

Country: Uruguay

Years: 1945-1946

Leader: Amézaga

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Amézaga's party as Partido Colorado (PC). Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes PC as leftist, writing, "Founded in 1836 and in power continuously from 1865 to 1958, the urban-based PC emphasized liberal and progressive principles, social welfare, government participation in the economy, and inter-American cooperation." Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PC but identify the party as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PC as leftist from 1942 to 1966. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PC as "progressive center-left." In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PC's ideology as "Right" (1.912) in 1971. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify "a high level of visible disagreement" in PC in 1971.

Years: 1947-1950

Leader: Batlle Berres

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Batlle Berres' party as Partido Colorado (PC). Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes PC as leftist, writing, "Founded in 1836 and in power continuously from 1865 to 1958, the urban-based PC emphasized liberal and progressive principles, social welfare, government participation in the economy, and inter-American cooperation." Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PC but identify the party as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PC as leftist from 1942 to 1966. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PC as "progressive center-left." In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PC's ideology as "Right" (1.912) in 1971. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify "a high level of visible disagreement" in PC in 1971.

Years: 1951-1954

Leader: Martínez Trueba

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Martínez Trueba's party as Partido Colorado (PC). Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes PC as leftist, writing, "Founded in 1836 and in power continuously from 1865 to 1958, the urban-based PC emphasized liberal and progressive principles,

social welfare, government participation in the economy, and inter-American cooperation.” Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PC but identify the party as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PC as leftist from 1942 to 1966. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PC as “progressive center-left.” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PC’s ideology as “Right” (1.912) in 1971. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify “a high level of visible disagreement” in PC in 1971.

Year: 1955

Leader: Batlle Berres

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Batlle Berres’ party as Partido Colorado (PC). Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes PC as leftist, writing, “Founded in 1836 and in power continuously from 1865 to 1958, the urban-based PC emphasized liberal and progressive principles, social welfare, government participation in the economy, and inter-American cooperation.” Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PC but identify the party as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PC as leftist from 1942 to 1966. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PC as “progressive center-left.” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PC’s ideology as “Right” (1.912) in 1971. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify “a high level of visible disagreement” in PC in 1971.

Year: 1956

Leader: Zubiria

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Zubiria’s party as Partido Colorado (PC). Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes PC as leftist, writing, “Founded in 1836 and in power continuously from 1865 to 1958, the urban-based PC emphasized liberal and progressive principles, social welfare, government participation in the economy, and inter-American cooperation.” Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PC but identify the party as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PC as leftist from 1942 to 1966. Lentz (1994: 811) identifies Zubiria’s party affiliation more specifically as the Batllista faction of the Colorado party. Batlle Berres is coded as leftist. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PC as “progressive center-left.” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PC’s ideology as “Right” (1.912) in 1971. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify “a high level of visible disagreement” in PC in 1971.

Year: 1957

Leader: Lezama

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Lezama's party as Partido Colorado (PC). Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes PC as leftist, writing, "Founded in 1836 and in power continuously from 1865 to 1958, the urban-based PC emphasized liberal and progressive principles, social welfare, government participation in the economy, and inter-American cooperation." Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PC but identify the party as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PC as leftist from 1942 to 1966. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PC as "progressive center-left." In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PC's ideology as "Right" (1.912) in 1971. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify "a high level of visible disagreement" in PC in 1971.

Year: 1958

Leader: Fisher

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Fisher's party as Partido Colorado (PC). Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes PC as leftist, writing, "Founded in 1836 and in power continuously from 1865 to 1958, the urban-based PC emphasized liberal and progressive principles, social welfare, government participation in the economy, and inter-American cooperation." Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PC but identify the party as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PC as leftist from 1942 to 1966. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PC as "progressive center-left." In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PC's ideology as "Right" (1.912) in 1971. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify "a high level of visible disagreement" in PC in 1971.

Year: 1959

Leader: Echegoyen

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Echegoyen's party as Partido Nacional (PN). Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes the PN as "traditionally representing conservative, rural, and clerical elements but now largely progressive in outlook." Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PN and identify the party as rightist, "center-right/conservative". Lentz (1994: 811) identifies party affiliation as the Blanco Democratic Union. The CIA (1965) identifies the Blanco Democratic

Union (UBD) as conservative and as a faction of the Blanco party. Lentz identifies the Blanco party as conservative. Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) and the CIA (1965) identify the Blanco party and Partido Nacional as the same party. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PN as rightist. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PN as “traditional right-of-center.” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PN’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.538) in 1971.

Year: 1960

Leader: Nardone

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Nardone’s party as Partido Nacional (PN). Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes the PN as “traditionally representing conservative, rural, and clerical elements but now largely progressive in outlook.” Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PN and identify the party as rightist, “center-right/conservative”. Lentz (1994: 812) identifies party affiliation as the Blanco party, which he identifies as conservative. Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) and the CIA (1965) identify the Blanco party and Partido Nacional as the same party. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PN as rightist. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PN as “traditional right-of-center.” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PN’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.538) in 1971.

Year: 1961

Leader: Haedo

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Haedo’s party as Partido Nacional (PN). Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes the PN as “traditionally representing conservative, rural, and clerical elements but now largely progressive in outlook.” Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PN and identify the party as rightist, “center-right/conservative”. Lentz (1994: 811) identifies party affiliation as the Blanco Democratic Union. The CIA (1965) identifies the Blanco Democratic Union (UBD) as conservative and as a faction of the Blanco party. Lentz identifies the Blanco party as conservative. Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) and the CIA (1965) identify the Blanco party and Partido Nacional as the same party. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PN as rightist. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PN as “traditional right-of-center.” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PN’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.538) in 1971.

Year: 1962

Leader: Harrison

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Harrison's party as Partido Nacional (PN). Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes the PN as "traditionally representing conservative, rural, and clerical elements but now largely progressive in outlook." Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PN and identify the party as rightist, "center-right/conservative". Lentz (1994: 812) clarifies party affiliation as the "ruralist faction of the Nationalist party." Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PN as rightist. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PN as "traditional right-of-center." In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PN's ideology as "Center-right" (0.538) in 1971.

Year: 1963

Leader: Crespo

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Crespo's party as Partido Nacional (PN). Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes the PN as "traditionally representing conservative, rural, and clerical elements but now largely progressive in outlook." Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PN and identify the party as rightist, "center-right/conservative". Lentz (1994: 811) identifies party affiliation as the Blanco Democratic Union. The CIA (1965) identifies the Blanco Democratic Union (UBD) as conservative and as a faction of the Blanco party. Lentz identifies the Blanco party as conservative. Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) and the CIA (1965) identify the Blanco party and Partido Nacional as the same party. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PN as rightist. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PN as "traditional right-of-center." In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PN's ideology as "Center-right" (0.538) in 1971.

Year: 1964

Leader: Giannattasio

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Giannattasio's party as Partido Nacional (PN). Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes the PN as "traditionally representing conservative, rural, and clerical elements but now largely progressive in outlook." Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PN and identify the party as rightist, "center-right/conservative." Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PN as rightist. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PN as "traditional right-of-

center.” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PN’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.538) in 1971.

Year: 1965

Leader: Beltran

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Beltran’s party as Partido Nacional (PN). Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes the PN as “traditionally representing conservative, rural, and clerical elements but now largely progressive in outlook.” Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PN and identify the party as rightist, “center-right/conservative”. Lentz (1994: 812-813) identifies party affiliation as the Blanco Democratic Union. The CIA (1965) identifies Beltrán as being “from the moderate Blanco Democratic Union (UBD),” identifying the UBD as a faction of the Blanco party. Lentz identifies the Blanco party as conservative. Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) and the CIA (1965) identify the Blanco party and Partido Nacional as the same party. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PN as rightist. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PN as “traditional right-of-center.” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PN’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.538) in 1971.

Year: 1966

Leader: Heber Usher

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Heber Usher’s party as Partido Nacional (PN). Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes the PN as “traditionally representing conservative, rural, and clerical elements but now largely progressive in outlook.” Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PN and identify the party as rightist, “center-right/conservative”. Lentz (1994: 813) identifies party affiliation as the Blanco party, which he identifies as conservative. Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) and the CIA (1965) identify the Blanco party and Partido Nacional as the same party. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PN as rightist. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PN as “traditional right-of-center.” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PN’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.538) in 1971.

Years: 1967-1971

Leader: Pacheco Areco

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Pacheco Areco’s party as Partido Colorado (PC). However, Political Handbook of the World

(2015) describes PC as leftist, writing, “Founded in 1836 and in power continuously from 1865 to 1958, the urban-based PC emphasized liberal and progressive principles, social welfare, government participation in the economy, and inter-American cooperation.” *Perspective monde* (2019) and *World Statesmen* (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PC but identify the party as centrist. Lentz (1994: 813) writes, “Pacheco declared a state of siege to combat the activities of the leftist Tupamaro guerillas.” Hudson and Medtitz (1990) write, “Within one week of taking office, Pacheco issued a decree banning the PSU and other leftist groups and their press, which he accused of subverting the constitutional order and advocating armed struggle. To implement the new monetarist policy adopted in 1968, Pacheco appointed Alejandro Végh Villegas as director of the Office of Planning and Budget.” The authors also refer to his economic program as a “free market, monetarist experiment.” Finally, the authors discuss Végh’s ideology in particular, writing, “Végh hoped to dismantle the protectionist structure of the economy; free the banking and financial communities from the restraints under which they operated; cut the budget, especially social spending; reduce state employment; and sell off most of the state enterprises.” In *V-Party* (2020), 6 experts identify PC’s ideology as “Right” (1.912) in 1971.

Years: 1972-1975

Leader: Bordaberry

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Bordaberry’s party affiliation as none. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (2019a) states that Bordaberry’s party was Partido Colorado (PC). However, *Political Handbook of the World* (2015) describes PC as leftist, writing, “Founded in 1836 and in power continuously from 1865 to 1958, the urban-based PC emphasized liberal and progressive principles, social welfare, government participation in the economy, and inter-American cooperation.” *Perspective monde* (2019) and *World Statesmen* (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PC but identify the party as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PC as centrist from 1971 to 1999. Lentz (1994: 813) writes, “Bordaberry entered politics in the 1950s as a member of the Nationalist party. He was elected to the Senate in 1962 and succeeded Benito Nardone as a leader of the rural faction of the Nationalists in 1964.” Sometime between 1969 and 1971, Bordaberry “joined the Colorado party and was elected president in November of 1971.” As president, “Bordaberry continued his predecessor’s policy of repression against leftist Tupamaro guerillas, who were waging a violent campaign against the government.” Hudson and Medtitz (1990) clarify Bordaberry’s party affiliation, writing, “[Bordaberry] ran as a Colorado, but he had been active in Nardone’s Ruralist movement and had been elected to the Senate as a representative of the National

Party. Bordaberry's narrow victory forced him to seek the support of other political parties. He found it in Mario Aguerrondo's Herrerist faction of the National Party and in the Colorado Party's Unity and Reform, led by Jorge Batlle Ibáñez, a son of Luis Batlle Berres, who had founded the faction." Hudson and Meditz discuss Unity and Reform: "Unity and Reform also took charge of economic policy by implementing a five-year development plan inspired by neoliberal (free market) and monetarist policies, which would slowly open the economy to greater influence from financial and commercial groups, as well as to foreign investment." The authors also discuss the military government's economic program in particular at the time, writing, "The principle architect of the program was Harvard-trained Alejandro Végh Villegas, who had served as minister of economy and finance from 1974 to 1976. Végh hoped to dismantle the protectionist structure of the economy; free the banking and financial communities from the restraints under which they operated; cut the budget, especially social spending; reduce state employment; and sell off most of the state enterprises." In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PC's ideology as "Right" (1.912) in 1971.

Years: 1976-1980

Leader: Mendez Manfredini

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Méndez Manfredini's party as none. Di Tella (2004: 116) identifies Manfredini's party as PC (Partido Colorado), writing, "Aparicio Méndez, a Colorado lawyer." Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PC's ideology as centrist at that time. Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes PC as leftist, writing, "Founded in 1836 and in power continuously from 1865 to 1958, the urban-based PC emphasized liberal and progressive principles, social welfare, government participation in the economy, and inter-American cooperation." However, Perspective monde (2019), World Statesmen (2019), and Heath-Brown (2016: 1443) identify party affiliation as Partido Nacional (PN) and identify the party as rightist, "center-right/conservative". Lentz (1994: 814) also identifies party affiliation as PN. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PN as "traditional right-of-center." Hudson and Meditz (1990) write, "Three months later, Demichelli was succeeded by Aparicio Méndez (1976-81), who essentially decreed the political prohibition of all individuals who had participated in the 1966 and 1971 elections. Political life thus came to a halt." The Statesman's Yearbook 2016 describes Mendez Manfredini as a "civilian president under military rule." Manzano (2017) identifies the military in power from 1976 to 1980 as rightist. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PC's ideology as "Right" (1.912) in 1971.

Years: 1981-1984

Leader: Alvarez Armelino

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Álvarez Armelino's party affiliation as none. Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture (2008) states that Álvarez was popularized by the press "including that of the Left" as "a commanding officer with a nationalist orientation and sympathies toward the leftist militarism of Peruvian General Juan Velasco Alvarado". HoG codes Juan Velasco Alvarado as leftist. However, Manzano (2017) codes Álvarez Armelino as rightist. Hudson and Meditz (1990) write, under Armelino, "The 1982 Political Parties Law was enacted to regulate the election of political leaders, the functioning of political conventions, and the preparation of political platforms. Its aim was the controlled regeneration and democratization of the political system, but it excluded the left to avoid a return to the situation prior to 1973."

Years: 1985-1989

Leader: Sanguinetti

Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as centrist. CHISOLS identifies Sanguinetti's party as Partido Colorado (PC). However, Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes PC as leftist, writing, "Founded in 1836 and in power continuously from 1865 to 1958, the urban-based PC emphasized liberal and progressive principles, social welfare, government participation in the economy, and inter-American cooperation." Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PC and identify the party as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PC as centrist from 1971 to 1999. Lentz (1994: 815) writes that Sanguinetti "became the leader of the Colorado party in 1981 and was instrumental in negotiations that led to the return of democratic rule in Uruguay." Lentz continues, "He completed his term of office on March 1, 1990, but remained the leader of the Colorado party." Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PC as "progressive center-left." Hudson and Meditz (1990) write, "The Sanguinetti government pursued a moderate and pragmatic approach to the nation's problems." In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PC's ideology as "Center-right" (1.011) in 1984 and "Center-right" (1.309) in 1989. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify "a high level of visible disagreement" in PC in 1984 and 1989.

Years: 1990-1994

Leader: Lacalle de Herrera

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Lacalle de Herrera's party as Partido Nacional (PN). Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes the PN as "traditionally representing conservative, rural, and clerical elements but now largely progressive in outlook." Political Handbook also describes Lacalle as "the Blanco right-wing candidate" and "the candidate of the party's right-wing." Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PN and identify the party as rightist, "center-right/conservative". Lentz (1994: 815) corroborates party affiliation as PN and writes that Lacalle "headed a coalition government which included members of the Colorado party." Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PN as center-right. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PN as "traditional right-of-center." In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PN's ideology as "Center-right" (1.587) in 1989 and "Center-right" (1.389) in 1994.

Years: 1995-1999

Leader: Sanguinetti

Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as centrist. CHISOLS identifies Sanguinetti's party as Partido Colorado (PC). However, Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes PC as leftist, writing, "Founded in 1836 and in power continuously from 1865 to 1958, the urban-based PC emphasized liberal and progressive principles, social welfare, government participation in the economy, and inter-American cooperation." Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PC and identify the party as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PC as centrist from 1971 to 1999. Lentz (1994: 815) writes that Sanguinetti "became the leader of the Colorado party in 1981 and was instrumental in negotiations that led to the return of democratic rule in Uruguay." Lentz continues, "He completed his term of office on March 1, 1990, but remained the leader of the Colorado party." Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PC as "progressive center-left." In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PC's ideology as "Center-right" (0.995) in 1994 and "Center-right" (1.063) in 1999. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify "some visible disagreement" in PC in 1994 and 1999.

Years: 2000-2004

Leader: Jorge Batlle

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Jorge Batlle's party as Partido Colorado (PC). However, Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes PC as leftist, writing, "Founded in 1836 and in power continuously from 1865 to 1958, the urban-based PC emphasized liberal and progressive principles,

social welfare, government participation in the economy, and inter-American cooperation.” *Perspective monde* (2019) and *World Statesmen* (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PC but identify the party as centrist. *Derbyshire and Derbyshire* (2016: 117) identify PC as “progressive center-left.” In the *Global Party Survey* 2019, 15 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of PC as 7.3. Hudson and Meditz (1990) describe the Batlle Ibáñez’s policy stances when running against the National Party’s Lacalle in 1989, writing, “Whereas the Colorado Party emphasized the role of the government in promoting the national welfare, the National Party focused on Uruguay’s people and society as being primarily responsible for their own destiny. The more controversial issues included ‘privatization’ state enterprises—such as the telephone company and ports—and the extension of university education to the interior. Both Batlle Ibáñez and Lacalle advocated reducing the state’s economic role, seeking foreign investment, and taking on the leftist-led unions. One difference was that Batlle Ibáñez favored paying the country’s foreign debt, whereas Lacalle favored renegotiating it. In a televised debate in October 1989, Batlle Ibáñez repeatedly noted their agreement on issues, while Lacalle distanced himself from his opponent, thereby apparently outscoring him.” Hudson and Meditz also identify Batlle Ibáñez as having led the Colorado Party’s Unity and Reform faction, which, under Bordaberry, “took charge of economic policy by implementing a five-year development plan inspired by neoliberal (free market) and monetarist principles, which would slowly open the economy to greater influence from financial and commercial groups, as well as to foreign investment.” In *V-Party* (2020), 6 experts identify PC’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.063) in 1999 and “Center-right” (1.058) in 2004.

Years: 2005-2009

Leader: Tabare Vazquez

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Vázquez Rosas’ party as Frente Amplio (FA). *Political Handbook of the World* (2015) identifies Vázquez as leftist, describing his administration’s ideology as moderate-left and writing, “President Vázquez was inaugurated on March 1, 2005, and appointed the country’s first leftist cabinet on March 2.” *Political Handbook* identifies Vázquez’s party as the alliance Encuentra Progresista—Frente Amplio (EP-FA) and describes it as left-wing. *Political Handbook* also describes the FA as “originally a Communist-led formation of 11 members.” *Perspective monde* (2019) corroborates party affiliation as EP-FA and identifies the party as leftist. *World Statesmen* (2019) corroborates party affiliation as FA and identifies the party as leftist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify Frente Amplio- Encuentro Progresista- Nueva Mayoría as center-left. *Derbyshire and Derbyshire* (2016: 117) identify EP as left-wing. In *V-*

Party (2020), 6 experts identify FA's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.344) in 2004 and "Center-left" (-1.354) in 2009.

Years: 2010-2014

Leader: Jose Mujica

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2015) identifies Mujica Cordano's party as Frente Amplio (FA). Lansford (2015) identifies Mujica Cordano's party as Encuentro Progresista—Frente Amplio (EP-FA) and writes that Mujica pledged "to maintain the moderate-left ideology of the preceding administration." Perspective monde (2019) identifies party affiliation as Movimiento de Participación Popular (MPP), a party included in the Frente Amplio coalition, and identifies the party as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies party affiliation as FA and identifies the party as leftist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify Frente Amplio- Encuentro Progresista- Nueva Mayoría as center-left. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify EP as left-wing. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify FA's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.354) in 2009 and 2014.

Years: 2015-2019

Leader: Tabare Vasquez

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Encyclopedia Britannica (2019b) identifies Rosas' party as Frente Amplio (FA). DPI and Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify FA's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies Vázquez as leftist, describing his administration's ideology as moderate-left and writing, "President Vázquez was inaugurated on March 1, 2005, and appointed the country's first leftist cabinet on March 2." Political Handbook identifies Vázquez's party as the alliance Encuentra Progresista—Frente Amplio (EP-FA) and describes it as left-wing. Political Handbook also describes the FA as "originally a Communist-led formation of 11 members." Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as FA and identify the party as leftist. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify EP as left-wing. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify FA's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.354) in 2014 and "Center-left" (-1.076) in 2019.

Years: 2020

Leader: Luis Pou

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify leader. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as National Party (Partido Nacional – PN). World Statesmen (2021) and Perspective monde (2021) corroborate party affiliation as PN and identify the party as “center-right/conservative”. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PN’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.268) in 2019. DPI identifies PN’s ideology as rightist.

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