

Country: Cameroon

Years: 1961-1974

Head of government: Ahmadou Babatoura Ahidjo

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Ahidjo's affiliation as UC until 1966, then UNC from 1966 onwards. Lansford (2015) clarifies that "a transition to unitary government began with the 1965–1966 merger of the regional political parties to form the Cameroon National Union (UNC) under the leadership of President Ahidjo". While Manzano (2017) codes Ahidjo's ideology as "right", its main source, the *Political Handbook of the World*, does not provide any corroborating information besides stating that "the Marxist–Leninist UPC was formed in 1948... fragmenting into pro-Soviet and Maoist factions in the 1960s. Sporadic UPC guerrilla activity presented no serious challenge to the Ahidjo regime" (2015). Bustin et al. (1963) quotes Ahidjo stating "to explain our ideology in twentieth-century terms, let us say that the theme of all our reflections... is... African socialism." Bustin et al. explains that this speech was intended to define the "official ideology" of the Union Camerounaise (UC). DeLancey (2019) tends to corroborate, reporting that "Ahidjo's policy of planned liberalism was formulated to encourage private investment, with government to play a strong role in guiding development." "Planned liberalism was a deliberate attempt at ideological neutrality. It sought to integrate the best elements of capitalism and socialism in respect to private initiative and national sovereignty" according to DeLancey, Mbuh, and DeLancey (2010). Mbaku and Takougang (2004) write "Ahidjo... felt that it was necessary to seek a development model or path that was different from the main paradigms that informed Western and Eastern development- socialism and capitalism... the country's [Cameroon's] political leadership sought a middle road, a development model akin to 'market socialism'. Under such a system, the government would maintain significant control and ownership of major industrial projects while encouraging the development of a strong private sector. Thus, according to Ahidjo, it was necessary to provide the new county with a resource allocation system that was essentially 'homegrown'." Mbaku and Takougang call planned liberalism "a variant of statism called planned liberalism". Bongma (2006) wrote "Ahidjo preferred African socialism grounded on the African heritage of community spirit... he did not even articulate clearly what he meant by socialism, other than to state broadly that this was the African way of doing things... Ahidjo argued that his system of planning did not prohibit private enterprise and that is was certainly not an excuse to nationalize industries and drive away private capital investments." Tesi (2017)

adds “Planned liberalism, in other words, was a convergence of the various strands of economic ideas, a dose of socialism, a dose of statism, and a dose of liberalism both orthodox and interventionist.” In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify UNC’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.958) in 1970 and “Center-right” (0.826) in 1973. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in UNC in 1970 and 1973.

Years: 1975-1981

Head of government: Paul Biya

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. CHISOLS identifies Biya’s party as UNC from 1982 to 1984, then RDPC from 1985 onwards. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Biya’s party as UNC. While Manzano (2017) codes Biya’s ideology as right, Leonard (2006) suggests otherwise, writing “President Ahidjo and his successor pursued the policy of planned liberalism (renamed communal liberalism under Biya), which advocated significant government control over resource allocation”. DeLancey (2019) further reports that “Ahidjo’s policy of planned liberalism was formulated to encourage private investment, with government to play a strong role in guiding development.” “Planned liberalism was a deliberate attempt at ideological neutrality. It sought to integrate the best elements of capitalism and socialism in respect to private initiative and national sovereignty” according to DeLancey, Mbuh, and DeLancey (2010). These scholars also consider planned liberalism to be “a philosophy” which was later criticized as not effectively implemented by successive Cameroonian governments. Mbaku and Takougang (2004) write “Ahidjo... felt that it was necessary to seek a development model or path that was different from the main paradigms that informed Western and Eastern development- socialism and capitalism... the country’s [Cameroon’s] political leadership sought a middle road, a development model akin to ‘market socialism’. Under such a system, the government would maintain significant control and ownership of major industrial projects while encouraging the development of a strong private sector. Thus, according to Ahidjo, it was necessary to provide the new county with a resource allocation system that was essentially ‘homegrown’.” Mbaku and Takougang call planned liberalism “a variant of statism called planned liberalism”. Bongma (2006) wrote “Ahidjo preferred African socialism grounded on the African heritage of community spirit... he did not even articulate clearly what he meant by socialism, other than to state broadly that this was the African way of doing things... Ahidjo argued that his system of planning did not prohibit private enterprise and that is was certainly not an excuse to nationalize industries and drive away private capital investments.” Tesi (2017) adds “Planned liberalism,

in other words, was a convergence of the various strands of economic ideas, a dose of socialism, a dose of statism, and a dose of liberalism both orthodox and interventionist.” DeLancey, Mbuh, and DeLancey (2010) identify the RDPC as CPDM, writing “CPDM [i.e. RDPC] politics.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement (CPDM) as 5.0, the salience (0-10) of the economic dimension as 6.4, and the average divided-undivided (0-10) score of CPDM as 9.6. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify RDPC’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.885) in 2002. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in UNC in 1973 and 1978.

Years: 1982

Head of government: Bello Bouba Maigari

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde identifies Maigari’s party as UNC. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Reassemblement Démocratique du Peuple Camerounais/Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement (RDPC) as formerly being named UNC. Carbone (2012) identifies the RDPC’s ideology as none, writing “The ruling RDPC, in other words, never felt the urge to move beyond some very general political slogans and articulate an explicit policy platform, a manifesto. The party simply did not develop any positions on social policies – or, for that matter, on policies as such – except for what may be gathered from the government’s actual initiatives.” DeLancey, Mbuh, and DeLancey (2010) identify the RDPC as CPDM, writing “CPDM [i.e. RDPC] politics.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement (CPDM) as 5.0, the salience (0-10) of the economic dimension as 6.4, and the average divided-undivided (0-10) score of CPDM as 9.6. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify UNC’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.826) in 1978. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in UNC in 1978.

Years: 1983

Head of government: Luc Ayang

Ideology: Right

Description: Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Paul Biya instead of Luc Ayang on December 31, 1984. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde identifies Ayang’s party as UNC. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Reassemblement Démocratique du Peuple Camerounais/Cameroon People’s

Democratic Movement (RDPC) as formerly being named UNC. Carbone (2012) identifies the RDPC's ideology as none, writing "The ruling RDPC, in other words, never felt the urge to move beyond some very general political slogans and articulate an explicit policy platform, a manifesto. The party simply did not develop any positions on social policies – or, for that matter, on policies as such – except for what may be gathered from the government's actual initiatives." DeLancey, Mbuh, and DeLancey (2010) identify the RDPC as CPDM, writing "CPDM [i.e. RDPC] politics." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) as 5.0, the salience (0-10) of the economic dimension as 6.4, and the average divided-united (0-10) score of CPDM as 9.6. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify UNC's ideology as "Center-right" (0.826) in 1983. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify "virtually no visible disagreement" in UNC in 1983.

Years: 1984-1990

Head of government: Paul Biya

Ideology: Right

Description: Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Paul Biya instead of Luc Ayang on December 31, 1984. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Biya as head of government, and identifies Biya's affiliation as UNC from 1982 to 1984, then RDPC from 1985 onwards. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Biya's party as UNC. DeLancey, Mbuh, and DeLancey (2010) state that the RDPC "is the successor of the Cameroon National Union (CNU) [UNC]" with "striking resemblances to the CNU" in structure and membership. While Manzano (2017) codes Biya's ideology as right, Leonard (2006) suggests otherwise, writing "President Ahidjo and his successor pursued the policy of planned liberalism (renamed communal liberalism under Biya), which advocated significant government control over resource allocation". DeLancey (2019) further reports that "Ahidjo's policy of planned liberalism was formulated to encourage private investment, with government to play a strong role in guiding development." "Planned liberalism was a deliberate attempt at ideological neutrality. It sought to integrate the best elements of capitalism and socialism in respect to private initiative and national sovereignty" according to DeLancey, Mbuh, and DeLancey (2010). These scholars also consider planned liberalism to be "a philosophy" which was later criticized as not effectively implemented by successive Cameroonian governments. Mbaku and Takougang (2004) write "Ahidjo... felt that it was necessary to seek a development model or path that was different from the main paradigms that informed Western and Eastern development- socialism and capitalism... the country's [Cameroon's] political leadership sought a middle road, a development model akin to 'market socialism'.

Under such a system, the government would maintain significant control and ownership of major industrial projects while encouraging the development of a strong private sector. Thus, according to Ahidjo, it was necessary to provide the new country with a resource allocation system that was essentially ‘homegrown’.” Mbaku and Takougang call planned liberalism “a variant of statism called planned liberalism”. Bongma (2006) wrote “Ahidjo preferred African socialism grounded on the African heritage of community spirit... he did not even articulate clearly what he meant by socialism, other than to state broadly that this was the African way of doing things... Ahidjo argued that his system of planning did not prohibit private enterprise and that is was certainly not an excuse to nationalize industries and drive away private capital investments.” Tesi (2017) adds “Planned liberalism, in other words, was a convergence of the various strands of economic ideas, a dose of socialism, a dose of statism, and a dose of liberalism both orthodox and interventionist.” DeLancey, Mbuh, and DeLancey (2010) identify the RDPC as CPDM, writing “CPDM [i.e. RDPC] politics.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement (CPDM) as 5.0, the salience (0-10) of the economic dimension as 6.4, and the average divided-united (0-10) score of CPDM as 9.6. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify UNC’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.826) in 1983, and 5 experts identify RDPC’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.885) in 2002. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in UNC in 1983 and “some visible disagreement” in RDPC in 2002.

Years: 1991

Head of government: Sadou Hayatou

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde identifies Hayatou’s party as RDPC. Carbone (2012) identifies the RDPC’s ideology as none, writing “The ruling RDPC, in other words, never felt the urge to move beyond some very general political slogans and articulate an explicit policy platform, a manifesto. The party simply did not develop any positions on social policies – or, for that matter, on policies as such – except for what may be gathered from the government’s actual initiatives.” DeLancey, Mbuh, and DeLancey (2010) identify the RDPC as CPDM, writing “CPDM [i.e. RDPC] politics.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement (CPDM) as 5.0, the salience (0-10) of the economic dimension as 6.4, and the average divided-united (0-10) score of CPDM as 9.6. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify RDPC’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.885) in 2002. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify “some visible disagreement” in RDPC in 2002.

Years: 1992-1995

Head of government: Simon Achidi Achu

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde identifies Achu's party as RDPC. Carbone (2012) identifies the RDPC's ideology as none, writing "The ruling RDPC, in other words, never felt the urge to move beyond some very general political slogans and articulate an explicit policy platform, a manifesto. The party simply did not develop any positions on social policies – or, for that matter, on policies as such – except for what may be gathered from the government's actual initiatives."

DeLancey, Mbuh, and DeLancey (2010) identify the RDPC as CPDM, writing "CPDM [i.e. RDPC] politics." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) as 5.0, the salience (0-10) of the economic dimension as 6.4, and the average divided-undivided (0-10) score of CPDM as 9.6. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify RDPC's ideology as "Center-right" (0.885) in 2002. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify "some visible disagreement" in RDPC in 2002.

Years: 1996-2003

Head of government: Peter Mafany Musonge

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Musonge as a member of SWELA, writing "South West Elite Association (SWELA). The reactivation of SWELA was announced in March 2000, apparently at the urging of Prime Minister Musonge in the hope of countering the secessionist movement in South-West province led by the SCNC." Despite Lansford's identification, Perspective Monde identifies Musonge's party as RDPC. DeLancey, Mbuh, and DeLancey (2010) explain that elite associations like SWELA "serve as pressure groups, as means of organizing the voters, and as village development associations." DeLancey, Mbuh, and DeLancey go on to say that Musonge is "active in CPDM [i.e. RDPC] politics". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) as 5.0, the salience (0-10) of the economic dimension as 6.4, and the average divided-undivided (0-10) score of CPDM as 9.6. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify RDPC's ideology as "Center-right" (0.885) in 2002. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify "some visible disagreement" in RDPC in 2002.

Years: 2004-2008

Head of government: Ephraim Inoni

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Inoni's affiliation as RDPC, writing "Philémon Yungi YANG (Democratic Rally of the Cameroon People), appointed by the president on June 30, 2009, following the dismissal the same day of Ephraim INONI (Democratic Rally of the Cameroon People)." Carbone (2012) identifies the RDPC's ideology as none, writing "The ruling RDPC, in other words, never felt the urge to move beyond some very general political slogans and articulate an explicit policy platform, a manifesto. The party simply did not develop any positions on social policies – or, for that matter, on policies as such – except for what may be gathered from the government's actual initiatives."

Perspective Monde also identifies Inoni's party as RDPC. DeLancey, Mbuh, and DeLancey (2010) identify the RDPC as CPDM, writing "CPDM [i.e. RDPC] politics." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) as 5.0, the salience (0-10) of the economic dimension as 6.4, and the average divided-united (0-10) score of CPDM as 9.6. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify RDPC's ideology as "Center-right" (0.885) in 2002 and "Center-right" (0.764) in 2007. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify "some visible disagreement" in RDPC in 2002 and "negligible visible disagreement" in RDPC in 2007.

Years: 2009-2018

Head of government: Philemon Yunji Yang

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Yang's affiliation as RDPC, writing "Philémon Yungi YANG (Democratic Rally of the Cameroon People), appointed by the president on June 30, 2009, following the dismissal the same day of Ephraim INONI (Democratic Rally of the Cameroon People)." Carbone (2012) identifies the RDPC's ideology as none, writing "The ruling RDPC, in other words, never felt the urge to move beyond some very general political slogans and articulate an explicit policy platform, a manifesto. The party simply did not develop any positions on social policies – or, for that matter, on policies as such – except for what may be gathered from the government's actual initiatives."

Perspective Monde also identifies Yang's party as RDPC. DeLancey, Mbuh, and DeLancey (2010) identify the RDPC as CPDM, writing "CPDM [i.e. RDPC] politics." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) as 5.0, the salience (0-10) of the economic dimension as 6.4, and the average divided-united

(0-10) score of CPDM as 9.6. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify RDPC's ideology as "Center-right" (0.764) in 2007 and 2013. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify "negligible visible disagreement" in RDPC in 2007 and 2013.

Years: 2019

Head of government: Joseph Dion Ngute

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Ngute's party affiliation as Democratic Rally of the Cameroon People (RDPC). Carbone (2012) identifies the RDPC's ideology as none, writing "The ruling RDPC, in other words, never felt the urge to move beyond some very general political slogans and articulate an explicit policy platform, a manifesto. The party simply did not develop any positions on social policies – or, for that matter, on policies as such – except for what may be gathered from the government's actual initiatives." Perspective Monde also identifies Yang's party as RDPC. DeLancey, Mbuh, and DeLancey (2010) identify the RDPC as CPDM, writing "CPDM [i.e. RDPC] politics." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) as 5.0, the salience (0-10) of the economic dimension as 6.4, and the average divided-united (0-10) score of CPDM as 9.6. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify RDPC's ideology as "Center-right" (0.764) in 2013. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify "negligible visible disagreement" in RDPC in 2013.

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