Country: Burma/Myanmar

Years: 1948-1955

Head of government: U Nu

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League (AFPFL). DPI does not identify AFPFL’s ideology. Though Steinberg (2013: 51f) identifies U Nu as “expressly opposed to communism”, he identifies him as a leftist, writing that “U Nu equated the egalitarian elements of Buddhism with socialism” and that Burma’s “early economic planning was strongly influenced by international socialist trends”, and that “democratic socialism […] was generally viewed in Burma as necessary to get the economy back under Burmese control.” Gravers (2014: 302) adds that U Nu’s “aim was an egalitarian welfare state.” World Statesmen (2020) identifies U Nu’s Party as AFPFL, and AFPFL’s ideology as leftist, writing “AFPFL = Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (leftist, nationalist, pro-independence, 1944-1962.”

Years: 1956

Head of government: U Ba Swe

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League (AFPFL). DPI does not identify AFPFL’s ideology. Tucker (2001: 171) refers to Ba Swe as a leftist: “Ba Swe and other socialists were prominent in the committee appointed to administer them” World Statesmen (2020) identifies U Ba Swe’s Party as AFPFL, and AFPFL’s ideology as leftist, writing “AFPFL = Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (leftist, nationalist, pro-independence, 1944-1962.”

Years: 1957

Head of government: U Nu

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Anti-Fascist People’s Freedom League (AFPFL). DPI does not identify AFPFL’s ideology. Though Steinberg (2013: 51f) identifies U Nu as “expressly opposed to communism”, he identifies him as a leftist, writing that “U Nu equated the egalitarian elements of Buddhism with socialism” and that Burma’s “early economic planning was strongly influenced by international socialist trends”, and that “democratic socialism […] was generally viewed in Burma as necessary to get the economy back under Burmese control.” Gravers (2014: 302) adds that U Nu’s “aim was an egalitarian welfare state.” World Statesmen (2020) identifies U Nu’s Party as AFPFL, and AFPFL’s ideology as leftist, writing “AFPFL = Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (leftist, nationalist, pro-independence, 1944-1962.”

Years: 1958-1959

Head of government: Ne Win

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Aung-Thwin et al. (1992: 67) write that Ne Win “look[ed] to socialism to help solve the problems of the country”. Manzano (2017) identifies Ne Win’s ideology as left.

Years: 1960-1961

Head of government: U Nu

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Union Party (UnP). DPI does not identify UnP’s ideology. Though Steinberg (2013: 51f) identifies U Nu as “expressly opposed to communism”, he identifies him as a leftist, writing that “U Nu equated the egalitarian elements of Buddhism with socialism” and that Burma’s “early economic planning was strongly influenced by international socialist trends”, and that “democratic socialism […] was generally viewed in Burma as necessary to get the economy back under Burmese control.” Gravers (2014: 302) adds that U Nu’s “aim was an egalitarian welfare state.”

Years: 1962-1973

Head of government: Ne Win

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Burma Socialist Programme Party (PSPB/BSPP). DPI identifies PSPB’s ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on BSPP’s ideology. Aung-Thwin et al. (1992: 67) write that Ne Win “look[ed] to socialism to help solve the problems of the country”. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Ne Win’s party as Mil/PSPB, and PSPB’s ideology as leftist, writing “PSPB = Party of the Socialist Program of Burma ("Lanzin", socialist, 1962-88, only legal party 23 Mar 1964 - 18 Sep 1988)”. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Left” (-2.765) in 1974.

Years: 1974-1976

Head of government: U Sein Win

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Burma Socialist Programme Party (PSPB/BSPP). DPI identifies PSPB’s ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on BSPP’s ideology. World Statesmen (2019) identifies U Sein Win’s party as Mil/PSPB, and PSPB’s ideology as leftist, writing “PSPB = Party of the Socialist Program of Burma ("Lanzin", socialist, 1962-88, only legal party 23 Mar 1964 - 18 Sep 1988)”. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Left” (-2.765) in 1974.

Years: 1977-1980

Head of government: U Maung Maung Kha

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Burma Socialist Programme Party (PSPB/BSPP). DPI identifies PSPB’s ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on BSPP’s ideology. World Statesmen (2020) identifies U Maung Maung Kha’s party as Mil/PSPB, and PSPB’s ideology as leftist, writing “PSPB = Party of the Socialist Program of Burma ("Lanzin", socialist, 1962-88, only legal party 23 Mar 1964 - 18 Sep 1988)”. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Left” (-2.765) in 1974 and 1978.

Years: 1981-1987

Head of government: Ne Win

Ideology: Left

Description: Britannica (2020) identifies Saw Maung instead of Ne Win as head of government on December 31, 1988. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Burma Socialist Programme Party (PSPB/BSPP) until 1987 and does not identify party affiliation in 1988. DPI identifies PSPB’s ideology as left. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on BSPP’s ideology. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Left” (-2.765) in 1981 and 1985.

Years: 1988-1991

Head of government: Saw Maung

Ideology: Left

Description: Britannica (2020) identifies Saw Maung instead of Ne Win as head of government on December 31, 1988. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. The DADM project identifies Maung’s party affiliation as PSPB, writing that he was appointed chairman of the party in 1988. DPI identifies PSPB’s ideology as left.

Years: 1992-2002

Head of government: Than Shwe

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Manzano (2017) identifies Than Shwe’s ideology as left.

Years: 2003

Head of government: Khin Nyunt

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. Manzano (2017) identifies Khin Nyunt’s ideology as left. Perspective monde (2019) identifies Khin Nyunt’s party as none, writing “Khin Nyunt | 2003(25 août) | 2004 (19 octobre) | militaire.”

Years: 2004-2006

Head of government: Soe Win

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. Perspective monde (2019) identifies Soe Win as non-party: “Soe Win |

2004 (19 octobre) | 2007 (2 octobre) | militaire.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Soe Win as non-party: “19 Oct 2004 - 12 Oct 2007 Soe Win (b. 1949 - d. 2007) Mil.”

Years: 2007-2015

Head of government: Thein Sein

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. World Statesmen (2019) identifies party affiliation as USDP from 2010 onwards: “18 May 2007 - 30 Mar 2011 Thein Sein (s.a.) Mil;2010 USDP … USDP = Union Solidarity and Development Party (military-backed state party 2011-2016, est.Jun 2010).” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 12 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) as 4.9 with average left-right (0-10) salience as 6.2 and divided-united (0-10) party score as 6.0. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.643) in 2003 with “Negligible visible disagreement”, 2008 with “Virtually no visible disagreement”, and 2010 with “Negligible visible disagreement”, and “Center-right” (1.646) in 2015 with “Negligible visible disagreement”.

Years: 2016-2020

Head of government: Aung San Suu Kyi

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. World Statesmen (2020) identifies San Suu Kyi’s party as National League for Democracy (NLD). Perspective Monde (2020) identifies San Suu Kyi’s and NLD’s ideology as leftist, “moderate left.” World Statesmen (2020) corroborates, writing “NLD = National League for Democracy (democratic-socialist, center-left, originally won 27 May 1990 election, banned 6 May 2010 - 13 Dec 2011, est.27 Sep 1988).” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 12 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of National League for Democracy (NLD) as 4.6. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.478) in 2015. DPI does not identify NLD’s ideology.

References:

Encyclopedia Britannica. 2020. Saw Maung.

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Saw-Maung> (last checked on January 8, 2020).

Gravers, Mikael, Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Flemming Ytzen, and Marie

Ditlevsen. 2014. *Burma/Myanmar : Where Now?* Asia Insights. Copenhagen, Denmark: NIAS Press.

Manzano, Dulce. 2017. *Bringing Down the Educational Wall: Political Regimes,*

*Ideology, and the Expansion of Education*. Cambridge.

"Myanmar (Burma)." In *Political Handbook of the World 2015*, edited by Thomas Lansford, 1005-15. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2015.

Perspective monde. 2019. <http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMGvt?codePays=MMR>

Steinberg, David I. 2013. *Burma/Myanmar : What Everyone Needs to Know*. Vol.

2nd ed. What Everyone Needs To Know. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tucker, Shelby. 2001. *Burma : The Curse of Independence*. London: Pluto Press.

World Statesmen. 2020. <https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Myanmar.htm>

Aung-Thwin, Maureen, and Thant Myint-U. 1992. “The Burmese Ways to

Socialism.” *Third World Quarterly* 13 (1): 67.

Mattes, Michaela, Leeds, Brett, and Naoko Matsumura. 2016. Measuring change in

source of leader support: The CHISOLS dataset. *Journal of Peace Research* 53(2): 259-267.

Cruz, Cesi, Philip Keefer, and Carlos Scartascini. 2018. *Database of Political*

*Institutions (DPI2017)*. Inter-American Development Bank. Numbers for Development

References checked, but not used:

Stokke, K. (2015). Political parties and popular representation in Myanmar’s democratisation process / Kristian Stokke, Khine Win, Soe Myint Aung.

Yin, S. M. (2016). CultureShock! Myanmar. SG: Marshall Cavendish International.

OBITUARIES; soe win, 59; general believed to have led '03 myanmar attack: HOME EDITION].(2007, Oct 13). Los Angeles Times, Retrieved from

Loring, N. (2019). The roadmap to liberalization: Myanmar's transition from military to civilian rule. (Order No. 13813335, Northern Illinois University). ProQuest Dissertations and Theses 439.  
VanderKlippe, N. (2015, Jun 20). Democracy, interrupted: Caught between china's sphere of influence and the west's hopes for reform, myanmar is at a critical juncture. elections are slated for the fall, but many fear that the dictatorship will retain its grip on power. nathan VanderKlippe reports. The Globe and Mail.   
Myanmar (burma): Tatmadaw is ready to assist independent commission of enquiry.(2018, Sep 03). Asia News Monitor.

Kulkarni, S. S. (2007). The international politics of domestic change: Myanmar, ASEAN and the american led world order. (Order No. 1449199, Indiana State University). ProQuest Dissertations and Theses 151.

Min, W. (2008). Looking inside the burmese military. Asian Survey, 48(6), 1018-1037.

Rives, N. M. L. (2014). University student activism in Burma/Myanmar during the 1980s. (Order No. 10185040, University of Kansas). ProQuest Dissertations and Theses 304.

Maung Aung Myoe. The NLD and Myanmar’s Foreign Policy: Not New, But Different.

Cheesman, Nick. Thin Rule of Law or Un-Rule of Law in Myanmar?

“Historic election expected to bring peace, stability to Myanmar”. Nhan Dan. (<https://en.nhandan.com.vn/world/item/3772902-cambodia-celebrates-62nd-independence-day.html>)