

Country: Haiti

Years: 1945

Head of Government: Louis Léocardie Élie Lescot

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify Lescot's party. Haggerty (1989) states, "In January 1946, events came to a head when Lescot jailed the Marxist editors of a journal called *La Ruche* (The Beehive)," implying a strong opposition to leftist organizations. Hall (Historical Dictionary) states, "In 1941, Élie Lescot came to power with the assistance of the mulatto elite, Trujillo, and the United States", and Haggerty mentions that "it was Trujillo's money that reportedly bought most of the legislative votes that brought Lescot to power"; Trujillo is coded as right.

Years: 1946-1949

Head of Government: Léon Dumarsais Estimé

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Estimé's party as non-party. Hall (Historical Dictionary) says Estimé was "disillusioned with the mulatto elite government and U.S. military occupation", openly and vocally supported the Noirisme movement and "promised the masses rapid social reform and economic development" (2016: 100). Nohlen describes the Noirisme movement as: "An alliance of black urban middle-class groups and rural feudal landlords took over the leadership of the movement and began a march toward power in the name of the exploited black masses and the *classe moyenne opprimée* (oppressed middle class)" (1989). Hall also states that Estimé "supported legislation to protect workers". Haggerty mentions, "Estimé proposed, but never secured passage of, Haiti's first social-security legislation" (1989). An entry in the Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture states, "Estimé's government also drew support initially from young radicals and Communists who looked forward to a social revolution that would benefit Haiti's black masses, both workers and peasants".

Years: 1950-1955

Head of Government: Paul Eugène Magloire

Ideology: Right

Description: World Statesmen (2019) and Rulers (2019) identify Joseph Nemours Pierre-Louis instead of Paul Eugène Magloire as head of government on December 31, 1956. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Magloire as non-

party. Haggerty describes Magloire's style of ruling, "By Haitian standards, Magloire's rule was firm, but not harsh: he jailed political opponents, including Fignolé, and shut down their presses when their protests grew too strident, but he allowed labor unions to function, although they were not permitted to strike" (1989). Hall (Historical Dictionary) indicates that Fignolé was left-leaning as a strong supporter of unions: "In 1947, Fignolé assumed leadership of the Mouvement Ouvrier Paysan (MOP)/Worker Peasant Movement, a large labor union that represented the interests of factory workers, dockworkers, and other skilled laborers". Hall also states, "U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower believed that Fignolé was a leftist". Gaffield also points out Magloire's conservative views:, "Magloire fashioned himself a hero of anticommunism, and his return to political conservatism included a movement to devalue Haiti's African heritage" (2011).

Years: 1956

Head of Government: Joseph Nemours Pierre-Louis

Ideology:

Description: World Statesmen (2019) and Rulers (2019) identify Joseph Nemours Pierre-Louis instead of Paul Eugène Magloire as head of government on December 31, 1956. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Pierre-Louis' party affiliation as none. The Political Handbook (2015) describes Pierre-Louis as "a respected economist and grassroots advocate for Haiti's poor and youth".

Years: 1957-1970

Head of Government: François Duvalier

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Duvalier's party as PUN (Parti de l'unité nationale). DPI does not identify party ideology. Arthus identifies Duvalier as right-wing: "There was similarity in the U.S. position regarding Trujillo and Duvalier. They were two right-wing dictators who endangered democracy in the region and who refused to collaborate with the United States by leaving power" (2015). He also identifies Duvalier as profoundly anticommunist: "[Duvalier] reminded Kennedy, in various correspondences, of his support in the fight against 'that common danger to the Western Hemisphere constituted by international Communism'" (2015). Manzano (2017) codes Duvalier as right. Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PUN. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PUN's ideology as "Right" (2.904) in 1973.

Years: 1971-1985

Head of Government: Jean-Claude Duvalier

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Duvalier as non-party. Haggerty describes the continuation of Duvalierism: "Duvalier ('Papa Doc') extended his illegitimate rule beyond his death by naming his son Jean Claude ('Baby Doc') as his successor" (1989). Manzano (2017) codes Duvalier as right. World Statesmen (2019) identifies party affiliation as PUN.

Years: 1986-1987

Head of Government: Henri Namphy

Ideology: none

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Namphy's party as none. Hall (Historical Dictionary) states that "Namphy's critics claimed that Namphy's government was merely Duvalierism without Duvalier" (2016:181). Hall also mentions that Namphy, in 1982, "he crushed a revolt by a group of Haitian exiles attempting to overthrow Jean-Claude Duvalier" (181) and was later rewarded for it. Haggerty writes that Namphy "saw the armed forces as the single remaining cohesive institution in the country" and "viewed the army as the only vehicle for an orderly transition from Duvalierism to another form of government" (1989). Rulers.org states that Namphy "had a reputation for being honest and apolitical".

Years: 1988-1989

Head of Government: Prosper Avril

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Avril's party as none. Hall (Historical Dictionary) indicates that Avril "served as an advisor to Jean-Claude Duvalier" (29). Keesing's Record of World Events (1988: 36281) describes Avril's Cabinet as being "composed largely of technocrats drawn from public service" and as having "included several prominent Duvalierists". Haggerty (1989) states that the Avril government was plagued by "threats from army factions and opposition from the old Duvalierist right wing" and "marred by serious human rights violations" (30). Haggerty also describes demonstrations in early 1989, led by labor unions and other groups, against the regime. As a response, "Avril convened a National Forum on February 7, with strong participation from centrist politicians... the government excluded key Duvalierists from the forum". Keesing's Record of World Events states that in 1990, "the Group of 12 (a newly formed coalition of the country's main opposition parties, ranging from communists to conservatives) issued a joint statement calling upon the populace to rise up against Avril and force him to hand over power to an interim civilian administration as the first step towards the holding of free

elections”. Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) describes Credo as “a right-wing party led by Prosper Avril.”

Years: 1990

Head of Government: Ertha Pascal-Trouillot

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Pascal-Trouillot as non-party. Hall (Historical Dictionary) indicates that Pascal-Trouillot was a federal judge, before being appointed as the first female Supreme Court justice after the overthrow of Jean-Claude Duvalier (198). The Political Handbook (2015) states that Pascal-Trouillot restored the 1987 constitution, which “banned Duvalierists from public office for ten years” and “asserted the previously nonexistent rights of free education, decent housing, and a fair wage”. According to Keesing’s Record of World Events (1990), the head of the Council of State in Haiti, a 19-member advisory body, Louis Roy “had repeatedly criticized Pascal-Trouillot’s unwillingness to take action against supporters of the Duvaliers... who were largely responsible for the prevailing climate of political violence”; this granted the Duvalierists an “ability to operate outside the law”. In another article, Keesing’s describes a coup attempt against the President-elect at the time Jean-Bertrand Aristide, led by a “notorious Duvalierist leader” Roger Lafontant. Lafontant forced Pascal-Trouillot to announce her resignation in 1991; however, once the coup attempt was crushed, Aristide’s government detained Pascal-Trouillot to investigate “her suspected ‘complicity’ in organizing the attempted coup”. Lentz (1991: 358) writes that Pascal-Trouillot “was arrested in April of 1991 on charges of being involved in a coup attempt against President Aristide the previous January.” Heard (2016: 269-270, 282) writes, “A ‘spate of unpunished killings and armed robberies in the capital’... created a greater rift among the political parties as the center-right parties (PDCH, MDN, MOP, Panpra, the MNP-28, and the MIDH) rejected an ultimatum given to Trouillot by the center-left parties, demanding her government take action against the Duvalierists or be replaced by someone chosen by the State Council... The Aristide government would similarly pursue those who were believed to have committed economic injustices against the Haitian people, starting with the former provisional president, Ertha Pascal Trouillot.”

Years: 1991

Head of Government: Jean-Jacques Honorat

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. A 1991 interview with Honorat states that he was a human rights

activist for over 40 years by the time of the interview. He served the Duvalier regime (coded as rightist) until Duvalier's coup d'état in 1961, after which he became "an activist for the rights of the peasantry" and "created an institution which was designed to provide basic education, that is, literacy programs, human rights education, to teach the Haitian peasantry". He also states, "I stepped in [as prime minister] just to prevent my country from falling apart in a civil war and from having to endure an international intervention, a foreign intervention. That was my only reason for stepping in" (41). Keesing's Record of World Events (1991) states that Honorat "had been a government minister under former dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier and was one of Aristide's bitterest critics," and in another article (1992), mentions he was Prime Minister of an army-backed government. Aristide is coded as leftist. According to Hall (Historical Dictionary), Honorat was appointed as provisional prime minister by Raoul Cédras, whose affiliation is identified by both World Statesmen (2019) and Perspective Monde (2019) as military. Lundahl's (1982) review of Honorat's work *Le Manifeste du Dernier Monde* states, "What can be done to solve Haiti's development problems? An imaginative prescription is given by Jean Jacques Honorat. His point of departure is that Western large scale technology with its emphasis on a capitalist mode of production and large markets will not lead to development. Rather, it may serve to reinforce dependence and aggravate underdevelopment... For Honorat, the only possible way to development is one which rests on the principle of self-reliance. Contracts with the Western world via trade and capital movements must be excluded... The solution envisaged is the integration with other Third World countries in common markets e.g. in the Caribbean... Development should concentrate on the peasants because Haiti is a peasant country and should build on established peasant structures like the extended family and the collective work team to reverse the flow of migrants to urban areas. Land should be owned and used collectively instead of, as now, individually." Fuller and Wilentz (1991: 16-17) write, "Jean-Jacques Honorat, the de facto prime minister and former executive director of the Haitian Center for Human Rights (CHADEL), seems to have no authority over the military, and he acknowledged in an interview with our delegation on December 7 that even General Raoul Cedras, one of the masterminds of the coup, is not fully in charge... Yet Honorat does not disapprove of the turn that events have taken in Haiti during his time in office under the military regime. The closest he came to condemning the regime's human rights abuses was a tut-tut or a regretful shake of the head. He claimed that attacks on progressive leaders, movements, and membership throughout the country are not systematic... Rather than call the coup d'état a coup d'état, Honorat blames the Aristide government for its own overthrow." Khol (1991) writes, "Haiti's communist, socialist (PANPRA), and social democratic parties refused to participate in the new government,"

referring to Honorat's cabinet. Kohl (1991) also writes, "In a statement before Haitian legislators, Honorat said the coup was justified because citizens have the right to overthrow an oppressive government," referring to Aristide's government.

Years: 1992

Head of Government: Marc Louis Bazin

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Hall (Historical Dictionary) states that Bazin served as Jean-Claude Duvalier's minister of finance and economy for six months (2016: 35). Manzano (2017) codes Bazin as right. Keesing's Record of World Events (1992) states that Bazin "had been the candidate of the right-wing Movement for the Establishment of Democracy in Haiti (MIDH) in the presidential elections of December 1990". Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) refers to Bazin as a "conservative businessperson." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MIDH. Lentz (1991: 359-360) writes, "Bazin supported the coup that ousted Aristide in October of 1991." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as MIDH and identifies the party as center-right.

Years: 1993

Head of Government: Robert Malval

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Hall (Historical Dictionary) indicates that Malval was "an industrialist and business leader" who was appointed "to overcome the animosity between Aristide and the business community" (2016: 169). Malval "reconciled some of Haiti's wealthiest businessmen with Aristide" (2016: 169). Political Handbook (2015) describes Malval as "a wealthy Port-au-Prince businessman [who] had been asked by President Aristide to become the next prime minister". Political Handbook also states that Malval was "characterized as a 'profoundly reluctant public figure'". Harding (1993) writes, "[Malval's Port-au-Prince home], guarded by a private security force, is now a 'safehouse' for politicians associated with Malval and Aristide, given the ongoing threats and unrelenting violence by rightist mobs and members of the Army and police." Aristide is coded as leftist. Perusse (1995: 60) writes, "One proposal [from White House and U.S. Department of State officials] called for Malval to make a speech of reconciliation and declare that he was prepared to expand his cabinet to include elements of Haiti's business and landholding classes that had opposed Aristide's election and supported the military coup which had ousted him from power. Aristide was not aware of these discussions. He learned of the proposed speech only after Malval, who did not like

the idea, sent him a draft copy. Aristide agreed with Malval's objections and vetoed the speech... In an interview on October 3, Malval rejected any expansion of his cabinet and said he would resign if Aristide was not restored to power by the end of the month, as called for by the Governors Island Agreement."

Years: 1994

Head of Government: Smarck Michel

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Hall (Historical Dictionary) states that Michel "devised plans to privatize nine state-owned companies" (2016: 174) and refers to his "desire to implement neoliberal economic reforms" (2016: 265). Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) corroborates, writing, "A new government was named by Michel on November 6 and sworn in November 8, following parliamentary confirmation, being pledged to revitalize the economy, in part by privatizing most large industries."

Years: 1995

Head of Government: Claudette Antoine Werleigh

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen identifies Werleigh's party as the Organisation du People en Lutte, or Struggling People's Organization, which is described as "social-democratic" and "centrist". Perspective monde (2019) identifies party affiliation as Organisation Politique Lavalas (OPL), but for other heads of government codes the Struggling People's Organization as centrist. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify OPL's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.979) in 2006. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify "virtually no visible disagreement" in OPL in 2006.

Years: 1996

Head of Government: Rosny Smarth

Ideology: Center

Description: Perspective Monde (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) identify René Garcia Préval instead of Rosny Smarth as head of government on December 31, 1997. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Hall (Historical Dictionary) states that Smarth "championed a plan for budget austerity" (2016: 238). World Statesmen (2019) and Perspective monde (2019) identify Smarth's party as the Organisation du People en Lutte, or Struggling People's Organization, which is referred to as "social-democratic" by

World Statesmen and “centrist by” both. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify OPL’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.979) in 2006. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in OPL in 2006.

Years: 1997-1998

Head of Government: René Garcia Préval

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective Monde (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) identify René Garcia Préval instead of Rosny Smarth as head of government on December 31, 1997. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Préval’s party as OPL (Organisation Politique Lavalas). DPI does not identify party ideology. While Manzano (2017) identifies Préval as rightist, and Hall (Historical Dictionary) writes that Aristide strongly disliked Préval’s (his prime minister) neoliberal economic policies, and “formed... a party to criticize neoliberalism [as a result]” (2016: 215), other sources suggest otherwise. Perspective Monde codes Préval’s party as the centrist Organisation du Peuple en Lutte (Struggling People’s Organization), World Statesmen identifies Préval’s party at the time as Fanmi Lavalas/Famille Lavalas, which is identified as social-democratic, center-left. Political Handbook (2010) identifies OPL as center-left. Political Handbook also identifies Préval’s party as Fanmi Lavalas. Hall (Historical Dictionary) describes Fanmi Lavalas as socialist. World Statesmen and Perspective Monde also provide information on his past and future party affiliations. Both sources identify him as a member of FNCD (Front National pour le Changement et la Démocratie, National Front for Democracy and Change), and identify FNCD as a center-left party. They also identify him as a member of FLP (Fwon Lespwa, Front de L’espoir, Hope Front) and then of its successor Inite Petriyotik (Patriotic Unity) during his second presidency from 2006-2011. Both parties are leftist by World Statesmen and Perspective Monde. Political Handbook (2015) states that Préval founded FLP in 2006, and describes Inite as pro-Préval. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify OPL’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.979) in 2006.

Years: 1999-2000

Head of Government: Jacques-Édouard Alexis

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Although Perspective Monde codes Alexis’ party as the centrist Organisation du Peuple en Lutte (Struggling People’s Organization), World Statesmen identifies Alexis’s party as Fanmi Lavalas/Famille Lavalas, which is identified as social-democratic, center-left by World Statesmen and socialist by

Hall (Historical Dictionary). Perspective Monde also codes FL as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify FL's ideology as "Left" (-2.131) in 1995 and 2000.

Years: 2001

Head of Government: Jean-Marie Chérestal

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen identifies Chérestal's party as Fanmi

Lavalas/Famille Lavalas, which is identified as social-democratic, center-left.

Perspective Monde corroborates this, coding the party as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify FL's ideology as "Left" (-2.131) in 2000.

Years: 2002-2003

Head of Government: Yvon Neptune

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen identifies Neptune's party as Fanmi Lavalas/Famille Lavalas, which is identified as social-democratic, center-left. Perspective Monde corroborates this, coding the party as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify FL's ideology as "Left" (-2.131) in 2000.

Years: 2004-2005

Head of Government: Gérard Latortue

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. The Political Handbook (2015) states that after being appointed as interim prime minister, Latortue "proceeded to name a largely nonpartisan cabinet". World Statesmen codes Latortue as non-party, and Perspective Monde codes him as an independent. The Political Handbook (2005-2006) states that after his appointment, Latortue "proceeded to name a largely nonpartisan cabinet."

Political Handbook continues, "Aided initially by US forces... Prime Minister Latortue has had to walk a narrow line between the rebels and remaining pockets of Aristide supporters," and as a result, the cabinet he named "consisted largely of technocrats devoid of links to past administrations or the nation's leading political parties." After receiving economic aid from international donors, he stated that the money "would be used to restore the country's infrastructure, support a program of widespread temporary employment, and depoliticize the national police force."

Hall (2012: 155) writes, "On his radio talk shows, [Latortue] was a vocal critic of Jean-Bertrand Aristide and his political philosophy." Aristide is coded as leftist.

Dupuy (2005), writes, "In Latortue's cabinet of 'technocrats,' on the other hand,

the United States had individuals who, like Latortue himself, either lived most of their adult lives outside of Haiti, or were not directly involved in the opposition to Aristide, have no expressed political aspirations beyond their service in the interim government, and are compliant and fully behind the objectives of the United States and its French and Canadian allies in Haiti. These are, in brief, to pacify Haiti and to see to it that the next government will, unlike Aristide's, play by the rules, accept without equivocation the economic policies of the 'Washington Consensus,' and not advocate 'class warfare' by purporting to champion the cause of the poor and downtrodden and attacking the elite and the unequal distribution of wealth and resources." Donais (2009: 754) writes, "This legitimacy crisis stemmed directly from the events surrounding Aristide's demise, which placed the international community, and especially the United States, France, and Canada, in a position not of honest broker, but rather as a party to the ongoing conflict between pro- and anti-Aristide factions. Within this context, Gerard Latortue was named interim Haitian prime minister by an eight-member 'council of eminent persons' backed by the United States, France, and the UN security council, but was never able to shake the impression that he was Washington's man in Port-au-Prince... The Latortue government, in an unsuccessful effort to end the violence, launched a heavy-handed campaign of repression aimed primarily at supporters of Aristide's Lavalas movement, and in the process merely deepened the contempt in which it was held by ordinary Haitians." The LADB (2005) reports, "The US-installed interim government of Gerard Latortue has accused Jean-Juste of inciting violence and harboring armed Aristide supporters." Aristide is coded as leftist.

Years: 2006-2007

Head of Government: Jacques-Édouard Alexis

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen identifies Alexis's party at the time as Fwon Lespwa/Front de L'espoir/Hope Front, which is identified as "democratic socialist" and "left-wing nationalist". Perspective Monde corroborates this, identifying both the same party and the same ideology. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify Lespwa's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.1479) in and "virtually no visible disagreement" within the party in 2006.

Years: 2008

Head of Government: Michele Duvivier Pierre-Louis

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. The Political Handbook (2015) describes Pierre-Louis as "a respected

economist and grassroots advocate for Haiti's poor and youth". The Political Handbook (2015) also mentions, "Her new cabinet contained members of Lespwa, Aristide's FL, and several smaller parties". World Statesmen identifies Lespwa as democratic socialist and left-wing nationalist, and FL (Fanmi Lavalas/Famille Lavalas) as social-democratic and center-left. Perspective Monde identifies FL as center-left and Lespwa as leftist.

Years: 2009-2010

Head of Government: Jean-Max Bellerive

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen codes Bellerive's party as Unite Patriyotik/Patriotic Unity, which is identified as social-democratic, center-left. Perspective Monde identifies Bellerive's party as Fwon Lespwa/Front of Hope, which is coded as left. Perspective Monde also identifies Unite as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify Unite's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.803) in 2010.

Years: 2011

Head of Government: Garry Conille

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Conille as non-party, and Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Conille as an independent. A 2012 New York Times article states that Conille's appointment by then-President Michel Martelly "was seen as an important compromise, endorsed by former President Bill Clinton" between President Martelly and "a Parliament dominated by political opposition." Political Handbook (2015) further describes the polarization between Martelly and Parliament at the time: "President Martelly quickly faced difficulties with the Inite-dominated legislature." This tension is bolstered by World Statesmen's codings of both Martelly and Inite; Martelly is coded as a member of RP (Repons Peyizan, Réponse Paysanne, Peasants' Response) which is coded as center-right, and Inite is coded as center-left. Political Handbook also states, "Prime Minister Conille resigned on February 24, 2012, amid growing tensions between him and legislators and between him and Martelly". At his installation ceremony, according to a Haitian publication called *Haiti Libre*, Conille stated that "the determination to work together beyond the political and ideological divisions combined with the willingness of partners of the international community remains the only guarantee of our success." Ives (2011) writes, "[Conille] then became a protégé of economist Jeffrey Sachs, who runs the liberal Earth Institute at Columbia University in New York. Sachs is often credited as the father of the 'economic shock therapy' that

was applied to formerly Communist countries in Eastern Europe after 1989. The ‘therapy’ involved privatizing publicly owned industries, slashing state payrolls, dismantling trade, price and currency controls, in short, the same neoliberal ‘death plan’ policies which Washington and Paris have sought to apply in Haiti over the past 25 years.”

Years: 2012-2014

Head of Government: Laurent Lamothe

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Keesing’s Record of World Events (2015) states that Lamothe registered himself as the presidential candidate of Repons Peyizan in May of 2015, a political party that World Statesmen (2019) codes as center-right. Political Handbook of the World (2012) describes Repons Peyizan, writing, “This grouping served as the vehicle for the successful 2010-2011 presidential campaign of Michel Martelly, who ran on a populist, right-of-center platform.” Taft-Morales (2015) describes Lamothe as “a close ally of Martelly.”

Years: 2015

Head of Government: Evans Paul

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Paul’s party as “KID+AD”, and identifies AD (Alliance Démocratique “Alyans”, Democratic Alliance) as a center-left coalition that included KID. World Statesmen identifies KID (Kovansyon Inite Dèmokratik, Confédération d’union démocratique, Democratic Unity Confederation) as leftist. Although Perspective Monde (2019) codes Paul’s party as Unite (Unity), it also codes the party as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes, “Paul, who was campaign manager for Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1990, had formerly been the head of the National Front for Change and Democracy (*Front National pour le Changement et la Démocratie*—FNCD), formed in late 1990 as an alliance of more than a dozen left-of-center groups supporting Aristide.” Political Handbook also identifies Paul as the leader of Alternative for Progress and Democracy (Alternativ) in 2010, writing “This coalition was formed prior to the 2010 elections by the OPL, Fusion, and the Convention for Democratic Unity (*Kovansyon Inite Demokratik*—KID), led by Evans Paul, the former mayor of Port-au-Prince.” Political Handbook of the World (2018-2019) identifies Paul’s party affiliation as KID afterwards, identifying him as the leader of the party and writing, “KID was led by Evans Paul, the former mayor of Port-au-Prince. In 2006, the KID had participated in an electoral coalition called the Democratic Alliance

(*Alliance Démocratique*—AD/Alyans)... In the 2015-2016, KID reportedly secured three Senate seats and eight in the Chamber.” In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify KID’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.783) in 2015. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in KID in 2015.

Years: 2016

Head of Government: Enex Jean-Charles

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Jean-Charles as non-party, and Perspective Monde (2019) codes him as independent. According to a piece in the *Jamaica Observer* (2016), he addressed Haitians in a 2016 speech, stating, “In this historical turn of our life as a free and independent people, we must realize that, despite all our political, ideological and socio-cultural differences, there is one thing that we share: Haiti, that piece of land which is our common good”. An 2016 article from the Miami Herald states that Jean-Charles had previously “served as a presidential adviser to several presidents including René Préval and Michel Martelly”. World Statesmen (2019) codes Préval’s parties as FL (Fwon Lespwa, Front de L’espoir, Hope Front) and Inite, and codes both parties as center-left; Martelly’s party is coded as RP (Repons Peyizan, Réponse Paysanne, Peasants’ Response) and codes RP as center-right. Thus, Jean-Charles is likely centrist.

Years: 2017

Head of Government: Jack Guy Lafontant

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2018-2019) identifies Lafontant’s party affiliation as MODELH (Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Haiti). World Statesmen (2019) corroborates Lafontant’s party as MODELH-PRDH (Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Haiti-Revolutionary Democratic Party of Haiti). Taft-Morales (2017) writes, “The legislature then approved the policy agenda presented by Lafontant. Authorities announced they will initially focus on reviving the agricultural sector, rolling out a comprehensive national health care insurance system, bringing alternative energy to Haiti, and infrastructure repair.” A 2017 article in Haiti Liberté talks about the then-newly appointed prime minister Lafontant and his party, stating, “Dr. Lafontant was a supporter of Jovenel Moïse since he launched his presidential campaign under the banner of the Haitian Bald Headed Party (PHTK) in 2015.” Political Handbook of the World (2018-2019) identifies PHTK as center-right, writing, “The center-right PHTK was formed in 2012 and backed President Michael Martelly, Jovenel

MOÏSE was the party's presidential candidate in the October 2015 balloting." World Statesmen (2020) also describes PHTK as rightist, "liberal, center-right." Perspective monde (2020) also identifies PHTK as center-right. However, the Haiti Liberté article continues, "Politically, Dr. Lafontant is the leader of the Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Haiti – Party of Democratic Assembly of Haiti (MODELH-PRDH), founded by social-democratic politician Louis Eugène Athis, who in 1987 in Haiti's southwest was hacked to death by a mob shouting 'Kill the communists!' The party's platform calls for 'a new, more pragmatic society in terms of investment, wealth creation, and national heritage protection, with a more entrepreneurial, progressive private business sector engaged in a dynamic partnership with the public sector to fight corruption, promote economic growth and regionalization, social justice, and the fight against poverty, a society imbued with feelings of equity, solidarity, and ownership-belonging to the country... When asked why he thought the president eschewed the other PM candidates proposed by right-wing Parliamentary allies and chose Dr. Lafontant, who is also the physician for the former president Michel 'Sweet Micky' Martelly, Dr. Charles said: 'Maybe Jovenel has something else in mind that we don't know.'" Heard (2016: 167) writes, "On August 2nd, 1987, 46-year-old founder of the Democratic Movement for Haitian Liberation (MODELH) party, Louis Athis, would be killed in a rural section of Leogane as he prepared for a meeting. Charged by local Duvalierists as a communist, "a group of people armed with machetes, clubs, and rock attacked the MODELH leader."

Years: 2018

Head of Government: Jean Henry Ceant

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies Ceant's party in 2010 as Renmen Ayiti, writing, "The FL was also subsequently barred from participating in the November 2010 elections... Several FL members subsequently registered as presidential candidates of other parties, and many FL leaders endorsed the candidacy of Jean Henry Céant, a prominent lawyer, who finished fourth in the first round of presidential balloting (with 8.18 percent of the vote) as the candidate of the small Renmen Ayiti party." Perspective Monde (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) corroborate party affiliation as Renmen Ayiti and identify FL (Fanmi Lavalas) as leftist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of FL as 1.7. Ives (2018) reports, "'Céant is a consummate opportunist,' explained Henriot Dorcent, a Haitian political analyst... 'Under the dictatorship of Gen. Prosper Avril, he worked closely with lawyer René Julien, who was Céant's mentor and Avril's cousin. But when the political winds

shifted, he joined Aristide and the Lavalas, acting as Aristide's *notaire* and getting jobs for his wife as Aristide's private secretary and his brother in CONATEL. Then he jumped into the Martelly camp, where he headed the project to remove people from their homes in downtown Port-au-Prince after the earthquake without compensating them. When Jovenel came to power, there was a scathing report by Haiti's anti-corruption unit UCREF detailing Jovenel's money-laundering through his business Agritans. Who was the first to jump to Jovenel's defense, saying the excellent report was a fabrication? Jean-Henry Céant!" Prosper Avril is coded as rightist, Jean-Bertrand Aristide is coded as leftist, and Michel Martelly is coded as rightist.

Years: 2019

Head of Government: Jean-Michel Lapin

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde (2020), Rulers (2020), and La Nouvelliste (2020) identify Jean-Michel Lapin instead of Fritz-William Michel as head of government on December 31, 2019. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Lapin's party affiliations as Renmen Ayiti.

Years: 2020

Head of Government: Joseph Jouthe

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Haitian Tèt Kale Party (Parti Haïtien Tèt Kale – PHTK). World Statesmen (2021) identifies party affiliation as RA (Renmen Ayiti, Love Haiti). Perspective monde (2021) identifies party affiliation as independent. Charles (2021) writes, in the wake of Jouthe's resignation, "It remains to be seen whether the United States and others in the international community will pressure [Jovenel] Moïse, who has been reluctant to share power, to establish a dialogue and build a consensus government, one not controlled by him or his own party... Jouthe was appointed prime minister in March 2020 by presidential decree... Tardieu does not believe that Jouthe's resignation, for now, changes anything, as opposition and civil society groups will continue to press for Moïse to resign. 'He was a simple employee of Jovenel Moïse without any political force of his own.'" CHISOLS, World Statesmen, and Perspective monde identify Moïse's party affiliation as PHTK. World Statesmen (2021) and Perspective monde (2021) identify PHTK as liberal and center-right. In

V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PHTK's ideology as "Center-right" (1.59) in 2015. DPI identifies PHTK's ideology as centrist.

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