Greece
Rice

In 1919, the Prime Minister of Greece was Eleftherios Venizelos, a member of the Liberal Party (KF, which he founded). Venizelos had been the dominant force in Greek politics for some time prior to 1919—and in fact, had been Prime Minister twice prior to the end of World War I. During the War, Venizelos had attempted to secure Greek participation on the side of the Entente, however, the King, Konstantinos I, disagreed. The result of this disagreement was a civil war, during which Venizelos established a rival government to the monarchy in Thessaloniki. In 1917, the Entente powers intervened and forced Konstantinos I to resign, and invited Venizelos to take power once again. In 1920, Venizelos negotiated the Treaty of Sèvres, in which Greece received land from the former Ottoman Turkey. However, shortly thereafter, an assassination attempt led to violence against Royalists by some of Venizelos' followers (Kouliopoulos and Veremis 2010, 86). Though our sources champion Venizelos as a bastion of Greek democracy, the spreadsheet indicates that Greek was not democratic during this time. This could either be because the monarchy remained a large force in Greek political life, or because Venizelos monopolized the political scene. However, other than his personal popularity, we cannot find much evidence to point to Venizelos being a personalist leader, though their opposition claimed that he had abused his political power (Kouliopoulos and Veremis 2010, 87- 88). Nor is there evidence that the Liberal Party was the only party present in Greek society at this time. Thus, we consider this period to be characterized by no established autocratic type.

Elections were held in November 1920, and Venizelos (and the Liberal Party) lost his majority in Parliament and resigned. The Monarchists (who were not a united party, but rather a group of individuals united by their opposition to Venizelos), now in power, placed Dimitrios Rallis, who did not have a party affiliation, in the office of Prime Minister (SOLS change). Rallis, who was a big supporter of the monarchy, then asked Queen Olga to become regent and prepare the return of her son King Konstantinos I (House of Denmark)[1] (Gelardi, Koliopoulos e.a. 2010: 87). Since we consider the SOLS of Rallis and King the same, we code a SOLS change with Rallis (not solschange30). King Konstantinos I was restored to the throne, recreating a monarchical government in Greece. The transition to Konstantinos I can therefore be seen as Rallis' pre-designated successor and this is not a SOLS change.

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). Konstantinos received the blame for this failure, and a military coup in 1922 led to his abdicating the throne a second time. The new government was first led by military officer Nikolaos Plastiras (SOLS change), who then turned over power to another leader of the coup, Stilianos Gonatas, was then put in place. Gonatas only remained in power until parliamentary elections were held in January 1924. These elections resulted in Venizelos and the KP once again gaining control of the government (SOLS change).

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

Venizelos, however, resigned less than one month later (on 19 February) and was replaced by another KP leader, Georgios Kaphantaris (no SOLS change—Venizelos resigned for health reasons and Kaphantaris was his predesignated successor). Kaphantaris' government was also not long-lived, as he resigned on 12 March and was replaced by Alexandros Papanastasiou, a leader of the Republican Union party (DE, SOLS change). Papanastasiou oversaw a plebiscite abolishing the monarchy (once again) and declaring Greece a republic (though, during this period, Greece is still not coded as a democracy). However, the polarization of politics in Greece led to his cabinet's downfall in July, and he was replaced by Themistoklis Sophoulis, of KF. Since Sophoulis was an interim leader, this is not a SOLS change. This government only lasted until October, when it was replaced by one headed by Andreas Michalakopoulos, of the 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. However, the political turbulence led to a military coup overthrowing the republican government in June 1925 (SOLS change). The new government, an "operatic dictatorship" led by General Theodoros Pangalos, lasted until July of 1926, and was definitely a period of military government (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2010, 101).

Pangalos' government was overthrown in 1926 by General Kondilis, who disbanded the Republican Guard and returned Greece to democracy (Woodhouse 1984, 217-218). He was the leader of the National Radical Party (ERK). While we have not found 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 1999, 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.

Shortly thereafter, in December 1926, Kondilis' government was replaced by an "all party government", led by the non-partisan Alexandros Zaimis (non-party)[2] with the goal of settling the military issue and drafting a constitution (SOLS change). The Zaimis cabinet consisted of the Progressive Liberals (ProgLib), Liberal Party (KF), the Farmer-Labour Party (FLP), the People's Party (LK), and the Free Opion Party (FOP) (see 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.

This government lasted until 1928, when it was replaced by another KF government led by Venizelos (SOLS change). Although Venizelos' enjoyed a huge and stable parliamentary majority, his government saw frequent changes of cabinet ministers. We do not have exact information with respect to minor SOLS changes during the Venizelos government of 1928-1932. Venizelos remained in power until 1932, when his government was replaced by one headed by Alexandros Papanastasiou, still of the DE. Papanastasiou's government was in power from May-June of 1932 but could not form a coalition, and thus lost power to Venizelos and the KF once again. This is coded as 2 SOLSchange30's as an ABA scenario. Venizelos was only in power until November, however, when a government led by Panagis Tsaldaris of the People's

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

Party (LK) took over (SOLS change). Tsaldaris' government was in power until January 1933, when Venizelos formed his seventh government with the KF (SOLS change). A brief military coup on 6 March 1933 put General Plastiras back in power, but democratic government was restored on 10 March (SOLS change30). Plastiras was replaced by Tsaldaris (SOLS change), whose government allied itself with the British. Following a coup attempt in 1935, Tsaldaris declared martial law and then called elections (which were boycotted by supporters of Venizelos) (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2010, 102). Though he won these elections, he was forced to resign by a group of royalist officers, who then installed Georgios Kondilis in the office of Prime Minister.

Kondilis, a leader of National Radical Party (NRP) (see McHale 1983, 333, 351; Mavrogordatos 1983,51), abolished the Republic and restored the monarchy, which was endorsed by a fraudulent plebiscite on November 3, 1935 (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2010, 103). Kondilis' government then resigned on 30 November, but elections were not scheduled until January 1936. King George II placed Konstantinos Demertzis, of the KF, in the office of Prime Minister until elections could be held (no SOLS change since he was a placeholder until elections). However, the elections did not result in any party holding a majority in Parliament, and no party wanted to ally with the Communist Party to form a government, so Demertzis remained in office (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2010, 103). Demertzis died suddenly in April 1936, and the Minister of War, General Ioannis Metaxas, became the Prime Minister (SOLS change). This change placed the King in full control over the armed forces, and Metaxas' government quickly became a monarchy-approved dictatorship after the King agreed to suspend the constitution (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2010, 103). By August, Metaxas was allowed to abolish Parliament and rule alone (Keridis 2009, 108). His regime was characterized by its repression of other political groups, such as the Communists, and no elections were held during his time in office (Keridis 2009, 109).

Regarding a sub-regime type under the democratic period from 1926 to 1935, we code it as parliamentary system, with the autocratic regime starting with Metaxas (see Derouen and Heo 2007, 369; Robbers 2006, 352; Spyropoulos et al. 2009, 50). It is difficult to characterize Metaxas regime by Geddes criteria. However, we consider it to be a personalist regime. Several sources describe his regime as a personal dictatorship (see Clogg 1979, 133; Petrakis 2011, 195; Vatikios 1998, 156). In addition, although he ruled primarily based on the support of the King and the military (and had no mass political party despite other similarities to fascist regimes), Woodhouse (1984, 231) suggests his power over military, saying that, "Metaxas was now master of Greece with unlimited powers, which he used at once to forestall the general strike by military force." We code Greece as a personalist regime for the period from 1936 to 1941.

Metaxas was in power for the beginning of the Second World War, during which time he refused Mussolini's demand for the transport of Italian troops through Greece. This brought Greece into the war as an ally of Great Britain. However, Metaxas died of cancer in January 1941, and was replaced by the non-partisan Alexandros Korizis. However, this is not a SOLS change since Korizis was Metaxas' predesignated successor (see Time Maggie online (Many April 28, 1941: Title "Greece: 80-Day Premier"). Accordingly, his government is a continuation of the Metaxas' personalist regime. Germany invaded Greece on 6 April 1941, and was highly successful in their march towards the capital. This led to Korizis committing suicide on 18 April (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2010, 111). He was briefly replaced by the nonpartisan Emmanouil

Tsouderos, who was able to do very little to stop the impending Greek defeat. 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. Tsouderos and the King fled Greece on 29 April, and Greece fell under German occupation.

During the German occupation, and continuing throughout the British military operation to retake Greece, clashes occurred between the government-sponsored Security Battalions and the ELAS, a military branch of the National Liberation Front (a Communist-dominated organization) (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2010, 112). This conflict would escalate after Greece regained its independence—becoming a full-scale civil war in December 1944. In the meantime, democratic government was restored in Greece, with a new Prime Minister, Georgios Papandreou, a leader of the EK (SOLS change). Papandreou, who took over the government in October 1944, had to put down the December (1944) Affair—an attempt by the ELAS to seize Athens and create their own government (Keridis 2009, 33). Shortly thereafter, on 3 January 1945, Papandreou resigned. The new Regent, Archbishop Damaskinos, named Plastiras (still a member of the military) as Papandreou's replacement (SOLS change), but there is no evidence that Plastiras attempted to establish a military government—instead, his government is described as centrist, and worked to negotiate a truce with the ELAS (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2010, 117). On 9 April 1945, Plastiras was forced to resign after "a newspaper disclosed his wartime effort to convince the Germans to mediate a peace agreement between Greece and Italy" (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2010, 118). He was replaced by Admiral Petros Voulgaris, also from the military, but who also stayed within the boundaries of a democratic government while attempting to restore order to the country (No SOLS change).

Voulgaris remained in office until 17 October, when Archbishop Damaskinos became the acting Prime Minister, due to his failure to form a royalist-republican governing coalition after elections (no SOLS change) (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2010, 119). Damaskinos then handed over power to Panagiotis Kanellopoulos, a leader of the National Unionist Party (SOLS change 30). Kanellopoulos' government lasted only until 22 November. He was forced to resign after a visit from the British under-secretary of state (and a speech given by said under-secretary) caused the Greek public to believe that Britain would no longer support them economically. The value of the Greek currency quickly hit a new low, and Kanellopoulos had to leave office (Kouliopoulos and Veremis 2010, 119). He was replaced by Themistocles Sophoulis, still of the KF, who had to work quickly to combat the inflation crisis. Souphoulis remained in office until elections were held in April, 1946.

Elections were held on 4 June 1946, and the Populist Party (LK) won the largest number of seats. They entered into a coalition, initially, with the NPU (itself an alliance of three Liberal parties), and the Liberal Party (LIB). The Prime Minister in this coalition was the non-party affiliated Panagiotis Poulitsas, who led an interim government according to WKB. Poulitsas resigned after two weeks, and a new government was formed under Tsaldaris (POP) was formed, which also included the National Liberal Party (LIB-Nat) and the Refugees' Liberal Party (LIB-Ref). Since we compare Tsaldaris to the last regular regime under Sophoulis, this is coded as a SOLS change. On January 27 1947, Tsaldaris' coalition collapsed and he briefly resigned. He was replaced by Dimitrios Maximos, who led a coalition of several smaller parties along with the

LK, until August 1947 (minor SOLS change). In August, Tsaldaris regained office, but with an LK government without coalition partners (minor SOLS change).

The Greek Civil War, between communist rebels and the national army, had been raging throughout this period. In September 1947, the American forces present in Greece suggested a new government, under Sophoulis, now a member of LIB (which was split into several branches). This coalition government included the LK (SOLS change), and Tsaldaris was pressured to yield to this new government, which he did. In 1949, the coalition changed, when the New Party and the NU joined the coalition (minor SOLS change – July 1). In late June 1949, Sophoulis died, and after a short period, a new government was formed under Alexandros Diomidis, also a member of LIB. Diomidis' coalition did not include the New Party, and thus we code a minor SOLS change when Diomidis takes office. Diomidis was forced to resign in January 1950, due to a scandal involving one of his ministers. He was replaced by Ionannis Theotokis, who served as an Acting Prime Minister (and did not form a government, no SOLS change). Theotokis was in office until March 1950, when elections were held and a new government was formed under Sophocles Venizelos, a member of LIB, in a coalition with the National Unionist Party (NUP) (minor SOLS change, as LIB was the party of the previous prime minister, but with different coalition partners). One month later, a new government was formed under Plastiras, now a member of the National Progressive Center Union (EPEK). This government included the LIB and the Social Democrats (SOC) (SOLS change). In August 1950, Venizelos took over again (SOLS change).

Venizelos then entered into a series of new coalitions, each of which is coded as a minor SOLS change. One week after taking office, his coalition grew to encompass the Social Democrats and the NP. In September, the coalition added LK. In November, LK and the NP left the coalition, though LK remained a supporter of the government. In February 1951, LK left that position, and EPEK took its place (not a minor SOLS change, as neither was officially part of the government). On 3 July 1951, the Social Democrats pulled out of the coalition, though LK and EPEK again became outside supporters of the government (Minor SOLS change). New elections were held in September, and Plastiras was able to form a government that was a coalition between EPEK and LIB (SOLS change).

Plastiras' government lasted until the November 1952 election. From October to November, an interim government led by the non-partisan Dimitrios Kioussopoulos was in power (no SOLS change). After the elections, a new government was formed under Alexander Papagos, a member of the Hellenic Union party (GRAL) (SOLS change). Papagos was in power until his death in 1955. For two days, the Prime Minister was Stephanos Stephanopoulos (no SOLS change). Then, the office passed to the new leader of GRAL, Konstantinos Karamanlis.

In 1956, Karamanlis changed his party affiliation to the National Radical Union (ERE) (however, this is neither major nor minor SOLS change since ERE included almost all the members of GRAL). According to Clogg (1986, 173), "One of Karamanlis' first acts was to reconstitute the Greek Rally as the National Radical Union (ERE). Essentially a continuation of the Greek Rally, ERE included almost all the leading members of Papagos' party, who had mostly begun their careers in the Populist Party, as had Karamanlis himself. Legg (1969, 330) also describes that "the Greek Rally party passed from the scene in 1955 after the death of Papagos and most of its deputies later went into the ERE.") Karamanlis briefly resigned before

the elections of 1958. For two months, the interim Prime Minister was Konstantinos Georgakopoulos (no SOLS change). When ERE won the majority in the elections, Karamanlis resumed office. Similarly, before the elections of 1961, Karamanlis was briefly replaced by interim non-partisan leader Constantinos Dovas (no SOLS change). ERE won a very slim (50.80%) majority of the vote, leading to calls of fraud. Karamanlis returned to office, however. In 1963, Karamanlis, after a disagreement with the Royal Family, resigned from office and went into self-imposed exile.

After Karamanlis left, politics in Greece fell into a period of turmoil. Several governments formed, but quickly fell apart. The first of these was from June-September 1963, and was an interim government under Panagiotis Pipinelis, "a member of ERE [that was not] in its inner circle", which we code as non-party (Clogg 1986, 152 - no SOLS change). Then, from September-November, another interim government formed under the non-partisan Stylianos Mavromichalis. Following that, on 8 November a government formed under Papandreou, now a member of the Center Union (EK)(SOLS change). Pipinelis, Mavromichalis and Paraskevopoulos are all non-political caretaker governments to prepare elections. Thus, we compare Karamanlis to Papandreou which is a SOLS change. On 31 December, another interim government formed under the non-partisan Ioannis Paraskevopoulos (no SOLS change). And then, in February 1964, Papandreou was able to form another government. This is not a SOLS change since he was the last regular leader.

In August 1965, Papandreou resigned after clashing with King Constantine II. He was replaced by the new head of the EK, George Athanasiadis-Novas (no SOLS change). Athanasiadis-Novas was not successful at keeping the support of his party, so the King gave the mandate to form a government to Elias Tsirimokos, a member of another left-wing party, the Diss-CU (SOLS change). On 24 September, a group of dissidents under Stephanos Stephanopoulos (also a member of the Diss-CU) was able to win a vote of confidence and form a government with the ERE and the People's Party (PP) (minor SOLS change). At the end of 1966, the ERE pulled out of the coalition, and a caretaker government was formed under the non-partisan banker, Ioannis Papaskevopoulos (no SOLS change, as this is an interim government). Papaskevopoulos was supposed to lead the nation to elections, but political turmoil made him unable to do so. He resigned on March 30, and the King gave Panagiotis Kanellopoulos of the ERE the mandate to form a government (SOLS change).

On April 21, 1967 a group of military colonels staged a coup and took over the government, deposing the monarchy. Until December, the Prime Minister was the non-partisan Konstantinos Kollias (Mil. - SOLS change). Then, in December, the office of Prime Minister passed to the leader of the coup, Georgios Papadopoulos (also Mil. – no SOLS change). Papadopoulos and the military regime remained in power for six years, until 1974. In 1973, after a student uprising at the National Technical University of Athens turned violent, Papadopoulos was overthrown by the military and replaced by Dimitrios Ioannidis (no SOLS change).

In 1974, after Turkey invaded the island of Cyrus, the military regime fell apart. On 23 July, power was handed over to a group of politicians who summoned Karamanlis (who had been in exile in Paris) back to form a government (SOLS change). Between July and the elections in November, Karamanlis formed the New Democracy Party (ND), under which he was officially elected to the office of Prime Minister when the elections happened. Karamanlis was in power

until 1980, when he was elected President and stepped down from his former office. He was replaced by another member of the ND, Georgios Rallis.

In the elections of 1981, the Socialist Party of Greece (PASOK) won a majority of seats for the first time in history. Their leader, Andreas Papandreou became Prime Minister (SOLS change). Papandreou was in power until 1989, when he was implicated in a corruption scandal. Elections that were held in 1989 led to PASOK losing the majority, and a coalition government between ND and the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) was formed, under Prime Minister Tzannis Tzannetakis of the ND (SOLS change). However, this coalition soon broke down and an interim Prime Minister, Ioannis Grivas, was named to take the country to elections in November (no SOLS change). In these elections, ND won the largest number of seats, and formed a coalition with both PASOK and KKE, under Prime Minister Xenophon Zolotas, who was non-partisan. 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. The Greek economy began to decline, and Zolotas resigned in April 1990. New elections were held, and ND was able to win enough seats to form a government on its own, under Prime Minister Konstantinos Mitsotakis (minor SOLS change).

Mitsotakis remained in office until 1993, during which time he faced a declining Greek economy. In the elections of 1993, Andreas Papandreou and PASOK again won the majority (SOLS change). Papandreou's health was failing by this point, and he retired in November 1995, passing power briefly to Acting Prime Minister Apostolos Tsohatzopoulos (no SOLS change). PASOK voted on a new leader, and chose Konstantinos Simitis to be the next Prime Minister in January 1996 (no SOLS change). Simitis remained in office until 2004. In that year's elections, PASOK lost its majority to ND, and Konstantinos Karamanlis (the nephew of the former Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis) became the Prime Minister (SOLS change). He was in office until 2009.

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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