

Cuba

Rice

In 1919, General Mario García Menocal was the president of Cuba. He had been elected in 1913, as the leader of a faction of the Conservative Party (PC). At this time, the electoral system of Cuba was full of fraud, where it was commonly known that the President rigged the results of each election in his favor (Gott 2004, 127). Classifying Cuba at this time is difficult: in name, it was a Republic, but a highly corrupt one. Elections were held regularly, and there were multiple parties. The Polity IV (Marshall and Jaggers 2002) codes Cuba democracy score of 4 and autocracy score of 1 until 1928, then a democracy score of 4 and autocracy score of 3. About 10% of the population voted in the 1924 presidential election. We code Cuba as an autocracy of no specific type from 1919-1925 and follow a predesignated successor rule to determine SOLS changes.

Menocal was in office until 1921, when he was replaced by Alfredo Zayas y Alfonso, of the Cuban Popular Party-National League (PPC-LN). Zayas y Alfonso had the backing of the Conservative Party (under Menocal's leadership) and the military. Menocal played an important role in the election of Zayas y Alfonso: his support was won through a promise that Zayas y Alfonso would support Menocal in the 1924 elections, and Menocal assisted Zayas y Alfonso by buying the support of a powerful trade unionist leader (Staten 2003, 51). The military was also used to intimidate Liberal Party candidates and voters, and obviously, the election itself was highly fraudulent. We think that all this effort on the part of Menocal to ensure the election of Zayas y Alfonso indicates that the latter was his pre-designated successor, and therefore that there is no SOLS change associated with this transition.

However, when the 1924 presidential elections came around, Zayas y Alfonso chose to throw his support behind the Liberal Party candidate, Gerardo Machado y Morales, instead of the Conservative party candidate (which was Menocal). Machado was elected in a manner that was tainted with fraud, and once he came to power, he replaced military officers loyal to Menocal with ones loyal to himself and the Liberal Party (the same goes for high-level appointments and offices). During Machado's time in office, he used the military as his base of power, but was not a member of the military himself. This does not mean that Cuba was a military government by any means—it was common practice in Cuban politics to “politicize the military” at that time—which made it less of a political force on its own, and more a tool of the leader in power (Staten 2003, 48). In 1928 he further extended his time in office using an uncontested election. These characteristics again point more to a personalist system, because it was Machado, and not his party (and not the military, which he filled with his loyalists), who was in charge of the government. Machado's entry into office is a SOLS change.

Machado's regime became more oppressive leading up to 1928—he continued to bolster the military to gain their support, and eventually banned all opposition parties. Due to this, he won another uncontested, fraudulent election in 1928, with the backing of American President

Calvin Coolidge (Staten 2003, 56). The Great Depression devastated the Cuban economy, leading to the resurgence of opposition and unrest against Machado, mainly led by students and workers. Machado's reaction was to make his regime more oppressive by ordering the assassination of labor leaders and arresting students, and the students were then tried in military courts (Staten 2003, 57). However, Cuba continued to be crippled by constant strikes and violence, which in turn led to intervention by the United States. President Franklin Roosevelt sent a mediator to try and negotiate between Machado and the opposition groups, but Machado was initially unwilling to participate. After another strike, and more violence, the United States (followed by the Cuban military) withdrew their support of Machado, and he fled the country on August 12, 1933. His Secretary of War, Alberto Herrera, became the interim president. This is not a SOLS change. Archigos (Goemans et al. 2009) does not include Herrera.

Power was then turned over to Carlos Manuel de Céspedes y Quesada, the leader of the ABC Revolutionary Society (ABC) on August 13. He was an interim leader (Cahoon 2011; TIME 1933). He led a short-lived regime that did little to restore order in Cuban society. He immediately ordered attacks against any supporters of Machado, which included neighborhood executions. Because he had the support of the United States, he refused to do away with the Constitution of 1901, which included the pro-US Platt Amendment. In early September, an enormous hurricane further devastated the island. The disarray that resulted led to a military rebellion, which in turn led to the student revolutionary groups gathering and urging de Céspedes to resign.

On September 5, less than one month after taking office, de Céspedes turned over governance to an Executive Council of the Provisional Government, which was comprised of five men from parties across the political spectrum. One of the five men, Ramón Grau San Martín, a member of the Cuban Revolutionary Party (PRC), was then made the new president of Cuba on September 10. We treat him as an interim leader, which is not a SOLS change. Although it appears that Grau San Martín was a strong rival of Batista and he fully intended to make policies, it should be noted that Fulgencio Batista, one of the leaders of the military rebellion, was also made the commander of the army. Grau began drafting a new constitution, gave greater autonomy to the universities and extended suffrage to women. However, it quickly became evident that the military was in control of Cuba, and that Grau could not maintain power.

The United States did not support Grau, and Batista informed him that he no longer had the support of the military, either. Grau left office on January 15, 1934, and was briefly replaced by Carlos Hevia y de los Reyes Gavián, also of the PRC. This is not a SOLS change, especially as Hevia was considered provisional. Batista then installed Carlos Mendieta y Montefur as President on January 17. This is a SOLS change. It seems that the regular rule of Batista began with Mendieta who was Batista's preferred candidate. Mendieta was a member of the National Union (UN) party, but, as noted above, Batista and the military really controlled the government. On December 11, 1935, civil unrest against the militarization of society reached a peak and led to the collapse of Mendieta's government. He was replaced by José Agripino Barnet y Vinageras,

who was considered a provisional president tasked with overseeing new elections. This is not a SOLS change. When the elections were held in May 1936, Miguel Mariano Gomez y Arias, also a member of the UN, was elected and began to make changes to the government that clashed with Batista. Batista then had Gomez impeached by the Congress on 24 December 1936 (Staten 2003, 64). Gomez' vice president, Frederico Laredo Brú, then took power. He was also a member of UN, but was basically a figurehead controlled by Batista (Staten 2003, 64). Brú oversaw the drafting of a new constitution, which was actually considered to be liberal. It provided protection for civil liberties, women's rights, workers, and autonomy for the University of Havana. Given the prominent role played by Batista, we code Cuba as a personalist regime throughout this period. Batista rebuilt the military, removing officers and promoting people loyal to him.

In 1940, Batista himself became President through the first elections held under the new Constitution. His party affiliation was the Social Democratic Coalition (CSD), but his government still found much of its support and power in the military. Therefore, we consider his regime as the continuation of a personalist regime. Accordingly, we do not code a SOLS change, especially considering that Batista had been in power behind –the-scenes for many years. In 1944, however, Batista decided to put the government under civilian control once again.

Elections were held and Grau, now a member of the Authentic Cuban Revolutionary Party (PRC-A), became president for the second time, while Batista left the country and settled in Florida. As Batista was now removed from the Cuban political scene, we code this transition as a SOLS change. Grau's government, which was in power until 1948, is not classified by Geddes (2003) as being an authoritarian system, yet it was corrupt and full of violence (Staten 2003, 66). Grau's government appears to be a personalist state, however, because he tampered with normal military hierarchy by forcing the retirement of some officers, replacing them with individuals who were loyal to his party. Further, Grau bought the support of several other parties, such as the Movimiento Socialista Revolucionario (which, in return for supporting Grau, had its leader appointed chief of the secret police), and the Union Insurreccional Revolucionaria, whose leader was appointed to be the chief of police of one of the suburbs of Havana. Since we cannot identify his regime type by Geddes (2003)' criteria, we code non-specific autocratic regime for Grau.

After his term was up in 1948, another PCR-A candidate named Carlos Prío Socarrás succeeded Martín. No SOLS change was coded for this transition since the men were backed by the same group. Three months before the elections in 1952, Rubén Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar took power in a bloodless coup. Batista was a former authoritarian ruler of Cuba who had been involved in a previous coup back in the 1930s and actually served as the elected president from 1940 to 1944. He was backed by the military as well as two political parties: the Progressive Action Party (PAP) and the United Action Party (PAU). This personalist regime is coded as a SOLS change for Cuba.

In 1953, Fidel Castro attempted a coup on Batista's regime that was ultimately shut down. Castro was exiled for his crimes, but returned in 1959 to oust Batista once and for all, who had lost popular support on account of his authoritarian style. Castro promised a democratic regime, but his rule quickly developed into a single party-personalist system that brutally repressed dissidence. Castro's leadership was coded as a SOLS change because he deposed Batista and took office with backing from several groups: the Revolutionary Movement of July 26 (MR-26-7), the United Party of the Cuban Socialist Revolution (PURSC), the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations (ORI), and the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC).

Castro worked to consolidate his power through executions and imprisonment of political opponents much like Batista. Additionally, he continually socialized Cuba, proclaiming it a socialist state in 1961 and outlawing all parties other than the PCC in the constitution of 1976. In 2008, Raul Castro, the brother of Fidel, took over the government leader functions in the state and party on account of Fidel's declining health. This was obviously not coded as a SOLS change due to their identical agendas and SOLS. However, given that there is a leadership change in 2008, we code SOLS as PCC, PCC.

References

"Cuba." 2011. U.S. Department of State. <http://www.state.gov/outofdate/bgn/cuba/191090.htm> (August 30, 2013).

"Cuba: Loot The Palace!" 1933. *TIME Magazine*, Aug. 21, 1933. <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,753906-5,00.html> (August 30, 2013).

Cahoon, Ben. 2011. "Cuba." *Worldstatesmen.org*. <http://worldstatesmen.org/Cuba.html> (August 30, 2013).

Geddes, Barbara. 2003. *Paradigms and Sand Castles: Theory Building and Research Design in Comparative Politics*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Gott, Richard. 2004. *Cuba: A New History*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Marshall, Monty G., and Keith Jagers. 2002. *Polity IV Dataset*. College Park, MD: Center for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland.

Staten, Clifford L. 2003. *The History of Cuba*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Pre-1945 coded by Meera Krishnan on February 16, 2011

Post-1945 coded by Graham West (Rice) on July 7, 2010

Pre-1945 revised by Ashley Leeds on June 10, 2013

Pre-1945 revised by Naoko Matsumura on August 16, 2013

Post-1945 updated by Mariana Rodriguez on February 7, 2012

Combined by Ahra Wu (Rice) on September 7, 2013

Revised by Michaela Mattes on September 12, 2013

Edited by Andrew Wood (Rice) 05/22/2014

Revised by Ashley Leeds 09/24/14

Revised by Ashley Leeds 09/30/14