

Country: Afghanistan

Years: 1945

Head of government: Sardar Mohammad Hashim Khan

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Lentz (1994: 18) writes that “Hashim was responsible for restoring the orthodox and conservative way of life that former King Amanullah’s reformatations had threatened”. Not enough information to code ideology.

Years: 1946 - 1952

Head of government: Sardar Shah Mahmud Khan

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Lentz (1994: 18) writes that Sardar Mahmud Shah Khan “was considered more progressive than his predecessor [Sardar Mohammad Hashim Khan] and initiated a number of reforms during his term in office”. Not enough information to code ideology. Britannica (2020) writes “Shah Mahmud, prime minister from 1946 to 1953, sanctioned free elections and a relatively free press, and the so-called “liberal parliament” functioned from 1949 to 1952.”

Years: 1953 - 1962

Head of government: Sardar Mohammad Daud Khan

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology of Daud as right. Lentz (1994: 17) writes that “Daud began a crackdown on communists”. The Historical Dictionary of Afghanistan identifies Muhammad Daud’s ideology as leftist, “[Muhammad Daud] relied on the support of leftists to consolidate his power [...] He thereby tried to limit the power of the left and create a left-of-center movement loyal to himself.” Country Studies identifies Daud’s ideology as leftist, writing “Daoud still favored a state-centered economy.” Britannica (2020) writes “Conservatives in government... supported the seizure of power in 1953 by Lieutenant General Mohammad Daud Khan... Prime Minister Daud Khan (1953–63) took a stronger line on Pashtunistan, and, to the surprise of many, turned to the Soviet Union for economic and military assistance. The Soviets ultimately became Afghanistan’s major aid-and-trade partner.” Bezhan (2013) writes “The PDPA... in a conversation with the American diplomat on 14 March 1965, Taraki described the party as a left of center political party. He said... “The party platform would be

slightly left of center ... in order to preempt ... Daoud who ... continues to talk of his fondness for "socialism.""". Winger (2017) writes “Even though Daoud came to power with Communist aid, he was no Marxist. Neumann, Kissinger, and the NSC all saw him as a nationalist who would not radically change course from Afghanistan's traditional nonalignment, despite forging closer ties with the Soviet Union. Even though the PDPA acquired a role in the new regime, the United States was confident that Afghanistan would not become a Communist country as long as Daoud dominated the government... In 1973, Daoud was seen to ally himself with leftist military officers and the Parcham PDPA faction in order to return to power. After assuming control of Afghanistan, Daoud gave leftists jobs in the government, including several cabinet posts and key military positions. The inclusion of Communists was not merely a payoff but also a means of solidifying Soviet support for the regime. During Daoud's visit to Moscow in 1974, Soviet officials indicated that Daoud's partnership with the PDPA was a necessary condition to receive Soviet aid. Lacking alternative sources for assistance—particularly military aid—Daoud cautiously accepted Soviet support, reasoning that it would prevent the Soviet Union from immediately seeking to replace him while also affording him time to consolidate his position. Yet the compromise government between Daoud and the PDPA was far from harmonious. The relationship was characterized by incessant jockeying for power and disagreements over the Marxist inclinations of the government or its shifts to favor the USSR. By 1975, the U.S. embassy saw Daoud as occupying an untenable middle ground in Afghan politics. On his left were the PDPA and the Soviet Union... Daoud's political right consisted of religious factions that had long been enemies of his modernization agenda... Upon resuming power, Daoud and the PDPA had begun a campaign to stamp out these religious fundamentalists... Daoud was not an ideologue, but a shrewd survivor whose desire to remain in power left him with no qualms about shifting his political tack to meet his changing needs. In the summer of 1975, faced with threats on both flanks, Daoud moved against his erstwhile PDPA allies”. Rubinstein (1982) writes “Moscow... believed there would be even greater advantages in having a pro-Moscow leftist military group headed by Daoud in control in Kabul... Like Daoud, Taraki wrapped himself in republican cloth. But he was a communist bent on radical changes, not a conservative seeking reform within a basically traditional framework”.

Years: 1963 - 1964

Head of government: Mohammad Yusuf Khan

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Hannay (2013: 24) identifies Khan as a technocrat, writing that “it was the

king's decision to dismiss Daud and Naim and to call on a commoner technocrat, Mohammad Yusuf (previously Minister of Mines), who had no connection with the royal family, to take over as Prime Minister". Not enough information to code ideology.

Years: 1965 -1966

Head of government: Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Emadi (2005: 39) identifies later party affiliation as the Progressive Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), writing that "Maiwandwal formed the Progressive Democratic Party in 1966". DPI identifies PDPA as leftist. The Historical Dictionary of Afghanistan identifies PDPA's ideology as leftist, writing "MAIWANDWAL, MUHAMMAD HASHIM. Prime minister (1965-1967) and founder of the Progressive Democratic Party [...] [PDPA] recognised Zahir Shah as the "personification of national unity" and advocated a program of action "in accordance with [...] democracy and socialism." Country Studies identifies Maiwandwal's ideology as leftist, writing "Former prime minister Maiwandwal, a democratic socialist, lost his seat when the government selectively influenced the elections." Britannica (2020) identifies PDPA as leftist, writing "Elections for both houses of the legislature were held in 1965 and 1969. Several unofficial parties ran candidates with platforms ranging from fundamentalist Islam to the extreme left. One such group was the Marxist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), the major leftist organization in the country." Bezhan (2013) writes "Muhammad Hashim Maiwandwal (1965-67), had to include aspects of Islam and socialism in the platform of his monarchist party Jamiat-e Demokrat-e Motaraqi (Progressive Democratic Party): "...our goal is socialism, i.e. building a flourishing society living by common interest." ... Maiwandwal needed to appear to reconcile the two political strands which had attracted the largest number of educated people. While he had intended to establish a nationalist-monarchist party in order to attract different sections of society, he was forced to include socialism as another goal of the party. Perhaps another reason for his approach was that he did not want to provoke the Russians, because Maiwandwal was largely regarded as pro American" and "The PDPA... in a conversation with the American diplomat on 14 March 1965, Taraki described the party as a left of center political party. He said... "The party platform would be slightly left of center ... in order to preempt ... Daud who ... continues to talk of his fondness for "socialism.""". Winger (2017) writes "Even though the PDPA acquired a role in the new regime, the United States was confident that Afghanistan would not become a Communist country as long as Daoud dominated the government... In 1973, Daoud was seen to ally

himself with leftist military officers and the Parcham PDPA faction in order to return to power. [...] During Daoud's visit to Moscow in 1974, Soviet officials indicated that Daoud's partnership with the PDPA was a necessary condition to receive Soviet aid. [...] Yet the compromise government between Daoud and the PDPA was far from harmonious. The relationship was characterized by incessant jockeying for power and disagreements over the Marxist inclinations of the government or its shifts to favor the USSR. By 1975, the U.S. embassy saw Daoud as occupying an untenable middle ground in Afghan politics. On his left were the PDPA and the Soviet Union”.

Years: 1967 - 1970

Head of government: Mohammad Nur Ahmad Etemadi

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Not enough information to code ideology.

Years: 1971

Head of government: Abdul Zahir

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Lentz (1994: 19) writes that Zahir worked on “legislation designed to help lower-income Afghanistanis”. Not enough information to code ideology.

Years: 1972

Head of government: Mohammad Musa Shafiq

Ideology:

Description: World Statesmen (2020) and Rulers (2020) identify Sardar Mohammad Daud Khan instead of Mohammad Musa Shafiq as head of government on December 31, 1973. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Not enough information to code ideology.

Years: 1973 - 1977

Head of government: Sardar Mohammad Daud Khan

Ideology: leftist

Description: World Statesmen (2019) and Rulers (2019) identify Sardar Mohammad Daud Khan instead of Mohammad Musa Shafiq as head of government on December 31, 1973. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as non-party until 1976, and as National Revolutionary Party (NRP) afterwards. DPI does not identify NRP's ideology. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology of Daud as right. Lentz (1994: 17) writes that “Daud began a

crackdown on communists". The Historical Dictionary of Afghanistan identifies Muhammad Daud's ideology as leftist, "[Muhammad Daud] relied on the support of leftists to consolidate his power [...] He thereby tried to limit the power of the left and create a left-of-center movement loyal to himself." Country Studies identifies Daud's ideology as leftist, writing "Daoud still favored a state-centered economy." Britannica (2020) writes "Mohammad Daud Khan sensed the stagnation of the constitutional processes and seized power on July 17, 1973... Leftist military officers and civil servants of the Banner Party assisted in the overthrow... During Daud Khan's second tenure as prime minister, he attempted to introduce socioeconomic reforms... and to effect a gradual movement away from the socialist ideals his regime initially espoused... In March 1977... The two PDPA organizations... reunited against Daud Khan after a 10-year separation. There followed a series of political assassinations, massive anti-government demonstrations, and arrests of major leftist leaders" and "People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), the major leftist organization in the country." Bezhan (2013) writes "The PDPA... in a conversation with the American diplomat on 14 March 1965, Taraki described the party as a left of center political party. He said... "The party platform would be slightly left of center ... in order to preempt ... Daud who ... continues to talk of his fondness for "socialism.""". Winger (2017) writes "Even though Daoud came to power with Communist aid, he was no Marxist. Neumann, Kissinger, and the NSC all saw him as a nationalist who would not radically change course from Afghanistan's traditional nonalignment, despite forging closer ties with the Soviet Union. Even though the PDPA acquired a role in the new regime, the United States was confident that Afghanistan would not become a Communist country as long as Daoud dominated the government... In 1973, Daoud was seen to ally himself with leftist military officers and the Parcham PDPA faction in order to return to power. After assuming control of Afghanistan, Daoud gave leftists jobs in the government, including several cabinet posts and key military positions. The inclusion of Communists was not merely a payoff but also a means of solidifying Soviet support for the regime. During Daoud's visit to Moscow in 1974, Soviet officials indicated that Daoud's partnership with the PDPA was a necessary condition to receive Soviet aid. Lacking alternative sources for assistance—particularly military aid—Daoud cautiously accepted Soviet support, reasoning that it would prevent the Soviet Union from immediately seeking to replace him while also affording him time to consolidate his position. Yet the compromise government between Daoud and the PDPA was far from harmonious. The relationship was characterized by incessant jockeying for power and disagreements over the Marxist inclinations of the government or its shifts to favor the USSR. By 1975, the U.S. embassy saw Daoud as occupying an untenable middle ground in Afghan politics. On his left were the PDPA and the Soviet

Union... Daoud's political right consisted of religious factions that had long been enemies of his modernization agenda... Upon resuming power, Daoud and the PDPA had begun a campaign to stamp out these religious fundamentalists... Daoud was not an ideologue, but a shrewd survivor whose desire to remain in power left him with no qualms about shifting his political tack to meet his changing needs. In the summer of 1975, faced with threats on both flanks, Daoud moved against his erstwhile PDPA allies". Rubinstein (1982) writes "Moscow... believed there would be even greater advantages in having a pro-Moscow leftist military group headed by Daoud in control in Kabul... Like Daoud, Taraki wrapped himself in republican cloth. But he was a communist bent on radical changes, not a conservative seeking reform within a basically traditional framework".

Years: 1978

Head of government: Nur Mohammad Taraki

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as People's Democratic Party (HDK/PDPA). Manzano (2017) identifies Taraki as left. DPI identifies HDK's ideology as left. The Political Handbook (2010) elaborates, writing "Homeland Party (*Hizb-i-Watan*). Previously known as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA)[...]the group's subsequent activity was limited to occasional contact at meetings of international communist organizations." Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies Taraki's ideology as leftist, writing "the Daoud regime was overthrown in a left-wing coup led by the deputy air force commander, Col. Abdul KHADIR. On April 30 a newly constituted Revolutionary Council designated Nur Mohammad TARAQI, secretary general of the formerly outlawed People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA)." Lentz (1994: 15) confirms Taraki to be leftist, identifying him as a "noted writer and Marxist intellectual". Perspective monde (2020) identifies Taraki's ideology as leftist, writing "Nur Mohammad Taraki | 1978 (30 avril) | 1979 (16 septembre) | Parti populaire démocratique d'Afghanistan (masses) | Accession autoritaire ou militaire | Gauche communiste." Lentz (1994) identifies Taraki's ideology as leftist, writing "Taraki, a noted writer and Marxist intellectual, founded the Maoist Khalq, or Masses, party in 1963 in opposition to King Zahir Shah." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Taraki's party as HDK, and HDK's ideology as leftist, writing "30 Apr 1978 - 16 Sep 1979 Nur Mohammad Taraki (s.a.) HDK," and "HDK = Hizbi Dimokratiki Khalqi Afghanisan (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, communist, 1990 renounced Marxism, 1965-28 Jun 1990, then HW)."

Note: The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) is also known as Hezb-e dimūkrātīk-e khalq-e Afghānistān (HDK).

Years: 1979 - 1980

Head of government: Babrak Karmal

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology; CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as People's Democratic Party (HDK/PDPA). Manzano (2017) identifies Karmal as left. DPI identifies HDK's ideology as left. The Political Handbook (2010) elaborates, writing "Homeland Party (*Hizb-i-Watan*). Previously known as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA)[...]the group's subsequent activity was limited to occasional contact at meetings of international communist organizations." Lentz (1994: 15) confirms Karmal to be leftist, writing that "he became active in leftist politics while a student in Kabul". Perspective monde (2020) identifies Karmal's ideology as leftist, writing "Babrak Karmal | 1979 (27 décembre) | 1986 (20 novembre) | Parti populaire démocratique d'Afghanistan (bannière), Parti populaire démocratique d'Afghanistan | Accession autoritaire ou militaire | Gauche communiste." Lentz (1994) identifies Karmal's ideology as leftist, writing "He became active in leftist politics while a student at Kabul University. In 1949 he began serving a five-year prison sentence for his Communist activities [...] In 1965 he was elected to the National Assembly as a member of the pro-Communist Khalq party." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Karmal's party as HDK, and HDK's ideology as leftist, writing "27 Dec 1979 - 23 Nov 1986 Babrak Karmal (s.a.) HDK," and "HDK = Hizbi Dimokratiki Khalqi Afghanisan (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, communist, 1990 renounced Marxism, 1965-28 Jun 1990, then HW)."

Note: The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) is also known as Hezb-e dimūkrātīk-e khalq-e Afghānistān (HDK).

Years: 1981 - 1987

Head of government: Sultan Ali Keshtmand

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. *Chicago Tribune* (1989) identifies affiliation as People's Democratic Party (HDK/PDPA): "An old-guard member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Moscow-backed party led by Najib, Keshtmand served as prime minister in the government of Babrak Karmal and remained in the post when Najib replaced Karmal in 1985." DPI identifies HDK's ideology as left. The Political Handbook (2010) elaborates, writing "Homeland Party (*Hizb-i-Watan*). Previously known as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA)[...]the group's

subsequent activity was limited to occasional contact at meetings of international communist organizations.”Lentz (1994: 15) confirms Keshtmand to be leftist, writing that “a Shi’ite Muslim and communist, Keshtamand was a leading figure in the Parcham party”. Lentz (1994) identifies Keshtmand’s ideology as leftist, writing “A Shi’ite Muslim and Communist, Keshtamand was a leading figure in the Parcham party and a close ally of President Babrak Karmal.”

World Statesmen (2020) identifies Keshtmand's party as HDK, and HDK's ideology as leftist, writing "11 Jun 1981 - 26 May 1988 Sultan Ali Keshtmand (1st time) (b. 1935) HDK" and "HDK = Hizbi Dimokratiki Khalqi Afghanisan (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, communist, 1990 renounced Marxism, 1965-28 Jun 1990, then HW)."

Note: The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) is also known as Hezb-e dimūkrātīk-e khalq-e Afghānistān (HDK).

Years: 1988

Head of government: Mohammad Hassan Sharq

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. *Orlando Sentinel* (1988) identifies party affiliation as none: “President Najib chose a prime minister from outside his governing party in an effort to widen his support base as Soviet forces withdraw, leaving the government to face Moslem guerrillas alone. Mohammad Hasan Sharq, 62, has been closely associated with Najib's People's Democratic Party (HDK) and has been a deputy prime minister in Najib's government for 11 months ... Najib repeatedly has professed a desire to bring more non-party officials into his government as Moscow withdraws its soldiers.” DPI identifies HDK’s ideology as left. The Political Handbook (2010) elaborates, writing “Homeland Party (*Hizb-i-Watan*). Previously known as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA)[...]the group's subsequent activity was limited to occasional contact at meetings of international communist organizations.” Perspective monde (2020) identifies Sharq’s ideology as leftist, writing “Mohammad Hasan Sharq | 1988 (26 mai) | 1989 (21 février) | Parti populaire démocratique d'Afghanistan (masses) | En fonction d’une décision du chef d’Etat ou du parlement | Gauche communiste.” World Statesmen (2020) identifies Karmal's party as HDK, and HDK's ideology as leftist, writing "27 Dec 1979 - 23 Nov 1986 Babrak Karmal (s.a.) HDK," and "HDK = Hizbi Dimokratiki Khalqi Afghanisan (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, communist, 1990 renounced Marxism, 1965-28 Jun 1990, then HW)."

Note: The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) is also known as Hezb-e dimūkrātīk-e khalq-e Afghānistān (HDK).

Years: 1989

Head of government: Sultan Ali Keshtmand

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. *Chicago Tribune* (1989) identifies affiliation as People's Democratic Party (HDK/PDPA): "An old-guard member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Moscow-backed party led by Najib, Keshtmand served as prime minister in the government of Babrak Karmal and remained in the post when Najib replaced Karmal in 1985." DPI identifies HDK's ideology as left. The Political Handbook (2010) elaborates, writing "Homeland Party (*Hizb-i-Watan*). Previously known as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA)[...]the group's subsequent activity was limited to occasional contact at meetings of international communist organizations." Lentz (1994: 15) confirms Keshtmand to be leftist, writing that "a Shi'ite Muslim and communist, Keshtmand was a leading figure in the Parcham party". Perspective monde (2020) identifies Keshtmand's ideology as leftist, writing "Sultan Ali Keshtmand | 1989 (21 février) | 1990 (8 mai) | Parti populaire démocratique d'Afghanistan | Nul | En fonction d'une décision du chef d'Etat ou du parlement | Gauche communiste" Lentz (1994) identifies Keshtmand's ideology as leftist, writing "A Shi'ite Muslim and Communist, Keshtmand was a leading figure in the Parcham party and a close ally of President Babrak Karmal."

Note: The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) is also known as Hezb-e dimūkrātīk-e khalq-e Afghānistān (HDK).

Years: 1990 - 1991

Head of government: Fazal Haq Khaliqyar

Ideology: left

Description: Perspective Monde (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) identify Burhanuddin Rabbani instead of Fazal Haq Khaliqyar as head of government on December 31, 1992. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. World Statesmen (2019) identifies party as the People's Democratic Party (*Hizbi Dimokratiki Khalqi Afghanistan – HDK*). DPI identifies HDK's ideology as leftist. The Political Handbook (2010) elaborates, writing "Homeland Party (*Hizb-i-Watan*). Previously known as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA)[...]the group's subsequent activity was limited to occasional contact at meetings of international communist organizations." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Khaliqyar's party as HDK and HW, and HDK and HW's ideology as leftist, writing "8 May 1990 - 15 Apr 1992 Fazal Haq Khaliqyar (b. 1934 - d. 2004) HDK;1990 HW" and "HDK = Hizbi Dimokratiki Khalqi Afghanistan (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, communist, 1990

renounced Marxism, 1965-28 Jun 1990, then HW); HW = Hizbi Watan (Fatherland Party, social-democratic, former HDK, 1990-1992)."

Note: The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) is also known as Hezb-e dimūkrātīk-e khalq-e Afghānistān (HDK).

Years: 1992

Head of government: Burhanuddin Rabbani

Ideology: rightist

Description: Perspective Monde (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) identify Burhanuddin Rabbani instead of Fazal Haq Khaliqyar as head of government on December 31, 1992. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as JIA. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Islamic Society (JI) as 7.0.

Note: JIA (Jamiat-e Islami Afghanistan) is also known as JI (Islamic Society)

Years: 1993 - 1994

Head of government: Gulbuddin Hekmatyar

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. *Political Handbook of the World* (2015: 12) identifies affiliation as Islamic Party (*Hizbi Islami Gulbuddin - HIG*): "[T]he Islamic Party was one of the largest and most radical of the mujahidin groups and often engaged in internecine clashes with former allies including, most notably, the Jamaat-i-Islami. Its principal leader, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, was known to have ties to both Iran and Libya in the 1970s and early 1980s." Fishstein and Amiryar (2015: 3) write that "after the fall of Najibullah's government in 1992, to the extent that the mujahideen and the Taliban can be said to have an economic policy, it continued with the historical mixed orientation – although the reality is better characterized as loot and plunder under the mujahideen and neglect under the Taliban." World Statesmen identifies Hekmatyar's party affiliation as HIG, writing "17 Jun 1993 - 28 Jun 1994 Gulbuddin Hekmatyar (1st time) (b. 1949) HIG."

Years: 1995

Head of government: Ahmad Shah Ahmadzai

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. World Statesmen (2019) identifies party as the Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan (*Ittehad-e Islami bara-ye Azadi-ye Afghanistan – IT*). Fishstein and Amiryar (2015: 3) write that "after the fall of Najibullah's government in 1992, to the extent that the mujahideen and the Taliban can be said

to have an economic policy, it continued with the historical mixed orientation – although the reality is better characterized as loot and plunder under the mujahideen and neglect under the Taliban.”

Years: 1996 - 2000

Head of government: Mullah Mohammad Omar Akhund

Ideology: none

Description: Rulers (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) identify Mullah Mohammad Omar Akhund instead of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar as head of government on Dec 31, 1996 and 1997. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies affiliation as Taliban. World Statesmen (2020) identifies affiliation as the Taliban and thus non-party. Brahimi (2010: 4) identifies Taliban’s ideology as none, writing that “after the capture of Kabul the Taliban issued no manifesto. There was no administration and no foreign policy, no public services, and no economic plan”. Fishstein and Amiryar (2015: 3) write that “after the fall of Najibullah’s government in 1992, to the extent that the mujahideen and the Taliban can be said to have an economic policy, it continued with the historical mixed orientation – although the reality is better characterized as loot and plunder under the mujahideen and neglect under the Taliban.”

Years: 2001 - 2013

Head of government: Hamid Karzai

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology; CHISOLS identifies affiliation as non-party until 2008, does not identify affiliation afterwards. *Political Handbook of the World* (2015: 3) identifies affiliation as non-party: “Hamid KARZAI (nonparty).” Manzano (2017) identifies ideology of Karzai as right.

Years: 2014 - 2019

Head of government: Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai

Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. *Political Handbook of the World* (2015: 3) identifies affiliation as non-party: “President: Ashraf GHANI Ahmadzai (nonparty).” Miles (2018) writes that “Afghanistan President Ashraf Ghani made an investment pitch at a U.N. conference”, claiming that “Afghanistan needed to focus on ‘market building’ with individual entrepreneurs forming creditworthy companies that could build value chains to take advantage of available trade preferences”. Attah-Poku (2013: 27) identifies Ghani as a centrist, writing that “Ghani displayed his strong centrist position when explaining the issue of the Africa growth and development

paradox”. Tucker and Pierpaoli (2016: 331) confirm Ghani to be a centrist, writing that “a political independent and quintessential centrist, Ghani soon become involved in electoral politics”.

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