

Country: Malawi

Years: 1964 – 1993

Head of government: President Hastings Kamuzu Banda

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Banda's party as Malawi Congress Party (MCP). Manzano (2017: 89) identifies Banda's and MCP's ideology as rightist, writing "One example of a right-wing, single-party dictatorship is the rule of Hastings Kamuzu Banda in Malawi (1964-1993). [...] the dictatorial government of Banda appealed to conservative sectors of society. [...] the MCP is also described as conservative, sustaining a pro-Western and anti-communist bias. [...] the MCP was an associated member of the Democratic Union of Africa, the regional section of the International Democrat Union, an international organization of conservatives and center-right parties." Kaunda (1995: 315-317) suggests an ideology of state-capitalism: "The basis of Malawian development policy was outlined in the 1961 MCP election manifesto... The mixed-economy approach was adopted in national development management. The orientation towards capitalism and the mixed economy would be underlined by a cautious, non-revolutionary and "pragmatic" development strategy. ... The role of the public sector was thus to provide the preconditions for the development of private enterprises, and to act as a catalyst, through joint ventures..." Pryor (1990: 38) suggests that Banda supported a mixed-economy with a focus on agrarian development: "President Banda's economic philosophy has not greatly changed over the years, and statements he made in 1975 were similar to the views he held at independence... he had strong ideas about property: 'In Malawi we can not have capitalism of the American type where railways, airways, electricity and water facilities, the telephone and telegraph system are all in private hands... On the other hand we could not have the communism of the Russians and the Chinese, where the state owns everything and people are not allowed to own anything at all... So we have to have something midway... Let the government through statutory bodies own the railway, airways, water, electricity... people must be allowed to have shops, to have farms and estates.'" Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Banda as Right. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 10 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Malawi Congress Party (MCP) as 4.2, the average left-right (0-10) salience score as 7.2, and the average divided-united (0-10) party score as 8.5. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes "Malawi under President Banda's leadership sought to combine African nationalism with multiracialism at home and a strongly pro-Western and anticommunist position in world affairs... Malawi Congress Party (MCP). The MCP is a continuation of the

Nyasaland African Congress (NAC), which was formed in 1959 under the leadership of President H. Kamuzu Banda. Overtly pro-Western and dedicated to multiracialism and internal development, the party was frequently criticized for being excessively conservative... During the 2009 elections the MCP campaigned on a pledge to implement a universal subsidy for all farmers.” The centrist Centrist Democrat International (2020) identifies the Malawi Congress Party as one of its members. Short (1974) identifies Banda’s ideology as leftist, writing “To Banda... communism was alien and totally unattractive”, “Banda’s economic policies... sought to combine elements of both socialism and capitalism. Initially communal effort and individual achievement were regarded as of equal importance. In this Banda was following in the lead of Dunduzu Chisiza, who had proposed that Nyasaland should develop a ‘mixed’ economy... In Chisiza’s scheme, socialism was dominant. But later, under Banda, the bias was reversed, partly to retain the confidence of the European business community”, and “Capitalism... which Banda interpreted as ‘total freedom for the individual to do what he likes with what he has’, went too far to the other extreme. But while he tended to prefer socialism on the British or Scandinavian model, he made clear that his acceptance was by no means unconditional.” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.554) in 1971, 1976, 1978, 1983, 1987, and 1992.

Years: 1994 – 2003

Head of government: President Elson Bakili Muluzi

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Muluzi’s party as UDF. DPI identifies UDF as right. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party’s ideology. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Muluzi as Right. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 10 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of United Democratic Front (UDF) as 3.6, the left-right salience (0-10) as 4.3, and the divided-united party score (0-10) as 5.7. Lwanda (2006) writes “As the old guard in both parties, and particularly the UDF, consolidated their hold on party mechanisms, as well as networks and membership recruitment, new blood politicians were exercised with the niceties of PAC negotiations and drafting manifestos... Their common opposition to Banda obscured the ideological differences between the new blood and old guard politicians. Both groups gave priority to creating a liberal economic climate – under a strong executive... rather than the participatory liberal social democracy... By March 1994, all pretence of a liberal social democratic movement had vanished. The UDF, through recruiting former MCP and AFORD – as well as new – members, became a mass anti-Banda front determined to win power... From

1991 onwards, Muluzi used these strategies to transform a coalition of disparate ‘disgruntled’ groups into the UDF. To succeed, Muluzi’s patronage system had to be all inclusive and, by definition, lacking in any coherent ideology. Thus, a form of ideology-free inclusive party politics, exploiting achikulire-based networks, became the norm. The original liberal social democratic pretensions were abandoned as money became the dominant party issue, rather than policy and ideology”. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.429) in 1994 and 1999.

Years: 2004 – 2011

Head of government: President Bingu wa Mutharika

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Mutharika’s party as UDF (in 2004 and 2005) and DPP (from 2005 onwards). DPI identifies UDF and DPP as right. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on either party’s ideology. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Mutharika as Right. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 10 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of United Democratic Front (UDF) as 3.6 the left-right salience (0-10) as 4.3, and the divided-united party score (0-10) as 5.7. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 10 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Democratic Progress Party (DPP) as 3.6. Ortiz de Zárate (2004) writes “Mutharika also set himself the objective of diversifying the economy and overcoming the omnipresence of tobacco in the export basket (the solanaceous plant represents 65% of foreign sales)... Furthermore, in interviews... Mutharika assumed the principle of fiscal discipline that the IMF had been demanding and his intentions pointed rightly to the stability of macro-magnitudes and the promotion of the free market.” Lwanda (2006) writes “As the old guard in both parties, and particularly the UDF, consolidated their hold on party mechanisms, as well as networks and membership recruitment, new blood politicians were exercised with the niceties of PAC negotiations and drafting manifestos... Their common opposition to Banda obscured the ideological differences between the new blood and old guard politicians. Both groups gave priority to creating a liberal economic climate – under a strong executive... rather than the participatory liberal social democracy... By March 1994, all pretence of a liberal social democratic movement had vanished. The UDF, through recruiting former MCP and AFORD – as well as new – members, became a mass anti-Banda front determined to win power... From 1991 onwards, Muluzi used these strategies to transform a coalition of disparate ‘disgruntled’ groups into the UDF. To succeed, Muluzi’s patronage system had to be all inclusive and, by definition, lacking in any coherent ideology. Thus, a form of ideology-free inclusive party politics, exploiting achikulire-based networks,

became the norm. The original liberal social democratic pretensions were abandoned as money became the dominant party issue, rather than policy and ideology”. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.429) in 2004 and “Center-right” (1.141) in 2009.

Years: 2012 – 2013

Head of government: President Joyce Hilda Banda

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. *Political Handbook of the World* (2018: 896) identifies Banda’s party as People’s Party (PP). Maravi Post (2013) identifies Banda as Right: “When President Banda announced her free-market governing platform in May 2012, a lot of commentators, and opinion leaders, said that was both political and economic suicide ostensibly because the move would hurt potential voters.” Cook (2013) identifies Banda as Right: “She also set out a number of policies designed to spur socioeconomic development and growth, gender equality, and respect for human rights, and supported fiscal austerity measures, including budget cuts affecting the presidency. Banda faces interlinked economic and political challenges arising from her management of the faltering economy she inherited from Mutharika. Her decision to devalue the currency was intended to foster free-market processes in the long run in order to spur greater production for local and export markets and boost macroeconomic stability, among other ends.” Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Banda as Right. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 10 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of People’s Party (PP) as 3.2. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.346) in 2014.

Years: 2014 – 2019

Head of government: President Peter Mutharika

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. *Political Handbook of the World* (2018: 900) identifies Mutharika’s party as DPP. DPI identifies DPP as right. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party’s ideology. Perspective Monde identifies Peter Mutharika as Center. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 10 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Democratic Progress Party (DPP) as 3.6 with an average divided united (0-10) party score of 7.0. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.141) in 2014 with “Negligible visible disagreement” and 2019 with “Some visible disagreement”.

Years: 2020

Head of government: Lazarus Chakwera

Ideology: left

Description: Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as “Malawi Congress Party”. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Chakwera’s party as “MCP... MCP = Malawi Congress Party (nationalist, authoritarian, 1966-1993 only legal party, est.1959)”. DPI does not identify MCP’s ideology. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 10 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Malawi Congress Party (MCP) as 4.2. The centrist Centrist Democrat International (2020) identifies the Malawi Congress Party as one of its members. Perspective Monde identifies Lazarus Chawera as center-right. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.263) in 2019.

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