Country: Sao Tome and Principe

Years: 1975-1978

Head of government: Migueldos Anjos da Cunha Lisboa Torvoada

Ideology: Left

Description: World Statesmen (2019) identifies Manuel Pinto da Costa instead of Migueldos Anjos da Cunha Lisboa Torvoada on December 31, 1979. HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2015) identifies Torvoada as a member of the MLSTP, writing “Upon independence, Pinto da Costa assumed the presidency and promptly designated his MLSTP associate, Miguel Anjos da Cunha Lisboa TROVOADA, as prime minister.” Lansford identifies the MLSTP’s leaders as leftist, writing “in 1978, the movement defined itself as a ‘revolutionary front of democratic, anti-neocolonialist, and anti-imperialist forces’; however, it did not formally adopt Marxism-Leninism despite that ideology's influence on its leaders and their economic policies.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies MLSTP as left, writing “MLSTP = Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe (Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé e Príncipe, democratic socialist, 1960-72 named Comité de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe [Committee for the Liberation of São Tomé and Príncipe], 12 Jul 1975 - Aug 1990, state party, 1972-Oct 1990, renamed MLSTP-PSD)”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe-Social Democratic Party (MLSTP-SD) as 8.0. The Socialist International lists MLSTP-PSD as a consultative party. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MLSTP’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.362) in 1975.

Years: 1979-1987

Head of government: Manuel Pinto da Costa

Ideology: Left

Description: World Statesmen (2019) identifies Manuel Pinto da Costa instead of Migueldos Anjos da Cunha Lisboa Torvoada on December 31, 1979. HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Manzano (2017) codes da Costa as “left”. Lansford (2015) identifies da Costa as a member of MLSTP, writing “Based in Gabon under the leadership of Manuel PINTO DA COSTA, the MLSTP carried out a variety of underground activities, particularly in support of protests by African workers against low wages in São Tomé and Príncipe.” Lansford (2015) identifies the MLSTP’s leaders as leftist, writing “in 1978, the movement defined itself as a ‘revolutionary front of democratic, anti-neocolonialist, and anti-imperialist forces’; however, it did not formally adopt Marxism-Leninism despite that ideology's influence on its leaders and their economic policies.” Newitt (2003) adds that “Pinto da Costa had been trained as an economist in East Germany and it is probable that he was ideologically disposed to adopt an East German style command economy.” Heath-Brown adds in the 2016 edition of *The Statesman’s Yearbook* that da Costa is “a Marxist”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies MLSTP as left, writing “MLSTP = Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe (Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé e Príncipe, democratic socialist, 1960-72 named Comité de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe [Committee for the Liberation of São Tomé and Príncipe], 12 Jul 1975 - Aug 1990, state party, 1972-Oct 1990, renamed MLSTP-PSD)”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe-Social Democratic Party (MLSTP-SD) as 8.0. The Socialist International lists MLSTP-PSD as a consultative party. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MLSTP’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.362) in 1975 and 1980 and “Center-left” (-0.926) in 1985.

Years: 1988-1990

Head of government: Celestino Rocha da Costa

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Roch da Costa’s party as MLSTP. Lansford identifies the MLSTP’s leaders as leftist, writing “in 1978, the movement defined itself as a ‘revolutionary front of democratic, anti-neocolonialist, and anti-imperialist forces’; however, it did not formally adopt Marxism-Leninism despite that ideology's influence on its leaders and their economic policies.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies MLSTP as left, writing “MLSTP = Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe (Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé e Príncipe, democratic socialist, 1960-72 named Comité de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe [Committee for the Liberation of São Tomé and Príncipe], 12 Jul 1975 - Aug 1990, state party, 1972-Oct 1990, renamed MLSTP-PSD)”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe-Social Democratic Party (MLSTP-SD) as 8.0. The Socialist International lists MLSTP-PSD as a consultative party. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MLSTP’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.926) in 1985.

Years: 1991

Head of government: Daniel Limados Santos Daio

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2015) identifies Daio as a member of PCD-GR, writing “On February 8 PCD general secretary Daniel Lima dos Santos DAIO was named to head a new government.” Porto (2003) argues that the PCD has few political differences from the MLSTP, writing “that the three main political parties in the archipelago are offshoots of the MLSTP (the PCD-GR; the MLSTP-PSD and the ADI) which helps explain the absence of a vigorous political debate.” Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016) codes the PCD-GR as “left of center”. Lentz (1994: 672) writes, “[Daio’s] government’s austerity program created economic hardship in the country, and Daio was dismissed as prime minister on May 16, 1992.” In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PCD-GR’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.219) in 1991. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in PCD in 1991.

Years: 1992-1993

Head of government: Norberto Jose d'Alva Costa Alegre

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies d’Alva Costa Alegre’s party as PCD-GR. Lansford (2015) corroborates party affiliation, writing, “Despite an MLSTP-PSD call for a unity government, the cabinet announced by Costa Alegre on May 16 was composed solely of PCD members.” Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016) codes the PCD-GR as “left of center”. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PCD-GR’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.219) in 1991. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in PCD in 1991.

Years: 1994

Head of government: Carlos Alberto Monteiro Dias da Graca

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2015) identifies da Graca as a member of MLSTP-PSD, writing “On October 25 Trovoada appointed MLSTP-PSD secretary general Carlos Alberto Dias Monteiro DA GRAÇA as prime minister.” Lansford identifies the MLSTP’s leaders as leftist, writing “in 1978, the movement defined itself as a ‘revolutionary front of democratic, anti-neocolonialist, and anti-imperialist forces’; however, it did not formally adopt Marxism-Leninism despite that ideology's influence on its leaders and their economic policies.” Confirming Lansford’s assessment, Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016) code the MLSTP-PSD as “nationalist socialist”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies MLSTP-PSD as left, writing “MLSTP-PSD = Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe-Partido Social Democrata (Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé e Príncipe - Social Democratic Party, democratic socialist, former MLSTP, est.Oct 1990)”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe-Social Democratic Party (MLSTP-SD) as 8.0. The Socialist International lists MLSTP-PSD as a consultative party. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MLSTP-PSD’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.543) in 1994.

Years: 1995

Head of government: Armindo Vaz d'Almeida

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016) codes the MLSTP-PSD as “nationalist socialist”. Lansford (2015) identifies Almeida as a member of MLSTP-PSD, writing “MLSTP-PSD deputy secretary general Armindo Vaz de ALMEIDA on January 5, 1996, formed a cabinet that included seven members from the MLSTP-PSD.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies MLSTP-PSD as left, writing “MLSTP-PSD = Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe-Partido Social Democrata (Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé e Príncipe - Social Democratic Party, democratic socialist, former MLSTP, est.Oct 1990)”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe-Social Democratic Party (MLSTP-SD) as 8.0. The Socialist International lists MLSTP-PSD as a consultative party. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MLSTP-PSD’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.543) in 1994.

Years: 1996-1998

Head of government: Raul Wagner Braganca Neto

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016) codes the MLSTP-PSD as “nationalist socialist”. Lansford (2015) identifies Neto as a member of MLSTP-PSD, writing “Trovoada appointed MLSTP-PSD deputy secretary general Raúl Bragança NETO as prime minister.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies MLSTP-PSD as left, writing “MLSTP-PSD = Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe-Partido Social Democrata (Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé e Príncipe - Social Democratic Party, democratic socialist, former MLSTP, est.Oct 1990)”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe-Social Democratic Party (MLSTP-SD) as 8.0. The Socialist International lists MLSTP-PSD as a consultative party. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MLSTP-PSD’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.543) in 1994 and 1998.

Years: 1999-2000

Head of government: Guilherme Posser de Costa

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016) codes the MLSTP-PSD as “nationalist socialist”. Lansford (2015) identifies de Costa as a member of MLSTP-PSD, writing “The MLSTP-PSD subsequently nominated Guilherme POSSER DA COSTA, a former foreign minister and ambassador, to be the next prime minister, and Posser da Costa and his MLSTP-PSD government were sworn in on January 5, 1999.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies MLSTP-PSD as left, writing “MLSTP-PSD = Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe-Partido Social Democrata (Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé e Príncipe - Social Democratic Party, democratic socialist, former MLSTP, est.Oct 1990)”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe-Social Democratic Party (MLSTP-SD) as 8.0. The Socialist International lists MLSTP-PSD as a consultative party. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MLSTP-PSD’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.543) in 1998.

Years: 2001

Head of government: Evaristo do Espírito Santo Carvalho

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford identifies Carvalho as a member of the ADI, referring to him as “the ADI's Evaristo CARVALHO.” While Muisyo (2018) labels the ADI “the center-right Independent Democratic Action (ADI) party”, Porto (2003) argues that the ADI has few political differences from the MLSTP, writing “that the three main political parties in the archipelago are offshoots of the MLSTP (the PCD-GR; the MLSTP-PSD and the ADI) helps explain the absence of a vigorous political debate”. Turner (2013) corroborates a centrist coding, writing “In the July 2001 presidential election, as the candidate of the centrist Independent Democratic Action”. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016) further corroborate, also identifying ADI as “centrist”. World Statesmen (2019) concur with the centrist assessment, writing “ADI = Acção Democrática Independente (Independent Democratic Action, centrist, liberal, est.1994)”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Independent Democratic Action (ADI) as 2.0. ADI is a member of the Centrist Democrat International. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify ADI’s ideology as “Center” (0.116) in 1998.

Years: 2002-2003

Head of government: Mariadas Neves Ceita Baptista de Sousa

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016) codes the MLSTP-PSD as “nationalist socialist”. Lansford (2015) identifies Neves as a member of MLSTP-PSD, writing “On October 3 the president appointed Maria das NEVES de Souza (MLSTP-PSD) as the new prime minister.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies MLSTP-PSD as left, writing “MLSTP-PSD = Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe-Partido Social Democrata (Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé e Príncipe - Social Democratic Party, democratic socialist, former MLSTP, est.Oct 1990)”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe-Social Democratic Party (MLSTP-SD) as 8.0. The Socialist International lists MLSTP-PSD as a consultative party. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MLSTP-PSD’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.543) in 2002.

Years: 2004

Head of government: Damião Vaz d'Almeida

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Vaz d’Almeida’s party as MLSTP-PSD. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016) codes the MLSTP-PSD as “nationalist socialist”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies MLSTP-PSD as left, writing “MLSTP-PSD = Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe-Partido Social Democrata (Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé e Príncipe - Social Democratic Party, democratic socialist, former MLSTP, est.Oct 1990)”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe-Social Democratic Party (MLSTP-SD) as 8.0. The Socialist International lists MLSTP-PSD as a consultative party. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MLSTP-PSD’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.543) in 2002.

Years: 2005

Head of government: Mariado Carmo Trovoada Pires de Carvalho Silveira

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2015) identifies Silveira as a member of the MLSTP-PSD, writing “In June 2005 the MLSTP-PSD threatened to resign from the government, but the party subsequently agreed to form a new government to avoid early elections. Party member Maria do Carmo Silveira became the new prime minister and finance minister.” Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016) codes the MLSTP-PSD as “nationalist socialist”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies MLSTP-PSD as left, writing “MLSTP-PSD = Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe-Partido Social Democrata (Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé e Príncipe - Social Democratic Party, democratic socialist, former MLSTP, est.Oct 1990)”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe-Social Democratic Party (MLSTP-SD) as 8.0. The Socialist International lists MLSTP-PSD as a consultative party. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MLSTP-PSD’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.543) in 2002.

Years: 2006-2007

Head of government: Tomé Soares da Vera Cruz

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify ideology. Lansford (2015) identifies Vera Cruz as a member of the MDFM-PL, identifying him under MDFM-PL as “Tomé Soares da VERA CRUZ (Secretary General).” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Force for Change Democratic Movement - Democratic Convergence Party (MDFM/PL) as 9.0. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MDFM-PL’s ideology as “Center” (0.083) in 2002. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in MDFM in 2002.

Years: 2008-2009

Head of government: Joaquim Rafael Branco

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify ideology. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016) codes the MLSTP-PSD as “nationalist socialist”. Lansford (2015) identifies Branco as a member of the MLSTP-PSD, writing “on June 10 Menezes appointed Joachim Rafael BRANCO of the MLSTP-PSD as prime minister.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies MLSTP-PSD as left, writing “MLSTP-PSD = Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe-Partido Social Democrata (Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé e Príncipe - Social Democratic Party, democratic socialist, former MLSTP, est.Oct 1990)”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe-Social Democratic Party (MLSTP-SD) as 8.0. The Socialist International lists MLSTP-PSD as a consultative party. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MLSTP-PSD’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.543) in 2006.

Years: 2010-2011

Head of government: Patrice Emery Trovoada

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2015) identifies Trovoada as a member of the ADI, writing that “President Menezes subsequently appointed Patrice Trovoada of the ADI to head a new coalition government of the MDFM-PL, PCD, and ADI.” While Muisyo (2018) labels the ADI “the center-right Independent Democratic Action (ADI) party”, Porto (2003) argues that the ADI has few political differences from the MLSTP, writing “that the three main political parties in the archipelago are offshoots of the MLSTP (the PCD-GR; the MLSTP-PSD and the ADI) helps explain the absence of a vigorous political debate”. Turner (2013) corroborates a centrist coding, writing “In the July 2001 presidential election, as the candidate of the centrist Independent Democratic Action”. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016) further corroborate, also identifying ADI as “centrist”. World Statesmen (2019) concur with the centrist assessment, writing “ADI = Acção Democrática Independente (Independent Democratic Action, centrist, liberal, est.1994)”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Independent Democratic Action (ADI) as 2.0. ADI is a member of the Centrist Democrat International. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify ADI’s ideology as “Center” (0.099) in 2010.

Years: 2012-2013

Head of government: Gabriel Arcanjo Ferreira da Costa

Ideology: Centrist

Description: HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2015) identifies Costa as a member of UDD, writing “Prime Minister: Gabriel Arcanjo Ferreira da COSTA (Union for Democracy and Development), appointed by the president on December 10, 2012.” Lansford describes UDD, writing, “Launched by ADI dissidents, including ADI cofounder Gabriel Costa… Costa objected to the elevation of Patrice Trovoada, son of the former president, to ADI leader and left the party, eventually founding the UDD.” World Statesmen (2020) identifies ADI as centrist and liberal. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016) further corroborate, also identifying ADI as “centrist”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Independent Democratic Action (ADI) as 2.0. ADI is a member of the Centrist Democrat International. Lansford states that in 2012, “former prime minister Gabriel Costa subsequently formed a new government that included the MSLTP-PSD, PCD, and the MDFM-PL, but not the disgruntled ADI.” Finally, Lansford writes, “new prime minister Gabriel Costa was viewed as a ‘consensus builder.’” The UCLA African Studies Center (2015) corroborates this, writing, “In 2012, three opposition parties combined in a no confidence vote to bring down the majority government of former Prime Minister Patrice Trovoada. The new government of Prime Minister Gabriel Arcanjo Ferreira Da Costa is entirely composed of opposition party members with limited experience in governance”. The Inter-Parliamentary Union (2014) writes “[In 2010] Mr. Trovoada subsequently formed a minority government. However, in December 2012, President Manuel Pinto da Costa (independent, formerly MLSTP-PSD) dismissed him following a no-confidence vote in the National Assembly. The President then appointed Mr. Gabriel Costa (PCD) as the new Prime Minister.”

Years: 2014-2017

Head of government: Patrice Emery Trovoada

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify head of government. CHISOLS does not identify ideology. Lansford (2015) identifies Trovoada as a member of ADI, writing “in the October 12, 2014 elections… ADI leader and former Prime Minister Patrice TROVOADA returned to the premiership.” While Muisyo (2018) labels the ADI “the center-right Independent Democratic Action (ADI) party”, Porto (2003) argues that the ADI has few political differences from the MLSTP, writing “that the three main political parties in the archipelago are offshoots of the MLSTP (the PCD-GR; the MLSTP-PSD and the ADI) helps explain the absence of a vigorous political debate”. Turner (2013) corroborates a centrist coding, writing “In the July 2001 presidential election, as the candidate of the centrist Independent Democratic Action”. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016) further corroborate, also identifying ADI as “centrist”. World Statesmen (2019) concur with the centrist assessment, writing “ADI = Acção Democrática Independente (Independent Democratic Action, centrist, liberal, est.1994)”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Independent Democratic Action (ADI) as 2.0. ADI is a member of the Centrist Democrat International. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify ADI’s ideology as “Center” (0.099) in 2014.

Years: 2018-2020  
Head of government: Jorge Lopes Born Jesus

Ideology: Left  
Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2018-2019) identifies Born Jesus’s party affiliation as Independent Democratic Action (ADI), writing, “On December 3 Jorge Born Jesus of the ADI took office as prime minister of a MLSTP-PSD-PCD-UDD coalition government.” World Statesmen identifies ADI as centrist and liberal. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of ADI as 2.0. ADI is a member of the Centrist Democrat International. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 113) identify ADI as centrist. However, World Statesmen (2021) identifies Born Jesus’s party affiliation as MLSTP-PSD (Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe-Partido Social Democrata/Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé e Príncipe – Social Democratic Party) and describes the party as social democratic. China-Lusophone Brief (2018) corroborates Born Jesus’s party affiliation as MLSTP-PSD, writing, “As a militant and a member of the leadership of the Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé and Príncipe/Social Democratic Party- Social Democratic Party (MLSTP-PSD)…” The Economist (2018) also corroborates Born Jesus’s party affiliation as MLSTP-PSD, writing, “On December 3rd Born Jesus, the leader of the Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe-Partido Social Democráta (MLSTP-PSD), was sworn in as prime minister.” Freedom House (2020) corroborates Born Jesus’s party affiliation as MLSTP-PSD, writing, “In November 2018, President Carvalho invited the Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé and Príncipe- Social Democratic Party (MLSTP-PSD), under the leadership of Jorge Born Jesus.” Political Handbook describes MLSTP-PSD, writing, “At its first congress in 1978, the movement defined itself as a ‘revolutionary front of democratic, anti-neocolonialist, and anti-imperialist forces’; however, it did not formally adopt Marxism-Leninism despite that ideology’s influence on its leaders and their economic policies.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of MLSTP-PSD as 8.0. The Socialist International lists MLSTP-PSD as a consultative party. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 113) identify MLSTP-PSD as “nationalist socialist.” In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify MLSTP-PSD’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.543) in 2014.

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