Guinea-Bissau

On September 24 1973, Guinea-Bissau declared independence unilaterally, as the State of Guinea-Bissau. Before its independence, Guinea-Bissau was Portuguese Guinea, an overseas province since June 11 1951, and before being called a province of Portugal, the country was a Portuguese colony. In 1956, Amilcar Cabral and Raphael Barbosa organized a clandestine independence movement, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC). PAIGC started an armed rebellion against Portuguese in 1961, and by 1968, it controlled most of the country. Despite the presence of Portuguese troops, PAIGC established a civilian rule and held elections for national assembly. On 24 Sep 1973, Luís de Almeida Cabral of PAIGC, the brother of Amilcar Cabral, became the first president of Guinea-Bissau. We do not code a SOLS change for this date since Cabral is the first leader of the newly independent country following a colonial government. The PAIGC party was the only legal party from 1974-1991, and is also categorized as Marxist. For this reason, Guinea-Bissau during Cabral's presidency is considered a single-party state.

On November 14, 1980, the government was overthrown in a military coup led by Prime Minister and former armed forces commander Joao Bernardo Vieira. Though Vieira was a member of the PAIGC, his main support base initially came from the military (as shown by the fact that the Revolutionary Council he established had only two members who were not military officers). This transition is therefore coded as a SOLS change. After the coup, the constitution was suspended and, then President, Vieira chaired a nine member military council, which controlled the country until it was handed back to civilian control in 1984.

In 1984, the military council headed by Vieira was dissolved, the National Popular Assembly, the 100 member Guinea-Bissau national legislature, was reconvened, and the following event occurred: the still single party body approved a new constitution and Vieira was elected to a new five-year term, among other things. During this time period, Guinea-Bissau is coded as a personalist state since most power in the country was centered on Vieira. Under this new system, the president was now both head of the country and head of the PAIGC party, effectively perpetuating the personalist identity that the country had been under since the 1980 coup. Though this transition may indicate a shift in regime, the 1984 transition is not considered a minor SOLS change according to our coding rules since Vieira remains the head of a personalist regime.

Vieira stayed in power until the late 1990's even though there were several threats to his position by means of alleged coup attempts and the ban on political parties was lifted in 1991. There were multiparty elections in 1994, but they resulted in Vieira being reelected as President. An army uprising against the Vieira government in June 1998 triggered a bloody civil war that created hundreds of thousands of displaced persons and resulted in President Vieira having to request assistance from the governments of Senegal and Guinea, who provided troops to quell the uprising. On May 7, 1999, rebels led by the former armed forced chief, Ansumane Mane, defeated forces loyal to Vieira.

Ansumane Mané, a former Chief of Staff, became temporary head of state from May 7, 1999 through May 14, 1999. Following this, Malam Bacai Sanhá, the then president of the National Peoples Assempby, was sworn in as acting president until the country had an election

that November (Adebajo 2002, 127). We consider Mane to be an interim leader since he quickly handed power over to an interim administration tasked with bringing about new elections and thus do not code a SOLS change (Adebajo 2002, 127). During the November election, Sanhá lost to Kumba Ialá, a forming member of the Party for Social Renewal. Ialá's (PRS) 2000 inauguration ushered in the first non-PAIGC party in control of the country since independence in 1974. This marks a SOLS change. GWF code the end of Iala's time in office (2002-2003) as a personalist regime.

In 2003, Ialá was deposed in a military coup led by Verrísimo Correia Seabra. Seabra can be considered as an interim leader (see Europa World Yearbook 2004: 1968). After two weeks, Seabra turned control of the government over to Henrique Rosa, who was not affiliated with any party. Rosa's government lasted for two years. We treat it as a regular government and consider Rosa as a beginning of a new SOLS. Since he came to power after the coup he was not Iala's pre-designated successor.

When elections were held in 2005, Vieira, who had returned to Guinea-Bissau from Portugal, was declared the victor (he was once again a member of PAIGC, so this marks an SOLS change).

In March 2009, democratically elected President João Bernardo Vieira was killed as he was fleeing his home (Pallister 2009). Raimundo Perreira was named interim leader until Malam Bacai Sanhá was elected president in July 2009 (UPI 2009; UNIOGBIS 2009). Guinea-Bissau is considered a democracy through 2011, thus political affiliation is used to determine SOLS changes. Because Perreira served as interim president, this leader transition is not coded as a SOLS change. There is no SOLS change in 2009 because Sanhá and Vieira, the leader prior to the interim, were from the same political party, PAIGC. Sanhá died in January 2012 and Perriera again served as interim president until elections (Balde 2012). Due to his interim status, the tranistion from Sanhá to Perriera is not coded as a SOLS change.

Shortly after the first round of presidential elections, the military, led by Mamadu Ture Kuruma, deposed the interim president in a coup (Al Jazeera 2012; Freedom House 2014). The Assembly was dissolved and a 32-member National Tranistion Council (NTC) was appointed on April 12, 2012, led by the army's vice chief of staff, Mamadu Ture Kuruma (Lansford 2015).

After international pressure, the military handed control over to a transitional government led by Manuel Serifo Nhamadjo in May 2012 as part of a transition pact brokered by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) (Djau 2012; Freedom House 2014). Because the coup lasted for less than thirty days, we code a 30 day SOLS change as occurring in 2012. Nhamadjo served as leader of the transitional government from May 2012 to June 2014. While he was the leader of the transitional government, he was a leader for longer than 18 months so we do not consider him an interim leader. Nhamadjo was selected by the military and multiple political parties, but the ruling party, PAIGC, was not part of the process (Djua 2012). It does not appear that the military intended to install Nhamadjo as leader prior to the coup. Instead, Nhamadjo's installment was the product of a transition pact between many political actors instigated by international actors. As a result, we code a SOLS change from the military coup to Nhamadjo.

In the 2014 presidential elections, José Mário Vaz from the PAIGC was elected president (BBC NEws 2015). The elections mark a return of Guinea Bissau to democratic rule. This is

coded as a SOLS change because the PAIGC did not participate in the selection of Nhamadjo, the leader of the transitional government.

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