

## Country: Mali

Years: 1960-1967

Leader: Modibo Keita

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Keita's affiliation as US-RDA. Lansford (2017) identifies US-RDA ideology as left, writing "the Soudanese Union/African Democratic Rally (Union Soudanaise/Rassemblement Démocratique Africain—US/RDA), gradually developed into a leftist, one-party dictatorship with a strongly collectivist policy at home and close ties internationally to the Soviet bloc and the People's Republic of China." Manzano (2017) codes Keita as left. The Central Intelligence Agency (1985) writes "Mali gained independence from France in 1960 under the leftist leadership of President Modibo Keita... he combined a centralized one-party political system with socialist policies based on extensive nationalization of the agriculturally based economy." According to Dickovick (2008), "Mali's leftist experiment took place under the regime of Modibo Keita... [and] in the early years of Moussa Traore." Lentz (1994) writes "Keita transformed Mali into a Socialist state, and after visiting the People's Republic in China in 1964, he became a disciple of Chinese Communist party chairman Mao Tse-tung." World Statesmen (2019) identifies Keita's party as US-RDA, described as "Sudanese Union-African Democratic Rally, socialist". In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify US-RDA's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.319) in 1992.

Years: 1968-1990

Leader: Moussa Traore

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Traore's party as none until 1979, and as UDPM from 1979 to 1985. The CIA (1985) states "Traore labeled his ruling ideology 'progressive' rather than socialist and publicly supported a mixed economy. Varol (2017) calls Traore's rule "the leftist dictatorship of Moussa Traore." According to Dickovick (2008), "Mali's leftist experiment took place under the regime of Modibo Keita... [and] in the early years of Moussa Traore." Dickovick continues "Traore's regimes... resisted many elements of Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy yet retained a commitment to a 'democratic centralism' that concentrated power within the state". World Statesmen (2019) identifies Traore's party as UDPM after 1976, described as "Democratic Union of the Malian People, democratic centralist, Moussa Traoré personalist". In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify UDPM's ideology as "Center-

right” (0.935) in 1975, 1979, 1982, 1984, and 1985, and “Center-right” (0.916) in 1988. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies “virtually no visible disagreement” in UDPM in 1975, 1979, 1982, 1984, 1985, and 1988.

Year: 1991

Leader: Amadou Toure

Ideology: Left

Description: CHISOLS identifies Toure’s party as none in 1991 and as CCD from 2002 onwards. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Toure as leftist, writing “Amadou Toumani Touré... 2002 (8 juin) [to] 2007 (8 juin)... Indépendant... 2007 (8 juin) [to] 2012 (12 avril)... Alliance pour la démocratie au Mali”, described as “center left”. World Statesmen (2020) describes ADEMA as “pro-democratic, social democratic.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Alliance for Democracy in Mali (ADEMA) as 7.0. ADEMA-PASJ is a member of the Socialist International.

Years: 1992-2001

Leader: Alpha Oumar Konare

Ideology: Left

Description: CHISOLS identifies Konare’s party as ADM. Lansford (2017) describes the “Alliance pour la Démocratie au Mali—Adema”, suggesting that ADM is Adema. While DPI identifies Adema as centrist, Lamb (2006) describes ADEMA as “a center left social democratic party”. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party’s ideology. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Keita’s party as ADEMA, described as “Alliance pour la Démocratie au Mali - Parti Africain pour la Solidarité et la Justice (Alliance for Democracy in Mali - African Party for Solidarity and Justice, pro-democratic, social democratic, est.25 Oct 1990)”. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Konare as leftist, writing “Alpha Oumar Konaré... Alliance pour la démocratie au Mali”, described as “center left”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Alliance for Democracy in Mali (ADEMA) as 7.0. ADEMA-PASJ is a member of the Socialist International. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify ADEMA’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.798) in 1992 and 1997.

Years: 2002-2011

Leader: Amadou Toure

Ideology: Left

Description: CHISOLS identifies Toure’s party as none in 1991 and as CCD from 2002 onwards. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Toure as leftist, writing “Amadou Toumani Touré... 2002 (8 juin) [to] 2007 (8 juin)... Indépendant...

2007 (8 juin) [to] 2012 (12 avril)... Alliance pour la démocratie au Mali”, described as “center left”. World Statesmen (2020) describes ADEMA as “pro-democratic, social democratic.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Alliance for Democracy in Mali (ADEMA) as 7.0. ADEMA-PASJ is a member of the Socialist International. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify ADEMA’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.798) in 2002 and 2007.

Year: 2012

Leader: Dioncounda Traore

Ideology: Left

Description: Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies Traore’s party as Adema/PASJ, writing “President Dioncounda TRAORÉ (Alliance for Democracy in Mali/Party for Liberty, Solidarity, and Justice)” and “Alliance for Democracy in Mali/Pan African Party for Liberty, Solidarity, and Justice (Alliance pour la Démocratie au Mali/Parti Pan-Africain pour la Solidarité et la Justice—Adema/PASJ)”. While DPI identifies Adema as centrist, Lamb (2006) describes ADEMA as “a center left social democratic party”. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party’s ideology. World Statesmen (2019) describes ADEMA as “Alliance pour la Démocratie au Mali - Parti Africain pour la Solidarité et la Justice (Alliance for Democracy in Mali - African Party for Solidarity and Justice, pro-democratic, social democratic, est.25 Oct 1990)”. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Traore as leftist, writing “Dioncounda Traoré... Alliance pour la démocratie au Mali/Parti africain pour la solidarité et la justice”, described as “moderate left”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Alliance for Democracy in Mali (ADEMA) as 7.0. ADEMA-PASJ is a member of the Socialist International. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify ADEMA’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.798) in 2007.

Years: 2013-2019

Leader: Ibrahim Boubacar Keita

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Keita’s party affiliation as ADEMA, writing that “President Konaré named an Adema member, Ibrahim Boubacar KEÏTA, as the new prime minister.” DPI identifies ADEMA as center. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party’s ideology. Lamb (2006) describes ADEMA as “a center left social democratic party”. Lamb also states that in 2000 “Keita resigned as prime minister [from ADEMA] and formed the rival social democratic Rally for Mali [RPM]”. Perspective Monde

(2021) identifies Keita's party affiliation at the time as Rassemblement pour le Mali (RPM) and identifies the party as center-left. Jacinto (2013) writes "officially, IBK [Ibrahim Keita] is a socialist. But his six years as prime minister saw the liberalisation of the Malian economy... On the political stage, IBK has proved to be more pragmatist than ideologue... 'adept at playing both sides of the fence'". World Statesmen (2021) corroborates Keita's party as RPM, described as "Rassemblement pour le Mali (Rally for Mali, socialist, est.Feb 2001)." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Rally for Mali (RPM) as 7.0. Both ADEMA-PASJ and RPM are members of the Socialist International. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify ADEMA's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.798) in 2013.

Years: 2020

Leader: Ba N'Daou

Ideology:

Description: Both World Statesmen (2021) and Perspective Monde (2021) identify party affiliation as none. Diallo (2020) writes, "ECOWAS and a swath of Malians wanted a civilian leader, while the junta that overthrew Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta (IBK) on 18 August wished to keep a military-controlled government in place. Ultimately, the National Committee for the Salvation of the People (CNSP) met all parties halfway on 21 September by appointing Bah N'Daw as transitional president: he had a military career but is currently retired and leading a civilian life... Named aide-de-camp to ex-president Moussa Traoré, a general who came to power after leading the first military coup in Mali's history, N'Daw left his post unceremoniously in 1990. 'He resigned in protest of Traoré's wife's interference in the management of government affairs... From 1992 to 2002, during Alpha Oumar Konaré's presidency, N'Daw served as deputy chief of staff of the Air Force. One year later, he became chief of staff.'" Traoré is coded as rightist, and Konaré is coded as leftist.

References:

*Africa Review*. N.p.: Central Intelligence Agency, 1985.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP85T01184R000200900001-5.pdf>

Cruz, Cesi, Philip Keefer, and Carlos Scartascini. 2018. Database of Political Institutions

(DPI2017). Inter-American Development Bank. Numbers for Development.

Diallo, Aïssatou. "Mali: Who is Bah N'Daw, the new transitional president?" The Africa Report. Last modified September 30, 2020.

<https://www.theafricareport.com/43146/mali-who-is-bah-ndaw-the-new-transitional-president/>

- Jacinto, Leela. "Who Is Mali's 'IBK': Junta's Man or People's President?" France 24. Last modified August 1, 2013. <https://www.france24.com/en/20130801-mali-election-president-ibk-profile-ibrahim-boubacar-keita-cisse>.
- Lamb, Peter. *Historical Dictionary of Socialism*. Scarecrow Press, 2006.
- Lansford, Tom. *Political Handbook of the World*. Washington, D.C.: Sage Publishing, 2017.
- Lentz, Harris. 1994. *Heads of States and Governments Since 1945*. New York.
- "Mali." In *Political Handbook of the World 2015*, edited by Thomas Lansford, 916-24. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2015.  
[http://library.cqpress.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/phw/phw2015\\_Mali](http://library.cqpress.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/phw/phw2015_Mali).
- Manzano, Dulce. 2017. *Bringing Down the Educational Wall: Political Regimes, Ideology, and the Expansion of Education*. Cambridge.
- Perspective Monde, University of Sherbrooke. "Mali, Dirigeants Politiques" [Mali, Political Leaders]. Perspective Monde. Accessed August 9, 2019.  
<http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMGvt?codePays=MLI>
- Varol, Ozan. *The Democratic Coup d'État*. Oxford University Press, 2017.
- World Statesman. 2019. "Mali". <https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Mali.htm>, last accessed October 26, 2019.