

Country: Senegal

Years: 1960-1961

Head of government: Mamadou Dia

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Leopold Sedar Senghor instead of Mamadou Dia on December 31, 1962. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Whiteman (2009) identifies Dia's affiliation as UPS, writing that "[Dia] joined with Senghor in founding a successful political party [the UPS] and became its first secretary-general." Whiteman continues "they [powerful religious leaders] were used to Senghor's armchair socialism, but Dia seemed to be taking socialism seriously, and autocratically... [Dia] was noted for his attacks on the neo-liberal economic policies of the current president, Abdoulaye Wade". DPI identifies UPS ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party's ideology. Clark and Phillips (1994) note "the UPS platform in the years before and immediately after independence in 1960 was based on what Senghor and Mamadou Dia called 'African socialism'". Gallagher et al. (1964) write "The UPS considers itself a 'socialist' party, but not in the usual sense. It is impossible, says Mamadou Dia, 'constantly to relate the socialist fabric to our reality.' A new socialism must be constructed which takes into account African realities. In other words, the socialist method must be applied to the Senegalese context and Senegalese tradition." World Statesmen (2019) identifies Dia's party as BPS before "26 Jul 1958" and as UPS after that date. World Statesmen describes BPS as "Bloc Populaire Sénégalais... Senegalese Popular Bloc, social-democratic, 1957-1958, merged into UPS" and UPS as "Union Progressiste Sénégalaise... Senegalese Progressive Union, social-democratic, ruling party 1960-1974, renamed PSS, 1958-Dec 1976". In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify UPS's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.002) in 1973.

Years: 1962-1969

Head of government: Leopold Sedar Senghor

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Leopold Sedar Senghor instead of Mamadou Dia on December 31, 1962. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Senghor's party as UPS. DPI identifies UPS ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party's ideology. Manzano (2017) codes Senghor as left. Perspective Monde gives Senghor's party affiliation as UPS/PSS. Whiteman

(2009) describes “Senghor’s armchair socialism”. Clark and Phillips (1994) note “the UPS platform in the years before and immediately after independence in 1960 was based on what Senghor and Mamadou Dia called ‘African socialism’”. Clark and Phillips also note that the PSS was made up of “local French socialists” and was absorbed by “a Senegalese branch of the French socialist party”. Clark and Phillips state that Senghor and his successor, Abdou Diouf, maintain that they practice a form of African socialism. Mendy and Lobban Jr. (2013) write “moderate ‘African socialist’ Francophile and United States-friendly Senegalese president Leopold Sedar Senghor”. Gallagher et al. (1964) write “The UPS considers itself a ‘socialist’ party, but not in the usual sense. It is impossible, says Mamadou Dia, ‘constantly to relate the socialist fabric to our reality.’ A new socialism must be constructed which takes into account African realities. In other words, the socialist method must be applied to the Senegalese context and Senegalese tradition.” Gallagher et al. also state “Senghor developed his political thought... out of a discovery, Marxism”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Senghor’s party as UPS before 1976 and as PSS after that date. World Statesmen describes UPS as “Union Progressiste Sénégalaise... Senegalese Progressive Union, social-democratic, ruling party 1960-1974, renamed PSS, 1958-Dec 1976” and PSS as “Parti Socialiste du Sénégal... Socialist Party of Senegal, social-democratic, 1976-2000 ruling party, former UPS, est. Dec 1976”. PSS is a member of the Socialist International. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify UPS’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.002) in 1973.

Years: 1970-1980

Head of government: Abdou Diouf

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Diouf’s party as UPS until 1976 and PS afterwards. DPI identifies UPS and PS ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on the UPS’ ideology. Political Handbook of the World (2012) elaborates, writing “Senghor’s own Socialist Party (PS) adopted the centrist position of “democratic socialism,” while the two other legal parties, the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS) and the African Independence Party (PAI), were assigned “liberal democratic” and “Marxist-Leninist” postures, respectively. Manzano (2017) codes Diouf as “left”. Perspective Monde gives Diouf’s party affiliation as UPS/PSS, coded as “moderate left”. Clark and Phillips (1994) state that in 1976, constitutional reforms led to the emergence of multiple political parties which each chose ideological positions. According to Clark and Phillips, “Senghor and the UPS leaders chose the socialist slot, the tendency that they felt they had represented all along... they changed their name in 1977 to the Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste) [PS]. Abdou Diouf took over

control of the PS when Senghor resigned the presidency”. Clark and Phillips state that Senghor and his successor, Abdou Diouf, maintain that they practice a form of African socialism. Gallagher et al. (1964) write “The UPS considers itself a ‘socialist’ party, but not in the usual sense. It is impossible, says Mamadou Dia, ‘constantly to relate the socialist fabric to our reality.’ A new socialism must be constructed which takes into account African realities. In other words, the socialist method must be applied to the Senegalese context and Senegalese tradition.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Diouf’s party as UPS before 1976 and as PSS after that date. World Statesmen describes UPS as “Union Progressiste Sénégalaise... Senegalese Progressive Union, social-democratic, ruling party 1960-1974, renamed PSS, 1958-Dec 1976” and PSS as “Parti Socialiste du Sénégal... Socialist Party of Senegal, social-democratic, 1976-2000 ruling party, former UPS, est.Dec 1976”. PSS is a member of the Socialist International. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify UPS’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.002) in 1973.

Years: 1981-1982

Head of government: Habib Thiam

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Abdou Diouf instead of Habib Thiam on December 31, 1983. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. DPI identifies PS ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2012) elaborates, writing “Senghor's own Socialist Party (PS) adopted the centrist position of “democratic socialism,” while the two other legal parties, the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS) and the African Independence Party (PAI), were assigned “liberal democratic” and “Marxist-Leninist” postures, respectively. Perspective Monde identifies Thiam’s party affiliation as PS, considered “moderate left”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Thiam’s party as PSS. World Statesmen describes the PSS as “Parti Socialiste du Sénégal... Socialist Party of Senegal, social-democratic, 1976-2000 ruling party, former UPS, est.Dec 1976”. PSS is a member of the Socialist International.

Years: 1983-1990

Head of government: Abdou Diouf

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Abdou Diouf instead of Habib Thiam on December 31, 1983. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Diouf’s party as PSS. DPI identifies PS ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2012) elaborates, writing “Senghor's own Socialist Party (PS) adopted the centrist position of “democratic

socialism,” while the two other legal parties, the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS) and the African Independence Party (PAI), were assigned “liberal democratic” and “Marxist-Leninist” postures, respectively. Manzano (2017) codes Diouf as “left”. Perspective Monde gives Diouf’s party affiliation as UPS/PSS, coded as “moderate left”. Clark and Phillips (1994) state that in 1976, constitutional reforms led to the emergence of multiple political parties which each chose ideological positions. According to Clark and Phillips, “Senghor and the UPS leaders chose the socialist slot, the tendency that they felt they had represented all along... they changed their name in 1977 to the Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste) [PS]. Abdou Diouf took over control of the PS when Senghor resigned the presidency”. Clark and Phillips state that Senghor and his successor, Abdou Diouf, maintain that they practice a form of African socialism. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Diouf’s party as UPS before 1976 and as PSS after that date. World Statesmen describes UPS as “Union Progressiste Sénégalaise... Senegalese Progressive Union, social-democratic, ruling party 1960-1974, renamed PSS, 1958-Dec 1976” and PSS as “Parti Socialiste du Sénégal... Socialist Party of Senegal, social-democratic, 1976-2000 ruling party, former UPS, est.Dec 1976”. PSS is a member of the Socialist International.

Years: 1991-1997

Head of government: Habib Thiam

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. DPI identifies PS ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2012) elaborates, writing “Senghor's own Socialist Party (PS) adopted the centrist position of “democratic socialism,” while the two other legal parties, the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS) and the African Independence Party (PAI), were assigned “liberal democratic” and “Marxist-Leninist” postures, respectively. Perspective Monde identifies Thiam’s party affiliation as PS, considered “moderate left”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Thiam’s party as PSS. World Statesmen describes the PSS as “Parti Socialiste du Sénégal... Socialist Party of Senegal, social-democratic, 1976-2000 ruling party, former UPS, est.Dec 1976”. PSS is a member of the Socialist International.

Years: 1998-1999

Head of government: Mamadou Lamine Loum

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Loum as a former leader of the PS, writing “Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste—PS)... Leaders: Ousmane Tanor DIENG (Chair

and 2012 Presidential Candidate), Abdou DIOUF (Former President of the Republic), Mamadou Lamine LOUM (Former Prime Minister).” DPI identifies PS ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World (2012) elaborates, writing “Senghor's own Socialist Party (PS) adopted the centrist position of “democratic socialism,” while the two other legal parties, the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS) and the African Independence Party (PAI), were assigned “liberal democratic” and “Marxist-Leninist” postures, respectively. Perspective Monde considers Loum’s party affiliation to be PS, coded as “moderate left”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Loum’s party as PSS. World Statesmen describes the PSS as “Parti Socialiste du Sénégal... Socialist Party of Senegal, social-democratic, 1976-2000 ruling party, former UPS, est.Dec 1976”. PSS is a member of the Socialist International.

Years: 2000

Head of government: Moustapha Niasse

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Niasse as a member of AFP, writing that the “Alliance of Forces for Progress (Alliance des Forces pour le Progrès—AFP) [was] formed by Moustapha Niasse in the fall of 1999 after he had left the PS.” Perspective Monde identifies Niasse’s party affiliation as AFP, coded as “center left”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Niasse’s party as AFP. World Statesmen describes the AFP as “Alliance des Forces de Progrès... (social democratic)”. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify AFP’s ideology as “Center” (0.06) in 2001. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify “negligible visible disagreement” in AFP in 2001.

Years: 2001

Head of government: Mame Madior Boye

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. While World Statesmen (2019) identifies Boye as “non-party” and Lansford (2017) identifies Boye as independent, writing “Mame Madiou BOYE, an independent who had been serving as justice minister”, Perspective Monde codes Boye’s party as the PDS, coded as “center right”. World Statesmen describes the PDS as “liberal.” PDS is a member of the Liberal International.

Years: 2002-2003

Head of government: Idrissa Seck

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Seck as a member of PDS, writing “Wade's main political rival within the PDS, Idrissa Seck, was dismissed as prime minister in April 2004.” Galvan (2001) identifies PDS as right, writing “In 1976, Senghor reopened Senegalese politics to opposition parties of a predetermined ideological range. His renamed Socialist Party (PS) stood as the official socialist choice. The Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS) was designated to represent a liberal, right-of-center alternative.” DPI identifies PDS ideology as right. Political Handbook of the World (2012) elaborates, writing “the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS)... [was] assigned [a] “liberal democratic” posture” and “although standing to the left of President Senghor on certain issues, it [the PDS] was required by the constitutional amendment of March 1976 to adopt a formal position to the right of the government party”. Perspective Monde codes Seck’s party as PDS, identified as “center right”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Seck’s party as PDS. World Statesmen describes the PDS as “Parti Démocratique Sénégalais... Senegalese Democratic Party, liberal”. PDS is a member of the Liberal International. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PDS’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.487) in 2001.

Years: 2004-2006

Head of government: Macky Sall

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Mbow (2008) identifies Sall’s affiliation at the time as PDS, writing “Sall rose quickly through the PDS ranks... only to have Wade take the premiership away from him without explanation after... June 2007.” DPI identifies PDS ideology as right. Political Handbook of the World (2012) elaborates, writing “although standing to the left of President Senghor on certain issues, it [the PDS] was required by the constitutional amendment of March 1976 to adopt a formal position to the right of the government party”. Perspective Monde describes Sall’s party as the PDS, considered “center right”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Sall’s party as PDS. World Statesmen describes the PDS as “Parti Démocratique Sénégalais... Senegalese Democratic Party, liberal”. PDS is a member of the Liberal International. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PDS’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.487) in 2001.

Years: 2007-2008

Head of government: Cheikh Hadjibou Soumare

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Soumare as non-party, writing “Wade

subsequently appointed independent Cheikh Hadjibou SOUMARÉ as prime minister of a cabinet dominated by the PDS.” World Statesmen (2019) describes Soumare as “non-party”.

Years: 2009-2011

Head of government: Souleymane Ndene Ndiaye

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde describes Ndiaye’s party as the PDS, considered “center right”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Ndiaye’s party as PDS. World Statesmen describes the PDS as “Parti Démocratique Sénégalais... Senegalese Democratic Party, liberal”. PDS is a member of the Liberal International. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify PDS’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.487) in 2007.

Years: 2012

Head of government: Abdoul Mbaye

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Mbaye as an independent, writing “Sall appointed independent Abdoul MBAYE prime minister of a coalition cabinet.” World Statesmen (2019) describes Soumare as “non-party”.

Years: 2013

Head of government: Aminata Toure

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Toure as a member of APR, writing “Mohamed Abdallah DIONE (Independent) [was] appointed by the president on July 6, 2014, to succeed Aminata TOURE (Alliance for the Republic).”

Perspective Monde describes Toure’s party as the APR, considered “center”.

World Statesmen (2019) identifies Toure’s party as APR. APR is a member of the Liberal International. The Statesmen’s Yearbook (2020: 1056) states, “Macky Sall, a former prime minister under President Wade and founder of the liberal Alliance for the Republic (APR), was elected president in March 2012.” In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify APR’s ideology as “Center” (-0.101) in 2012.

Years: 2014-2018

Head of government: Mohamed Dionne

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Dionne as an independent, writing “Mohamed Abdallah DIONE (Independent) [was] appointed by the president on July 6, 2014, to succeed Aminata TOURE (Alliance for the Republic).” World Statesmen (2019) describes Dionne as “non-party”. However, Political Handbook of the World (2018-2019) also identifies Dionne as loosely affiliated with the United in Hope Coalition (*Benno Bokk Yakaar*—BBY), writing, “Although nominally an independent, Prime Minister Mohammed Abdallah Dione led the United in Hope grouping in the July 2017 parliamentary polling.” Political Handbook describes BBY, “The pro-Mackey Sall coalition was formed in 2012 by opposition parties in an effort to end the political dominance of the PDS.” Political Handbook also describes BBY as “[Macky] Sall’s APR-*Yakaar*-led coalition”; Perspective Monde (2020) identifies APR as centrist. APR is a member of the Liberal International. The Statesmen’s Yearbook (2020: 1056) states, “Macky Sall, a former prime minister under President Wade and founder of the liberal Alliance for the Republic (APR), was elected president in March 2012.” In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify APR’s ideology as “Center” (-0.101) in 2012, and 3 experts identify APR-*Yakaar*’s ideology as “Center” (-0.071) in 2017.

Years: 2019-2020

Head of government: Macky Sall

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2018-2019) identifies Sall’s party affiliation as Alliance for the Republic-Hope (*Alliance pour la République-Yaakar*)—APR-*Yakaar*), writing, “The APR-*Yakaar* was formed in 2008 by former prime minister Mackey Sall to oppose Wade and the PDS. Sall won the 2012 presidential balloting and the APR-*Yakaar* formed the United in Hope coalition to contest legislative balloting that year.” Political Handbook also discusses the United in Hope Coalition (*Benno Bokk Yakaar*—BBY), writing, “The pro-Mackey Sall coalition was formed in 2012 by opposition parties in an effort to end the political dominance of the PDS.” Perspective Monde (2021) corroborates party affiliation as APR and identifies the party as centrist. World Statesmen (2021) corroborates party affiliation as APR. APR is a member of the Liberal International. The Statesmen’s Yearbook (2020: 1056) states, “Macky Sall, a former prime minister under President Wade and founder of the liberal Alliance for the Republic (APR), was elected president in March 2012. Having broken with Wade’s administration over issues of transparency and public spending, Sall pledged to cut the size of government and tackle Senegal’s long-standing problems of unemployment, poor infrastructure and food insecurity.” Wade is coded as

rightist. Ortiz de Zárate (2019) describes Sall as “un politico progresista” [a progressive politician]. Ortiz de Zárate also writes, “... hacia 1990, optó por afiliarse al Partido Democrático Senegalés (PDS) de Abdoulaye Wade, una formación de orientación centrista y liberal...” [...around 1990, he chose to join the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS) of Abdoulaye Wade, a formation with a centrist and liberal orientation...] In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify APR-Yakaar’s ideology as “Center” (-0.071) in 2017.

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