

Country: Comoros

Year: 1975

Head of government: President Said Mohamed Jaffar

Ideology: None

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. *Political Handbook of the World* (2018: 307) identifies Jaffar's party as RDPC: "In December 1972, 34 of the 39 seats in the Comorian Chamber of Deputies were claimed by a coalition of proindependence parties: the Democratic Rally of the Comorian People, led by Prince Saïd Mohamed JAFFAR; the Party for the Evolution of the Comoros, which was linked to the Tanzanian-based National Liberation Movement of the Comoros; and the Democratic Union of the Comoros, led by Ahmed ABDALLAH." Mukonoweshuro (1990) suggests that Jaffar has no ideology: "Thus, the coup, which brought Prince Said Mohammed Jaffar to power, was singularly mercenary in content... The coup, therefore, was simply an attempt to capture the state and the material benefit that it could confer, the politics of squalor par excellence, uninspired by any ideological convictions or the vision of an alternative socio-economic organization of society...The Jaffar regime was characterized by general paralysis and lack of concrete action. This is because it was concerned more with spoils-sharing than with rational administration." (560) World Statesmen (2020) corroborates that Jaffar's party was RDPC, and states that the RDPC's ideology was "conservative-progressive".

Years: 1976 – 1977

Head of government: Prime Minister Abdallah Mohamed

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Mohamed's party as UDC, and UDC as right: "UDC = Union Démocratique des Comores "Les Verts" (Comoros Democratic Union "the Greens", conservative, 1968-1982)." Olson (1991) corroborates that UDC is right: "[I]n the early 1970s the conservative Comoros Democratic Union, led by Ahmed Abdallah, joined the independence movement." (143) Metz (1994) corroborates that UDC is right: "During Comoros' period of self-government as an overseas department, there were two main conservative political groupings: the Parti Vert (Green Party), which later became known as the Comoros Democratic Union (Union Démocratique des Comores--UDC)." World Statesmen (2020) corroborates that Abdillahi's party was UDC, and identifies the UDC's ideology as "conservative".

Years: 1978 – 1981

Head of government: Prime Minister Salim Ben Ali

Ideology: None

Description: Sparks (2019) suggests that French mercenary Bob Denard held real power: “Between 1975 and 1995 he took part in several coups in the Comoros, where he was believed to have been the real power behind Pres. Ahmed Abdallah from 1978 until the latter was killed in 1989.” Varin (2015) corroborates that Denard held real power: “President Abdallah made Bob Denard the head of the Presidential Guard and the Frenchman de facto ruled the country for eleven years, until one of his officers shot and killed the president in 1989.” Associated Press (1985) corroborates that Denard held power: “Denard ruled these dirt-poor Indian Ocean islands, a French colony until 1975, through coups and puppet presidents from 1978 to 1989, when France negotiated his departure.” Francis (1999) suggests that Denard has no ideology: “[M]ercenaries like Bob Denard have earned themselves a legendary notoriety in post-independence Africa... mercenary activity received international attention not so much because of its strategic impact on conflict situations in Africa, but on account of the notoriety, lack of ideological persuasion and of moral scruples of the mercenaries.” (320-321) Tonkin (2011) suggests that Denard had no ideology: “Foreign, independent and profit-motivated fighters re-entered the spotlight during Africa’s post-colonial wars of the 1960s, this time associated with the lone mercenary ‘thug’ who lacks morals and restraint and who is motivated solely by personal profit. The most notable examples were *Les Affreux* (‘The Terrible Ones’), who included the infamous Irishman ‘Mad’ Mike Hoare and the Frenchman Bob Denard.” (12) Matloff (1995) suggests that Denard has no ideology: “Like Bob Denard, the most famous foreign mercenary in Africa, who led his third coup attempt in the island-nation of Comoros last week, the South Africans are not motivated by ideology or ideals, but by money.” Kincade (2013), however, suggests that Denard is right: “Such infamous examples include Bob Denard and Mike Hoare, leaders of former German and French soldiers that committed war crimes. The author describes them as ‘romantics’ that were ‘in search of adventure and anti-communist/capitalist ideology.’” (217) World Statesmen (2020) identifies Salim Ben Ali’s party as UDC, and identifies UDC’s ideology as “conservative”. Nohlen et al. (1999) write “In May 1978, the Soilih regime was overthrown in a coup d’état, that was again performed by a mercenary force, and Ahmed Abdallah was brought back into power. A constitution was drafted and adopted in a referendum on 1 October 1978... inherited centralism remained an important feature of the political structure as well of the development policies pursued by the government which officially propagated a kind of Islamic socialism.”

Years: 1982 – 1984

Head of government: Prime Minister Ali Mroudjae

Ideology: None

Description: Sparks (2019) suggests that French mercenary Bob Denard held real power: "Between 1975 and 1995 he took part in several coups in the Comoros, where he was believed to have been the real power behind Pres. Ahmed Abdallah from 1978 until the latter was killed in 1989." Varin (2015) corroborates that Denard held real power: "President Abdallah made Bob Denard the head of the Presidential Guard and the Frenchman de facto ruled the country for eleven years, until one of his officers shot and killed the president in 1989." Associated Press (1985) corroborates that Denard held power: "Denard ruled these dirt-poor Indian Ocean islands, a French colony until 1975, through coups and puppet presidents from 1978 to 1989, when France negotiated his departure." Francis (1999) suggests that Denard has no ideology: "[M]ercenaries like Bob Denard have earned themselves a legendary notoriety in post-independence Africa... mercenary activity received international attention not so much because of its strategic impact on conflict situations in Africa, but on account of the notoriety, lack of ideological persuasion and of moral scruples of the mercenaries." (320-321) Tonkin (2011) suggests that Denard had no ideology: "Foreign, independent and profit-motivated fighters re-entered the spotlight during Africa's post-colonial wars of the 1960s, this time associated with the lone mercenary 'thug' who lacks morals and restraint and who is motivated solely by personal profit. The most notable examples were *Les Affreux* ('The Terrible Ones'), who included the infamous Irishman 'Mad' Mike Hoare and the Frenchman Bob Denard." (12) Matloff (1995) suggests that Denard has no ideology: "Like Bob Denard, the most famous foreign mercenary in Africa, who led his third coup attempt in the island-nation of Comoros last week, the South Africans are not motivated by ideology or ideals, but by money." Kincade (2013), however, suggests that Denard is right: "Such infamous examples include Bob Denard and Mike Hoare, leaders of former German and French soldiers that committed war crimes. The author describes them as 'romantics' that were 'in search of adventure and anti-communist/capitalist ideology.'" (217). World Statesmen (2020) identifies Ali Mroudjae's party as UCP.

Years: 1985 – 1988

Head of government: President Ahmed Abdallah Abderemane

Ideology: None

Description: Sparks (2019) suggests that French mercenary Bob Denard held real power: "Between 1975 and 1995 he took part in several coups in the Comoros, where he was believed to have been the real power behind Pres. Ahmed Abdallah from 1978 until the latter was killed in 1989." Varin (2015) corroborates that Denard held real power: "President Abdallah made Bob Denard the head of the Presidential

Guard and the Frenchman de facto ruled the country for eleven years, until one of his officers shot and killed the president in 1989.” Associated Press (1985) corroborates that Denard held power: “Denard ruled these dirt-poor Indian Ocean islands, a French colony until 1975, through coups and puppet presidents from 1978 to 1989, when France negotiated his departure.” Francis (1999) suggests that Denard has no ideology: “[M]ercenaries like Bob Denard have earned themselves a legendary notoriety in post-independence Africa... mercenary activity received international attention not so much because of its strategic impact on conflict situations in Africa, but on account of the notoriety, lack of ideological persuasion and of moral scruples of the mercenaries.” (320-321) Tonkin (2011) suggests that Denard had no ideology: “Foreign, independent and profit-motivated fighters re-entered the spotlight during Africa’s post-colonial wars of the 1960s, this time associated with the lone mercenary ‘thug’ who lacks morals and restraint and who is motivated solely by personal profit. The most notable examples were *Les Affreux* (‘The Terrible Ones’), who included the infamous Irishman ‘Mad’ Mike Hoare and the Frenchman Bob Denard.” (12) Matloff (1995) suggests that Denard has no ideology: “Like Bob Denard, the most famous foreign mercenary in Africa, who led his third coup attempt in the island-nation of Comoros last week, the South Africans are not motivated by ideology or ideals, but by money.” Kincade (2013), however, suggests that Denard is right: “Such infamous examples include Bob Denard and Mike Hoare, leaders of former German and French soldiers that committed war crimes. The author describes them as ‘romantics’ that were ‘in search of adventure and anti-communist/capitalist ideology.’” (217) World Statesmen (2020) identifies President Ahmed Abdallah Abderemane’s party as UCP. Nohlen et al. (1999) write “In May 1978, the Soilih regime was overthrown in a coup d’état, that was again performed by a mercenary force, and Ahmed Abdallah was brought back into power. A constitution was drafted and adopted in a referendum on 1 October 1978... inherited centralism remained an important feature of the political structure as well of the development policies pursued by the government which officially propagated a kind of Islamic socialism.”

Years: 1989 – 1992

Head of government: President Said Mohamed Djohar

Ideology:

Description: Perspective Monde (2020), World Statesmen (2020), and Lentz (1994) identify Said Mohamed Djohar instead of Mohamed Taki Adoulikarim on December 31, 1992. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Djohar’s party as UCP until 1991 and unknown in 1992, writing “the UCP presented Djohar as its official candidate in the presidential balloting in March 1990. However, the UCP withdrew its support from Djohar in Nov. 1991 and moved into the opposition, when

Djohar made a major cabinet shakeup. It is not clear what was the Djohar's SOLS after November 1991 until December 1993 when he began to receive support from the Rassemblement pour la Démocratie et le Renouveau (RDR) which was a party launched by his son-in-law.". World Statesmen (2020) and Perspective Monde (2020), however, consider his party affiliation as none throughout. Metz (1994) suggests that Djohar is Right: "The three years of estrangement following the unilateral declaration of independence and the nationalistic Soilih regime were followed during the conservative Abdallah and Djohar regimes by a period of growing trade, aid, cultural, and defense links between the former colony and France, punctuated by frequent visits to Paris by the head of state and occasional visits by the French president to Moroni."

Year: 1993

Head of government: Prime Minister Ahmed Ben Cheikh Attoumane

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Attoumane's party as RDR, and does not have information on RDR's ideology.

Year: 1994

Head of government: Prime Minister Halifa Houmadi

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Church (2003: 228) identifies Houmadi's party as RDR: "[I]n October Djohar dismissed him from the post and appointed Halifa Houmadi to the post" and "At an RDR congress in early February the two officials were removed from the party, and Houmadi took over the chairmanship." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Houmadi's party as RDR.

Year: 1995

Head of government: Prime Minister Caabi El-Yachroutu Mohamed

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2020) identifies El-Yachroutu's party as RDR.

Year: 1996

Head of government: Prime Minister Ahmed Abdou

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Abdou's party as RND, and writes

of the RND as a “conservative traditionalist”. Derbyshire (1999) also suggests that RND is right: “The conservative RND was formed in 1996 by 24 parties supporting the government.” (489).

Year: 1997

Head of government: Prime Minister Nouridine Bourhane

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Abdou’s party as RND, and writes of the RND as a “conservative traditionalist”. Derbyshire (2016) also suggests that RND is right: “The conservative RND was formed in 1996 by 24 parties supporting the government.” (489)

Year: 1998

Head of government: Prime Minister Abbas Djoussouf

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Djoussouf as being affiliated to both MDP and FRN and states “FRN = Forum pour le Redressement National (Forum for National Recovery, anti-RDR alliance of parties, federalist, Jan 1994-1994” and “MDP = Mouvement pour la Démocratie et le Progrès (Movement for Democracy and Progress, est.1992?)”. Party Facts (2020) identifies the MDP existing from 1992-1993 and the Forum pour le Redressement National (NR) existing from 1993-1999. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes “The MDP, also styled the Popular Democratic Movement (Mouvement Démocratique Populaire), is a Moroni-based formation that campaigned in favor of the 1992 constitution. It later became the leading element of an anti-Djohar alliance called the Forum for National Recovery (Forum pour le Redressement National—FRN), of which MDP leader Abbas DJOUSSOUF was the principal spokesperson. The FRN was launched in January 1994 by opposition parties that had presented joint lists in the December 1993 elections... Following the 1996 election, parties that had supported the failed candidacy of Djoussouf reorganized under the FRN rubric... Djoussouf was appointed prime minister in November 1998, and he subsequently formed an FRN-dominated cabinet. Not surprisingly, he strongly protested the April 1999 coup, announcing the withdrawal of the MDP from the FRN when it appeared that some FRN components had acquiesced to the government of self-proclaimed President Azali. Djoussouf subsequently became the dominant figure in the opposition camp as it participated in negotiations on the creation of a new federal structure... Djoussouf died in 2010, and there have been few references to the MDP in recent years.”

Year: 1999

Head of government: Prime Minister Bianrifi Tarmidi

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2020) states that Tarmidi's party affiliation as none.

Years: 2000 – 2001

Head of government: Prime Minister Hamada Madi

Ideology:

Description: Perspective Monde (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) identify Azali Assoumani instead of Hamada Madi on December 31, 2002. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government and affiliation as PRC. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Madi's party affiliation as PRC.

Years: 2002 – 2005

Head of government: President Azali Assoumani

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective Monde (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) identify Azali Assoumani instead of Hamada Madi on December 31, 2002. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government and affiliation as CRC. Perspective monde (2019) identifies CRC as Left. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Assoumani's party affiliation as CRC, and identifies CRC as leftist, writing "CRC = Convention pour le Renouveau des Comores (Convention for the Renewal of the Comoros, social democratic, federalist, Assoumani personalist, est.Sep 2002)". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Convention for the Renewal of the Comoros (CRC) as 3.3. Fitzgerald (2021) writes "1999... Two years later, Denard was charged by the Italian Attorney of Verona for attempting to recruit mercenaries in the country's far-right movement. This was alleged to have been for an attempted coup against Coromos' leader, Azali Assoumani."

Years: 2006 – 2010

Head of government: President Ahmed Abdallah Mohamed Sambi

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Lansford (2017) identifies Sambi's party as FNJ, writing "In the primary balloting on Nzwani on April 16, 2006, moderate Islamist leader Ahmed Abdallah Mohamed SAMBI of the FNJ led 13 candidates with 23.7 percent of the vote." DPI identifies FNJ as center. Political

Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party's ideology. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes "President Sambi's subsequent formal relationship to the FNJ was unclear. In 2009 several sources referenced a Movement of Citizens for Justice and Progress (led by former prime minister Ahmed Abdou) as "Sambi's party." For the December 2009 assembly poll, the numerous parties that supported Sambi were grouped as the *Baobab* Coalition, which endorsed Ikililou Dhoinine, then a close ally of Sambi, in the 2010 presidential poll." World Statesmen (2020) identifies President Sambi's party affiliation as BC, writing "BC = Baobab Coalition (presidential coalition, supports Sambi & Dhoinine, est.2009)". Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes "*Djuwa* ("Sun") Party. Former Union president Ahmed Abdallah Mohamed Sambi and his followers founded *Djuwa* in late 2013". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of "JUWA party" as 4.0. Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) writes "In the presidential election of May 2006, which was contested by candidates from Anjouan, Sambi ran as an independent".

Years: 2011 – 2015

Head of government: President Ikililou Dhoinine

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify leader. Massey (2018: 295) identifies Dhoinine's party as UPDC: "The largest party, with eight seats, was the 'Union pour le Développement des Comores' (UPDC), the party of the previous president, Ikililou Dhoinine." Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes "For the December 2009 assembly poll, the numerous parties that supported Sambi were grouped as the *Baobab* Coalition, which endorsed Ikililou Dhoinine, then a close ally of Sambi, in the 2010 presidential poll... A number of propresidential parties and groups in February 2013 announced the formation of the Rally for Democracy in the Comoros (*Rassemblement pour la Démocratie aux Comores*—Radeco), although the coalition apparently was later renamed the Union for the Development of the Comoros (*Union pour le Développement des Comores*—UDC)... Democratic Rally of the Comoros (*Rassemblement Démocratique des Comores*—RDC). Launched in November 2013 under the leadership of Djaé Ahamada Changli (theretofore referenced as the secretary general of the MMP [see introductory text, above]), the RDC described itself as a social-democratic grouping supportive of the policies of President Ikililou Dhoinine". World Statesmen (2020) identifies Dhoinine's party affiliation as BC, writing "BC = Baobab Coalition (presidential coalition, supports Sambi & Dhoinine, est.2009)". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union for the Development of the Comoros (UPDC) as 0.0.

Years: 2016 – 2019

Head of government: President Azali Assoumani

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Assoumani's party as CRC. Fröhlich (2019) also identifies Assoumani's party as CRC: "President Azali will again stand for re-election as the candidate of the Convention for the Renewal of the Comoros (CRC) party." Perspective monde (2019) identifies CRC as Left. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Assoumani's party affiliation as CRC, and identifies CRC as leftist, writing "CRC = Convention pour le Renouveau des Comores (Convention for the Renewal of the Comoros, social democratic, federalist, Assoumani personalist, est.Sep 2002)". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Convention for the Renewal of the Comoros (CRC) as 3.3. Fitzgerald (2021) writes "1999... Two years later, Denard was charged by the Italian Attorney of Verona for attempting to recruit mercenaries in the country's far-right movement. This was alleged to have been for an attempted coup against Comoros' leader, Azali Assoumani."

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