

Country: Timor-Leste

Years: 2002 - 2005

Head of government: Mari Bim Amude Alkatiri

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. The *Political Handbook of the World* (2015: 1455) identifies Alkatiri's party as FRETILIN, writing "On July 12, 2000, the NCC approved formation of a transitional government comprising [...] Mari ALKATIRI of Fretilin (Revolucionario do Timor-Leste Independente)". Gunn (2011: 93) writes: "In September 1974, ASDT (Associacao Social-Democratica Timorense) was transformed into FRETILIN. Mirroring the name and the African socialist rhetoric of the independence movement in Mozambique, left-leaning FRETILIN demanded immediate independence. FRETILIN's manifesto stood for anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism". Perspective monde (2019a) identifies affiliation of Alkatiri as FRETILIN and ideology of FRETILIN as left: "Mari Alkatiri | 2002 (20 mai) | 2006 (26 juin) | Front révolutionnaire pour l'indépendance du Timor-oriental | | [En fonction d'une décision du chef d'État ou du parlement] | [Gauche modérée]" World Statesmen (2020) identifies Mari Bim Amude Alkatiri's party as Fretilin, and Fretilin's ideology as leftist, writing "**Fretilin** = Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente (Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor, social-democratic, nationalist, est. 11 Sep 1974)." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 10 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETIL) as 2.1. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Left" (-2.013) in 2001.

Year: 2006

Head of government: José Manuel Ramos-Horta

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. Perspective monde (2019a) identifies affiliation of Ramos-Horta as non-party: "José Ramos-Horta | 2006 (26 juin) | 2007 (19 mai) | Indépendant." Gunn (2011: 93) identifies Ramos-Horta as leftist, writing "In September 1974, ASDT (Associacao Social-Democratica Timorense) was transformed into FRETILIN. Mirroring the name and the African socialist rhetoric of the independence movement in Mozambique, left-leaning FRETILIN demanded immediate independence. FRETILIN's manifesto stood for anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism [...] FRETILIN's inner membership reflected widely different views, from the moderate social-democrats Ramos-Horta..." In the Global Party

Survey 2019, 10 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETIL) as 2.1.

Years: 2007 - 2014

Head of government: Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as non-party in 2007 and does not identify party affiliation afterwards. *Political Handbook of the World* (2015:1457) later identifies Gusmão's party as the National Congress for Reconstruction for Timor/ Congresso Nacional de Reconstrução do Timor (CNRT), writing "Outgoing president Xanana Gusmão assumed leadership of the [National Congress for Reconstruction of Timor (Congresso Nacional de Reconstrução do Timor—CNRT)] in March 2007 and attracted many of his followers and supporters in the electorate." *Political Handbook of the World* (2015:1457) "The current CNRT... coalesced in early 2007 from elements dissatisfied with the existing political parties. It is centrist, moderate, and pragmatic in its ideology." Perspective monde (2019a) identifies affiliation of Gusmão as CNRT and ideology of CNRT as left: "Xanana Gusmão | 2007 (8 août) | 2015 (16 février) | Congrès national de reconstruction timoraise | [En fonction d'une décision du chef d'État ou du parlement] | [Gauche modérée]" World Statesmen (2020) identifies Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão's party as CNRT, and CNRT's ideology as leftist, writing "**CNRT** = Congresso Nacional de Reconstrução de Timor (National Congress for Timorese Reconstruction, center-left, est.28 Mar 2007)." In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center" (0.065) in 2007 and 2012. Lieberfeld (2018) writes "an exemplary reconciliation-oriented leader, Xanana Gusmão, who led East Timor's 24-year struggle against Indonesian military occupation and became the country's president. It uses biographical data to induce characteristic traits—emotional self-control, empathy, cognitive complexity, optimism, and political pragmatism—that motivated and enabled Gusmão to prioritize reconciliation. It posits that Gusmão shares these traits with other reconciliation-oriented leaders, such as Nelson Mandela, Abraham Lincoln, and Chilean President Michelle Bachelet", "Local political conditions also incentivized moderation and compromise. Gusmão had seen the independence movement become bitterly divided between his own party, FRETILIN (a Portuguese acronym for the "Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor"), whose orientation was originally Marxist, and the center-right Timorese Democratic Union (UDT)... Reconciliation was, by 1999, declared policy of the CNRT, the umbrella organization Gusmão created", "Within the resistance movement as well, Gusmão sought to reconcile ideologically opposed factions. In 1988, he transformed the

guerrilla organization FALINTIL (a Portuguese acronym for the “Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor”) into a united front for Timorese nationalists—an example of his leadership style of “taking the middle ground, negotiating with all sides and forging a centrist position””, and “Gusmão... was conscripted into the Portuguese army in East Timor. From fellow soldiers and intellectuals, he absorbed leftist ideas... Pragmatism is evident in his rejection of Marxism, his flexibility regarding guerrilla-warfare strategy, his attempts to bridge ideological schisms within the resistance movement... During his years of national service in the late 1960s, Gusmão adopted left-wing thinking prevalent among Timorese anti-Fascist soldiers and intellectuals... Gusmão recalled, “we were still dazzled by a vision of a miraculous process of human redemption” through Marxism”.

Years: 2015 - 2016

Head of government: Rui Maria De Araújo

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. Perspective monde (2019a and 2019b) identifies affiliation of Araújo as FREITILIN and ideology of FRETILIN as left: “Rui Maria de Araújo | 2015 (16 février) | 2017 (15 septembre) | Front révolutionnaire pour l'indépendance du Timor-oriental | [En fonction d'une décision du chef d'État ou du parlement] | [Gauche modérée]” and “Timor oriental - Rui Maria de Araújo: chef du gouvernement jusqu'au 15 septembre 2017. (Front révolutionnaire pour l'indépendance du Timor-oriental).” Gunn (2011: 93) identifies FRETILIN’s ideology as leftist, writing: “In September 1974, ASDT (Associação Social-Democrática Timorense) was transformed into FRETILIN. Mirroring the name and the African socialist rhetoric of the independence movement in Mozambique, left-leaning FRETILIN demanded immediate independence. FRETILIN’s manifesto stood for anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism”. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Rui Maria De Araújo’s party as Fretilin, and Fretilin’s ideology as leftist, writing “**Fretilin** = Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente (Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor, social-democratic, nationalist, est.11 Sep 1974).” In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Left” (-2.013) in 2012.

Year: 2017

Head of government: Mari Bim Amude Alkatiri

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. Gunn (2011: 92) identifies Alkatiri’s party as FRETILIN, writing that

“[FRETILIN is] currently headed by Francisco Guterros (Lu Olo) as president, with Mari bin Amude Alkatiri as secretary general”. Gunn (2011: 93) identifies FRETILIN’s ideology as leftist, writing: “In September 1974, ASDT (Associação Social-Democrática Timorense) was transformed into FRETILIN. Mirroring the name and the African socialist rhetoric of the independence movement in Mozambique, left-leaning FRETILIN demanded immediate independence. FRETILIN’s manifesto stood for anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism”. Perspective monde (2019a) identifies affiliation of Alkatiri as FRETILIN and ideology of FRETILIN as left: “Mari Alkatiri | 2017 (15 septembre) | 2018 (22 juin) | Front révolutionnaire pour l'indépendance du Timor-oriental | [En fonction d'une décision du chef d'État ou du parlement] | [Gauche modérée]. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Mari Bim Amude Alkatiri’s party as Fretilin, and Fretilin’s ideology as leftist, writing “**Fretilin** = Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente (Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor, social-democratic, nationalist, est. 11 Sep 1974).” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 10 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETIL) as 2.1. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Left” (-2.013) in 2017. DPI does not identify FRETILIN’s ideology.

Year: 2018 - 2020

Head of government: Taur Matan Ruak

Ideology: Right

Description: Perspective monde (2020) identifies affiliation of Ruak as People's Liberation Party: “Taur Matan Ruak (José Maria Vasconcelos) | 2018 (22 juin) | | Parti de libération populaire.” World Statesmen (2020) identifies affiliation of Ruak as People's Liberation Party: “22 Jun 2018 - Taur Matan Ruak (s.a.) PLP.” In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center” (0.186) in 2017 with “Negligible visible disagreement”. de la Cruz (2020) writes “Ruak... had been backed by a three-party coalition, the Alliance of Change for Progress (AMP)”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 10 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Change for Progress Alliance (AMP) as 6.1 and average divided-united (0-10) party score as 6.6. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as People’s Liberation Party. DPI does not identify PLP’s ideology.

References:

de la Cruz, Nelson. "East Timor PM resigns after political coalition collapses." Reuters. Last modified February 24, 2020. Accessed March 5, 2021.

- <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-timor-politics/east-timor-pm-resigns-after-political-coalition-collapses-idUSKCN20J0C2>.
- Gunn, G. 2011. *Historical Dictionary of East Timor*. Lanham.
- Perspective monde. 2019a.
<http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMGvt?codePays=TMP>
- Perspective monde. 2019b.
<http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMHistoriqueAnnee?anneeChoisie=2015&langue=fr>
- "Timor-Leste (East Timor)." In *Political Handbook of the World 2015*, edited by Thomas Lansford, 1453-60. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2015.
- Lieberfeld, Daniel. "Political Leadership, Peacemaking, and Post-Conflict Reconciliation: Xanana Gusmão and East Timor." *Leadership* 14, no. 1 (February 2018): 58–82. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1742715015614090>.
- 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.
- World Statesmen. 2020. https://www.worldstatesmen.org/East_Timor.html