

Country: Zambia

Years: 1964-1990

Head of government: Kenneth David Kaunda

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Kaunda's party as ZANC until 1971, and UNIP afterwards. DPI identifies UNIP's ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party's ideology. Manzano (2017) corroborates Kaunda as Left. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Kaunda as Right. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Kaunda's ideology as leftist, writing "Kenneth David Kaunda...UNIP... UNIP = United National Independence Party (socialist". Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) writes "State involvement in all aspects of the economy, an early feature of independent Zambia, created a highly centralized and bureaucratic economic structure. Changes in the political structure of the country in the early 1990s were accompanied by efforts to increase private investment and involvement, particularly in the industrial sector, which continued into the 21st century." Nohlen et al. (1999) write "The official ideology of 'Humanism', already... adopted in 1967, expressed Kaunda's vision of an egalitarian society, but in practice failed to be a coherent guiding principle for economic and political government actions." Ortiz de Zárate (2011) identifies Kaunda's ideology as leftist, writing "the United National Independence Party (UNIP), the force opposed to British colonialism and of a socialist court whose leader, Kenneth Kaunda, became the first president of the Republic of Zambia in 1964." Schler (2018) identifies Kaunda's ideology as leftist, writing "President Kenneth Kaunda promoted a political philosophy for national development that merged socialist, Christian, and traditional values, known as 'Humanism', and cooperatives played a central role in Kaunda's vision." Mulwanda and Mutale (1994) identify Kaunda's ideology as leftist, writing "The 1975 Land Reforms brought an end to the government's uncertainty in land policies. These had largely been built on tradition and the ruling party's philosophy of Humanism. Through a socialist approach to the distribution of wealth, the philosophy aimed to bridge the gap between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots', and eliminate the exploitation of man by man." Cheyeka et al. (2014) identify Kaunda's ideology as leftist, writing "Kaunda's scientific socialism". Larmer (2005) writes "In the public debate over privatisation, material evidence is provided by Zambia's own experience of IMF-influenced structural adjustment policies. These were first implemented in the early 1980s by the one-party regime of Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP). The resulting cuts in state funding of health, education, and food fuelled the rising discontent which led to the establishment of multi-party

democracy in 1991, and the electoral defeat of UNIP by the MMD. Despite this, the MMD Government, led by the former Chairman General of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) Frederick Chiluba (previously a leading critic of IMF-influenced policies), implemented one of the most radical programmes of economic liberalisation in sub-Saharan Africa. Exchange controls were removed, major cuts were made to public expenditure, and more than 250 parastatals, representing 85 per cent of the Zambian economy, were privatised.” Macpherson (1974) writes “Kaunda... was both unable to fathom a ‘Tory’ mentality and, on the other hand, spiritually at home among socialists”. In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Left” (-3.135) in 1973, (-3.087) in 1978, as (-2.73) in 1983, and (-2.749) in 1988.

Years: 1991-2001

Head of government: Frederick Jacob Titus Chiluba

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Chiluba’s party as MMD. DPI identifies MMD’s ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015), however, writes “Movement for Multiparty Democracy—MMD. Formed in mid-1990 as a loose alliance of anti-UNIP groups... the group issued a manifesto declaring its commitment to a free-market economy.” Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Chiluba as Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) as 5.8, the average left-right salience (0-10) score as 9.0, and the average divided-undivided party (0-10) score as 3.5. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Chiluba’s ideology as leftist, writing “Frederick Jacob Titus Chiluba... MMD... MMD = Movement for Multi-party Democracy (social-democratic, reformist”. Grotper et al. (1998) identify the Movement for Multiparty Democracy’s (MMD) ideology as rightist, writing “The MMD was launched in December 1990... in February and March 1991... a national executive committee was elected, with Frederick Chiluba (with 63 percent of the vote) replacing Arthur Wina (with 19 percent) as party president. In April, the MMD unveiled its programme of national reconstruction and development through democracy, which called for a far greater economic role for the private sector, a minimal role for the public sector, the privatization of Zambia’s parastatal corporations, the breakup of Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines... and an end to the country’s historic urban bias in its urban-rural terms of trade... Once in power, the MMD implemented an economic reform program committed to free market principles”. Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) suggests MMD’s ideology as rightist, writing “Changes in the political structure of the country in the early 1990s were accompanied by efforts to increase private investment and involvement, particularly in the industrial sector,

which continued into the 21st century... The new government of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) led by Frederick Chiluba, who came into power in November 1991, promised to liberate the economy and introduce a free-market system.” Matheson (2007) writes “Frederick Chiluba was hailed as one of a new breed of democratically elected leaders... The new government set about unshackling the country's collapsing economy from stifling state controls. Guided by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, it embraced the free-market market with one of the most ambitious liberalisation programmes in Africa.” Hendricks and Neculai (2006) write “The MMD’s manifesto... called for acknowledgement that the state would not be a central participant in the economy and that it would encourage a wider spectrum of entrepreneurship. In relation to agricultural policy, the MMD advocated both political and economic liberalism and, as governing party, adopted a structural adjustment program.” Ortiz de Zárate (2002) identifies Chiluba’s ideology as rightist, writing “In spite of his socialist trajectory, in the Chiluba campaign he promised to bring the country out of the ruinous situation in which it found itself, after several decades of planning the economy, with liberal-type solutions. He advocated rigorous management of public finances, encouragement of private initiative, privatization of most state enterprises, starting with the powerful Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM), and opening up to foreign investment.” Bartlett (2000) writes “Chiluba’s new advocacy of structural adjustment as a way of resolving social as well as economic problems, and his support for liberalising the economy and privatising the parastatals as a means of encouraging ‘initiative and enterprise’”. Larmer (2005) writes “In the public debate over privatisation, material evidence is provided by Zambia's own experience of IMF-influenced structural adjustment policies. These were first implemented in the early 1980s by the one-party regime of Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP). The resulting cuts in state funding of health, education, and food fuelled the rising discontent which led to the establishment of multi-party democracy in 1991, and the electoral defeat of UNIP by the MMD. Despite this, the MMD Government, led by the former Chairman General of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) Frederick Chiluba (previously a leading critic of IMF-influenced policies), implemented one of the most radical programmes of economic liberalisation in sub-Saharan Africa. Exchange controls were removed, major cuts were made to public expenditure, and more than 250 parastatals, representing 85 per cent of the Zambian economy, were privatised.” In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center” (-0.362) in 1991, as “Center” (-0.284) in 1996, and as “Center” (-0.112) in 2001.

Years: 2002-2007

Head of government: Levy Patrick Mwanawasa

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Mwanawasa's party as MMD. DPI identifies MMD's ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015), however, writes "Movement for Multiparty Democracy—MMD. Formed in mid-1990 as a loose alliance of anti-UNIP groups... the group issued a manifesto declaring its commitment to a free-market economy." Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Chiluba as Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) as 5.8. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Mwanawasa's ideology as leftist, writing "Levy Patrick Mwanawasa... MMD... MMD = Movement for Multi-party Democracy (social-democratic, reformist". Grotper et al. (1998) identify the Movement for Multiparty Democracy's (MMD) ideology as rightist, writing "the MMD unveiled its programme of national reconstruction and development through democracy, which called for a far greater economic role for the private sector, a minimal role for the public sector, the privatization of Zambia's parastatal corporations, the breakup of Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines... and an end to the country's historic urban bias in its urban-rural terms of trade... Once in power, the MMD implemented an economic reform program committed to free market principles". Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) suggests MMD's ideology as rightist, writing "Changes in the political structure of the country in the early 1990s were accompanied by efforts to increase private investment and involvement, particularly in the industrial sector, which continued into the 21st century... The new government of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) led by Frederick Chiluba, who came into power in November 1991, promised to liberate the economy and introduce a free-market system." Hendricks and Neculai (2006) write "The MMD's manifesto... called for acknowledgement that the state would not be a central participant in the economy and that it would encourage a wider spectrum of entrepreneurship. In relation to agricultural policy, the MMD advocated both political and economic liberalism and, as governing party, adopted a structural adjustment program." Ortiz de Zárate (2008a) identifies Mwanawasa's ideology as rightist, writing "Mwanawasa committed to continue the liberal policies and the modernization of the economy led by the Chiluba governments, with the objectives of: ensuring sustained growth (in 2000 the GDP had advanced 4%, at after a decade weighed down by stagnation); maintain monetary stability and continue to decrease the inflation rate (around 20% per year then); encourage job creation on behalf of the private sector, which it confirmed in its central role as provider of goods and services; negotiate with creditors the rescheduling and even cancellation of the large external debt, and alleviate poverty". In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government

party's ideology as "Center" (-0.112) in 2001 and as "Center" (-0.177) in 2006. Fraser (2017) writes "Since 2006 the PF has been categorised in a range of articles and books as 'populist' or 'ethnopolitist' and contrasted to the MMD (seen variously as liberal, technocratic and as an incumbent 'catch-all' party), and the UPND (sometimes read as ethno-regional, sometimes as liberal)... The difficulty for analyses grounded in policy differentiation is that all Zambian parties have been exceptionally programmatically flexible."

Years: 2008-2010

Head of government: Rupiah Bwezani Banda

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Banda's affiliation as MMD. DPI identifies MMD's ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015), however, writes "Movement for Multiparty Democracy—MMD. Formed in mid-1990 as a loose alliance of anti-UNIP groups... the group issued a manifesto declaring its commitment to a free-market economy." Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Chiluba as Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) as 5.8. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Banda's ideology as leftist, writing "Rupiah Bwezani Banda... MMD... MMD = Movement for Multiparty Democracy (social-democratic, reformist". Grotzinger et al. (1998) identify the Movement for Multiparty Democracy's (MMD) ideology as rightist, writing "the MMD unveiled its programme of national reconstruction and development through democracy, which called for a far greater economic role for the private sector, a minimal role for the public sector, the privatization of Zambia's parastatal corporations, the breakup of Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines... and an end to the country's historic urban bias in its urban-rural terms of trade... Once in power, the MMD implemented an economic reform program committed to free market principles". Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) suggests MMD's ideology as rightist, writing "Changes in the political structure of the country in the early 1990s were accompanied by efforts to increase private investment and involvement, particularly in the industrial sector, which continued into the 21st century... The new government of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) led by Frederick Chiluba, who came into power in November 1991, promised to liberate the economy and introduce a free-market system." Hendricks and Neculai (2006) write "The MMD's manifesto... called for acknowledgement that the state would not be a central participant in the economy and that it would encourage a wider spectrum of entrepreneurship. In relation to agricultural policy, the MMD advocated both political and economic liberalism and, as governing party, adopted a structural adjustment program." Ortiz de Zárate (2008b) identifies Banda's

ideology as rightist, writing “Banda faced the presidential election of October 30, 2008 with a fundamental double promise: to turn to the unity of the ruling party and the nation as a whole, and to faithfully continue the good governance policies of his ill-fated predecessor, a leader almost unanimously praised within and outside Zambia for his efforts to reduce poverty levels in this country with low human development, his emphasis on liberal economic reforms that generate a productive fabric, his fiscal discipline and his successes in canceling part of the foreign debt.” In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center” (-0.177) in 2006. Fraser (2017) writes “Since 2006 the PF has been categorised in a range of articles and books as ‘populist’ or ‘ethnopolit’ and contrasted to the MMD (seen variously as liberal, technocratic and as an incumbent ‘catch-all’ party), and the UPND (sometimes read as ethno-regional, sometimes as liberal)... The difficulty for analyses grounded in policy differentiation is that all Zambian parties have been exceptionally programmatically flexible.”

Years: 2011-2013

Head of government: Michael Chilufya Sata

Ideology: Left

Description: World Statesmen (2019) and Rulers (2019) identify Guy Lindsay Scott instead of Michael Chilufya Sata as head of government on December 31, 2014. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Sata as a member of the Patriotic Front, referring to Sata as “main challenger... Michael SATA of the Patriot Front.”

Cahoon (2018) identifies the Patriotic Front as leftist, describing them as “social-democratic, split from MMD”. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Sata as Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Patriotic Front (PF) as 3.7. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Sata’s ideology as leftist, writing “Michael Chilufya Sata... MMD... MMD = Movement for Multi-party Democracy (social-democratic, reformist”. DPI identifies MMD’s ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015), however, writes “Movement for Multiparty Democracy—MMD. Formed in mid-1990 as a loose alliance of anti-UNIP groups... the group issued a manifesto declaring its commitment to a free-market economy.” Grotzinger et al. (1998) identify the Movement for Multiparty Democracy’s (MMD) ideology as rightist, writing “the MMD unveiled its programme of national reconstruction and development through democracy, which called for a far greater economic role for the private sector, a minimal role for the public sector, the privatization of Zambia’s parastatal corporations, the breakup of Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines... and an end to the country’s historic urban bias in its urban-rural terms of trade... Once in power, the MMD implemented an economic reform program committed to free market

principles". Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) suggests MMD's ideology as rightist, writing "Changes in the political structure of the country in the early 1990s were accompanied by efforts to increase private investment and involvement, particularly in the industrial sector, which continued into the 21st century... The new government of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) led by Frederick Chiluba, who came into power in November 1991, promised to liberate the economy and introduce a free-market system." Hendricks and Neculai (2006) write "The MMD's manifesto... called for acknowledgement that the state would not be a central participant in the economy and that it would encourage a wider spectrum of entrepreneurship. In relation to agricultural policy, the MMD advocated both political and economic liberalism and, as governing party, adopted a structural adjustment program." Ortiz de Zárate (2008b) identifies Sata's ideology as leftist, writing "left-wing populist Michael Sata... former head of the MMD and now head of the Patriotic Front (FP)". Ortiz de Zárate (2011) identifies Sata's ideology as leftist, writing "Sata felt betrayed by Chiluba because the previous year he had supported him in his controversial bid for the third term, attacked, among others, by Vice President Tembo. In addition, he had terrible relations with the anointed heir, Mwanawasa, whom he had associated, through certain unsubstantiated insinuations, with the corrupt practices that were tarnishing the party's image. So his irate response was immediate: he slammed the door on the MMD and without a continuity solution he founded his own political force, the Patriotic Front (PF), which he endowed with a social-democratic ideology, not different from the one that the MMD claimed to harbor. The debut of Sata and his fronts in the general elections of December 27, 2001 could not have been more disappointing." In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center" (-0.403) in 2011. Fraser (2017) writes "Since 2006 the PF has been categorised in a range of articles and books as 'populist' or 'ethnopolit' and contrasted to the MMD (seen variously as liberal, technocratic and as an incumbent 'catch-all' party), and the UPND (sometimes read as ethno-regional, sometimes as liberal)... The difficulty for analyses grounded in policy differentiation is that all Zambian parties have been exceptionally programmatically flexible. For example, the UPND (sometimes figured as liberal) and the PF (sometimes figured as statist) have each taken, at different moments since 2001, positions on mining ranging from advocating punitive taxation or nationalisation to proposing tax and regulatory cuts. Even during the PF's populist moment in 2006, the party manifesto promised to 'Maintain an open, liberal macro-economic environment'... by 2008 the PF's rhetoric was increasingly centrist. After taking power in 2011, the policy PF ministers worked hardest to sell (delighting Western donors) was cutting agricultural, fuel and food subsidies."

Year: 2014

Head of government: Guy Lindsay Scott

Ideology: Left

Description: World Statesmen (2019) and Rulers (2019) identify Guy Lindsay Scott instead of Michael Chilufya Sata as head of government on December 31, 2014. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Scott's party as Patriotic Front (PF), and identifies PF's ideology as leftist, describing them as "social-democratic, split from MMD". Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Scott as Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Patriotic Front (PF) as 3.7. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Scott's ideology as leftist, writing "Guy Lindsay Scott... MMD... MMD = Movement for Multi-party Democracy (social-democratic, reformist". DPI identifies MMD's ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015), however, writes "Movement for Multiparty Democracy—MMD. Formed in mid-1990 as a loose alliance of anti-UNIP groups... the group issued a manifesto declaring its commitment to a free-market economy." Grotper et al. (1998) identify the Movement for Multiparty Democracy's (MMD) ideology as rightist, writing "the MMD unveiled its programme of national reconstruction and development through democracy, which called for a far greater economic role for the private sector, a minimal role for the public sector, the privatization of Zambia's parastatal corporations, the breakup of Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines... and an end to the country's historic urban bias in its urban-rural terms of trade... Once in power, the MMD implemented an economic reform program committed to free market principles". Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) suggests MMD's ideology as rightist, writing "Changes in the political structure of the country in the early 1990s were accompanied by efforts to increase private investment and involvement, particularly in the industrial sector, which continued into the 21st century... The new government of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) led by Frederick Chiluba, who came into power in November 1991, promised to liberate the economy and introduce a free-market system." Hendricks and Neculai (2006) write "The MMD's manifesto... called for acknowledgement that the state would not be a central participant in the economy and that it would encourage a wider spectrum of entrepreneurship. In relation to agricultural policy, the MMD advocated both political and economic liberalism and, as governing party, adopted a structural adjustment program." In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center" (-0.403) in 2011. Fraser (2017) writes "Since 2006 the PF has been categorised in a range of articles and books as 'populist' or 'ethnopolit' and contrasted to the MMD (seen variously as liberal, technocratic and as an incumbent 'catch-all' party), and the UPND (sometimes read as ethno-regional, sometimes as liberal)...

The difficulty for analyses grounded in policy differentiation is that all Zambian parties have been exceptionally programmatically flexible. For example, the UPND (sometimes figured as liberal) and the PF (sometimes figured as statist) have each taken, at different moments since 2001, positions on mining ranging from advocating punitive taxation or nationalisation to proposing tax and regulatory cuts. Even during the PF's populist moment in 2006, the party manifesto promised to 'Maintain an open, liberal macro-economic environment'... by 2008 the PF's rhetoric was increasingly centrist. After taking power in 2011, the policy PF ministers worked hardest to sell (delighting Western donors) was cutting agricultural, fuel and food subsidies."

Years: 2015-2019

Head of government: Edgar Changwa Lungu

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Lungu as a member of the Patriotic Front, listing Lungu as "Edgar LUNGU (Secretary General)" under Patriotic Front. Cahoon (2018) identifies the Patriotic Front as leftist, describing them as "social-democratic, split from MMD". Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Lungu as Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Patriotic Front (PF) as 3.7. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Lungu's ideology as leftist, writing "Edgar Chagwa Lungu... MMD... MMD = Movement for Multi-party Democracy (social-democratic, reformist". DPI identifies MMD's ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015), however, writes "Movement for Multiparty Democracy—MMD. Formed in mid-1990 as a loose alliance of anti-UNIP groups... the group issued a manifesto declaring its commitment to a free-market economy." Grotper et al. (1998) identify the Movement for Multiparty Democracy's (MMD) ideology as rightist, writing "the MMD unveiled its programme of national reconstruction and development through democracy, which called for a far greater economic role for the private sector, a minimal role for the public sector, the privatization of Zambia's parastatal corporations, the breakup of Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines... and an end to the country's historic urban bias in its urban-rural terms of trade... Once in power, the MMD implemented an economic reform program committed to free market principles". Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) suggests MMD's ideology as rightist, writing "Changes in the political structure of the country in the early 1990s were accompanied by efforts to increase private investment and involvement, particularly in the industrial sector, which continued into the 21st century... The new government of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) led by Frederick Chiluba, who came into power in November 1991, promised to liberate

the economy and introduce a free-market system.” Hendricks and Neculai (2006) write “The MMD’s manifesto... called for acknowledgement that the state would not be a central participant in the economy and that it would encourage a wider spectrum of entrepreneurship. In relation to agricultural policy, the MMD advocated both political and economic liberalism and, as governing party, adopted a structural adjustment program.” In V-Party (2020), 7 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center” (-0.403) in 2011 and as “Center” (-0.088) in 2016. Fraser (2017) writes “Since 2006 the PF has been categorised in a range of articles and books as ‘populist’ or ‘ethnopolitist’ and contrasted to the MMD (seen variously as liberal, technocratic and as an incumbent ‘catch-all’ party), and the UPND (sometimes read as ethno-regional, sometimes as liberal)... The difficulty for analyses grounded in policy differentiation is that all Zambian parties have been exceptionally programmatically flexible. For example, the UPND (sometimes figured as liberal) and the PF (sometimes figured as statist) have each taken, at different moments since 2001, positions on mining ranging from advocating punitive taxation or nationalisation to proposing tax and regulatory cuts. Even during the PF’s populist moment in 2006, the party manifesto promised to ‘Maintain an open, liberal macro-economic environment’... by 2008 the PF’s rhetoric was increasingly centrist. After taking power in 2011, the policy PF ministers worked hardest to sell (delighting Western donors) was cutting agricultural, fuel and food subsidies.”

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