Country: Uganda

Years: 1962 – 1970

Head of government: Prime Minister Apolo Milton Obote

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Obote’s party as UPC. DPI identifies UPC as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing “Uganda People’s Congress—UPC. The largely Protestant UPC was formed in 1960 with a stated commitment to “African socialism.”” Manzano (2017) corroborates that Obote is Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Uganda People’s Congress (UPC) as 3.0. Lentz (1994) identifies Obote’s ideology as leftist, writing “Obote launched a five year plan to improve Uganda's economic development in 1966, and he promoted a socialist economic system for the country in 1969”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Obote’s ideology as leftist, writing “Apollo Milton Opeto Obote… UPC… UPC = Uganda People's Congress… democratic socialist”. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies Obote’s ideology as leftist, writing “Earlier, on April 15, 1966, Obote had been designated president by the National Assembly for a five-year term. In December 1969 he banned all opposition parties and established a one-party state with a socialist program known as the Common Man’s Charter.” In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center” (-0.101) in 1980.

Years: 1971 – 1978

Head of government: President Idi Amin Dada Oumee

Ideology: None

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Schamis (1980) identifies ideology as none: “However, calling them “rightist” would assume an ideological sophistication which they lack. In general, they have no ideology (within a political science perspective), and in order to stay in power they do not hesitate to deal both with the United States and the Soviet Union. The most salient characteristics of these regimes are: the control exercised by the state over the individual, restrictions over any type of personal freedom, monopoly over information, and cruel methods of extermination against all those opposed to the regime. An example of this type of government is that of Idi Amin.” World Statesmen (2020) identifies Idi Amin’s affiliation as Military.

Years: 1979

Head of government: President Godfrey Lukongwa Binaisa

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. *BBC Monitoring Africa* (2010) identifies Binaisa’s party as UPC: “Joined UNC, UCP and later UPC between 1955-1962” and “President of Uganda in June 1979.” DPI identifies ideology of UPC as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing “Uganda People’s Congress—UPC. The largely Protestant UPC was formed in 1960 with a stated commitment to “African socialism.”” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Uganda People’s Congress (UPC) as 3.0.

Years: 1980 – 1984

Leader: Prime Minister Apolo Milton Obote

Ideology: left

Description: Encyclopedia Britannica (2020), CIA Factbook (2020), and Constitute Project (2020) identify Apolo Milton Obote instead of Erifasi Otema Allimadi as head of government on December 31, 1980-1984. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Obote’s party as UPC. DPI identifies UPC as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing “Uganda People’s Congress—UPC. The largely Protestant UPC was formed in 1960 with a stated commitment to “African socialism.”” Manzano (2017) corroborates that Obote is Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Uganda People’s Congress (UPC) as 3.0. Lentz (1994) identifies Obote’s ideology as leftist, writing “Obote launched a five year plan to improve Uganda's economic development in 1966, and he promoted a socialist economic system for the country in 1969”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Obote’s ideology as leftist, writing “Apollo Milton Opeto Obote… UPC… UPC = Uganda People's Congress… democratic socialist”. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies Obote’s ideology as leftist, writing “Earlier, on April 15, 1966, Obote had been designated president by the National Assembly for a five-year term. In December 1969 he banned all opposition parties and established a one-party state with a socialist program known as the Common Man’s Charter.” In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center” (-0.101) in 1980 with “Negligible visible disagreement”.

Year: 1985

Leader: Titu Lutwa Okello

Ideology:

Description: Encyclopedia Britannica (2020), CIA Factbook (2020), and Constitute Project (2020) identify Titu Lutwa Okello instead of Abraham P. Waligo on December 31, 1985. CHISOLS identifies Okello’s party affiliation as none.

Years: 1986 – 2020

Head of government: President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni

Ideology: Right

Description: Encyclopedia Britannica (2020), CIA Factbook (2020), and Constitute Project (2020) identify Yoweri Kaguta Museveni instead of Samson Kisekka on December 31, 1986-1994. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Museveni’s party as NRM. Twagiramungu (2016) suggests that Museveni began as a Marxist, then later became an economic conservative: “when Museveni launched in February 1981 the armed struggle that brought him to power in January 1986, his Marxist background won him massive support from top leftist regimes such as the USSR, China, Cuba and Libya (Amaza 1998: 167; Museveni 1997: 203)… At the heart of Museveni’s success in defying the world’s ideological barriers was an interest-driven approach… This interest-driven approach became particularly evident in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet bloc when Museveni made history by establishing himself as the first African leader to have ‘traversed the whole ideological spectrum from a profound distrust of capitalism to a restored faith in market forces.’” Cheeseman, Lynch, & Willis (2016) confirm that Museveni was originally leftist: “The president grew up in the radical fervor of Africa’s nationalist moments in the late colonial and early colonial period. University study in Dar es Salaam — and a visit to the guerrilla camps of Mozambique’s FRELIMO liberation movement — shaped an ideology that wove nationalism, anti-colonialism, and Marxism together to legitimize revolutionary violence.” Sjögren (2013) suggests that NRM began as Left: “Out of ideological conviction, and conscious of popular disillusionment with the adjustment experience of the Obote II government, the NRM initially embraced a socialist-nationalist economic programme.” (117). Manzano (2017) identifies Museveni as Left. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of National Resistance Movement (NRM) as 5.0, the average left-right salience (0-10) as 8.2, and the average divided-united party (0-10) as 6.8. Rulers.org (2020) identifies Museveni’s ideology as leftist, writing “Museveni… was sworn in as president after his National Resistance Army captured the capital, Kampala, and routed the government forces of Gen. Tito Okello. He adopted a pro-Western policy and his reputation as a Marxist quickly diminished.” Pirouet (1995) identifies Museveni’s ideology as leftist, writing “Museveni… in spite of his earlier socialism, his politics, once in office, have been essentially pragmatic, and the Ten Point Programme promised a mixed economy.” Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) writes “As president, Museveni helped revitalize the country, providing political stability, a growing economy, and an improved infrastructure. He instituted a number of capitalist reforms”. Byrnes (1990) writes “In 1986 the newly established Museveni regime committed itself to reversing the economic disintegration of the 1970s and 1980s. Museveni proclaimed the national economic orientation to be toward private enterprise rather than socialist government control. Many government policies were aimed at restoring the confidence of the private sector. In the absence of private initiatives, however, the government took over many abandoned or formerly expropriated companies and formed new parastatal enterprises.” Ortiz de Zárate (2001) identifies Museveni’s ideology as rightist, writing “in the early 1990s… Museveni, presented at the time as an intellectual sympathizer of Fidel Castro, had flirted with advanced socialism for years, but now discarded any planned economy model and strove to reestablish relations with the West… His disposition to economic liberalism won him the sympathy of Western countries… Museveni was another of the IMF's "good students" on the continent for prioritizing controlling inflation and downsizing the public sector through privatizations and draconian layoffs.” Ruess and Titeca (2017) write “In Uganda, Yoweri Museveni’s National Resistance Army (NRA) came to power in 1986 after a five year Marxist-inspired guerrilla struggle against the authoritarian Obote government”. Weigratz (2010) writes “In 1986, the government and President Yoweri Museveni promised to bring improvements, or 'fundamental change', on various fronts… the reforms introduced an excessive favouring of both capital and 'the-unregulated-market-is-best' doctrine as the guiding principle to reshape the perceptions, orientations, judgements and practices of the remaining civil servants”. Oloka-Onyango (2004) writes “Yoweri Kaguta Museveni… In high school… became an unreconstructed Marxist” and “In sum, Museveni can be described as a conundrum of paradoxes: he is a dictator with some democratic tendencies, and a market-reformed Marxist.” Waugh (2004) writes “Yoweri Museveni… accepted assistance from a variety of backers, socialist and otherwise, while himself remaining at the head of a more pragmatic kind of revolutionary movement… rather than following in the Marxist footsteps of other prominent African rebels such as Robert Mugabe and Mozambique’s Samora Machel… Museveni charted his own revolutionary path, not falling into the trap of becoming an obvious proxy for either side of the cold war” and “in 1967… Museveni had studied in the University of Dar es Salaam, an institution where President Julius Nyerere’s socialist philosophy helped set the tone for the political curriculum. But Museveni was also willing to embrace certain capitalist economic principles for development purposes”. Kinzer (2008) identifies Museveni’s ideology as leftist, writing “Museveni sympathized with Marxism and was a convinced pan-Africanist.” In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.837) in 1989, as “Center-right” (0.791) in 1994, as “Center-right” (1.075) in 1996 and 2001, and as “Center-right” (1.042) in 2006, 2011, and in 2016 with “Negligible visible disagreement” across all years. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as “National Resistance Movement”. DPI does not identify NRM’s ideology.

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