

Country: Republic of the Congo

Years: 1960 – 1962

Head of government: President Fulbert Youlou

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government and affiliation as UDDIA. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes, “The country’s first president, Fulbert YOLOU, established a strong centralized administration but resigned in 1963 in the face of numerous strikes and labor demonstrations.” Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Youlou’s party as “Union démocratique de défense des intérêts africains.” Lentz (1994: 191) writes, “[Youlou] founded the Democratic Union for the Defense of African Interests (UDDIA).” Lentz also writes, “Youlou made plans to transform the government of the Congo into a one-party system, but his plans were threatened in August of 1963 by a massive demonstration of leftists and trade unionists.” World Statesmen (2019) corroborates Youlou’s party as UDDIA, described as “Union Démocratique pour la Défense des Intérêts Africains... Democratic Union for the Defense of African Interests, conservative”. Clark and Decalo (2012) write Youlou “was obsessed with fear of communism; and rapidly alienated the burgeoning youth in Congo’s urban centers with his pro-French, ultraconservative policies”.

Years: 1963 – 1965

Head of government: Prime Minister Pascal Lissouba

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. CHISOLS identifies Lissouba’s party as UPADS from 1992. DPI identifies UPADS’ ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party’s ideology. Decalo et al. (1996: 175) identify Lissouba’s ideology as left: “He was a member of the interim 8-man committee appointed to govern Congo right after the August 1963 that toppled Youlou, and was named minister of agriculture in Massamba-Debat’s provisional government, and in December 1963 became the latter’s Prime Minister, and right-hand man. Though more outspoken against France than Massamba-Debat, Lissouba was in essence a moderate Marxist.” Lansford (2015) writes “Under Massamba-Débat the regime embraced a Marxist-type doctrine of “scientific socialism,” and the political system was reorganized on a one-party basis”. Lansford continues “The Republic of the Congo became a one-party state in 1963 when the National Revolutionary Movement (Mouvement National Révolutionnaire—MNR) supplanted the two parties that had been politically dominant under the preceding administration”. Van

Rensburg (1975) describes the MNR as “the para-military Mouvement Nationale de la Révolution... with strong Communist tendencies”. Perspective Monde identifies Lissouba as a member of the MNR, coded as “moderate left”. Murray (1992) writes “As early as December 1963 Pascal Lissouba, prime minister in the new government, declared himself in favor of ‘scientific socialism.’ In 1964 this was written into the charter of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), the only party.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Lissouba’s party as MNR, described as “Mouvement National de la Révolution National Revolutionary Movement, socialist”.

Years: 1966 – 1968

Head of government: Prime Minister Ambroise Noumazalaye

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Decalo et al (1996: 220) identify Noumazalaye’s ideology as left: “In April 1966, he succeeded Lissouba as Massamba-Debat’s prime minister and minister of planning, after returning from Moscow, where he attended the Soviet Communist Party congress” and “Former prime minister of Congo, and one of the country’s foremost radical Maoist leaders.” Perspective Monde identifies Noumazalaye as a member of the MNR, coded as “moderate left”. Murray (1992) writes “As early as December 1963 Pascal Lissouba, prime minister in the new government, declared himself in favor of ‘scientific socialism.’ In 1964 this was written into the charter of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), the only party.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Noumazalaye’s party as MNR, described as “Mouvement National de la Révolution National Revolutionary Movement, socialist”.

Years: 1969 – 1972

Head of government: Prime Minister Marien Ngouabi

Ideology: left

Description: Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Marien Ngouabi instead of Alfred Raoul on December 31, 1969. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government and affiliation as PCT. Manzano (2017) codes Ngouabi as “left”. Decalo et al. (1996: 215) identify Ngouabi’s party as PCT: “He founded the Marxist-Leninist PCT party.” DPI identifies PCT as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party’s ideology. Murray (1992) writes “In 1968 the Congolese Workers’ Party (Parti Congolais du Travail, PCT) replaced the MNR. The 1970 constitution made Marxism-Leninism the basis of the regime.” Van Rensburg (1975) wrote “the MNR of Massemba-Debat was transformed into the Parti

Congolaise du Travail (PCT), based on Marxist-Leninist theory” when Ngouabi took power. Van Rensburg quotes Ngouabi stating that he would take “action under the influence of Marx and Lenin... based on proletarian nationalism”. World Statesmen (2019) describes Ngouabi as the “President of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labor”, described as “Parti Congolais du Travail... Congolese Party of Labor... Marxist-Leninist Communist 31 Dec 1969-10 Dec 1990”. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies PCT’s ideology as “Left” (-1.955) in 1970.

Years: 1973 – 1974

Head of government: Prime Minister Henri Lopès

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Decalo et al. (1996: 179-180) identify Lopès’ party as PCT: “On August 31, 1973 he became Congo’s first prime minister under the 1973 constitution” and “in January 1970, he was named minister of justice at the same time as he was appointed to the PCT central committee.” DPI identifies PCT as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party’s ideology. Perspective Monde identifies Lopes as a member of the PCT, coded as “moderate left”. Murray (1992) writes “In 1968 the Congolese Workers’ Party (Parti Congolais du Travail, PCT) replaced the MNR. The 1970 constitution made Marxism-Leninism the basis of the regime.” World Statesmen (2019) describes Lopès as a member of the PCT, described as “Parti Congolais du Travail... Congolese Party of Labor... Marxist-Leninist Communist 31 Dec 1969-10 Dec 1990”. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies PCT’s ideology as “Left” (-1.955) in 1973.

Years: 1975 – 1983

Head of government: Prime Minister Louis Sylvain Goma

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Decalo et al. (1996: 130) identify Goma’s party as PCT: “He was brought into the PCT Politburo in January 1975, and on December 2, 1975 was named Congo’s prime minister.” DPI identifies PCT as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party’s ideology. Perspective Monde identifies Goma as a member of the PCT, coded as “moderate left”. Murray (1992) writes “In 1968 the Congolese Workers’ Party (Parti Congolais du Travail, PCT) replaced the MNR. The 1970 constitution made Marxism-Leninism the basis of the regime.” World Statesmen (2019) describes Goma as a member of the PCT, described as “Parti Congolais du Travail... Congolese Party of Labor... Marxist-

Leninist Communist 31 Dec 1969-10 Dec 1990". In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies PCT's ideology as "Left" (-1.955) in 1973, 1977, and 1979.

Years: 1984 – 1988

Head of government: Prime Minister Ange Édouard Pongui

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Decalo et al. (1996: 262) identify Pongui's party as PCT: "[I]n the summer of 1984 he was brought back into the political center-stage by Sasso Ngueso as prime minister of Congo" and "When the PCT was formed in December 1969, Pongui became a member of its politburo." DPI identifies PCT as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party's ideology. Perspective Monde identifies Pongui as a member of the PCT, coded as "moderate left". Murray (1992) writes "In 1968 the Congolese Workers' Party (Parti Congolais du Travail, PCT) replaced the MNR. The 1970 constitution made Marxism-Leninism the basis of the regime." World Statesmen (2019) describes Pongui as a member of the PCT, described as "Parti Congolais du Travail... Congolese Party of Labor... Marxist-Leninist Communist 31 Dec 1969-10 Dec 1990". In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies PCT's ideology as "Left" (-1.955) in 1984.

Years: 1989 – 1990

Head of government: Prime Minister Alphonse Poaty-Souchlaty

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Alphonse's party as PCT, writing "On July 30, 1989, Sassou-Nguesso was reelected for a third term at the fourth PCT party congress. However, continued debate over the foundering economy led to an extraordinary congress in August at which a moderate technocrat, Alphonse POATY-SOUCHLATY, was named to succeed Pongui as prime minister." DPI identifies PCT as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party's ideology. Perspective Monde identifies Poaty-Souchlaty as a member of the PCT, coded as "moderate left". Murray (1992) writes "In 1968 the Congolese Workers' Party (Parti Congolais du Travail, PCT) replaced the MNR. The 1970 constitution made Marxism-Leninism the basis of the regime." World Statesmen (2019) describes Poaty-Souchlaty as a member of the PCT, described as "Parti Congolais du Travail... Congolese Party of Labor... Marxist-Leninist Communist 31 Dec 1969-10 Dec 1990". In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies PCT's ideology as "Left" (-1.955) in 1989.

Year: 1991

Head of government: Prime Minister André Milongo

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) describes Milongo as “Non-party”. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes, “Four days later, Milongo named a 25-member cabinet, which on September 15 was reduced to 15 ministers amid charges that members of the opposition coalition Forces of Change (*Forces de Changement*—FDC) were overrepresented.” Political Handbook also identifies Milongo’s party affiliation as UDR/Codesa, writing, “the Convention for Democracy and Salvation (*Convention pour la Démocratie et la Salut*—Codesa), a new multiparty alliance led by former prime minister André Milongo of the Union for Democracy and the Republic (UDR).” Political Handbook of the World (2010) describes Codesa as, “an anti-PCT/FDU coalition.” Perspective Monde (2020) identifies PCT as leftist, and World Statesmen (2020) identifies PCT as “socialist.” Clark and Decalo (2012) corroborate Milongo’s party affiliation as UDR, writing, “Union pour la Démocratie et la République (UDR)/Union for Democracy and the Republic. This political party was set up in 1992 by André Milongo.” Political Handbook also writes, “Union for Democracy and the Republic (*Union pour la Démocratie et la République*—UDR). Launched after a split in the MCDDI (see above) and subsequently characterized as ‘close to the Presidential Tendency’.” Political Handbook describes the MCDDI: “A right-of-center group and former member of the Forces of Change (*Forces de Changement*—FDC) coalition, the MCDDI was formed in 1989 by Bernard Kolélas, who had served as an adviser to former prime minister Milongo.” World Statesmen (2020) describes MCDDI as “conservative.” Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 112) identify MCDDI as “center right.” Lumumba-Kasongo (2005: 105) writes, “The National Conference revolved round two major stakes. On the one hand, supporters of the PCT strove to avoid the trial and imprisonment of their officials, particularly the president of the republic, and, on the other hand, those opposed to the one-party regime wanted to come to power, first at the National Conference and subsequently through transitional elections. The election of André Milongo as prime minister therefore marked a turning point in this partisan struggle which would gather momentum under the transition. During the transition, that struggle would configure the political scene into two alliances: that of supporters of the prime minister, and that of supporters of Sassou-Nguesso and Pascal Lissouba, on the other. The thirty or so parties and associations that supported André Milongo’s election as prime minister during the National Conference formed an alliance to support the transitional government. That alliance whose most important party was Bernard Kolélas’ MCDDI was named the Forces du Changement et du Progrès (Forces of Change and Progress).”

Sassou-Nguesso and Lissouba are coded as leftist. Clark and Decalo (2012: 192) write, “A Parti Congolais du Travail (PCT) member, Gabou played an equivocal role during the liberalizations of the 1990s, supporting the emergence of the interim administration of André Milongo but remaining a PCT member.” DPI, World Statesmen (2020), and Perspective Monde (2020) all identify PCT as leftist.

Year: 1992

Head of government: Prime Minister Claude Antoine Dacosta

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) describes Dacosta as “Non-party”. Political Handbook of the World (2018-2019) writes, “On December 2, the military occupied Brazzaville, dispersed demonstrators, ordered the government and opposition to form a unity government headed by a compromise prime minister, and suspended election preparations. Four days later, Lissouba appointed Claude-Antoine DACOSTA, an agronomist and former World Bank representative, as prime minister.” Nohlen et al. (1999) writes, “Claude-Antoine Dacosta...

Compromise choice as Prime Minister, installed after imposition of a ‘national unity’ government under military prodding.” Europa Publications (2003) states, “Lissouba was inaugurated as President in late August... Shortly after a new Council of Ministers had been named, however, the PCT terminated a pact it had formed with the UPADS and instead formed an alliance with the Union pour le renouveau démocratique (URD), a new grouping of seven parties, including the MCDDI. The URD-PCT alliance, which now had a majority of seats in parliament, won a vote of ‘no confidence’ in the Government in October, precipitating its resignation in November. Lissouba subsequently dissolved the Assemblée nationale, announcing that new legislative elections would be held in 1993. In response, the URD-PCT coalition commenced a campaign of civil disobedience. In December the Chief of Staff of the armed forces intervened and demanded that the two sides form a transitional government, pending fresh parliamentary elections. Claude Antoine Dacosta, a former FAO and World Bank official, was appointed Prime Minister of the new transitional administration.” Lissouba is coded as leftist. DPI identifies both PCT and UPADS as leftist. World Statesmen (2020) and Perspective Monde (2020) identify PCT as leftist. Political Handbook (2015), World Statesmen, and Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 112) identifies MCDDI as rightist. Clark (1994: 55) writes, “Accordingly, a new compromise was reached whereby Lissouba agreed to form a national unity government that gave a majority of posts to the new (majority) URD-PCT coalition. The resulting new government, headed by a technocrat, Antoine Dacosta, included twelve opposition ministers, nine Lissouba supporters (the ‘Presidential Domaine’) and two from the Army.”

Lumuba-Kasongo (2005: 114) writes, “Claude Antoine Da Costa (minister under the Massambat-Débat regime from 1965 to 1966) was appointed on 5 December 1992 to form and head a coalition government with the opposition.” Massambat-Débat is coded as leftist.

Years: 1993 – 1995

Head of government: Prime Minister Jacques Joachim Yhombi-Opango

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Opango’s party as PCT. Manzano (2017) codes Yhombi-Opango as “left”. Decalo et al. (1996: 313-314) identifies Yhombi-Opango’s party as RDD: “Yhomby Opango set up a political party to further his interests, the Rassemblement pour la Démocratie et la développement” and “in 1992 Yhomby Opango was appointed Prime Minister of Congo.” DPI identifies ideology of RDD as center. The Political Handbook of the World (2011), however, writes “some former leftists, including Yhombi-Opango of the RDD”. According to Clark and Decalo (2012), “Yhombi-Opango was... well-known for... his lack of commitment to anything resembling Marxism-Leninism.” Clark and Decalo state that in 1979 “he [Yhombi-Opango] was... dismissed from the PCT party” in favor of “the more sophisticated, debonair, and outwardly radical Sassou-Nguesso” who was “the overwhelming choice of the PCT”. Clark and Decalo add that Yhombi-Opango had been dropped from the PCT once before, in 1973 “for his overly conservative stances”. Akyeampong and Gates (2012) write “Yhombi-Opango drew the ire of staunchly Marxist leaders of the PCT for his flamboyant display of wealth and for his supposed right-wing views. However, he was a true ally to Ngouabi” and “hardline Marxists considered Yhombi-Opango to be too materialistic and more of a simple soldier than a revolutionary cadre”. Manzano (2017) codes Ngouabi as “left”. World Statesmen (2019) describes Yhombi-Opango as a member of the RDD.

Years: 1996

Head of government: Prime Minister Charles David Ganao

Ideology: center

Description: Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Denis Sassou-Nguesso instead of Charles David Ganao on December 31, 1997. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Ganao’s party as UFD, writing “David Charles GANAQ, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (Union des Forces Démocratiques—UFD), on September 2 organized a new government.” DPI identifies UFD as center. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any

information on party's ideology. World Statesmen (2019) describes Ganao as a member of the UFD.

Years: 1997 – 2004

Head of government: President Denis Sassou-Nguesso

Ideology: left

Description: Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Denis Sassou-Nguesso instead of Charles David Ganao on December 31, 1997. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Sassou-Nguesso's party as PCT (part of FDU, identified as FDU after 2005). Manzano (2017) codes Sassou-Nguesso as "left". Clark (2008: 268) identifies a Sassou-Nguesso's faction of PCT as part of the FDU coalition: "The future of the PCT itself soon emerged as the main point of contention between two factions of the regime. The liberal, more progressive faction, led by the president himself, wanted to organize a party conference to "refound" the party and merge it with other parties in the Forces Démocratiques Unies (FDU) coalition." DPI identifies PCT as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party's ideology. Perspective Monde identifies Sassou-Nguesso as a member of the PCT, coded as "moderate left". Murray (1992) writes "In 1968 the Congolese Workers' Party (Parti Congolais du Travail, PCT) replaced the MNR. The 1970 constitution made Marxism-Leninism the basis of the regime." World Statesmen (2019) describes Sassou-Nguesso as the "President of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labor" from "7 Feb 1979 – 4 Jun 1991", described as "Parti Congolais du Travail... Congolese Party of Labor, socialist... Marxist-Leninist Communist 31 Dec 1969-10 Dec 1990". World Statesmen identifies Sassou-Nguesso's party affiliation as PCT prior to 2002, then PCT and FDU from 2002 to 2007, and PCT and RMP from 2007. World Statesmen also states that FDU existed from 2001 to December 2007, when it was renamed RMP. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies PCT's ideology as "Left" (-1.955) in 1993, 2001, and 2002.

Years: 2005 – 2008

Head of government: Prime Minister Isidore Mvouba

Ideology: left

Description: Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Denis Sassou-Nguesso instead of Isidore Mvouba on December 31, 2009. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Mvouba's party as PCT, writing "On January 7, 2005, President Sassou-Nguesso appointed Isidore MVOUBA of the PCT to what the president called the "honorary" post of prime minister and reshuffled the cabinet." DPI identifies PCT as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any

information on party's ideology. Perspective Monde identifies Myouba as a member of the PCT, coded as "moderate left". Murray (1992) writes "In 1968 the Congolese Workers' Party (Parti Congolais du Travail, PCT) replaced the MNR. The 1970 constitution made Marxism-Leninism the basis of the regime." World Statesmen (2019) describes Mvouba as a member of the PCT, described as "Parti Congolais du Travail... Congolese Party of Labor, socialist". In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies PCT's ideology as "Left" (-1.955) in 2002 and 2007.

Years: 2010 – 2015

Head of government: President Denis Sassou-Nguesso

Ideology: left

Description: Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Denis Sassou-Nguesso instead of Isidore Mvouba on December 31, 2009. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Sassou-Nguesso's party as PCT (part of FDU, identified as FDU after 2005). Manzano (2017) codes Sassou-Nguesso as "left". DPI identifies PCT as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party's ideology. Perspective Monde identifies Sassou-Nguesso as a member of the PCT, coded as "moderate left". Murray (1992) writes "In 1968 the Congolese Workers' Party (Parti Congolais du Travail, PCT) replaced the MNR. The 1970 constitution made Marxism-Leninism the basis of the regime." World Statesmen (2019) describes Sassou-Nguesso as the "President of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labor" from "7 Feb 1979 – 4 Jun 1991", described as "Parti Congolais du Travail... Congolese Party of Labor, socialist... Marxist-Leninist Communist 31 Dec 1969-10 Dec 1990". World Statesmen identifies Sassou-Nguesso's party affiliation as PCT prior to 2002, then PCT and FDU from 2002 to 2007, and PCT and RMP from 2007. World Statesmen also states that FDU existed from 2001 to December 2007, when it was renamed RMP. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies PCT's ideology as "Left" (-1.955) in 2007 and 2012.

Years: 2016 – 2020

Head of government: Prime Minister Clément Mouamba

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. While World Statesmen (2021) and Perspective Monde (2021) describe Mouamba as "Non-party", Bigg (2016) writes "Mouamba was a senior member of the Pan-African Union for Social Democracy (UPADS) but was expelled from the opposition party for participating in consultations that preceded a referendum last October on changing the constitution to allow Sassou Nguesso to serve a third term". According to Clark and Decalo (2012), UPADS was set up in

1990 by former President Pascal Lissouba and several collaborators.” Lissouba is coded above as left. DPI identifies UPADS’ ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party’s ideology. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies UPADS’s ideology as “Left” (-1.914) in 2012 and 2017.

References:

- Akyeampong, Emmanuel K., and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., eds. *Dictionary of African Biography*. Vol. 6. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Bigg, Matthew Mpoke. "Congo Republic President Names One-Time Opposition Leader as PM." Edited by Andrew Hay. *Reuters*. Last modified April 23, 2016. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-congo-politics-idUSKCN0XL005?il=0>.
- Clark, John F. "Elections, Leadership, and Democracy in Congo." *Africa Today* 41, No. 3 (1994): 41-60. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4187001>
- Clark, John F., and Samuel Decalo. *Historical Dictionary of Republic of the Congo*. 4th ed. Historical Dictionaries of Africa. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2012.
- Derbyshire, J. Denis, and Ian Derbyshire. *Encyclopedia of World Political Systems*. Vol. 1. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2016.
- "Republic of the Congo." In Political Handbook of the World 2011, edited by Thomas C. Muller, William R. Overstreet, Judith F. Isacoff, and Tom Lansdorf, 319-28. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2011. http://library.cqpress.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/phw/phw2011_RepublicoftheCongo.
- Cruz, Cesi, Philip Keefer, and Carlos Scartascini. 2018. Database of Political Institutions (DPI2017). Inter-American Development Bank. Numbers for Development.
- Decalo, Samuel, Virginia McLean Thompson, and Richard Adloff. 1996. *Historical Dictionary of Congo*. African Historical Dictionaries. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.
- Europa Publications. *Africa South of the Sahara 2004*. Psychology Press, 2003.
- Perspective Monde, University of Sherbrooke. "Congo, Dirigeants Politiques" [Republic of the Congo, Political Leaders]. Perspective Monde. Accessed September 10, 2019. <http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMGvt?codePays=COG>
- Lansford, Tom. *Political Handbook of the World*. Washington, D.C.: Sage Publishing, 2010, 2015.
- Lentz, Harris. 1994. *Heads of States and Governments Since 1945*. New York.

- Lumumba-Kasongo, Tukumbi. *Liberal Democracy and Its Critics in Africa: Political Dysfunction and the Struggle for Progress*. Zed Books, 2005.
- Manzano, Dulce. 2017. *Bringing Down the Educational Wall: Political Regimes, Ideology, and the Expansion of Education*. Cambridge.
- Murray, Jocelyn, ed. *The Cultural Atlas of the World Africa*. 3rd ed. Alexandria, VA: Stonehenge, 1992.
- Nohlen, Dieter, Michael Krennerich, Bernard Thibaut. 1999. *Elections in Africa: A Data Handbook*. Oxford.
- Van Rensburg, A. P. J. *Contemporary Leaders of Africa*. HAUM, printed by Citadel Press, Lansdowne SA, 1975.
- World Statesmen. 2019. Congo-Brazzaville.
<https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Congo-Brazzaville.html> (last accessed on October 29, 2019).