Living by the Sword and Dying by the Sword? Leadership Transitions in and out of Dictatorships*

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Abstract

What explains the post-tenure fate of dictators? How does it affect their propensity to democratize? We tackle these questions in a model, with one leader and $N-1$ factions. First, the leader decides whether to democratize. Second, players decide whether to oust the leader and eliminate each other. Third, surviving players divide the spoils of office. We conclude that a leader may be eliminated because he cannot commit to refrain from using violence in the future. The greater is a leader's capacity for violence, the more likely he is to be eliminated upon his ouster. Since dictators can remain in office unless they are threatened with violence, leaders with greater capacity for violence are more likely be ousted. Expecting a shorter tenure, leading to harsher treatment, leaders with greater capacity for violence are more likely to democratize. We provide support for our theory in the post-World War II period.

Keywords: dictatorship, regime, leader, military, democratization

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1 Introduction

What explains the length of tenure and the post-tenure fate of dictators? A growing literature has found systematic differences among dictatorships on economic and political matters.[1] Standard explanations rely on rational calculations of leaders or regimes. Yet little is known about the post-tenure fate of leaders. We argue that the evidence on the post-tenure fate of leaders should lead us to reevaluate some of the dominant theories on non-democratic regimes.

More precisely, the literature seems to have reached a consensus that military regimes are short-lived. Yet it has recently been shown that military leaders face the worst post-tenure fate (Debs and Goemans, 2009). This evidence is not consistent with standard explanations of the fragility of military dictatorships.

Consider the work of Geddes (1999, 2003). In her seminal contribution, she argues that military regimes are distinctive for two reasons. First, they care about corporate and national unity and dislike to fight amongst themselves.[2] Second, military dictators can secure high rents after leaving office, presumably because of their expertise in using violence.[3] Both facts explain the fragility of military dictatorships.

Yet they also imply that military dictators should experience a favorable fate after leaving office. For example, if military factions truly dislike to fight amongst themselves, they should be able to peacefully transfer power from one leader to another.[4] Yet the

[1] Dictatorships differ in their propensity to fall and democratize (Geddes, 1999, 2003; Ulfelder, 2005; Hadenius and Teorell, 2007; Gandhi, 2008; Magaloni, 2008; Svolik, 2009*a*; Wright and Escriba-Folch, 2009), be involved in war (Peceny, Beer and Sanchez-Terry, 2002; Lai and Slater, 2006; Weeks, 2007; Debs and Goemans, 2009), repress (Gandhi and Przeworski, 2006; Escriba-Folch, N.d.), create legislative parties (Gandhi and Przeworski, 2006, 2007; Wright, 2008), stimulate investment and growth (Gandhi, 2008; Wright, 2008), offer generous public sector wages (Gandhi and Przeworski, 2006) and affect the level or composition and public spending (Escriba-Folch, N.d.).

[2] This argument has a long history, see for example Finer (2002, 6) and Nordlinger (1977, 38).

[3] See also Nordlinger (1977, 142,143), Huntington (1991, 116,120), Sutter (1995).

[4] Geddes (1999, 2003) argues that ruling factions in a military regime choose between two actions, 'remaining in the barracks' and 'intervening'. Since they care about unity and dislike picking different

evidence in Debs and Goemans (2009) suggests the opposite.[5] For completeness, Table 1 provides the evidence on the post-tenure fate of dictators, ousted domestically while a regime is in power, using the Geddes (1999, 2003) typology.[6] We see that, if anything, military leaders face a worse post-tenure fate than single-party leaders.[7]

Likewise, consider the influential selectorate theory of Bueno de Mesquita et al. (2003). This theory explains the tenure of a leader by the 'loyalty norm' of his supporters. If it is weak, the incumbent's tenure is short.[8] The theory also claims that the weaker is the 'loyalty norm' for an incumbent, the lower is the likelihood that he is eliminated upon ouster (Bueno de Mesquita et al., 2003, 343). Put simply, since his supporters are not very loyal, a deposed dictator does not pose much of a threat to the new leader, who is unlikely to eliminate him.

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actions, they play a coordination game, which has two pure strategy equilibria: both 'remaining in the barracks' or both 'intervening'. Applied to the case where they are currently in office, this implies that if the leader wants to remain in office, the other military faction has a single best response: to support him in power. The leader, then, should not be ousted violently.

[5]Debs and Goemans (2009) uses the Cheibub, Gandhi and Vreeland (N.d.) typology, discussed below. Geddes (1999, 2003) codes regimes in the post-World War II period based on the constituency controlling access to office, the fruits of office and influencing policy. It is a group of military officers in a 'military' regime, a single party in a 'single-party' regime or a single person in a 'personalist' regime. A regime enters her sample if it lasts three years or more and exists or begins between 1946 and 1996, in countries with a population of more than a million people which became independent before 1990 (Geddes, 2003, 69, 225-227). Table 1 excludes personalist regimes, as there are only 4 such regimes that extend beyond the rule of their founder, with most turnovers being natural deaths.

[6]Values for the post-tenure fate are taken from the Archigos dataset (see section 4).

[7]To some extent, 'military' regimes in Geddes (1999, 2003) display a strong sense of unity because of the coding rules. Indeed, the leader may be a member of the military, but the regime would be coded as personalist, if the answer to the following questions is yes: 'Have dissenting officers or officers from different regions, tribes, religions, or ethnic groups been murdered, imprisoned, or forced into exile? Has the officer corps been marginalized from most decision making?'

[8]The loyalty norm is inversely related to W/S, where W is the size of the winning coalition and S the size of the selectorate in a given political system. The selectorate is the set of people with a say in selecting the leader. The winning coalition is a subset of the selectorate which can maintain a leader in office. The greater is W/S, the more likely are members of the winning coalition to be included in the winning coalition of the challenger, making them less concerned about defecting for the challenger.

Unfortunately, both claims cannot be true. Indeed, the selectorate theory argues that military dictatorships are characterized by a weak loyalty norm.[9] This could explain the short tenure of military dictators, but it would imply that military dictatorships provide the best treatment for departing dictators, running counter to the evidence in Table 1.

How can we account for the evidence on the post-tenure fate of leaders? We provide a different approach, building on key insights of each piece. First, we agree with Bueno de Mesquita et al. (2003) that the treatment of a departing dictator depends on the threat that he poses to the new leader. Yet we agree with Geddes (1999, 2003) that military dictators are distinctive in their ability to secure rents in a new regime, should they survive as political players. As a result, they are most likely to be eliminated, should they lose office, since they pose the greatest threat to the new ruler.

We also argue that this theory explains the short tenure of military dictators. Assume that a dictator can remain in office unless he is threatened with violence (Popper, 1963; Przeworski et al., 2000; Svolik, 2009*a*). The challenge for this approach is as follows: why would military dictators, with a high capacity for violence, experience a short tenure?

There are two opposing forces at play. First, a dictator with greater capacity for violence is more likely to prevail in a violent conflict. Second, the threat to remove him violently is more credible, as we showed above. The net effect may be indeterminate. Yet we show that the tenure of military dictators is unambiguously the shortest if their capacity for violence is sufficiently greater than that of non-military dictators. The intuition is as follows: at the limit where non-military dictators have no capacity for violence, relative to military dictators, it is *never* credible for a challenger to eliminate a non-military dictator. Any political player is content to extract resources from a weak ruler. A military dictator, by contrast, can prevail in many violent interactions, but he certainly cannot win all violent interactions. When he appears vulnerable, he is eliminated by political opponents.[10]

[9] All dictatorships have a small winning coalition (W). For Bueno de Mesquita et al. (2003, 337), military dictatorships have a small selectorate (S), making W/S large, or the loyalty norm weak.

[10] By continuity, the argument continues to hold if the differences between military and non-military

We outline the theory's implications for the study of democratization. Consider the fact that democracy allocates executive office through a competitive struggle for the popular vote (Schumpeter, 1950). This means that democracy imposes constraints on the use of force and that a player's capacity for violence matters less in acquiring and retaining executive office. We then claim that dictators are less likely to be eliminated upon their ouster, should they transition to democracy. The logic is as follows. First, given the constraints on the use of force, the benefit of violently eliminating opponents is decreased. In other words, expecting that *future* attempts to gain executive office through violent means will be met with opposition, a new leader has less to gain in eliminating a departing dictator. In that sense, democracy becomes self-enforcing (Przeworski, 1991; Weingast, 1997; Przeworski, 2006; Fearon, N.d.; North, Wallis and Weingast, 2009). Second, given that a player's capacity for violence matters less in acquiring office, a dictator is more likely to be replaced by a faction with low capacity for violence. Since such players are generally unable to gain the advantage for violence, they have very little to gain from eliminating any given opponent.

We then conclude that military dictators should be most likely to preside over democratization. Should they maintain the dictatorship, they expect a shorter tenure, which is more likely to end in severe punishment. A transition to democracy limits their ability to use their capacity for violence, but this is actually a blessing, as it produces a safer post-tenure fate. If the consequences of being eliminated are sufficiently harsh, military dictators are most tempted to democratize. Of course, it may be difficult to establish the belief that political rights will be protected in the future. Political actors may engage in protracted negotiations, or pacts, to set up a democracy (see for example O'Donnell and Schmitter (1986), chapter 4). But if there is an opportunity for democracy, military dictators are most likely to take it.

We flesh out this argument and test our theory in the post World War II period. We use the typology of regimes of the Democracy-Dictatorship (DD) dataset (Cheibub,

dictators are sufficiently large.

Gandhi and Vreeland, N.d.). This dataset builds on the highly influential work of Przeworski et al. (2000), classifying country-years, between 1946 and 1996, as one of three regime types, military dictatorships, civilian dictatorships and monarchies, based on biographical information about the leader in office at the end of the year. We merge this dataset with Archigos, which contains information on the length of tenure and post-tenure fate of leaders (Goemans, Gleditsch and Chiozza, 2009).

We then show that, independently of the definition of elimination and controlling for fixed effects, military leaders are more likely to be eliminated upon leaving office. Moreover, military and non-military leaders are less likely to be eliminated, should they democratize, with the effect being stronger for military dictators. Consistent with our theory, we find that military dictators lose office at the fastest rate, whether to another dictator or to a democrat. We then provide some case study evidence to illustrate the logic of our argument, discussing the political history of Lesotho, Uruguay and Haiti.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 reviews the relevant literature. Section 3 presents our game-theoretic argument (with formal statements and proofs in the Appendix). Section 4 presents some evidence supporting our theory. Section 5 concludes.

2 Literature Review

This paper is part of a growing game-theoretic literature on dictatorships. Baseline theories model dictatorships as regimes serving the interests of an elite, with democratization conceded to stave off a revolution (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2001, 2006; Boix, 2003). Other work enriches the analysis by studying power dynamics within dictatorships, which is particularly relevant given that most dictators are replaced by regime insiders (Svolik, 2009*a*). Acemoglu, Ticchi and Vindigni (forthcoming); Svolik (2009*b*) add the military as an independent agent of the government. Besley and Kudamatsu (2008); Magaloni (2008); Myerson (2008); Svolik (2009*a*) study the conditions under which credible power-sharing emerges between a dictator and his supporters.

Within this literature, Acemoglu, Egorov and Sonin (2008) and Egorov and Sonin

(2005) are closest to our work. Acemoglu, Egorov and Sonin (2008) describe dictatorships as clubs, whose members can eliminate one another. In their model, greater capacity for violence unequivocally confers the advantage for violence. As we argue below, this approach cannot explain why military leaders, with greater capacity for violence, have a shorter tenure. Egorov and Sonin (2005) build an infinitely-repeated game where a new leader decides whether to execute his predecessor. They find a multiplicity of equilibria, where players may develop a reputation from killing their predecessor, making them more likely to be killed upon their ouster. On our end, we find a unique equilibrium, allowing a simple comparison of military and non-military dictators.

None of these papers documents (or explains) the differences in the treatment of ousted leaders among non-democratic regime types. To the best of our knowledge, only three recent studies tackle this question. Escriba-Folch (2007) examines the post-tenure fate of dictators and its consequences for economic growth. Wright and Escriba-Folch (2009) examine the effect of parties and legislature on a) a leader's tenure, allowing for transitions to dictatorship and democracy, and b) a leader's post-tenure fate, controlling for non-democratic regime type.[11] Both of these papers fail to identify a significant difference between military and non-military dictators in their post-tenure fate.[12] Finally, Debs and Goemans (2009) exploit the evidence on the post-tenure fate of leaders to explain differences in the war proneness of non-democratic regimes. Yet they do not explain the evidence on the post-tenure fate of leaders.

The paper attempts to fill this gap and contributes to a large literature on democratization. It models democracy as a regime where executive office is attained through

[11]To the best of our knowledge, Wright and Escriba-Folch (2009) is the only other study to estimate the length of tenure of dictators, distinguishing between transitions to dictatorship and democracy. See also Cox (N.d.) for the effect of authoritarian elections on a leader's violent or non-violent exit.

[12]This could be due to two reasons. First, they do not control for the regime type of the successor. As we show below, military dictators fare better after democratization, but significantly worse after a transition to dictatorship. Second, they use a country-year dataset, thus excluding leaders who enter and leave office within the same year. Since military dictators have the shortest tenure, and are most likely to face severe punishment upon leaving office, this strategy could give significantly different results.

competitive struggle for popular vote (Schumpeter, 1950). It is thus closest to a minimalist definition (Przeworski, 1991, 1999; Przeworski et al., 2000). Yet it is also compatible with more complex definitions. In Dahl (1971), democracy is characterized by two properties, its strong protection of political rights and its inclusiveness. The first property directly corresponds to the greater constraints on the use of violence in our model.[13] The second property can be captured by our model, as we assume that, after democratization, a political player may gain executive office by appealing to a wider set of supporters, even if he has little capacity for violence.

Finally, by focusing on the treatment of leaders after a transition, this paper also speaks to a literature on transitional justice (see Gilligan (2006); Nalepa and Powell (2009); Ritter and Wolford (2009); Nalepa (2010)). This literature identifies a rich set of reasons why departed dictators would receive harsh punishment upon their ouster, for example investigating the impact of the newly constituted International Criminal Court of Justice on the tenure and post-tenure fate of dictators. Yet none of these studies documents or explains differences among non-democratic regime type.

3 A Discussion of Our Argument

We develop a game with N players, a leader (player 1) and a set of factions (players 2 to N). In round 0, the leader picks the regime type of the country R, which can either be a democracy D or a non-democracy ND.[14] In round 1, players revise their status in the political system. They decide whether to eliminate one another or to let the leader step down and become a faction. In round 2, players divide the spoils of office.

3.1 Leadership Turnover in Dictatorships

If the country remains a dictatorship, round 1 unfolds as follows. First, nature grants the *advantage for violence* to some player, allowing him to win any violent conflict. If

[13] Note that establishing a strong protection of political rights is, in Dahl (1971)'s mind, the necessary first step in a transition to democracy (see also Huntington (1968); O'Donnell and Schmitter (1986)).

[14] We use dictatorship and non-democracy interchangeably.

it picks a faction, player 1 decides whether to offer him the status of leader, stepping down to become a faction. If the faction accepts, the leader's offer is implemented. If not, the faction eliminates player 1, becoming the leader. If player 1 has the advantage for violence, he decides whether to eliminate a faction, and if so, which one. Write s_j for the *status* of player j entering round 2, either as leader, faction, or eliminated (s_j equals l, f, e, respectively).

In round 2, the surviving players divide the spoils of office. We assume that the leader has the de jure right to the spoils of office, which can be challenged through violent means. Round 2 follows the same timing as round 1. Nature grants the advantage for violence to a player, allowing him to win any violent conflict. If a faction has the advantage for violence, the leader offers a division of the spoils of office. If the faction accepts the leader's offer, it is implemented. If not, the faction claims all the spoils of office. If the leader has the advantage for violence, he can implement any division of the spoils of office and decides whether to eliminate a faction, and if so, which one.

We assume that violence is inefficient. Being eliminated produces a negative payoff (L) and eliminating another player comes at a cost c. Let this cost, in round r, be taken from a c.d.f. $F_r(c)$, a continuous and differentiable function with support on strictly positive values ($F_r(0) = 0$ and $F_r(c) > 0$ for any $c > 0$). One concern of the paper is to study the effect of institutional constraints on the use of violence at the time of dividing the spoils of office. Consider two distributions $F_2'(c)$ and $F_2''(c)$. We say that the *constraints on the use of violence are stronger* under $F_2'(c)$ than $F_2''(c)$ if and only if high costs are more likely under $F_2'(c)$ than $F_2''(c)$ (or, technically, if and only if $F_2'(c)$ first-order stochastically dominates $F_2''(c)$).

We assume that player i has a *capacity for violence* γ_i. The probability that player i has the advantage for violence in round r is equal to his capacity for violence, relative to the other players (formally, $\gamma_i / \sum_{j:s_j \neq e} \gamma_j$). Let a player's capacity for violence be determined by his type, which takes one of two values (formally, $\gamma_i \in \{\gamma(t_L), \gamma(t_H)\}$, with $\gamma(t_H) > \gamma(t_L) > 0$ and t_H (t_L) refers to the type with high (low) capacity for

violence). We assume that the difference in the capacity for violence between high and low types is large.[15] Moreover, we assume that there is at least one faction of each type.

3.1.1 Solution

We solve for a subgame-perfect Nash equilibrium of this game. The equilibrium of round 2 is straightforward (see lemma 1 in the Appendix). In round 2, there is no violence, since it is costly. If the leader gains the advantage for violence, he claims all the spoils of office. If a faction gains the advantage for violence, the leader offers him just enough of the spoils of office to make the offer preferable to violence. As a result, the expected payoff of player i, who enters round 2 as either a leader or a faction, is:

$$\pi_i = \theta u\left(s_i\right) + (1-\theta)\frac{\gamma_i}{\sum_{j:s_j \neq e}\gamma_j} \tag{1}$$

where $\theta \in (0,1)$ and $u\left(l\right) > u\left(f\right) = 0$.

This expression has a nice and intuitive form. It shows a 'proposal advantage' for the leader, given his de jure right to the spoils of office. Also, it captures the fact that players with a higher capacity for violence can extract a greater share of the spoils of office. Importantly, the relative weight of de jure power depends on the strength of the institutional constraints on the use of violence. The stronger they are, the greater is θ.[16] Throughout the paper, we assume that such constraints are small in a dictatorship.[17]

Moving up, we solve for the equilibrium in round 1 (see lemma 2 in the appendix). In this round, any player understands that his advantage for violence is temporary. For the leader, eliminating a faction means eliminating a threat in the future division of the spoils of office. Therefore, if he has the advantage for violence, the leader eliminates a faction if the cost of violence is sufficiently low.

Now assume that faction i has the advantage for violence. Then the leader's fate depends on the cost of violence (see Figure 1). When the leader offers to remain in

[15] Technically, we solve the game near the limit where $\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H)$ equals 0.

[16] Technically, if $F_2'(c)$ first-order stochastically dominates $F_2''(c)$, θ is greater under $F_2'(c)$ than $F_2''(c)$.

[17] Formally, we solve the game in the neighborhood where θ is close to 0 in a dictatorship.

office, there are two benefits of violence for a faction. First, he would eliminate a threat in the division of the spoils of office. Second, he would acquire the de jure advantage to act as a leader. Therefore, the leader can remain in office if the cost of violence is sufficiently high ($c > (1-\theta) \triangle g_i + \theta u(l)$, where $\triangle g_i = \frac{\gamma_i}{\sum_{j \neq 1} \gamma_j} - \frac{\gamma_i}{\sum_{1 \leq j \leq N} \gamma_j}$). When the leader offers to step down, the only benefit of violence for a faction is to eliminate a future threat. Therefore, for intermediate values of the cost of violence, the leader can offer to step down and that offer is accepted. Only for low values of the cost of violence ($c < (1-\theta) \triangle g_i$) is the leader ousted and eliminated.

We then compare the fate of leaders as a function of their type. First, the benefit of eliminating player 1 is clearly increasing in his capacity for violence, as he is a greater threat in the next round (formally, $\triangle g_i$ is increasing in γ_1). Yet this increases the set of costs for which player 1 is eliminated and also the set of costs for which he is ousted. What effect does it have on the probability that the leader is eliminated, conditional on ouster? The answer could depend on the distribution of the cost of violence and the configuration of capacities for violence, but we show that it is unambiguous if there is a sufficiently large difference between the two types in their capacity for violence.

Indeed, if the leader with low capacity for violence has no capacity for violence, relative to the leader with high capacity for violence, then it is *never* credible to eliminate him if he offers to step down. This deposed leader poses no threat to the new dictator as a faction. By continuity, the result holds whenever the relative capacity for violence of type t_L is sufficiently small.

Claim 1 *A leader with low capacity for violence is least likely to be eliminated, conditional on his ouster.*

Proof. *See the appendix.* ■

Next we show that a leader's weakness generates a greater likelihood of remaining in office. Indeed, the leader is ousted only if he loses the advantage for violence and if the threat of his violent ouster is credible. We know that a leader with low capacity

for violence is more likely to lose the advantage for violence but also less likely to face a credible threat of violence. The net effect of a leader's capacity for violence on his tenure may be ambiguous.

Yet we show that greater capacity for violence generates a shorter tenure, if the institutional constraints on the use of violence are sufficiently weak. When there are no such constraints ($\theta = 0$), there is no de jure benefit of acting as a leader. Thus, the only benefit of violence is to eliminate a player who could gain the advantage for violence in the next round. Therefore, at the limit where the leader with low capacity for violence has no relative capacity for violence, it is *never* credible to eliminate him. On the other hand, the leader with high capacity for violence is eliminated with strictly positive probability. As there exists at least one faction with high capacity for violence, the leader cannot always have the advantage for violence. When he does lose it, he is eliminated for some costs of violence. By continuity, the argument holds if the institutional constraints on the use of violence are sufficiently weak. Summing up:

Claim 2 *In a dictatorship, a leader with low capacity for violence is least likely to be ousted.*

Proof. *See the appendix.* ■

3.2 Leadership Turnover out of Dictatorships

3.2.1 Set-up

Now consider player 1's decision to democratize in round 0. With democratization, player 1 agrees to transfer the de jure right to act as a leader in round 1. Moreover, democratization ushers in stronger constraints on the use of violence. To account for the difficulty of setting up a democracy, and instilling the belief that there will be constraints on the use of force, we say that the dictator can democratize only if there is an *opportunity for democracy*, which occurs with probability $p \in (0, 1)$.

The game unfolds as follows. In round 0, nature determines whether there is an opportunity for democracy and picks the strength of institutional constraints under democ-

racy. These are at least as strong as in non-democracy (technically, the distribution of the cost of violence under democracy in round 2 first-order stochastically dominates the corresponding distribution under non-democracy).

If the country remains a dictatorship, the game described above is played. Otherwise, a new leader is picked. Let player i have *popularity* δ_i. The probability that player i becomes the leader under democracy is equal to his relative popularity, $\delta_i / \sum_j \delta_j$. Let a player with low (high) capacity for violence have popularity $\delta(t_L)$ ($\delta(t_H)$).

If player 1 is not chosen as the leader, the new leader decides whether to eliminate him. If he does not eliminate player 1, the departing dictator becomes a faction. If player 1 is chosen to remain as leader, he decides whether to eliminate a faction. In round 2, players divide the spoils of office as described in the previous section.

3.2.2 Solution

We solve the game by backward induction. The solution to round 2 remains the same and a player's share of the spoils of office takes the form of (1).

Now it is clear that *any player* i is less tempted to eliminate the departing dictator under democracy, as the latter would face stronger constraints, if he used violence to claim the spoils of office.[18] Moreover, democracy is more likely to select a leader with little to gain from eliminating the departing dictator. Indeed, since democracy allocates office by popularity, it is more likely to allow the rise of a faction with low capacity for violence. Such a player is unlikely to have the advantage for violence in the next round and has little to gain from eliminating any single player.[19] Thus, we conclude:

Claim 3 *Departing dictators are less likely to be eliminated upon being ousted by a democrat than upon being ousted by a dictator.*

Proof. *See the appendix.* ■

[18] Letting the cost of violence be bigger in round 1 would only reinforce the result.

[19] When he has no relative capacity for violence ($\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)}$ tends to zero), he never gains the advantage for violence against a military faction.

Taking a step back, consider player 1's decision to democratize. Democratization has the benefit of producing a safer post-tenure fate. Yet dictatorship provides the leader with the de jure right of acting as a leader, unless the threat of violent ouster is credible.

Now recall that the leader with low capacity for violence is never eliminated, at the limit where he has no relative capacity for violence. Therefore, such a leader may prefer to maintain the dictatorship. By contrast, the leader with high capacity for violence is eliminated with positive probability and strictly reduces this risk with democratization. Indeed, by the logic detailed above, any faction is less tempted to eliminate him. Moreover, factions who are most tempted to eliminate him, i.e. those with high capacity for violence, are strictly less likely to become the new leader in a democracy, given their comparative advantage in producing violence. Therefore, if the consequences of elimination are sufficiently harsh, leaders with high capacity for violence always seize upon an opportunity for democracy. Summing up, we have:

Claim 4 *If the consequences of elimination are sufficiently harsh, then leaders with the highest capacity for violence are most likely to democratize.*

Proof. *See the appendix.* ■

This completes the set of testable implications generated by our model.

3.3 Robustness checks

In our set-up, dictators with the highest capacity for violence are more likely to be eliminated upon ouster, more likely to be ousted and more likely to democratize. We now discuss the robustness of these results to alternative specifications.

3.3.1 The Importance of Commitment Problems

Our set-up provides an answer to the puzzle: why do military dictators, with the highest capacity for violence, have the shortest tenure? Surely, common sense would argue, they should be best equipped to thwart violent threats.[20]

[20]For example, Svolik (2009*a*) and Besley and Kudamatsu (2008) argue that leaders have a short tenure if they are weak, relative to their ruling coalition. Some may argue that leaders are weak in

While this intuition is correct if threats to a leader are exogenous, we showed that it is incorrect if threats are endogenous and if players cannot commit to refrain from using violence in the future. We now argue that if we endogenize threats to a dictator, but ignore this commitment problem, we may be unable to solve our initial puzzle.

To discuss this claim, consider the framework of Acemoglu, Egorov and Sonin (2008). They build a game where players can eliminate each other in a possibly infinite number of rounds, anticipating a future division of a dollar. Each player is assigned a power index (γ_i). In any round, a set of players can eliminate another if the sum of the power indices is greater in the first set than in the second set. The cost of eliminating a player is infinitesimally small and the payoff of any individual is increasing in his relative power within the final set of players.

We now want to characterize the length of tenure of leaders using their model. While there is no 'leader' in their game, we may confer that label to any player and make meaningful comparisons with our model. Indeed, payoffs in their model are a special case of (1), assuming that there is no de jure advantage to acting as a leader ($u(l) = 0$) or that there is no constraint on the use of violence ($\theta = 0$).

Then we conclude that in the simplest version of their game, with 2 or 3 players, a leader's tenure is increasing in his power. Indeed, in a 2-person game, the player with greater power eliminates the other player, since the cost of violence is infinitesimally small. Now consider the more interesting game with 3 players. First assume that the leader's power is extremely small, relative to the factions. If a faction has more power than the other players combined, he eliminates them. If not, some player blocks the elimination of another player as he would expect to be eliminated next. Now increase the power of the leader, holding fixed the power of the factions. We first enter a situation where no player is eliminated, as the surviving player of a first elimination, who has the least power, expects to be eliminated next. Then, when the leader's power is sufficiently

military dictatorships (see Svolik (2009*a*) and Geddes (2009, 37)). We argue that, if anything, the opposite is true, especially in the DD dataset, where regimes are defined by characteristics of the leader.

high, he eliminates the factions. Therefore, the leader's tenure is increasing in his power.

Taking a step back, Acemoglu, Egorov and Sonin (2008) reach a different conclusion than ours because, in their model, greater power always confers the advantage for violence. In our set-up, greater capacity for violence only translates into a greater *probability* of having the advantage for violence. In other words, a player may be temporarily weak, unable to commit to refrain from using violence in the future.

We now argue that our assumption is standard in the literature and represents one of the main explanations for the inefficient use of violence.[21] Therefore, our conclusions are robust, holding even if bribes could be offered to avoid violence.

Indeed, assume that bribes can be offered to avoid violence (in round 1 of our model or any round in Acemoglu, Egorov and Sonin (2008)). Consider the simple case where the leader interacts with one faction. Then if the more powerful player always wins a violent interaction, the leader is never eliminated. Indeed, there is a peaceful offer that the faction prefers to violence, since violence is costly. However, if the advantage for violence is transient, the leader may be eliminated in equilibrium. If the faction currently has the advantage for violence, but expects to lose it with high probability in the future, offering all the spoils of office in the current period may not be enough. The faction may prefer to use violence now to lock in high payoffs in every period. Moreover, leaders with high capacity for violence would still be eliminated with the highest probability, as they face the greatest commitment problem.[22]

In our minds, therefore, it is important to endogenize the threats to a dictator's

[21] Acemoglu and Robinson (2006) use such an argument to explain revolutions. They assume that the poor can overthrow the rich whenever they solve their collective action problem, an unlikely occurrence. Understanding that their advantage for violence is temporary, they may not be placated by promises of redistribution. See Powell (2004) for the general argument that large, rapid, shifts in relative power create a commitment problem and generate the inefficient use of power in a wide range of contexts.

[22] Essentially, leaders with low capacity for violence face no commitment problem, at the limit where they have no capacity for violence. Since they are expected to lose any violent interaction, they can survive any period by offering the full pie, minus the cost of elimination.

tenure, while recognizing the transient nature of the advantage for violence, if we wish to explain the short tenure of military leaders.

3.3.2 Alternative Specifications

Now consider other amendments to the model. First, we may argue that the cost eliminating player i should be a function of his type. In other words, even in the unlikely scenario where a leader with high capacity for violence loses the advantage for violence, it should be relatively costly to eliminate him. Our results would remain if we continue to assume that the difference in the capacity for violence of the two types is sufficiently large (at the limit, the leader with low capacity for violence is *never* eliminated).[23]

Second, we may argue that a player's capacity for violence should depend on his status. For example, acting as a leader could provide greater control of the security apparatus and more direct access to the means of violence. This is a sensible amendment, which would not change our conclusions if the difference in the capacity for violence between the two types, in a given status, is sufficiently large.[24]

Third, we may want to let players increase or decrease their capacity for violence (the latter would be most tempting, since high capacity for violence becomes a liability). This obviously represents a more complicated game, which we leave for future research. For now, we simply argue that our set-up is a reasonable approximation, if we conceive of a player's capacity for violence as influenced by his personal network and technical skills, which are difficult to part with.

[23]Let the cost of eliminating i, c_i, be a function of i's type, where $F(c|t_i)$ be the cdf of c_i. We may assume that $F(c|t_H) \leq F(c|t_L)$ for any c, while maintaining the assumptions that $F(0|t_i) = 0$ and $F(c|t_i) > 0$ for any $c > 0$ and any $t_i \in \{t_L, t_H\}$.

[24]Let $\gamma_i = g(t_i, s_i)$, with $g(t_i, l) > g(t_i, f)$ for any t_i and $g(t_H, s_i)/g(t_L, s_i)$ be sufficiently large.

4 Empirical Evidence

4.1 Quantitative Evidence

We now take our theory to the data, merging the 'DD' dataset (Cheibub, Gandhi and Vreeland, N.d.) with Archigos. DD is a country-year dataset which builds on Przeworski et al. (2000)'s definition of dictatorship and democracy. It identifies three non-democratic regime types: military dictatorships, civilian dictatorships and monarchies, based on information about the leader in office on December 31st. The country-year is labeled a military regime if the leader is or was a member of the institutionalized military prior to taking office. It is a monarchy if the leader bears a hereditary title and takes power or is replaced by rules of hereditary succession. Otherwise, it is a civilian dictatorship.[25] We argue that military dictators are distinctive for their greater capacity for violence, given their training and personal network.[26]

For our dependent variable, we use Archigos, which contains information on the length of tenure of leaders and their post-tenure fate. As we are interested in the fate of leaders who are ousted through domestic means, we treat leaders who die of natural death or who are removed through foreign intervention as censored observations.[27] Archigos has four categories for ousted leaders: Ok, Exiled, Jailed and Killed, recording the highest level of punishment, up to a year after the loss of office. For our purposes, we want to know whether a leader is eliminated from political life. We construct our dependent variables in two different ways. First, we code a leader as eliminated if and only if he is Killed. If a leader is killed, we can be relatively confident that he is no longer

[25] Since the dataset produces a country-year variable, we took care to recode it so as to include leaders who enter and leave office within a given year.

[26] Low levels of military experience are not sufficient. For example, if a leader is involved in World War II, but not thereafter, he is not coded as a military leader. While regime type may be a relatively crude proxy for the capacity for violence of the leader, we believe that it captures important differences. Indirectly supporting our claim, Archigos documents that about 73% of military dictators entered 'irregularly', i.e. with some display of violence, compared to only 27% for non-military dictators.

[27] We also consider observations where the leader democratizes and remains in office as censored. Results remain unchanged if we treat them as cases where the leader is 'ousted' and 'not eliminated'.

a political threat. Second, we code a leader as eliminated if and only if he is either Jailed or Killed. Sending a leader to jail is a costly action which reduces the likelihood that the departing dictator is a political threat. Leaders who are Ok or Exiled, in contrast, can relatively easily mount a challenge to the new regime.[28] The merged dataset contains 488 dictators ousted through domestic means between 1946 and 1996.

Tables 2 and 3 give summary statistics on the post-tenure fate of dictators, ousted domestically, as a function of their regime type and the regime type of the next leader. Clearly, military dictators face the worst fate, when the next leader is a dictator, and all dictators fare better when the next leader is a democrat. While the literature has long emphasized the ability of military dictators to negotiate a democratic transition, we find important differences in the fate of dictators who are replaced by another dictator.

We test whether these differences are significant, controlling for unobserved country-specific heterogeneity, by running a conditional (fixed-effect) logistic model. Table 4 reports such results. The dependent variable takes a value of 1 if the departing dictator is Killed (models 1 and 2) or Jailed or Killed (models 3 and 4). We control for the regime type of the departing dictator and of his successor. *Non-Military* is equal to 1 if the leader is not coded as military, 0 otherwise and *Next Democrat* is equal to 1 if the next leader is a democrat. The excluded category is a military dictator who is succeeded by another dictator. We also control for the *Age* of the departing dictator, in years, and the *Length of Tenure*, i.e. the log of the number of years in office (models 2 and 4). Everything else equal, older dictators should represent a smaller threat, while a longer tenure may be an indication of a greater capacity for violence.

Based on claim 1, we expect the coefficient on Non-Military to be negative, i.e. non-military leaders are less likely to be eliminated upon their ouster. Based on claim 3, we expect the coefficient on the interaction terms to be negative, with the magnitude of the interaction term being larger for the military dictator.

[28] Results remain unchanged if we treat the four categories as ordered levels of punishment.

We find support for our hypotheses. Non-military dictators are less likely to be eliminated upon losing office to another dictator (the coefficient is significant at the .01 level if the dependent variable is *Killed* and the .10 level if it is *Jailed or Killed*). Any dictator is less likely to be eliminated if he leaves office to a democrat, with the effect being larger for a military dictator (it is significant at the .10 level if the dependent variable is *Killed* and the .05 level if it is *Jailed or Killed*). These results are robust to the inclusion of the controls for Age and Length of Tenure. The sign of these controls conforms to our expectation and the effect of Length of Tenure is significant.[29]

We then consider the length of tenure of the dictators in Table 5. This is a simple multinomial logistic regression, with leader-country-year observations as the unit of analysis. The baseline category consists of all dictators who remain in office at the end of the year. Following Carter and Signorino (2009), we include a third-degree polynomial for the length of tenure, to allow for temporal dependence.[30] Consistent with claim 4, we find that military dictators are most likely to fall to a democrat, controlling for *Growth*, and the level of income (*Log (Per Capita GDP)*). Consistent with claim 2, they are more likely to lose office to another dictator.

4.2 Qualitative Evidence

We now discuss three cases briefly, considering the process through which leaders lost office and transitioned to democracy.

4.2.1 Lesotho, 1966-1994

Lesotho was ruled by three dictators between independence (1966) and democratization (1993). Two dictators, one civilian and one military, transitioned to another dictator

[29]We may want to control for whether the previous leader was himself ousted domestically and killed (Egorov and Sonin, 2005). Unfortunately, the conditional logistic regression does not produce consistent estimates with a lagged dependent variable (Wooldridge, 2002, 493). Using a GMM method proposed by Arellano and Bond (1991), we found that the lagged dependent variable is never significant, that regime type matters in accordance with our theory and is significant in most specifications.

[30]The coefficient for such variables is omitted.

while the third dictator transitioned to democracy. As such, it represents a simple case to test the logic of the model. We investigate differences in the length of tenure and the post-tenure fate of dictators by regime type.

The first dictator was Chief Leabua Jonathan, a civilian who was in office for most of this period (1966-86). Leader of the Basotho National Party (BNP), he refused to recognize his defeat to the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) in the 1970 elections, lifting the constitution and declaring a state of emergency. Recognizing the importance of violence in gaining executive office, the BCP organized the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) to wrest power away from Jonathan. Meanwhile, the youth league of the BNP became increasingly militant, resorting to violence to support the regime and undermine the LLA. The military worried that the regime was using the youth league to gain the advantage for violence. In 1986, members of the military, fearful of dismissal, had the advantage for violence and mounted a coup against Jonathan (Machobane, 2001, 52).

The long tenure of the civilian dictator Jonathan should not be interpreted as a sign of his high capacity for violence. As Kabemba (2003, 5) puts it: 'Both the period of one-party government and the period of military rule were marked by factionalism and instability within the governing elite, and neither arrangement was able to centralize power in the hands of a strong executive.' After his ouster, Jonathan spoke against the new regime, to the annoyance of the military council, who 'could not understand why Jonathan and associates did not feel fortunate that they were not killed in the coup d'etat' (Machobane, 2001, 85).

Any hope that the military regime would rule as a 'guardian', until the installation of democracy, were dashed. According to Machobane (2001, 92): 'As late as the end of 1989 there was still no concrete structure devised in anticipation of a handover.' But the military regime understood the risk of maintaining the dictatorship. Violence between members of the military council was a clear possibility. As Machobane (2001, 107) puts it: 'A serious case of paranoia engulfed the military council. The fear of mutual assassination pervaded the corridors of power and crept through the military ranks.'

The two leaders of the military junta had a relatively short tenure, despite (or because of, as we would argue) their high capacity for violence. The regime was first led by Major-General Lekhanya (1986-1991). He gained the advantage for violence and sent his most serious rival, Col. Joshua Letsie, to a 15-year prison sentence, for the three-year-old murder of political opponents of the regime. However, in May 1991, Lekhanya lost the advantage for violence and junior officers forced him to announce his resignation to the national radio at gunpoint. Lekhanya still commanded the loyalty of many officers. A few of them attempted a coup only a few weeks after he was removed, but this attempt failed. Lekhanya was then kept under house arrest, for fear of his continuing popularity with segments of the military (Southall, 1995, 29).

The regime was then led by Major-General Ramaema (1991-1993). His ascension coincided with a clear opportunity for democracy, with the end of the Cold War and the negotiations for a democratic transition in neighboring South Africa. As a result, political actors could have reasonable expectations that political rights would be respected after democratization. Elections were held in March 1993 and won by the BCP. A challenge to the election results came quickly. In 1994, Lesotho's young king, Letsie III, attempted a coup, only to fall to international pressures, notably from South Africa, which ensured that the election results would be recognized.

In short, the political history of Lesotho, between independence and democratization, offers a simple case study of the mechanisms of the model. It was first ruled by a civilian dictator, who had a long tenure, despite (or because of) a relatively low capacity for violence. It was then ruled by a military dictator, who had a short tenure and was punished upon his ouster by the next dictator. The last dictator was a member of the military, who democratized amid intense fears of violence within the military junta. As soon as an opportunity for democracy presented itself, the transition could occur.

4.2.2 Uruguay, 1973-1985

Uruguay seems like an unlikely case to illustrate the logic of our model. The military, instrumental in supporting the dictatorship, is generally characterized as highly collegial (Gillespie, 1986). Yet we argue that preserving military cohesion was 'a continuing problem' (Remmer and Merkx, 1982, 32), and that this concern explains the military's reluctance to take direct control of the executive branch. Moreover, the transition to democracy represents a clear case where military dictators democratized as soon as they foresaw an opportunity for democracy, where political players could reasonably expect strong constraints on the use of violence.

Indeed, the dictatorship was established in June 1973. Facing an insurgency from the guerrilla group Tupamaros, and concerned that violence would pervade politics, the military supported president Juan Maria Bordaberry's decision to close down parliament. Previously, the National Assembly had just refused to lift the immunity of Senator Enrique Erro, who was suspected of ties with the guerrilla group. President Bordaberry, a civilian, remained 'submissive' toward the military throughout his rule (Kaufman, 1979, 33). He remained in office until 1976, when he attempted to concentrate power in his hands, purge officers from his government and abolish political parties. For Biglaiser (2002, 79): 'As a civilian president, however, Bordaberry did not have the resources to create a docile military.' In the language of our model, he had a low capacity for violence. The military then replaced him with Alberto Demichelli (1976), his 80-year-old vice-president and, shortly thereafter, with Dr. Aparicio Mendez (1976-1981). Both were believed to be weak relative to the military.[31] Only in 1981 did the military take direct control of the executive, through General Gregorio Alvarez (1981-1985).

Why such a reluctance to take direct control of executive office? Because of the fear of acquiring 'too much power', as one influential air-force colonel alleged. 'Concern that "politicization" of the armed forces might subvert the internal hierarchies and dis-

[31] In fact, Gandhi and Przeworski (2006) code these country-years as military, but do not explicitly name a chief executive. We used the executives listed in Archigos, who are clearly civilian.

cipline on which they relied led to occasional purges' (Gillespie, 1991, 67). In particular, '[g]enerals who assumed too much power, such as Chiappe Posse in the early years, were ousted' (Gillespie, 1986, 179). Consistent with our model, a military leader would expect a short tenure, ending with harsh consequences.

Once they gained office, military members attempted to guarantee themselves immunity from prosecution. They first proposed a new constitution, which would create a number of safeguards during a transition. For example, the National Security Council, controlled by the military, would keep the right to dismiss any civilian official, including the president. There would be a single candidate in the first transitional election, leftist parties would be prohibited, etc. This constitution was rejected in a plebiscite in 1980. Using our model, we would say that before the plebiscite, and even more so after its rejection, political actors could not believe that the military would refrain from using violence to capture the spoils of office.

Subsequently, the military directly negotiated a transition with opposition parties. The opportunity for democracy came in early 1984, when General Seregni, the leader of Frente Amplio who had been freed from prison in March, adopted a cautious and compromising stance. According to Munck (1989, 166): 'The result was to grant the military a trouble free retreat'. Ensuring the protection of political rights was also a concern for opposition parties, with their insistence on recognizing habeas corpus (Gillespie, 1991, 176). Ultimately, the military and political parties agreed on a framework for the return to democracy in August 1984, known as the Naval Club Pact, with the first elections to be held in November 1984. Dr. Julio Maria Sanguinetti, who would eventually win the first democratic elections, promised to oppose revenge trials in his nomination speech for the Colorado party. Once elected, he engineered the passage of a law in late 1986 to protect members of the military and successfully fought off an attempt to overturn it, through referendum, in April 1989.

4.2.3 Haiti, 1957-1991

Haiti represents another unlikely case to illustrate the logic of our model. It was ruled for an extended period of time by two civilian leaders, Francois (1957-1971) and Jean-Claude (1971-1986) Duvalier. But it would seem far-fetched to describe Francois as having a low capacity for violence. Duvalier is now famous for setting up the paramilitary group of Tontons Macoutes, who terrorized the country. Yet we argue that, consistent with the model, Duvalier extended his rule because other political players did not expect him to have a high capacity for violence. Had he been a member of the military, he would have faced greater resistance earlier on in his rule.

Francois Duvalier came to office in the 1957 elections, with the help of Colonel Antonio Kebreau, who presided over the election. 'It was therefore widely supposed that Duvalier was no more than the army's puppet' (Ferguson, 1987, 37). Kebreau attended Duvalier's swearing in 'without the least indication that he considered he was relinquishing the reins of power' (Abbott, 1988, 77). Kebreau was taken completely by surprise when he was sacked in March 1958 (Heinl and Heinl, 1996, 591-592). Duvalier then quickly asserted his preeminence over the military, which had been weak and divided since the resignation of Colonel Paul Magloire from the presidency in 1956.

His son, Jean-Claude, fit the profile most closely of the civilian leader, with low capacity for violence. Even to his mother Simone and sister Marie-Denise, he 'offered the opportunity of power by proxy' (Ferguson, 1987, 61). As his popularity fell, the military and Tontons Macoutes conspired from the fall of 1985 to replace him. The generals were obsessed with the dream of 'duvalierism without Duvalier' (Abbott (1988) and Bazin (1995, 238)). They were 'bent on preserving the basic structure of the old regime and ridding themselves of its increasingly unpopular head' (Fatton, 2002, 63).

The Conseil National de Gouvernement, led by Lt. General Henri Namphy, replaced Duvalier but could not manage a smooth transition. It wanted to secure immunity from prosecution, but this proved difficult. The Conseil first held elections in Nov. 1987,

which it soon canceled when it became clear that the leading candidates, including Gerard Gourgue, were likely to initiate legal actions against them.

They allowed for another election in Jan. 1988 after striking a pre-election bargain with the civilian Leslie Manigat. 'Not only did he promise that his administration would not retaliate against them, he also pledged to appoint some of their key officers to important cabinet positions' (Fatton, 2002, 67). Perhaps Manigat could have enjoyed a long tenure, but he attempted to eliminate the political threat of the army, putting Lt. General Henri Namphy, who had held the elections, under house arrest. Yet Manigat quickly lost the advantage for violence and he was overthrown in a bloodless coup.

Namphy came back to power, but divisions within the army remained. He lost the advantage for violence to a group of junior officers called ti soldats (little soldiers). They deposed him and chose General Prosper Avril as their leader. Yet the military remained 'practically unmanageable' ('pratiquement ingouvernable') (Moise and Ollivier, 1993, 132). Avril purged members of the military who had engineered his rise to power and fought off a coup attempt. Finally, under international pressure, he stepped down, paving the way for elections which eventually brought Father JB Aristide to power.

In sum, Haiti confirms the logic of the model. Civilian leaders enjoyed a long tenure from their low capacity for violence and military leaders, expecting the severe consequences of maintaining the dictatorship, attempted to establish democracy.[32]

[32]Of course, Haiti's history of tragic violence would not end in 1991. In September 1991, Aristide was ousted in a coup when he sought to undermine the power of the army. The military stayed in power until 1994. By that point, the U.S. clearly wanted a return to democracy. They sent a delegation, led by former President Jimmy Carter, which engineered the Port-au-Prince agreement. This agreement promised military rulers an 'early and honorable retirement' by October 1994. However, the military and neo-Macoute paramilitary fired on pro-Aristide supporters, reneging on their promise to respect non-violent means to attain office. The US then reneged on its commitment to the Port-au-Prince agreement and expelled the military by October 13.

5 Conclusion

This paper provides an explanation for the post-tenure fate of dictators and studies its implication for the study of democratization. Our starting point is that political players cannot commit to refrain from using violence in the future. Therefore, military dictators, with a high capacity for violence, are more likely to be eliminated upon their ouster, since they would pose the greatest threat to the new ruler. This fact also explains the short tenure of military dictators. Non-military dictators may be likely to lose the advantage for violence, but if they are sufficiently weak, it is never credible to eliminate them. In contrast, military dictators cannot always have the advantage for violence. When they do lose it, they are ousted. Since military dictators have the shortest tenure, which is more likely to end with severe punishment, they are most likely to democratize.

We argue that this theory holds significant empirical promise. Consider alternative arguments on the distinctive character of military regimes. For example, they may display an especially strong sense of unity. While this is recognized by some scholars, it is rejected by others. Hadenius and Teorell (2007, 150) argue: 'The relatively frequent changes of person at the top level of the military regimes reflect the tensions often found in military ranks between different branches (army, air force, and so on); and between different generations and cohorts.'[33] We find it unsettling that the same pattern (a short tenure for military leaders) could be explained both by a strong sense of unity and a strong sense of disunity among the military. In our minds, such divergent views coexist because it is difficult to directly observe the sense of unity among leading factions.[34]

Other theories claim that military leaders simply do not aspire to remain in office for an extended period of time (and view themselves as guardians of the nation). This may be true in some cases, but perhaps not in others. It is simply difficult to tell. Finer (2002, 37) writes: 'Whether the military are sincere or not when making the claim, it

[33]Ulfelder (2005, 318) also argues that military regimes are 'more likely than other kinds of authoritarianism to suffer form visible splits among ruling elites.'

[34]For an attempt to determine the level of professionalization of the military, which could proxy for its 'sense of unity', see Geddes (2009).

is almost common form for them to fall in love with the power that has come so easily, and to convert their 'interim' regime into full-blooded rule by the army.'

In this paper, we propose a different approach, where the observed pattern of unity, or the preference for democracy, is a consequence of material interests. Military leaders, with higher capacity for violence, expect a shorter tenure, which is more likely to end with severe consequences. Therefore, returning to the barracks may be the only way to 'preserve unity', since conflict is more common in military dictatorships. In the same vein, military leaders may have a 'stronger preference' for democracy, since the consequences of maintaining the dictatorship are bleaker. For example, reflecting on the trend of military leaders stepping down in South America in the late 1970s, Lieut. Col. Gary Prado from Bolivia suggested: 'Officers acknowledge that their direct presence in government has made them unpopular and weakened professional unity, particularly when military cabinet ministers become rivals for power or promoters of lucrative governments. "When the unity of the armed forces is affected, this calls for a return to basic military tasks. We are not a political party" ' (de Onis, 1979).

We believe that such an approach could deepen our understanding of dictatorships. For example, it would be interesting to use the framework developed here to analyze the rise of semi-democratic institutions (Lust-Okar, 2004; Cox, N.d.; Gandhi, 2008; Geddes, 2009).[35]

[35]In the language of our model, this means enriching the de jure payoffs $u(l)$ and $u(f)$.

6 Appendix

6.1 Leadership Transition in Dictatorships

Here is a formal description of the game. The timing is as follows:

Round 1

1. Nature grants the advantage for violence to some player and draws the costs of violence c.
2. If player 1 has the advantage for violence, he picks a player to eliminate. If not, he offers to step down or not.
3. If player $j \neq 1$ has the advantage for violence, j accepts or rejects player 1's offer.

Let i be the leader at the end of round 1.

Round 2

1. Nature grants the advantage for violence to some player and draws the costs of violence c.
2. If player i has the advantage for violence, he offers a division of the spoils of office and picks a player to eliminate. If not, he offers a division of the spoils of office.
3. If player $j \neq i$ has the advantage for violence, j accepts or rejects player i's offer.
4. Payoffs are accrued.

We solve for a subgame-perfect Nash equilibrium. This is a vector of strategies forming a Nash equilibrium in each subgame. $p_{11} \in \{2...N\} \cup \emptyset$ is the player eliminated by player 1 in round 1, if he has the advantage for violence ($p_{11} = \emptyset$ if no player is eliminated). $sd \in \{0, 1\}$ is player 1's offer to step down or not ($sd = 1$ if he offers to step down, $sd = 0$ if he offers to remain in office). $a_{j1} \in \{0, 1\}$ is player j's decision to

accept player 1's offer ($a_{j1} = 1$ if he accepts, $a_{j1} = 0$ if he rejects). $p_{i2} \in \{j | s_j \neq e\} \cup \emptyset$ is the player eliminated by player i in round 2, if he has the advantage for violence. $\mathbf{v}_i = (v_{i1}, v_{i2}, ..., v_{iN})$ is the division of the spoils offered by player i, where player j receives v_{ij} and $\sum_{j:s_j \neq e} v_{ij} = 1$. $a_{j2} \in \{0, 1\}$ is player j's decision to accept player i's offer $\mathbf{v}_i$ ($a_{j2} = 1$ if he accepts, $a_{j2} = 0$ if he rejects). We use * for equilibrium strategies.

Lemma 1 *This lemma has three parts*

(a) *There is a unique subgame-perfect Nash equilibrium in round 2. If i gets the advantage for violence, he offers to keep the full spoils of office ($v_{ii}^* = 1$) and does not eliminate any player ($p_{i2}^* = \emptyset$). If $j \neq i$ gets the advantage for violence, i offers him $v_{ij}^* = \max\{1 - c, 0\}$ and keeps $v_{ii}^* = \min\{c, 1\}$ for himself, while j accepts the offer if he receives at least $1 - c$ ($a_{j2}^* = 1$ if and only if $v_{ij} \geq 1 - c$).*

(b) *Payoffs in round 2 take the form of (1).*

(c) *Let θ' (θ'') be the value of θ if the c.d.f. of c is $F_2'(c)$ ($F_2''(c)$).*

If $F_2'(c)$ first-order stochastically dominates $F_2''(c)$, θ' is greater than θ''.

Proof. *(a) is straightforward. From (a), expected payoffs, for leader and factions, are*

$$\pi_i = \frac{\gamma_i}{\sum_{j:s_j \neq e} \gamma_j} + \left(1 - \frac{\gamma_i}{\sum_{j:s_j \neq e} \gamma_j}\right) \left(\int_0^1 c dF_2(c) + 1 - F_2(1)\right) \tag{2}$$

$$\pi_k = \frac{\gamma_k}{\sum_{j:s_j \neq e} \gamma_j} \int_0^1 (1 - c)\, dF_2(c) \tag{3}$$

which reduce to (1) with $u(l) = 1$, $u(f) = 0$, $\theta = \int_0^1 (c - 1)\, dF_2(c) + 1$, proving (b).

Now, by definition, $F_2'(c)$ first-order stochastically dominates $F_2''(c)$ if and only if, for every non-decreasing function U, $\int U(c) dF_2'(c) \geq \int U(c) dF_2''(c)$ (Mas-Collel, Whinston and Green, 1995, 195). Since $U(c) = c - 1$ is non-decreasing in c, this proves (c). ■

Lemma 2 *There is a unique subgame-perfect Nash equilibrium in round 1. If player 1*

has the advantage for violence, he eliminates player $p_{11}^* \in \arg\max_{k\neq 1} \frac{\gamma_1}{\sum_{j\neq k}\gamma_j}$ *if*

$$c < \max_p (1-\theta)\left[\frac{\gamma_1}{\sum_{j\neq p}\gamma_j} - \frac{\gamma_1}{\sum_{1\leq j\leq N}\gamma_j}\right] \tag{4}$$

and he eliminates no player otherwise ($p_{11}^* = \emptyset$)*. If player* $i \neq 1$ *has the advantage for violence, he offers to remain in office* ($sd^* = 0$) *if*

$$c \geq (1-\theta)\triangle g_i + \theta u(l) \tag{5}$$

He offers to step down ($sd^* = 1$) *if*

$$(1-\theta)\triangle g(i) \leq c < (1-\theta)\triangle g_i + \theta u(l) \tag{6}$$

He makes any offer ($sd^* \in \{0,1\}$) *if*

$$0 \leq c < (1-\theta)\triangle g(i) \tag{7}$$

where

$$\triangle g_i = \frac{\gamma_i}{\sum_{j\neq 1}\gamma_j} - \frac{\gamma_i}{\sum_{1\leq j\leq N}\gamma_j} \tag{8}$$

Player j *accepts player 1's offer to remain in office* ($a_{j1}^* = 1$ *if* $sd = 0$) *if and only if (5) holds and accepts his offer to step down* ($a_{j1}^* = 1$ *if* $sd = 1$) *if and only if (7) does not hold.*

Proof. *Assume that player 1 has the advantage for violence. He receives* $(1-\theta)\frac{\gamma_1}{\sum_{1\leq j\leq N}\gamma_j} + \theta u(l)$ *if he eliminates no player, and* $-c + (1-\theta)\frac{\gamma_1}{\sum_{j\neq p}\gamma_j} + \theta u(l)$ *if he eliminates player* p*. Therefore, he eliminates the player which leads to the largest increase in his relative capacity for violence if and only if the cost of violence is sufficiently low (4 holds).*

Assume that $j \neq 1$ *has the advantage for violence. He accepts player 1's offer to remain in office if and only if*

$$-c + (1-\theta)\frac{\gamma_i}{\sum_{j\neq 1}\gamma_j} + \theta u(l) \leq (1-\theta)\frac{\gamma_i}{\sum_{1\leq j\leq N}\gamma_j} \tag{9}$$

which reduces to (5). He accepts player 1*'s offer to step down if and only if*

$$-c + (1-\theta)\frac{\gamma_i}{\sum_{j\neq 1}\gamma_j} + \theta u(l) \leq (1-\theta)\frac{\gamma_i}{\sum_{1\leq j\leq N}\gamma_j} + \theta u(l) \tag{10}$$

which reduces to (7) not holding.

Moving up, player 1 *receives* $(1-\theta)\frac{\gamma_i}{\sum_{1\leq j\leq N}\gamma_j}+\theta u(l)$ *if he remains in office,* $(1-\theta)\frac{\gamma_i}{\sum_{1\leq j\leq N}\gamma_j}$ *if he becomes a faction and* L *if he is eliminated. Thus, he prefers to remain in office* ($\theta u(l) > 0$) *and, failing this, he prefers to step down (since* $L < 0$*). sd** *follows.* ■

Proof. (Proof of claim 1) Let O stand for the leader's ouster and E for his elimination. Let $prob(A_1|A_2, R)$ be the probability that A_1 happens, conditional on A_2, in regime type R. For any $\theta > 0$, there is a threshold $\overline{\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)}}(\theta)$ such that for any $\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)} \in \left(0, \overline{\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)}}(\theta)\right)$,

$$prob(E|O, t_1 = t_L, ND) < prob(E|O, t_1 = t_H, ND) \tag{11}$$

To see this, note that

$$prob(E|O, t_1 = t', ND) = \sum_{i\neq 1}\frac{F_1((1-\theta)\triangle g_i)}{F_1((1-\theta)\triangle g_i + \theta u(l))}\frac{\gamma_i/\gamma(t_H)}{\sum_{2\leq j\leq N}\gamma_j/\gamma(t_H)} \tag{12}$$

where $\frac{F_1((1-\theta)\triangle g_i|t')}{F_1((1-\theta)\triangle g_i+\theta u(l)|t')}$ is the probability that player 1 is eliminated, conditional on being ousted by player i, and $\frac{\gamma_i/\gamma(t_H)}{\sum_{2\leq j\leq N}\gamma_j/\gamma(t_H)}$ is the probability that player 1 is ousted by player i, conditional on being ousted.

First, note that if $t_1 = t_L$, there is no increase in player i's relative capacity for violence, at the limit where player 1 has no capacity for violence.

$$\lim_{\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H)\to 0}\triangle g_i = \lim_{\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H)\to 0}\frac{\gamma_i/\gamma(t_H)}{\sum_{j\neq 1}\gamma_j/\gamma(t_H)} - \frac{\gamma_i/\gamma(t_H)}{\sum_{1\leq j\leq N}\gamma_j/\gamma(t_H)} = 0 \tag{13}$$

Therefore, since $F_1(0) = 0$, $F_1(c) > 0$ for any $c > 0$, we have:

$$\lim_{\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H)\to 0} prob(E|O, t(1) = t_L, ND) = \sum_{i\neq 1}\frac{F_1(0)}{F_1(\theta u(l))}\left(\lim_{\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H)\to 0}\frac{\gamma_i/\gamma(t_H)}{\sum_{2\leq j\leq N}\gamma_j/\gamma(t_H)}\right) = 0 \tag{14}$$

Next, note that if $t_1 = t_H$, eliminating player 1 yields no benefit if player i has no capacity for violence, but strictly increases i's relative capacity for violence otherwise:

$$\lim_{\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H)\to 0} \triangle g_i = \begin{cases} 0 & \text{if } t_i = t_L \\ \frac{1}{N_H} - \frac{1}{N_H+1} & \text{if } t_i = t_1 = t_H \end{cases} \tag{15}$$

where N_H is the number of factions with high capacity for violence ($N_H = |\{i > 1 : t_i = t_H\}|$). Therefore, since $F_1(c) > 0$ for any $c > 0$, we have:

$$\lim_{\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H)\to 0} prob(E|O, t_1 = t_H, ND) = \frac{F_1\left((1-\theta)\left(\frac{1}{N_H} - \frac{1}{N_H+1}\right)\right)}{F_1\left((1-\theta)\left(\frac{1}{N_H} - \frac{1}{N_H+1}\right) + \theta u(l)\right)} > 0 \tag{16}$$

By continuity of $F_1(c)$, (14) and (16) imply (11). ■

Proof. (Proof of claim 2). Formally, there are thresholds $\underline{\theta}$ and $\overline{\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)}(\theta)}$ such that for any $\theta \in (0, \underline{\theta})$, $\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)} \in \left(0, \overline{\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)}(\theta)}\right)$

$$prob(O|t_1 = t_L, ND) < prob(O|t_1 = t_H, ND) \tag{17}$$

To see this, note that

$$prob(O|t_1 = t', ND) = \sum_{i\neq 1} F_1((1-\theta)\triangle g_i + \theta u(l)) \frac{\gamma_i}{\sum_{1\leq j\leq N} \gamma_j} \tag{18}$$

where $F_1((1-\theta)\triangle g_i + \theta u(l))$ is the probability that player 1 is ousted, conditional on player i having the advantage for violence, and $\frac{\gamma_i/\gamma(t_H)}{\sum_{1\leq j\leq N} \gamma_j/\gamma(t_H)}$ is the probability that player i has the advantage for violence. Therefore,

$$\begin{aligned} \lim_{\substack{\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H)\to 0 \\ \theta\to 0}} prob(O|t_1 &= t_L, ND) = 0 \\ &< \frac{N_H}{N_H+1} F_1\left(\frac{1}{N_H} - \frac{1}{N_H+1}\right) = \lim_{\substack{\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H)\to 0 \\ \theta\to 0}} prob(O|t_1 = t_H, ND) \end{aligned}$$

By continuity of $F_1(c)$, (17) follows. ■

6.2 Leadership Transitions out of Dictatorships

Now let the dictator decide whether to democratize. The timing is as follows

Round 0

1. Nature determines whether there is an opportunity for democracy and picks the institutional constraints on the use of violence in round 2 ($F_2(c)$).
2. If there is an opportunity for democracy, player 1 picks the regime type R.

If he does not democratize, the game is played as described above. If he democratizes, the game continues as follows:

Round 1

1. Nature picks a leader and draws the costs of violence c.
2. If player 1 is chosen to remain as a leader, he picks a player to eliminate. If not, player $j \neq 1$, chosen to become the leader, decides whether to accept that player 1 remains as a faction.

Round 2 follows the same timing as described above.

Again, we solve for a subgame-perfect Nash equilibrium. The same equilibrium obtains in round 2, with payoffs given by (1). Now write the strength of institutional constraints on the use of violence, θ, as a function of the regime type (distinguishing between θ_D and θ_{ND}). Since $F_2(c)$ under democracy first-order stochastically dominates $F_2(c)$ under non-democracy, we have $\theta_D \geq \theta_{ND}$. Now let nature's choice of $F_2(c)$ in round 0 be such that θ_D is taken from some c.d.f G with support on $[\theta_{ND}, 1]$.

In round 1, the equilibrium is as follows. Player 1's elimination decision is given as in lemma 2. Player $j \neq 1$ accepts that player 1 remains as a faction if and only if (7) does not hold (with $\theta = \theta_D$). We can then compare the probability that the leader is eliminated after a transition to another dictator and to a democrat.

Proof. (Proof of claim 3). Formally, for any $\theta_{ND} > 0$, there is a threshold $\overline{\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)}}(\theta_{ND})$ such that for any $\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)} \in \left(0, \overline{\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)}(\theta_{ND})}\right)$,

$$prob(E|O, t_1 = t', D) \leq prob(E|O, t_1 = t', ND) \tag{19}$$

for any t', with the inequality being strict for $t' = t_H$.

To see this, recall that in a non-democracy, the probability that player 1 is eliminated, conditional on being ousted, is (12). In a democracy, it is

$$prob(E|O, t_1 = t', D) = \sum_{i \neq 1} F_1((1 - \theta_D) \triangle g_i) \frac{\delta_i}{\sum_{2 \leq j \leq N} \delta_j} \tag{20}$$

where $F_1((1 - \theta_D) \triangle g_i)$ is the probability that player 1 is eliminated by player i, conditional on being ousted by player i, and $\frac{\delta_i}{\sum_{2 \leq j \leq N} \delta_j}$ is the probability of being ousted by player i, conditional on being ousted.

If player 1 has low capacity for violence, he is eliminated with probability 0 under either regime, when $\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H)$ tends to 0. If he has high capacity for violence,

$$\lim_{\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H) \to 0} prob(E|O, t_1 = t_H, ND) = \frac{F_1\left((1 - \theta_{ND})\left(\frac{1}{N_H} - \frac{1}{N_H + 1}\right)\right)}{F_1((1 - \theta_{ND})\left(\frac{1}{N_H} - \frac{1}{N_H + 1}\right) + \theta_{ND} u(l))} \tag{21}$$

$$\lim_{\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H) \to 0} prob(E|O, t_1 = t_H, D) = F_1\left((1 - \theta_D)\left(\frac{1}{N_H} - \frac{1}{N_H + 1}\right)\right) \sum_{\substack{i \neq 1 \\ t_i = t_H}} \frac{\delta_i}{\sum_{2 \leq j \leq N} \delta_j} \tag{22}$$

Greater constraints on the use of violence in democracy ($\theta_D \geq \theta_{ND}$) imply (19). ■

Proof. (Proof of claim 4). Let $Eu_1(R|t_1)$ be the expected payoff of player 1, of type t_1, in regime R. Let $prob(R^* = D|t_1)$ be the probability that a leader of type t_1 picks democracy when there is an opportunity for democracy. We claim there exist $\overline{L}$, $\overline{\theta_{ND}}$, $\overline{\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)}(\theta_{ND}, L)}$, such that for any $L < \overline{L}$, $\theta_{ND} < \overline{\theta_{ND}}$ and $\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)} \in \left(0, \overline{\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)}(\theta_{ND}, L)}\right)$

$$prob(R^* = D|t_1 = t_L) < prob(R^* = D|t_1 = t_H) \tag{23}$$

To see this, fix θ_{ND} and θ_D. A leader with low capacity for violence, in the limit case where he has no capacity for violence, is never eliminated and, if he is ousted without being eliminated, he receives a payoff of zero (since he has no capacity for violence and $u(f) = 0$). Therefore, his expected payoff is equal to the probability that he remains in office times the de jure benefit of acting as a leader. In other words,

$$\lim_{\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H)\to 0} Eu_1\left(ND|t_1 = t_L\right) = \left(1 - F_1\left(\theta_{ND}u(l)\right)\right)\theta_{ND}u(l) \tag{24}$$

$$\lim_{\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H)\to 0} Eu_1\left(D|t_1 = t_L\right) = \frac{\delta_1}{\sum \delta_j}\theta_D u(l) \tag{25}$$

We conclude that he prefers non-democracy if the constraints on the use of violence are sufficiently small in both regimes. Indeed, if $\theta_D = \theta_{ND} = 0$, then both regimes produce a payoff of zero, but payoffs increase faster with θ in a non-democracy:

$$\begin{aligned}
\frac{\partial}{\partial\theta_{ND}} \lim_{\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H)\to 0} Eu_1\left(ND|t_1 = t_L\right)|_{\theta_{ND}=0} &= u(l) \\
&> \frac{\delta_1}{\sum_{1\le j\le N}\delta_j}u(l) \\
&= \frac{\partial}{\partial\theta_D} \lim_{\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H)\to 0} Eu_1\left(D|t_1 = t_L\right)|_{\theta_D=0}
\end{aligned}$$

Therefore, there exist $\overline{\theta_{ND}}$, $\overline{\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)}\left(\theta_{ND}, L\right)}$, such that for any $L < 0$, $\theta_{ND} < \overline{\theta_{ND}}$ and $\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)} \in \left(0, \overline{\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)}\left(\theta_{ND}, L\right)}\right)$, we have $prob(R^* = D|t_1 = t_L) < 1$.

For a dictator with high capacity for violence, as $\gamma(t_L)/\gamma(t_H)$ tends to zero, the probability of being eliminated tends to $F_1\left(\left(1-\theta_{ND}\right)\left(\frac{1}{N_H} - \frac{1}{N_H+1}\right)\right)\frac{N_H}{N_H+1}$ in a non-democracy and $F_1\left(\left(1-\theta_D\right)\left(\frac{1}{N_H} - \frac{1}{N_H+1}\right)\right)\frac{N_H}{(N_H+1)+(N-(N_H+1))\frac{\delta(t_L)}{\delta(t_H)}}$ in a democracy. Given the greater constraints on the use of violence in democracy ($\theta_D \ge \theta_{ND}$) and the comparative advantage of players with low capacity for violence in popularity ($\frac{\delta(t_L)}{\delta(t_H)} > 0$), this dictator is eliminated with lower probability in democracy than in non-democracy. Therefore, there exist $\overline{L}$, $\overline{\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)}\left(\theta_{ND}, L\right)}$, such that for any $L < \overline{L}$, $\theta_{ND} \in [0, 1)$, $\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)} < \overline{\frac{\gamma(t_L)}{\gamma(t_H)}\left(\theta_{ND}, L\right)}$, we have $Eu_1\left(D|t_1 = t_H\right) > Eu_1\left(ND|t_1 = t_H\right)$ for any $\theta_D \ge \theta_{ND}$ and, as a result, $prob(R^* = D|t_1 = t_H) = 1$. This completes the proof. ■

Table 1: The Fate of Domestically Ousted Leaders
(last leaders of a regime excluded) - Geddes dataset

	Ok	Exiled	Jailed	Killed	Total
Military	25 (61%)	6 (15%)	6 (15%)	4 (10%)	41
Single-Party	49 (83%)	6 (10%)	3 (5%)	1 (2%)	59

Table 2: The Fate of Domestically Ousted Leaders -
Transitions in Dictatorships - DD dataset

	Ok	Exiled	Jailed	Killed	Total
Military	70 (41%)	46 (27%)	29 (17%)	25 (15%)	170
Non-Military	132 (54%)	60 (25%)	34 (14%)	17 (7%)	243

Table 3: The Fate of Domestically Ousted Leaders -
Transitions out of Dictatorships - DD dataset

	Ok	Exiled	Jailed	Killed	Total
Military	37 (84%)	2 (5%)	4 (9%)	1 (2%)	44
Non-Military	24 (77%)	2 (6%)	4 (13%)	1 (3%)	31

Table 4: Probability of Being Eliminated. Domestic Ousters[a]

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dep. Var.	Killed	Killed	Jailed or Killed	Jailed or Killed
Non-Military	-1.374^{**}	-1.415^{**}	$-0.607^{\dagger}$	$-0.620^{\dagger}$
	(0.448)	(0.434)	(0.362)	(0.360)
Military*Next Democrat	$-1.874^{\dagger}$	$-2.026^{\dagger}$	-1.497^{*}	-1.562^{*}
	(1.071)	(1.121)	(0.613)	(0.614)
Non-Military*Next Democrat	−0.750	−0.703	−0.211	−0.540
	(1.314)	(1.257)	(0.742)	(0.809)
Age		−0.008		−0.012
		(0.023)		(0.013)
Length of Tenure		$0.255^{\dagger}$		0.197^{**}
		(0.145)		(0.077)
No. Obs	202	193	351	339
Pseudo R^2	0.1001	0.1386	0.0424	0.0670

[a] Results from Conditional (Fixed Effects) Logistic Regressions, with robust standard errors, clustered by country, in brackets. $^{**}p < .01$, $^{*}p < .05$, $^{\dagger}p < .1$.

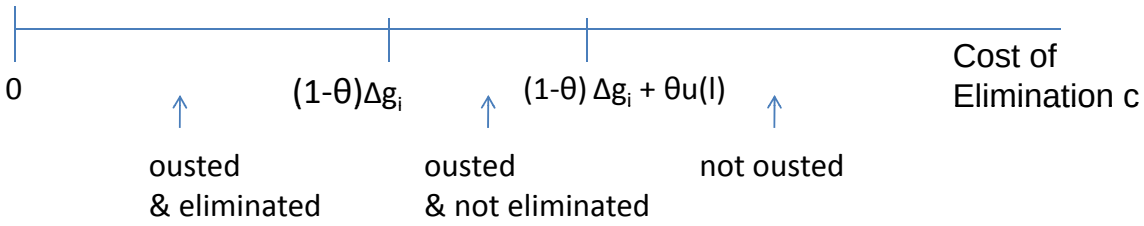
Table 5: Likelihood of Domestic Ousters[a]

	To Democrat	To Dictator
Non-Military	-0.897^{**}	$-0.183^{\dagger}$
	(0.246)	(0.111)
Growth	-2.178^{**}	-3.044^{**}
	(0.838)	(0.590)
Log(Per Capita GDP)	$0.248^{\dagger}$	0.016
	(0.139)	(0.060)
Constant	-2.489^{**}	-1.085^{**}
	(0.219)	(0.116)
No. Obs	4264	
Pseudo R^2	0.0743	

[a] Results from a Multinomial Logistic Regression, with robust standard errors in brackets. $^{**}p < .01$, $^{*}p < .05$, $^{\dagger}p < .1$.

Figure 1:
The Fate of the Dictator

(faction i has the advantage for violence)



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