

Country: Bosnia and Herzegovina

Year: 1992

Head of government: Mile Akmadzic

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ-BiH), and describes the party as “Croat conservative”. The Guardian (2014) identifies HDZ 1990’s ideology as rightist: “Croatian Democratic Union 1990 HDZ 1990 - centre-right.” Encyclopedia Britannica (2019) identifies HDZ’s ideology as rightist, writing that “the nationalist, right-wing Croatian Democratic Union was victorious in the Croatian elections of 1990. Stojarova and Emerson (2013: 97) write that “[HDZ] presents itself as a national, social and Christian democratic party”. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies head of government’s party ideology as “center-right” (1.018) in 1996.

Years: 1993-1995

Head of government: Haris Silajdzic

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2006: 137) identifies Silajdzic’s party as the Party of Democratic Action (*Stranka Demokratske Akcije – SDA*) before 1996. The Guardian (2014) identifies SDA’s ideology as rightist: “Party of Democratic Action SDA - centre-right.” Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Silajdzic’s ideology as rightist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) and describes it as rightist: “center-right”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 14 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) as 4. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies head of government’s party ideology as “center-right” (1.012) in 1996. Bugajski (2002: 551) states, The Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina (PB-H) was established in April 1996 by former Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic as a multi-ethnic organization, although it came to represent a moderate Muslim constituency. . . the PB-H became a component of the Whole and Democratic Bosnia (CWDB) (*Koalicija za Cijelu I Demokratsku Bosnu*) election coalition in 1996, together with the PDA and other largely Muslim Bosniak groupings.” Bugajski (2002: 558) states, “In its program, the PDA called for economic reform with an emphasis on the denationalization of government-owned enterprises and the privatization of property. . . the party also advocated that restrictions on landholding by private citizens should be removed. As part of its economic liberalization program, the party

stressed modern market production in agriculture as well as a reduction in budgets and personnel with respect to government offices, the police force, and the military.”

Year: 1996

Head of government: Hasan Muratovic

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Transitions Online (1996) identifies Muratovic’s party as the Party of Democratic Action (*Stranka Demokratske Akcije – SDA*). The Guardian (2014) identifies SDA’s ideology as rightist: “Party of Democratic Action SDA - centre-right” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Muratovic as non-party. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 14 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) as 4. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies head of government’s party ideology as “center-right” (1.012) in 1996. Bugajski (2002: 558) states, “In its program, the PDA called for economic reform with an emphasis on the denationalization of government-owned enterprises and the privatization of property. . . the party also advocated that restrictions on landholding by private citizens should be removed. As part of its economic liberalization program, the party stressed modern market production in agriculture as well as a reduction in budgets and personnel with respect to government offices, the police force, and the military.”

Years: 1997-1999

Head of government: Haris Silajdzic

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 176) identifies Silajdzic’s party as the Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Stranka za Bosnu i Hercegovinu – SBiH*). Perspective Monde (2019) identifies ideology as rightist. Bugajski (2002: 551) states, “The Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina (PB-H) was established in April 1996 by former Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic as a multi-ethnic organization, although it came to represent a moderate Muslim constituency. . . the PB-H became a component of the Whole and Democratic Bosnia (CWDB) (*Koalicija za Cijelu I Demokratsku Bosnu*) election coalition in 1996, together with the PDA and other largely Muslim Bosniak groupings.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies his party as SDA in 1990-1996 and Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina (SBiH) in 1997; it identifies the party as leftist: “social-democratic”. The Guardian (2014) identifies SDA’s ideology as rightist: “Party of Democratic Action SDA - centre-right”. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Terzic’s ideology as rightist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as the Party of Democratic Action (SDA); it identifies the party as rightist: “center-right”. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert

identifies head of government's party ideology as "Center" (-0.067) in 2000. There is no cohesion information available in V-Party (2020). In the Global Party Survey 2019, 14 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Part of Democratic Action of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDA) as 4.0, its left-right salience (0-10) score 4.1, and its divided-united party (1-10) score 7.6. Bugajski (2002: 558) states, "In its program, the PDA called for economic reform with an emphasis on the denationalization of government-owned enterprises and the privatization of property. . . the party also advocated that restrictions on landholding by private citizens should be removed. As part of its economic liberalization program, the party stressed modern market production in agriculture as well as a reduction in budgets and personnel with respect to government offices, the police force, and the military."

Year: 2000

Head of government: Martin Raguž

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 167) identifies Raguž's party as the Croatian Democratic Union (*Hrvatska demokratska zajednica – HDZ*). The Guardian (2014) identifies HDZ 1990's ideology as rightist: "Croatian Democratic Union 1990 HDZ 1990 - centre-right." World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ-BiH), and describes the party as "Croat conservative". Stojarova and Emerson (2013: 97) write that "[HDZ] presents itself as a national, social and Christian democratic party". In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies head of government's party ideology as "Center-right" (1.018) in 2000.

Year: 2001

Head of government: Zlatko Lagumdžić

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 167) identifies Lagumdžić's party as the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Socijaldemokratska Partija Bosne i Hercegovina – SDP*). DPI identifies SDP's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook (2005-2006: 138) elaborates, writing that "The multiethnic SDP was formed in February 1999 as a merger of the Democratic Party of Socialists (*Demokratska Stranka Socijalista—DSS*) and the Social Democrats of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Socijaldemokrati Bosne i Hercegovine*). The two had reportedly been pressured by social democratic parties in Western European countries to coalesce in order to better oppose the nationalist parties dominating affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Lagumdžić's ideology as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as the

Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDP); it identifies the party as leftist: “social-democratic, center-left”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 14 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDP) as 2.1. Stojarova and Emerson (2013: 91) identify SDP as leftist, writing that “the SDP makes an effort to appear as a modern left-wing social democratic party with a multi-ethnic character”. Markovich & Tzifakis (2006: 157) identify SDP as leftist, writing that “SNSD is a moderate social-democratic party that is ideologically close to the SDP.” In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies head of government’s party ideology as “Center-right” (1.058) in 2000. The SDP BiH official party platform (2021) states, “*SDP BiH is a modern political organization of left political orientation, party of labor and creativity, party of workers and labor-dependent population. . . .* The SDP BiH supports the development of private entrepreneurship and rejects the ultra-left dogma of private property. Private initiative, in addition to adequate tax and financial policy and social functions of the state, is a necessary and rational form of development of the material basis of Bosnian society. In its political mission in the context of social democracy, the SDP BiH will wholeheartedly strive to articulate, adequately and consistently express the interests of trade unions, expressed in their demands for economic democracy and social justice. . . . Establishing democratic socialism, the backbone of which is the emancipation of man from all forms of political and economic subordination and alienation, and creating the conditions for the ideal of freedom, equality, democracy and solidarity to be the basis of the entire organization of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its members. a life worthy of man.”

Years: 2002-2006

Head of government: Adnan Terzic

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 167) identifies Terzic’s party as the Party of Democratic Action (*Stranka Demokratske Akcije – SDA*). The Guardian (2014) identifies SDA’s ideology as rightist: “Party of Democratic Action SDA - centre-right”. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Terzic’s ideology as rightist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as the Party of Democratic Action (SDA); it identifies the party as rightist: “center-right”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 14 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) as 4. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies head of government’s party ideology as “center-right” (1.042) in 2002. Bugajski (2002: 558) states, “In its program, the PDA called for economic reform with an emphasis on the denationalization of government-owned enterprises and the privatization of property. . . . the party also advocated that restrictions on landholding by private

citizens should be removed. As part of its economic liberalization program, the party stressed modern market production in agriculture as well as a reduction in budgets and personnel with respect to government offices, the police force, and the military.”

Years: 2007-2011

Head of government: Nikola Špirić

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 168) identifies Spiric’s party as the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (*Savez Nezavisnih Socijaldemokrata* – SNSD). The Guardian (2014) identifies SNSD’s ideology as leftist: “Alliance of Independent Social Democrats SNSD - centre-left”. Perspective Monde (2019), however, identifies Spiric’s ideology as centrist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD); it identifies the party as leftist: “social-democratic”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 14 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD) as 4.3. Stojarova and Emerson (2013: 94) identify SNSD as leftist, writing that “the contemporary SNSD integrates the elements of a social democratic party with populism and nationalism”, however its previous “programme focused on support for a market economy as well as an active social policy” which meant that “the party was classified as a moderate party, both in the family of ethnic and regional parties, and in that of social-democratic and socialist ones”. Markovich & Tzifakis (2006: 157) identify SNSD as leftist, writing that “SNSD is a moderate social-democratic party that is ideologically close to the SDP.” In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies head of government’s party ideology as “right” (2.257) in 2006, and (2.257) in 2010. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 14 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SNSD) as 4.3, its left-right salience (0-10) score 3.7, and its divided-undivided party (1-10) score 8.9.

Years: 2012-2014

Head of government: Vjekoslav Bevanda

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 178) identifies Bevanda’s party as the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica Bosne i Hercegovine* - HDZ BiH). The Guardian (2014) identifies HDZ BiH’s ideology as rightist: “Croatian, Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina HDZ BiH - centre-right”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ-BiH), and describes the party as “Croat

conservative”. Stojarova and Emerson (2013: 97) write that “[HDZ] presents itself as a national, social and Christian democratic party”. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies head of government’s party ideology as “center-right” (1.018) in 2010.

Years: 2015-2019

Head of government: Denis Zvizdic

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Balkan Insight (2018) identifies Zvizdic’s party as the Party of Democratic Action (*Stranka Demokratske Akcije – SDA*). The Guardian (2014) identifies SDA’s ideology as rightist: “Party of Democratic Action SDA - centre-right”. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Zvizdic’s ideology as rightist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as the Party of Democratic Action (SDA); it identifies the party as rightist: “center-right.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 14 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) as 4. Bougarel (2017: 105) writes that SDA “called for democracy and a social market economy ... this moderate stance can be attributed to the changing views of the pan-Islamists themselves. Hence in his book *Islam between East and West*, published in 1988, Alija Itzbegovic compared his Islamic “middle way” with the social doctrine of the Catholic Church, social democracy, or even Eurocommunism.” Jahic (2015) writes that “by 2009 a clear split was evident in the SDA: one wing was led by the reformist Tihić, another by Alija’s own son, Bakir Izetbegović. Once Bakir was elected to the state presidency in 2010, however, the tide turned definitively in his favor. The SDA increasingly began to affiliate itself directly with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan’s, AK Party.” The European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity (2019) writes that “On 13 October 2001 Izetbegovic stepped down as party leader of the SDA and Sulejman Tihic was elected to lead the party. After that the party moved towards the political centre.” In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies head of government’s party ideology as “center-right” (1.042) in 2014, and (1.042) in 2018. DPI has no information on SDA. Bugajski (2002: 558) states, “In its program, the PDA called for economic reform with an emphasis on the denationalization of government-owned enterprises and the privatization of property. . . the party also advocated that restrictions on landholding by private citizens should be removed. As part of its economic liberalization program, the party stressed modern market production in agriculture as well as a reduction in budgets and personnel with respect to government offices, the police force, and the military.”

Years: 2020

Head of government: Zoran Tegeltija

Ideology: leftist

Description: Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD). World Statesmen (2021) identifies party affiliation as SNSD (Stranka Nezavisnih Socijaldemokrata). In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies head of government's party ideology as "Right" (2.257) in 2018. The Guardian (2014) identifies SNSD's ideology as leftist: "Alliance of Independent Social Democrats SNSD - centre-left". Perspective Monde (2019), however, identifies Spiric's ideology as centrist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD); it identifies the party as leftist: "social-democratic". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 14 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD) as 4.3. Stojarova and Emerson (2013: 94) identify SNSD as leftist, writing that "the contemporary SNSD integrates the elements of a social democratic party with populism and nationalism", however its previous "programme focused on support for a market economy as well as an active social policy" which meant that "the party was classified as a moderate party, both in the family of ethnic and regional parties, and in that of social-democratic and socialist ones". Markovich & Tzifakis (2006: 157) identify SNSD as leftist, writing that "SNSD is a moderate social-democratic party that is ideologically close to the SDP." In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies head of government's party ideology as "right" (2.257) in 2006, and (2.257) in 2010. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 14 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SNSD) as 4.3, its left-right salience (0-10) score 3.7, and its divided-united party (1-10) score 8.9. DPI has no information on SNSD.

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