

Country: Liberia

Years: 1945-1970

Head of government: William Vacanarat Shadrach Tubman

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Tubman's party as True Whig Party (TWP). Though DPI identifies TWP's ideology as left, Manzano (2017: 101), considers the True Whig Party as "anti-socialist" and thus "right" party. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party's ideology. Lowenkopf (1976) considered William R. Tolbert's approach to be "at once conservative and modernizing" while Schwab (2004) calls Tubman "Liberia's Conservative Designer." According to Ballah (2012) Tubman viewed university students as "communists" who were "anti-government," justification which he used to imprison them. Van Rensburg (1975) states that "Tubman attacked socialism as 'nationalism and confiscation'". World Statesmen (2019) considers Tubman a member of the TWP, described as the "government party 1978-1980". In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies TWP's ideology as "Left" (-2.013) in 1971. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies "some visible disagreement" in TWP in 1971.

Years: 1971-1979

Head of government: William Richard Tolbert Jr.

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Tolbert's party as True Whig Party (TWP). DPI identifies TWP's ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party's ideology. Manzano (2017: 101), however, considers the True Whig Party as an "anti-socialist" and thus "right" party. Van Rensburg (1975) states that in the changeover between Tubman and Tolbert "a Liberal wing of the True Whig Party... has taken over. Where Tubman attacked socialism as 'nationalism and confiscation', President Tolbert... has gone on record saying that 'African Socialism, which is the root of our traditional society... is the great vehicle of indigenous African progress. It is pragmatic and deeply rooted in our traditional way of life.' While Khafre (1978) describes Tolbert as a "nascent local capitalist," he also states "for progressives, the death of the Tubman era signaled a return to active political life after long stints in prison, exile or enforced dormancy." World Statesmen (2019) considers Tolbert a member of the TWP, described as the "government party 1978-1980". In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies TWP's ideology as "Left" (-2.013) in 1971 and 1975.

Years: 1980-1989

Head of government: Samuel Kanyon Doe

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Doe's party as none until 1984, and NDP afterwards. While Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as right, according to Okolo (1981), "Doe... had no ideological leanings". World Statesmen (2019) considers Doe a member of the NDP after 1984. Dash (1980) writes that Doe's "revolution is 'conservative like the country'" according to a political observer. Dash also quotes then Foreign Minister Gabriel Matthews, "leader of a fledgling socialist party, the Progressive People's Party", who states "Liberia's revolution 'is not a radical revolution'" and "'To radicalize the circumstances here would [also] alienate those who have been our traditional' foreign aid donors such as the United States". In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies NDP's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.852) in 1985. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies "negligible visible disagreement" in NDP in 1985.

Years: 1990-1993

Head of government: Amos Claudius Sawyer

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Sawyer's party as LPP. Lansford (2017) writes that the LPP is a reorganization of a banned leftist party called Moja, writing "The LPP was organized by former members of the Movement for Justice in Africa (Moja), whose leader, Togba-Nah Tipoteh, had been dismissed from the cabinet for alleged complicity in a counter coup attempt in August 1981. Moja was a left-nationalist, Pan-Africanist formation organized in 1973 and banned in 1981." Dukulé (2003) states that Sawyer "is a founding member of the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA)" and founded the LPP. Lyons (1998) confirms that Sawyer was the leader of the LPP. World Statesmen (2019) considers Sawyer a member of the LPP. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies LPP's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.903) in 2011.

Year: 1994

Head of government: David Donald Kpormakpor

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Kpormakpor as non-party. World Statesmen (2019) considers Kpormakpor to be "non-party". Beyan et al. (2000: 74) write, "The Cotonou Agreement created a new Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG), led by a collective presidency, known as the Council of State, with two representatives each from IGNU and ULIMO and

one from the NPFL, and a 35-member Transitional Legislature, with 13 members each from the NPFL and IGNU and nine from ULIMO. In late February, the Council of State elected David Kpormakpor, a former law professor, as chair, with Dexter Tahyor of ULIMO and Isaac Musa of the NPFL as vice chairs... The Transitional Government soon unraveled, however, due to fighting within ULIMO and inertia within the collective presidency.” Kulah (1999) writes, “In 1994, another peace conference on Liberia was held in Cotonou, Benin, also in West Africa. During this conference, it was decided that the parties to the conflict be represented in the interim government if there was to be a genuine peace in Liberia. It was argued that since the warring factions held the funds, they would be in a better position to usher in a new day for Liberia... In the cause of peace, Dr. Sawyer agreed to step down; and the LNTG, under the chairmanship of a lawyer, Professor David D. Kpormakpor, was inaugurated. On the Council of State were representatives of the NPFL, ULIMO, LPC, and the civilians of Liberia whose representative was nominated by the outgoing Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU). During its tenure, the LNTG I, as it came to be called later, made some efforts toward disarmament. A system was set in motion in which fighters of the various warring factions were to be disarmed, demobilized, and rehabilitated; the program was supported by ECOWAS, the United Nations, and friendly governments, with funds set aside as a ‘Peace Fund’ by Chairman Kpormakpor. Unfortunately, most of the money was expended; as yet, no proper accounting has been given to the Liberian people as to how that money was spent. The disarmament results of the LNTG I were far from encouraging. The lack of integrity and accountability have been the plagues of the last two transitional governments because those nominated to public office had no commitment to the peace process and were only interested in acquiring wealth.” Halistoprak (2015: 14) writes, “In March 1994, Amos Sawyer’s interim government was replaced by Council of State composed of six members. The council was some kind of technocrats’ government headed by David Kpormakpor.” Hartwig (2005: 101) writes, “Bolstered by the infusion of attention, fresh African troops, the UN observer force, and funds, the peace process seemed to quickly accelerate, and a power-sharing coalition government was sworn in on March 7, 1994 in Monrovia, headed by Sawyer ally David Kpormakpor.” Sawyer is coded as leftist. Hahn (2019: 152) writes, “The new LNTG, known as the Council of State, was installed on 7 March 1994 and headed by David D. Kpormakpor, a civilian considered to be relatively neutral by the disputing parties.”

Year: 1995

Head of government: Wilton Gbakolo Sengbe Sankawulo

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Sankawulo as non-party. World Statesmen (2019) considers Sankawulo to be “non-party”. Beyan et al. (2000: 289) write, “[Sankawulo] was named in 1995 to chair the Council of State of the Liberian National Transition Government. He was replaced in July 1996.” Kulah (1999) writes, “The Liberian National Transitional Government II (LNTG II) was formed, the number of members on COS increased to six... Professor Wilton Sankawulo, an English professor at the University of Liberia, was selected to chair the Council; Charles Taylor represented the NPFL, Alhaji Kromah went in for ULIMO, while George Boley was the LPC representative.” Kulah continues, “More and more Taylor became the spokesman for the government. Sankawulo was hardly heard and ended up being a figurehead chairman.” Taylor is coded as leftist. Halistoprak (2015: 15) writes, “After reducing the violence in the country, the Council of State headed by Kpormakpor was replaced by a new council headed by Wilton Sankawulo. Most important feature of the new council was the fact that it included three of the factions leaders in the council. Charles Taylor was one of them.” Hartwig (2005: 101-102) writes, “A real cease-fire ensued, followed by an interim Council of State (comprised of the main warlords and chaired by traditional leader Wilton Sankawulo) being installed on September 1st, 1995.” Sesay (1996: 400-401) writes, “The ‘Collective Presidency’ or Council of State, to be formed within two weeks, was expanded to six members, and was to be chaired by Wilton Sankawulo, a 58-year old writer and lecturer in English Literature at the University of Liberia. Although that institution had remained fairly neutral in the conflict, pundits were quick to point to the demerits of selecting someone with little political experience for such a crucial role... Unfortunately, it soon became all too clear that his lack of a political base meant that he was powerless, and ‘unable to call members to order when they squabble over the spoils of office and do their best to make the peace process unworkable.’... The greatest beneficiary of this chaos was Taylor, who reportedly did everything in his power to convince supporters that he was, in fact, the real or *de facto* Chairman.” Eblen and Kelley (2002: 167) write, “The Abuja Accord vested power in the warlords with Wilton Sankawulo as chair. Originally considered a strong but neutral presence to spearhead peace initiatives, Sankawulo was forced to step down because of his alleged role in Charles Taylor’s April 1996 attack on another warlord (Nubo 1997, 2).” Harris (1999: 449) writes, “The manipulation of the LNTG chair, Sankawulo, by the heads of warring factions, particularly Taylor, set an ominous precedent, as did the inability of Amos Sawyer to accomplish anything constructive when heading the IGNU.”

Year: 1996

Head of government: Ruth Sando Perry

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Perry as non-party. World Statesmen (2019) considers Perry to be “UP/non-party”, with UP described as “Unity Party... centrist”. Perspective Monde identifies party affiliation as none.

Years: 1997-2002

Head of government: Charles Ghankay Taylor

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Taylor’s party as NPP. Fyle (2006) writes “Taylor became involved in student politics, strongly advocating Pan-African and Marxist principles.” World Statesmen (2019) considers Taylor a member of the NPP. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 112) identify NPP as “left of center.” In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies NPP’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.007) in 1997. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies “a high level of visible disagreement” in NPP in 1997.

Years: 2003-2005

Head of government: Charles Gyude Bryant

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Bryant’s party as LAP. Magbaily (2006) writes “the [LAP]... platform stressed such values as... free enterprise... and efforts to counter the flight of capital... from Liberia”. Tarr (1990) writes “The primary objective of the consultations [surrounding the formation of the LAP] was to form a "conservative" political party to thwart "socialists" in the government and at the University of Liberia. The participants appeared, as did most Liberians, to accept as fact that the "socialists" had not only a constituency, but a functioning organization, with great organizational potentials. Both the [Samuel Kanyon] Doe and JD [Jackson Doe] groups acknowledged they lacked these.” Tarr continues “The party [LAP] promised an orthodox economic recovery program, based on recognition and stimulation of individual initiatives. It appeared set to reduce the size of the public sector, both by divesting government of public enterprises, by reducing public sector employment, and by reducing and limiting public sector usage of domestic credit capacity... It regarded foreign private investment as the sine qua non of Liberian economic growth... Finally, LAP perceived that a reasonable working relationship with multinational financial institutions was possible, and seemed committed to foster it.” World Statesmen (2019) considers Bryant a member of the LAP, which was “merged into UP” in 2009. UP is described as “Unity Party... centrist”. Perspective Monde identifies the UP as “center.” Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as right. In V-Party (2020),

1 expert identifies LAP's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.915) in 1985 and "Center-left" (-0.914) in 2005. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies "some visible disagreement" in LAP in 1985 and 2005.

Years: 2006-2017

Head of government: Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Johnson-Sirleaf's party as UP. Perspective Monde identifies the UP as "center." World Statesmen (2019) considers Johnson-Sirleaf to be "UP/non-party", with UP described as "Unity Party... centrist". In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies UP's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.931) in 2005, 2011, and 2017. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies "a high level of visible disagreement" in UP in 2005 and 2011 and "some visible disagreement" in UP in 2017.

Years: 2018-2020

Head of government: George Weah

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2018-2019) identifies Weah's party affiliation as the Congress for Democratic Change (CDC), writing, "Formed in 2005 under the leadership of former soccer star George WEAH, the CDC is a populist party with broad appeal among Liberia's poor." However, at the time, the CDC was part of the Coalition for Democratic Change (CDC): "Established in January 2017, the CDC brought together the Congress for Democratic Change (CDC), the National Democratic Party (NPP), and the Small Liberia People's Democratic Party (LPDP) in a broad electoral alliance to challenge the UP in that year's national elections. The coalition put forth George WEAH (CDC) as its presidential candidate." Perspective Monde (2021) corroborates party affiliation as CDC. World Statesmen (2021) corroborates party affiliation as CDC and identifies the party as centrist. Bensimon and Kadiri (2017) describe George Weah and the CDC after his electoral victory, writing, "George Weah a promis, pendant sa campagne, de lutter contre la corruption, de rendre l'école gratuite alors que le Liberia a fait le pari de la privatization de l'enseignement depuis 2016, et de developper les infrastructures et le système de santé. Mais son programme reste flou... Son parti, la Coalition pour le changement démocratique, ne peut pas vraiment être situé sur un échiquier gauche-droite." [George Weah pledged, during his campaign, to fight corruption, to make school free while Liberia has bet on the privatization of education since 2016, and to develop infrastructure and the health system. But its program remains unclear... His party, the Coalition for Democratic Change, cannot really be on a left-right

chessboard]”. Butty (2011) writes that, after resigning in 2011, the National Secretary General of the Congress for Democratic Change, Eugene Nagbe, stated, “Like I said in my letter, there has been an epic battle within the party among the various ideologies, but I realized that those who believe that the CDC should be a group that is intolerant of the diversity of views have gained the upper hand and effectively taken over the party... some of those who have extreme views have managed to thwart the effort of the CDC to engage, in a positive way, with other political parties.” Ortiz de Zárate (2018) writes, referring to Weah, “Fundó un partido entre populista, liberal y conservador, el Congreso por el Cambio Democrático (CDC)... Irrumpió en la escena entonces el Congreso por el Cambio Democrático (CDC), un partido que los observadores se inclinaron por enmarcar en un conservadurismo adscrito al libre mercado más allá del discurso intensamente populista de su artífice, quien como era de esperar se concentró en ilusionar a los electores con promesas de mejora y prosperidad, en una nación arrasada por la guerra y su legado de muertes, destrucciones y subdesarrollo agudo.” [He founded a party between populist, liberal, and conservative, the Congress for Democratic Change (CDC)... The Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) burst onto the scene then, a party that observers were inclined to frame in a conservatism attached to the free market beyond the intensely populist discourse of its creator, who unsurprisingly concentrated on exciting voters with promises of improvement and prosperity, in a nation ravaged by war and its legacy of death, destruction and acute underdevelopment].” In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies CDC’s ideology as “Center” (0.115) in 2017.

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