

Country: Bulgaria

Years: 1945-1946

Head of government: Sergey Semyonovich Biryuzov

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2018) identifies Biryuzov as a military commander for the Soviet Union, and therefore a leftist: “Sergey Semyonovich Biryuzov (b. 1904 - d. 1964) Mil (Soviet Union)”.

Years: 1947-1948

Head of government: Georgi Dimitrov Mihaylov

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as Bălgarska Komunisticheska Partiya (BKP). World Statesmen (2018) identifies the BKP as communist and therefore leftist: “BKP = Bălgarska Komunisticheska Partiya (Bulgarian Communist Party, communist, 1903-1938, 1948-3 Apr 1990, named BRP 1938-48, state party 1948-15 Jan 1990, renamed BSP); BRP = Bălgarska Rabotnicheska Partiya (Bulgarian Workers' Party, communist, 1938-1948, renamed BKP)”. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Mihaylov's ideology as leftist. Lentz (1994: 118) identifies Mihaylov's ideology as leftist, writing that “Dimitrov joined the wing of the [Social Democratic Party] which adhered to the philosophy of the Russian Bolsheviks.” Döring and Manow (2019) identify BKP's party family as communist.

Year: 1949

Head of government: Vasil Petrov Kolarov

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as Bălgarska Komunisticheska Partiya (BKP). World Statesmen (2018) identifies the BKP as communist and therefore leftist: “BKP = Bălgarska Komunisticheska Partiya (Bulgarian Communist Party, communist, 1903-1938, 1948-3 Apr 1990, named BRP 1938-48, state party 1948-15 Jan 1990, renamed BSP); BRP = Bălgarska Rabotnicheska Partiya (Bulgarian Workers' Party, communist, 1938-1948, renamed BKP)”. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Kolarov's ideology as leftist. Döring and Manow (2019) identify BKP's party family as communist.

Years: 1950-1953

Head of government: Vulko Velyov Chervenkov

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as Bălgarska Komunisticheska Partiya (BKP). World Statesmen (2018) identifies the BKP as communist and therefore leftist: “BKP = Bălgarska Komunisticheska Partiya (Bulgarian Communist Party, communist, 1903-1938, 1948-3 Apr 1990, named BRP 1938-48, state party 1948-15 Jan 1990, renamed BSP); BRP = Bălgarska Rabotnicheska Partiya (Bulgarian Workers' Party, communist, 1938-1948, renamed BKP)”. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 193) identifies Chervenkov as leftist, writing that “Communist rule was consolidated under the successive regimes of Vulko CHERVENKOV and Anton YUGOV”. Lentz (1994: 118) identifies Chervenkov’s ideology as leftist, writing that “Chervenkov went into exile in Moscow, where he attended the Marx-Lenin School; he later served as the director of that school.” Döring and Manow (2019) identify BKP’s party family as communist.

Years: 1954-1988

Head of government: Todor Khristov Zhivkov

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as Bălgarska Komunisticheska Partiya (BKP). World Statesmen (2018) identifies the BKP as communist and therefore leftist: “BKP = Bălgarska Komunisticheska Partiya (Bulgarian Communist Party, communist, 1903-1938, 1948-3 Apr 1990, named BRP 1938-48, state party 1948-15 Jan 1990, renamed BSP); BRP = Bălgarska Rabotnicheska Partiya (Bulgarian Workers' Party, communist, 1938-1948, renamed BKP)”. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Zhivkov’s ideology as leftist. Döring and Manow (2019) identify BKP’s party family as communist.

Year: 1989

Head of government: Petur Toshev Mladenov

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as Bălgarska Komunisticheska Partiya (BKP). World Statesmen (2018) identifies the BKP as communist and therefore leftist: “BKP = Bălgarska Komunisticheska Partiya (Bulgarian Communist Party, communist, 1903-1938, 1948-3 Apr 1990, named BRP 1938-48, state party 1948-15 Jan 1990, renamed BSP); BRP = Bălgarska Rabotnicheska Partiya (Bulgarian Workers' Party, communist, 1938-

1948, renamed BKP)". Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Mladenov's ideology as leftist. Döring and Manow (2019) identify BKP's party family as communist.

Year: 1990

Head of government: Dimitur Iliev Popov

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as non-party. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 193) identifies Popov as politically independent: "On December 7 a politically independent judge, Dimitur POPOV, was named premier designate, and on December 20 he succeeded in forming a coalition administration that included eight Socialists, four representatives of the SDS, and three Agrarians." Frye (2010: 193) identifies Popov as "nonparty backed by BSP/UDF". Hass (2006: 182) writes that "Popov's government, associated with the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), maintained a degree of political calm in 1991 and introduced economic reforms (price liberalization, land reform). Additionally, Jackson (1991: 204) writes that "a coalition government was formed on December 10, 1990, under Dimitar Popov. His government's economic program was presented on January 23, 1991. The new government had seven members from the BSP out of 17 total members". Jackson (1991: 208) further writes that the Popov coalition introduced a program that called for privatization - setting out "a system for restoring land to those who lost it through collectivization" - and reductions in state subsidies. Berglund (2013: 359) also writes that "the reforms set in motion by [Popov's cabinet] were perhaps the most daring in the whole of Eastern Europe. They included an almost total liberalization of prices, a high degree of liberalization of the trading and currency regime, sharp interest rate increases, and the introduction of a floating exchange rate". World Statesmen (2019) identifies Popov as non-party. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) as 2.7. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify SDS's oppose-support market score as 5.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 5. They also identify BSP's oppose-support market score as approximately 2.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as 2 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify SDS's party family as Christian democracy. Bunce et al. (2009: 113) writes that "In December 1990, the replacement government of Dimitar Popov, an unaffiliated technocrat, was appointed with an ambitious program of economic liberalization reforms, many of which it implemented." Aslund (2014) writes that "Both Treisman and Gerard Roland, professor of economics and political science at the University of California, Berkeley, showed in their papers that democracy and market economic reform go together. Treisman argued that the causality runs from democracy to market reforms, rebutting

arguments that radical democracy and market economic reform are inherently incompatible. Leadership matters, they agreed. The three leaders who stood out for that quality were Yegor Gaidar of Russia, Dimitar Popov in Bulgaria, and Balcerowicz of Poland.” Jeffries (2002: 133) writes that “the West penalized Bulgaria for choosing a socialist government in its first free elections by, for example, delaying aid.”

Year: 1991

Head of government: Filip Dimitrov Dimitrov

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as the Union of Democratic Forces (*Sayuz na demokratichnite sili - SDS*). DPI identifies SDS’s ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 200) elaborates, writing that “Union of Democratic Forces Coalition was the latest successor of a line of center-right coalitions formed by the SDS”. Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that SDS’s ideology is rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 193) writes that the SDS “installed Filip DIMITROV on November 8 as head of the country's first wholly non-communist government since World War II”. Perspective Monde (20. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Union of Democratic Forces (SDS); it identifies the party as rightist: “center-right”. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify SDS’s oppose-support market score as 5.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 5 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify SDS’s party family as Christian democracy. Hass (2006: 187) identifies SDS as rightist, writing that “ODS is a coalition of anti-Communist, pro-market, and pro-reform parties led by its largest member, the Union of Democratic Forces (Sayuz Demokratichni Sili, SDS) ... ODS through SDS’s domination has promoted privatization, fiscal discipline and the control of inflation, and land reform”. In V-Party, 4 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Right” (1.79) in 1991.

Years: 1992-1993

Head of government: Lyuben Borisov Berov

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Berov’s party affiliation as none. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Berov as non-party. Lentz (1994: 120) identifies Berov’s party affiliation as the Movement for Rights and Freedom, writing that Berov “was nominated by the ethnic Turkish party, the Movement for Rights and Freedom (*Dviženie za Pravata i Svobodie - DPS*), to be premier and was approved by the National Assembly in December, 1992”. Armingeon et al. (2014) identify DPS as rightist. Rohrschneider and Whitefield

(2009) identify DPS's oppose-support market score as 2.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 3 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify DPS's party family as liberal.

Year: 1994

Head of government: Reneta Ivanova Indzhova

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as non-party. Skard (2014: 350) identifies Indzhova's ideology as rightist, writing that "Zhelyu Zhelev, leader of the liberal-conservative Democratic Union (UDF) ... appointed the 41-year-old Reneta Indzhova, also a member of the UDF, to head a 'non-party' interim cabinet". Armingeon et al. (2018) identify UDF's ideology as rightist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Union of Democratic Forces (SDS); it identifies the party as rightist: "center-right". Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify SDS's oppose-support market score as 5.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 5 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify SDS's party family as Christian democracy.

Years: 1995-1996

Head of government: Zhan Vasilev Videnov

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as the Bulgarian Socialist Party (*Bulgarska sotsialisticheska partiya - BSP*). DPI identifies BSP's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 197) elaborates, writing that "the BSP resulted from a change of name by the Bulgarian Communist Party". Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that BSP's ideology is leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 197) identifies Videnov's ideology as leftist, writing that "In a leadership contest at a BSP congress in December, Zhan Videnov, advocate of a 'modern left-socialist party,' easily defeated a reformist social democratic opponent". World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP); it identifies the Party as leftist: "socialist". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) as 2.7. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify BSP's oppose-support market score as approximately 2.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as 2 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify BSP's party family as social democracy. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Left" (-1.795) in 1990.

Years: 1997-2000

Head of government: Ivan Yordanov Kostov

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as the Union of Democratic Forces (*Sayuz na demokratichnite sili - SDS*). DPI identifies SDS's ideology as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 200) elaborates, writing that "Union of Democratic Forces Coalition was the latest successor of a line of center-right coalitions formed by the SDS". Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that SDS's ideology is rightist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Union of Democratic Forces (SDS); it identifies the party as rightist: "center-right". Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify SDS's oppose-support market score as 5.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 5 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify SDS's party family as christian democracy. Hass (2006: 187) identifies SDS as rightist, writing that "ODS is a coalition of anti-Communist, pro-market, and pro-reform parties led by its largest member, the Union of Democratic Forces (*Sayuz Demokratichni Sili, SDS*) ... ODS through SDS's domination has promoted privatization, fiscal discipline and the control of inflation, and land reform". In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Right" (1.792) in 1994.

Years: 2001-2004

Head of government: Simeon Borisov Sakskoburggotski

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as the National Movement Simeon II (*Nacionalno dvizhenie za stabilnost i vǎzhod - NDSV*). World Statesmen (2018) identifies NDSV as centrist: "NDSV = Natsionalno Dvizhenie za Stabilnost i Vǎzhod (National Movement for Stability and Progress, liberal, populist, centrist, ex-King Simeon II personalist until 6 Jul 2009, named 2001-3 Jun 2007 as Natsionalno Dvizhenie Simeon Vtori [National Movement Simeon II], est. Apr 2001)". Armingeon et al. (2018) identify NDSV as rightist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Sakskoburggotsky's ideology as rightist, "moderate right." Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify NDSV's oppose-support market score as approximately 5 and its support-oppose welfare score as approximately 4.5 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify NDSV's party family as liberal. Hass (2006: 187) writes that "the party's basic platform called for improvement of tax laws, more forceful measures against corruption, and low-interest loans for entrepreneurs". In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center" (0.24) in 2001. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's cohesion as "virtually no visible disagreement" in 2001.

Years: 2005-2008

Head of government: Sergey Dimitryvich Stanishev

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party as the Bulgarian Socialist Party (*Bulgarska sotsialisticheska partiya - BSP*). World Statesmen (2018) identifies BSP as a socialist and therefore leftist: “BSP = Bălgarska Sotsialisticheska Partiya (Bulgarian Socialist Party, socialist, ex-BKP, est.3 Apr 1990).” Political Handbook of the World (2015: 197) confirms: “In a leadership contest at a BSP congress in December, Zhan Videnov, advocate of a ‘modern left-socialist party,’ easily defeated a reformist social democratic opponent [...] [Parvanov] was succeeded as BSP leader by Sergei Stanishev, who was named prime minister following the 2005 assembly poll, the BSP having embraced “Euro-style socialism”. Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that BSP’s ideology is leftist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) as 2.7. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify BSP’s oppose-support market score as approximately 2.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as 2 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify BSP’s party family as social democracy. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Left” (-1.795) in 1990.

Years: 2009-2012

Head of government: Boyko Metodiev Borisov

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 199) identifies Borisov’s party as GERB. DPI identifies GERB as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 196) elaborates, writing that “GERB, a center-right anticorruption party ... soared to a near legislative majority”. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Borisov’s ideology as rightist, “moderate right.” Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that GERB’s ideology is rightist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the Party as Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB); it identifies the party as rightist: “center-right”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB) as 6. Döring and Manow (2019) identify GERB’s party family as conservative. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center” (-0.404) in 2009. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party’s cohesion as “virtually no visible disagreement” in 2009. Funke et. al (2020) code Borisov as “right-wing populist,” although profile states, “The economic struggle is not at the center of his speeches. Instead, he relies on stark ‘nationalistic rhetoric’ and insisted to ‘defend Bulgaria’s national interests.’”

Year: 2013

Head of government: Plamen Vasilev Oresharski

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Oresharski's party affiliation as none. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 193) identifies Oresharski as a member of the BSP. World Statesmen (2018) identifies BSP as a socialist and therefore leftist: "BSP = Bălgarska Sotsialisticheska Partiya (Bulgarian Socialist Party, socialist, ex-BKP, est.3 Apr 1990)." Political Handbook of the World (2015: 197) confirms: "In a leadership contest at a BSP congress in December, Zhan Videnov, advocate of a 'modern left-socialist party,' easily defeated a reformist social democratic opponent [...] [Parvanov] was succeeded as BSP leader by Sergei Stanishev, who was named prime minister following the 2005 assembly poll, the BSP having embraced "Euro-style socialism". Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that BSP's ideology is leftist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) as 2.7. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) identify BSP's oppose-support market score as approximately 2.5 and its support-oppose welfare score as 2 on scales from 1-7. Döring and Manow (2019) identify BSP's party family as social democracy. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Left" (-1.795) in 1990.

Years: 2014-2020

Head of government: Boyko Metodiev Borisov

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 199) identifies Borisov's party as GERB. DPI identifies GERB as rightist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 196) elaborates, writing that "GERB, a center-right anticorruption party ... soared to a near legislative majority". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Borisov's ideology as rightist, "moderate right." Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that GERB's ideology is rightist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the Party as Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB); it identifies the party as rightist: "center-right". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 9 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB) as 6. Döring and Manow (2019) identify GERB's party family as conservative. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center" (-0.161) in 2014, and "Center" (0.231) in 2017. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's cohesion as "Negligible visible disagreement" in 2014 and "virtually no visible disagreement" in 2017. Funke et. al (2020) code Borisov as

“right-wing populist,” although profile states, “The economic struggle is not at the center of his speeches. Instead, he relies on stark ‘nationalistic rhetoric’ and insisted to ‘defend Bulgaria’s national interests.’” DPI identifies GERB as rightist.

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