 until Mar 1946, over 84,000 people were arrested, over 30,000 tortured, and more than 1,000 were executed (Kofas 1989, 41).

[8] Cahoon 2011 lists his SOLS as Non-Party, but we go with Woldendorp et al.

The civil war ended in August 1949 (US Library of Congress). In January 1950 Ioannis Theotokis, POP, became PM of a caretaker government (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 240). This is not a SOLS change. On March 23 1950, Venizelos, LIB, once again became PM in coalition with NUP. This is a minor SOLS change. In April Plastiras, now part of the National Progressive Center Union (EPEK), once again became PM in coalition with LIB and SocDem. This is a SOLS change. In August Venizelos, LIB, became PM. This is a SOLS change. Seven days later SocDem and NP joined in coalition with LIB. This is a minor SOLS change (Aug 28 1950). In September POP joined the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (Sept 13 1950). In November POP and NP left the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (Nov 3 1950). In July 1951 SocDem left the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (July 3 1951). In October Plastiras, EPEK, once again became PM in coalition with LIB. This is a SOLS change. In October 1952 Dimitrios Kiousopoulos, Non-party, became PM of a caretaker government (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 240). This is not a SOLS change. In November Alexandros Papagos of the conservative Hellenic Union (GRAL)[9] became PM. This is a SOLS change. Papagos died in office in 1955 and Stephanos Stephanopoulos, of the People's Social Party (LKK) became "acting" PM (Cahoon 2011). This is not a SOLS change.

In October 1955, Konstantinos Karamanlis, GRAL, became PM. This is not a SOLS change. In 1956 Karamanlis' SOLS changes from GRAL to National Radical Union (ERE). The US Library of Congress writes that "The forty-eight- year-old Macedonian reorganized the Greek Rally Party as the National Radical Union (Ethniki Rizopastiki Enosis--ERE) and proceeded to hold power until 1963." We code no SOLS change here. In May 1958 Konstantinos Georgakopoulos, Non-party, became interim PM (Cahoon 2011). This is not a SOLS change. Two weeks later Karamanlis, ERE, was back in office. This is not a SOLS change. In September 1961 Konstantinos Dovas, Mil, became head of a caretaker government to oversee general elections (Cahoon 2011; Clogg 1987, 40). This is not a SOLS change. Karamanlis, ERE, became PM in November. This is not a SOLS change. Karamanlis resigned in June 1963 and Panagiotis Pipinelis, Non-Party,[10] (Clogg 1987, 152 sats that Pipinelis was "a member of ERE but not in its inner circle"), which we code as non-party (Clogg 1987, 152), became interim PM (Woldendorp et al., 240). This is not a SOLS change. In September Stylianos Mavromichalis, Non-party, "was appointed Prime Minister by King Paul to take the country to elections" as part of a caretaker government (Draenos 2009, 433; Clogg 1987, 44). This is not a SOLS change. In November G. Papandreou, CU, became PM. This is a SOLS change. In December 1963, the Greek Cypriots "unleashed a military offensive aimed at destroying Turkish political autonomy" (Nicolet 2001, 422). At the end of the month Ioannis Paraskevopoulos, Non-party, became PM of another interim regime (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 240). This is not a SOLS change. In 1964 G. Papandreou, CU, became PM. This is not a SOLS change since the last regular leader was Papandreou himself. In July 1965 Georgios Athanasiadis-Novas, CU, became PM. This is not a SOLS change. In 1965 August Ilias Ioannou Tsirimokos, Diss-CU, (Cahoon 2011 has "Non-party") became PM. This is a SOLS change. In September Stephanopoulos, Diss-CU, (Cahoon

[9] Cahoon 2011 abbreviates Hellenic Union "EK" for Ellinikos Sinagermos. It is unclear what GRAL stands for. It must be Hellenic Union.

[10] Cahoon (2011) has his SOLS as ERE, but we go with Woldendorp et al.

2011 has "FDK") became PM in coalition with ERE and PP. This is a minor SOLS change (Sept 17 1965).

In 1966 Paraskevopoulos, Non-party, once again became PM in a caretaker government (Woldendorp et al, 240). This is not a SOLS change. In April 1967 Panagiotis Kanellopoulos, ERE, became PM, also of a caretaker government (Woldendorp et al, 240). This is also not a SOLS change.

According to the U.S. Department of State, "On April 21, 1967, just before scheduled elections, a group of colonels led by Col. George Papadopoulos seized power in a coup d'état." From 1967 until 1974 the country is considered a military autocracy. The junta first installed Kollias, civilian and non-party, as leader, and then replaced him by Papadopoulos (Mil), one of the coup leaders, in December. We code a SOLS change for Kollias which is when the military regime began (Jessup 1998, 247). In November 1973 students protested the country's military rule. In response, "army hard-liners, led by Mr. [Dimitrios] Ioannidis, staged a successful countercoup on Nov. 25, 1973, and ruled Greece with increasing harshness and incompetence for the next eight months" (The Washington Post 2010). This is not a SOLS change since the military rule continued. Ioannidis then launched a military coup in Cyprus. To Ioannidis' surprise, Turkey intervened. Ioannidis' junta collapsed in July 1974 after its defeat by the Turks.

A "broadly based civilian government" was set up immediately, headed by Karamanlis, ERE, as PM (Xydis 1974, 537). According to Woldendorp et al., this government's main task was to organize elections. From 1974 until 2008 the country is once again considered a parliamentary democracy. We code a SOLS change here. In 1974 Karamanlis changed his SOLS from ERE to ND (New Democracy- center-right), which was a new party he formed. In 1980 Georgios Rallis, ND, became PM. This is not a SOLS change. In 1981 Andreas Papandreou (the son of G. Papandreou) of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) became PM. This is a SOLS change.

In 1989 Tzannis Tzannetakis of the center-right ND became PM in coalition with SYN (Synaspismós). This is a SOLS change. In 1989 Ioannis Grivas, Non-Party, became interim PM (Cahoon 2011; GlobalSecurity.org). This is not a SOLS change. A little over a month later Xenophon Zolotas, Non-party, became PM in coalition with ND, PASOK, and SYN. However, even though ND was the leading party in the coalition (as it was under Tzannetakis), Zolotas is considered an interim leader and therefore is not coded as a minor SOLS change. Note that Woldendorp et al. (2000, 240) suggest that Zolotas' government's main task was to bring about elections. In 1990, he went on to lead a pure caretaker government without ND, PASOK, and SYN. This is not a minor SOLS change. In April 1990, Konstantinos Mitsotakis, ND, became PM. This is a minor SOLS change. In 1993 A. Papandreou, PASOK, became PM. This is a SOLS change. In 1995 Apostolos "Akis" Tsohatzopoulos, PASOK, briefly became "acting" PM when Papandreou became sick. This is not a SOLS change. In 1996 Konstantinos "Kostas" Simitis, PASOK, became PM. This is not a SOLS change. In 2004 Konstantinos "Kostas" Karamanlis, New Democracy ND, became PM (Mavrogordatos 2005, 1028). This is a SOLS change.

In 2011, Loukás Dimitríou Papadímos took over as interim prime minister after Prime minsiter Geórgios Andréou Papandréou of the PAKOS party resigned as part of a deal to form a cross-party government (Smith 2011a). Following the interim coding rules, we consider Papadímos an interim leader because his term was 6 months and there are sources that consider

him an interim leader (Daley 2011; Smith 2011b; BBC News 2017) Accordingly, the transition from Papandréou to Papadímos is not considered a SOLS change.

The 2012 May elections brought an end to Papadímos' tenure as PM, but the elections did not give any party a majority and talks to form a coalition failed (Phelan 2012). A new interim government under Panagiótis Óthona Pikramménos was formed to run the country until elections occurred in June 2012. The June 2012 elections resulted in Antónis Konstantínou Samarás becoming prime minister (Smith 2012). This is coded as a SOLS change because the political affiliation of Samarás, ND, different from that of the previous non-interim leader Papandréou.

In 2013, the DIMAR party left the governing coalition, resulting in a minor SOLS change (Lowen 2013).

Elections were held in January of 2015. SYRIZA won the election and Aléxis Pávlou Tsípras became prime minister (BBC News 2015). Because his political affiliation is different than his predecessor, the transition is coded as a SOLS change. However, after only serving for 7 months, Tsípras resigned and called for another election (Buckler 2015). A caretaker government under Vasilikí Spyrídonos Thánou-Christofílou was established to oversee the elections. SYRIZA won the September elections, so Tsípras returned as prime minister (Kitsantonis 2015). The transitions from Tsípras to Thánou-Christofílou and from Thánou-Christofílou back to Tsípras are not considered SOLS changes due the interim status of Thánou-Christofílou.

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