

Online Appendix
to
Democracy,
Dictatorship,
and Term Limits

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Codebook of Variables and Descriptive Statistics

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of Variables, Chapters 6–8

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
<i>Ch. 6 and 7</i>					
Tenure extension	0.288	–	0	1	208
Tenure extension, “long”	0.14	–	0	1	208
Public sector, perc GDP	17.950	7.892	4.209	54.044	207
Contract-intensive money	0.513	0.217	0.014	0.953	207
Previous ruler’s fate	0.240	–	0	1	208
Hegemonic party	0.101	–	0	1	208
Polity at entry	3.602	6.101	-9	10	206
Foreign aid	6.362	9.667	-0.581	52.503	206
Events	10.111	14.050	0	106	208
Party founder	0.303	–	0	1	208
Income per cap, log	3.681	0.361	2.793	4.631	207
Procurement markets, perc GDP	7.740	6.260	0.438	31.417	55
Procurement markets II, perc GDP	19.552	6.850	8.414	47.303	131
Natural resources rents, perc GDP	7.933	12.607	0.006	90.973	180
Oil rents, perc GDP	4.472	9.745	0	58.499	180
Capital flight, perc GDP	2.032	3.355	0	28.002	157
Immunity concerns	0.49	-	0	1	190
Privatiz. proceeds, all, USDmln	1071.40	5194.86	0	52492.83	151
Abuses	3.379	2.134	0	8	153
Non-constitutional entry	0.120	–	0	1	208
Hegemonic party II	0.255	–	0	1	208
Left ruling party	0.262	0.441	0	1	206
Former socialist country	0.077	–	0	1	208
Directly-elected ruler	0.90	–	0	1	208
Economic growth, average	1.941	3.052	-7.005	17.763	200
Entry constraints	0.249	0.199	0	0.682	208
Dem. years at entry	11.485	26.367	0	192	206
Dem. years at entry II	18.922	39.268	0	201	206
Regime durability	14.27	26.2	0	192	206
Regional changes, last 5 y.	2.029	2.045	0	9	208
Regional changes, last 3 y.	1.668	1.736	0	8	208
Limited rulers, perc., region	0.713	0.239	0	1	207
Judicial independence	1.034	0.645	0	2	156
Prior constitutional changes	9.9	5.8	0	22	207
Party Fractionalization Index	5390.50	2338.25	0	9347	193
Effectiveness of Legislature	1.79	0.72	0	3	195
Average age of parties	37.06	41.32	1.5	189	157
Opposition, per cent of seats	0.334	0.218	0	0.907	172

Descriptive Statistics. Continued on next page

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics. Continued from previous page

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Western influence	0.596	0.492	0	1	208
Western trade, perc GDP	9.299	7.418	1.008	39.504	202
US trade, perc GDP	5.391	5.714	0.124	30.466	202
Ruler's ethnic group size	0.432	0.338	0.01	0.999	200
Father of the Nation	0.07	0.25	0	1	208
Law degree	0.36	0.48	0	1	208
(Ex-) military officer	0.19	0.40	0	1	208
Years in formal politics	11.54	9.10	0	52.00	208
Years, including in civil service	15.11	10.37	0	52.00	208
Ever been imprisoned	0.18	0.39	0	1	208
Political dynasty	0.15	0.36	0	1	208
Business career	0.15	0.36	0	1	208
Year of birth	1932	-	1889	1965	208
Age at entry	54.36	9.45	31	79	208
Previous times in office	0.14	0.35	0	1	208
Age at exit/extension	60.47	10.05	31.00	89.00	208
Ph.D. degree	0.12	0.33	0	1	208
University educ.	0.86	0.35	0	1	208
Western education	0.39	0.49	0	1	208
Soviet education	0.03	0.17	0	1	208
Academic career	0.08	0.27	0	1	208
Prime Minister or Vice-President	0.12	0.33	0	1	208
Cabinet experience	0.20	0.40	0	1	208
Important cabinet post	0.08	0.27	0	1	208
Civil servant or diplomat	0.09	0.28	0	1	208
Governor	0.09	0.29	0	1	208
Political outsider	0.11	0.31	0	1	208
Labour/revolutionary/opposition	0.25	0.43	0	1	208
<i>Ch. 8 (1)</i>					
Liberalizing Election	0.16	0.37	0	1	116
Regime Defeat	0.20	0.40	0	1	116
Incumbent	0.78	0.42	0	1	116
Incumbent's Age	61.24	10.37	31	90	116
Opp. Coalition	0.34	0.47	0	1	116
Concur. Leg. Election	0.47	0.50	0	1	116
Hegemonic Party	0.28	0.45	0	1	116
Opp. Mobilization	0.56	1.20	0	8	116
Economic Growth, per cent	2.65	5.62	-21	22.5	116
Foreign Aid, per cent to GDP	35.17	34.47	0	184.9	116
Prior Liberalization	0.33	0.70	0	6	116
Civil Rights	4.67	1.24	2	7	116

Descriptive Statistics. Continued on next page

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics. Continued from previous page

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Regional Democracies, per cent	0.38	0.23	0.08	0.93	116
Oil/Commodity	0.47	0.50	0	1	116
Vote Share, per cent	63.15	22.17	16.90	100	116
Previous Vote Share, per cent	0.68	0.22	0.24	1	116
Electoral Violations	0.45	0.50	0	1	116
<i>Ch. 8 (2)</i>					
Capital spending, perc. to GDP	0.20	0.17	0	1	1,299
Social spending, perc. to GDP	0.37	0.17	0	0.79	991
Term limits	0.52	0.50	0	1	3,349
1st term	0.22	0.41	0	1	3,349
GDP per capita (log)	3.50	0.41	2.49	4.63	3,119
Urban population, perc. to total	42.82	21.64	2.24	93.32	3,278
Population Growth	2.12	1.41	-17.13	15.68	3,211
Trade openness, perc. to GDP	62.10	31.41	9.06	275.23	3,038
Budget surplus, perc. to GDP	-4.95	23.02	-77.81	97.32	1,335
Polity2	-0.36	6.85	-10	10	3,266
Presidential election	0.16	-	0	1	3,300
Elderly, perc. total	8.03	4.20	2.35	25.56	3,227
Young, perc. total	72.77	20.11	19.87	106.47	3,227

Note: Variables employed in Chapters Six and Seven are reported together as they come from the same dataset; variables used in Chapter Eight to estimate incumbency effects during elections are reported separately, under Chapter 8 (1), from variables used to estimate economic effects (leader-year or country-year), under Chapter 8 (2).

Variable Description: Chapters Six and Seven

Public sector, per cent GDP

Government Share of Real GDP per capita (*RGDPL*), 2005 Constant Prices. From Heston, Summers and Aten (2009) (Penn World Table 6.3).¹

Contract-intensive money (CIM)

CIM is a measure as proposed by Clague et al. (1996), calculated as (Money and quasi-money (M2) — money outside banks (M1))/M2. M1 and M2 (current LCU) are taken from WDI 2010.²

¹ Relevant economic data for Taiwan whenever not available from WDI, are sourced from *Taiwan Statistical Data Book 2009*, Council for Economic Planning and Development. The size of public sector in Yugoslavia in 1989–2000 is taken from the 2001 estimates, *OECD Economic Surveys: Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 2002*, p. 66, general government expenditure, per cent to GDP.

² 2009 estimates of M1 and M2 for Uzbekistan are taken from *CIA World Handbook*, Stock of Narrow Money Listing, available at <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2214.html?countryName=&countryCode=®ionCode=B3>.

Previous ruler's fate

Based on post tenure fate from the Archigos dataset (Goemans and Chiozza, 2009). The fate of the leader in the period up to one year after the leader lost power: 0 OK, 1 Exile, 2 Imprisonment, including house arrest, 3 Death. The author additionally coded for the 2005–9 period. Also, the coverage is extended up to three years after leaving office. This variable is coded as 0 if post tenure fate of the previous ruler is good, 1 otherwise. This variable is also recoded as 1 if a leader was reported as being under criminal investigation by at least two sources.

Hegemonic party

Based on criteria that encompass both institutional strength and durability: regime where governing party controls at least 65 per cent of seats and where 1) there is a regularized multiparty competition, even if limited; 2) the chief executive and the legislature are elected; 3) the incumbent (party) must be in office for more than 20 years; 4) if the incumbent was not initially elected in multiparty elections, the ruling party subsequently introduced them and never lost. Based on (Magaloni, 2006, 32-42).

Polity at entry

Polity 2 indicator for the first year of tenure, from Marshall, Jaggers and Gurr (2011). *Polity 2* is Revised Combined Polity Score, where polity scale ranges from –10 (strongly autocratic) to +10 (strongly democratic).

Foreign aid

Net official assistance and foreign aid received, per cent of GDP, from WDI.

Events

Sum of general strikes, riots, anti-governmental demonstrations (Banks, 2009). General Strikes (*domestic2*). Any strike of 1,000 or more industrial or service workers that involves more than one employer and that is aimed at national government policies or authority. Riots (*domestic6*). Any violent demonstration or clash of more than 100 citizens involving the use of physical force. Anti-government Demonstrations (*domestic8*). Any peaceful public gathering of at least 100 people for the primary purpose of displaying or voicing their opposition to government policies or authority, excluding demonstrations of a distinctly anti-foreign nature.

Party founder

1 if the ruler is a founder (or one of the main founders) of his party. Coded by the author. There is also a *non-partisan* category if the ruler was independent at the time of entry into office (employed in Chapter Three).

Income per cap, log

Real GDP per capita (Constant Prices: Laspeyres), derived from growth rates of c, g, i.

From Heston, Summers and Aten (2009) (Penn World Table 6.3), calculated as logarithm. For Yugoslavia income per capita is from WDI 2010.

Procurement markets, perc GDP

The size of government procurement markets is estimated following (Audet, 2002, 186–90): Total government acquisitions = $FCE - CE - CFC - IT + SALES + GFCE$, where final consumption expenditure (FCE) less consumption of fixed capital (CFC) less indirect taxes (IT) plus government sales (SALES) plus gross fixed capital formation (GFCE). $FCE + GFCE$ are calculated as (General government final consumption expenditure (per cent of GDP) + (Gross fixed capital formation (current LCU)/Gross Domestic Product (current LCU)*100) - Gross fixed capital formation, private sector (current LCU). In addition, CE is Compensation of employees (current LCU), CFC is other expense (current LCU) — spending on dividends, rent, and other miscellaneous expenses, including provision for consumption of fixed capital; IT are Taxes on goods and services that include general sales and turnover or value added taxes, selective excises on goods, selective taxes on services, taxes on the use of goods or property, taxes on extraction and production of minerals, and profits of fiscal monopolies. Sales is calculated as revenue excluding grants (current LCU) — tax revenue (current LCU) — social contributions (current LCU). Revenue is cash receipts from taxes, social contributions, and other revenues such as fines, fees, rent, and income from property or sales. Grants are also considered as revenue but are excluded here. Tax revenue refers to compulsory transfers to the central government for public purposes. Certain compulsory transfers such as fines, penalties, and most social security contributions are excluded. Refunds and corrections of erroneously collected tax revenue are treated as negative revenue. Social contributions include social security contributions by employees, employers, and self-employed individuals, and other contributions whose source cannot be determined. They also include actual or imputed contributions to social insurance schemes operated by governments. All indicators from WDI 2010.

Procurement markets II, perc GDP

This is a less precise estimate of procurement markets than above. The size of procurement markets is estimated as final consumption expenditure + gross fixed capital formation ($FCE + GFCE$), calculated as (General government final consumption expenditure (per cent of GDP) + (Gross fixed capital formation (current LCU)/Gross Domestic Product (current LCU)*100) – Gross fixed capital formation, private sector (current LCU) (Audet, 2002, 186–190). All indicators from WDI 2010.

Natural resources rents, per cent GDP

Total natural resources rents are the sum of oil rents, natural gas rents, coal rents (hard and soft), mineral rents, and forest rents, per cent of GDP. From WDI 2010.

Oil rents, per cent GDP

Oil rents are the difference between the value of crude oil production at world prices and total costs of production, per cent of GDP. From WDI 2010.

Capital flight, per cent GDP

Estimates of capital flight are taken from the International Monetary Fund (2005) dataset for 1971–2000 and Global Financial Integrity dataset for 2000–2008 (Kar and Curcio, 2011, 35–64). Estimates of outflows then recalculated as per cent of GDP using WDI 2010.

Privatization proceeds, USD million

Sum of all privatization proceeds during tenure, in USD million, available for 1988–2008. From Kikeri and Perault (2010).

Immunity concerns

Coded 1 if ruler could have legitimate immunity concerns for acts committed while in office, such for alleged corruption, embezzlement and various human rights violations, especially if he or she was under investigation after leaving office. Various bibliographical and media sources were consulted (as explained below for the indicators of personal background). Additionally, *immunity concerns* indicator is coded as 1 if leader also entered office in a military coup (unless such entry followed the overthrow of preceding autocrat in a popular revolt, e.g., Aquino (1986–92) of the Philippines following Marcos). The latter is based on *entry* from the Archigos dataset (Goemans and Chiozza, 2009).

Abuses

The variable is based on the *PHYSINT* (Physical Integrity Rights Index) that in turn is constructed from the measures of Torture, Extra Judicial Killing, Political Imprisonment, and Disappearance indicators, where the lower value stands for no respect for rights (Cingranelli and Richards, 2010). This indicator takes the lowest value during a leader's time in office. Data available for 1981–2009. Data downloaded from www.humanrightsdata.org.

Non-constitutional entry

Coded 1 if leader reached power through irregular means, or was directly imposed by another state, based on *entry* from the Archigos dataset (Goemans and Chiozza, 2009). Coverage extended to 2009 by the author.

Hegemonic party II

Coded 1 if meets the following criteria: “hegemonic parties exist when the regime is authoritarian, the members of the legislature are chosen in multi-party elections, and the ruling party controls an absolute majority in the primary legislative chamber” (Reuter and Gandhi, 2011, 87, 94-95).

Left ruling party

Coded 1 if party of a president is a left party. Based on *EXECRLC* indicator from (Beck et al., 2001), category Left (3). Coverage additionally extended to cover 1960–1974 (DPI covers beginning in 1975) so that parties coded as left by DPI after 1975 are coded as left for the earlier period.

Former socialist

Coded 1 if country is a former socialist nation in the former Soviet Union, Mongolia or Central and Eastern Europe, coded by the author.

Economic growth, average

Economic growth per capita, from WDI 2010, calculated as average per tenure.

Entry constraints

Political constraints, *polcon iii*, based on the number of independent veto points over policy outcomes and the distribution of preferences of the actors in the executive, lower and upper legislative chambers, “taking into account the extent of alignment across branches of government using data on the party composition of the executive and legislative branches” (Henisz, 2002, 1), quoted from the 2002 codebook). Value for the year of entry into office or the following year if missing is used.

Democratic years at entry

Number of years with *polity 2* (Marshall, Jaggers and Gurr, 2011) score above + 5 in a given country prior to ruler’s tenure.

Democratic years at entry II

Number of years with *polity 2* (Marshall, Jaggers and Gurr, 2011) score above 0 in a given country prior to ruler’s tenure.

Durability

Based on *durable* (Marshall, Jaggers and Gurr, 2011): how long a present political regime has been in place in a given country, prior to ruler’s tenure.

Regional changes, last 5 years

Number of presidential tenure changes that occurred in a given year and four preceding years in a given region, excluding a given ruler’s own change, if any. Regions are sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East and North Africa, Asia, Latin America, Post-Soviet and Eastern Europe, West (North America, Western Europe and CEE members of the EU).

Regional changes, last 3 years

Number of presidential tenure changes that occurred in a given year and three preceding years, in the region, excluding a given ruler’s own change, if any. Regions are categorized as above.

Limited rulers, per cent, region

Percentage of presidents with effective term limits in the region. Calculated from the sample that includes all presidents whether limited or not, rather from the estimation sample as

defined in Chapter 5.

Judicial independence

Independence of the Judiciary [INJUD]: indicates the extent to which the judiciary is independent of control from other sources, such as another branch of the government or the military. A score of 0 indicates “not independent,” a score of 1 indicates “partially independent” and a score of 2 indicates “generally independent” (Cingranelli and Richards, 2010).

Directly elected president

1 if president is directly elected. Based on *system*, Presidential (0) category (Beck et al., 2001), DPI 2010. Coverage extended to cover 1960–1975 period by the author.

Constitutional change

Major Constitutional Changes (*Polil04*): the number of basic alterations in a state’s constitutional structure, the extreme case being the adoption of a new constitution that significantly alters the prerogatives of the various branches of government (Banks, 2009).

Prior constitutional changes

Calculated as the running sum of *Polit04* for all preceding years in a given country covered by (Banks, 2009) for a year prior a change of tenure or to departure from office. In some estimations the count of changes begins after 1950 to avoid collinearity with the history of statehood.

Party fractionalization index

Party fractionalization index (*Polit01*), based on a formula proposed by Rae (1968), constructed as follows: $F = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^m t_i^2$, where t_i equals the proportion of members associated with the i_{th} party in the lower house of the legislature (where there are no parties, a zero is entered). In calculating the Index entries, independents are disregarded and legislative changes between elections are not taken into account. Cited in the codebook for Banks (2009).

Effectiveness of Legislature

Effectiveness of Legislature (*Legis03*): (3) Effective, (2) Partly Effective, (1) Largely Ineffective, (0) No Legislature, from the codebook in Banks (2009).

Average age of parties

This is the average of the ages of the 1st government party, 2nd government party, and 1st opposition party, or the subset of these for which age of party is known (*PARTYAGE*), (Beck et al., 2001). Additionally, this variable is coded as 1 for independence year whenever the original data was missing. Average age of parties at the time of entry in office is used in Chapter 7 analyses.

Opposition, per cent of seats

Number of opposition seats to total seats in the legislature (*NUMOPP*) (Beck et al., 2001).

Western influence (region of)

Coded 1 if Latin America or Central and Eastern Europe. Coded by the author.

Western trade, per cent GDP

Estimated from dyadic trade statistics, Correlates of War, Barbieri, Keshk and Pollins (2008). For each country, imports and exports to and from all Western countries are estimated, then re-calculated as per cent to GDP (Heston, Summers and Aten, 2009). GDP for Yugoslavia is taken from WDI. West is Australia and New Zealand, Northern America, Japan, and Western Europe, including Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

US trade, per cent GDP

Estimated from dyadic trade statistics, Correlates of War, Barbieri, Keshk and Pollins (2008). For each country, imports and exports to and from USA are added, then re-calculated as per cent to GDP (Heston, Summers and Aten, 2009).

Ruler's ethnic group size

The size of the ethnic group to which the the leader belongs, per cent to total population (Fearon, Kasara and Laitin, 2007).

Years in formal politics

Years in formal politics prior to assuming the highest political office. Only years in official politics are counted, such as being a member of parliament, cabinet minister, a province governor or city mayor, or a member of a sub-national parliament. This and other background indicators, unless stated otherwise, is coded by the author. The sources used include country histories, leaders' biographies, country- and leader-specific reference works, government websites, web and book references about political leaders, such as Banks (2009), Bienen and de Walle (1991), Lentz's excellent *Heads of States and Governments* (Lentz, 1994), CIDOB Foundation (*Centro de Estudios y Documentacio'n Internacionales de Barselona*) biographies of world leaders, 1945–2011 (Zarate, 2011)³, as well as other web-based biographies.⁴ All background indicators are part of the larger dataset, *Cursus Honorum: Personal Background and Career Before and After Time in Office of the Heads of State Dataset, 1960–2010* (Baturu, 2012).

Years, including in civil service

Years in formal politics prior to assuming the highest political office, including years in civil service, also colonial service or political service in the former colonial or metropolitan in-

³Available at http://www.cidob.org/es/documentacion/biografias_lideres_politicos/28filtro29/pais.

⁴Available at www.rulers.org, www.worldstatesmen.com, Keesings News Archive was extensively consulted. Web-based data was accessed throughout 2010–11.

stitutions, such as membership of the French National Assembly, French Union Assembly, local colonial assembly between 1946 and the time of independence in the former French colonies, or secretary of the republican Communist party in the Soviet Union, for example. Years in opposition, a revolutionary movement are also counted whenever possible, coded by the author.

Father of the Nation

Coded 1 if first post-independence ruler, coded by the author.

Law degree

1 if university education is in law, 0 otherwise, coded by the author.

(Ex-) military officer

Coded 1 if current leader is a *career* military officer (general) or former military officer, excluding mandatory military training or draft, coded by the author.

Ever been imprisoned

Coded 1 if ever been imprisoned in the past, coded by the author.

Political dynasty

Coded 1 if leader is a member of prominent political family or dynasty, where members of leader's family had occupied the high national political posts in the past, whenever possible to ascertain, 0 otherwise, coded by the author.

Business career

Coded 1 if leader had a nationally prominent business or entrepreneurial career prior to assuming office, whenever possible to determine those whose companies employed at least 1,000 employees, or if confirmed by at least two media or bibliographic sources that leaders had nationally prominent business interests in private life, coded by the author.

Age at entry

Age in years at entry into office, from the Archigos dataset (Goemans and Chiozza, 2009); supplemented by the author is missing.

Previous times in office

Coded 1 if ruler has been in office before, from the Archigos dataset (Goemans and Chiozza, 2009); supplemented by the author if missing.

Age at exit/extension

Age in years during tenure extension or departure from office, from the Archigos dataset (Goemans and Chiozza, 2009).

Ph.D. degree

Coded 1 if holds doctorate, excluding honorary doctorates, coded by the author.

University education

Coded 1 if completed third-level (university or equivalent) education. NB Education of military officers: coded as third-level education if attended undergraduate degree-granting institutions (e.g., Ecole Spéciale Militaire de Saint-Cyr, soviet military schools following their transition into 4-year higher education institutions in the late 1950s). Coded by the author.

Western education

Coded 1 if university education received in North America, Western Europe or Australia. Rulers of Western countries are coded as 0s. If foreign education was received in another foreign but non-Western country, it is recoded as 0, coded by the author.

Soviet education

Coded 1 if university education, fully or partially, has been received in USSR/Soviet satellite country during Cold War. Soviet, former Soviet or Soviet satellite leaders who received their education in their home countries are coded 0; if leaders of Soviet satellite (but not Soviet or former Soviet) countries received education in the former Soviet Union, they are coded 1. Coded by the author.

Prime Minister or Vice-President

Coded 1 if immediately prior to assuming her/his office a leader occupies a second executive post in a country, such as prime minister or vice president, coded by the author.

Cabinet minister

Coded 1 if a leader has experience as a cabinet minister or secretary, whether immediately prior to assuming office or earlier, 0 otherwise, coded by the author.

Important cabinet post

Coded 1 if leader was a finance, foreign, or defense minister, 0 otherwise, coded by the author.

Civil servant or diplomat

Coded 1 if pursued career as a civil servant or diplomat prior to assuming office, 0 otherwise, coded by the author.

Academic career

Coded 1 if leader pursued academic career for a significant period of time, coded by the

author.

Governor

Coded 1 if subnational governor or mayor, zero otherwise. Leaders who are former general party secretaries in the former Soviet republics prior to assuming presidency are coded as former prime minister or vice-presidents instead, coded by the author.

Political outsider

Coded 1 if prior to assuming office a leader can be regarded as an outsider to the existing political system, e.g., he or she did not occupy any significant political post, in executive or legislative branches, or sub-national government, and instead came from a non-political background, e.g., university academic, journalist or businessman. Only leaders that assume office via constitutional means are coded as outsiders, e.g., leaders of military coups are not coded as outsiders, coded by the author.

Labour/revolutionary/opposition

Coded 1 if a leader has a background in a revolutionary movement, or in political opposition in a non-democratic regime or involved in an anti-colonial struggle, or whether he or she was a trade union activist in a non-democratic regime, coded by the author.

Variable Description: Chapter Eight

Liberalizing Election

Coded 1 if there is an increase in the country's Freedom House score by one point and an increase of its *Polity2* score by three points, both in the election year, following Howard and Roessler (2006), extended by the author.

Regime Defeat

Coded 1 if the incumbent president or designated successor loses presidential election. Coded from various sources, including Nohlen (2005), Nohlen, Grotz and Hartmann (2001), Nohlen, Krennerich and Thibaut (1999), African Elections Database, available at <http://africanelections.tripod.com/>, etc.

Incumbent

Coded 1 if a president has been in office for at least one year or longer prior to election, coded by the author.

Opposition Coalition

Coded 1 if there is united electoral coalition of the opposition parties, is constructed on the basis of country election reports, following Howard and Roessler (2006, 370-74), extended by the author.

Concur. Leg. Election

1 if legislative election is held concurrently with presidential election, various sources, including Nohlen (2005), Nohlen, Grotz and Hartmann (2001), Nohlen, Krennerich and Thibaut (1999), African Elections Database, available at <http://africanelections.tripod.com/>, etc, coded by the author.

Opposition Mobilization

The average number of anti-governmental demonstrations in the year prior to and of the election, based on *domestic8*, (Banks, 2009): Any peaceful public gathering of at least 100 people for the primary purpose of displaying or voicing their opposition to government policies or authority, excluding demonstrations of a distinctly anti-foreign nature.

Prior Liberalization

Coded 1 if regime experienced changes on the democracy score five years prior to election, following Howard and Roessler (2006), extended by the author.

Civil Rights

Country's average Freedom House civil liberties score for the two years prior to election.

Regional Democracies, per cent

Proportion of countries with the *polity2* score of +6 and above in the region in a particular year. Regions are West Africa, Middle Africa, South Africa, East Africa, Middle East and North Africa, CEE/NIS, Central America, South America, and Asia, coded by the author.

Oil/Commodity

Coded 1 if the average ratio of non-fuel primary products exports exceeded 50 per cent, or an oil-producing country, coded 1 if the average ratio of fuel exports to total exports exceeded 50 per cent, sourced from the extension to Przeworski et al. (2000) dataset.

Vote Share, per cent

Percentage of votes for incumbent or successor, based on *percent1*: "President got what per cent of votes in the 1st/only round?" (Beck et al., 2001), DPI 2010, extended by the author if not available.

Previous Vote Share, per cent

Percentage of votes cast for the winner of presidential election held previous to the current presidential election (Beck et al., 2001), DPI 2010, extended by the author if not available.

Electoral Violations

Coded 1 if extra-constitutional irregularities are mentioned in the text of the sources, based on *election fraud*: "were vote fraud or candidate intimidation serious enough to affect the outcome of elections?" (Beck et al., 2001), DPI 2010.

Capital spending, per cent to GDP

Governmental capital spending including expenditure by the central government to acquire fixed capital assets such as construction of roads, railways, industrial plants, airports and the like, as well as land, intangible assets, government stocks, and nonmilitary, non-financial assets. Based on Expenditure IV Capital Expenditure in the Historical database and the Net Acquisition of Nonfinancial Assets of the IMF Government Finance Statistics (current) database, calculated as gross fixed capital formation less consumption of fixed capital plus changes in inventories and transactions in other non-financial assets (International Monetary Fund, 2001, 38), in the Current database, Consolidated Central Government accounts.

Social spending, per cent to GDP

Combined expenditure on education, healthcare and social security and welfare (social protection in the IMF Government Finance Statistics database current version) (International Monetary Fund, 2001).

First term

Coded 1 for years of first term in a two-term presidency, 0 for years of a second and last term under the same arrangement or a single term.

Urban population, per cent to total

Urban population (per cent of total), from WDI 2010.

Population Growth

Based on *Population growth (annual per cent)*, from WDI 2010.

Trade openness, per cent to GDP

Trade is the sum of exports and imports of goods and services measured as a share of gross domestic product, from WDI 2010.

Budget surplus, per cent to GDP

Cash surplus/deficit (per cent of GDP), from WDI 2010.

Presidential election

Coded 1 for year of presidential election, if *yrcurnt*: “Years left in current term” equals 0 (Beck et al., 2001), DPI 2010.

Elderly, per cent total

Age dependency ratio, old (per cent of working-age population), from WDI 2010.

Young, per cent total

Age dependency ratio, young (per cent of working-age population), from WDI 2010.

Additional Examples of *Continuismo*, Term Limits, and Constitutional Clauses

1. Compare two court decisions — in Russia and Kyrgyzstan in 1998 — that ruled whether a president's second term that began under the new constitution should be regarded as their first term. These examples are discussed in Chapter Three.

1993 Constitution of Kyrgyzstan

Article 43 (1) The President of the Kyrgyz Republic shall be elected for a term of five years.
Article 43 (2) The same person cannot be elected President for more than two consecutive terms.

July 13, 1998 Decision of the Kyrgyz Constitution Court on the eligibility of the President to participate in 2000 elections.

In the Name of the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic, the Decision of the Constitutional Court of the Kyrgyz Republic (July 13, 1998)

[. . .] Member of Parliament A. K. Madumarov argued that a first term of President Askar Akayev should be counted from 1990 to 1995, and a second term from 1995. Considering the existing disagreement about the application of Article 43(2) of the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic that prohibits the same individual from seeking more than two consecutive terms, the Constitutional Court shall rule on the eligibility of the President of Kyrgyz Republic Askar Akayev to participate in the 2000 presidential elections.

[. . .] The office of the President of the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic was established by the Supreme Soviet of the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic on October 24, 1990 [. . .] The first President of Kyrgyz SSR was elected for five years by the Supreme Soviet in a secret ballot, [. . .] the same person cannot seek the office of President of Kyrgyz SSR more than two consecutive terms. The Supreme Soviet [. . .] elected Askar Akayev as the President Kyrgyz SSR.

Subsequently, [. . .] the Supreme Soviet, after Declaration of the State Sovereignty of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, on the same day [. . .] assigned the elections of the President of the independent Republic of Kyrgyzstan to be held on October 12, 1991 and [. . .] nominated Askar Akayev for the Presidency. [. . .] Askar Akayev [. . .] was elected as the President of Republic of Kyrgyzstan.

The Constitutional Court regards the October 12, 1991 universal non-alternative voting [*vybory*] that followed the Declaration of the State Sovereignty of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, and the subsequent election [*izbranie*] of Askar Akayev as the President of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, to be a procedure brought about by the objective circumstances and that was carried out in order to ensure the legitimacy and authority of the President of the independent state — Republic of Kyrgyzstan.[. . .]

[. . .] On May 5, 1993 the Supreme Soviet voted for the first Constitution of the independent Republic of Kyrgyzstan. [. . .] Considering that the authority of the first President of

Republic of Kyrgyzstan was derived from the 1978 Constitution of Kyrgyz SSR, a referendum was held on January 30, 1994 on the subject whether “People of Kyrgyzstan confirm that the President of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, universally elected on October 12, 1991 for five years, is the President of Kyrgyz Republic and has the authority according to the Constitution of Kyrgyz Republic.” [. . .]

The May 5, 1993 Constitution introduced new principles of organization of state and governmental bodies, and accordingly modified the magnitude and structure of authority of the President, and thereby ushered in the necessity for further legitimation of the new powers of the President of Kyrgyz Republic during the duration of the term for which he had been elected under the 1978 Constitution [. . .] — which [the process of legitimation] in practice was ensured in the January 30, 1994 referendum.

Under these circumstances, the Constitutional Court of Kyrgyz Republic concludes that the time in office of Askar Akayev, based on the 1978 Constitution of Kyrgyz SSR as the President of the union republic of Kyrgyzstan, which had been a part of a federal state of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic, likewise in the consecutive period of independence of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan cannot be regarded as a term of service of the President of Kyrgyz Republic as stipulated by Article 43 of the Constitution of Kyrgyz Republic. The Constitutional Court of Kyrgyz Republic decides that [. . .] for the first time as the President of Kyrgyz Republic Askar Akayev was elected only in the December 24, 1995 elections.

Based on this argument, The Constitutional Court of the Kyrgyz Republic considers that according to Article 43 and Article 45 of the May 5, 1993 Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic, the first term of presidential mandate to carry out his authority according to the May 5, 1993 Constitution of Kyrgyz Republic is counted from that moment [as described in the previous paragraph], upon expiration of which [first term] the President of Kyrgyz Republic shall have the right to be eligible for election of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic in 2000.

Based on the abovementioned argument and according to Article 82.3(2) of the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic, Article 13 and 14 of the Law On the Constitutional Court of the Kyrgyz Republic, Article 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 24, 25, 29 and 30 of the Law on Constitutional Court Procedure, The Constitutional Court of the Kyrgyz Republic

Decided:

1. Upon completion of the first term of his mandate, The President of the Kyrgyz Republic Askar Akayev, according to Article 43(2) of the Constitution of Kyrgyz Republic, shall be eligible to run for the Presidency in the forthcoming 2000 elections. 2. This decision is final, without the right of appeal. It shall be complied with by all state departments, state officials, and citizens.

The Chairman of the Constitutional Court of Kyrgyz Republic Ch. T. Baekova
The Secretary of the Constitutional Court of Kyrgyz Republic A. S. Kenensariev

1993 Constitution of the Russian Federation

Article 81 (1): The President of the Russian Federation shall be elected for four years by citizens of the Russian Federation on the basis of universal, equal, direct suffrage by secret

ballot. 3. One and the same person may not be elected President of the Russian Federation for more than two terms running.

Section 2 (3) of Concluding and Transitional Provisions: The President of the Russian Federation, elected according to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Russian Federation — Russia, since the given Constitution comes into force, since carry out the powers fixed in it until the term of office for which he was elected expires.

**The Ruling of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation
On interpretation of article 81 (3) and of section 2 (3) of Concluding and Transitional
Provisions of the Constitution (N 134-O), 5 November 1998**

The State Duma requested the Constitutional Court to interpret the provisions of article 81 (3) and of section 2 (3) of “Concluding and Transitional Provisions” that are related [. . .] alleging the lack of clarity in their interpretation. According to these clauses, the same person cannot serve as the President of the Russian Federation for more than two terms consecutively (article 81 (3); the President of the Russian Federation, elected according to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Russian Federation — Russia, since the present Constitution has come into force, will carry out his authority until the expiration of the term he was elected to (section 2 (3) of “Concluding and Transitional Provisions”).

The State Duma requests to clarify whether the term of office of the President of the Russian Federation [. . .] under section 2 (3) of “Concluding and Transitional Provisions” constitutes first of two terms under article 81 (3). The State Duma believes that only the person who has not occupied this [president’s] office previously can be eligible candidate in the forthcoming presidential elections.

2. The office of the President of RSFSR was established [. . .] on 24 April 1991 [. . .] is elected for five years; the same person cannot serve as the President of RSFSR for more than two consecutive terms. [. . .] At the time when the new Constitution of the Russian Federation came into force (25 December 1993), previously elected President of the Russian Federation has been serving his first term. From that day, according to section 2 (3) of “Concluding and Transitional Provisions,” he has assumed the authority as stipulated by the new constitution. [. . .]

According to the new Constitution, the President was to occupy office until the expiration of the term to which he was elected earlier in 1991. At the same time, his previous (first) term of office as the President of the Russian Federation elected on 12 June 1991 was not interrupted by the fact of the new Constitution coming into force, and the first term of office of the President of the Russian Federation, as stipulated by article 81 (3), has not been counted anew. The Constitution [. . .] does not include the specific reservation to the effect that the term of office, as stipulated by section 2 (3) of “Concluding and Transitional Provisions,” is excluded from the provisions under article 81 (3) that stipulate the terms of office.

3. The provisions under section 2 (3) of “Concluding and Transitional Provisions” and under article 81 (3) are deemed to have been executed during the presidential election held on 16 June–3 July 1996, when the incumbent President B. N. Yeltsin was re-elected for the same office. Regarding his candidacy at all stages of the electoral process [. . .] it was accepted

that he was nominated and elected for the second term consecutively. [. . .] All executive decisions made under the provisions of article 81 (3) and of section 2 (3) of “Concluding and Transitional Provisions” of the Constitution of Russian Federation, [. . .] regarded the incumbent President as the candidate for the second term. Abovementioned acts and decisions were questioned neither by the President himself nor by other candidates. On 9 July 1996 the Central Election Commission ruled officially that the President of Russian Federation was deemed elected for the second term. [. . .]

[. . .] From the arguments above it is clear that the voters who cast their ballots for the candidacy of the incumbent President regarded that they were electing him for his second term, as envisioned by Article 81 (3) of the Constitution. Free elections, according to article 3 (3) of the Constitution, constitute the supreme direct manifestation of the power of the people. Therefore, the argument that the tenure limit, as envisaged by article 81 (3) of the constitution and that restricts the same person to two consecutive terms, should be applicable only to the period under which both two terms were carried out when the present constitution had been in force, and that the term that is referred to in section 2 (3) of “Concluding and Transitional Provisions” does not constitute the first term as stipulated by article 81 (3), will be contrary to the will of the people as expressed in elections.

[. . .] 4. In this particular case the Constitutional Court, having heard the argument and examined the documents, declares the lack of ambiguity in the interpretation of constitutional clauses [. . .]. There is no ambiguity in understanding that, according to the Constitution and the federal legislation the incumbent President serves his second term consecutively. Two terms consecutively, as stipulated by article 81 (3) of the Constitution, constitute a constitutional limit, exceeding which the Constitution of the Russian Federation, including section 2 (3) of “Concluding and Transitional Provisions,” does not permit. [. . .]

[. . .] The Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation rules:

1. To cease the court proceedings initiated to interpret article 81 (3) and section 2 (3) of “Concluding and Transitional Provisions’ of the Constitution due to the lack of ambiguity in the interpretation thereof, since according to these articles, prior to elections held in June–July 1996 the President of the Russian Federation had served his first term, and he was elected for his second term consecutively in 1996. [. . .]

Chairman (Chief Justice) of the Constitutional Court of Russian Federation M. V. Baglai

2. An example of a constitutional change to allow one more term ad hoc (Namibia 1998)

1990 Constitution of Namibia

Article 29: Term of Office (1) (a) The President’s term of office shall be five (5) years unless he or she dies or resigns before the expiry of the said term or is removed from office. (b) In the event of the dissolution of the National Assembly in the circumstances provided for under Article 57(1) hereof, the President’s term of office shall also expire. (3) A person shall hold office as President for no more than two terms.

Article 134: Election of the First President (1) Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 28 hereof, the first President of Namibia shall be the person elected to that office by the

Constituent Assembly by a simple majority of all its members. (2) The first President of Namibia shall be deemed to have been elected under Article 28 hereof and upon assuming office shall have all the powers, functions, duties and immunities of a President elected under that Article.

The Namibian Constitution First Amendment Act, 1998

Act to amend the Namibian Constitution so as to provide that the first President of Namibia may hold office as President for three terms, and to provide for incidental matters (Signed by the President on December 7, 1998)

Be It Enacted by the Parliament of the Republic of Namibia, in accordance with the requirements of Article 132 of the Namibian Constitution, as follows:

Amendment of Article 134 of the Namibian Constitution

1. Article 134 of the Namibian Constitution is amended by the addition of the following Sub-Article: “(3) Notwithstanding Article 29(3), the first President of Namibia may hold office as President for three terms.”

3. An example of a limited grandfathering clause (Belarus in 1996), as discussed in Chapter Three

1994 Constitution of the Republic of Belarus

Article 97(1): The President shall be elected directly by the people of the Republic of Belarus. The President’s term of office shall be five years. The same person may be President for no more than two terms.

1996 Constitution of the Republic of Belarus (Amended following the November 24, 1996 referendum that tabled several questions including “Do you agree: 2. To adopt the 1994 Constitution of the Republic of Belarus with amendments and additions (new revision of the Constitution of the Republic of Belarus) proposed by President of the Republic of Belarus A.G. Lukashenko?”)

Article 81: The President shall be elected directly by the people of the Republic of Belarus for a term of office of five years by universal, free, equal, direct and secret ballot. The same person may be President for no more than two terms.

Article 144: The President of the Republic of Belarus shall retain his powers. The term of his office shall be counted from the day on which the present Constitution enters into force.

4. Constitutional provisions on presidential powers and the terms of office in the 1990 Serbian Constitution and the 1992 Constitution of FRY, as discussed in Chapter Five

1990 Serbian Constitution

Article 86: The President of the Republic shall be elected in direct election and by secret ballot. The term of office of the President of the Republic shall be five years. The same person may be elected for President of the Republic two times only.

Article 89: At the proposal of the Government containing justified grounds, the President of the Republic may decide that the National Assembly be dissolved. With the dissolution of the National Assembly the Government's mandate shall also be terminated.

Article 83: The President of the Republic shall: 1) propose to the National Assembly a candidate for the post of prime minister after hearing the opinion of the representative of the majority in the National Assembly; 2) propose to the National Assembly the candidates for the presidency and the justices of the Constitutional Court; 3) promulgate the laws by ordinance; 4) conduct affairs in the sphere of relations between the Republic of Serbia and other states and international organizations in accordance with law; 5) command the Armed Forces in peacetime and in war. [. . .]; 6) if the National Assembly is not in a position to meet and after obtaining an opinion from the prime minister, establish the fact of existence of an immediate danger of war or proclaim the state of war; 7) at his own initiative or at the proposal of the Government during a state of war or immediate danger of war, pass the enactments relating to questions falling within the competence of the National Assembly, provided his being bound to submit them to the National Assembly for approval as soon as it is in a position to meet. By way of the enactments promulgated during the state of war it shall be possible to restrict some freedoms and rights of man and citizen, and to alter the organisation, composition and powers of the Government and its ministries, courts of law, and public prosecutor's offices; 8) at the proposal of the Government, if the security of the Republic of Serbia, the freedoms and rights of man and citizen or the work of State bodies and agencies are threatened in a part of the territory of the Republic of Serbia, proclaim the state of emergency [. . .];

1992 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY)

Article 97: The President of the Republic shall be elected by the Federal Assembly for a four-year term of office, by secret ballot. The same individual may not be reelected President of the Republic for a second term. As a rule, the President of the Republic and the federal prime minister may not be from the same member Republic. The President of the Republic may not hold other public office or engage in professional activities. The President of the Republic shall enjoy the same immunity as a federal deputy. The Federal Assembly shall determine the immunity of the President of the Republic. The President of the Republic may only be dismissed if the Federal Assembly ascertains that he has violated the Constitution.

Article 80 (3): The Federal Assembly shall be composed of the Chamber of Citizens and the Chamber of Republics [. . .] The Chamber of Republics shall be made up of 20 federal deputies from each member Republic.

Article 81 (2): Federal deputies shall be elected for four-year terms. [. . .] the election and termination of the mandates of federal deputies in the Chamber of Republics of the Federal Assembly shall be regulated by the laws of each member Republic.

Article 86: Federal deputies to the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly shall represent the citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, while federal deputies to the Chamber of Republics of the Federal Assembly shall represent the member Republic from which they were elected.

Article 2: The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall be composed of the Republic of Serbia

and the Republic of Montenegro.

Article 6: [. . .] A member republic shall be sovereign in matters which under the present Constitution are not reserved to the jurisdiction of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. A member republic shall autonomously organize its government under its own constitution.

Article 136: *The President of the Republic shall appoint, promote and dismiss from service officers of the Army of Yugoslavia stipulated by federal law; [. . .]* (emphasis by the author).

Article 96: The President of the Republic shall: 1) represent the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at home and abroad; 2) promulgate federal laws by decree; issue instruments of rectification of international treaties; 3) nominate a candidate for prime minister of the federal government, after having heard the opinions of spokesmen for the parliamentary groups in the Federal Assembly; 4) recommend to the Federal Assembly candidates for appointment as justices of the Federal Constitutional Court, justices of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, after having obtained the opinion of the presidents of the member republics; 5) call elections for the Federal Assembly; 6) appoint and recall by decree ambassadors of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, pursuant to the recommendations of the federal government; receive the letters of credence of foreign diplomatic envoys; [. . .]

July 6, 2000 Amendments to FRY Constitution

Amendment V, which replaces Article 97 of the 1992 FRY Constitution, reads:

The President of the Republic shall be elected in direct elections by a secret ballot. The term of office of the President shall be four years. The same person may be elected President of the Republic twice at the most. The President of the Republic and the President of the Federal Government, as a rule, may not be from the same constituent Republic. The President of the Republic shall enjoy the same immunities as the federal deputy. Immunities enjoyed by the President of the Republic shall be decided by the Federal Assembly.

Amendment III, which replaces Article 80, paragraph 3, and Article 81, paragraph 2, and supplements Article 86 of the 1992 Constitution, reads:

The Chamber of Republics shall be comprised of 20 federal deputies each from each constituent Republic, elected at direct elections. Election and end of the term of office of a federal deputy to the Chamber of Citizens and the Chamber of Republics of the Federal Assembly shall be regulated by the federal law. A federal deputy shall decide and vote at his own discretion and may not be recalled.

5. An example of a postponement of elections (Sudan 2005), as discussed in Chapter Three

1998 Constitution of Sudan

Article 41: Presidential Term: The term of the President of the Republic is five years from the date of inauguration and a President may be re-elected only once.

Article 140: Continuity of Constitutional Offices and Institutions: The President of the Republic shall continue in office to fulfill all his responsibilities and with all his authority at the time of the entry into force of this Constitution. His term shall terminate within a

period of five years at which time a new President shall be sworn in in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Sudan People's Liberation Army, Nairobi, January 9, 2005

Article 1.8.3: General Elections at all levels of government shall be completed by the end of the third year of the Interim Period;

Article 1.8.4: Six months before the end of the periods referred to in Sub-Paragraphs. 1.8.1 and 1.8.3 the Parties shall meet and review the feasibility of the dates set out in the above-mentioned sub-Paragraphs.

Article 2.3.5: Until such time as elections are held, the current incumbent President (or his successor) shall be the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Sudan Armed Forces SAF. The current SPLM Chairman (or his successor) shall be the First Vice President and shall at the same time hold the posts of President of the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) and Commander-in-Chief of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA).

Article 2.3.7: The President shall be elected in national elections, the timing of which shall be subject to the agreement of the two parties. The President elect shall appoint two Vice Presidents, one from the South and the other from the North. [. . .]

6. Transformation of directly-elected presidential office into indirectly-elected, together with tenure changes, and the amalgamation of presidential and prime-ministerial office into one (Philippines 1973-81), as discussed in Chapter Three

1943 Constitution of the Philippines

Article II (2): The President shall be elected by a majority of all the members of the National Assembly at the place and on the date to be fixed by law.

Article II (4): The President shall hold office during a term of six years and may not be re-elected for the following term.

1973 Constitution of the Philippines

Article VII (2): The President shall be elected from among the Members of the National Assembly by a majority vote of all its Members for a term of six years from the date he takes his oath of office, which shall not be later than three days after the proclamation of the National Assembly, nor in any case earlier than the expiration of the term of his predecessor. Upon taking his oath of office, the President shall cease to be a Member of the National Assembly and of any political party. He shall be ineligible to hold any other elective office during his term.

1976 Constitution of the Philippines (Transitory Provisions)

Section 3 (1). The incumbent President of the Philippines shall initially convene the Interim National Assembly and shall preside over its sessions until the interim Speaker shall

have been elected. He shall *continue to exercise his powers and prerogatives under the 1935 Constitution and the powers vested in the President and the Prime Minister* [emphasis mine] under this Constitution until he calls upon the Interim National Assembly to elect the interim President and interim Prime Minister who shall then exercise their respective powers vested by this Constitution. 2. All proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions, and acts promulgated, issued, or made by the incumbent President shall be part of the law of the land, and shall remain valid, legal, binding, and effective even after the lifting of Martial Law or the ratification of this Constitution unless modified, revoked, or superseded by subsequent proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions, or unless expressly or implicitly modified or repealed by the regular National Assembly.

Section 4. The interim Prime Minister and his Cabinet shall exercise all powers and functions, discharge the responsibilities of the regular Prime Minister and his Cabinet, and shall be subject to the same disqualifications provided in this Constitution.

Section 5. The Interim National Assembly shall give priority to measures for the orderly transition from the Presidential to the Parliamentary system, the reorganization of the government, the eradication of graft and corruption, programs for the effective maintenance of peace and order, the implementation of declared agrarian reforms, the standardization of compensation for government employees, and such other measures as shall bridge the gap between the rich and the poor.

7. Constitutional elimination of term limits that is carried out in order to “enhance democracy” (Uganda 2005)

1995 Constitution of Uganda

Article 105 (1): A person elected President under this Constitution subject to clause (3) of this article, holds office for a term of five years. (2) A person may be elected under this Constitution shall not be elected under this Constitution to hold office as President for more than two terms as prescribed by this article.

In the July 28, 2005 referendum citizens were asked the following question: “Do you agree to open up the political space to allow those who wish to join different organisations/parties to do so to compete for political power?”

The Constitution (Amendment) Act, 2005, Date of Commencement: September 30, 2005.

An Act to amend the Constitution in accordance with article 261 of the Constitution: to distinguish Kampala as the capital city of Uganda and to provide for its administration and for the delineation of its boundaries; to provide for Swahili as the second official language of Uganda; to provide for the leader of the opposition in Parliament under the multiparty political system; *to remove the limits on the tenure of office of the President* [emphasis mine]; to create the offices of Prime Minister and Deputy Attorney General; to provide for the independence of the Auditor General and to provide for the procedure for his or her removal; to provide for the creation and functions of special courts to handle offences relating to corruption; to establish and prescribe the functions of a Leadership Code Tribunal; to provide for the control of minerals and petroleum; to provide for the holding of referenda generally;

to make miscellaneous repeals to the spent provisions of the Constitution and to provide transitional provisions having regard to the amendments made in the Constitution; and for related matters.

2005 Constitution of Uganda

Article 105 (1): A person elected President under this Constitution subject to clause (3) of this article, holds office for a term of five years. (2) A person shall not be elected under this Constitution to hold office as President for one or more terms as prescribed by this article.

8. The only Presidency for life after the beginning of the third wave (Turkmenistan 1999), as discussed in Chapter Three

1992 Constitution of Turkmenistan

Article 55 [. . .] One person may not be President more than two terms consecutively.

Article 56: The President is elected directly by the people of Turkmenistan for a term of five years and assumes office immediately after taking oath at a session of the People's Council. [. . .]

Constitutional Law of Turkmenistan on Exclusive Powers of the First President of Turkmenistan Saparmurat Turkmenbashi

(Mejlis (Parliament) of Turkmenistan Gazette, 1999, N 4, p. 80)

According to the resolution of the People's Council of Turkmenistan "On Powers of the First President of Turkmenistan Saparmurat Turkmenbashi" on December 28, 1999:

This is to invest the universally elected first President of Turkmenistan Saparmurat Ataevich Niyazov (Saparmurat Turkmenbashi) with exclusive right to carry out the powers of the head of state without term limits.

The Chairman of the Mejlis of Turkmenistan S. Muradov
City of Ashgabat, December 28, 1999, TTK-2

9. An example of constitutional provision under which a subsequent term is twice shorter than the first, as discussed in Chapter Nine: Conclusion

1847 [1935, 1951] Constitution of Liberia

Article 3(1): the Supreme Executive Power shall be vested in a President who shall be elected by the people, and shall hold his office for a term of eight years. No President may be elected for two consecutive terms, of eight years, but should a majority of the ballots cast at a second or any other succeeding election by all of the electors voting thereat elect him, his second or any other succeeding term of office shall be for four years. [. . .]

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