Poland
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Poland is considered democratic from 1919 to 1926. Poland became an independent state in 1918. "On 7 November [1918], the first Polish interim government was created under the leadership of the Socialist Ignacy Daszyński. Following Piłsudski's return (he had been arrested by the Germans in July 1917), the army and the interim government deferred to [him]" (Government of Poland 2011). Pilsudski's (Mil) official position was Chief of State. It is not completely clear why this initial period is considered democratic. According to the Library of Congress, "formal political life began in 1921 with adoption of a constitution that designed Poland as a republic modeled after the French example, vesting most authority in the legislature. The postwar parliamentary system proved unstable and erratic." Note that the constitution established parliamentary rule, but Archigos codes presidents as effective rulers, and we follow their judgment since it does not seem that parliamentary rule was effectively institutionalized to allow PMs to control foreign policy in place of the president.

Poland's first elections were scheduled for 1922. It was expected that Pilsudski would run since he had brought the country to independence, but he declined the opportunity (Soldatjenkova and Waegemans 2003, 258). Gabriel Józef Narutowicz, Non-party, won elections to become president. Narutowicz was "a Socialist political refugee from pre-war Russia and an engineering professor" (Biskupski et al. 2010, 133). In his oath he praised Pilsudski promised that he would follow in his footsteps. While Narutowicz seems to have admired Pilsudski, it does not seem like they technically had the same SOLS. Pilsudski was an unelected war hero, widely supported by the population, while Narutowicz was a left-winger, who was severely disliked by the right. Thus, we code a SOLS change here. However, this is a SOLSchange30 since Narutowicz was assassinated by a conservative extremist only one week later. He was succeeded by Stanislaw Wojciechowski, also non-party (The New York Times 1922). This is a SOLS change. According to The New York Times (1922), Wojciechowski was a moderate, while Narutowicz was a radical populist. Furthermore, the two had competed against one another in the 1922 elections (Biskupski, 132).

In 1926 Pilsudski, Mil, staged a coup which was supported by upper classes of the eastern border regions and the Poles from Russia proper. Pilsudski's fundamental reason for the rejection of the parliamentary system of government and his coup was his "view (...) that the army, as the only reliable guarantee of Polish independence, must be kept free under all circumstances from the influence of the parliamentary machine" (Roos 1966, p.110; Rothschild 1966, p.181). Pilsudski's coup was supported by some of the military although the military was somewhat divided with some leading military men supporting the parliamentary system. Pilsudski's troops ended up fighting government troops and Pilsudski's victory was ultimately ensured by the PPS (Polish Socialist Party), which called for a general strike. Once Pilsudski assumed power, he forced the resignation of a number of generals and had some secretly murdered. "Since he was ultimately a political, not a professional, soldier, he was determined somehow to combine this task of reunification (i.e. of the army that was split after the coup) with the simultaneous transformation of the army into his own instrument- the reflection and the weapon of his own policies" (Rothschild 1966, p.181). Pilsudski created a Committee for the

Defense of the State, which had to report to the inspector general (Pilsudski). The committee was prohibited from taking any resolutions without consulting the inspector general. The Chief and Deputy Chief of the General staff and the Chief of Army Administration attended meetings but had no voting power. Pilsudski sought to establish a "moral dictatorship" and he allowed for the "formal continuation of political life", including elections and the further existence of the Sejm. A new government that mainly consisted of experts was formed. Pilsudski led the cabinet and took the post of cabinet leader in a right-wing cabinet but refused to be elected President and instead had a trusted crony be elected. Pilsudski tried to balance the left and right and in 1927 Pilsudski gave Colonel Slawek the task of building a government party and politicians of all parties now united in the non-party bloc of cooperation (BBWR). Those who had supported Pilsudski during the coup, mainly officers, were recruited for key positions.

While Geddes does not provide regime type coding for Pilsudski's regime, it seems that this regime should be considered personalist. Pilsudski clearly controlled the military (suggesting not a military regime), he had no pre-existing party apparatus (suggesting no single-part regime) but later created the BBWR, he exerted personal control over political and military aspects of governance and as a former war hero he was greatly admired as a person. "For the next decade, Pilsudski dominated Polish affairs as strongman of a generally popular centrist regime (Library of Congress)."

From 1930 Pilsudski gradually withdrew from domestic affairs and left his "colonels" to run the government (Rothschild 1966, p.123). In 1935 Pilsudski died "but the succession was smooth because control passed to the 'junta of colonels', Pilsudski's closest associates from the legion and always pillars of the regime (Berend 1998, 316)." After some internal infighting, the BBWR splintered into factions. The most important were the Moscicki faction and the Rydz faction which consisted of old "colonels". This situation led to the creation of the Rydz-Moscicki duumvirate (with Rydz in the position of the commander-in-chief) which lasted until 1939. Archigos codes Rydz-Smigly, Mil, (TIME 1936) as Pilsudski's successor (Holzer 1977). This is a not SOLS change because his support group was a splinter of Pilsudski. The Library of Congress also refers to "Pilsudski's protégé successors", suggesting continuity in his regime.

In 1939 Germany invaded Poland and Hans Frank, a German member of the National Socialist German Worker's Party (NSDAP), took power as Governor-General. By our foreign occupation rules, this is not a SOLS change. Poland was occupied from 1939-1945. Boleslaw Bierut of the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) ruled as Chairman of the People's Council from 1943 through 1945. This is not a SOLS change for 1945 because the leadership change did not happen in that year.

After Poland regained independence in 1945, the country was dominated by a single-party, the Polish Workers' Party, later known as the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), under an authoritarian regime. Since 1991, Poland is considered as a democratic country and is coded as a mixed regime by Cheibub et al. Based on Archigos, the president is the effective ruler and thus we code according the rules for presidential democracies.

From 1944 to 1947 Poland was ruled by the National Home Council under the leadership of Boreslaw Bierut. After the Soviet occupation of the country and with the support of Stalin and the Red Army, Bierut was named First Secretary of the PZPR, president, and premier of the

country. He followed a hard line regarding political opponents, also within his own party. He governed the country until 1956 when he died.

The PZPR had to decide about the successor of Bierut at the meeting of the Central Committee in March. The organization followed Nikita Khrushchev's recommendation, and Edward Ochab was elected First Secretary. After public demonstrations in the streets and attempts at repression, the Central Committee decided to find a solution to the internal crisis in the country and in the party. The party decided to dismiss Ochab and appoint reformist Wladyslaw Gomulka as the new First Secretary of the Central Committee. Gomulka stayed in office until 1970. Neither of these changes are SOLS changes because all leader belonged to the same party, the PZPR, even if the belonged to different factions.

On December 1970, Gomulka was succeeded by a representative of an even more reformist faction within the PZPR, Edward Gierek. He ruled until 1980 when was replaced by Stanislaw Kania who had the goal to lead the country to the transition to democracy because of the pressure of the counterrevolution headed by Solidarity and the rise of the crisis in the country. In 1981 Kania was replaced by the General Wojciech Jaruzelski until 1990 when the communist regime collapsed in the country. None of these are SOLS changes.

Indeed, by 1989 the country was in the middle of several protests of workers and students, who, because of deteriorating economic conditions, demanded democratic reforms in Poland. In the meantime, a Round Table that included several civic groups and state representatives was created with the objective of discussing the pace of the reforms and the rules for the upcoming elections in which the PZPR tightly won. Jaruzelski agreed to form a coalition government that included Solidarity in the government, but only in a few minor positions. However, when the problems increased due to the hard liberalization of the economy, Solidarity was gaining more power and more ministries within the government. In the spring of 1990, leaders of Solidarity called for an acceleration and decommunization, which meant the expulsion of communists from the government and the election of Walesa as president. Because of the pressures in the streets and the fall of the Soviet bloc, Jaruzelski resigned on October 1990 after a change in the constitution to curtail his term, and after that, Lech Walesa assumed the presidency in December 1990 for a 5-year period, starting a democratic period in Poland. Thus, this change is a SOLS, because Walesa belonged to a different party than Jaruzelski.

In 1995 Walesa was replaced in the presidency by Aleksander Kwasniewski of the SdRP and later the Alliance of Democratic Left (SLD). Then, in 2005 Kwasniewski was followed by Lech Kaczynski from the Law and Justice group (PiS). These changes are SOLS changes because incoming presidents belong to a different party than the last leaders.

In 2010, a plane crash resulted in the death of Poland's President Lech Aleksander Kaczyński (Dempsey 2010). Following his death, Bronisław Maria Komorowski, the Marshal of the Sejm, became acting president (President.PL). Elections were held to in June 2010 to replace Kaczyński (CNN 2010). Acting President Komorowski was a candidate and won the presidential election (President.PL). In accordance with the Constitution, Komorowski resigned as Marshal of the Sejm and thus acting president following his electoral victory. Bogdan Michał Borusewicz, the Senate speaker, became acting president for a few hours until the Sejm voted on a new Marshal of the Sejm who would then take over as acting president (Associated Press 2010). Grzegorz Juliusz Schetyna was elected as the new Marshal and took over as acting

president until Komorowski was sworn in as president on August 6, 2010 (Agencies 2010). There are four leader tranitions in 2010, but because Komorowski (the first time), Borusewicz, and Schetyna were all interim leaders, three of the transitions are not considered SOLS changes because of the interim status of the new leaders. The last transition is considered a SOLS change because, following the democratic rules, the political affiliations of Kaczyński and the next non-interim leader, Komorowski, are different; Kaczyński was from the PiS party while Komorowski was from the PO party.

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