

Country: Indonesia

Years: 1945 - 1946

Head of government: Sutan Sjahrir

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. Perspective monde (2019) identifies party of Sutan Sjahrir as Partai Socialis Indonesia/Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI): "Sutan Sjahrir | 1945 (14 novembre) | 1947 (20 juin) | Parti socialiste indonésien." World Statesmen (2019) identifies party of Sutan Sjahrir as PSI and ideology of PSI as left: "14 Nov 1945 - 20 Jun 1947 Sutan Sjahrir (b. 1909 - d. 1966) PSI ... PSI = Partai Sosialis Indonesia (Socialist Party of Indonesia, socialist, 1948-1960)."

Years: 1947

Head of government: Amir Sjarifoeddin

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective monde (2019) identifies party of Amir Sjarifoeddin as Partai Socialis Indonesia/Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI): "Amir Sjarifuddin | 1947 (3 juillet) | 1948 (29 janvier) | Parti socialiste indonésien." World Statesmen (2019) identifies party of Amir Sjarifoeddin as PSI and ideology of PSI as left: "3 Jul 1947 - 29 Jan 1948 Amir Sjarifoeddin (b. 1903 - d. 1948) PSI ... PSI = Partai Sosialis Indonesia (Socialist Party of Indonesia, socialist, 1948-1960)." Lentz (1994) identifies Amir Sjarifoeddin's ideology as leftist, writing "Sjarifuddin, though more of a leftist than his predecessor found it necessary to appease the Dutch colonial government on most major issues... Sjarifuddin was also closely linked with the Communist elements in Indonesia and was forced to resign on January 29, 1948. Following his resignation, he denounced the Renville Agreement and joined with the Communists in opposition to the new government of Mohammed Hatta."

Years: 1948-1949

Head of government: Muhammad Hatta

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. Perspective monde (2019) identifies affiliation of Muhammad Hatta as non-party: "Mohamed Hatta | 1948 (29 janvier) | 1950 (16 janvier) | Indépendant." Kahin and Kahin (1997: 42) identify Hatta as left " "[Hatta] advocated a mixed economy, in which socialism would be the largest component, closely followed by

a large cooperative sector. He regarded himself as a social democrat and a religious socialist and saw nothing incompatible between the two."

Years: 1950

Head of government: Muhammad Natsir

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. Cribb and Kahin write that "In November 1945 Natsir was one of the leaders of the "progressive" wing of the Masjumi party (often termed the "religious socialists")" (2004: 292). Perspective monde (2019a) identifies affiliation of Natsir as Masjumi: "Mohammed Natsir | 1950 (6 septembre) | 1951 (26 avril) | Parti Masyumi."

Years: 1951

Head of government: Sukiman Wirjosandjojo (Wiryosanjoyo)

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. Perspective monde identifies party of Sukiman Wirjosandjojo as Masjumi: "Sukiman Wirjosandjojo | 1951 (26 avril) | 1952 (1 avril) | Parti Masyumi." World Statesmen (2019) identifies party of Sukiman Wirjosandjojo as Masjumi: "27 Apr 1951 - 1 Apr 1952 Sukiman Wirjosandjojo (b. 1898 - d. 1974) Mas ... Mas = Partai Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia (Council of Indonesian Muslim Associations, islamist, 1945-1960"

Years: 1952

Head of government: Wilopo

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. Cribb and Kahin write that Wilopo was "a leader of the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI, Indonesian Nationalist Party)." (2004: 455). Perspective monde (2019a) identifies affiliation of Wilopo as PNI and ideology of PNI as left: "Wilopo | 1952 (1 avril) | 1953 (30 juillet) | Parti national indonésien | [Faible] | [En fonction d'une décision du chef d'État ou du parlement] | [Gauche modérée]." In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.582) in 1971.

Years: 1953 - 1954

Head of government: Ali Sastroamidjojo (Ali Sastroamijoyo)

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. The DADM Project writes that “Ali Sastroamidjojo of the *Indonesian National Party* (Partai Nasional Indonesia-PNI) formed a government as prime minister on July 30, 1953.” Cribb and Kahin write that Sastroamidjojo was a “nationalist politician, [...] and after independence leader of the left wing of the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI)” (2004: 13). *Perspective monde* (2019a) identifies affiliation of Ali Sastroamidjojo as Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI or Indonesian National Party) and ideology of PNI as left: “Ali Sastromidjojo | 1953 (30 juillet) | 1955 (11 août) | Parti national indonésien | [Faible] | [En fonction d'une décision du chef d'État ou du parlement] | [Gauche modérée].” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party's ideology as “Center-left” (-1.582) in 1971.

Years: 1955

Head of government: Burhanuddin Harahap (Boerhanoeddin Harahap)

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. Cribb and Kahin write that Harahap was a “Masjumi leader and [...] prime minister in a Masjumi-Partai Socialis (PSI) coalition government” (2004: 170). *Perspective monde* (2019a) identifies affiliation of Burhanuddin Harahap as Masjumi: “Burhanuddin Harahap | 1955 (11 août) | 1956 (20 mars) | Parti Masyumi.” *World Statesmen* identifies affiliation of Burhanuddin Harahap as Masyumi: “11 Aug 1955 - 20 Mar 1956 Burhanuddin Harahap (b. 1917 - d. 1987) Mas ... Mas = Partai Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia (Council of Indonesian Muslim Associations, islamist, 1945-1960). Lentz (1994) writes of Harahap that “his government, which excluded members of the Nationalist and Communist parties, was known for its moderate policies.”

Years: 1956

Head of government: Ali Sastroamidjojo (Ali Sastroamijoyo)

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. The DADM Project writes that “Ali Sastroamidjojo of the *Indonesian National Party* (Partai Nasional Indonesia-PNI) formed a government as prime minister on July 30, 1953.” Cribb and Kahin write that Sastroamidjojo was a “nationalist politician, [...] and after independence leader of the left wing of the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI)” (2004: 13). *Perspective monde* (2019a) identifies affiliation of Ali Sastroamidjojo as Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI or Indonesian National Party) and ideology of PNI as left: “Ali Sastromidjojo | 1956 (20 mars) | 1957 (8 avril) | Parti national indonésien |

[Faible] | En fonction d'une décision du chef d'État ou du parlement] | [Gauche modérée].” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.582) in 1971.

Years: 1957 - 1962

Head of government: Djuanda Kartawidjaja

Ideology: left

Description: Perspective Monde (2020), World Statesmen (2020), and Lentz (1994) identify Sukarno instead of Djuanda Kartawidjaja as head of government on December 31, 1963. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. Perspective monde (2019) identifies party of Djuanda Kartawidjaja as Partai Nasional Indonesia/Indonesian National Party (PNI), and ideology of PNI as left: “Raden Juanda Kurtawijaya | 1957 (8 avril) | 1959 (9 juillet) | Parti national indonésien. [Faible] | En fonction d'une décision du chef d'État ou du parlement] | [Gauche modérée].” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.582) in 1971.

Years: 1963 - 1965

Head of government: Sukarno

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective Monde (2020), World Statesmen (2020), and Lentz (1994) identify Sukarno instead of Djuanda Kartawidjaja as head of government on December 31, 1963. 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 head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.582) in 1971.

Years: 1966-1997

Head of government: 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 head of government 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)".

Commented [BH1]: That's a great addition. I am a bit puzzled at V-Party's assessment..

Commented [AS2R1]: I could see V-Party as possibly identifying a shift right from a leftist starting point under Sukarno to a center-leftist position under Suharto. Suharto's highly visible anti-leftism might not have prevented him from holding centrist or social democratic ideological tendencies. However, since the majority of the sources point rightist I feel that is still the most likely orientation.

Commented [BH3R1]: I agree, I think that's an astute assessment.

Years: 1998

Head of government: Bacharuddin Jusuf 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 Bacha's party as Golkar, and Golkar's ideology as right: "Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie | 1998 (21 mai) | 1999 (20 octobre), "Parti des groupes fonctionnels (Golkar)", "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 head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.6) in 1997 with "Negligible visible disagreement".

Commented [BH4]: See above.

Years: 1999 - 2000

Head of government: Abdurrahman 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 head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.826) in 1999.

Years: 2001 - 2003

Head of government: Dyah Permata Megawati Setyawati 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 head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.327) in 1999.

Years: 2004 - 2013

Head of government: Susilo 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 Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono’s party as PD, and the ideology of PD as center: “Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono | 2004 (20 octobre) | 2009 (20 octobre) | Parti démocratique | [Centre]” “Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono | 2009 (20 octobre) | 2014 (20 octobre) | Parti démocratique | [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 head of government party’s ideology as “Center” (0.219) in 2004 and 2009.

Years: 2014 - 2020

Head of government: 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 head of government 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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