

Country: Burundi

Year: 1962

Head of government: Prime Minister André Muhirwa

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Mullenbach (2019) identifies Muhirwa's party as UPRONA, writing "André Muhirwa of the Union for National Progress (Union pour le Progrès National – UPRONA) was appointed prime minister by King Mwami Mwambutsa IV on July 1, 1962." Eggers (2006) suggests that Muhirwa's ideology resembles that of the Casablanca conference participants: "UPRONA broke into factions competing for control of the party, one led by André Muhirwa, a Tutsi ... The two factions took on very different ideological orientations. The Tutsi-led faction, which came to be known as the Casablanca Group, was strongly anti-Western... The two names derived from two conferences of African states, one held in Casablanca, Morocco, and the other in Monrovia, Liberia, and the two major African blocs that resulted from them. Other than their generally anti- and pro-Western sentiments, there was no direct connection between the factions in Burundi and these two blocs. The original Casablanca Group reflected the views of participants at the conference in Casablanca in 1961." (23-24). Arnold (1999) notes that the participants of the Casablanca conference were Left: "In January 1961, representatives of Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Libya, Egypt and the Algerian Provisional Government met in Casablanca where they adopted what came to be known as the *Casablanca Charter*...The group was regarded as radical. It advocated a socialist path of development for Africa and a strong central authority" (47). Nindorera (2012) corroborates that Casablanca faction members of UPRONA are Left: "Although UPRONA had successfully overcome ethnic rivalries, the sudden death of its charismatic leader...created internal tensions within the party that led to the emergence of two rival currents... the 'Casablanca' group was close to Socialist countries and called itself 'progressive'." (10) Niyonkuru (2012) also identifies the Casablanca Group as Left: "the Casablanca group qualified as 'progressive and of socialist tendency' and was mainly composed of Tutsi (Gahama 1994, p.159)" (13). World Statesmen (2019) corroborates that Muhirwa's party was UPRONA. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as 1.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-left" (-3.39) in 1970.

Year: 1963

Head of government: Prime Minister Pierre Ngendandumwe

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Mullenbach (2019) identifies Ngendandumwe's party as UPRONA, writing "Pierre Ngendandumwe of the UPRONA was appointed prime minister on June 19, 1963." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates that Ngendandumwe's party was UPRONA. Kagalkar (1992) identifies UPRONA's overall ideology as left: "Since Marxist parties have been established in number of African countries such as (A) Egyptian Communist Party; (2) Workers party of Ethiopia; (3) Socialist workers and Farmers Party of Nigeria; (4) People's Revolutionary Party of Benin; (5) The party of Unity and National Progress of Burundi; (6) The party of the Socialist Vanguard in Algeria; (7) The Africa Independence Party of Guinea; (8) Sudanese Communist Party" (80). Eggers (Historical Dictionary 2006: 114) describes Ngendandumwe as a "moderate Hutu". Eggers (2006: 23-24) also identifies Ngendandumwe as belonging to the Monrovia group of UPRONA, and describes the Monrovia group as "generally neutral or pro-Western in its orientation", taking on a "very different ideological orientation" from the more leftist Casablanca faction of UPRONA. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as 1.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-left" (-3.39) in 1970.

Year: 1964

Head of government: Prime Minister Albin Nyamoya

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Mullenbach (2019) identifies Nyamoya's party as UPRONA, writing "Albin Nyamoya of the UPRONA was appointed prime minister on April 6, 1964." Eggers (2006) identifies Nyamoya as a member of the Casablanca Group: "NYAMOYA, ALBIN (1924–2001). A Tutsi (but not ganwa) loyal to the Casablanca faction of UPRONA and a relative through marriage of Mwami Mwambutsa IV, Nyamoya became prime minister upon the resignation of Pierre Ngendandumwe in April 1964." (121) Nindorera (2012) corroborates that Casablanca faction members of UPRONA are Left: "Although UPRONA had successfully overcome ethnic rivalries, the sudden death of its charismatic leader...created internal tensions within the party that led to the emergence of two rival currents... the 'Casablanca' group was close to Socialist countries and called itself 'progressive'." (10) Niyonkuru (2012) also identifies the Casablanca Group as Left: "the Casablanca group qualified as 'progressive and of socialist tendency' and was mainly composed of Tutsi (Gahama 1994, p.159)" (13). World Statesmen (2019) corroborates that Nyamoya's party was UPRONA. In the Global Party

Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as 1.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-left" (-3.39) in 1970.

Year: 1965

Head of government: Prime Minister Léopold Biha

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Eggers (2006: 15-16) identifies Biha's party as UPRONA: "Biha, still a leading Bezi courtier (and the mwami's personal secretary), was named interim prime minister on 13 September 1965" and "Chief Léopold Biha, who became popularly known as Biha, was the founder of UPRONA, Union pour le Progrès national, in 1957." Kagalkar (1992) identifies UPRONA as Left: "Since Marxist parties have been established in number of African countries such as (A) Egyptian Communist Party; (2) Workers party of Ethiopia; (3) Socialist workers and Farmers Party of Nigeria; (4) People's Revolutionary Party of Benin; (5) The party of Unity and National Progress of Burundi; (6) The party of the Socialist Vanguard in Algeria; (7) The Africa Independence Party of Guinea; (8) Sudanese Communist Party" (80). Eggers (2006: 65) states that Biha disagreed with Prince Louis Rwagasore's ideology: "By 1961, many of the old UPRONA chiefs had severed their ties with the party in order to set up their own political organizations. Léopold Biha, who never forgave Prince Louis Rwagasore for his political views or his popularity, founded the Inararibonye Party in 1961". Eggers (2006: 133) describes Rwagasore as having a "progressive outlook" and "populist views [that] were seen as communist by the administration". Keesing's Record of World Events describes the coup of 1966, writing "men who had openly proclaimed themselves Republicans, with two extreme left-wingers among them" had placed Biha and other members of the previous Cabinet under house arrest. Keesing's also states that Biha's "appointment—regarded as a conciliatory move by the King—did not satisfy Bahutu 'progressive' circles". World Statesmen (2019) corroborates that Biha's party was UPRONA. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as 1.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-left" (-3.39) in 1970.

Years: 1966 – 1971

Head of government: President Michel Micombero

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Micombero's party as UPRONA. Van Dijk et al. (2008) indicate that Micombero is Left: "Among the most notable proponents of African socialism have been Julius Nyerere

(Tanzania), Amilcar Cabral (Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde), Samora Machel (Mozambique), Thomas Sankara (Burkina Faso) and Michel Micombero (Burundi).” (124). However, Manzano (2017) identifies Micombero as Right. Herr (2018) identifies Micombero as Left: “Micombero now became an advocate of what became known as African socialism. This was a vague ideology asserting that economic resources should be shared in what he called a ‘traditional African’ matter.” Kurian (2011) also identifies Micombero as Left: “Among the most notable proponents of Afro-Marxism are Amilcar Cabral (Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde), Samora Machel (Mozambique), Michel Micombero (Burundi), Agostinho Neto (Angola), and Thomas Sankara (Burkina Faso).” (32). World Statesmen (2019) corroborates that Micombero’s party was UPRONA. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as 1.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Far-left” (-3.39) in 1970.

Years: 1972

Head of government: Prime Minister Albin Nyamoya

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective Monde (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) identify Michel Micombero instead of Albin Nyamoya on December 31, 1973. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Mullenbach (2019) identifies Nyamoya’s party as UPRONA, writing “Albin Nyamoya of the UPRONA was appointed prime minister on April 6, 1964.” Kagalkar (1992) identifies UPRONA as Left: “Since Marxist parties have been established in number of African countries such as (A) Egyptian Communist Party; (2) Workers party of Ethiopia; (3) Socialist workers and Farmers Party of Nigeria; (4) People’s Revolutionary Party of Benin; (5) The party of Unity and National Progress of Burundi; (6) The party of the Socialist Vanguard in Algeria; (7) The Africa Independence Party of Guinea; (8) Sudanese Communist Party.” (80) Eggers (2006) identifies Nyamoya as a member of the Casablanca Group: “NYAMOYA, ALBIN (1924–2001). A Tutsi (but not ganwa) loyal to the Casablanca faction of UPRONA and a relative through marriage of Mwami Mwambutsa IV, Nyamoya became prime minister upon the resignation of Pierre Ngendandumwe in April 1964.” (121) Nindorera (2012) corroborates that Casablanca faction members of UPRONA are Left: “Although UPRONA had successfully overcome ethnic rivalries, the sudden death of its charismatic leader...created internal tensions within the party that led to the emergence of two rival currents... the ‘Casablanca’ group was close to Socialist countries and called itself ‘progressive’.” (10) Niyonkuru (2012) also identifies the Casablanca Group as Left: “the Casablanca group qualified as ‘progressive and of socialist tendency’ and was mainly composed of Tutsi (Gahama 1994, p.159)” (13).

World Statesmen (2019) corroborates that Nyamoya's party was UPRONA. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as 1.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-left" (-3.39) in 1970.

Years: 1973 – 1975

Head of government: President Michel Micombero

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective Monde (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) identify Michel Micombero instead of Albin Nyamoya on December 31, 1973. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Micombero's party as UPRONA. van Dijk et al. (2008) indicate that Micombero is Left: "Among the most notable proponents of African socialism have been Julius Nyerere (Tanzania), Amilcar Cabral (Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde), Samora Machel (Mozambique), Thomas Sankara (Burkina Faso) and Michel Micombero (Burundi)." However, Manzano (2017) identifies Micombero as Right. Herr (2018) identifies Micombero as Left: "Micombero now became an advocate of what became known as African socialism. This was a vague ideology asserting that economic resources should be shared in what he called a 'traditional African' matter." Kurian (2011) also identifies Micombero as Left: "Among the most notable proponents of Afro-Marxism are Amilcar Cabral (Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde), Samora Machel (Mozambique), Michel Micombero (Burundi), Agostinho Neto (Angola), and Thomas Sankara (Burkina Faso)." (32). World Statesmen (2019) corroborates that Micombero's party was UPRONA. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as 1.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-left" (-3.39) in 1970 and 1975.

Years: 1976 – 1977

Head of government: Prime Minister Édouard Nzambimana

Ideology: left

Description: World Statesmen (2020) and Rulers (2020) identify Jean-Baptiste Bagaza instead of Édouard Nzambimana as head of government on December 31, 1978. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Eggers (2006: 123) identifies head of government and affiliation as UPRONA: "One of the earliest appointments of Jean-Baptiste Bagaza after the 1976 coup was that of Nzambimana as prime minister ... Nzambimana eventually lost his place on the Central Committee of UPRONA in 1984." Kagalkar (1992) identifies UPRONA as Left: "Since Marxist parties have been established in number of African countries such as (A) Egyptian Communist Party; (2) Workers party of

Ethiopia; (3) Socialist workers and Farmers Party of Nigeria; (4) People's Revolutionary Party of Benin; (5) The party of Unity and National Progress of Burundi; (6) The party of the Socialist Vanguard in Algeria; (7) The Africa Independence Party of Guinea; (8) Sudanese Communist Party" (80). Bagaza, the president who appointed Nzambimana as prime minister, is coded as leftist by Manzano (2017), who states, "According to the main sources, Bagaza declared around 1979 that 'Burundi would become a socialist state pledged to support other countries against exploitation and neocolonialism' (Banks and Overstreet 1980: 95)." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates that Nzambimana's party was UPRONA. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as 1.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-left" (-3.39) in 1975.

Years: 1978 – 1986

Head of government: President Jean-Baptiste Bagaza

Ideology: Left

Description: World Statesmen (2020) and Rulers (2020) identify Jean-Baptiste Bagaza instead of Édouard Nzambimana as head of government on December 31, 1978. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Bagaza's party as UPRONA. Loft (1988) suggests that Bagaza is leftist: "Bagaza's regime was characterized by an intensification of Marxist-Leninist rhetoric and a pro-Eastern bloc and pro-Libyan foreign policy." (91) Nohlen et al. (1999) also suggest that Bagaza is leftist: "He announced socialist policies and efforts to decrease Hutu deprivation." (154) The Los Angeles Times (1987) corroborates that Bagaza is leftist further: "Bagaza, a 41-year-old socialist with ties to Moscow, was in Quebec attending a summit meeting of French-speaking nations." Manzano (2017: 108) concurs, writing "According to the main sources, Bagaza declared around 1979 that 'Burundi would become a socialist state pledged to support other countries against exploitation and neocolonialism' (Banks and Overstreet 1980: 95)." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates that Bagaza's party was UPRONA. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as 1.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Far-left" (-3.39) in 1975, and as "Left" (-2.558) in 1980 and 1982.

Year: 1987

Head of government: President Pierre Buyoya

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Buyoya's party UPRONA. Manzano (2017) identifies Buyoya as Right. World Statesmen (2019)

corroborates that Buyoya's party was UPRONA. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as 1.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Left" (-1.976) in 1987. Thorsen (2020) writes "Buyoya... Although his party, the independence party UPRONA, was initially viewed as leftist... the economic dimension of politics was not salient and not included in his political promises."

Years: 1988 – 1992

Head of government: Prime Minister Adrien Sibomana

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Watson (1993) identifies Sibomana's party as UPRONA: "After Buyoya's defeat, ugly charges were leveled within Uprona that its Hutu members had worked by day for Uprona, by night for Frodebu. Buyoya's prime minister, a Hutu, Adrien Sibomana, was among those targeted as "infiltrators." Krueger and Krueger (2008) note that Sibomana did not wield significant independent political power: "Pierre Buyoya... was able to launch an effective and bloodless coup...by... appointing a Hutu prime minister, his compass seemed set on the road to reconciliation. In reality, however, little changed. The Hutu prime minister, Adrien Sibomana, was a cipher." (30-31). Manzano (2017) identifies Buyoya as Right. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates that Sibomana's party was UPRONA. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as 1.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Left" (-1.976) in 1987 and as "Left" (-2.532) in 1992.

Year: 1993

Head of government: Prime Minister Sylvie Kinigi

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Kinigi's party as UPRONA. Kagalkar (1992) identifies UPRONA as Left: "Since Marxist parties have been established in number of African countries such as (A) Egyptian Communist Party; (2) Workers party of Ethiopia; (3) Socialist workers and Farmers Party of Nigeria; (4) People's Revolutionary Party of Benin; (5) The party of Unity and National Progress of Burundi; (6) The party of the Socialist Vanguard in Algeria; (7) The Africa Independence Party of Guinea; (8) Sudanese Communist Party" (80). Eggers (2006: xxxiii-xxxiv) describes a coup that occurred in 1993, while Kinigi was in office: "The government, led by Prime Minister Kinigi, refuses to give amnesty to soldiers involved in the coup and refuses to negotiate until the soldiers

disarm and return to their barracks”. The coup resulted in the killing of Melchior Ndadaye, the president who appointed Silvie Kinigi as the first woman prime minister. Eggers identifies Ndadaye as the founder of the political party Front Démocratique Burundi (FRODEBU; Burundi Democratic Front), and describes FRODEBU as “a party dominated by moderate Hutu”. FRODEBU is identified as leftist by Perspective Monde (2019). World Statesmen (2019) corroborates that Kinigi’s party was UPRONA. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as 1.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Left” (-1.648) in 1993.

Year: 1994

Head of government: Prime Minister Anatole Kanyenkiko

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Kanyenkiko’s party as UPRONA, writing “Instability nonetheless continued, with the controversial election on December 3 of Frodebu's Jean MINANI as National Assembly speaker being defended by the Uprona prime minister, Anatole KANYENKIKO, who had succeeded Kinigi in February.” Kagalkar (1992) identifies UPRONA as Left: “Since Marxist parties have been established in number of African countries such as (A) Egyptian Communist Party; (2) Workers party of Ethiopia; (3) Socialist workers and Farmers Party of Nigeria; (4) People’s Revolutionary Party of Benin; (5) The party of Unity and National Progress of Burundi; (6) The party of the Socialist Vanguard in Algeria; (7) The Africa Independence Party of Guinea; (8) Sudanese Communist Party” (80). Eggers (2006: 74) describes UPRONA resistance and backlash against the Kanyenkiko government, which eventually led to his resignation: “In February, [Charles Mukasi’s] party, UPRONA, virtually shut down Bujumbura in a general strike to press for the resignation of Prime Minister Kanyenkiko; some hardliners in UPRONA considered him to be too sympathetic to Ntibantunganya’s government. Kanyenkiko said that he would not resign until the two major parties agreed on his successor, but Mukasi said the strike would continue until Kanyenkiko’s government collapsed.” Ntibantunganya was the president at the time; his government is described as “a coalition government comprising at least 13 political parties”. Ntibantunganya’s party is identified as FRODEBU by Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019), and Perspective Monde identifies FRODEBU as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates that Kanyenkiko’s party was UPRONA. According to Keesing’s Record of World Events, UPRONA called for Kanyenkiko’s resignation as prime minister and was generally opposed to the coalition government, mostly due to “a few UPRONA hardliners who refused to

share power with the democratically elected Frodebu”. UPRONA expelled Kanyenkiko for indiscipline and disloyalty to the party after he refused to resign and later protested that Kanyenkiko should be removed because “the president and prime minister should come from different parties”, which further supports that Kanyenkiko was sympathetic towards Ntibantunganya’s and FRODEBU’s leftist positions. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as 1.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Left” (-1.648) in 1993.

Year: 1995

Head of government: Prime Minister Antoine Nduwayo

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. *Political Handbook of the World* (2018: 213) identifies Nduwayo’s party as UPRONA: “With the appointment of the Uprona-nominated Antoine NDUWAYO as Kanyenkiko’s successor as prime minister on February 20, the political crisis appeared to ease.” Kagalkar (1992) identifies UPRONA as Left: “Since Marxist parties have been established in number of African countries such as (A) Egyptian Communist Party; (2) Workers party of Ethiopia; (3) Socialist workers and Farmers Party of Nigeria; (4) People’s Revolutionary Party of Benin; (5) The party of Unity and National Progress of Burundi; (6) The party of the Socialist Vanguard in Algeria; (7) The Africa Independence Party of Guinea; (8) Sudanese Communist Party” (80). Eggers (2006: 111) states that President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya appointed Nduwayo after the resignation of Anatole Kanyenkiko, which was pushed for by UPRONA citing Kanyenkiko’s disloyalty to the party. Eggers describes tensions between Ntibantunganya and Nduwayo: “The president and prime minister, representing the interests of their separate political parties, did not agree on many governmental policies.” Keesing’s Record of World Events states that the Front for Democracy in Burundi (FRODEBU) supported Nduwayo’s nomination: “A Tutsi member of Uprona, Nduwayo was formally appointed Prime Minister by the President on Feb. 22 after his nomination had won the backing of the Front for Democracy in Burundi (Frodebu), the majority parliamentary party.” Keesing’s also states that the administration formed by Nduwayo as prime minister was mostly composed of Frodebu members, despite belonging to the UPRONA party: “The composition of the administration conformed broadly with the September 1994 Convention on Government [see p. 40167], with 10 portfolios allocated to the Front for the Restoration of Democracy in Burundi (Frodebu- the majority party in the National Assembly) and nine (in addition to that of Prime Minister) allocated to the opposition Union for National Progress (Uprona).” FRODEBU is identified as leftist by Perspective Monde (2019). World Statesmen

(2019) corroborates that Kanyenkiko's party was UPRONA. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as 1.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Left" (-1.648) in 1993.

Years: 1996 – 1997

Head of government: Prime Minister Pascal-Firmin Ndimira

Ideology:

Description: Perspective Monde (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) identify Pierre Buyoya instead of Pascal-Firmin Ndimira on December 31, 1997. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Ndimira's party as UPRONA, writing "On July 31 Buyoya announced the appointment of Pascal Firmin NDIMIRA, a Hutu member of Uprona, as prime minister." Kagalkar (1992) identifies UPRONA as Left: "Since Marxist parties have been established in number of African countries such as (A) Egyptian Communist Party; (2) Workers party of Ethiopia; (3) Socialist workers and Farmers Party of Nigeria; (4) People's Revolutionary Party of Benin; (5) The party of Unity and National Progress of Burundi; (6) The party of the Socialist Vanguard in Algeria; (7) The Africa Independence Party of Guinea; (8) Sudanese Communist Party" (80). Keesing's Record of World Events describes Ndimira as a moderate Hutu appointed by President Buyoya: "On July 31 Buyoya appointed Pascal-Firmin Ndimira as Prime Minister. A former Minister of Agriculture, university rector and World Bank official, Ndimira was regarded locally as a moderate. Although a Hutu, he was a member of Buyoya's predominantly Tutsi Union for National Progress (Uprona)". Manzano (2017) identifies Buyoya as right. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates that Ndimira's party was UPRONA. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as 1.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Left" (-1.648) in 1993.

Years: 1998 – 2002

Head of government: President Pierre Buyoya

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective Monde (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) identify Pierre Buyoya instead of Pascal-Firmin Ndimira on December 31, 1997. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Buyoya's party affiliation as UPRONA. Kagalkar (1992) identifies UPRONA as Left: "Since Marxist parties have been established in number of African countries such as (A) Egyptian Communist Party; (2) Workers party of Ethiopia; (3) Socialist workers and Farmers Party of Nigeria; (4) People's Revolutionary Party of Benin; (5) The party of Unity and National

Progress of Burundi; (6) The party of the Socialist Vanguard in Algeria; (7) The Africa Independence Party of Guinea; (8) Sudanese Communist Party” (80). Manzano (2017) identifies Buyoya as Right. World Statesmen identifies the prime minister post as abolished between 13 Oct 1978 - 19 Oct 1988. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates that Buyoya’s party was UPRONA. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for National Progress (UPRONA) as 1.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Left” (-1.648) in 1993. Thorsen (2020) writes “Buyoya... Although his party, the independence party UPRONA, was initially viewed as leftist... the economic dimension of politics was not salient and not included in his political promises.”

Years: 2003 – 2004

Head of government: President Domitien Ndayizeye

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Ndayizeye’s party as FRODEBU. Alfieri (2016: 240-41) identifies FRODEBU as left: “The founding core of the Frodebu party was established in secrecy at the beginning of the 1980s, in Rwanda, thanks to the work of exiled Burundian students and officials. After many vicissitudes, and still in secrecy, in 1988 the first National directing committee in the country was born, its objective being the establishment of a social-democratic regime through a pacifist fight, based on dialogue and persuasion. ‘At first when the imperialism was at its maximum height, we were Marxists and Leninists. It was not about democracy, it was about class struggle. We considered ourselves as workers who had to defend the masses. But at a certain point we became socio-democratic’, tells Leonce Ngendakumana, the current party leader.” Manzano (2017) corroborates that Ndayizeye is Left. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Ndayizeye as Left. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates that Ndayizeye’s party was FRODEBU. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Front for Democracy in Burundi (FRODEBU) as 7.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center” (-0.353) in 1993. Ortize de Zárate (2006) writes “In Belgium, Ndayizeye joined the Burundi Progressive Students Movement, later called the Movement for the Emancipation and Progress of Burundi (MEPROBA), a moderate political organization that brought together the Hutu diaspora in exile and decided to lead the fight for democracy. in Burundi through political and peaceful channels, distancing itself from the subversion waged by the Burundi Workers' Party (UBU, Marxist)”.

Years: 2005 – 2019

Head of government: President Pierre Nkurunziza

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Nkurunziza's party as CNDD-FDD. Rugero (2015) also suggests that CNDD-FDD is Left: "Her presence brings to the fore the ideological bonds between South Africa's ruling African National Congress party and its little brother in Burundi, the CNDD-FDD. Both parties were created to fight identity-based exclusion targeting the majority population; both have suffered from Western and Russo-Chinese attempts to gain influence; both been fueled by Marxist rhetoric; and have both taken up arms." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates that Nkurunziza's party was CNDD-FDD. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-Left" (-1.074) in 2005, as "Center-right" (0.751) in 2010, and as "Center-right" (0.948) in 2015.

Years: 2020

Head of government: Alain-Guillaume Bunyoni

Ideology: left

Description: Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as "National Council for the Defense of Democracy – Front for the Defense of Democracy". Rugero (2015) also suggests that CNDD-FDD is Left: "Her presence brings to the fore the ideological bonds between South Africa's ruling African National Congress party and its little brother in Burundi, the CNDD-FDD. Both parties were created to fight identity-based exclusion targeting the majority population; both have suffered from Western and Russo-Chinese attempts to gain influence; both been fueled by Marxist rhetoric; and have both taken up arms." In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-Left" (-1.074) in 2005, as "Center-right" (0.751) in 2010, and as "Center-right" (0.948) in 2015. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Bunyoni's party as "CNDD-FDD... CNDD-FDD = Conseil National pour la Défense de la Démocratie-Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie (National Council for the Defense of Democracy-Forces for the Defense of Democracy, multi-ethnic Hutu dominated, legalized 2005, est.1994)". DPI does not identify CNDD-FDD's ideology.

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