

## Country: Dominican Republic

Years: 1945-1960

Leader: Rafael Trujillo

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Trujillo's party as PD (Partido Dominicano). Roorda says that Trujillo "courted the friendship of certain neighboring countries under right-wing leadership, while provoking incidents with those under leftist rule" (2016: 296). Haggerty states, "Ideologically, Trujillo leaned toward fascism... Basically, however, Trujillo was not an ideologue, but a Dominican caudillo expanded to monstrous proportions by his absolute control of the nation's resources" (1989). Wien Weibert identifies Trujillo 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). Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PD and identifies the party as rightist.

Year: 1961

Leader: Balaguer

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Balaguer's party as Partido Dominicano (PD). World Statesmen (2019) and Perspective Monde (2019) corroborate this and identify PD as rightist. Lentz (1994: 230) writes, "When Hector Trujillo resigned for reasons of health on August 3, 1960, Balaguer succeeded as president. The Dominican Republic remained firmly under the control of Rafael Trujillo, the leader of the army, however."

Year: 1962

Leader: Filiberto Bonnelly

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Bonnelly's party as Rep (Republican Party). Mullenbach (2019) identifies Bonnelly as chairman of the seven-member provisional Council of State installed after Balaguer relinquished power. Haggerty explains this interim government ruled with a constitution that was seen as "a continuation of the Trujillo constitution, and it was thus unpopular" (1989). Roorda points out that Bonnelly took part in the Revolution of 1930, which was headed by Trujillo (2016: 57, 315). Keesing's Record of World Events (1962) states that Bonnelly "broke completely with 'Trujilloism'" early in 1960, and that Dr. Balaguer, president from 1960 to 1962

according to World Statesmen (1962), “announced that Dr. Bonnelly would become president of the Council” after Balaguer resigns. Balaguer’s party is identified as the Partido Dominicano (PD) by World Statesmen (2019) and Perspective Monde (2019), both of which identify PD as rightist.

Years: 1963-1964

Leader: Cabral

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Cabral’s party as Unión Cívica Nacional (UCN). Manzano (2017) codes the military government in these years as right. Perspective monde (2019) identifies Cabral as part of the Triumvirate, which it identifies as rightist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as UCN. Huber and Stephens (2016: 13) identify UCN as center-right.

Years: 1965

Leader: Godoy

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Godoy’s party as Partido Reformista Social Cristiano (PRSC). Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PRSC and identifies the party as rightist, “center-right”. Lentz (1994: 233) writes, “García Godoy was considered a moderate and was viewed with distrust by both the rebels and the military. He was able to serve as a conciliator, however, and managed to hold the government together until elections could be held.” World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PRSC and identifies the party as conservative and center-right. Huber and Stephens (2016: 13) identify PRSC as center-right. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PRSC’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.996) in 1970.

Years: 1966-1977

Leader: Balaguer

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Balaguer’s party as Partido Reformista Social Cristiano (PRSC). DPI does not identify party ideology. Huber and Stephens (2016: 13) identify party ideology as rightist. Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PRSC and identifies the party as center-right. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PRSC’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.996) in 1970.

Years: 1978-1981

Leader: Guzman Fernandez

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Guzmán's party as PRD (Partido Revolucionario Dominicano). DPI identifies PRD's ideology as leftist. Huber and Stephens concur (2016: 13). Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing, "Founded as a left-democratic grouping by former president Juan Bosch Gaviño in 1939, the PRD has rejected both communism and Castroism but has been critical of U.S. 'imperialism' and 'neo-colonialism.'"

Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PRD but identifies the party as center-right. Lentz (1994: 233) writes, "Guzmán was promoted as provisional president by Bosch and the United States during the civil war in 1965, but his nomination was rejected by rightist military leaders." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PRD and identifies the party as social-democratic and center-left. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PRD's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.464) in 1978.

Years: 1982-1985

Leader: Blanco

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Blanco's party as PRD (Partido Revolucionario Dominicano). DPI identifies PRD's ideology as leftist. Huber and Stephens concur (2016: 13). Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing, "Founded as a left-democratic grouping by former president Juan Bosch Gaviño in 1939, the PRD has rejected both communism and Castroism but has been critical of U.S. 'imperialism' and 'neo-colonialism.'"

Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PRD but identifies the party as center-right. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PRD and identifies the party as social-democratic and center-left. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PRD's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.464) in 1982.

Years: 1986-1995

Leader: Balaguer

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Balaguer's party as PRSC (Partido Reformista Social Cristiano). DPI identifies PRSC's ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing, "The conservative PRSC placed a distant third with 4.59 percent [in the 2008 presidential elections]." Huber and Stephens identify party ideology as Christian rightist (2016: 13). Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PRSC and identifies the party as center-right. In V-

Party (2020), 6 experts identify PRSC's ideology as "Right" (1.828) in 1986 and 1990 and "Right" (1.961) in 1994.

Years: 1996-1999

Leader: Fernandez Reyna

Ideology: center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Fernández's party as PLD (Partido de la Liberación Dominicana). DPI identifies PLD's ideology as centrist. Huber and Stephens concur (2016: 13). Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing, "In March 1991 Bosch stepped down as PLD leader and withdrew from party membership to protest deep-rooted animosity between right- and left-wing factions." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PLD but identifies the party as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PLD and identifies the party as progressive centrist. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PLD's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.418) in 1994 and "Center-right" (0.577) in 1998. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify "negligible visible disagreement" in PLD in 1994 and 1998. Ortiz de Zárate (2020) states, "En diciembre de 1973 Fernández secundó a Bosch en su decisión de separarse del PRD y fundar, el día 15, el Partido de la Liberación Dominicana (PLD), una fuerza originalmente calificada de marxista y antiimperialista, pero que más tarde se deslizó al centro del espectro político, si acaso con concesiones al progresismo social... Sus propuestas económicas no eran muy precisas, pero apuntaban a un liberalismo sin complejos, aunque también inclusivo, según se desprendía de la exhortación a asentar en la República Dominicana un modelo de 'economía social de mercado'... el 30 de junio, en efecto, el peledeísta se impuso con un margen de votos que, sin embargo, fue más exiguo de lo que habría podido colegirse de la unión de fuerzas del centro-derecha: Fernández sacó el 51,2% y Peña el 48,7%... Por otra parte, toda vez que el PLD venía experimentado una derechización en los últimos tiempos, el anuncio del frente con el PRSC podía ser percibido como el afianzamiento de la tendencia, en el partido que un día se había calificado a sí mismo de marxista. El presidente electo [Fernández] insistió en que el PLD mantenía su identidad progresista... [Fernández explicó] que con la política económica no había que 'ideologizar', ya que 'un déficit fiscal no es de derechas ni de izquierdas, sino un problema de gestión.' Su modelo era, insistía, la 'economía social de mercado', binomio que asociaba en un provechoso equilibrio al mercado, en su papel de 'instrumento de asignación de recursos en una economía de libre competencia', y al Estado, como 'garante de una redistribución equitativa de la riqueza creada'." [In December 1973, Fernández supported Bosch in his decision to separate from the PRD and found, on the 15<sup>th</sup>, the Dominican Liberation Party (PLD), a force originally

described as Marxist and anti-imperialist, but which later slipped into the center of the political spectrum, if anything with concessions to social progressivism... [Fernández's] economic proposals were not very precise, but they pointed to an unapologetic liberalism, although also inclusive, according to the exhortation to establish in the Dominican Republic a model of 'social market economy'... on June 30, in effect, the PLD won with a margin of votes that, however, was smaller than what could have been gathered from the union of forces of the center-right: Fernández took 51.2% and Peña 48.7%... On the other hand, since the PLD had experienced a right-wing movement in recent times, the announcement of the front with the PRSC could be perceived as the consolidation of the trend, in the party that one day had described itself as a Marxist. The president-elect [Fernández] insisted that the PLD maintained its progressive identity... [Fernández explained] that with economic policy there was no need to 'ideologize', since 'a fiscal deficit is neither of the right nor of the left, but a management problem'. His model was, he insisted, the 'social market economy', a binomial that associated in a profitable equilibrium the market, in its role as 'resource allocation instrument in an economy of free competition', and the State, as 'guarantor of an equitable redistribution of the wealth created'.]

Years: 2000-2003

Leader: Hipolito Mejia

Ideology: center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Mejía's party as PRD (Partido Revolucionario Dominicano). DPI identifies PRD's ideology as leftist. Huber and Stephens concur (2016: 13). Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing, "Founded as a left-democratic grouping by former president Juan Bosch Gaviño in 1939, the PRD has rejected both communism and Castroism but has been critical of U.S. 'imperialism' and 'neo-colonialism.'"

Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PRD but identifies the party as center-right. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PRD and identifies the party as social-democratic and center-left. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PRD's ideology as "Center" (0.029) in 1998 and "Center" (0.298) in 2002. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify "a high level of disagreement" in PRD in 1998 and 2002. Ortiz de Zárate (2016) states, "Así, Mejía prometió reducir la brecha entre ricos y pobres haciendo llegar a todos los dominicanos los beneficios del *boom* económico de los últimos años... Su gobierno sería de 'rostro humano' y dedicaría al gasto social hasta el 50% del presupuesto. También, adelantó que iba a revisar, sin descartar la renacionalización, algunas de las privatizaciones ejecutadas por el Gabinete peledista... Por otro lado, Mejía era consciente de que los mensajes de contenido social y las sugerencias de

intervencionismo del Estado causaban aprensión en el empresariado, así que dio las oportunas seguridades de que respetaría y prolongaría las reformas promercado impulsadas por el presidente saliente.” [Thus, Mejía promised to reduce the gap between rich and poor by extending to all Dominicans the benefits of the economic boom of recent years... His government would have a ‘human face’ and would dedicate up to 50% of the budget of social spending. He also announced that he was going to review, without ruling out renationalization, some of the privatizations carried out by the PLD Cabinet... On the other hand, Mejía was aware that the messages of social content and the suggestions of interventionism of the State caused apprehension in the business community, so he gave opportune assurances that he would respect and prolong the pro-market reforms promoted by the outgoing president.]

Years: 2004-2011

Leader: Fernandez Reyna

Ideology: center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Fernández’s party as PLD (Partido de la Liberación Dominicana). DPI identifies PLD’s ideology as centrist. Huber and Stephens concur (2016: 13). Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing, “In March 1991 Bosch stepped down as PLD leader and withdrew from party membership to protest deep-rooted animosity between right- and left-wing factions.” Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PLD but identifies the party as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PLD and identifies the party as progressive centrist. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PLD’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.577) in 2002, “Center-right” (0.929) in 2006, and “Center-right” (1.04) in 2010. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify “negligible visible disagreement” in PLD in 2002, 2006, and 2010. Ortiz de Zárate (2020) states, “En diciembre de 1973 Fernández secundó a Bosch en su decisión de separarse del PRD y fundar, el día 15, el Partido de la Liberación Dominicana (PLD), una fuerza originalmente calificada de marxista y antiimperialista, pero que más tarde se deslizó al centro del espectro político, si acaso con concesiones al progresismo social... Sus propuestas económicas no eran muy precisas, pero apuntaban a un liberalismo sin complejos, aunque también inclusivo, según se desprendía de la exhortación a asentar en la República Dominicana un modelo de ‘economía social de mercado’... el 30 de junio, en efecto, el peledeísta se impuso con un margen de votos que, sin embargo, fue más exiguo de lo que habría podido colegirse de la unión de fuerzas del centro-derecha: Fernández sacó el 51,2% y Peña el 48,7%... Por otra parte, toda vez que el PLD venía experimentado una derechización en los últimos tiempos, el anuncio del frente con el PRSC podía ser percibido como el afianzamiento de la

tendencia, en el partido que un día se había calificado a sí mismo de marxista. El presidente electo [Fernández] insistió en que el PLD mantenía su identidad progresista... [Fernández explicó] que con la política económica no había que ‘ideologizar’, ya que ‘un déficit fiscal no es de derechas ni de izquierdas, sino un problema de gestión.’ Su modelo era, insistía, la ‘economía social de mercado’, binomio que asociaba en un provechoso equilibrio al mercado, en su papel de ‘instrumento de asignación de recursos en una economía de libre competencia’, y al Estado, como ‘garante de una redistribución equitativa de la riqueza creada’.” [In December 1973, Fernández supported Bosch in his decision to separate from the PRD and found, on the 15<sup>th</sup>, the Dominican Liberation Party (PLD), a force originally described as Marxist and anti-imperialist, but which later slipped into the center of the political spectrum, if anything with concessions to social progressivism... [Fernández’s] economic proposals were not very precise, but they pointed to an unapologetic liberalism, although also inclusive, according to the exhortation to establish in the Dominican Republic a model of ‘social market economy’... on June 30, in effect, the PLD won with a margin of votes that, however, was smaller than what could have been gathered from the union of forces of the center-right: Fernández took 51.2% and Peña 48.7%... On the other hand, since the PLD had experienced a right-wing movement in recent times, the announcement of the front with the PRSC could be perceived as the consolidation of the trend, in the party that one day had described itself as a Marxist. The president-elect [Fernández] insisted that the PLD maintained its progressive identity... [Fernández explained] that with economic policy there was no need to ‘ideologize’, since ‘a fiscal deficit is neither of the right nor of the left, but a management problem’. His model was, he insisted, the ‘social market economy’, a binomial that associated in a profitable equilibrium the market, in its role as ‘resource allocation instrument in an economy of free competition’, and the State, as ‘guarantor of an equitable redistribution of the wealth created’.]

Years: 2012-2019

Leader: Medina

Ideology: center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World identifies Sánchez’s party as PLD (Partido de la Liberación Dominicana) (2015: 412). DPI identifies PLD’s ideology as centrist. Huber and Stephens concur (2016: 13). Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing, “In March 1991 Bosch stepped down as PLD leader and withdrew from party membership to protest deep-rooted animosity between right- and left-wing factions.” Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PLD but identifies the party as leftist. World Statesmen (2019)

corroborates party affiliation as PLD and identifies the party as progressive centrist. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PLD's ideology as "Center-right" (1.04) in 2010 and "Center-right" (1.161) in 2016. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify "negligible visible disagreement" in PLD in 2010 and "some visible disagreement" in 2016. Ortiz de Zárate (2020) states, "En su programa, Medina destaca el elemento social sobre el liberal, signo que ha dominado la prolongada gestión de Fernández, rica en realizaciones pero también en defectos. Bajo el eslogan del "cambio seguro", que busca refutar a quienes presentan su propuesta como meramente continuista, el flamante mandatario propugna transformar el modelo económico basado en el turismo y las exportaciones para conseguir que el crecimiento sostenido... traiga competitividad, genere empleo digno, llegue a los bolsillos de los dominicanos, aumente el poder adquisitivo y respete el medio ambiente. Crecer como mínimo el 4,5% anual (la tasa registrada en 2011) es uno de sus objetivos junto con una "contundente e irreversible" reducción de la pobreza y las desigualdades sociales." [In his program, Medina highlights the social element over the liberal, a sign that had dominated Fernández's long tenure, rich in achievements but also in defects. Under the slogan of 'safe change', which seeks to refute those who present his proposal as merely continuity, the new president advocates transforming the economic model based on tourism and exports to ensure that the sustained growth... brings competitiveness, generates decent employment, reaches the pockets of Dominicans, increases purchasing power and respects the environment. Growing at least 4.5% per year (the rate registered in 2011) is one of its objectives, together with a 'strong and irreversible' reduction in poverty and social inequalities.]

Years: 2020

Leader: Luis Abinader

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify leader. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Modern Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Moderno – PRM). World Statesmen (2021) corroborates party affiliation as PRM and describes the party as social democratic and reformist. Perspective Monde (2021) corroborates party affiliation as PRM and identifies the party as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015) states, "In October Mejía helped organize 'Convergence for a Better Country,' a meeting of leftist parties and factions of the PRD to discuss countering the ruling PLD. In February 2014 Mejía and Luis ABINADER, a rising political star, proposed formalizing the leftist alliance before the 2016 general election, a move that deepened internal divisions." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 7 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of PRM as 3.5. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PRM's ideology as



“Center” (0.22) in 2016. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify “some visible disagreement” in PRM in 2016. DPI identifies PRM’s ideology as leftist. Ortiz de Zárate (2021) states, “Dos años después, [Abinader e Hipólito Mejía] rompieron con el perredeísmo y fundaron el PRM, al que los comentaristas colocaron en el centroizquierda...” [Two years later, [Abinader and Hipólito Mejía] broke with the PRD and founded the PRM, which the commentators placed in the center-left...]

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