

Country: Sri Lanka

Years: 1948 - 1951

Head of government: Don Stephen Senanayake

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as United National Party (UNP). DPI identifies UNP's ideology as center. The Political Handbook (2015) writes "A democratic-socialist party founded in 1946, the UNP advocates a moderate line and the avoidance of a narrowly "communal" posture." Manzano (2017: 109), however, writes of the UNP "This organization is, according to Banks (1993: 784) a democratic-socialist party, yet it belongs to the International Democrat Union, an international organization of center-right parties. This contradiction has been resolved by assuming that joining an international organization is a more direct indicator of the regime's ideology (in comparison to a scholarly judgment) since it is based on actions undertaken by the party itself. Therefore, the UNP is considered a right-wing party." Perspective monde (2020) identifies Senanayake's ideology as center-rightist, writing "Don Stephen Senanayake | 1948 (4 février) | 1952 (26 mars) | Parti national uni | [...] | Centre droit." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Senanayake's party as EJP, and EJP's ideology as rightist, writing "24 Sep 1947 - 22 Mar 1952 Don Stephen Senanayake (b. 1884 - d. 1952) EJP" and "EJP = Eksath Jathika Pakshaya (United National Party, liberal conservative, center-right, est.6 Sep 1946)." Encyclopedia Britannica describes UNP as rightist, writing "Among the political parties in Sri Lanka, the conservative United National Party (UNP) and the more liberal Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) have dominated the political arena since independence." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (1.624) in 1970.

Years: 1952

Head of government: Dudley Shelton Senanayake

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as United National Party (UNP). DPI identifies UNP's ideology as center. The Political Handbook (2015) writes "A democratic-socialist party founded in 1946, the UNP advocates a moderate line and the avoidance of a narrowly "communal" posture." Manzano (2017: 109), however, writes of the UNP "This organization is, according to Banks (1993: 784) a democratic-socialist party, yet it belongs to the International Democrat Union, an international organization of center-right parties. This contradiction has been resolved by assuming that joining an international

organization is a more direct indicator of the regime's ideology (in comparison to a scholarly judgment) since it is based on actions undertaken by the party itself. Therefore, the UNP is considered a right-wing party." Perspective monde (2020) identifies Senanayake's ideology as center-rightist, writing "Dudley Shelton Senanayake | 1952 (26 mars) | 1953 (11 octobre) | Parti national uni | [...] | Centre droit." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Senanayake's party as EJP, and EJP's ideology as rightist, writing "26 Mar 1952 - 12 Oct 1953 Dudley Shelton Senanayake (b. 1911 - d. 1973) EJP" and "EJP = Eksath Jathika Pakshaya (United National Party, liberal conservative, center-right, est.6 Sep 1946)." Encyclopedia Britannica describes UNP as rightist, writing "Among the political parties in Sri Lanka, the conservative United National Party (UNP) and the more liberal Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) have dominated the political arena since independence." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (1.624) in 1970.

Years: 1953 - 1955

Head of government: John Lionel Kotelawala

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as United National Party (UNP). DPI identifies UNP's ideology as center. The Political Handbook (2015) writes "A democratic-socialist party founded in 1946, the UNP advocates a moderate line and the avoidance of a narrowly "communal" posture." Manzano (2017: 109), however, writes of the UNP "This organization is, according to Banks (1993: 784) a democratic-socialist party, yet it belongs to the International Democrat Union, an international organization of center-right parties. This contradiction has been resolved by assuming that joining an international organization is a more direct indicator of the regime's ideology (in comparison to a scholarly judgment) since it is based on actions undertaken by the party itself. Therefore, the UNP is considered a right-wing party." Perspective monde (2020) identifies Kotelawala's ideology as center-rightist, writing "John Lionel Kotalawela | 1953 (11 octobre) | 1956 (12 avril) | Parti national uni | [...] | Centre droit." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Kotelawala's party as EJP, and EJP's ideology as rightist, writing "12 Oct 1953 - 12 Apr 1956 Sir John Lionel Kotelawala (b. 1897 - d. 1980) EJP" and "EJP = Eksath Jathika Pakshaya (United National Party, liberal conservative, center-right, est.6 Sep 1946)." Encyclopedia Britannica describes UNP as rightist, writing "Among the political parties in Sri Lanka, the conservative United National Party (UNP) and the more liberal Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) have dominated the political arena since independence." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (1.624) in 1970.

Years: 1956 - 1958

Head of government: Solomon Ridgeway Dias Bandaranaike

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Mahajana Eksath Peramuna/People's United Front (MEP). DPI does not identify MEP's ideology. *Political Handbook of the World* (2015: 1378) identifies ideology of MEP as left: "People's United Front (Mahajana Eksath Peramuna—MEP). The MEP, a left-wing party formed in 1956, was formerly allied with the JVP." *Perspective monde* (2020) identifies Bandaranaike's ideology as leftist writing "Solomon Ridgeway Dias Bandaranaike | 1956 (12 avril) | 1959 (26 septembre) | Parti sri lankais de la liberté | [...] | Gauche moderee." Lentz (1994) identifies Bandaranaike's ideology as leftist, writing "Bandaranaike was a leading spokesman for the Buddhist Sinhalese in Ceylon, and in 1951 he founded the socialist Sri Lanka Freedom party." *World Statesmen* (2020) identifies Bandaranaike's party as SLNP, and SLNP's ideology as leftist, writing "12 Apr 1956 - 26 Sep 1959 Solomon Ridgeway Dias Bandaranaike (b. 1899 - d. 1959) SLNP" and "SLNP = Sri Lanka Nidahas Pakshaya (Sri Lanka Freedom Party, social democratic, center-left, Sinhalese nationalist, Buddhist democratic, est.2 Sep 1951)."

Year: 1959

Head of government: Wijayananda Dahanayake

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). DPI identifies SLFP's ideology as left. The *Political Handbook* (2015) elaborates, writing "political power has oscillated between the moderate and generally pro-Western United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), which has emphasized Buddhism, nationalism, "democratic socialism", " *Perspective monde* (2020) identifies Dahanayake's ideology as leftist, writing "Wijayananda Dahanayake | 1959 (26 septembre) | 1960 (21 mars) | Parti sri lankais de la liberté | [...] | Gauche moderee." *World Statesmen* (2020) identifies Dahanayake's party as SLNP, and SLNP's ideology as leftist, writing "26 Sep 1959 - 21 Mar 1960 Wijayananda Dahanayake (b. 1902 - d. 1997) SLNP" and "SLNP = Sri Lanka Nidahas Pakshaya (Sri Lanka Freedom Party, social democratic, center-left, Sinhalese nationalist, Buddhist democratic, est.2 Sep 1951)." In *V-Party* (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Left" (-1.696) in 1970.

Years: 1960 - 1964

Head of government: Sirimavo Ratwatte Dias Bandaranaike

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). DPI identifies SLFP's ideology as left. The Political Handbook (2015) elaborates, writing "political power has oscillated between the moderate and generally pro-Western United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), which has emphasized Buddhism, nationalism, "democratic socialism", " Perspective monde (2020) identifies Bandaranaike's ideology as leftist, writing "Sirimavo Ratwatte Dias Bandaranaike | 1960 (21 juillet) | 1965 (27 mars) | Parti sri lankais de la liberté | [...] | Gauche moderee." Lentz (1994) identifies Bandaranaike's ideology as leftist, writing "She led the party in a leftist coalition and defeated the United National party." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Dahanayake's party as SLNP, and SLNP's ideology as leftist, writing "1 Jul 1960 - 25 Mar 1965 Sirimavo Ratwatte Dias Bandaranaike (f)(1st time) (b. 1916 - d. 2000) SLNP" and "SLNP = Sri Lanka Nidahas Pakshaya (Sri Lanka Freedom Party, social democratic, center-left, Sinhalese nationalist, Buddhist democratic, est.2 Sep 1951)." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Left" (-1.696) in 1970.

Years: 1965 - 1969

Head of government: Dudley Shelton Senanayake

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as United National Party (UNP). DPI identifies UNP's ideology as center. The Political Handbook (2015) writes "A democratic-socialist party founded in 1946, the UNP advocates a moderate line and the avoidance of a narrowly "communal" posture." Manzano (2017: 109), however, writes of the UNP "This organization is, according to Banks (1993: 784) a democratic-socialist party, yet it belongs to the International Democrat Union, an international organization of center-right parties. This contradiction has been resolved by assuming that joining an international organization is a more direct indicator of the regime's ideology (in comparison to a scholarly judgment) since it is based on actions undertaken by the party itself. Therefore, the UNP is considered a right-wing party." Perspective monde (2020) identifies Senanayake's ideology as center-rightist, writing "Dudley Shelton Senanayake | 1965 (27 mars) | 1970 (29 mai) | Parti national uni | [...] | Centre droit." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Senanayake's party as EJP, and EJP's ideology as rightist, writing "25 Mar 1965 - 29 May 1970 Dudley Shelton Senanayake (3rd time) (s.a.) EJP" and "EJP = Eksath Jathika Pakshaya (United National Party, liberal conservative, center-right, est.6 Sep 1946). " Encyclopedia Britannica describes UNP as rightist, writing "Among the political parties in Sri

Lanka, the conservative United National Party (UNP) and the more liberal Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) have dominated the political arena since independence.” In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.624) in 1970.

Years: 1970 - 1976

Head of government: Sirimavo Ratwatte Dias Bandaranaike

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). DPI identifies SLFP’s ideology as left. The Political Handbook (2015) elaborates, writing “political power has oscillated between the moderate and generally pro-Western United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), which has emphasized Buddhism, nationalism, “democratic socialism”,” Perspective monde (2020) identifies Bandaranaike’s ideology as leftist, writing “Sirimavo Ratwatte Dias Bandaranaike | 1970 (29 mai) | 1977 (23 juillet) | Parti sri lankais de la liberté | [...] | Gauche moderee.” Lentz (1994) identifies Bandaranaike's ideology as leftist, writing "She led the party in a leftist coalition and defeated the United National party." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Dahanayake's party as SLNP, and SLNP's ideology as leftist, writing "29 May 1970 - 23 Jul 1977 Sirimavo Ratwatte Dias Bandaranaike (f)(2nd time) (s.a.) SLNP” and "SLNP = Sri Lanka Nidahas Pakshaya (Sri Lanka Freedom Party, social democratic, center-left, Sinhalese nationalist, Buddhist democratic, est.2 Sep 1951)." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Left” (-1.696) in 1970.

Years: 1977 - 1988

Head of government: Junius Richard Jayawardene

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as United National Party (UNP). DPI identifies UNP’s ideology as center. The Political Handbook (2015) writes “A democratic-socialist party founded in 1946, the UNP advocates a moderate line and the avoidance of a narrowly “communal” posture.” However, Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as rightist. Manzano (2017: 109) elaborates, writing “This organization is, according to Banks (1993: 784) a democratic-socialist party, yet it belongs to the International Democrat Union, an international organization of center-right parties. This contradiction has been resolved by assuming that joining an international organization is a more direct indicator of the regime’s ideology (in comparison to a scholarly judgment) since it is based on actions undertaken by the party itself. Therefore, the UNP is considered a right-wing party.” Perspective Monde (2020) also considers UNP to

be rightist. Perspective monde (2020) identifies Jayewardene's ideology as center-rightist, writing "Junius Richard Jayewardene | 1977 (23 juillet) | 1978 (6 février) | Parti national uni | [...] | Centre droit." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Jayawardene's party as EJP, and EJP's ideology as rightist, writing "23 Jul 1977 - 6 Feb 1978 Junius Richard Jayawardene (s.a.) EJP" and "EJP = Eksath Jathika Pakshaya (United National Party, liberal conservative, center-right, est.6 Sep 1946)." Encyclopedia Britannica describes UNP as rightist, writing "Among the political parties in Sri Lanka, the conservative United National Party (UNP) and the more liberal Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) have dominated the political arena since independence." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Right" (1.901) in 1977.

Years: 1989 - 1992

Head of government: Ranasinghe Premadasa

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as United National Party (UNP). DPI identifies UNP's ideology as center. The Political Handbook (2015) writes "A democratic-socialist party founded in 1946, the UNP advocates a moderate line and the avoidance of a narrowly "communal" posture." Manzano (2017: 109), however, considers UNP as rightist, writing "This organization is, according to Banks (1993: 784) a democratic-socialist party, yet it belongs to the International Democrat Union, an international organization of center-right parties. This contradiction has been resolved by assuming that joining an international organization is a more direct indicator of the regime's ideology (in comparison to a scholarly judgment) since it is based on actions undertaken by the party itself. Therefore, the UNP is considered a right-wing party." Perspective Monde (2020) also considers UNP to be rightist. Perspective monde (2020) identifies Premadasa's ideology as center-rightist, writing "Ranasinghe Premadasa | 1978 (6 février) | 1989 (3 mars) | Parti national uni | [...] | Centre droit." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Premadasa's party as EJP, and EJP's ideology as rightist, writing "2 Jan 1989 - 1 May 1993 Ranasinghe Premadasa (b. 1924 - d. 1993) EJP" and "EJP = Eksath Jathika Pakshaya (United National Party, liberal conservative, center-right, est.6 Sep 1946)." Encyclopedia Britannica describes UNP as rightist, writing "Among the political parties in Sri Lanka, the conservative United National Party (UNP) and the more liberal Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) have dominated the political arena since independence." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (1.581) in 1989.

Year: 1993

Head of government: Dingiri Banda Wijetunge

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as United National Party (UNP). DPI identifies UNP's ideology as center. . The Political Handbook (2015) writes "A democratic-socialist party founded in 1946, the UNP advocates a moderate line and the avoidance of a narrowly "communal" posture." Manzano (2017: 109), however, considers UNP as rightist, writing "This organization is, according to Banks (1993: 784) a democratic-socialist party, yet it belongs to the International Democrat Union, an international organization of center-right parties. This contradiction has been resolved by assuming that joining an international organization is a more direct indicator of the regime's ideology (in comparison to a scholarly judgment) since it is based on actions undertaken by the party itself. Therefore, the UNP is considered a right-wing party." Perspective Monde (2020) also considers UNP to be rightist. Perspective monde (2020) identifies Wijetunge's ideology as center-rightist, writing "Dingiri Banda Wijetunge | 1989 (3 mars) | 1993 (7 mai) | Parti national uni | [...] | Centre droit." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Wijetunga's party as EJP, and EJP's ideology as rightist, writing "1 May 1993 - 12 Nov 1994 Dingiri Banda Wijetunga (s.a.) EJP" and "EJP = Eksath Jathika Pakshaya (United National Party, liberal conservative, center-right, est.6 Sep 1946)." Encyclopedia Britannica describes UNP as rightist, writing "Among the political parties in Sri Lanka, the conservative United National Party (UNP) and the more liberal Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) have dominated the political arena since independence." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (1.581) in 1989.

Years: 1994 - 2004

Head of government: Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Sri Lanka Freedom Party-People's Alliance (SLFP-PA). DPI identifies SLFP's and PA's ideologies as left. The Political Handbook (2015) elaborates, writing "political power has oscillated between the moderate and generally pro-Western United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), which has emphasized Buddhism, nationalism, "democratic socialism,"" World Statesmen (2020) identifies Kumaratunga's party as SLNP, and SLNP's ideology as leftist, writing "12 Nov 1994 - 19 Nov 2005 Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga (f) (b. 1945) SLNP" and "SLNP = Sri Lanka Nidahas Pakshaya (Sri Lanka Freedom Party, social democratic, center-left, Sinhalese nationalist, Buddhist democratic, est.2 Sep 1951)." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's

ideology as “Center-left” (-0.456) in 1994, as “Center” (-0.293) in 2000, as “Center” (-0.278) in 2001, and as “Center-left” (-0.982) in 2004.

Years: 2005 - 2014

Head of government: Mahinda Rajapaksa

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Sri Lanka Freedom Party-United People’s Freedom Alliance (SLFP-UPFA).

DPI identifies SLFP’s ideology as left and does not identify UPFA’s ideology. The Political Handbook (2015) elaborates, writing “political power has oscillated between the moderate and generally pro-Western United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), which has emphasized Buddhism, nationalism, “democratic socialism”,” Al Jazeera (2018) identifies UPFA’s ideology as left, writing “This is the first local elections since the centre-left UPFA and centre-right UNP parties formed a unity government in August 2015.”

Perspective monde (2020) identifies Rajapakse’s ideology as leftist, writing “Mahinda Rajapakse | 2004 (6 avril) | 2005 (21 novembre) | Parti sri lankais de la liberté | [...] | Gauche moderee.” World Statesmen (2020) identifies Rajapaksa's party as SLNP, and SLNP's ideology as leftist, writing "19 Nov 2005 - 9 Jan 2015 Mahinda Rajapaksa (b. 1945) SLNP" and "SLNP = Sri Lanka Nidahas Pakshaya (Sri Lanka Freedom Party, social democratic, center-left, Sinhalese nationalist, Buddhist democratic, est.2 Sep 1951)." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.982) in 2004, as “Center-left” (-0.598) in 2010.

Years: 2015 - 2018

Head of government: Maithripala Sirisena

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. *Political Handbook of the World* (2015: 1377) identifies affiliation as Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP): “Sri Lanka Freedom Party—SLFP (Sri Lanka Nidahas Pakshaya) ... Maithiripala SIRISENA (General Secretary).” DPI identifies SLFP’s ideology as left. The Political Handbook (2015) elaborates, writing “political power has oscillated between the moderate and generally pro-Western United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), which has emphasized Buddhism, nationalism, “democratic socialism,””

Perspective monde (2020) identifies Sirisena’s ideology as rightist, writing “Maithripala Sirisena | 2015 (9 janvier) | 2019 (18 novembre) | Nouveau front démocratique | [...] | Center droit.” World Statesmen (2020) identifies Sirisena's party as SLNP, and SLNP's ideology as leftist, writing "9 Jan 2015 - 17 Nov 2019

Maithripala Sirisena (b. 1951) SLNP" and "SLNP = Sri Lanka Nidahas Pakshaya (Sri Lanka Freedom Party, social democratic, center-left, Sinhalese nationalist, Buddhist democratic, est.2 Sep 1951)." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.863) in 2015. Ortiz de Zárate (2015) writes "Sirisena... The young boy first joined the Communist Party of Ceylon, of Maoist tendency, and apparently had personal dealings with its leader, Nagalingam Shanmugathasan, but in 1967, while still a teenager, he joined the ranks of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLNP), the socialist formation of Sirimavo Bandaranaike, then in opposition to the conservative government of Dudley Senanayake, of whose youth section in Polonnaruwa he was elected secretary. The student of Agriculture must have maintained a radical and contentious ideology, according to the episode of his arrest by the Police in 1971 in the course of the repression that followed the brutal crushing of the armed insurrection of the People's Liberation Front (JVP), a Sinhalese Marxist organization that accused Bandaranaike, at that time Prime Minister of the country for the second time, of practicing a falsely socialist policy and which put forward a revolutionary discourse".

Years: 2019-2020

Head of government: Gotabaya Rajapaksa

Ideology: leftist

Description: World Statesmen (2020) identifies party affiliation as SLPP (Sri Lanka Podujana Peramun/ Sri Lanka People's Front). Perspective monde (2020) identifies party affiliation as Sri Lanka Freedom Party, and ideology of Sri Lanka Freedom Party as leftist: "Gotabaya Rajapaksa | 2019 (18 novembre) | Parti sri lankais de la liberté | [...] | Gauche moderee." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Rajapaksa's party as SLPP, and SLPP's ideology as leftist, writing "18 Nov 2019 - Nandasena Gotabaya Rajapaksa (b. 1949) SLPP" and "SLPP = Sri Lanka Podujana Peramuna (Sri Lanka People's Front, social democratic, Sinhalese nationalist, populist, anti-federalist, est.6 Nov 2016)." Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Sri Lanka People's Front. DPI does not identify SLPP's ideology.

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