

Country: Democratic Republic of the Congo

Years: 1960

Head of government: Justin Marie Bomboko

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) codes Bomboko's party as UNIMO (Union des Mongo) and describes the party as "Mongo ethnic." Kisangani (2016: 603) describes UNIMO as, "A group that was organized in the 1950s to represent the interests of the Mongo people, in particular prior to the election for local councils in 1957. UNIMO sent a delegation, headed by its founder Justin Bomboko, to the Round Table Conferences in 1960 and was represented in the early Congolese governments." Monaville (2019: S20) writes, "The gravity of the crisis of decolonization only reinforced the symbolic capital of education and encouraged students to embrace the conservative dispositions imagined by Lovanium's creators. After the political neutralization of Lumumba in September 1960, General Mobutu appealed to a group of university students and recent graduates to replace 'the failed politicians who had precipitated the country into the abyss'... Presided over by Justin-Marie Bomboko, who five years earlier had been the first Congolese to be admitted to the Free University of Brussels, the Mobutu-sponsored students' interim government, known as the General Commissioners' Council, remained in power until the end of January 1961." Mobutu is coded as rightist. Kisangani (2016: 57) corroborates, writing, "[Bomboko] headed the College of Commissioners, a group of young intellectuals who governed in 1960-61 during the period of 'neutralization' of parliament following the first standoff between President Joseph Kasavubu and Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba." The New York Times (1961) reports, "When Patrice Lumumba, the slain former Premier, formed his short-lived government, Mr. Bomboko was named Foreign Minister. But a few months later Mr. Bomboko broke sharply with Mr. Lumumba, whom he accused of having secretly brought Communist intervention into the Congo. During the early months of the new republic, Mr. Bomboko won the admiration of Western diplomats and visitors from other African countries."

Years: 1961-1963

Head of government: Cyrille Adoula

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Adoula's party as independent, writing "Cyrille Adoula... Indépendant [independent]". Lentz (1994: 860) writes,

“[Adoula] was active in the trade union movement and was an early leader of the Mouvement National Congolais political party.” Rulers (2020) corroborates Adoula’s party affiliation as MNC, identifying him as, “A founder (1958) of the Mouvement National Congolais.” Kisangani (2016: 51) corroborates party affiliation as MNC, writing, “[Adoula] was a co-founder of the Mouvement National Congolais (MNC) and a member of its first executive committee.” Kisangani (2016: 447) describes MNC: “One of the few parties at independence that eschewed regionalism and attempted to develop a national base of support, the MNC tried to develop a cogent ideology and took its inspiration from African nationalists such as Ghana’s Kwame Nkrumah and Guinea’s Ahmed Sékou Touré. It sought to establish a nationalistic program of economic, political, and cultural development and supported the concept of Pan-Africanism. By 1959, however, the MNC had begun to splinter... The MNC, which expressed nationalistic and anti-colonial sentiments that were applauded by Soviet-bloc governments and viewed with anxiety by Western governments, was radicalized following the assassination of Lumumba in early 1961.” Both Kwame Nkrumah and Ahmed Sékou Touré are coded as leftist. The Minorities at Risk Project (2004) identifies Adoula’s party affiliation as MNC-K specifically, writing, “The other faction [of the MNC] was headed by Joseph Ileo, Cyrille Adoula, and Albert Kalonji, a Luba-Kasai. This moderate wing, known as MNC-Kalonji, drew support from the Luba-Kasai.”

Years: 1964

Head of government: Moïse Kapenda Tshombe

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Mullenbach (2018) identifies Tshombe as a member of the CNC, writing “Legislative elections were held between March 18 and April 30, 1965, and the Congolese National Convention (CNC) led by Prime Minister Moïse Tshombe won 80 out of 167 seats in the Chamber of Deputies.” Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Tshombe’s party affiliation as Confédération des Associations Tribales du Katanga/Confederation of Tribal Associations of Katanga (CONAKAT). World Statesmen (2019) corroborates Tshombe’s party as CONAKAT. Lentz (1994: 861) writes, “Tshombe served on the Government Council from 1954 and became president of the Confederation of Mutual Associations of the Lunda Empire two years later. He founded the Conakat party in July of 1959 and served as its president.” Kisangani (2016: 151) describes CONAKAT as, “A political association dominated by Lunda *évolués*, CONAKAT was formed in Katanga on 11 October 1958 by Moïse Tshombe and supported by Belgian mining and financial interests.” Laumann (2005: 63) writes, “In a January 1965 conversation with *The Spark*, a Ghanaian newspaper, Che [Guevara] argued

that the new arena in the struggle against western imperialism would be Africa... Three months after the publication of that interview, Che and a contingent of Cuban 'international fighters' crossed Lake Tanganyika in eastern Africa to join Congolese battling the regime of Moïse Kapenda Tshombe." Gonze (1962: 4-6) writes, "At the center of the stage stood Moïse Kapenda Tshombe, Mr. Nixon's 'educated, Christian, anti-communist' African... In Katanga, the ambitions of Munungo-Tshombe happened to coincide with some far more powerful forces:... certain British and American conservatives who saw in Tshombe Africa's first and only black champion of colonial interests... Thus the great game of simplification was born: Lumumba equals Communism; Tshombe equals free enterprise." Welensky (1964: 149, 152) describes Tshombe as "one of the most able and pro-Western statesmen in the continent of Africa" and his country as "peaceful, oriented toward the West and toward democratic ideas and ideals." O'Brien (2015) writes, "Tshombe had nothing to fear, he believed, from the moderates and little from the UN; he might have much to fear, politically and even physically, from his own right wing (which included, of course, many Belgian civilian advisers as well as Munongo and the French)."

Years: 1965

Head of government: Leonard Mulumba

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Mulumba's party as none, writing "Leonard Mulumba... militaire [military]". Kisangani (2016: 516) writes, "Following the coup d'état that brought Joseph-Désiré Mobutu to power in 1965, the post of prime minister was kept for a short period with Colonel Léonard Mulumba." Kisangani (2016: 459) also identifies Mulumba as one of "The 14 who signed the proclamation of the coup and became known as the Companions of the Revolution," referring to the 1965 coup that brought Joseph Mobutu to power. Mountz (2014) considers Mobutu to have been "a right-wing dictator" whose rise to power was facilitated by the United States government as part of the anti-communist containment doctrine. Schmitz (2012) describes Nixon administration officials calling Mobutu "strongly pro-Western and firmly anti-Communist" as well as "conservative in his approach to government." Schmitz goes on to state that Mobutu recognized "in his bones that foreign private investment is essential to Congolese development." Manzano (2017) codes Mobutu as "right." World Statesmen (2019) codes Sese Seko's party as MPR and describes the party as "MPR = Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution Popular Movement of the Revolution, Zairian nationalist, Mobutism, Mobutu Sese Seko personalist, anti-Communist, cultural conservative, 20 May 1967-16 May 1997". Rulers (2020)

writes, “[Mobutu] took full advantage of the backing he received from the West, which viewed him during the Cold War as a guardian against Communism.”

Years: 1966-1976

Head of government: Mobutu Sese Seko

Ideology: Right

Description: Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Mobutu Sese Soko instead of Leonard Mulumba on December 31, 1966. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government as Mobutu Sese Seko, and identifies affiliation as none until 1966, then MRP/MPR from 1967 onwards. Mountz (2014) considers Mobutu to have been “a right-wing dictator” whose rise to power was facilitated by the United States government as part of the anti-communist containment doctrine. Schmitz (2012) describes Nixon administration officials calling Mobutu “strongly pro-Western and firmly anti-Communist” as well as “conservative in his approach to government.” Schmitz goes on to state that Mobutu recognized “in his bones that foreign private investment is essential to Congolese development.” Manzano (2017) codes Mobutu as “right.” World Statesmen (2019) codes Sese Seko’s party as MPR and describes the party as “MPR = Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution Popular Movement of the Revolution, Zairian nationalist, Mobutism, Mobutu Sese Seko personalist, anti-Communist, cultural conservative, 20 May 1967-16 May 1997”. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MPR’s ideology as “Left” (-1.92) in 1970 and 1975. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in MPR in 1970 and 1975.

Years: 1977-1978

Head of government: Mpinga Kasenga

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Mpinga as a member of the MPR, writing “In March 1979 the National Executive Council (cabinet) was reorganized, with André BO-BOLIKO Lok'onga named to replace Mpinga, who became permanent secretary of the MPR.” Mobutu is described by Kisangani (2016) as the head of the MPR at this time (the MPR is the Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution). World Statesmen (2019) codes Kasenga’s party as MPR and describes the party as “MPR = Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution Popular Movement of the Revolution, Zairian nationalist, Mobutism, Mobutu Sese Seko personalist, anti-Communist, cultural conservative, 20 May 1967-16 May 1997”. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MPR’s ideology as “Left” (-1.92) in 1977. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in MPR in 1977.

Years: 1979

Head of government: Bo-Boliko Lokonga Monse Miambo

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) codes Miambo's party as MPR and describes the party as "MPR = Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution Populaire Movement of the Revolution, Zairian nationalist, Mobutism, Mobutu Sese Seko personalist, anti-Communist, cultural conservative, 20 May 1967-16 May 1997". In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MPR's ideology as "Left" (-1.92) in 1977. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify "virtually no visible disagreement" in MPR in 1977.

Years: 1980

Head of government: Jean Nguza Karl-I-Bond

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) codes Karl-I-Bond's party as MPR and describes the party as "MPR = Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution Populaire Movement of the Revolution, Zairian nationalist, Mobutism, Mobutu Sese Seko personalist, anti-Communist, cultural conservative, 20 May 1967-16 May 1997". In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MPR's ideology as "Left" (-1.92) in 1977. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify "virtually no visible disagreement" in MPR in 1977.

Years: 1981

Head of government: N'singa Udjuu Ongwabeki Untubu

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) codes Untubu's party as MPR and describes the party as "MPR = Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution Populaire Movement of the Revolution, Zairian nationalist, Mobutism, Mobutu Sese Seko personalist, anti-Communist, cultural conservative, 20 May 1967-16 May 1997". In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MPR's ideology as "Left" (-1.92) in 1977. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify "virtually no visible disagreement" in MPR in 1977.

Years: 1982-1986

Head of government: Kengo Wa Dondo

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Jilberto and Mommen (1996) identify Dondo's ideology as right, writing "Prime Minister Joseph Kengo wa Dondo promised to reduce the spending deficit, reform the state enterprises and liberalize the economy... he was still in close touch with the unitarist commercial bourgeoisie and acquainted with the Bretton Woods technocrats. Kengo wa Dondo immediately invited businessmen and bankers to Kinshasa." World Statesmen (2019) codes Dondo's party as MPR and describes the party as "MPR = Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution Popular Movement of the Revolution, Zairian nationalist, Mobutism, Mobutu Sese Seko personalist, anti-Communist, cultural conservative, 20 May 1967-16 May 1997". In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MPR's ideology as "Left" (-1.92) in 1982. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify "virtually no visible disagreement" in MPR in 1982.

Years: 1987

Head of government: Mabi Mulumba

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) codes Mulumba's party as MPR and describes the party as "MPR = Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution (Popular Movement of the Revolution, Zairian nationalist, Mobutism, Mobutu Sese Seko personalist, anti-Communist, cultural conservative, 20 May 1967-16 May 1997". In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MPR's ideology as "Left" (-1.92) in 1987. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify "virtually no visible disagreement" in MPR in 1987.

Years: 1988-1989

Head of government: Kengo Wa Dondo

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) codes Dondo's party as MPR and describes the party as "MPR = Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution Popular Movement of the Revolution, Zairian nationalist, Mobutism, Mobutu Sese Seko personalist, anti-Communist, cultural conservative, 20 May 1967-16 May 1997". In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MPR's ideology as "Left" (-1.92) in 1987. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify "virtually no visible disagreement" in MPR in 1987.

Years: 1990

Head of government: Lunda Bululu

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) codes Bululu's party as MPR and describes the party as "MPR = Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution Popular Movement of the Revolution, Zairian nationalist, Mobutism, Mobutu Sese Seko personalist, anti-Communist, cultural conservative, 20 May 1967-16 May 1997". In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MPR's ideology as "Left" (-1.92) in 1987. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify "virtually no visible disagreement" in MPR in 1987.

Years: 1991

Head of government: Jean Nguza Karl-I-Bond

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) codes Karl-I-Bond's party as UFERI in his second tenure as "First state commissioner... prime minister" and as a member of the MPR during his first tenure. World Statesmen describes the MPR as "MPR = Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution Popular Movement of the Revolution, Zairian nationalist, Mobutism, Mobutu Sese Seko personalist, anti-Communist, cultural conservative, 20 May 1967-16 May 1997". World Statesmen describes UFERI as "UFERI = Union des Fédéralistes et des Républicains Indépendants (Union of Independent Federalists and Republicans, liberal, populist, est.Aug 1990)". Perspective Monde (2020) corroborates Karl-I-Bond's party affiliation in 1991 as UFERI.

Years: 1992

Head of government: Etienne Tshisekediwa Mulumba

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde identifies Mulumba's party as the "Union pour la démocratie et le progrès social," coded as "centre left." World Statesmen (2019) codes Etienne Tshisekediwa Mulumba's party as UDPS and describes the party as "UDPS = Union pour la Démocratie et le Progrès Social (Democratic Union for the Social Progress, social-democratic, est.15 Feb 1982)." UDPS is a member of the Socialist International. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify UDPS's ideology as "Center-right" (1.298) in 2011.

Years: 1993

Head of government: Faustin Birindwa

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde identifies Birindwa's party as the "Union pour la

démocratie et le progrès social,” coded as “centre left.” World Statesmen (2019) codes Birindwa’s party as UDPS and describes the party as “UDPS = Union pour la Démocratie et le Progrès Social (Democratic Union for the Social Progress, social-democratic, est.15 Feb 1982).” UDPS is a member of the Socialist International. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify UDPS’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.298) in 2011.

Years: 1994-1996

Head of government: Kengo Wa Dondo

Ideology: Right

Description: Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Laurent Désiré Kabila instead of Kengo Wa Dondo on December 31, 1997. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Kengo Wa Dondo’s party as URD, writing “the split within the USOR was formalized when the Tshisekedi faction ousted a number of parties aligned with former prime minister Kengo wa Dondo's Union for the Republic and Democracy.” Kisangani (2016: 607) describes URD as, “An alliance of centrist parties formed by León Kengo wa Dondo after he was appointed prime minister in 1994.” However, Kisangani (345) also states, “With the advent of multipartyism in 1990, Kengo launched the Union des Démocrates Indépendants (UDI).” Jilberto and Mommen (1996) identify Dondo’s ideology as right, writing “Prime Minister Joseph Kengo wa Dondo promised to reduce the spending deficit, reform the state enterprises and liberalize the economy... he was still in close touch with the unitarist commercial bourgeoisie and acquainted with the Bretton Woods technocrats. Kengo wa Dondo immediately invited businessmen and bankers to Kinshasa.” World Statesmen (2019) codes Dondo’s party affiliation between 1994 and 1997 as UDI. Previously, Dondo was coded as a member of the MPR, described as “MPR = Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution Populaire Movement of the Revolution, Zairian nationalist, Mobutism, Mobutu Sese Seko personalist, anti-Communist, cultural conservative, 20 May 1967-16 May 1997”. Perspective Monde (2020) also identifies Kengo wa Dondo’s party affiliation as UDI.

Years: 1997-2000

Head of government: Laurent Desire Kabila

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Laurent Désiré Kabila instead of Kengo Wa Dondo on December 31, 1997. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Kabila’s affiliation as AFDL. While DPI identifies the AFDL as rightist, Braid (1997) states that “Laurent Kabila

was a junior member of Zaire's Leftist, Pan-Africanist, Independent Movement.” Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party’s ideology. The Telegraph (2003) calls Kabila “a Marxist.” Manzano (2017) codes Laurent Kabila as “left.”

Years: 2001-2005

Head of government: Joseph Kabila Kabange

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Kabila’s affiliation as PPRD. Milios (2014) states that “the left-wing PPRD was President Joseph Kabila's party.” Manzano (2017) codes Joseph Kabila as “left.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Joseph Kabila’s party as the AFDL, then PPRD after 2002. World Statesmen describes the PPRD as “People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy, social democratic, center-left, pro-Joseph Kabila, est. 31 Mar 2002”. Al Jazeera (2019) identifies Kabila’s political coalition as the Common Front for Congo (FCC). In the Global Party Survey 2019, an undisclosed number of experts identified the average left-right (0-10) score of FCC as 3.7. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PPRD’s ideology as “Left” (-2.265) in 2003.

Years: 2006-2007

Head of government: Antoine Gizenga

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Gizenga as a member of PALU, writing “Unified Lumumbist Party (Parti Lumumbiste Unifiée—PALU)... Another party claiming adherence to its namesake's teachings, PALU is headed by Antoine Gizenga.” Perspective Monde identifies the PALU as “moderate left.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Gizenga’s party as the PALU, described as “Unified Lumumbist Party, socialist, nationalist”. The Socialist International lists PALU as a consultative party. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PALU’s ideology as “Left” (-1.625) in 2006.

Years: 2008-2011

Head of government: Adolphe Muzito

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Muzito as a member of PALU, writing “President Kabila subsequently named PALU's Adolphe MUZITO, theretofore the budget minister, to head a new cabinet.” Perspective Monde identifies the PALU as “moderate left.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Muzito’s party as the PALU,

described as “Unified Lumumbist Party, socialist, nationalist”. The Socialist International lists PALU as a consultative party. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PALU’s ideology as “Left” (-1.625) in 2006.

Years: 2012-2015

Head of government: Augustin Matata Ponyo Mapon

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Ponyo Mapon as a member of PPRD, writing “On April 18, 2012, Finance Minister Augustin Matata PONYO Mapon (PPRD) was named prime minister.” Milios (2014) describes this party as “the left-wing PPRD.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Mapon’s party as the PPRD, described as “People’s Party for Reconstruction and Democracy, social democratic, center-left, pro-Joseph Kabila, est. 31 Mar 2002”. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Mapon’s party as PALU, writing “Augustin Matata Ponyo Mapon... Parti lumumbiste unifié [PALU]”. Perspective Monde identifies the PALU as “moderate left.” The Socialist International lists PALU as a consultative party. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PPRD’s ideology as “Left” (-2.265) in 2011.

Years: 2016

Head of government: Samy Badibanga Ntita

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde identifies Ntita’s party as the “Union pour la démocratie et le progrès social,” coded as “centre left.” World Statesmen (2019) describes Ntita’s party as IPDD, described as Pan-African Initiative for the Defense of Democracy, christian-democratic, est.9 Jan 2015”. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify UDPS’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.298) in 2011. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in UDPS in 2011.

Years: 2017- 2018

Head of government: Bruno Tshibala Nzenze

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde identifies Nzenze’s party as the “Union pour la démocratie et le progrès social,” coded as “centre left.” World Statesmen (2019) codes Nzenze’s party as UDPS, described as “Democratic Union for the Social Progress, social-democratic, est.15 Feb 1982”. UDPS is a member of the Socialist International. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify UDPS’s ideology as “Center-

right” (1.298) in 2011. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in UDPS in 2011.

Years: 2019-2020

Head of government: Sylvestre Ilunga Ilukamba

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde (2021) identifies Ilukamba’s party affiliation as Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS) and identifies the party as center-left. However, World Statesmen (2021) identifies Ilukamba’s party affiliation as PPRD (Parti du Peuple pour la Reconstruction et la Démocratie/People’s Party for Reconstruction and Democracy) and describes the party as “social democratic, center-left, pro-Joseph Kabila.” RFI (2019) corroborates Ilukamba’s party affiliation as PPRD, writing, “Part of the delay in naming a prime minister came from former president Joseph Kabila’s political party People for Reconstruction and Democracy Party (PPRD), who won a majority in parliament, earning the right to name the prime minister.” Boisselet (2019) also corroborates Ilukamba’s party affiliation as PPRD, writing, “Known as discreet and consensual, a member of the People’s Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD, Joseph Kabila’s party) without being a hawk: Ilunga will have to demonstrate these qualities to succeed in his delicate mission.” Reuters (2019), discussing the appointment of Ilukamba as Prime Minister, writes, “Under Congo’s constitution, the candidate must come from the ranks of the parliamentary majority, Kabila’s Common Front for Congo (FCC).” In the Global Party Survey 2019, an undisclosed number of experts identified the average left-right (0-10) score of FCC as 3.7. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PPRD’s ideology as “Left” (-2.265) in 2011.

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