

Country: Republic of the Congo

Years: 1960-1962

Leader: Fulbert Youlou

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government and affiliation as UDDIA. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes, “The country’s first president, Fulbert YOLOU, established a strong centralized administration but resigned in 1963 in the face of numerous strikes and labor demonstrations.” Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Youlou’s party as “Union démocratique de defense des intérêts africains.” Lentz (1994: 191) writes, “[Youlou] founded the Democratic Union for the Defense of African Interests (UDDIA).” Lentz also writes, “Youlou made plans to transform the government of the Congo into a one-party system, but his plans were threatened in August of 1963 by a massive demonstration of leftists and trade unionists.” World Statesmen (2019) corroborates Youlou’s party as UDDIA, described as “Union Démocratique pour la Défense des Intérêts Africains... Democratic Union for the Defense of African Interests, conservative”. Clark and Decalo (2012) write Youlou “was obsessed with fear of communism; and rapidly alienated the burgeoning youth in Congo’s urban centers with his pro-French, ultraconservative policies”.

Years: 1963-1967

Leader: Alphonse Massamba-Débat

Ideology: Left

Description: CHISOLS identifies Massamba-Débat’s party as MNR. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Massamba-Débat as leftist, writing “Alphonse Massemba-Débat... Mouvement national de la revolution”, described as “moderate left”.

Year: 1968

Leader: Alfred Raoul

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Raoul’s party as none. Manzano (2017) codes Raoul as “left”. Decalo et al. (1996: 266) identify Raoul’s party as PCT: “After Ngouabi became president, Raoul was named secretary of defense for the CNR, prime minister, and was also, briefly, acting head of state. After 1969, he was appointed minister of trade, and integrated into the PCT Politburo.” DPI identifies ideology of PCT as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party’s ideology. Murray (1992) writes

“In 1968 the Congolese Workers’ Party (Parti Congolais du Travail, PCT) replaced the MNR. The 1970 constitution made Marxism-Leninism the basis of the regime.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Noumazalaye’s party as Mil/CNR, described as “Conseil National de la Révolution... National Council of the Revolution, socialist”.

Years: 1969-1976

Leader: Marien Ngouabi

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government and affiliation as PCT. Manzano (2017) codes Ngouabi as “left”.

Decalo et al. (1996: 215) identify Ngouabi’s party as PCT: “He founded the Marxist-Leninist PCT party.” DPI identifies PCT as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party’s ideology. Murray (1992) writes “In 1968 the Congolese Workers’ Party (Parti Congolais du Travail, PCT) replaced the MNR. The 1970 constitution made Marxism-Leninism the basis of the regime.” Van Rensburg (1975) wrote “the MNR of Massemba-Debat was transformed into the Parti Congolaise du Travail (PCT), based on Marxist-Leninist theory” when Ngouabi took power. Van Rensburg quotes Ngouabi stating that he would take “action under the influence of Marx and Lenin... based on proletarian nationalism”. World Statesmen (2019) describes Ngouabi as the “President of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labor”, described as “Parti Congolais du Travail... Congolese Party of Labor... Marxist-Leninist Communist 31 Dec 1969-10 Dec 1990”. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies PCT’s ideology as “Left” (-1.955) in 1970 and 1973.

Years: 1977-1978

Leader: Opango

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Opango’s party as PCT. Manzano (2017) codes Yhombi-Opango as “left”. Decalo et al. (1996: 313-314) identifies Yhombi-Opango’s party as RDD: “Yhomby Opango set up a political party to further his interests, the Rassemblement pour la Démocratie et la développement” and “in 1992 Yhomby Opango was appointed Prime Minister of Congo.” DPI identifies ideology of RDD as center. The Political Handbook of the World (2011), however, writes “some former leftists, including Yhombi-Opango of the RDD”. According to Clark and Decalo (2012), “Yhombi-Opango was... well-known for... his lack of commitment to anything resembling Marxism-Leninism.” Clark and Decalo state that in 1979 “he [Yhombi-Opango] was... dismissed from the PCT party” in favor of “the more sophisticated, debonair, and

outwardly radical Sassou-Nguesso” who was “the overwhelming choice of the PCT”. Clark and Decalo add that Yhombi-Opango had been dropped from the PCT once before, in 1973 “for his overly conservative stances”. Akyeampong and Gates (2012) write “Yhombi-Opango drew the ire of staunchly Marxist leaders of the PCT for his flamboyant display of wealth and for his supposed right-wing views. However, he was a true ally to Ngouabi” and “hardline Marxists considered Yhombi-Opango to be too materialistic and more of a simple soldier than a revolutionary cadre”. Manzano (2017) codes Ngouabi as “left”. World Statesmen (2019) describes Yhombi-Opango as a member of the RDD. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies PCT’s ideology as “Left” (-1.955) in 1977.

Years: 1979-1991

Leader: Nguesso

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Sassou-Nguesso’s party as PCT (part of FDU, identified as FDU after 2005). Manzano (2017) codes Sassou-Nguesso as “left”. Clark (2008: 268) identifies a Sassou-Nguesso’s faction of PCT as part of the FDU coalition: “The future of the PCT itself soon emerged as the main point of contention between two factions of the regime. The liberal, more progressive faction, led by the president himself, wanted to organize a party conference to “refound” the party and merge it with other parties in the Forces Démocratiques Unies (FDU) coalition.” DPI identifies PCT as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party’s ideology. Perspective Monde identifies Sassou-Nguesso as a member of the PCT, coded as “moderate left”. Murray (1992) writes “In 1968 the Congolese Workers’ Party (Parti Congolais du Travail, PCT) replaced the MNR. The 1970 constitution made Marxism-Leninism the basis of the regime.” World Statesmen (2019) describes Sassou-Nguesso as the “President of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labor” from “7 Feb 1979 – 4 Jun 1991”, described as “Parti Congolais du Travail... Congolese Party of Labor, socialist... Marxist-Leninist Communist 31 Dec 1969-10 Dec 1990”. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies PCT’s ideology as “Left” (-1.955) in 1979, 1984, and 1989.

Years: 1992-1996

Leader: Pascal Lissouba

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Lissouba’s party as UPADS. DPI identifies UPADS’ ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party’s ideology. Decalo et al. (1996: 175) identify Lissouba’s ideology as left: “He was a member of the interim 8-man

committee appointed to govern Congo right after the August 1963 that toppled Youlou, and was named minister of agriculture in Massamba-Debat's provisional government, and in December 1963 became the latter's Prime Minister, and right-hand man. Though more outspoken against France than Massamba-Debat, Lissouba was in essence a moderate Marxist." Lansford (2015) writes "Under Massamba-Débat the regime embraced a Marxist-type doctrine of "scientific socialism," and the political system was reorganized on a one-party basis". Lansford continues "The Republic of the Congo became a one-party state in 1963 when the National Revolutionary Movement (Mouvement National Révolutionnaire—MNR) supplanted the two parties that had been politically dominant under the preceding administration". Van Rensburg (1975) describes the MNR as "the para-military Mouvement Nationale de la Révolution... with strong Communist tendencies". Perspective Monde identifies Lissouba as a member of the MNR, coded as "moderate left". Murray (1992) writes "As early as December 1963 Pascal Lissouba, prime minister in the new government, declared himself in favor of 'scientific socialism.' In 1964 this was written into the charter of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), the only party." World Statesmen (2019) identifies Lissouba's party as MNR, described as "Mouvement National de la Révolution National Revolutionary Movement, socialist". In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies UPADS's ideology as "Left" (-1.915) in 1992 and 1993.

Years: 1997-2020

Leader: Nguesso

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Sassou-Nguesso's party as PCT (part of FDU, identified as FDU after 2005). Manzano (2017) codes Sassou-Nguesso as "left". Clark (2008: 268) identifies a Sassou-Nguesso's faction of PCT as part of the FDU coalition: "The future of the PCT itself soon emerged as the main point of contention between two factions of the regime. The liberal, more progressive faction, led by the president himself, wanted to organize a party conference to "refound" the party and merge it with other parties in the Forces Démocratiques Unies (FDU) coalition." DPI identifies PCT as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party's ideology. Perspective Monde (2021) identifies Sassou-Nguesso as a member of the PCT, coded as "moderate left". Murray (1992) writes "In 1968 the Congolese Workers' Party (Parti Congolais du Travail, PCT) replaced the MNR. The 1970 constitution made Marxism-Leninism the basis of the regime." World Statesmen (2021) identifies Sassou-Nguesso's party affiliation as PCT and FDU from 2002-2007, then RMP from 2007. World Statesmen (2021) identifies PCT as "socialist... Marxist-Leninist Communist 31 Dec 1969-10 Dec 1990... est. 31 Dec

1969.” FDU is described as a “PCT dominated coalition... 2001-Dec 2007, renamed RMP.” RMP is described as “former FDU, est. Dec 2007.” In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies PCT’s ideology as “Left” (-1.955) in 1993, 2001, 2002, 2007, 2012, and 2017.

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