

Country: Indonesia

Years: 1945-1947

Leader: Sukarno

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Cribb and Kahin write that “Scholars continue to argue over the nature of Sukarno’s ideology. He was strongly influenced by Marxism, and especially the Leninist theory of imperialism; one of his ideological coinages was the notion of Marhaen, a category of poor Indonesians who were opposed by capitalism and imperialism but were not proletarians since they owned [...] some of the means of production]. But he was also a pious Muslim and a strong nationalist. He argued that there was no contradiction between these three beliefs”(2004: 413). Manzano (2017) identifies Sukarno as left. Perspective monde (2019a) identifies his later affiliation as PNI and ideology of PNI as left: “Ahmed Sukarno | 1945 (17 août) | 1967 (12 mars) | Parti national indonésien | [Nul] | [Accession autoritaire ou militaire] | [Gauche modérée].” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.582) in 1971.

Year: 1948

Leader: Louis Beel

Ideology:

Description: World Statesmen (2020) identifies party affiliation as Dutch prime minister as Catholic People’s Party (KVP), but coded as ‘none’ as his party affiliation did not necessarily influence his views as High Commissioner in the Dutch East Indies.

Years: 1949-1965

Leader: Sukarno

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies affiliation as Indonesian National Party (PNI). DPI does not identify PNI’s ideology. The DADM Project writes that “Sukarno, who had been supported by the CPI, dismissed the anti-communist members of his government on February 21, 1966.” Cribb and Kahin write that “Scholars continue to argue over the nature of Sukarno’s ideology. He was strongly influenced by Marxism, and especially the Leninist theory of imperialism; one of his ideological coinages was the notion of Marhaen, a category of poor Indonesians who were opposed by capitalism and imperialism but were not proletarians since they owned [...] some of the means of

production]. But he was also a pious Muslim and a strong nationalist. He argued that there was no contradiction between these three beliefs”(2004: 413). Manzano (2017) identifies Sukarno as left. Perspective monde (2019a) identifies affiliation of Sukarno as PNI and ideology of PNI as left: “Ahmed Sukarno | 1945 (17 août) | 1967 (12 mars) | Parti national indonésien | [Nul] | [Accession autoritaire ou militaire] | [Gauche modérée].” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.582) in 1971.

Years: 1966-1997

Leader: Suharto

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Golkar. DPI does not identify Golkar’s ideology. Manzano (2017) identifies Suharto as right. Perspective monde (2019a) identifies affiliation of Suharto as Golkar and ideology of Golkar as right: “Hadji Mohamed Suharto | 1967 (12 mars) | 1998 (21 mai) | Parti des groupes fonctionnels (Golkar) | [Nul] | [Accession autoritaire ou militaire] | [Droite modérée].” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Party of the Functional Groups (Golkar) as 4.8. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.591) in 1971 with “Virtually no visible disagreement”, as “Center-left” (-0.592) in 1977, 1982, and 1987 with “Virtually no visible disagreement”, as “Center-left” (-0.571) in 1992 with “Negligible visible disagreement”, and as “Center-left” (-0.6) in 1997 with “Negligible visible disagreement”. Britannica (2021) writes “On September 30, 1965, a group of disgruntled left-wing army officers and some PKI leaders tried to seize power in Jakarta... Suharto was one of the highest-ranking officers to escape assassination, and, as head of the strategic command, he led the army in crushing the coup within a few days... In the following months, Suharto directed a purge of communists and leftists in public life, and his example was followed in exaggerated form by vigilantes in a grand massacre of communists throughout the country in which hundreds of thousands lost their lives... As president, Suharto instituted a policy he called the New Order, relying on the help of American-educated economists to reinvigorate the Indonesian economy”. Frederick and Worden (1993) write “Apart from rejection of leftism, probably the single greatest discontinuity between the Sukarno and Suharto eras was economic policy. Sukarno abused Indonesia's economy, undertaking ambitious building projects, nationalizing foreign enterprises, and refusing to undertake austerity measures recommended by foreign donors... Furthermore, in a break from the socialist tenor of Sukarno's Guided Economy, Suharto's New Order heralded a return to private market development.” Herlambang et al. (2019) writes “In the 1980s, with US politicians and

policymakers initiating a ‘supply-side’ neoliberal revolution, Suharto took up the neoliberal cause but tailored to his autocratic, nationalist vision: “The measures of deregulation and debureaucratization are designed to put the state in its most appropriate place for development. They are certainly not measures to abolish the role of the state. It is definitely not a step towards liberalism. The role of the state remains very important in providing guidance and encouragement to people’s initiative and creativity for achieving development goals. This is precisely the reason why our development is implemented through planning. (Suharto, 1990).”

Year: 1998

Leader: Habibie

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Golkar. DPI does not identify Golkar’s ideology. Perspective monde (2019a) identifies ideology of Golkar as right: “Le Parti des groupes fonctionnels (Golkar) est un regroupement fondé en 1964 afin de faire contrepoids à l’influence montante du Parti communiste ... Parti classé dans la catégorie «droite».” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Party of the Functional Groups (Golkar) as 4.8. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.6) in 1997 with “Negligible visible disagreement”.

Years: 1999-2000

Leader: Wahid

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as National Awakening Party (PKB). DPI does not identify PKB’s ideology. Perspective monde (2019) identifies affiliation of Abdurrahman Wahid as PKB: “Abdurrahman Wahid | 1999 (20 octobre) | 2001 (23 juillet) | Parti du réveil national.” Rulers.org (2019) identifies affiliation of Abdurrahman Wahid as PKB: “In 1998, after Suharto's autocratic rule had come to an end, Wahid founded the Nation Awakening Party (PKB) which became the fourth largest political group in the new parliament which was elected in June 1999 in the country's first free vote in four decades.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies affiliation of Abdurrahman Wahid as PKB: “20 Oct 1999 - 23 Jul 2001 Abdurrahman Wahid "Gus Dur" (b. 1940 - d. 2009) PKB ... PKB = Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party, moderate islamist, conservative, Pancasila, est.1999).” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of National Awakening Party (PKB) as 4.3. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify leader party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.826) in 1999.

Years: 2001-2003

Leader: Megawati Sukarnoputri

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P). DPI does not identify PDI-P's ideology. Perspective monde (2019a) identifies affiliation of Megawati Sukarnoputri as PDI-P and ideology of PDI-P as left: "Megawati Sukarnoputri | 2001 (23 juillet) | 2004 (20 octobre) | Parti démocratique indonésien en lutte | [Intermédiaire] | [Nomination par le parlement | [Gauche modérée]." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Dyah Permata Megawati Setyawati Sukarnoputri's affiliation as PDI-P, and PDI-P's ideology as leftist, writing "**PDI-P** = Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Party – Struggle, liberal socialist, liberal conservative, Pancasila, populist, est.1998)" In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) as 3.0. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.327) in 1999.

Years: 2004-2013

Leader: Bambang Yudhoyono

Ideology: center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as Democratic Party (PD). DPI does not identify PD's ideology. Perspective monde (2019b) identifies ideology of PD as center: "Parti démocratique [Centre]. Parti classé dans la catégorie «centre»." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Democratic Party (PD) as 4.6. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center" (0.219) in 2004 and 2009.

Years: 2014-2020

Leader: Joko Widodo

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. *Political Handbook of the World* (2015: 654) identifies party of Widodo as Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P): "President: Joko WIDODO (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle), elected on July 9, 2014, and inaugurated on October 20 for a five-year term." Perspective monde (2019a) identifies affiliation of Joko Widodo as PDI-P and ideology of PDI-P as left: "Joko Widodo | 2014 (20 octobre) | Parti démocratique indonésien en lutte | [Élevé] | [En fonction d'une décision du chef d'État ou du parlement] | [Gauche modérée]."

World Statesmen (2020) identifies Joko Widodo's affiliation as PDI-P, and PDI-P's ideology as leftist, writing "**PDI-P** = Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Party – Struggle, liberal socialist, liberal conservative, Pancasila, populist, est.1998)" In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) as 3.0. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.99) in 2014 and as "Center-left" (-0.682) in 2019. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle. DPI does not identify PDI-P's ideology.

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