

Country: Malaysia

Years: 1957 - 1969

Head of government: Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Alhaj

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as United Malays National Organization (UMNO). DPI does not identify UMNO's ideology. The Political Handbook of the World writes that "[In 1957] Tunku ABDUL RAHMAN head of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) (*Pertubuhan Kebangsaan Melayu Bersatu*) and subsequently of the Alliance Party, became Malaya's first prime minister." Manzano (2017) identifies Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra as right. Perspective monde (2019a) identifies affiliation of Abdul Rahman as UMNO and the ideology of UMNO as right: "Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra 1957 | (28 août) 1959 | (15 avril) | Organisation nationale malaisienne unie | [En fonction d'une décision du chef d'État ou du parlement] | Droite modérée]" and "Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra | 1959 (20 août) | 1970 (21 septembre) | Organisation nationale malaisienne unie | [Elevé] | [En fonction d'une décision du chef d'État ou du parlement] | Droite modérée]." In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.99) in 1974 with "Negligible visible disagreement". Tan (1990) writes "During the first decade of independence the Malaysian economy began its transformation from a colonial outpost dominated by extractive industries to a laissez-faire economy modeled after World Bank plans... Although laissez-faire in strategy, the state at times exhibited its autonomy by forcing capital and labor to compromise... By the end of the 1960s, however, the limits of laissez-faire capitalism were obvious".

Years: 1970 - 1975

Head of government: Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as United Malays National Organization (UMNO). DPI does not identify UMNO's ideology. Manzano (2017) identifies Tunku Abdul Razak bin Hussein as right. Perspective monde (2019a) identifies affiliation of Abdul Razak as UMNO and the ideology of UMNO as right: "Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein | 1970 (21 septembre) | 1976 (15 janvier) | Organisation nationale malaisienne unie | [Faible] | [En fonction d'une décision du chef d'État ou du parlement] | Droite modérée]." In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.99) in 1974 with "Negligible visible disagreement". Ismail and Hamid (2013) write "Abdul Razak's informal think-tank, assembled to implement his

economic development program, was known to have been composed of socialist-oriented advisors and academics”. Tan (1990) writes “Change, however, was forced on the state in the ethnic riots following the 1969 general elections when the ruling Alliance government lost heavily. The subsequent emergency rule of one year and the suspension of democracy gave the conservative Alliance government time and space to reconstitute the state's role—from laissez-faire to an interventionist state for Malay capitalism”.

Years: 1976 - 1980

Head of government: Datuk Hussein bin Onn

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as United Malays National Organization (UMNO). DPI does not identify UMNO's ideology. Manzano (2017) identifies Hussein bin Onn as right. Perspective monde (2019a) identifies affiliation of Hussein as UMNO and the ideology of UMNO as right: “Hussein bin Onn | 1976 (15 janvier) | 1981 (16 juillet) | Organisation nationale malaisienne unie | [Limité] | [En fonction d'une décision du chef d'État ou du parlement] | Droite modérée.” In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as “Center-left” (-0.99) in 1974 and 1978 with “Negligible visible disagreement”. Tan (1990) writes “Change, however, was forced on the state in the ethnic riots following the 1969 general elections when the ruling Alliance government lost heavily. The subsequent emergency rule of one year and the suspension of democracy gave the conservative Alliance government time and space to reconstitute the state's role—from laissez-faire to an interventionist state for Malay capitalism... Apart from being in line with Mahathir's own entrepreneurial ideology, privatization and deregulation were being pushed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, which had consistently criticized the Malaysian state's intervention for impeding the growth of capital (especially foreign capital).”

Years: 1981 - 2002

Head of government: Dato'Seri Mahathir bin Mohamad

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as United Malays National Organization (UMNO). DPI does not identify UMNO's ideology. The Political Handbook of the World writes, that “Mahathir, an economic nationalist, attributed the crisis to foreign-currency traders and speculators, who were abetting international institutions and foreign powers that wanted to “recolonize” the country.” Manzano (2017) identifies Mahathir bin Mohamed as right. Perspective monde (2019a) identifies affiliation of Mahathir as

UMNO and the ideology of UMNO as right: “Mahathir bin Mohamad | 1981 (16 juillet) | 2003 (31 octobre) | Organisation nationale malaisienne unie | [Limité] | [En fonction d'une décision du chef d'État ou du parlement] | Droite modérée].” In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as “Center-left” (-0.99) in 1978 and 1982 with “Negligible visible disagreement”, as “Center-left” (-0.659) in 1986 with “Some visible disagreement” and 1990 with “Almost complete”, and as “Center” (-0.386) in 1995 with “Some visible disagreement” and 1999 with “A high level of visible disagreement”. Ortiz de Zárate (2003) writes “Mahathir, a notorious authoritarian reelected uninterruptedly since 1981 thanks to a well-oiled electoral machinery, who bet on market capitalism to make the developmentalist leap to the industrialization of his country and who displays nationalist susceptibility when human rights issues are mentioned to him.” Tan (1990) writes “Change, however, was forced on the state in the ethnic riots following the 1969 general elections when the ruling Alliance government lost heavily. The subsequent emergency rule of one year and the suspension of democracy gave the conservative Alliance government time and space to reconstitute the state's role—from laissez-faire to an interventionist state for Malay capitalism... Apart from being in line with Mahathir's own entrepreneurial ideology, privatization and deregulation were being pushed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, which had consistently criticized the Malaysian state's intervention for impeding the growth of capital (especially foreign capital).”

Years: 2003 - 2008

Head of government: Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as United Malays National Organization (UMNO). DPI does not identify UMNO's ideology. Manzano (2017) identifies Abdullah Ahmad Badawi as right. Perspective monde (2019a) identifies affiliation of Badawi as UMNO and the ideology of UMNO as right: “Abdullah Ahmad Badawi | 2003 (31 octobre) | 2009 (3 avril) | Organisation nationale malaisienne unie | [Limité] | [En fonction d'une décision du chef d'État ou du parlement] | Droite modérée].” In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as “Center” (-0.386) in 1999 with “A high level of visible disagreement”, 2004 with “Negligible visible disagreement”, and 2008 with “Negligible visible disagreement”.

Years: 2009 - 2017

Head of government: Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. The Political Handbook of the World writes that “Mohamad NAJIB Abdul Razak (United Malays National Organization); [was] appointed [Prime Minister] on April 3, 2009.” Perspective monde (2019a and 2019b) identifies affiliation of Najib as UMNO and the ideology of UMNO as right: “Najib Tun Razak | 2009 (3 avril) | 2018 (10 mai) | Organisation nationale malaisienne unie | [Limité] | [En fonction d'une décision du chef d'État ou du parlement] | Droite modérée]” and “L'Organisation malaisienne nationale unie est un parti politique qui voit le jour le 11 mai 1946 ... Parti classé dans la catégorie «droite».” In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as “Center” (-0.386) in 2008 with “Negligible visible disagreement” and as “Center-left” (-0.676) in 2013 with “Some visible disagreement”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 14 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of National Front (BN), of which UNMO was the leading member, as 6.8. DPI does not identify UNMO's ideology.

Years: 2018 - 2019

Head of government: Mahathir Mohamad

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. The Political Handbook of the World writes, that “Mahathir, an economic nationalist, attributed the crisis to foreign-currency traders and speculators, who were abetting international institutions and foreign powers that wanted to “recolonize” the country.” Manzano (2017) identifies Mahathir bin Mohamed as right. Perspective monde (2019a) identifies affiliation of Mahathir as Pakatan Harapan and the ideology of Pakatan Harapan as right: “Mahathir Mohamad | 2018 (10 mai) | 2020 (1 mars) | Alliance de l'espoir (Pakatan Harapan) | Centre droit.” World Statesmen identifies affiliation of Mahathir as PPBM+PH, and the ideology of PPBM as center: “**PPBM** = Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia “BBERSATU” (Malaysian United Indigenous Party, “Bersatu”, centerist, Malay nationalist, social conservative...” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 14 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Lao Alliance of Hope (PH) (Pakatan Harapan) as 4.9. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as “Center-left” (-1) in 2018 with “Negligible visible disagreement”. Ortiz de Zárate (2003) writes “Mahathir, a notorious authoritarian reelected uninterruptedly since 1981 thanks to a well-oiled electoral machinery, who bet on market capitalism to make the developmentalist leap to the industrialization of his country and who displays nationalist susceptibility when human rights issues are mentioned to him.” DPI does not identify PPBM's ideology. Tan (1990) writes “Change, however, was forced on the state in the ethnic riots following the 1969 general elections when the ruling

Alliance government lost heavily. The subsequent emergency rule of one year and the suspension of democracy gave the conservative Alliance government time and space to reconstitute the state's role—from laissez-faire to an interventionist state for Malay capitalism... Apart from being in line with Mahathir's own entrepreneurial ideology, privatization and deregulation were being pushed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, which had consistently criticized the Malaysian state's intervention for impeding the growth of capital (especially foreign capital)."

Years: 2020

Head of government: Muhyiddin Yassin

Ideology: right

Description: Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Malaysian United Indigenous Party. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Yassin's party as "PPBM+PN... PN = Perikatan Nasional (National Alliance, social conservative, Islamic democratic, electoral alliance of PPBM, BN, PAS, GBS and PBS, est.23 Feb 2020); PPBM = Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia "BBERSATU" (Malaysian United Indigenous Party, "Bersatu", centrist, Malay nationalist, social conservative, Islamic democratic, anti-corruption, est.8 Sep 2016)". Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Yassin's party as "Parti unifié indigène de Malaisie [PPBM]" and identifies "Parti unifié indigène de Malaisie's" ideology as "centre-droit" [center-right]. Leong (2016) writes "Malaysia's political scene just got a little more crowded yesterday with the application to register a new party led by former deputy prime minister Muhyiddin Yassin. Calling it Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia, or Bersatu (United) for short." DPI does not identify PPBM's ideology. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 14 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of National Front (BN) as 6.8. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 14 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) as 5.3 with an average left-right (0-10) salience of 8.7. Ortiz de Zarate (2020) writes "between 2015 and 2016 Muhyiddin was purged as deputy prime minister and deputy chairman of the ruling United Malays National Organization (UMNO)... Muhyiddin then seconded former Prime Minister... and helped him organize the United Malaysian Indigenous Party (PPBM or Bersatu)... Now, Muhyiddin has become Prime Minister, going hand in hand with the UMNO/BN bloc." Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada writes "Muhyiddin's ascendance to power threatens to usher in a right-wing government that will again relegate minority concerns to a backseat." Tee (2019) writes "Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia associate professor Kartini Aboo Talib Khalid also echoed [Universiti Teknologi Malaysia Professor] Azmi's views, stating it was hard to perceive Umno-PAS as right-wing politics as Malaysian politics have always been race-based".

Commented [BH1]: I would hold off on the coding just yet, as World Statesmen (centrist) and Perspective Monde (rightist) disagree. Let's see what other sources say first.

Commented [AS2R1]: Economic cleavages do not seem to be highly significant compared with ethnic and religious tensions. Yassin apparently switched parties several times, from a lifelong UMNO/BN affiliation to founding PPBM (Bersatu) to rejoining a coalition with UMNO, BN, and PAS. While various media sources report Yassin as right-wing, this description appears to be more an indicator of Yassin's conservative Islamic Malay nationalist approach (bordering on populism) rather than a genuine commitment to liberal economic policies. I would tentatively code as rightist based on BN affiliation and PPBM Perspective Monde coding, but I would also support a centrist coding if you felt that more appropriate.

Commented [BH3R1]: That's tricky. I would indeed go with a rightist coding for now but keep looking at UMNO and BN and their prime ministers, and see where these leftist assessments come from. Please check Ortiz de Zarate for all of them if you have not done so already. And to look more into the salience of the economic cleavage, you can look at and add the respective information from the Global Party Survey.

Commented [AS4R1]: I checked CIDOB and added the GPS info. I think the leftist assessments are coming from the state capitalism approach between 1969 and Mahathir in the 80s.

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