

Country: Panama

Years: 1945-1947

Head of Government: Enrique Adolfo Jiménez Brin

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Jiménez's party as PL (Partido Liberal). DPI does not identify ideology. Leonard (Historical Dictionary) indicates that PL (Partido Liberal) is the precursor to PLN (Partido Liberal Nacional) and that the party undergoes a name change in 1940 (2015: 227). Huber and Stephens identify PLN's ideology as rightist (2016: 18). In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify PL's ideology as "Center-right" (1.412) in 1984.

Years: 1948

Head of Government: Domingo Díaz Arosemena

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Díaz Arosemena's party as PL (Partido Liberal). DPI does not identify ideology. Leonard (Historical Dictionary) indicates that PL (Partido Liberal) is the precursor to PLN (Partido Liberal Nacional) and that the party undergoes a name change in 1940 (2015: 227). Huber and Stephens identify PLN's ideology as rightist (2016: 18). In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify PL's ideology as "Center-right" (1.412) in 1984.

Years: 1949-1950

Head of Government: Arnulfo Arias Madrid

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Arias' party as Partido Revolucionario Auténtico (PRA). DPI does not identify ideology. Meditz and Hanratty (1987) identify Arias as a "charismatic, right-wing nationalist". Leonard (2015: 35) states, "Arias became a leading critic of Panamanian strongman Manuel Noriega," who is coded as left (Leonard 2015: 23). Tyroler (1991) describes the Authentic Panamanian ("Arnulfista") Party (PPA) as "the party of right-wing populism founded 50 years ago by Panamanian caudillo Arnulfo Arias." In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify PPA's ideology as "Right" (2,129) and "A high level of visible disagreement within the party" in 1984.

Years: 1951

Head of Government: Alcibíades Arosemena Quinzada

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Arosemena's party as PRA (Partido Revolucionario Auténtico). DPI does not identify ideology. Leonard (2015: 37) states that Arosemena "served as first vice president and minister of finance and treasury under President Arias". Pérez (2000) states that the *Arnulfista* Party (referring to Arnulfo Arias Madrid, coded as right) was the "successor" to the Authentic Revolutionary Party, among other political parties. Tyroler (1991) describes the Authentic Panamanian ("Arnulfista") Party (PPA) as "the party of right-wing populism founded 50 years ago by Panamanian caudillo Arnulfo Arias." In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify PPA's ideology as "Right" (2,129) and "A high level of visible disagreement within the party" in 1984.

Years: 1952-1954

Head of Government: José Antonio Remón Cantera

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Remón Cantera's party as CPN (Coalición Patriótica Nacional). DPI does not identify ideology. Huber and Stephens identify CPN's ideology as leftist (2016: 17).

Years: 1955

Head of Government: Ricardo Manuel Arias Espinosa

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Arias Espinosa's party as CPN (Coalición Patriótica Nacional). DPI does not identify ideology. Huber and Stephens identify CPN's ideology as leftist (2016: 17).

Years: 1956-1959

Head of Government: Ernesto de La Guardia Navarro

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies de la Guardia's party as CPN (Coalición Patriótica Nacional). DPI does not identify ideology. Huber and Stephens identify CPN's ideology as leftist (2016: 17).

Years: 1960-1963

Head of Government: Roberto Francisco Chiari Remón

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Chiari Remón's party as PLN (Partido Liberal Nacional). DPI does not identify ideology. Perspective Monde (2020) corroborates party affiliation as PLN and identifies the party as centrist. World Statesmen (2020) corroborates party affiliation as PLN and describes the party as "liberal, centrist." Huber and Stephens identify PLN's

ideology as rightist (2016: 18). Hanratty and Meditz (1987) corroborate party affiliation as PLN, writing, “De la Guardia’s administration had been overwhelmed by the rioting and other problems, and the CPN, lacking effective opposition in the National Assembly, began to disintegrate. Most dissenting factions joined the PLN in the National Opposition Union, which in 1960 succeeded in electing its candidate, Roberto Chiari, to the presidency.” Lentz (1994: 616) writes, “Chiari was the candidate of the National Patriotic Coalition (CPN) in the presidential elections in 1952” and was defeated. Huber and Stephens (2016: 17) identify the CPN’s ideology as leftist. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify PLN’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.436) in 1980.

Years: 1964-1967

Head of Government: Marco Aurelio Robles Méndez

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Robles’ party as PLN (Partido Liberal Nacional). DPI does not identify ideology. Huber and Stephens identify PLN’s ideology as rightist (2016: 18). Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PLN but identifies the party as centrist. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify PLN’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.436) in 1980.

Years: 1968-1980

Head of Government: Omar Torrijos Herrera

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Torrijos Herrera’s party affiliation as none until 1977 and as Partido Revolucionario Democrático (PRD) afterwards. DPI does not identify ideology. Manzano (2017) codes Torrijos as leftist. Huber and Stephens do not identify PRD’s ideology. Leonard (2015: 276) states that the PRD was “not a genuine political party, because it espoused the programs of the person in power” and that “defining [its] ideology is difficult to describe” (2015: 230). Torrijos’ socioeconomic programs “reached out to those who had been abused by the oligarchs...and made the government the nation’s largest employer (2015: 276). Meditz and Hanratty (1987) corroborate Torrijos’ leftist tendencies “Torrijos expressed admiration for the socialist trends in the military governments of Peru and Bolivia. He also established a mutually supportive relationship with Cuba’s Fidel Castro”. Perspective monde (2019) identifies PRD as center-left. Lentz (1994: 622) writes, “Torrijos survived a rightist coup attempt in December of 1969.” World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PRD and identifies the party as leftist “center-left”. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify PRD’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.377) in 1980.

Years: 1981

Head of Government: Florencio Flores Aguilar

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Meditz and Hanratty identifies Flores as Torrijos's chief of staff during his presidency and describes Flores as "a Torrijos loyalist" (1987). Manzano (2017) codes the military government headed by Flores as leftist.

Years: 1982

Head of Government: Rubén Darío Paredes

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Political Handbook of the World identifies Paredes' party as PRD (Partido Revolucionario Democrático) (2015: 1128). Manzano (2017) codes the military government headed by Paredes as leftist. Meditz and Hanratty (1987) corroborate that Paredes "considered himself to be Torrijos's rightful successor and the embodiment of change and unity (Torrijos had been grooming Paredes for political office since 1975)" (1987). The Political Handbook (2018) identifies PRD as a "left-of-center torrijista group". Perspective monde (2019) identifies PRD as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify PRD's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.377) in 1980.

Years: 1983-1988

Head of Government: Manuel Antonio Noriega Moreno

Ideology: Left

Description: World Statesmen (2019) and Rulers (2019) identify Guillermo David Endera Gallmany instead of Manuel Antonio Noriega Moreno as head of government on December 31, 1989 and 1990. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Manzano (2017) identifies Noriega as leftist. Leonard (2015: 205) corroborates, writing that Noriega "promised to continue the Torrijos revolution by implementing programs for the rural and urban poor". The Political Handbook (2018) indicates that Noriega accepted "presidential nomination by the *torrijista* Democratic Revolutionary Party (*Partido Revolucionario Democrático*- PRD)", which is also later described as a "left-of-center torrijista group". Perspective monde (2019) identifies PRD as center-left. Lentz (1994: 623) writes, "Noriega supported National Guard commander Omar Torrijos against a right-wing military coup in December of 1969."

Years: 1989-1993

Head of Government: Guillermo David Endara Galimany

Ideology: right

Description: World Statesmen (2019) and Rulers (2019) identify Guillermo David Endara Gallmany instead of Manuel Antonio Noriega Moreno as head of government on December 31, 1989 and 1990. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Endara Galimany's party as PA (Partido Arnulfista). DPI identifies PA's ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2011) states that Endara founded a rightist party: "The VM is a center-right party founded in November 2007 by former President Guillermo Endara after he broke with the PS." Huber and Stephens concur with DPI (2016: 18). Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PA but identifies the party as centrist. Lentz (1994: 621) writes, "Endara was the leader of the Antimilitarist Opposition Democratic Alliance and was the party's candidate for president in May of 1989." Pérez (2000: 127) identifies PA as one of the parties of the 1989 coalition Democratic Civic Opposition Alliance (*Alianza Democrática de Oposición Civilista*—ADOC). Pérez also corroborates Endara's party affiliation as PA. World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PPA and then PA from 1990, identifying PA as rightist, "conservative". In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify PPA/PA's ideology as "Right" (2.129) in 1989.

Years: 1994-1998

Head of Government: Ernesto Pérez Balladares

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Balladares' party as PRD (Partido Revolucionario Democrático). DPI does not identify party ideology. Huber and Stephens identify PRD's ideology as leftist (2016: 17). Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PRD and identify the party as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify PRD's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.887) in 1994.

Years: 1999-2003

Head of Government: Mireya Elisa Moscoso Rodríguez

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Moscoso's party as PA (Partido Arnulfista). DPI identifies PA's ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World does not provide any information on party's ideology. Huber and Stephens concur with DPI (2016: 18). Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PA but identifies the party as centrist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PA and identifies the party as

rightist, “conservative”. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify PA’s ideology as “Right” (2.129) in 1999.

Years: 2004-2008

Head of Government: Martín Erasto Torrijos Espino

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Torrijos Espino’s party as PRD (Partido Revolucionario Democrático). DPI does not identify party ideology. Huber and Stephens identify PRD’s ideology as leftist (2016: 17). Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PRD and identify the party as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify PRD’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.887) in 2004.

Years: 2009-2013

Head of Government: Ricardo Martinelli Berrocal

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Political Handbook of the World identifies Berrocal’s party as CD (Cambio Democrático) (2015: 1123). Huber and Stephens identify CD’s ideology as centrist (2016: 17). Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as CD and identify the party as center-right. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 4 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of CD as 8.0. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify CD’s ideology as “Center-right” (1.149) in 2009. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify “negligible visible disagreement” in CD in 2009.

Years: 2014-2018

Head of Government: Juan Carlos Varela

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. Political Handbook of the World identifies Varela’s party as PP (Partido Panameñista) (2015: 1123). Huber and Stephens identify PP’s ideology as rightist (2016: 18). Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PP but identifies the party as centrist. World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PP and identifies the party as rightist, “conservative”. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify PP’s ideology as “Right” (2.129) in 2014.

Years: 2019-2020

Head of Government: Laurentino “Nito” Cortizo Cohen

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde (2021) and World Statesmen (2021) identify Cortizo's party as Partido Revolucionario Democrático (PRD) and identify the party as center-left. The Political Handbook (2015) identifies PRD as a "left-of-center torrijista group". Huber and Stephens (2016: 17) identify PRD as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify PRD's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.49) in 2019.

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