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Paraguay is considered authoritarian from 1919 through 1945. The country was led by the Liberals, "a deeply factionalized political oligarchy" until 1936 (US Library of Congress 1988). Paraguay experienced severe instability with fifteen Presidents during the 1904-1922 (US Library of Congress 1988). Given the factionalization of the Liberal Party (PL) (see below in detail) and the political power of private land owners, we code the period of Liberal rule (1919-1935: from Manuel Franco to Eusebio Ayala) as an oligarchic regime (see Alexander 1982, 581; Alexander 2005, 91; Benelli et al. 2005, 5). Accordingly, we code no SOLS change for this period. According to Polity IV (Marshall and Jaggers 2002), Paraguay was an autocratic regime until 1992, when it experienced a democratic transition that lasts until now. Between 1939 and 1948, Paraguay was coded as a personalist regime according to Geddes (2003). After that, from 1948 to 1953, it was considered as a single-party regime. From 1953, Paraguay lived under the Stroessner regime for almost 4 decades which is considered as a hybrid regime (military/single party/personalist).

Manuel Franco of the Liberal Party (PL) served as president from 1916 to 1919 when he died. Vice President José Pedro Montero Candia, PL, became acting president (Cahoon 2013). This is not a SOLS change. In 1920 Manuel Gondra Pereira, PL, became president. This is not a SOLS change, either.

Liberals were split into "factional feuding" between the Gondista and Scheerer factions (US Library of Congress 1988). The Schaerer faction forced Gonda to resign in 1921 and his Vice President Felix Paiva, PL, became "acting" president (Hansen et al. 2006, 225). This is not a SOLS change. After some fighting, the Gondristas prevailed and "the Gondrista faction of Liberals controlled the government from 1921 to 1936" (Warren 1950, 4). Eusebio Ayala, PL, took over as provisional president (Cahoon 2013; Hansen et al. 2006, 225). This is not a SOLS change. In 1923 José Eligio Ayala, PL, became provisional president (Cahoon 2013; Hansen et al. 2006, 225). This is not a SOLS change. In March 1924 Luis Alberto Riart Vera y Aragón, PL, became provisional president (Cahoon 2013; Hansen et al. 2006, 225). This is not a SOLS change.

In August 1924 José Eligio Ayala, PL, was inaugurated as president. He was a Gondrista (Henderson et al. 2000, 169). Since Gondra was the last regular leader, this is not s SOLS change. In 1928 José Patricio Guggiari Corniglione, PL, became president. He was also a Gondrista (Bethell 1986, 494). This is not a SOLS change.

Guggiari encountered significant opposition when he signed a "humiliating" treaty with Bolivia over the Chaco in 1931. After government troops fired at protesters, Guggiari was forced to step down. Vice President Emiliano Gonzalez Navero, PL, took power provisionally (Hansen et al. 2006, 225) after the Mutiny of October 23, 1931. This is not a SOLS change. In 1932 Guggiari returned to power (according to Archigos (Goemans et al. 2009), not Cahoon 2013). This is not a SOLS change since he was also the last regular leader.

Later that year Eusebio Ayala, PL, became president. This is not a SOLS change. While Paraguay was poised to win the Chaco War, Ayala agreed to a truce rather than to press for victory. This was not well-received by nationalist military forces led by Colonel Franco. "On

February 17, 1936, units of the army descended on the Presidential Palace and forced Ayala to resign, ending thirty-two years of Liberal rule" (US Library of Congress 1988).

In 1936 Rafael de la Cruz Franco Ojeda of the February Republican Party (PRF) became president (Cahoon 2013; Hansen et al. 2006, 225). This is a SOLS change. While some sources refer to him as a provisional president, the discussion of his time in office by US Library of Congress (1988) suggest that he had no intention of giving up power soon. The Franco government immediately undertook significant policy reforms and passed a decree calling for the establishment of a totalitarian state. Franco, however, failed to establish a solid support base: "Franco's cabinet reflected almost every conceivable shade of dissident political opinion, and included socialists, fascist sympathizers, nationalists, Colorados, and Liberal cívicos. A new party of regime supporters, the Revolutionary National Union (Unión Nacional Revolucionaria), was founded in November 1936. Although the new party called for representative democracy, rights for peasants and workers, and socialization of key industries, it failed to broaden Franco's political base. In the end, Franco forfeited his popular support because he failed to keep his promises to the poor. He dared not expropriate the properties of foreign landowners, who were mostly Argentines. In addition, the Liberals, who still had influential support in the army, agitated constantly for Franco's overthrow. When Franco ordered Paraguayan troops to abandon the advanced positions in the Chaco that they had held since the 1935 truce, the army revolted in August 1937 and returned the Liberals to power" (US Library of Congress 1988).

We code no consolidated autocratic regime for Franco. Franco did not rely on any specific support base. Roett and Sacks (1991, 47) describes that "Franco was a brilliant military leader but a political neophyte. His cabinet reflected Franco's attempt to reconcile the revolution's conflicting motivations by including representatives from each of its diverse competing factions" (see also Alexander 2005, 92). Thus, Franco's rule should not be considered part of the oligarchy. However, he also doesn't have an established personalist regime (see Benelli et al. 2005, 5).

In 1937 Felix Paiva, PL, took over as provisional president (Hansen et al. 2006, 226; Warren 1950, 16), but by our rules he cannot be treated as a provisional leader, ruling longer than 18 months. We code oligarchic regime for him and we code his entry into office as a SOLS change. Several sources suggest the aspect of oligarchic rule (see Benelli et al. 2005, 5; Bethell 1991, 240-1).

When Paiva's term expired in 1939 the Liberals picked war hero José Félix Estigarribia Insaurralde, PL, as president. GWF code a personalist regime as beginning under Estigarribia. Thus, this is a SOLS change.

In 1940 Estigarribia died in a plane crash, the Liberal cabinet, hoping they had picked a weak president, named Higinio Morínigo Martínez, Mil, Estigarriba's successor (US Library of Congress 1988). "The apparently genial Morínigo soon proved himself a shrewd politician with a mind of his own, and the Liberals resigned within a few weeks when they realized that they would not be able to impose their will on him. Having inherited Estigarribia's dictatorial powers, Morínigo quickly banned both Febreristas and Liberals and clamped down drastically on free speech and individual liberties. A nonparty dictator without a large body of supporters, Morínigo survived politically--despite the numerous plots against him--because of his astute handling of an influential group of young military officers who held key positions of power" (US Library of

Congress 1988). According to Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2013), Morínigo belonged to the same personalist regime as Estigarribia. Thus, this is not a SOLS change.

The country almost underwent a civil war by 1947. In this context Paraguay had "elections" for presidency, but the military was afraid that Morínigo would not give power to the elected successor. For that reason, the military decided to overthrow Morínigo and named a judge of the Supreme Court as provisional president: Juan Manuel Frutos (Heenan and Lamontagne 2002, 295; González 2003, 359). After him, the elected president, Juan (Natalicio) Gonzalez Paredes assumed in the established date. We code a SOLS change when Natalicio Gonzalez assumed power since he is the first leader of the single-party regime coded by Geddes (2003). This constitutes the end of the personalist regime under Morinigo.

Natalicio ruled Paraguay until 1949 when one of his Ministries and leader of other faction of the government party, Raimundo Rolón, overthrew him. Three months later, Felipe Molas, the Ministry of Education succeeded temporarily in the presidency until Federico Chaves, from the so-called "democratic wing" in the Colorado Party assumed because he was considered the one that could stop the social turbulence. None of these are SOLS changes since they all rely on the same single-party.

After fifteen months in charge, Chaves also was overthrown by a military coup in May 1954 installing a Government Junta lead by General Alfredo Stroessner. He did not assume immediately the charge, but the presidency was provisionally entrusted to Tomás Romero Pereira (Heenan and Lamontagne 2002, 296; González 2003, 361) who called for election in August 1954 in which Stroessner ran as sole candidate and won, initiating a 35-years period of militaristic, single-party, personalistic regime. The change from Chaves to Romero Pereira is a minor SOLS change because Stroessner was already effectively in power during Romero Pereira's time as head of the provisional government. Bendix (1973, 500) notes that the military junta had pre-arranged Stroessner being elected president. Kohut and Vilella (1973, 231) also note that Stroessner was already in control of the government. US Library of Congress (1988) also note that, "In May 1954, Stroessner ordered his troops into action against the government after Chaves had tried to dismiss one of his subordinates. Fierce resistance by police left almost fifty dead. As the military 'strongman' who made the coup, Stroessner was able to provide many of his supporters with positions in the provisional government. About two months later, a divided Colorado Party nominated Stroessner for president." The beginning of Romero Pereira's spell, which, again, really represents the beginning of Stroessner's time in power, is a minor SOLS change and not a major SOLS change because Stroessner also represented the Colorado Party which governed before him, but he added the military and the personalistic characteristic to his regime.

Stroessner stayed in office until 1989 when there was a presidential election in which the Colorado party candidate, Andrés Rodriguez Pedotti, won. Rodriguez Pedotti continued the same kind of government, the military-single-party-personalistic regime, until 1992.
In 1993 there was a new presidential election in which Juan Carlos Wasmosy Monti was elected for the Colorado party. This change represents a minor SOLS because Wasmosy was the candidate of the Colorado Party, but he did not rely on the military and Stroessner's clique. According to our coding rule, he was also democratically elected.

In 2003, presidential elections were held and the ANR-PC candidate Óscar Duarte Frutos, won the presidency, which is not a SOLS change. He served his full term, and in 2008 handed over power to Fernando Lugo Méndez, of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC). This is a SOLS change. Fernando Armindo Lugo Méndez took office in August 2008 (Lambert 2011). His election ended 61 years of rule by the Colorado Party, the party that had been associated with the authoritarian regime (Lambert 2011). While it lost the presidency, the Colorado Party remained the largest party in both chambers of Congress. In 2012, the Congress voted to begin impeachment proceedings on account of poor performance of his duties following a clash between police and landless farmers in which 17 were killed (BBC News 2012; Forero 2012). On June 22, 2012, the Senate voted to impeach the president in a 39-4 vote and Fernando Armindo Lugo Méndez agreed to accept the decision though decried the act as a parliamentary coup (Hernandez 2012; BBC News 2012). Vice-President Luis Federico Franco Gómez, from the Authentic Radical Liberal Party (PLRA), was sworn in as president to serve the remainder of Lugo's term. Franco served as president from June 2012 to August 2013. Given that he only served 14 months as president, was constitutionally barred from running for the election in April 2013 (Al Jazeera 2013), and there are sources describing him as an interim (EIU 2015; Lohmuller 2017), we consider Franco an interim leader. Thus, we do not code a SOLS change between Lugo and Franco, although they were from different political parties, in accordance with the coding rules about interim leaders.

Horacio Manuel Cartes Jara was elected president in the election of April 2013 and sworn into office on August 15, 2013 (Al Jazeera 2013). He ran as the candidate for the Colorado Party. During this period, Paraguay is coded as a presidential system and we follow those coding rules. Ignoring the affiliation of the interim leader Franco, we code a SOLS change in 2013 because Cartes was from a different party than Lugo.

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