

Country: Pakistan

Year: 1947

Leader: Jinnah

Ideology: center

Description: CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Muslim League (ML). DPI does not identify ML's ideology. Paracha (2017) identifies ML as centrist, writing that "the All India Muslim League (AIML) became the Muslim League in 1947 and then began to splinter" and that "the AIML was a centrist party" that "emerged as an early political expression of the gradual growth of a Muslim middle-class in India". Patil (2016: 605) confirms ML to be centrist, writing that "the following are religion-based political parties: the BJP represents Hindutva; the SAD represents Sikhism and the Punjabi language; the AIML represents Islam and the interests of Indian Muslims. These are centrist parties as far as economic policies are concerned".

Years: 1948 - 1950

Leader: L. Khan

Ideology: center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Muslim League (ML). DPI does not identify ML's ideology. Paracha (2017) identifies ML as centrist, writing that "the All India Muslim League (AIML) became the Muslim League in 1947 and then began to splinter" and that "the AIML was a centrist party" that "emerged as an early political expression of the gradual growth of a Muslim middle-class in India". Patil (2016: 605) confirms ML to be centrist, writing that "the following are religion-based political parties: the BJP represents Hindutva; the SAD represents Sikhism and the Punjabi language; the AIML represents Islam and the interests of Indian Muslims. These are centrist parties as far as economic policies are concerned".

Years: 1951 - 1952

Leader: Nazimuddin

Ideology: center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Muslim League (ML). DPI does not identify ML's ideology. Paracha (2017) identifies ML as centrist, writing that "the All India Muslim League (AIML) became the Muslim League in 1947 and then began to splinter" and that "the AIML was a centrist party" that "emerged as an early political expression of the gradual growth of a Muslim middle-class in India". Patil (2016: 605) confirms ML to be centrist,

writing that “the following are religion-based political parties: the BJP represents Hindutva; the SAD represents Sikhism and the Punjabi language; the AIML represents Islam and the interests of Indian Muslims. These are centrist parties as far as economic policies are concerned”.

Years: 1953 - 1954

Leader: Mohammed Ali

Ideology: center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Muslim League (ML). DPI does not identify ML’s ideology. Paracha (2017) identifies ML as centrist, writing that “the All India Muslim League (AIML) became the Muslim League in 1947 and then began to splinter” and that “the AIML was a centrist party” that “emerged as an early political expression of the gradual growth of a Muslim middle-class in India”. Patil (2016: 605) confirms ML to be centrist, writing that “the following are religion-based political parties: the BJP represents Hindutva; the SAD represents Sikhism and the Punjabi language; the AIML represents Islam and the interests of Indian Muslims. These are centrist parties as far as economic policies are concerned”.

Year: 1955

Leader: Chaudhri M. Ali

Ideology: center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Muslim League (ML). DPI does not identify ML’s ideology. Paracha (2017) identifies ML as centrist, writing that “the All India Muslim League (AIML) became the Muslim League in 1947 and then began to splinter” and that “the AIML was a centrist party” that “emerged as an early political expression of the gradual growth of a Muslim middle-class in India”. Patil (2016: 605) confirms ML to be centrist, writing that “the following are religion-based political parties: the BJP represents Hindutva; the SAD represents Sikhism and the Punjabi language; the AIML represents Islam and the interests of Indian Muslims. These are centrist parties as far as economic policies are concerned”.

Year: 1956

Leader: Shahid Suhrawardy

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Awami League (AL). DPI does not identify AL’s ideology. AL originated in East Pakistan, a region that eventually became independent Bangladesh: Uttom and Rozario (2019) write that “a group of disgruntled politicians formed the Awami

League in what was then East Pakistan”. *Political Handbook of the World* (2015: 113) identifies the Awami League as leftist: “On January 25, 1975, the Constituent Assembly revised the constitution to provide for a presidential form of government and the adoption of a one-party system under the rubric of the Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League (Baksal), a socialist political platform.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 12 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Bangladesh Awami League (AL) as 3.8. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.939) in 1970.

Year: 1957

Leader: Khan Noon

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Republican Party (RP). DPI does not identify RP’s ideology. Paracha (2017) identifies the Republican Party as rightist, writing that “in 1955, veteran ML man Iskander Mirza helped shape a secular centre-right party, the Republican Party” and that “the Republican Party was conservative”. Ali (2018: 106) confirms RP to be rightist, writing that “while the bulk of [landlords] remained loyal to the League, others have supported right-wing deviations and set up independent formations, the most prominent of which was the former Republican Party.”

Years: 1958 - 1968

Leader: Ayub Khan

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology of Ayub Khan as right. Burki (1991) writes “the swift turn toward a prominent economic role for the state [under Bhutto] was not especially appealing to the important economic interests in Pakistan who were the product of the capitalist approach followed by the earlier regimes, in particular those of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan.” Khan (1967) himself states, ““In our approach to economic planning. . . most of the administrative and bureaucratic controls which previously hampered the progress of the private sector have been gradually removed. . . “The ultimate aim of all our efforts in economic and social spheres is to move speedily towards the attainment of an Islamic social order. This term is almost inter-changeable with a “welfare state” . . . What is basic to the establishment of this order of society is the creation of equal opportunities for all, rather than an equal distribution of wealth. The important thing is that every individual must be given the fullest opportunity to develop his natural talents, and that he should not be inhibited by any oppressive economic and social framework.”

Years: 1969 - 1970

Leader: Yahya Khan

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology of Yahya Khan as right. Burki (1991) writes “the swift turn toward a prominent economic role for the state [under Bhutto] was not especially appealing to the important economic interests in Pakistan who were the product of the capitalist approach followed by the earlier regimes, in particular those of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan.”

Years: 1971 - 1976

Leader: Bhutto

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology; CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Pakistan People’s Party (PPP). Manzano (2017) identifies Bhutto as right, but only in 1971. DPI identifies PPP’s ideology as left. Political Handbook (2015) confirms PPP to be leftist, writing that it is “an Islamic socialist party founded in 1967 by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto”. Perspective monde (2020) identifies Bhutto’s ideology as centrist, writing “Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto | 1971 (24 décembre) | 1977 (5 juillet) | Parti du peuple pakistanais | [...] | Centre.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 16 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) as 3.7. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Bhutto's party as PPP, and PPP's ideology as leftist, writing "14 Aug 1973 - 5 Jul 1977 Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (s.a.) PPP" and "PPP = Pakistan Peoples Party (Islamic socialist, populist, est.30 Nov 1967)." The leftist Socialist International (2020) identifies Pakistan People's Party as one of its members. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Left” (-1.84) in 1970.

Years: 1977 - 1987

Leader: Zia

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology of Zia-ul-Haq as right. Burki (1988) writes “President Zia openly admitted to little knowledge of, or interest in economic management. . . Zia left economic management initially to a team of technocrats. . . [Zia stated] “I really don’t care what [my advisors] do as long as the economy continues to function smoothly and the poor and the lower middle classes continue to see some hope for them.”” It also states, “Ultimately, Ghulam Ishaq Khan was entrusted with the task of managing the economy. . . Ishaq Khan’s firm but

conservative management of the economy yielded impressive dividends for the government.”

Years: 1988 - 1989

Leader: Benazir Bhutto

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology; CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Pakistan People’s Party (PPP). DPI identifies PPP’s ideology as left. Political Handbook (2015) confirms PPP to be leftist, writing that it is “an Islamic socialist party founded in 1967 by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto”. Perspective monde (2020) identifies Bhutto’s ideology as centrist, writing “Benazir Bhutto | 1988 (2 décembre) | 1990 (6 août) | Parti du peuple pakistanais | [...] | Centre.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 16 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) as 3.7. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Bhutto's party as PPP, and PPP's ideology as leftist, writing "2 Dec 1988 - 6 Aug 1990 Benazir Bhutto (f) (1st time) (b. 1953 - d. 2007) PPP" and "PPP = Pakistan Peoples Party (Islamic socialist, populist, est.30 Nov 1967)." The leftist Socialist International (2020) identifies Pakistan People's Party as one of its members. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.654) in 1988.

Years: 1990 - 1992

Leader: Sharif

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Pakistan Muslim League - Nawaz (PML-N). DPI does not identify PML-N’s ideology. *Keesing’s Record of World Events* (2012) identifies PML-N as right: “The Supreme Court also on Feb. 29 revived an investigation into allegations that the ISI donated some US\$6.5 million to conservative opposition parties in advance of 1990 legislative elections, in which the right-wing Pakistan Muslim League led by Nawaz Sharif defeated the Pakistan People's Party, led by former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.” Perspective monde (2020) identifies Nawaz Sharif’s ideology as centrist, writing “Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif | 1990 (6 novembre) | 1993 (18 avril) | Ligue musulmane du Pakistan - Nawaz Sharif | [...] | Centre.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 16 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Pakistan Muslim League, Nawaz Sharif faction (PML-N) as 5.8. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies PML’s ideology as rightist, writing "the president dissolved the cabinet and designated Mohammad Khan JUNEJO, of the center-right Pakistan Muslim League (PML), as the country’s first prime minister in eight years." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Sharif's party as PML-N, and PML-N's ideology as rightist, writing "6 Nov 1990 - 18 Apr 1993 Mohammad Nawaz Sharif (1st time)

(b. 1949) PML-N" and "PML-N = Pakistani Muslim League-Nawaz (center-right, conservative, PML Nawaz Sharif faction, split from PML, est.1988)." In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center" (0.319) in 1993.

Years: 1993 - 1995

Leader: Benazir Bhutto

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology; CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Pakistan People's Party (PPP). DPI identifies PPP's ideology as left. Political Handbook (2015) confirms PPP to be leftist, writing that it is "an Islamic socialist party founded in 1967 by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto". Perspective monde (2020) identifies Bhutto's ideology as centrist, writing "Benazir Bhutto | 1993 (19 octobre) | 1996 (5 novembre) | Parti du peuple pakistanais | [...] | Centre." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 16 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) as 3.7. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Bhutto's party as PPP, and PPP's ideology as leftist, writing "19 Oct 1993 - 5 Nov 1996 Benazir Bhutto (f) (2nd time) (s.a.) PPP" and "PPP = Pakistan Peoples Party (Islamic socialist, populist, est.30 Nov 1967)." The leftist Socialist International (2020) identifies Pakistan People's Party as one of its members. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.516) in 1988.

Year: 1996

Leader: Khalid

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as non-party. The Guardian (2003) identifies Khalid's earlier party affiliation as the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and his ideology as leftist, writing that "he quit that party in 1968 and later, as a member of the left leaning PPP ... was elected to the National Assembly". Political Handbook (2015) confirms PPP to be leftist, writing that it is "an Islamic socialist party founded in 1967 by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto". An obituary in the Pride of Pakistan (2003) confirms him to be ideologically leftist, writing that Meraj was "a left-wing statesman and Marxist philosopher". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 16 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) as 3.7.

Years: 1997 - 1998

Leader: Sharif

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Pakistan Muslim League - Nawaz (PML-N). *Keesing's Record of World Events*

(2012) identifies PML-N as right: "The Supreme Court also on Feb. 29 revived an investigation into allegations that the ISI donated some US\$6.5 million to conservative opposition parties in advance of 1990 legislative elections, in which the right-wing Pakistan Muslim League led by Nawaz Sharif defeated the Pakistan People's Party, led by former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto." Perspective monde (2020) identifies Nawaz Sharif's ideology as centrist, writing "Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif | 1997 (17 février) | 1999 (12 octobre) | Ligue musulmane du Pakistan - Nawaz Sharif | [...] | Centre." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 16 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Pakistan Muslim League, Nawaz Sharif faction (PML-N) as 5.8. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies PML's ideology as rightist, writing "the president dissolved the cabinet and designated Mohammad Khan JUNEJO, of the center-right Pakistan Muslim League (PML), as the country's first prime minister in eight years." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Sharif's party as PML-N, and PML-N's ideology as rightist, writing "17 Feb 1997 - 12 Oct 1999 Mohammad Nawaz Sharif (3rd time) (s.a.) PML-N" and "PML-N = Pakistani Muslim League-Nawaz (center-right, conservative, PML Nawaz Sharif faction, split from PML, est.1988)." In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center" (0.319) in 1997.

Years: 1999 - 2007

Leader: Musharraf

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology of Musharraf as right.. World Encyclopedia identifies Musharraf's party affiliation as PML-Q, writing "the Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-e-Azam group (PML-Q), which is Musharraf's chosen platform. Mujtaba (2018: 85) identifies PML-Q as rightist, writing that the PML-Q was "formed with the ideologies of nationalism, libertarianism, liberalism, and progressivism at heart". Shah (2013: 1013) also identifies PML-Q as rightist, writing that "the ISI created a new right-wing political party, the Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e Azam, PML-Q) to act as the civilian face of the military government. The PML-Q mainly comprised of disaffected, coerced, or bribed defectors from the PML-N". CNN (2008) identifies PML-Q as rightist, writing that "the largely center-conservative PML-Q party has seen its power base dented". Al Jazeera (2013) also identifies PML-Q as rightist, writing that "PML-Q is a centre-right party drawn primarily from defectors from the rival PML-N". Brookings (2010) describes PML(Q) as "conservative". Baxter et. al (2002) writes that PML-Q "favors policies followed by Musharraf", whom Manzano (2017) identifies as rightist. Perspective monde (2020) identifies Jamali's ideology as centrist, writing "Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali | 2002 (23 novembre) | 2004 (30 juin) | Ligue

musulmane du Pakistan - Quaid-e-Azam | [...] | Centre.” Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies PML’s ideology as rightist, writing "the president dissolved the cabinet and designated Mohammad Khan JUNEJO, of the center-right Pakistan Muslim League (PML), as the country’s first prime minister in eight years.

Years: 2008 - 2012

Leader: Zardari

Ideology: left

Description: CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) in 2008. DPI identifies PPP’s ideology as leftist. Political Handbook (2015) confirms PPP to be leftist, writing that it is “an Islamic socialist party founded in 1967 by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto”. Perspective monde (2020) identifies Zardari’s ideology as centrist, writing “Asif Ali Zardari | 2008 (9 septembre) | 2013 (9 septembre) | Parti du peuple pakistanais | [...] | Centre.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 16 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) as 3.7. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Zardari's party as PPP, and PPP's ideology as leftist, writing "9 Sep 2008 - 8 Sep 2013 Asif Ali Zardari (b. 1955) PPP" and "PPP = Pakistan Peoples Party (Islamic socialist, populist, est.30 Nov 1967)." The leftist Socialist International (2020) identifies Pakistan People's Party as one of its members. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.469) in 2008.

Years: 2013 - 2016

Leader: Nawaz Sharif

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. *Political Handbook of the World* (2015: 1105) identifies affiliation as Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz (PML-N): “Prime Minister: Muhammad Nawaz SHARIF (Pakistan Muslim League–Nawaz).” *Keesing’s Record of World Events* (2012) identifies PML-N as right: “The Supreme Court also on Feb. 29 revived an investigation into allegations that the ISI donated some US\$6.5 million to conservative opposition parties in advance of 1990 legislative elections, in which the right-wing Pakistan Muslim League led by Nawaz Sharif defeated the Pakistan People's Party, led by former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.” Perspective monde (2020) identifies Sharif’s ideology as centrist, writing “Nawaz Sharif | 2013 (5 juin) | 2017 (1 août) | Ligue musulmane du Pakistan - Nawaz Sharif | [...] | Centre.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 16 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Pakistan Muslim League, Nawaz Sharif faction (PML-N) as 5.8. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies PML’s ideology as rightist, writing "the president dissolved the cabinet and designated Mohammad Khan JUNEJO, of the center-right

Pakistan Muslim League (PML), as the country's first prime minister in eight years." Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies PML's ideology as rightist, writing "the president dissolved the cabinet and designated Mohammad Khan JUNEJO, of the center-right Pakistan Muslim League (PML), as the country's first prime minister in eight years." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Sharif's party as PML-N, and PML-N's ideology as rightist, writing "5 Jun 2013 - 28 Jul 2017 Mohammad Nawaz Sharif (4th time) (s.a.) PML-N" and "PML-N = Pakistani Muslim League-Nawaz (center-right, conservative, PML Nawaz Sharif faction, split from PML, est.1988)." In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center" (0.287) in 2013.

Years: 2017

Leader: Abbasi

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. *Keesing's Record of World Events* (2008) identifies party affiliation as Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz (PML-N): "Shahid Khaqan Abbasi (PML—N) Commerce." *Keesing's Record of World Events* (2012) identifies PML-N as right: "The Supreme Court also on Feb. 29 revived an investigation into allegations that the ISI donated some US\$6.5 million to conservative opposition parties in advance of 1990 legislative elections, in which the right-wing Pakistan Muslim League led by Nawaz Sharif defeated the Pakistan People's Party, led by former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto." *Perspective monde* (2020) identifies Abbasi's ideology as centrist, writing "Shahid Khaqan Abbasi | 2017 (1 août) | 2018 (31 mai) | Ligue musulmane du Pakistan - Nawaz Sharif | [...] | Centre." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 16 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Pakistan Muslim League, Nawaz Sharif faction (PML-N) as 5.8. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies PML's ideology as rightist, writing "the president dissolved the cabinet and designated Mohammad Khan JUNEJO, of the center-right Pakistan Muslim League (PML), as the country's first prime minister in eight years." In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center" (0.287) in 2013. DPI does not identify PML-N's ideology.

Years: 2018-2020

Leader: Imran Khan

Ideology: center

Description: *Perspective monde* (2020) identifies Khan's party affiliation as Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, and PTI's ideology as rightist: "Imran Khan | 2018 (18 août) | | Mouvement du Pakistan pour la justice (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf) | [...] | Centre droit." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Khan's affiliation as PTI and

PTI's ideology as centrist: "18 Aug 2018 - Imran Ahmad Khan Niazi (b. 1952) PTI", "**PTI** = Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (Pakistan Movement for Justice, centrist, nationalist, populist, Imran Khan personalist, est.25 Apr 1996)" In the Global Party Survey 2019, 16 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Movement for Justice (PTI) as 4.4. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies PTI's ideology as centrist, writing "The PTI is a centrist grouping founded by popular cricket captain Imran Khan in 1996." In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (0.707) in 2018. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Pakistan Movement for Justice. DPI identifies PTI's ideology as centrist. The Pakistan TKI official website quotes Khan in its manifesto, "For PTI, it is not just "politics": it is a commitment to building a welfare state where the rule of law, meritocracy and transparency are guaranteed to all citizens—where a social welfare safety net is provided to the marginalised and the elderly." Global Village Space (2020) writes "In order to fix this direction, we must first fix our mindset. We need to tell our government departments to help and aid whoever wants to increase the wealth of the nation, and whoever wants to industrialise and grow. We need to get rid of this socialist mindset," stated Khan, who criticised how profit making was considered to be a crime in Pakistan. [...] I still remember, the politicians of the 70s would start their speeches criticising the businessmen and industrialists. If there is no industrialism and no investment, how will the country move forward?"

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