

Country: Tanzania

Years: 1961-1984

Head of government: Julius Kambarage Nyerere

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Nyerere's party as TANU. DPI identifies TANU's ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing "TANU was instrumental in winning Tanganyika's independence... Its program, as set forth in the 1967 Arusha Declaration and other pronouncements, called for the development of a democratic, socialist, one-party state." Manzano (2017) corroborates that Nyerere is Left. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Nyerere as Left. Ortiz de Zárate (2006) identifies TANU's ideology as leftist, writing "the ruling socialist party since the independence of the United Kingdom in 1961, the Tanzania African National Union (TANU), than in 1977, under the leadership of President Julius Nyerere, was renamed the State Revolutionary Party, better known by its Swahili denomination, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)". In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-left" (-3.44) in 1970 and 1975, and as "Left" (-2.508) in 1980.

Years: 1985-1994

Head of government: Ali Hassan Mwinyi

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Mwinyi's affiliation as CCM. DPI identifies CCM's ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing "Revolutionary Party of Tanzania (Chama Cha Mapinduzi—CCM). The CCM was formally launched on February 5, 1977, two weeks after a merger was authorized by a joint conference of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) of Zanzibar... Founded in 1954, TANU was instrumental in winning Tanganyika's independence... Its program, as set forth in the 1967 Arusha Declaration and other pronouncements, called for the development of a democratic, socialist, one-party state. The ASP, organized in 1956–1957 by Sheikh Abeid Amani Karume... became the dominant party in Zanzibar and the leading force in the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council. Communist and Cuban models influenced its explicitly socialist program... The CCM joined the Socialist International in February 2013" and "Mwinyi's elevation to the presidency and his encouragement of private enterprise appeared to stem secessionist sentiment on Zanzibar... Mwinyi consolidated his authority during 1990; in March he ousted hard-line socialist

cabinet members who opposed his economic policies, and, following Nyerere's retirement on August 17, he was elected CCM chair." Manzano (2017) corroborates that Mwinyi is Left. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Mwinyi as Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) as 6.3. Rulers.org (2020b) writes "Unlike Nyerere, though, Mwinyi was not a committed ideologist. He moved his nation toward a free-market system in an effort to revitalize the economy." Ortiz de Zárate (2006) identifies CCM's ideology as leftist, writing "the ruling socialist party since the independence of the United Kingdom in 1961, the Tanzania African National Union (TANU), than in 1977, under the leadership of President Julius Nyerere, was renamed the State Revolutionary Party, better known by its Swahili denomination, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)". Phillips (2010) writes "By 1985 however, Tanzanian socialism was declared economically and politically unviable", "Throughout these reforms and developments [the introduction of multipartyism], Tanzania's political structure and economic policies have undergone enormous transformation. CCM, despite its protests to the contrary, is now barely recognizable from its early incarnations as a socialist party... CCM has symbolically navigated this transition to re-frame itself, in a multiparty system, as the sole legitimate heir and executor of Nyerere's political estate. I argue that those who are served by CCM's continued power invoke the specter of the political pater to produce and perpetuate four myths... (4) that a political paternalism under neoliberalism is equal to or better than political paternalism under socialism... elites deploy paternalistic narratives to... confirm rural Tanzanians' sense of themselves as citizens of a socialist gerontocracy... legitimating the disparities and stratification that mark the postcolonial, postsocialist, and neoliberal present in Tanzania", and "At a 2005 regional conference on political parties and democratization in East Africa, CCM asserted that "CCM has socialism and self-reliance on the basis of Tanzanian traditions as its fundamental philosophy and vision for the Tanzanian Society, with major aspects geared to equality of all human beings"". Havnevik (2010) writes "the process of economic liberalization, which was ultimately carried out from above by the power of the international finance institutions... had started well before Tanzania was compelled to sign an agreement with the IMF in 1986... The election of the (in IMF's sense) more reform-friendly president Ali Hassan Mwinyi in 1985 helped reach the agreement." In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Left" (-2.508) in 1985 and as "Center-left" (-1.479) in 1990.

Years: 1995-2004

Head of government: Benjamin William Mkaapa

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Mkapa's affiliation as CCM. DPI identifies CCM's ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing "Revolutionary Party of Tanzania (Chama Cha Mapinduzi—CCM). The CCM was formally launched on February 5, 1977, two weeks after a merger was authorized by a joint conference of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) of Zanzibar... Founded in 1954, TANU was instrumental in winning Tanganyika's independence... Its program, as set forth in the 1967 Arusha Declaration and other pronouncements, called for the development of a democratic, socialist, one-party state. The ASP, organized in 1956–1957 by Sheikh Abeid Amani Karume... became the dominant party in Zanzibar and the leading force in the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council. Communist and Cuban models influenced its explicitly socialist program... The CCM joined the Socialist International in February 2013" and "Mwinyi's elevation to the presidency and his encouragement of private enterprise appeared to stem secessionist sentiment on Zanzibar... Mwinyi consolidated his authority during 1990; in March he ousted hard-line socialist cabinet members who opposed his economic policies, and, following Nyerere's retirement on August 17, he was elected CCM chair." Manzano (2017) corroborates that Mkapa is Left. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Mkapa as Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) as 6.3. Rulers.org (2020a) writes "Mkapa... In 1995 he won the CCM's presidential nomination with the support of Nyerere and went on to win Tanzania's first multiparty presidential elections. He scuttled inefficient state controls and maintained fiscal discipline, thereby restoring donor confidence and successfully soliciting foreign aid." Ortiz de Zárate (2001) writes "Mkapa, re-elected to the head of the CCM in December 1997, has adopted anti-corruption measures, has promoted privatizations and has opted for an economic policy of austerity to clean up the battered finances of the State and in order to facilitate the concession of loans by the IMF." Ortiz de Zárate (2006) identifies CCM's ideology as leftist, writing "the ruling socialist party since the independence of the United Kingdom in 1961, the Tanzania African National Union (TANU), than in 1977, under the leadership of President Julius Nyerere, was renamed the State Revolutionary Party, better known by its Swahili denomination, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)" but also writes "in his decade of government, Mkapa had earned the consideration of a good student of the IMF and the World Bank for persevering in the pro-market structural reforms and the stability policies inaugurated by Mwinyi, giving the green light to new privatizations, abiding by budgetary austerity, controlling inflation and submitting to debt obligations, although seeking at all times, and achieving, the rescheduling

of payments and the cancellation of sections of the amount.” Phillips (2010) writes “By 1985 however, Tanzanian socialism was declared economically and politically unviable”, “Throughout these reforms and developments [the introduction of multipartyism], Tanzania’s political structure and economic policies have undergone enormous transformation. CCM, despite its protests to the contrary, is now barely recognizable from its early incarnations as a socialist party... CCM has symbolically navigated this transition to re-frame itself, in a multiparty system, as the sole legitimate heir and executor of Nyerere’s political estate. I argue that those who are served by CCM’s continued power invoke the specter of the political pater to produce and perpetuate four myths... (4) that a political paternalism under neoliberalism is equal to or better than political paternalism under socialism... elites deploy paternalistic narratives to... confirm rural Tanzanians’ sense of themselves as citizens of a socialist gerontocracy... legitimating the disparities and stratification that mark the postcolonial, postsocialist, and neoliberal present in Tanzania”, and “At a 2005 regional conference on political parties and democratization in East Africa, CCM asserted that “CCM has socialism and self-reliance on the basis of Tanzanian traditions as its fundamental philosophy and vision for the Tanzanian Society, with major aspects geared to equality of all human beings””. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.604) in 1995 and as “Center-left” (-0.977) in 2000.

Years: 2005-2014

Head of government: Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Kikwete’s affiliation as CCM. DPI identifies CCM’s ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing “Revolutionary Party of Tanzania (Chama Cha Mapinduzi—CCM). The CCM was formally launched on February 5, 1977, two weeks after a merger was authorized by a joint conference of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) of Zanzibar... Founded in 1954, TANU was instrumental in winning Tanganyika’s independence... Its program, as set forth in the 1967 Arusha Declaration and other pronouncements, called for the development of a democratic, socialist, one-party state. The ASP, organized in 1956–1957 by Sheikh Abeid Amani Karume... became the dominant party in Zanzibar and the leading force in the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council. Communist and Cuban models influenced its explicitly socialist program... The CCM joined the Socialist International in February 2013” and “Mwinyi’s elevation to the presidency and his encouragement of private enterprise appeared to stem secessionist sentiment on Zanzibar... Mwinyi consolidated his authority during 1990; in March he ousted hard-line socialist

cabinet members who opposed his economic policies, and, following Nyerere's retirement on August 17, he was elected CCM chair." Manzano (2017) corroborates that Kikwete is Left. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Kikwete as Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) as 6.3. Ortiz de Zárate (2006) identifies CCM's ideology as leftist, writing "the ruling socialist party since the independence of the United Kingdom in 1961, the Tanzania African National Union (TANU), than in 1977, under the leadership of President Julius Nyerere, was renamed the State Revolutionary Party, better known by its Swahili denomination, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)". Phillips (2010) writes "By 1985 however, Tanzanian socialism was declared economically and politically unviable", "Throughout these reforms and developments [the introduction of multipartyism], Tanzania's political structure and economic policies have undergone enormous transformation. CCM, despite its protests to the contrary, is now barely recognizable from its early incarnations as a socialist party... CCM has symbolically navigated this transition to re-frame itself, in a multiparty system, as the sole legitimate heir and executor of Nyerere's political estate. I argue that those who are served by CCM's continued power invoke the specter of the political pater to produce and perpetuate four myths... (4) that a political paternalism under neoliberalism is equal to or better than political paternalism under socialism... elites deploy paternalistic narratives to... confirm rural Tanzanians' sense of themselves as citizens of a socialist gerontocracy... legitimating the disparities and stratification that mark the postcolonial, postsocialist, and neoliberal present in Tanzania", and "At a 2005 regional conference on political parties and democratization in East Africa, CCM asserted that "CCM has socialism and self-reliance on the basis of Tanzanian traditions as its fundamental philosophy and vision for the Tanzanian Society, with major aspects geared to equality of all human beings"". Jacob and Pedersen (2018) write "these changes reflect a shift in the broader thinking on the economy within the CCM, which began under Kikwete, but has become more apparent under Magufuli. This marks a reduced dependence on FDI-driven growth towards one in which the state make effort to regain the position it lost prior to liberalisation in which it drives the economy itself... Whereas past administrations since the introduction of liberalisation in the late 1980s aimed at attracting foreign investments as the main way to drive economic development and reduce poverty, a shift in thinking has taken place in the ruling party. Increasingly the state and state-owned enterprises are again being seen as the main drivers in the economy. Here too, the main shift happened under Kikwete." In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.977) in 2005 and 2010.

Years: 2015-2019

Head of government: John Pombe Joseph Magufuli

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Magufuli's affiliation as CCM, writing "The CCM's elections to determine party leadership at a variety of local, regional, and national levels were scattered throughout 2012 in advance of the party's presidential nomination for the 2015 elections. The main contenders were Lowassa and Sitta, along with Bernard Membe, Works Minister John MAGUFULI, and Asha-Rose MIGIRO." DPI identifies CCM's ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing "Revolutionary Party of Tanzania (Chama Cha Mapinduzi—CCM). The CCM was formally launched on February 5, 1977, two weeks after a merger was authorized by a joint conference of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) of Zanzibar... Founded in 1954, TANU was instrumental in winning Tanganyika's independence... Its program, as set forth in the 1967 Arusha Declaration and other pronouncements, called for the development of a democratic, socialist, one-party state. The ASP, organized in 1956–1957 by Sheikh Abeid Amani Karume... became the dominant party in Zanzibar and the leading force in the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council. Communist and Cuban models influenced its explicitly socialist program... The CCM joined the Socialist International in February 2013" and "Mwinyi's elevation to the presidency and his encouragement of private enterprise appeared to stem secessionist sentiment on Zanzibar... Mwinyi consolidated his authority during 1990; in March he ousted hard-line socialist cabinet members who opposed his economic policies, and, following Nyerere's retirement on August 17, he was elected CCM chair." Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Magufuli as Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) as 6.3. Ortiz de Zárate (2006) identifies CCM's ideology as leftist, writing "the ruling socialist party since the independence of the United Kingdom in 1961, the Tanzania African National Union (TANU), than in 1977, under the leadership of President Julius Nyerere, was renamed the State Revolutionary Party, better known by its Swahili denomination, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)". Phillips (2010) writes "By 1985 however, Tanzanian socialism was declared economically and politically unviable", "Throughout these reforms and developments [the introduction of multipartyism], Tanzania's political structure and economic policies have undergone enormous transformation. CCM, despite its protests to the contrary, is now barely recognizable from its early incarnations as a socialist party... CCM has symbolically navigated this transition to re-frame itself, in a multiparty system, as the sole legitimate heir and executor of

Nyerere's political estate. I argue that those who are served by CCM's continued power invoke the specter of the political pater to produce and perpetuate four myths... (4) that a political paternalism under neoliberalism is equal to or better than political paternalism under socialism... elites deploy paternalistic narratives to... confirm rural Tanzanians' sense of themselves as citizens of a socialist gerontocracy... legitimating the disparities and stratification that mark the postcolonial, postsocialist, and neoliberal present in Tanzania", and "At a 2005 regional conference on political parties and democratization in East Africa, CCM asserted that "CCM has socialism and self-reliance on the basis of Tanzanian traditions as its fundamental philosophy and vision for the Tanzanian Society, with major aspects geared to equality of all human beings"". Poncian (2019) writes "Tanzania... the socialist era (1967–1980s)" and "Most important was President Magufuli's government ability to take advantage of the Tanzania's socialist history to push for its resource nationalism. Although Tanzania abandoned its socialist ideology during the 1980s, its legacy still influences popular perceptions about governance and socio-economic policy" and "While the reforms undertaken from 2009 to 2015 contained indications that Tanzania might have been returning to its abandoned resource nationalism of the socialist era, the main emphasis continued to be on attracting and retaining FDI." Jacob and Pedersen (2018) write "these changes reflect a shift in the broader thinking on the economy within the CCM, which began under Kikwete, but has become more apparent under Magufuli. This marks a reduced dependence on FDI-driven growth towards one in which the state make effort to regain the position it lost prior to liberalisation in which it drives the economy itself... Whereas past administrations since the introduction of liberalisation in the late 1980s aimed at attracting foreign investments as the main way to drive economic development and reduce poverty, a shift in thinking has taken place in the ruling party. Increasingly the state and state-owned enterprises are again being seen as the main drivers in the economy. Here too, the main shift happened under Kikwete." In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.601) in 2015.

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