

Country: Rwanda

Years: 1962 – 1972

Leader: President Grégoire Kayibanda

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Kayibanda's party as MDR-PARMEH. Childress (2015) suggests that Kayibanda is Left: "Kayibanda's rhetoric from the first years as president follow more nearly the stereotypical social-communist lines rather than any kind of social-democratic leaning: as paraphrased by Paternostre, 'all the citizens must collect very concrete fruits *from the common weal* . . . by the interplay of the different forms of cooperatives, by genuine *social solidarity*, by the participation of the *employees in ownership of enterprises*. Thus, this "third way" [between socialism and liberalism], was an argument of unity. It would become integrated one day, thought Kayibanda, into the '*new world economic order*', taking into account *all the aspects of human life*, not just the economic aspect.' [my italics]" (223-4)

Years: 1973 – 1993

Leader: President Juvénal Habyarimana

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Habyarimana's party as MRND (from 1976 to 1990). Lansford (2017) suggests that Habyarimana was non-party from 1973 to 1975, writing that though Habyarimana began his regime affiliated only with the military, he later founded the MRND party: "The new government, under Maj. Gen. Juvénal HABYARIMANA, moved quickly to dissolve the legislature, ban political organizations, and suspend portions of the constitution. A civilian-military government, composed largely of young technocrats, was subsequently installed, and it established a more centralized administrative system. A regime- supportive National Revolutionary Movement for Development (Mouvement Républicain National pour le Développement—MRND) was organized in mid-1976 and was accorded formal status as the sole legal party under a new constitution adopted by referendum on December 17, 1978." Verwimp (2000: 30) indicates a leftist agenda under Habyarimana: "Rwanda is a prime example of state-run, state-controlled, top-down development. All development initiatives in Rwanda were controlled by the regime, especially by the MRND party." Bonner (2018) indicates that MRND's ideology is left: "The genocide had its roots in the formation of the Parmehutu Party founded in the 1960s. That party expounded an ideology of Hutu racial supremacy and agrarian socialism...Despite this, the Parmehutu movement and its successor party, the National Republican

Movement for Democracy and Development (NRMD), found nothing but support from the United Nations and most European powers.” Childress (2015) suggests that MRND is left: “And interwoven into the MRND framework was the African socialism which Auma-Osolo and Osolo-Nasubo describe in their 1971 treatise.” (274) Macdonald (2001) suggests that Habyarimana is left: “In 1981 he made Rwanda into a one-party, socialist state.” (416) In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center” (0.281) in 1975 with “Negligible visible disagreement”, as “Center” (0.307) in 1981 with “Some visible disagreement”, as “Center” (0.274) in 1983 with “Virtually no visible disagreement”, and as “Center” (0.206) in 1988 with “Some visible disagreement”.

Years: 1994-2020

Leader: Paul Kagame

Ideology: Left

Description: CHISOLS identifies Kagame’s party as FPR. Crisafulli & Redmond (2014) suggest that Kagame is Right: “During our meetings at the presidential offices, which were simply decorated and unimposing, Kagame demonstrated his passion for private-sector development, free markets, and capitalism, which have earned him comparisons to a corporate CEO.” (16) Matfess (2015) indicates that Kagame is Right: “Paul Kagame, in particular, has been praised for the opening of Rwandan markets and the liberalization of the economy. Indeed, Kagame’s speeches and official statements often make him sound like a veritable Chicago Boy.” (188) However, Morrock (2010) identifies Kagame early on as Left: “Although he had trained at the U.S. Army General Staff College, RPA commander Paul Kagame had leftist leanings.” (68) World Statesmen (2020) identifies Kagame’s ideology as leftist, writing “Paul Kagame... FPR... FPR = Front Patriotique Rwandais (Rwandan Patriotic Front, social-democratic”. Ortiz de Zárate (2001) identifies Kagame as rightist, writing “Kagame embraced liberal market economics and secured the attention of the IMF”. Kinzer (2008) identifies Kagame’s ideology as leftist, writing “Paul Kagame... admired Museveni and... shared with him the same left-leaning nationalist views”. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.183) in 1995 with “Virtually no visible disagreement”, as “Center-left” (-0.779) in 2000 with “Some visible disagreement”, as “Center” (0.158) in 2003 with “Negligible visible disagreement”, and 4 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center” (-0.008) in 2008 with “Some visible disagreement”, and as “Center” (0.01) in 2013 with “Negligible visible disagreement”. DPI does not identify FPR’s ideology.

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