Appendix B (For Online Publication Only)

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1. PEIG 1.0- List of Cases of U.S. And USSR/Russian Partisan Electoral Intervention

Target	Intervener	Year/Election	Assisted Party/Candidate[b]	Covert/overt
Argentina	U.S.	1946	Jose P. Tamborini	Overt
Hungary	USSR	1947	MKP	Overt
Italy[a]	U.S.	1948	DC	Overt[c]
Italy[a]	USSR	1948	PCI	Covert
U.S.	USSR	1948	Henry A. Wallace	Overt
Israel	U.S.	1949	Mapai	Overt
Finland	USSR	1950	*	Overt
Japan	U.S.	1952	Liberal Party	Overt
West Germany	U.S.	1953	CDU	Overt
Italy[a]	U.S.	1953	DC	Overt[c]
Italy[a]	USSR	1953	PCI	Covert
Japan	U.S.	1953	Liberal Party	Overt[c]
Philippines	U.S.	1953	Ramon Magsaysay	Covert
Brazil	U.S.	1955	Juarez Tavora	Covert
Indonesia	U.S.	1955	Masjumi	Covert
Laos	U.S.	1955	NPP	Covert
Finland	USSR	1956	Urho Kaleva Kekkonen	Overt
Iceland	U.S.	1956	Independence Party	Overt
Sri Lanka	U.S.	1956	UNP	Overt
West Germany	USSR	1957	SPD	Overt
Lebanon	U.S.	1957	Supporters of Camille Chamoun	Covert
Philippines	U.S.	1957	Jose Yulo	Covert
Greece[a]	U.S.	1958	ERE	Covert
Greece[a]	USSR	1958	EDA	Overt
Guatemala	U.S.	1958	Jose Luis Cruz Salazar	Covert
Italy	U.S.	1958	DC	Covert
Japan	U.S	1958	LDP	Overt[c]
Laos	U.S.	1958	NPP	Overt[c]

Venezuela	USSR	1958	Wolfgang Larazabal	Covert
Malaysia	U.S.	1959	UNMO	Covert
Nepal	U.S.	1959	Nepali Congress Party	Covert
San Marino	U.S.	1959	PDCS	Covert
Democratic Republic of the Congo	USSR	1960	MNC	Covert
Japan	U.S	1960	LDP	Covert
Laos	U.S.	1960	CDNI	Covert
Sri Lanka	U.S	1960 (March)	UNP	Covert
Sri Lanka	U.S	1960 (July)	UNP	Covert
Greece	U.S.	1961	ERE	Covert
Philippines	U.S.	1961	Diosdado Pangan Macapagal	Covert
South Vietnam†	U.S.	1961	Ngo Dinh Diem	Covert
Brazil	U.S.	1962	**	Covert
Canada	USSR	1962	Liberal Party	Overt
Finland	USSR	1962	Urho Kaleva Kekkonen	Overt
Peru	U.S	1962	Victor Raul Haya De La Torre	Covert
Italy	U.S	1963	DC	Covert
Japan	U.S	1963	LDP	Covert
Bolivia†	U.S.	1964	Victor Paz Estenssoro	Covert
Chile[a]	U.S	1964	Eduardo Frei Montalva	Covert
Chile[a]	USSR	1964	Salvador Allende Gossens	Covert
Somalia	U.S.	1964	***	Covert
Sri Lanka	U.S.	1965	UNP	Covert
Bolivia	U.S.	1966	Rene Barrientos	Covert

			Ortuno	
Costa Rica	U.S.	1966	Daniel Oduber Quiros	Covert
Dominican Republic	U.S.	1966	Joaquin Beleaguer	Covert
India	USSR	1967	CPI	Covert
Laos	U.S	1967	****	Covert
Finland	USSR	1968	Urho Kaleva Kekkonen	Overt
Guyana	U.S.	1968	PNC	Covert
Italy	U.S.	1968	DC	Covert
West Germany	USSR	1969	SPD	Overt
Thailand	U.S.	1969	UTPT	Covert
Chile[a]	U.S.	1970	Radomiro Tomic & Jorge Allesanderi	Covert
Chile[a]	USSR	1970	Salvador Allende Gossens	Covert
Costa Rica	USSR	1970	Jose Figueres Ferrer	Covert
Pakistan	USSR	1970	Awami League	Covert
Malta	U.S.	1971	PN	Covert
Uruguay	U.S.	1971	Colorados/Juan Maria Bordaberry	Covert
South Vietnam †	U.S.	1971	Nguyen Van Thieu	Covert
West Germany	USSR	1972	SPD	Covert
Italy[a]	U.S.	1972	DC	Covert
Italy[a]	USSR	1972	PCI	Covert
Japan	USSR	1972	JCP	Covert
Bangladesh	USSR	1973	Awami League	Covert
Denmark	USSR	1973	DKP	Covert
France	USSR	1974	Francois Mitterrand	Covert
Greece	USSR	1974	United Left	Covert
Denmark	USSR	1975	DKP	Covert
Italy[a]	U.S.	1976	DC	Overt[c]

Italy[a]	USSR	1976	PCI	Covert
India	USSR	1977	Congress party (I)	Covert
West Germany	USSR	1980	SPD	Covert
Iran	U.S.	1980 (Jan.)	Ahmad Madani	Covert
Jamaica	U.S.	1980	Jamaican Labor Party	Covert
El Salvador	U.S.	1982	Christian Democratic Party/Duarte	Overt
Mauritius	U.S.	1982	Labor Party	Covert
West Germany	USSR	1983	SPD	Overt
Italy	U.S	1983	DC	Covert
El Salvador	U.S	1984	Jose Napoleon Duarte	Covert[c]
Grenada	U.S.	1984	New National Party	Overt[c]
Panama	U.S.	1984	Nicolas Ardito Barletta	Covert
U.S.	USSR	1984	Walter F. Mondale	Covert
Costa Rica	U.S.	1986	Rafael Angel Calderon Fournier	Covert
U.K	U.S.	1987	Conservatives	Overt
Chile†	U.S.	1988	‘No’ Campaign	Overt
France	USSR	1988	Andre Lajoinie	Covert
Panama	U.S.	1989	Guillermo Endara	Covert
Bulgaria	U.S.	1990	UDF	Overt
Czechoslovakia	U.S	1990	OF-VPN	Overt
Haiti	U.S.	1990	Marc Louis Bazin	Covert
Nicaragua	U.S.	1990	Violeta Barrios de Chamorro	Overt[c]
Romania	U.S.	1990	PNL	Overt
Albania	U.S.	1991	PDSH	Overt
Bulgaria	U.S	1991	UDF	Covert
Albania	U.S.	1992	PDSH	Covert
Israel	U.S.	1992	Labor	Overt
Lithuania	Russia	1992	LDDP	Overt

Romania	U.S.	1992	CDR	Covert
Yugoslavia/Serbia	U.S.	1992	Milan Panic	Overt
Cambodia	U.S.	1993	FUNCINPEC	Covert
Belarus	Russia	1994	Vyacheslav F. Kebich	Overt
Ukraine	U.S.	1994	Leonid Kravchuk	Overt
Israel	U.S.	1996	Shimon Peres/ Labor	Overt
Russia	U.S.	1996	Boris N. Yeltsin	Overt[c]
Latvia	Russia	1998	TSP	Overt
Slovakia	U.S.	1998	SDK	Covert
Israel	U.S.	1999	Ehud Barak/One Israel	Covert
Yugoslavia/Serbia	U.S	2000	Vojislav Kostunica	Overt

Notes:

[a] Double interventions (the U.S. backing one side while the USSR/Russia backing another side during the same election).

[b] Name of candidate in presidential elections, name of party in parliamentary elections. Main candidate/ party only.

[c] An overt intervention that also included significant covert component.

†Cases of partisan electoral interventions in elections which weren't competitive following my criteria, usually due to last moment boycotts of the elections by one of the major sides which were widely expected to contest them or (in the 1988 Chilean case) a rare example of a relatively competitive plebiscite.

* Identity of aided candidate in this election not fully certain, besides being a competitor to Pres. Paasikivi, given available data (although probably Urho Kekkonen).

** Identity of aided candidate/party in this election, besides being part of the opposition to Pres. Goulart, unknown given available data.

*** Identity of aided candidate/party, besides being among the losers of this election, unknown given available data.

**** Identity of aided candidate/party unknown given available data.

2. Select Sources for Electoral Intervention Cases

Enclosed is a list of some of the main sources (usually the 2-3 most important sources) used to identify and code each of the partisan electoral intervention included in PEIG.[1]

Abbreviations:

NARA: U.S. National Archives at College Park, Maryland

FRUS: Foreign Relations of the United States (volumes of American archival documents published by the Office of the Historian in the U.S. State Department).[2]

ADST: the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Foreign Affairs Oral History program.

DDRS: The Declassified Documents Reference System at Gale Group website.

Argentina 1946

Roger Trask 1984. "Spurille Braden versus George Messersmith: World War II, the Cold War and Argentine Policy, 1945-1947" *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 26(1): 69-95, (see pgs.77-78)

FRUS 1946 vol. 9: pgs. 184, 189-190, 201-202,

Sumner Welles 1946. "Argentine Elections: Interventionist Propaganda" *Washington Post* February 27

Hungary 1947

Laszlo Borhi 2004. *Hungary in the Cold War 1945-1956: Between the United States and the Soviet Union*. Budapest: CEU Press, pgs. 116-118

Martin Mevius 2005. *Agents of Moscow: The Hungarian Communist party and the Origins of Socialist patriotism 1941-1953*. Oxford: Clarendron press, pgs. 49-50, 182-183, 186-189

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[1] I thank Lev Uchitel for his assistance with some Russian language sources and Renata Redford for her assistance with the Italian language source noted here (Riva 1999).

[2] Some of the older FRUS volumes do no include document numbers. Accordingly for those volumes page numbers are used instead of document numbers.

Italy 1948 (U.S.)

James Miller.1983. "Taking off the Gloves: The United States and the Italian Elections of 1948." *Diplomatic History* 7(1):35-56 (see esp. pgs. 41-52)

Interview of the National Security Archive with F. Mark Wyatt (former CIA agent) 2.15.1996 available at nsarchive.gwu.edu

FRUS 1948 vol. 3: 775-779, 724-726

Italy 1948 (USSR)

Elena Agarossi and Victor Zaslavsky 2007. *Stalin and Togliatti: Italy and the Origins of the Cold War*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pgs. 283-284

Valerio Riva 1999. *Oro Da Mosca*. Milan: Mondadori, pgs. 160-162,188-189

United States 1948

Zubok Vladislav 2009. *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, pg. 76

"In the Interests of Peace" *Time*, May 31, 1948

"Open and Honest?" *Guardian*, May 19, 1948

Israel 1949

FRUS 1949 vol. 6: pgs. 614-615, 645-647

John Scali 1949. "Recognition Due to Follow Loan to Israel" *Washington Post*, January 21

Finland 1950

Roy Allison 1985. *Finland's Relations with the Soviet Union*. Houndsmill: Macmillan, pg. 134

Mikko Majander 2004. "Cold War Historiography in Finland" In Thorsten Olesen (ed). 2004. *The Cold War and the Nordic Countries.* Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, pg. 49

Japan 1952

FRUS 1952-1954 vol. 14(2): Document 573

FRUS 1952-1954 vol. 14(2): Document 596

FRUS 1952-1954 vol. 14(2): Document 598

West Germany 1953

Marc Trachtenberg 1999. *A Constructed Peace: The Making of a European Settlement 1945-1963*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pgs. 133-134

Conversation August 1,1953 WH in Telephone conversations May-December 53 Box 10, Dulles papers, telephone call series, Eisenhower Presidential Library (DDEL)

FRUS 1952-1954 vol. 7(1): pgs. 442-444

Italy 1953 (U.S.)

FRUS 1952-54 vol. 6(2): Document 737

The Pike Report. Nottingham: Spokesman Books 1977, pg. 204

Mario Del Pero 2001. "The United States and Psychological warfare in Italy 1948-1955" *The Journal of American History* 87(4): 1304-1334 (see pgs.1319-1321)

Italy 1953 (USSR)

Valerio Riva 1999. *Oro Da Mosca*. Milan: Mondadori, pg. 262

Japan 1953

FRUS 1952-1954 vol. 14(2): Document 643

FRUS 1952-1954 vol. 14(2): Document 645

Tim Weiner 2007. *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA*. New York: Doubleday, pgs. 117, 568-569

Philippines 1953

Douglas Macdonald 1992. *Adventures in Chaos: American Intervention for Reform in the Third World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pgs. 175-177

Shalom, Stephen. 1981. *The United States and the Philippines*. Philadelphia: ISHI, pgs. 90-92

Smith, Joseph. 1976. *Portrait of a Cold Warrior*. New York: Putnam, pgs. 106-114

Brazil 1955

FRUS 1955-1957 vol. 7: Document 305

FRUS 1955-1957 vol. 6: Document 2

Michael Weis 1993.*Cold Warriors and Coups D'Etat: Brazilian American Relations 1945-1964.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, pgs. 85-86

Indonesia 1955

FRUS 1955-1957 vol. 21: Document 171

FRUS 1955-1957 vol. 22: Document 95

Joseph Smith. 1976. *Portrait of a Cold Warrior*. New York: Putnam, pgs. 210-215

Laos 1955

FRUS 1955-1957 vol. 21: Document 299

FRUS 1955-1957 vol. 21: Document 301

William Leary 1999. "CIA Air operations in Laos 1955-1974." *Studies in Intelligence* vol. 43 (The CIA Center for the Study of Intelligence- Unclassified)

Iceland 1956

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Donald Nuechterlein 1961. *Iceland: Reluctant Ally*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pgs. 57-60

Finland 1956

Max Jakobson 1998. *Finland in the New Europe.* Connecticut: Praeger, pgs. 65-67

Kimmo Rentola 2000. "From Half-Adversary to Half-Ally: Finland in Soviet Policy, 1953-58" *Cold War History*, 1(1): 75-102, (see pgs. 83-88)

Sri Lanka 1956

FRUS 1955-1957 vol. 8: Document 132

FRUS 1955-1957 vol. 8: Document 136

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West Germany 1957

U.W. Kitizinger 1960. *German Electoral Politics: A Study of the 1957 Campaign*. Oxford: Clarendon, pgs. 251-254

"Dear Berliners" *New York Times,* August 18, 1957

Gaston Coblentz 1957. "West Warned By Khrushchev" *Washington Post*, August 9

Lebanon 1957

FRUS 1955-1957 vol. 13: Document 136

FRUS 1955-1957 vol. 13: Document 138

Wilbur Crane Eveland 1980. *Ropes of Sand: America's Failure in the Middle East*. New York: W.W. Norton, pgs. 248-253

Phillipines 1957

Joseph Smith. 1976. *Portrait of a Cold Warrior*. New York: Putnam, pgs. 254-255

FRUS 1964-1968 vol. 26: Document 315

Greece 1958 (U.S.)

Wayne Jackson. 1973. *Allen Welsh Dulles As Director of Central Intelligence: 26 February 1953- 29 November 1961*. CIA Internal Historical Studies (Declassified) vol 3: pg. 97

John Richardson. 2005. *My Father the Spy: An Investigative Memoir*. New York: Harper Collins, pgs. 122-123,131

John Prados 2003. *Lost Crusader: The Secret Wars of CIA Director William Colby*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pg. 59

Greece 1958 (USSR)

Spros Linardatos 1978. "The 1958 Greek Election: A reassessment" *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 5(2): 59-80 (see pgs.75-76)

"The Greek Elections" *New York Times*, May 13, 1958

Guatemala 1958

FRUS 1958-1960 vol. 5 (microfiche volume): Document GT-1

Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer 1982. *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the U.S. Coup in Guatemala*. Garden City: Doubleday, pg. 237

Italy 1958

FRUS 1958-1960 vol. 7(2): Document 209

William Colby 1978. *Honorable Men: My Life at the CIA*. New York: Simon & Schuster, pgs. 115-116,135

John Prados 2003. *Lost Crusader: The Secret Wars of CIA Director William Colby*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pg. 59

Japan 1958

FRUS 1955-1957 vol. 23(1): Document 253

FRUS 1964-1968 vol. 29(2): Document 1

Michael Schaller 1997. *Altered States: The United States and Japan Since the Occupation*. New York: Oxford University Press, pg. 136

Laos 1958

FRUS 1958-1960 vol. 16: Document 162

FRUS 1958-1960 vol. 16: Document 163

FRUS 1958-1960 vol. 16: Document 169

Venezuela 1958

Valerio Riva 1999. *Oro Da Mosca*. Milan: Mondadori, pgs. 50-51

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Malaysia 1959

FRUS 1958-1960 vol. 15 (microfiche volume): Document 197

FRUS 1958-1960 vol. 15 (microfiche volume): Document 200

Nepal 1959

Duane Clarridege 1997. *A Spy For All Seasons: My Life at the CIA*. New York: Scribner, pgs. 64-66, 68-69

San Marino 1959

FRUS 1958-1960 vol. 7(2): Document 223

DRC 1960

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Japan 1960

FRUS 1964-1968 vol. 29(2): Document 1

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Sri Lanka March & July 1960

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FRUS 1964-1968 vol. 26: Document 315

South Vietnam 1961

"Hearings Before the Committee on Armed Services U.S. Senate, Ninety-Third Congress First Session, on Nomination of William Colby to be Director of Central Intelligence, July 2,20, and 25, 1973". Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, pgs. 84, 94-95

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Tim Weiner 2007. *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA*. New York: Doubleday, pg. 189

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Finland 1962

Viktor Vladimirov 1993. *Nain se oli*. Helsinki: Otava, pgs. 125-132

Hannu Rautkallio 1999. *Agenda Suomi*. WSOY, pgs. 132-135, 147-153, 174

Peru 1962

Richard Walter 2010. *Peru and the United States 1960-1975*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, pgs. 16-18

FRUS 1969-1972 vol. E-10: Document 582

Italy 1963

The Pike Report. Nottingham: Spokesman Books 1977, pgs. 193, 204-205

Japan 1963

FRUS 1964-1968 vol. 29 (2): Document 1

Tim Weiner 1994. "CIA Spent Millions to Support Japanese Right in 50's and 60's" *New York Times*, October 9.

Bolivia 1964

FRUS 1964-1968 vol. 31: Document 147

Chile 1964 (U.S.)

Covert Action in Chile 1963-1973: Staff Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities, United States Senate [Church Committee Report]. Washington D.C." U.S. Government Printing Office 1975, pgs. 14-17

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FRUS 1964-1968 vol. 31: Document 253

Chile 1964 (USSR)

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Somalia 1964

FRUS 1964-1968 vol. 24: Document 283

Sri Lanka 1965

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Airgram A-211 October 2, 1964 "UNP Approach Re Assistance in Anti- Government Activities" in Pol 12 Political Parties Ceylon, Box 2001 Ceylon, RG 59 Central files , NARA

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Bolivia 1966

FRUS 1964-1968 vol. 31: Document 147

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FRUS 1964-1968 vol. 31: Document 161

Costa Rica 1966

FRUS 1964-1968 vol. 31: Document 79

FRUS 1964-1968 vol. 31: Document 81

Dominican Republic 1966

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India 1967

Christopher Andrew & Vasili Mitrokhin 2005. *The World Was Going Our Way: The KGB and the Battle for the Third World*. New York: Basic Books, pgs.317-318

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Finland 1968

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Guyana 1968

FRUS 1964-1968 vol. 32: Document 431

FRUS 1964-1968 vol. 32: Document 440

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Italy 1968

John Prados 2006. *Safe for Democracy: The Secret Wars of the CIA*. Chicago: Dee, pgs. 380-381

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West Germany 1969

Michael Sodaro 1990. *Moscow Germany, and the West: From Khrushchev to Gorbachev*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pg. 151

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Thailand 1969

FRUS 1969-1976 vol. 20: Document 2

FRUS 1969-1976 vol. 20: Document 3

FRUS 1969-1976 vol. 20: Document 120

Chile 1970 (USSR)

Christopher Andrew & Vasili Mitrokhin 2005. *The World Was Going Our Way: The KGB and the Battle for the Third World*. New York: Basic Books, pgs.70-73

Chile 1970 (U.S.)

Covert Action in Chile 1963-1973: Staff Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities, United States Senate [Church Committee Report]. Washington D.C." U.S. Government Printing Office 1975, pgs. 19-23

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Costa Rica 1970

Christopher Andrew & Vasili Mitrokhin 2005. *The World Was Going Our Way: The KGB and the Battle for the Third World*. New York: Basic Books, pgs. 67-68

Pakistan 1970

Christopher Andrew & Vasili Mitrokhin 2005. *The World Was Going Our Way: The KGB and the Battle for the Third World*. New York: Basic Books, pgs. 347-348

Malta 1971

"Revised Issues and talking points for Secretary's Conversation with Maltese Prime Minister Borg Olivier" Tosec 135 October 23, 1970, pol 7 Malta, Box 2467, RG 59 Central files, NARA

Telegram Usun 2699 October 24, 1970, pol 7 Malta, Box 2467, RG 59 Central files, NARA

Valleta 235 March 29, 1971 in Pol Malta, Box 2467, RG 59 Central files, NARA

Uruguay 1971

FRUS 1969-1972 vol. E-10: Document 141

FRUS 1969-1972 vol. E-10: Document 145

Federico Leicht 2008. *El Dia Menos Pensado Invasion, Golpe y contragolpe 1964-1971* Montevideo: Letraene Chp. 3

South Vietnam 1971

FRUS 1969-1976 vol. 7: Document 100

FRUS 1969-1976 vol. 7: Document 119

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West Germany 1972 (USSR)

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FRUS 1969-1972 vol. 40: Document 380

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Japan 1972 (USSR)

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Italy 1972 (U.S.)

The Pike Report. Nottingham: Spokesman Books 1977, pgs. 193- 195, 203-211

Tim Weiner 2007. *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA*. New York: Doubleday, pgs. 299-300

Italy 1972 (USSR)

Christopher Andrew & Vasili Mitrokhin 1999.*The Sword and The Shield: The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB.* New York: Basic Books, pgs. 298, 628

Valerio Riva 1999. *Oro Da Mosca*. Milan: Mondadori, pgs. 377

Bangladesh 1973

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Denmark 1973

Christopher Andrew & Oleg Gordievsky 1993. *Comrade Kryuchekov's Instructions*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pg. 170

Valerio Riva 1999. *Oro Da Mosca*. Milan: Mondadori, pg. 56

France 1974

Christopher Andrew & Vasili Mitrokhin 1999.*The Sword and The Shield: The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB.* New York: Basic Books, pgs. 468-469

Greece 1974

Valerio Riva 1999. *Oro Da Mosca*. Milan: Mondadori, pg. 56

FRUS 1969-1976 vol. 30: Document 28

Denmark 1975

Christopher Andrew & Oleg Gordievsky 1993. *Comrade Kryuchekov's Instructions*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pg. 170

Valerio Riva 1999. *Oro Da Mosca*. Milan: Mondadori, pg. 56

Italy 1976 (U.S.)

Bernard Gwertzman 1976. “Secretary Sees Threat: Kissinger Warns West on its Reds” *New York Times*, April 14

Alan Shuster 1976. “U.S. Role Again Becomes an Election Issue in Italy” *New York Times*, June 16

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3. Codebook- PEIG Dataset 1.0

Variable	Description
country	Name of country where election occurred.
year	Year of election.
year 1	Year of election adjusted to account for cases of 2nd elections that year.
ccodewb	World Bank country code. A handful of now 'dead' states which lack such codes (or whose codes were transferred to a successor state) were given, to enable differentiation, separate three letter code with three identical letters (FFF, YYY etc.).
ccodecow	Correlates of War country code.
observationid	The ID number of that election given by the author.
elect_int	There was a partisan electoral intervention in this election. 1 yes 0 no
incum_aid	An incumbent was aided in this election. 1 yes, 0 no.[3]
challenger_aid	A challenger was aided in this election. 1 yes, 0 no.[4]
us_elect_int	There was an American partisan electoral intervention in this election. 1 yes, 0 no.
rus_elect_int	There was a USSR/Russian partisan electoral intervention in this election. 1 yes, 0 no.
double_int	There was an intervention by both the U.S and the USSR/Russia in the same election. 1 yes, 0 no, NA not relevant (cases of non intervention).
elect_overt	There was an overt electoral intervention in this election.[5] 1 yes, 0 no.
elect_covert	There was a covert electoral intervention in this election. 1 yes, 0 no.

[3] In cases of double intervention (where both sides are aided, each by a different intervener) a coding of 1 was given on both the challenger_aid and the incum_aid measures. Cases where the exact identity of the assisted side was unclear, or there was no clear incumbent in the election, were left blank.

[4] See the previous footnote.

[5] Overt interventions with a covert component are included.

covertpart	Election experienced an overt electoral intervention which also included significant covert components. 1 yes, 0 no.
covertexposed	The covert electoral intervention was exposed, becoming public knowledge prior to the election.
us_overt	There was an overt electoral intervention by the U.S. in this election. 1 yes, 0 no.
us_covert	There was a covert electoral intervention by the U.S. in this election. 1 yes, 0 no.
rus_overt	There was an overt electoral intervention by the USSR/Russia in this election. 1 yes, 0 no.
rus_covert	There was a covert electoral intervention by the USSR/Russia in this election. 1 yes, 0 no.
ned	At least one of the known components of an American electoral intervention was conducted using one or more of the four main affiliates of the (U.S. government funded) National Endowment for Democracy (NED): The National Democratic Institute (NDI), The International Republican Institute (IRI), the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE), or the Free Trade Union Institute (FUTI). 1 yes, 0 no, NA not relevant (cases of non intervention).
int_cw89	The electoral intervention occurred during the Cold War era (the Cold War defined as ending in 1989). 1 yes, 0 no, NA not relevant (cases of non intervention).
int_cw91	The electoral intervention occurred during the Cold War era (the Cold War defined as ending in 1991). 1 yes, 0 no, NA not relevant (cases of non intervention).
int_repeat	This electoral intervention is a repeat intervention on the side of that intervener (who also intervened in the previous election). 1 yes, 0 no.
campaign_fund	The electoral intervention included the provision of campaign funding to the favored side. 1 yes, 0 no, NA not relevant (cases of non intervention).[6]

[6] For a further description of these subtypes see table III in the main paper and Section 1.5 in Appendix A. Given the current state of knowledge about the exact details of many electoral interventions, the incompleteness of these measures as to many cases of interventions must be kept in mind when their use is under consideration.

	Note: here and in the following seven subtypes, for cases of double interventions (an intervention by both the U.S and the USSR/Russia in the same election), the data shown is for the American intervention only.
campaign_assist	The electoral intervention included the provision of non-monetary assistance to the favored side designed to increase the overall effectiveness of the assisted side's election campaign. 1 yes, 0 no, NA not relevant (cases of non intervention).
dirtytrick	The intervention included acts which were designed to directly harm one or more candidate(s) or parties competing against the preferred candidate/party. 1 yes, 0 no, NA not relevant (cases of non intervention).
threatpromise	The electoral intervention included threats or promises by an official representative of intervening country.
givetakeaid	The electoral intervention included the provision, increased provision or withdrawal of foreign aid. 1 yes, 0 no, NA not relevant (cases of non intervention).
concession_other	The electoral intervention included a costly concession to the target which was non-economic/material in its nature/ main value. 1 yes, 0 no, NA not relevant.
military	The electoral intervention included the use of military force in order to threaten/intimidate/coerce voters into voting for the preferred side. Such activities include both the use of the interveners own military forces, such as in 'symbolic' military exercises on the eve of the elections or in troop reinforcements to nearby areas, or funding other significant military forces within that country (rebel/insurgent groups etc.) to carry out military operations for this purpose. This method of electoral intervention is quite rare- and this subtype is accordingly noted here largely for general interest purposes. 1 yes, 0 no, NA not relevant.
other	The electoral intervention included other kinds of costly assistance which do not fall under the above categories. 1 yes, 0 no, NA not relevant.
campaign_fund1	This and the following six variables (campaign_assist1 dirtytrick1 threatpromise1 givetakeaid1 military1 other1) provide, for cases of double interventions, the data on the subtypes used in the USSR/Russian intervention only. 1 yes, 0 no, NA not relevant.
elect_int_tri	Trictomous version of elect_int. This is the recommended format of this measure when the unit of analysis is the election year Coded as 1 if the

	intervention is for the incumbent, -1 if it is for a challenger, and 0 when no intervention occurs.[7]
us_int_tri	Trictomous version of us_elect_int. Coded as 1 if the intervention is for the incumbent, -1 if it is for a challenger, and 0 when no intervention occurs.
rus_int_tri	Trictomous version of rus_elect_int. Coded as 1 if the intervention is for the incumbent, -1 if it is for a challenger, and 0 when no intervention occurs.
elect_overt_tri	Trictomous version of elect_overt. Coded as 1 if the intervention is for the incumbent, -1 if it is for a challenger, and 0 when no intervention occurs
elect_covert_tri	Trictomous version of elect_covert. Coded as 1 if the intervention is for the incumbent, -1 if it is for a challenger, and 0 when no intervention occurs.
us_overt_tri	Trictomous version of us_overt. Coded as 1 if the intervention is for the incumbent, -1 if it is for a challenger, and 0 when no intervention occurs.
us_covert_tri	Trictomous version of us_covert. Coded as 1 if the intervention is for the incumbent, -1 if it is for a challenger, and 0 when no intervention occurs.
rus_overt_tri	Trictomous version of rus_overt. Coded as 1 if the intervention is for the incumbent, -1 if it is for a challenger, and 0 when no intervention occurs.
rus_covert_tri	Trictomous version of rus_covert. Coded as 1 if the intervention is for the incumbent, -1 if it is for a challenger, and 0 when no intervention occurs.
corr_found_elec	Election was a founding election. 1 yes, 0 no.
Asia	Asia
Europe	Europe
Middle_East	The Middle East
N_America	North America
L_America	Latin America
Africa	Sub-Saharan Africa
Oceania	Oceania

[7] Cases of double intervention as well as cases where there is no clear incumbent in the election/identity of assisted side is unclear are left blank.

4. Codebook prt. 2: Dataset for the Empirical Comparison[8]

Variable	Description
country	Name of country where election occurred.
year	Year of election.
year 1	Year of election adjusted to account for cases of 2nd elections that year.
ccodewb	World Bank country code.
ccodecow	Correlates of War country code.
observationid	The ID number of that election given by the author.
incumbent_vote	The vote share of the incumbent's party (in parliamentary elections) or the incumbent's presidential candidate (in presidential elections).
prev_vote	The incumbent's party/candidates vote share in the previous election. Vote share from previous uncompetitive elections (if any such occurred) is excluded.
rgdplpcgw	The real GDP per capita growth rate.
elect_int_tri	Election experienced a partisan electoral intervention (PEIG). Coded as 1 if the intervention is for the incumbent, -1 if it is for a challenger, and 0 when no intervention occurs.
berger_int	Berger's et.al political influence measure. Coded as 1 if the intervention is for the incumbent, -1 if it is for a challenger, and 0 when no intervention occurs.
com_openk	Trade as a percentage of GDP in constant terms.
growthtrade	An interaction between the economic growth rate and trade as a percentage of GDP.
prezelection	Was this a presidential election. 1 yes 0 no.
growthprezelect	An interaction between the economic growth rate measure and the presidential election measure.

[8] For a description of these variables see Appendix A, part 5

reelection_prez	A president is running for reelection in this election. 1 yes and 0 no.
lfrag_com	The effective number of parties or candidates contesting the election, logged.
lgcm_rgdpl_pc	Real GDP per capita in thousands of 2005 constant U.S dollars, logged.
africa	Africa
asia	Asia- Including the Middle East east of Egypt, excluding Australia and New Zealand.
eastcentraleurope	Eastern and Central Europe.
lamericacarribean	Latin America and the Caribbean.
coldwar	A dummy variable for the Cold War period. Coded as 1 for years prior to 1989 and 0 afterwards.

5. Replication code for the empirical comparison section

Note: Commands are in Stata 11

After dataset is loaded:

```
*To turn string into a numeric variable (which Stata can then identify as a country code)

encode  ccodewb, generate( ccodewb1)


*Settings of panel variables (corrected year1 used in order to enable of any  2nd elections in same year)

tsset  ccodewb1 year1


*** Table III main paper statistical models

* Model 1: Effects on elections using Berger's Political Influence dataset

xtreg incumbent_vote  berger_int  prev_vote rgdplpcgw  com_openk growthtrade prezelection growthprezelect reelection_prez lfrag_com lgcm_rgdpl_pc africa asia eastcentraleurope lamericacarribean if coldwar==1, vce(r)


*Model 2: Effects on elections using the PEIG dataset (replication of model 1 in Levin 2016)

xtreg incumbent_vote elect_int_tri  prev_vote rgdplpcgw  com_openk growthtrade prezelection growthprezelect reelection_prez lfrag_com lgcm_rgdpl_pc africa asia eastcentraleurope lamericacarribean, vce(r)


*** Appendix A Section 5.2

*Model 1 Appendix: Effects on elections using the PEIG dataset, Cold War period only

xtreg incumbent_vote elect_int_tri  prev_vote rgdplpcgw  com_openk growthtrade prezelection growthprezelect reelection_prez lfrag_com lgcm_rgdpl_pc africa asia eastcentraleurope lamericacarribean if coldwar==1, vce(r)
```