

Country: Uruguay

Years: 1945-1946

Head of Government: Juan José de Amézaga Landaraso

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

Head of Government: Luis Conrado 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

Head of Government: Andrés 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.

Years: 1952-1958

Head of Government: [Collective Body]

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. V-Dem identifies collective body as National Council of Government. Lansford (2015) writes that the council was controlled by the Partido Colorado (PC) until 1958. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PC’s ideology as leftist. 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.” Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PC as “progressive center-left.” Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify PC as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PC as leftist from 1942 to 1966. Lentz (1994: 810-811) provides more detailed information about the heads of government within this collective body. The presidents of the National Council, their terms, and their party affiliations are as follows: Luis Batlle Berres (1954-1955), Colorado party; Alberto Zubiria (1956), Batllista faction of the Colorado party; Arturo Lezama (1957), Colorado party; Carlos Z. Fischer (1958), Colorado party. 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: 1959-1966

Head of Government: [Collective Body]

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. V-Dem identifies collective body as National Council of Government. Di Tella (2004: 80) identifies a switch in control of the council in 1958 to Partido Blanco/Partido Nacional (PN). Huber and Stephens (2016: 20) identify PN’s ideology as rightist. 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) identifies PN as center-right, and World Statesmen (2019) identifies PN as rightist, “conservative”. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 117) identify PN as “traditional right-of-center.” Lentz (1994: 811-813) provides more detailed information about

the heads of government within this collective body. The presidents of the National Council, their terms, and their party affiliations are as follows: Martín R. Echegoyen (1959), Blanco Democratic Union; Benito Nardone (1960), Blanco party; Eduardo Victor Haedo (1961), Blanco Democratic Union; Faustino Harrison (1962), “ruralist faction of the Nationalist party”; Daniel Fernández Crespo (1963), Blanco Democratic Union; Luis Giannattasio (1964), Nationalist party; Washington Beltrán (1965), Blanco Democratic Union; Alberto Héber (1966), Blanco party. 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. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify PN’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.538) in 1971.

Years: 1967-1971

Head of Government: Jorge Pacheco Areco

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Pacheco Areco’s party as Partido Colorado (PC). Although Political Handbook of the World (2015) describes PC as largely liberal and progressive, it also states that Pacheco Areco led a specific faction of the party, “the promilitary Unión Colorado Batlliste (pachequista) group.” 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

Head of Government: Juan María Bordaberry Arocena

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 Meditz (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

Head of Government: Aparicio Méndez 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

Head of Government: Gregorio Conrado Álvarez 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 that 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

Head of Government: Julio María Sanguinetti Coirolo

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

Head of Government: Luis Alberto 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 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

Head of Government: Julio María Sanguinetti Coirolo

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

Head of Government: Jorge Luis Batlle Ibáñez

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

Head of Government: Tabaré Ramón Vázquez Rosas

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

Head of Government: José Alberto Mujica Cordano

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (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

Head of Government: Tabaré Ramón Vázquez Rosas

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

Head of Government: Luis Lacalle Pou

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. 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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