

Country: Haiti

Year: 1945

Leader: Lescot

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify Lescot's party. Haggerty (1989) states, "In January 1946, events came to a head when Lescot jailed the Marxist editors of a journal called *La Ruche* (The Beehive)," implying a strong opposition to leftist organizations. Hall (Historical Dictionary) states, "In 1941, Élie Lescot came to power with the assistance of the mulatto elite, Trujillo, and the United States", and Haggerty mentions that "it was Trujillo's money that reportedly bought most of the legislative votes that brought Lescot to power"; Trujillo is coded as right.

Years: 1946-1949

Leader: Estimé

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Estimé's party as non-party. Hall (Historical Dictionary) says Estimé was "disillusioned with the mulatto elite government and U.S. military occupation", openly and vocally supported the Noirisme movement and "promised the masses rapid social reform and economic development" (2016: 100). Nohlen describes the Noirisme movement as: "An alliance of black urban middle-class groups and rural feudal landlords took over the leadership of the movement and began a march toward power in the name of the exploited black masses and the *classe moyenne opprimée* (oppressed middle class)" (1989). Hall also states that Estimé "supported legislation to protect workers". Haggerty mentions, "Estimé proposed, but never secured passage of, Haiti's first social-security legislation" (1989). An entry in the Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture states, "Estimé's government also drew support initially from young radicals and Communists who looked forward to a social revolution that would benefit Haiti's black masses, both workers and peasants".

Years: 1950-1955

Leader: Magloire

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Magloire as non-party. Haggerty describes Magloire's style of ruling, "By Haitian standards, Magloire's rule was firm, but not harsh: he jailed political opponents, including

Figdolé, and shut down their presses when their protests grew too strident, but he allowed labor unions to function, although they were not permitted to strike” (1989). Hall (Historical Dictionary) indicates that Figdolé was left-leaning as a strong supporter of unions: “In 1947, Figdolé assumed leadership of the Mouvement Ouvrier Paysan (MOP)/Worker Peasant Movement, a large labor union that represented the interests of factory workers, dockworkers, and other skilled laborers”. Hall also states, “U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower believed that Figdolé was a leftist”. Gaffield also points out Magloire’s conservative views: “Magloire fashioned himself a hero of anticommunism, and his return to political conservatism included a movement to devalue Haiti’s African heritage” (2011).

Year: 1956

Leader: Pierre-Louis

Ideology:

Description: World Statesmen (2019) and Rulers (2019) identify Joseph Nemours Pierre-Louis instead of Paul Eugène Magloire as head of government on December 31, 1956. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. The Political Handbook (2015) describes Pierre-Louis as “a respected economist and grassroots advocate for Haiti’s poor and youth”.

Years: 1957-1970

Leader: Duvalier, Francois

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Duvalier’s party as PUN (Parti de l’unité nationale). DPI does not identify party ideology. Wien Weibert identifies Duvalier as right-wing: “There was similarity in the U.S. position regarding Trujillo and Duvalier. They were two right-wing dictators who endangered democracy in the region and who refused to collaborate with the United States by leaving power” (2015). He also identifies Duvalier as profoundly anticommunist: “[Duvalier] reminded Kennedy, in various correspondences, of his support in the fight against ‘that common danger to the Western Hemisphere constituted by international Communism’” (2015). Manzano (2017) codes Duvalier as right. Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PUN. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify PUN’s ideology as “Right” (2.904) in 1973.

Years: 1971-1985

Leader: Duvalier, Jean-Claude

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Duvalier as non-party. Haggerty describes the continuation of Duvalierism: “Duvalier (‘Papa Doc’) extended his illegitimate rule beyond his death by naming his son Jean Claude (‘Baby Doc’) as his successor” (1989). Manzano (2017) codes Duvalier as right. World Statesmen (2019) identifies party affiliation as PUN.

Years: 1986-1987

Leader: Namphy

Ideology: none

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Namphy’s party as none. Hall (Historical Dictionary) states that “Namphy’s critics claimed that Namphy’s government was merely Duvalierism without Duvalier” (2016:181). Hall also mentions that Namphy, in 1982, “he crushed a revolt by a group of Haitian exiles attempting to overthrow Jean-Claude Duvalier” (181) and was later rewarded for it. Haggerty writes that Namphy “saw the armed forces as the single remaining cohesive institution in the country” and “viewed the army as the only vehicle for an orderly transition from Duvalierism to another form of government” (1989). Rulers.org states that Namphy “had a reputation for being honest and apolitical”.

Years: 1988-1989

Leader: Avril

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Avril’s party as none. Hall (Historical Dictionary) indicates that Avril “served as an advisor to Jean-Claude Duvalier” (29). Keesing’s Record of World Events (1988: 36281) describes Avril’s Cabinet as being “composed largely of technocrats drawn from public service” and as having “included several prominent Duvalierists”. Haggerty (1989) states that the Avril government was plagued by “threats from army factions and opposition from the old Duvalierist right wing” and “marred by serious human rights violations” (30). Haggerty also describes demonstrations in early 1989, led by labor unions and other groups, against the regime. As a response, “Avril convened a National Forum on February 7, with strong participation from centrist politicians... the government excluded key Duvalierists from the forum”. Keesing’s Record of World Events states that in 1990, “the Group of 12 (a newly formed coalition of the country’s main opposition parties, ranging from communists to conservatives) issued a joint statement calling upon the populace to rise up against Avril and force him to hand over power to an interim civilian administration as the first step towards the holding of free

elections”. Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) describes Credo as “a right-wing party led by Prosper Avril.”

Year: 1990

Leader: Pascal-Trouillot

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Pascal-Trouillot as non-party. Hall (Historical Dictionary) indicates that Pascal-Trouillot was a federal judge, before being appointed as the first female Supreme Court justice after the overthrow of Jean-Claude Duvalier (198). The Political Handbook (2015) states that Pascal-Trouillot restored the 1987 constitution, which “banned Duvalierists from public office for ten years” and “asserted the previously nonexistent rights of free education, decent housing, and a fair wage”. According to Keesing’s Record of World Events (1990), the head of the Council of State in Haiti, a 19-member advisory body, Louis Roy “had repeatedly criticized Pascal-Trouillot’s unwillingness to take action against supporters of the Duvaliers... who were largely responsible for the prevailing climate of political violence”; this granted the Duvalierists an “ability to operate outside the law”. In another article, Keesing’s describes a coup attempt against the President-elect at the time Jean-Bertrand Aristide, led by a “notorious Duvalierist leader” Roger Lafontant. Lafontant forced Pascal-Trouillot to announce her resignation in 1991; however, once the coup attempt was crushed, Aristide’s government detained Pascal-Trouillot to investigate “her suspected ‘complicity’ in organizing the attempted coup”. Lentz (1991: 358) writes that Pascal-Trouillot “was arrested in April of 1991 on charges of being involved in a coup attempt against President Aristide the previous January.” Heard (2016: 269-270, 282) writes, “A ‘spate of unpunished killings and armed robberies in the capital’... created a greater rift among the political parties as the center-right parties (PDCH, MDN, MOP, Panpra, the MNP-28, and the MIDH) rejected an ultimatum given to Trouillot by the center-left parties, demanding her government take action against the Duvalierists or be replaced by someone chosen by the State Council... The Aristide government would similarly pursue those who were believed to have committed economic injustices against the Haitian people, starting with the former provisional president, Ertha Pascal Trouillot.”

Years: 1991-1993

Leader: Cedras

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Rulers (2019) describes Cedras: “He did this job (president of the

Coordinating Committee for Election Security) well, which earned him the esteem of Jean-Bertrand Aristide's inaugural, Feb. 7, 1991, Cédras was promoted to chief of the army general staff." However, later on, "He took part in the coup ousting Aristide in September, and parliament subsequently confirmed his appointment as commander-in-chief for three years. Before the coup, Cédras, one of the few mulatto officers in the army, was perceived by public opinion as a moderate, but the favourable opinions of him were reversed following the coup, which he called 'a democratic correction.' He supported repressive actions of the army and paramilitary groups and did what he could to frustrate various international accords designed to return Aristide to power." Harding (2003) writes, "The UN Security Council on Oct. 30 approved a resolution reiterating its support for Aristide's reinstatement and asserting that the Governors Island accord remained in force... In Haiti, however, the military and right-wing political parties moved quickly to further scuttle the accord and definitively block any possibility of Aristide's return." Bar-Yaacov (1995: 55) writes, "Reports of human rights violations after the coup revealed a pattern of gross and widespread human rights abuses," including, "reprisals against popular movements supporting President Aristide." The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (1992: 1) writes, "The human rights situation in Haiti is worse than at any time since the Duvalier era... Popular expressions of support for ousted President Aristide are routinely met with violent reprisals by the military." The report (10) continues, "In the early days of the coup, the executions were numerous and always appeared to have a political purpose. Soldiers intentionally entered neighborhoods known as Aristide strongholds and executed countless people. As their reign of terror took hold, the military targeted their victims with more precision, but one overriding characteristic has remained constant: anyone known or suspected of being an Aristide supporter or even member of a group promoting goals consistent with Aristide's program, is at significant risk." Aristide is coded as leftist. Fuller and Wilentz (1991: 17) refer to "attacks on progressive leaders, movements, and membership throughout the country" under Cedras.

Years: 1994-1995

Leader: Aristide

Ideology: Left

Description: Hog does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Aristide's party as Organisation Politique Lavalas (OPL). Manzano (2017) identifies Aristide as rightist. However, Political Handbook of the World (2012) refers to the National Front for Change and Democracy (*Front National pour le Changement et la Démocratie*—FNCD) as "Aristide's somewhat hastily organized coalition," and later describes the FNCD as "an alliance of more than a dozen left-of-center groups

supporting Aristide” formed in late 1990. Political Handbook also describes OPL as center-left and “the principal pro-Aristide formation” after its founding 1991. Perspective monde (2019) identifies party affiliation as FNCD/OPL and, for other leaders, identifies the FNCD as center-left. Lentz (1991: 359) writes, “[Aristide] was an active opponent of President Jean-Claude Duvalier and an important figure in the popular movement that forced Duvalier’s ouster by the military in February of 1986.” World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as OPL and identifies the party as social-democratic and centrist. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify OPL’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.979) in 2006.

Years: 1996-2000

Leader: Preval

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Préval’s party as OPL (Organisation Politique Lavalas). DPI does not identify party ideology. While Manzano (2017) identifies Préval as rightist, and Hall (Historical Dictionary) writes that Aristide strongly disliked Préval’s (his prime minister) neoliberal economic policies, and “formed... a party to criticize neoliberalism [as a result]” (2016: 215), other sources suggest otherwise. Perspective Monde codes Preval’s party as the centrist Organisation du Peuple en Lutte (Struggling People’s Organization), World Statesmen identifies Preval’s party at the time as Fanmi Lavalas/Famille Lavalas, which is identified as social-democratic, center-left. Political Handbook (2010) identifies OPL as center-left. Political Handbook also identifies Preval’s party as Fanmi Lavalas. Hall (Historical Dictionary) describes Fanmi Lavalas as socialist. World Statesmen and Perspective Monde also provide information on his past and future party affiliations. Both sources identify him as a member of FNCD (Front National pour le Changement et la Démocratie, National Front for Democracy and Change), and identify FNCD as a center-left party. They also identify him as a member of FLP (Fwon Lespwa, Front de L’espoir, Hope Front) and then of its successor Inite Petriyotik (Patriotic Unity) during his second presidency from 2006-2011. Both parties are leftist by World Statesmen and Perspective Monde. Political Handbook (2015) states that Préval founded FLP in 2006, and describes Inite as pro-Préval. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify OPL’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.979) in 2006.

Years: 2001-2003

Leader: Aristide

Ideology: Left

Description: CHISOLS identifies Aristide’s party as Fanmi Lavalas/Famille Lavalas (FL). Manzano (2017) identifies Aristide as rightist. Political Handbook of

the World (2012) corroborates Aristide's party at the time, writing, "The FL was launched by former president Aristide in November 1996. While Aristide denied that the new group was intended as an 'instrument of division,' it reflected his growing disenchantment with President Préval's economic policies and served as a vehicle for Aristide's return to the presidency in November 2000." World Statesmen corroborates party affiliation as FL and identifies the party as social-democratic, center-left. Hall (2016: 215) describes Fanmi Lavalas as socialist and writes that Aristide "formed... a party to criticize neoliberalism". Political Handbook of the World (2012) identifies Aristide's earlier party affiliation as the National Front for Change and Democracy (*Front National pour le Changement et la Démocratie*—FNCD) as "Aristide's somewhat hastily organized coalition," and described as "an alliance of more than a dozen left-of-center groups supporting Aristide" formed in late 1990. CHISOLS identifies Aristide's party earlier as Organisation Politique Lavalas (OPL), described by the Political Handbook as center-left and "the principal pro-Aristide formation." Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as FL and identifies the party as center-left. Lentz (1991: 359) writes, "[Aristide] was an active opponent of President Jean-Claude Duvalier and an important figure in the popular movement that forced Duvalier's ouster by the military in February of 1986." In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify FL's ideology as "Left" (-2.131) in 2000.

Years: 2004-2005

Leader: Boniface Alexandre

Ideology: Right

Description: CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as none. Manzano (2017) identifies Alexandre as rightist.

Years: 2006-2010

Leader: Preval

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Préval's party as FLP (Fwon Lespwa, Front de L'espoir, Hope Front) from 2006 to 2008 and as Inite (Inite Patriyotik, Patriotic Unity) from 2009 to 2010. DPI does not identify party ideology. While Manzano (2017) identifies Préval as rightist, and Hall (Historical Dictionary) writes that Aristide strongly disliked Préval's (his prime minister) neoliberal economic policies, and "formed... a party to criticize neoliberalism [as a result]" (2016: 215), other sources suggest otherwise. Perspective Monde codes Preval's party as the centrist Organisation du Peuple en Lutte (Struggling People's Organization), World Statesmen identifies Preval's party at the time as Fanmi Lavalas/Famille Lavalas, which is identified as social-

democratic, center-left. Political Handbook (2010) identifies OPL as center-left. Political Handbook also identifies Préval's party as Fanmi Lavalas. Hall (Historical Dictionary) describes Fanmi Lavalas as socialist. World Statesmen and Perspective Monde also provide information on his past and future party affiliations. Both sources identify him as a member of FNCD (Front National pour le Changement et la Démocratie, National Front for Democracy and Change), and identify FNCD as a center-left party. They also identify him as a member of FLP (Fwon Lespwa, Front de L'espoir, Hope Front) and then of its successor Inite Petriyotik (Patriotic Unity) during his second presidency from 2006-2011. Both parties are leftist by World Statesmen and Perspective Monde. Political Handbook (2015) states that Préval founded FLP in 2006, and describes Inite as pro-Préval. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify Lespwa's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.1479) in and "virtually no visible disagreement" within the party in 2006.

Years: 2011-2015

Leader: Martelly

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party affiliation. Political Handbook of the World (2012) identifies the Peasant Response (*Repons Peyizan*) as Martelly's political party, writing, "This grouping served as the vehicle for the successful 2010-2011 presidential campaign of Michel Martelly, who ran on a populist, right-of-center platform." World Statesmen (2019) corroborates party affiliation as RP and identifies the party as center-right.

Years: 2016

Leader: Jocelerme Privert

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Privert's party affiliation as Inite (Inite Patriyotik, Patriotic Unity). World Statesmen (2021) and Perspective monde (2021) corroborate party affiliation as Inite and identify the party as center-left. In V-Party (2020), 2 experts identify Inite's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.803) in 2010.

Years: 2017-2020

Leader: Jovenel Moise

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Moise's party affiliation as PHTK (Parti Haïtien Tèt Kale, Haitian Tèt Kale Party). World Statesmen (2021) and Perspective monde (2021) corroborate party affiliation as PHTK and identify the party as liberal and center-right. In V-Party (2020), 2

experts identify PHTK's ideology as "Center-right" (1.59) in 2015. DPI identifies PHTK's ideology as centrist.

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