

Country: Syria

Years: 1946-1947

Head of government: Jamil Mardam Bay

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Republican. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Mardam Bay's party as RP and "RP=Republican Party." Tachau (1994) identifies Bay's party loyalty as National Party in 1947: "Following the 1947 elections... The commercial elite of Damascus, represented in the National Assembly by such figures as Faris al-Khuri, Jamil Mardam... remained loyal to the National Party." Collelo (1988) identifies National Party as right: "Although a few Ba'athists were elected, the majority of the new assembly consisted of members of the conservative People's Party and National Party."

Years: 1948-1949

Head of government: Khalid al-Azm

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as National Bloc. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. *Political Handbook of the Middle East and North Africa* identifies al-Azm's party as independent: "Throughout the winter of 1961-62, demands for democratization were increasingly voiced by leftist delegates to the National Assembly such as Hawrani and the independent radical Khalid al-Azm."

Year: 1950

Head of government: Nazim al-Kudsi

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as People's Party. Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as moderate left. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Collelo (1988) identifies al-Kudsi's party as People's Party and its ideology as right: "Although a few Ba'athists were elected, the majority of the new assembly consisted of members of the conservative People's Party and National Party. People's Party leader Nazim al-Qudsi was elected president."

Year: 1951-1952

Head of government: Fawzi as-Silu

Ideology:

Description: Perspective Monde (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) identify Fawzi as-Silu instead of Khalid al-Azm as head of government on December 31, 1951. HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde does not identify head of government's party. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Collelo (1988) identifies as-Silu's party as Arab Liberation Movement (ALM): "On April 6, 1952, [as-Silu] abolished all political parties and tried to fill the vacuum by creating his own party – the Arab Liberation Movement (ALM)." Commins and Lesch (2014) note that as-Silu was a "prominent figure in Adib al-Shishakli's regime... After Shishakli seized power in December 1949, he forced Silu on Prime Minister... [but] Silu was no more than a figurehead."

Year: 1953

Head of government: Adib as-Shishakli

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Liberation Movement. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Lentz (1996) identifies as-Shishakli's party as ALM: "He formed the Arab Liberation Movement and ran unopposed for the presidency." Commins and Lesch (2014) note "in the 1930s, Shishakli was attracted to the Syrian Social National Party," but once taking power "mobilized popular support by establishing the Arab Liberation Movement.. [the] movement endorsed improving the standing of women, land reform, and more progressive labor laws".

Year: 1954

Head of government: Faris al-Khuri

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government ideology as moderate left. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as People's Party. CHISOLS identifies head of government party as none. Tachau (1994) identifies al-Khuri's party as People's Party: "The three largest parliamentary blocs compromised to permit the formation of a loose coalition government early in October, with Faris al-Khuri of the People's Party serving as premier." Collelo (1988) identifies People's Party as right: "Although a few Ba'athists were elected, the majority of the new assembly consisted of members of the conservative People's Party and National Party."

Year: 1955

Head of government: Said al-Ghazzi

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde does not identify head of government's party. CHISOLS does not identify head of

government's party. Lambert et al. (2010) identify al-Shazzi's party affiliation as independent: "Al-Ghazzi was well known in Syrian politics as an independent liberal which made him a favorite to all in times of crisis."

Years: 1956-1957

Head of government: Sabri al-Assali

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as center right. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Syrian National Party. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. *Political Handbook of the Middle East and North Africa* identifies Assali's party as National Party: "Five months later, when al-Khuri's efforts to maintain a neutral stance in inter-Arab affairs collapsed, Sabri Al-Assali of the National Party took over as premier." Collelo (1988) identifies National Party as right: "Although a few Ba'athists were elected, the majority of the new assembly consisted of members of the conservative People's Party and National Party."

Year: 1958-1959

Head of government: Nureddin Kuhala

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective Monde (2020), World Statesmen (2020) identify Nureddin Kuhala instead of Sabri al-Assali as head of government on December 31, 1958. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Perspective Monde identifies Kuhala's party affiliation as Ba'ath and non-party: "Parti Baas, sans parti." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Kuhala's identification as non-party. Tachau (1994) identifies Ba'ath as left: "the Ba'ath that came to power... shared the objectives of promoting socialism and securing Syrian independence." *Political Handbook of the Middle East and North Africa* notes that the Egyptian government at the time "dictated two primary conditions" the second of which was, "all political parties must be abolished in Syria." The book then states, "the government in Cairo authorized the Egypt-based National Union to be the country's sole legal political organization." Diwashi (1978) identifies NU as left: "Its aim is to set up a 'co-operative, democratic, and socialist society.' Podeh (1999) writes "the Syrian [UAR] cabinet was largely reshuffled... the rest of the ministers consisted for four senior army officers... four technocrats (Nur al-Din Kahalah)." Additionally, Podeh notes that "the composition of the new Syrian cabinet indicated that 'Abd al-Nasir was determined to detach the army and the parties... from the political system.. [and] former politicians affiliated with the old party system were excluded from the regional cabinet. Even the Ba'th party". Podeh continues "Yet the real power was concentrated in Egyptian hands. This was assured by appointing Egyptians to the key posts in the Central

Cabinet; by appointing an uncharismatic technocrat to head the SEC”, referring to Kuhala.

Year: 1960

Head of government: Abdul Hamid Serraj

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Perspective monde identifies head of government’s party as independent. *Political Handbook of the Middle East and North Africa* notes that the Egyptian government “dictated two primary conditions” the second of which was, “all political parties must be abolished in Syria.” The book then states, “the government in Cairo authorized the Egypt-based National Union to be the country’s sole legal political organization... [and] appointed Abd al-Hamid Sarraj.” Diwashi (1978) identifies NU as left: “Its aim is to set up a ‘co-operative, democratic, and socialist society.’” Podeh (1999) notes “Abd’ al-Nasir announced a reshuffle of the UAR Central Government and the Syrian Executive Council. The main change was the appointment of Sarraj to the Presidency of the Syrian EC... Sarraj became the most powerful Syrian official, serving also as minister of the interior secretary-general of the Syrian NU” Podeh continues by saying “Sarraj was something of an enigma to Arab and foreign observers. Most, however, agreed that he was an independent (or rather “lone wolf”, un-corrupted army officer whose cooperation with any political group was based primarily on his estimate of utility... Sarraj’s power stemmed from the fact that he did not identify with any political group but developed friendly relations with the Ba’th party.” Podeh continues “Sarraj adopted certain manners that turned him, in the words of the new American consul-general in Damascus, into a “Levantine Nasser” .”

Year: 1961

Head of government: Nazim al-Khudsi

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government’s party as HS. Perspective Monde identifies party as People’s Party. Collelo (1988) identifies al-Kudsi’s party as People’s Party and its ideology as right: “Although a few Ba’athists were elected, the majority of the new assembly consisted of members of the conservative People’s Party and National Party. People’s Party leader Nazim al-Qudsi was elected president.” Perspective Monde identifies Nazim al-Qudsi’s ideology as left (gauche modérée). CHISOLS notes “The rulers prior to the union were Baathists and to some extent Communists, while al- Kudsi seems to have been more of a Conservative since he appointed a conservative PM (Library of Congress 1987).”

Year: 1962

Head of government: Khalid al-Azm

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde does not identify head of government's party. CHISOLS does not identify head of government party. *Political Handbook of the Middle East and North Africa* identifies al-Azm's party as independent: "Throughout the winter of 1961-62, demands for democratization were increasingly voiced by leftist delegates to the National Assembly such as Hawrani and the independent radical Khalid al-Azm."

Years: 1963-1965

Head of government: Salahad-Sin Bitar

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as moderate left. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Ba'ath. CHISOLS does not identify head of government party. Tachau (1994) identifies Bitar's party as Ba'ath: Salah al-Din Bitar was asked to serve as the country's first Ba'ath prime minister" and Ba'ath as left: "the Ba'ath that came to power... shared the objectives of promoting socialism and securing Syrian independence." Rulers notes that Bitar "founded the Ba'ath party, later criticized the policies of both wings of the party... clash[ing] with younger members of the party who felt he was too conservative." In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of governments party's ideology as "Left" (-1.887) in 1971.

Years: 1966-1967

Head of government: Yusuf Zuaiyin

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as moderate left. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Ba'ath. World Statesmen (2020) and Rulers (2020) identify Nureddin Mustafa al-Atassi instead of Yusuf Zuaiyin as head of government on December 31, 1968. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government party. Drysdale (1981) identifies Zuaiyin's party as Ba'ath: "Some leading political figures, such as former RC members Nur al-Din al-Atasi, Ibrahim Makhus, and Yusuf Zu'ayyin, held portfolios for comparatively brief periods" and that the RC is the "Syrian Regional Command... of the Ba'ath party." Tachau (1994) identifies Ba'ath as left: "the Ba'ath that came to power... shared the objectives of promoting socialism and securing Syrian independence." In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of governments party's ideology as "Left" (-1.887) in 1971.

Years: 1968-1969

Head of government: Nureddin Mustafa al-Atassi

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as moderate left. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Ba'ath. World Statesmen (2020) and Rulers (2020) identify Nureddin Mustafa al-Atassi instead of Yusuf Zu'ayyin as head of government on December 31, 1968, and Hafez al-Assad instead of al-Atassi on December 31, 1970. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government party as Ba'ath. Tachau (1994) identifies Ba'ath as left: "the Ba'ath that came to power... shared the objectives of promoting socialism and securing Syrian independence." Dawisha (1978) adds that "This call for unity coincided with a coup in Syria which brought to power an extremely left-wing and neo-Marxist section of the Ba'ath party, headed by Dr Nureddin al-Atassi, who became head of state." Rulers notes that Atassi "became a leader of the 'progressive' wing [of the Ba'ath], which advocated for Marxist-inspired economic policies and a strong relationship with the U.S.S.R." In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of government's party's ideology as "Left" (-1.887) in 1971.

Year: 1970

Head of government: Sayyid Ahmed al-Hassan al-Khatib

Ideology: Leftist

Description: Perspective Monde (2020), World Statesmen (2020) identify Sayyid Ahmed al-Hassan al-Khatib instead of Hafez al-Assad as head of government on December 31, 1970. CHISOLS identifies leader party as Ba'ath. Perspective monde identifies leader ideology as moderate left. Perspective monde identifies leader's party as Ba'ath. Tachau (1994) identifies Ba'ath as left: "the Ba'ath that came to power... shared the objectives of promoting socialism and securing Syrian independence." In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of government's party's ideology as "Left" (-1.887) in 1971.

Year: 1971

Head of government: Abdul Rahman Khleifawi

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as moderate left. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Ba'ath. CHISOLS does not identify head of government party. Diwashi (1979) identifies Khleifawi's party as Ba'ath: "Syria's presidential system includes a powerful sub-system in the form of the Ba'ath party. Organizationally, the party is of pyramidal structure, at the top of which like the Regional and National Commands... the Regional Command includes such influential members of the policy-making elite as the Prime Minister, Abd al-Rahman Khleifawi." Tachau (1994) identifies Ba'ath as left:

“the Ba’ath that came to power... shared the objectives of promoting socialism and securing Syrian independence.” In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of governments party’s ideology as “Left” (-1.887) in 1971.

Years: 1972-1975

Head of government: Mahmoud al-Ayyoubi

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective monde identifies head of government’s ideology as moderate left. Perspective monde identifies head of government’s party as Ba’ath. Yaffe-Schatzmann (1995) identifies al-Ayyoubi’s party as Ba’ath: “Mahmud al-Ayubi is identifies also as a member of ‘la vieille garde du parti Baas’ *Le Monde Diplomatique* (April 1980).” Tachau (1994) identifies Ba’ath as left: “the Ba’ath that came to power... shared the objectives of promoting socialism and securing Syrian independence.” In V-Party (2020) 3 experts identify head of governments party’s ideology as “Left” (-1.887) in 1971 and 4 experts identify head of governments party’s ideology as “Left” (-1.78) in 1973.

Years: 1976-1977

Head of government: Abdul Rahman Khleifawi

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government party. Perspective monde identifies head of government’s ideology as moderate left. Perspective monde identifies head of government’s party as Ba’ath. Dawisha (1978) identifies Khleifawi’s party as Ba’ath: “Syria’s presidential system includes a powerful sub-system in the form of the Ba’ath party. Organizationally, the party is of pyramidal structure, at the top of which like the Regional and National Commands... the Regional Command includes such influential members of the policy-making elite a the Prime Minister, Abd al-Rahman Khleifawi.” Tachau (1994) identifies Ba’ath as left: “the Ba’ath that came to power... shared the objectives of promoting socialism and securing Syrian independence.” In V-Party (2020) 4 experts identify head of governments party’s ideology as “Left” (-1.78) in 1973.

Years: 1978-1979

Head of government: Muhammad Ali al-Halabi

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government’s ideology as moderate left. Perspective monde identifies head of government’s party as Ba’ath. CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. Perspective Monde identifies al-Halabi’s party as Ba’ath (Parti Baas) and Ba’ath as left (“gauche extrême”). In V-Party (2020) 4 experts identify head of governments party’s ideology as “Left” (-1.78) in 1973.

Years: 1980-1986

Head of government: Abdul Raufal-Kasm

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as moderate left. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Ba'ath. CHISOLS does not identify party. Middle East Journal (1985) identifies Kasm's party as Ba'ath: "The 8<sup>th</sup> Regional Congress of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath concluded its meeting. The following people were elected to the Regional Command: Abd al-Rauf Kasm." Tachau (1994) identifies Ba'ath as left: "the Ba'ath that came to power... shared the objectives of promoting socialism and securing Syrian independence." In V-Party (2020) 4 experts identify head of governments party's ideology as "Left" (-1.78) in 1973.

Years: 1987-1999

Head of government: Mahmoud Zuabi

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as moderate left. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Ba'ath. CHISOLS does not identify party. Associated Press (2000) identifies Zuabi's party as Ba'ath: "He [Zuabi] was sacked from the ruling Baath party on May 10 [2000] after President Hafez Assad decided to have him investigated for corruption." Tachau (1994) identifies Ba'ath as left: "the Ba'ath that came to power... shared the objectives of promoting socialism and securing Syrian independence." In V-Party (2020) 4 experts identify head of governments party's ideology as "Left" (-1.78) in 1973.

Years: 2000-2002

Head of government: Muhammed Mustafa Mero

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as moderate left. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Ba'ath. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. Perspective Monde identifies Mero's party as Ba'ath (Parti Baas) and Ba'ath as left ("gauche extrême"). In V-Party (2020) 4 experts identify head of governments party's ideology as "Left" (-1.78) in 1973.

Years: 2003-2010

Head of government: Muhammad Naji al-Otari

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as moderate left. Perspective monde identifies head



of government's party as Ba'ath. CHISOLS does not identify head of government party. BBC (2003) identifies al-Otari's party as Ba'ath: "Mr al-Otari is a long-serving member of the ruling Ba'ath party. Tachau (1994) identifies Ba'ath as left: "the Ba'ath that came to power... shared the objectives of promoting socialism and securing Syrian independence." In V-Party (2020) 4 experts identify head of governments party's ideology as "Left" (-1.78) in 1973.

Year: 2011

Head of government: Adel Safar

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as moderate left. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Ba'ath. CHISOLS does not identify head of government party. Middle East Journal (2011) identifies Safar's party as Ba'ath: "Safar, a member of the ruling Ba'ath party, drew heavy criticism for his handling of Syria's recent drought crisis." Tachau (1994) identifies Ba'ath as left: "the Ba'ath that came to power... shared the objectives of promoting socialism and securing Syrian independence." In V-Party (2020) 4 experts identify head of governments party's ideology as "Left" (-1.78) in 1973.

Years: 2012-2015

Head of government: Wael Nader al-Halqi

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as moderate left. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Ba'ath. CHISOLS does not identify head of government party. Lansford (2015) identifies Maderal-Halqi's party as Ba'ath. Tachau (1994) identifies Ba'ath as left: "the Ba'ath that came to power... shared the objectives of promoting socialism and securing Syrian independence." In V-Party (2020) 4 experts identify head of governments party's ideology as "Left" (-1.78) in 1973.

Years: 2016-2019

Head of government: Imad Muhammad Dib Khamis

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective monde identifies head of government's ideology as moderate left. Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as Ba'ath. CHISOLS does not identify head of government's party. World Statesmen (2020) identifies head of government's party as Ba'ath and NFP. The Syrian Observer (2016) identifies Khamis' party Ba'ath: "Khamis has been a member of the Syrian Baath Party since 1977 and a member of the party's regional leadership since 2013." Tachau (1994) identifies Ba'ath as left: "the Ba'ath that came to power... shared the objectives of

promoting socialism and securing Syrian independence.” In V-Party (2020) 4 experts identify head of governments party’s ideology as “Left” (-1.78) in 1973.

Years: 2020

Head of government: Hussein Arnous

Ideology: Leftist

Description: Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Arab Socialist Ba’ath Party. World Statesmen (2020) identifies head of government’s party affiliation as “Baath+NFP”. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies head of government’s party affiliation as Ba’ath. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies head of government’s ideology as left, “Gauche moderee”. Tachau (1994) identifies Ba’ath as left: “the Ba’ath that came to power... shared the objectives of promoting socialism and securing Syrian independence.” In V-Party (2020) 4 experts identify head of governments party’s ideology as “Left” (-1.78) in 1973.

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