Country: Tajikistan

Year: 1991

Head of government: Izatullo Khayoyevich Khayoyev

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2018) identifies Khayoyev's party as the Communist Party of Tajikistan (*Hizbi Kommunistiyi Tojikiston – CPT*). Encyclopedia of World Political Systems (2000) identifies CPT's ideology as communist and, thus, leftist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 5 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Communist Party of Tajikistan (CPT) as 0. Gretsky & Kangas (2006: 1320) identify CPT as leftist, writing that "the party is a collective member of the Union of the Communist Parties–CPSU, a successor to the CPSU, whose goal is to restore the USSR. The platform calls for the return to the "Socialist path of development," the Soviet system of government, and state form of property." In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Left" (-2.432) in 1995.

Year: 1992

Head of government: Abdumalik Abdullayevich Abdullajanov

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Abdullajanov's party affiliation as the Party of People's Unity (Hizbi Yagonagii Khalqi – PPU). Waller (1998: 164) writers that "Abdumalik's Abdullajanov's team hastened to accelerate the tempo of the privatization of property". Encyclopedia of World Political Systems (2000) indicates that "the pace of the market-centered economic reform was particularly slow ... blamed for the poor state of the economy, Adullajanov was dismissed as prime minister".

Years: 1993

Head of government: Abdujalil Akhadovich Samadov

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2018) identifies Samadov as non-party. Nourzhanov & Bleuer (2013: 225) write that Samadov supported "continuing economic cooperation with the USSR, partial price liberalization, gradual privatization of state property, encouragement of small businesses and private entrepreneurship, creation of a market infrastructure, adoption of laws conducive to the emergence of a market economy." Binyon (1994) writes, "After four days in Britain and a quick trip to

Germany, [Samadov] left for America yesterday. In each country he is assuring businessmen that their investments would be protected and that the government is committed to market reform." Tajikistan (1994) writes, "Samadov outlined his economic policy objectives on January 5: 'The first priority is to exchange the republic's old Soviet roubles for 1993 Russian roubles. Moscow has shown its commitment to Tajikistan by agreeing to hand over its jealously guarded new currency to the sum of 120 billion roubles."

Years: 1994-1995

Head of government: Jamshed Khilovich Karimov

Ideology: left

Description: World Statesmen (2020) and Perspective Monde (2020) identify Jamshed Karimov instead of Abdujalil Akhadovich Samadov and Emomali Rahmon as head of government on December 31, 1994-1995. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Karimov's party affiliation as non-party. Carey (1995) writes, "Mr. Karimov—who stated confidently that 'communism will be back in 30 years' while his government was talking to the International Monetary Fund—cannot get agreements on Customs and economic ties with Russia signed fast enough."

Years: 1996-2020

Head of government: Emomali Rahmon

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Rakhmon's party as the People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan (Hizbi Khalqi-Demokrati Tojikiston - PDPT). DPI identifies HDKT/PDPT's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1432) elaborates, writing that "the People's Party of Tajikistan (PPT) by a group of northern business interests centered in Khujand, the PDPT includes in its membership many former Soviet-era Communists". Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1432) identifies Rakhmon's ideology as leftist, writing that "the PDPT includes in its membership many former Soviet-era communists, including President Rahmon". Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Lentz (1994: 741) writes that "[Rakhmon] was a former member of the Communist party". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 5 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) as 3.3, the average left-right (0-10) salience score as 3.3, and a divided-unity party (0-10) score of 6.0. Gretsky & Kangas (2006: 1319) write that "The [PDPT's] goal is to strengthen Tajikistan's independence, build a secular democratic country with the strict separation of powers, balance regional interests, and implement market-oriented economic reforms. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.412) in 1995, "Center-left" (-0.504) in 2000,

"Center" (0.013) in 2005, "Center" (0.355) in 2010, and "Center-right" (0.749) in 2015. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's cohesion as "Negligible visible disagreement" in 1995 and 2000, and "Virtually no visible disagreement" in 2005, 2010, and 2015. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan. (Isaacs 2013) states, "Power and decision making in Central Asia is mostly personalised. Perhaps with the exception of Kyrgyzstan following the 2010 revolution, the presidents of the Central Asian Republics all lead personalist authoritarian regimes. . . Islam Karimov in Uzbekistan, Nursultan Nazarbayev in Kazakhstan, Gurbanguly Berymukhamyedov in Turkmenistan and Emomalii Rahmon in Tajikistan possess the power to assign most public positions, including regional governorships, positions in law enforcement bodies, courts and the cabinet, and usually some places in the Senate."

References:

Binyon, Michael. 1994. "Tajik Leader Seeks West's Help to Combat Militants; Tajikistan." *The Times*, Mar 07. https://search-proquest-com.proxy.uchicago.edu/docview/318096270?accountid=14657.

Brambor, Thomas, Johannes Lindvall, and Annika Stjernquist. 2017. The Ideology of Heads of Government, 1870-2012. Version 1.5. Department of Political Science, Lund University.

Carey, Scott. Dushanbe, 1995. "Russia Stays on to Secure Borders:

TAJIKISTAN." South China Morning Post (1946-Current), Sep 25, 10.

https://search-proquest-

com.proxy.uchicago.edu/docview/1536400503?accountid=14657.

Cahoon, Ben. "Tajikistan." World Statesmen. Accessed January 6, 2019. http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Tajikistan.html.

- Cruz, Cesi, Philip Keefer, and Carlos Scartascini. 2018. Database of Political Institutions (DPI2017). Inter-American Development Bank. Numbers for Development.
- Gretsky, Sergei, and Roger D. Kangas. 2006. Republic of Tajikistan. In: Neil Schlager and Jayne Weisblatt. World Encyclopedia of Political Systems and Parties. Facts on File: 1316-1321.
- Isaacs, Rico. 2013. "Nur Otan, Informal Networks and the Countering of Elite Instability in Kazakhstan: Bringing the 'Formal' Back In." *Europe-Asia Studies*, 65, no. 6 (2013): 1055-1079. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26593824.

Lentz, Harris. 1994. Heads of States and Governments Since 1945.

Manzano, Dulce. 2017. Bringing Down the Educational Wall: Political Regimes, Ideology, and the Expansion of Education. Cambridge.

- Mattes, Michaela, Leeds, Brett, and Naoko Matsumura. 2016. Measuring change in source of leader support: The CHISOLS dataset. Journal of Peace Research 53(2): 259-267.
- Norris, Pippa. 2020. Global Party Survey dataset. https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/GlobalPartySurvey
- Nourzhanov, Kirill, and Christian Bleuer. 2013. *Tajikistan: A Political and Social History*. Canberra, A.C.T.: ANU E Press.
- "Tajikistan." In *Political Handbook of the World 2015*, edited by Thomas Lansford, 1428-1435. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2015.
- "TAJIKISTAN: Regional Fissures." 1994. Oxford Analytica Daily Brief Service, Jan 20, 1. https://search-proquest-
- com.proxy.uchicago.edu/docview/192429681?accountid=14657.
- Waller, Michael. 1998. Conflicting Loyalties and the State in Post-Soviet Russia and Eurasia. London: Frank Cass.