

## **Burkina Faso**

### **Vanderbilt**

Burkina Faso is a non-democracy throughout most of the observation period. Burkina Faso is coded as a pure personalist authoritarian system from independence in 1960 until 1980. During this time period Geddes identifies two distinct personalist regimes. From 1960 until 1966 the country is ruled by Nawalagmba Maurice Yaméogo, of the Union Démocratique du Volta party (UDV). In 1966, there was a military coup supported by the unions led by Aboubakar Sangoulé Lamizana. This is a SOLS change. Later in the year Lamizana changed his affiliation to MNR, or the National Movement for Renewal party. This is not a SOLS change. His rule begins a new personalist regime that lasts until 1980. Lamizana initially planned to stay in office for a five-year term; however, in 1971 instead of leaving office as anticipated, the military altered the constitution so that the highest ranking military officer would also be the de facto president of the country (Diabré 1998, 5). As president, Lamizana appointed Gérard Kango Ouédraogo, of the UDV-RDA (Union Démocratique du Voltaic-Rassemblement Démocratique Africain). This is not a SOLS change since Ouédraogo was Lamizana's pre-designated successor, and Geddes codes Lamizana's personalist system as continuing. In 1974 Lamizana dismissed Ouédraogo and ruled with the support of a military junta. This is not a SOLS change. In 1977, under pressure from the unions, Lamizana adopted a democratic constitution. Running as a civilian, he won the 1978 elections to remain president. Burkina Faso is considered a democracy according to our coding rules from 1978 to 1979 (contrary to Cheibub et al. 2010). During this period it is considered a mixed system democracy according to several sources ("Historical cases"; Nijzink et al. 2013). In 1980, the unions went on strike. The government attempted to negotiate, but before they came to an agreement there was a military coup and Saye Zerbo (Mil) overthrew President Lamizana. This is a SOLS change. The SOLS shifts from Lamizana's clique to the military. According to Geddes, from 1980 to 1982 the country is ruled by a military authoritarian regime.

Like his predecessor, Zerbo soon ran into trouble with the unions and was similarly overthrown in a coup "organized by the younger generation in the army" (Diabré 1998, 6) in 1982, led by Jean-Baptiste Ouédraogo (Mil). Ouédraogo and his military comrade Thomas Sankara worked together to overthrow Zerbo, but "behind a façade of unity, one could easily distinguish a split into two camps: a conservative one, led by President Ouédraogo; and a more radical wing, led by the prime minister, Captain Thomas Sankara" (Diabré 1998, 6). Ouédraogo had appointed Sankara to the post of prime minister, but later arrested him. Blaise Compaoré of the Sankara camp helped to release Sankara, which led to another coup led by Sankara and Compaoré in 1983, (U.S. Department of State 2010) leading to the arrest of Ouédraogo (Rothchild and Gyimah-Boadi 1989, 222). Sankara represented a clear break with Ouédraogo. We code a SOLS change with Ouédraogo, but not with Sankara. This is based on our notion that Sankara was already strong when Ouédraogo was in power. We consider the reign of Ouédraogo as the end of the military regime (GWF code the military regime until 1982, then code the personalist regime until 1987).

Sankara's government was leftist, Marxist, and revolutionary and as such, was highly unstable (Diabré 1998, 6). Differences among his supporters led to another coup in 1987, during which Sankara was assassinated (Santiso and Loada 2003, 398). He was succeeded by his former

deputy Compaoré, Mil/FP (Front Popular). The fact the Compaore was Sankara's former deputy and helped Sankara in his coup against Ouédraogo suggest that he might be Sankara's pre-designated successor. However, Sankara and Compaore had a falling-out in 1987 over Sankara's policies. Compaore feared that he might be arrested by Sankara and staged a preemptive coup, killing Sankara (Rake 2001). This suggests that Compaore should not be regarded as Sankara's pre-designated successor and we code a SOLS change here. Geddes codes the Compaoré regime as a new personalist regime. Compaoré initiates a gradual liberalization of the military by legalizing multiparty elections in 1991 (Santiso and Loada 2003, 398). In 1991 Compaoré's SOLS changes from Mil/FP to ODP-MT (Organisation pour la Démocratie Populaire-MT). Then in 1996 his SOLS becomes CDP (Congrès pour la Démocratie et le Progrès), a coalition formed by the merger of ten parties (Santiso and Loada 2003, 399). Neither of these are SOLS changes as he is classified as a personalist ruler for this period. Compaoré ruled through 2008.

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