

Country: Timor-Leste

Years: 2002 - 2006

Leader: Gusmao

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Gusmao's party as none. *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), however, identifies later 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]". 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**”.

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Years: 2007 - 2011

Leader: Ramos-Horta

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Ramos-Horta's party as none. 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's 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 [...] FRETILIN's inner membership reflected widely different views, from the moderate social-democrats Ramos-Horta...” World Statesmen (2020) identifies Ramos-Horta's party as non-party, writing “20 May 2007 - 20 May 2012 José Manuel Ramos-Horta (b. 1949) Non-party.” 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: 2012 - 2016

Leader: 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. CHISOLS identifies Ruak's party as none in 2016.

Years: 2017 - 2020

Leader: Guterres

Ideology:

Description: CHISOLS identifies Guterres' party as Fretilin. DPI does not identify FRETILIN's ideology.

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