

Country: El Salvador

Years: 1945-1947

Head of Government: Salvador Castaneda Castro

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Castaneda Castro's party affiliation as none. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Castaneda Castro's party as Partido de Unificación Social Demócrata (PUSD). Williams and Walter (1997: 21) state that Castaneda believed that El Salvador needed "a regime of renovation and evolution, committed to change but within reasonable limits and without harming the interests of those who already had a stake in society".

Haggerty (1988) indicates Castaneda Castro was rightist, writing "Fearing some action against him and his conservative followers, Castaneda sought to weed out young reform-minded officers by dispatching them abroad for training".

Armstrong describes Castaneda as the "new man" of the "pro-Martínez forces", referring to Maximiliano Hernández Martínez, who is continually implied to be rightist in Armstrong's book (1982). For example, Armstrong describes a tension between Martínez and the Community party after the coup that brought Martínez to power: "The situation is ripe for communism and the communists seem to have found that out... The authorities seem to realize that the situation is dangerous and are quite alert in their fight against communistic influences" (27). In addition, "As the fascists rose to power in Europe, Martínez flirted with them and their ideas" (31). After an uprising that tried to overthrow him, Martinez is described as "determined to destroy the alliance of workers and peasants that lay behind [it]" (31). After Castaneda's election, the book states that "pro-Martínez forces" succeeded in jailing labor leaders and exiling reformers (36). Given that Martinez was rightist, Castaneda was likely rightist as well.

Years: 1948-1949

Head of Government: [Collective Body]

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party. World Statesmen (2019) identifies members of the Revolutionary Council as Manuel de Jesús Córdova Rodríguez, Óscar Osorio Hernández, Reynaldo Galindo Pohl, José Óscar Adán Bolaños Estrada and Humberto Costa. Encyclopedia Britannica (2019) states that a revolt and subsequent junta headed by Oscar Osorio overthrew the former government. Óscar Osorio Hernández later goes on to be the sole head of government and is identified as a rightist. Lentz (1994: 254) identifies Córdova as "president of the ruling military junta on December 17, 1948,

following the ouster of President Salvador Castañeda Castro. Córdova resigned from the junta on January 4, 1949 and was replaced by Major Oscar Osorio.” Lentz continues, “Osorio stepped down on October 22, 1949, to campaign for the presidency. He was the nominee of the Democratic Unity party in elections in 1950.” Huber and Stephens (2016: 16) identify the Democratic Unity party as rightist. According to Lentz (1994), Oscar Bolanos “became president of the junta following the resignation of Major Oscar Osorio on October 22, 1949. Bolanos continued to lead the government during elections the following year. He relinquished his duties to Osorio, the election victor, on September 14, 1950.”

Years: 1950-1955

Head of Government: Óscar Osorio Hernández

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Osorio’s party as Partido Revolucionario de Unificación Democrática (PRUD). DPI does not identify party ideology. Huber and Stephens (2016:14) identify PRUD’s ideology as rightist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PRUD.

Years: 1956-1959

Head of Government: José María Lemus López

Ideology: rightist

Description: World Statesmen (2019) and Rulers (2019) identify a collective body, the Junta of Government consisting of Miguel Ángel Castillo, Fabio Castillo Figueroa, Ricardo Falla Cáceres, René Fortín Magaña, Rubén Alonso Rosales Soriano, and César Yanes Urías instead of José María Lemus López as the head of government on December 31, 1960. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Lemus’ party as Partido Revolucionario de Unificación Democrática (PRUD). DPI does not identify party ideology. Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify PRUD’s ideology as rightist. Lentz (1994: 254) writes, “Lemus was ousted by a coup on October 26, 1960, and replaced by a military-civilian coalition.” World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PRUD.

Years: 1960

Head of Government: [Collective Body]

Ideology: leftist

Description: World Statesmen (2019) and Rulers (2019) identify a collective body, the Junta of Government consisting of Miguel Ángel Castillo, Fabio Castillo Figueroa, Ricardo Falla Cáceres, René Fortín Magaña, Rubén Alonso Rosales Soriano, and César Yanes Urías instead of José María Lemus López as the head of government on December 31, 1960. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS

identifies Castillo's party as none. Lentz (1994: 255) identifies the junta as leftist, writing, "Colonel Castillo was chosen to lead the subsequent leftist military-civilian junta on October 26, 1960."

Years: 1961

Head of Government: [Collective Body]

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Civic-Military Directory leaders as Aníbal Portillo Gonzalez, Feliciano Avelar, José Antonio Rodríguez Porth, José Francisco Valiente, Julio Adalberto Rivera Carballo, and Mariano Castro Morán. BBC (2018) states that this collective body was dominated by the rightist National Conciliation Party. Carballo later goes on to be the sole head of government and is identified as a rightist. Lentz (1994: 255) identifies Aníbal Portillo as "president of the ruling Civil-Military Directorate on January 25, 1961."

Years: 1962-1966

Head of Government: Julio Adalberto Rivera Carballo

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Rivera's party as Partido de Conciliación Nacional (PCN). DPI does not identify party ideology. Huber and Stephens (2016: 15) identify PCN's ideology as rightist. Manzano (2017) codes Rivera as right. Lentz (1994: 255) writes, "Rivera was the leader of the coup that ousted the ruling leftist military-civilian junta in January of 1961. He served on the ruling Civil-Military Directorate for several months before resigning to lead the National Conciliation party (PCN)." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PCN and identifies the party as center-right. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PCN's ideology as "Right" (2.121) in 1970.

Years: 1967-1971

Head of Government: Fidel Sánchez Hernández

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Sánchez Hernández's party as Partido de Conciliación Nacional (PCN). DPI does not identify party ideology. Huber and Stephens (2016:15) identify PCN's ideology as rightist. Manzano (2017) codes Sánchez as right. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PCN and identifies the party as center-right. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PCN's ideology as "Right" (2.121) in 1970.

Years: 1972-1976

Head of Government: Arturo Armando Molina Barraza

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Molina's party as Partido de Conciliación Nacional (PCN). DPI and Huber and Stephens (2016: 15) identify PCN's ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2012) elaborates, mentioning "the allied conservative forces of Arena, the Christian Democrats, and the PCN." Political Handbook also writes, "Over the years, however, [PCN] became increasingly conservative, serving the interests of the leading families and the military establishment." Manzano (2017) codes Molina as right. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PCN and identifies the party as center-right. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PCN's ideology as "Right" (2.121) in 1972, "Right" (2.155) in 1974, and "Right" (2.152) in 1976.

Years: 1977-1978

Head of Government: Carlos Humberto Romero Mena

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Romero Mena's party as Partido de Conciliación Nacional (PCN). DPI and Huber and Stephens (2016: 15) identify PCN's ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2012) elaborates, mentioning "the allied conservative forces of Arena, the Christian Democrats, and the PCN." Political Handbook also writes, "Over the years, however, [PCN] became increasingly conservative, serving the interests of the leading families and the military establishment." Manzano (2017) codes Romero as right. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PCN and identifies the party as center-right. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PCN's ideology as "Right" (2.152) in 1976 and 1978.

Years: 1979

Head of Government: [Collective Body]

Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party. Di Tella (2004: 122) describes this ruling junta as composed of the reformist sector of the armed forces, incorporating "Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, and even Communist sympathizers". Haggerty (1988) describes Colonel Adolfo Arnoldo Majano Ramos as "the officer who headed the reformist faction within the officer corps", and Colonel Jaime Abdul Gutierrez as the other prominent officer in the junta. Haggerty mentions that Colonel Guillermo Garcia, the defense minister who headed the conservative faction of the junta, "worked to undermine the reformists by excluding Majano's followers from key commands and positions" and was "abetted by Gutierrez". This implies that Gutierrez was part of the conservative

faction, making the junta centrist. Lentz (1994: 257) corroborates both individuals' ideologies, writing, "Majano was considered the most liberal member of the ruling junta," and "Gutierrez was considered the most conservative member of the junta."

Years: 1980-1981

Head of Government: José Napoleón Duarte Fuentes

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Duarte's party as Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC). DPI does not identify party ideology.

Huber and Stephens identify PDC's ideology as leftist (2016: 15). Manzano (2017) codes Duarte as left. DPI and Lansford (2015) identify PDC's ideology as centrist, the latter writing "An essentially centrist grouping, the PDC [...]". Political Handbook of the World (2012) elaborates, writing, "announcement of the 1972 results provoked an unsuccessful coup by leftist forces, in the wake of which their candidate, José Napoleón Duarte Fuentes, was exiled." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PDC, but identifies the party as centrist. Lentz (1994: 257) writes, "Duarte again became involved in politics in 1960 when he helped form the Christian Democratic party (PDC)." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PDC. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PDC's ideology as "Center-right" (1.287) in 1970. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify "a high level of visible disagreement" in PDC in 1970. Ortiz de Zárate (2016) states, "Su irrupción en la escena política nacional se produjo en noviembre de 1960 como miembro fundador del Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC), nacido con el propósito de ocupar el nicho ideológico del centro reformista..." [His irruption on the national political scene took place in November 1960 as a founding member of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC), born with the purpose of occupying the ideological niche of the reformist center...]. Pace (1990) writes, "Jose Napoleon Duarte, the former President of El Salvador who oversaw a shaky experiment in centrist civilian government after nearly a century of military rule... In the 1960's and 1970's he seemed to personify the hope that a middle ground could be found in easing the nation's perennial strife... He was drawn into politics in 1960 by a group that sought a middle ground between Communism and military totalitarianism. It was then that he helped found his party."

Years: 1982-1983

Head of Government: Álvaro Alfredo Magaña Borja

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Magaña Borja's party affiliation as none. Haggarty (1988) describes him as "moderate independent", and rulers.org states that Magaña "established himself as a respected

public figure without becoming attached to any political faction.” The Political Handbook of the World (multiple editions) also describes Magaña as an independent. Perez (2016: 46) seems to identify his party as the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA), writing, “The junta’s governance soon after elapsed, allowing ARENA to appoint Alvaro Magaña interim president.” Perez (2016: 22), World Statesmen (2019), and Huber and Stephens (2016) all identify ARENA as conservative; Perez (2016) repeatedly refers to ARENA as right. However, Perez also writes, “Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA) leader Roberto D’Aubuisson accused the military of promoting the presidency of Alvaro Magaña over their candidate, despite Magaña winning not a single oppositional vote.” Furthermore, “During his administration, Magaña’s ministers were drawn from both the Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC) and the Partido de Conciliación Nacional (PCN), while ARENA remained in opposition.” Perspective Monde identifies PDC as centrist. World Statesmen identifies PCN as center-right. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of PDC as 5.8 and of PCN as 8.2.

Years: 1984-1988

Head of Government: José Napoleón Duarte Fuentes

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Duarte’s party as Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC). DPI and Lansford (2015) identify PDC’s ideology as centrist, the latter writing “An essentially centrist grouping, the PDC [...]”. ‘Centrist’, however, here may be meant as opposed to the country’s left- and right-wing forces, and Huber and Stephens (2016: 15) identify party ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2012) also writes “announcement of the 1972 results provoked an unsuccessful coup by leftist forces, in the wake of which their candidate, José Napoleón Duarte Fuentes, was exiled.” Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PDC, but identifies the party as centrist. Lentz (1994: 257) writes, “Duarte again became involved in politics in 1960 when he helped form the Christian Democratic party (PDC).” World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PDC. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PDC’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.287) in 1982, 1985, and 1988. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify “a high level of visible disagreement” in PDC in 1982, 1985, and 1988. Ortiz de Zárate (2016) states, “Su irrupción en la escena política nacional se produjo en noviembre de 1960 como miembro fundador del Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC), nacido con el propósito de ocupar el nicho ideológico del centro reformista...” [His irruption on the national political scene took place in November 1960 as a founding member of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC), born with the purpose of occupying the ideological niche of the reformist center...]

Pace (1990) writes, “Jose Napoleon Duarte, the former President of El Salvador who oversaw a shaky experiment in centrist civilian government after nearly a century of military rule... In the 1960’s and 1970’s he seemed to personify the hope that a middle ground could be found in easing the nation’s perennial strife... He was drawn into politics in 1960 by a group that sought a middle ground between Communism and military totalitarianism. It was then that he helped found his party.”

Years: 1989-1993

Head of Government: Alfredo Félix Cristiani Burkard

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Cristiani’s party as Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA). DPI and Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify ARENA’s ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2012) elaborates, writing, “The Arena party was launched in 1981 as an outgrowth of the Broad National Front (Frente Amplio Nacional- FAN), an extreme right-wing grouping organized a year earlier by ex-army major Roberto d’Aubuisson.” Political Handbook also mentions “the allied conservative forces of Arena, the Christian Democrats, and the PCN.” Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ARENA and identifies the party as rightist. Lentz (1994: 258) identifies both Cristiani and ARENA as rightist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ARENA and identifies the party as conservative. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify ARENA’s ideology as “Far-right” (3.485) in 1988 and “Right” (2.522) in 1991.

Years: 1994-1998

Head of Government: Armando Calderón Sol

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Calderon Sol’s party as Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA). DPI and Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify ARENA’s ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2012) elaborates, writing, “The Arena party was launched in 1981 as an outgrowth of the Broad National Front (Frente Amplio Nacional- FAN), an extreme right-wing grouping organized a year earlier by ex-army major Roberto d’Aubuisson.” Political Handbook also mentions “the allied conservative forces of Arena, the Christian Democrats, and the PCN.” Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ARENA and identifies the party as rightist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ARENA and identifies the party as conservative. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify ARENA’s ideology as “Right” (2.522) in 1994 and 1997.

Years: 1999-2003

Head of Government: Francisco Guillermo Flores Pérez

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Flores' party as Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA). DPI and Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify ARENA's ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2012) elaborates, writing, "The Arena party was launched in 1981 as an outgrowth of the Broad National Front (Frente Amplio Nacional- FAN), an extreme right-wing grouping organized a year earlier by ex-army major Roberto d'Aubuisson." Political Handbook also mentions "the allied conservative forces of Arena, the Christian Democrats, and the PCN." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ARENA and identifies the party as rightist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ARENA and identifies the party as conservative. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify ARENA's ideology as "Right" (2.522) in 1997 and 2000 and "Right" (1.931) in 2003.

Years: 2004-2008

Head of Government: Elías Antonio Saca González

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Saca González's party as Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA). DPI and Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify ARENA's ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2012) elaborates, writing, "The Arena party was launched in 1981 as an outgrowth of the Broad National Front (Frente Amplio Nacional- FAN), an extreme right-wing grouping organized a year earlier by ex-army major Roberto d'Aubuisson." Political Handbook also mentions "the allied conservative forces of Arena, the Christian Democrats, and the PCN." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ARENA and identifies the party as rightist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as ARENA and identifies the party as conservative. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify ARENA's ideology as "Right" (1.931) in 2003 and 2006.

Years: 2009-2013

Head of Government: Carlos Mauricio Funes Cartagena

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World identifies Funes Cartagena's party as Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) DPI and Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify FMLN's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the

World (2012) corroborates, mentioning “the left-wing FMLN”. However, Political Handbook also seems to indicate that Funes Cartagena was more moderate than most of his party, writing, “President Funes, who promoted a moderate, business-friendly agenda, had disagreements with the FLMN, which largely maintained its traditional leftist position in the assembly”. Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as FMLN and identify the party as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify FLMN’s ideology as “Left” (-1.919) in 2009 and “Center-left” (-1.297) in 2012.

Years: 2014-2018

Head of Government: Salvador Sánchez Cerén

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Lansford (2015: 441) identifies Cerén’s party as Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN). DPI and Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify FMLN’s ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2012) corroborates, mentioning “the left-wing FMLN”. Ceren is also mentioned as a “hard-liner” of the party. Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as FMLN and identify the party as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify FMLN’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.297) in 2012, 2015, and 2018.

Years: 2019-2020

Head of Government: Nayib Armando Bukele Ortiz

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Perspective Monde (2021) identifies Bukele Ortiz’s party as Gran Alianza por la Unidad Nacional (GANA) and identifies the party as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing, “The GANA is a right-wing party formed in October 2009 when 12 deputies split from ARENA.” World Statesmen (2021) corroborates party affiliation as GANA and describes the party as “economic liberal.” Huber and Stephens (2016: 14) identify GANA as center-right. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify GANA’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.98) in 2018. DPI identifies GANA’s ideology as rightist.

References:

Armstrong, Robert; Shenk, Janet. 1982. *El Salvador: The Face of Revolution*.

South End Press. ISBN 9780896081376.

BBC. 2018. El Salvador profile – Timeline. BBC.

- <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19402222> (last accessed July 15, 2019).
- Encyclopedia Britannica. 2019. El Salvador – Military dictatorships.
<https://www.britannica.com/place/El-Salvador/Military-dictatorships> (last accessed July 15, 2019).
- Huber, Evelyne, and John Stephens. 2016. *Latin America and Caribbean Political Dataset, 1945-2012*. Codebook.
- Lansford, Thomas (ed.). 2015. El Salvador. In: *Political Handbook of the World 2015*. Washington: 440-448.
- Lentz, Harris. 1994. *Heads of States and Governments Since 1945*. New York.
- Norris, Pippa. 2020. Global Party Survey dataset.
<https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/GlobalPartySurvey>
- Ortiz de Zárate, Roberto, ed. “Napoleon Duarte Fuentes.” Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB), 2016.
https://www.cidob.org/biografias_lideres_politicos/america_central_y_carib/e/el_salvador/napoleon_duarte_fuentes
- Pace, Eric. “Jose Napoleon Duarte, Salvadoran Leader In Decade of War and Anguish, Dies at 64.” The New York Times, February 24, 1990.
<https://www.nytimes.com/1990/02/24/obituaries/jose-napoleon-duarte-salvadoran-leader-in-decade-of-war-and-anguish-dies-at-64.html>
- Perspective monde. 2019. *El Salvador*.
<http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMGvt?codePays=SLV&ani=1975&moi=1&anf=2019&mof=8>
- Political Handbook of the World. 2012. *El Salvador*.
http://library.cqpress.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/phw/phw2012_ElSalvador
- Rulers. 2019. El Salvador. <http://rulers.org/rule.html> (last accessed November 27, 2019).
- Williams, Phillip and Knut Walter. 1997. *Militarization and Demilitarization in El Salvador's Transition to Democracy*. Pittsburgh.
- World Statesmen. 2019. El Salvador.
<http://www.worldstatesmen.org/ElSalvador.html> (last accessed June 21, 2019).
- Richard A. Haggarty, ed. *El Salvador: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1988.