

Country: Bulgaria

Year: 1945

Leader: Kimon Georgiev

Ideology: left

Description: CHISOLS identifies Georgiev's party as OF. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Georgiev's ideology as rightist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Fatherland Front (OF). Trencsenyi et al. (2017: 210) writes that "Zveno, which came to pre-eminence in the early 1930s as a political movement against the party system, brought together a number of former left-wing intellectuals with a powerful faction in the military centered around ambitious colonels Kimon Giorgiev and Damian Velchev. After the coup of 1934 they sought to introduce a corporatist model." Dimitrov (2021) states, "'in August 1943, the Fatherland Front was formed, composed of communists, left-wing Agrarians, Zveno, socialists, and some independent political figures. . . by 1949 Zveno and the remaining smaller parties announced their 'self-liquidation' and dissolved into the Fatherland Front, which in turn was converted into a broad 'patriotic' organization under communist control." World Statesmen (2021) describes the Fatherland Front as "Otechestven Front (Fatherland Front, anti-monarchist, anti-German, umbrella organization of BRP/BKP, BZNS, NSZ and Socialdemokraticheska Partija [Social Democratic Party], 1942-1990)." BRP/BKP are different iterations of the Bulgarian Communist Party. BZNS was "Balgarski Zemedelski Narodni Sayuz (Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union, center-left, agrarian, est. 1899)."

Years: 1946-1948

Leader: Georgi Dimitrov Mihaylov

Ideology: left

Description: CHISOLS identifies Dimitrov's party as BKP. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Mihaylov's ideology as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Bulgarian Communist Party (BKP); it identifies the party as leftist: "communist party". Döring and Manow (2019) identify BKP's party family as communist.

Year: 1949

Leader: Vasil Petrov Kolarov

Ideology: left

Description: CHISOLS identifies Kolarov's party as BKP. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Mihaylov's ideology as leftist. Lentz (1994: 115) identifies Kolarov's ideology as leftist, writing

that “[Kolarov] was an early leader of the Social Democratic Party in 1897.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Bulgarian Communist Party (BKP); it identifies the party as leftist: “communist party”. Döring and Manow (2019) identify BKP’s party family as communist.

Years: 1950-1955

Leader: Vulko Velyov Chervenkov

Ideology: left

Description: CHISOLS identifies Chervenkov’s party as 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”. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Mihaylov’s ideology as leftist. 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.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Bulgarian Communist Party (BKP); it identifies the party as leftist: “communist party”. Döring and Manow (2019) identify BKP’s party family as communist.

Years: 1956-1988

Leader: Todor Khristov Zhivkov

Ideology: left

Description: CHISOLS identifies Zhivkov’s party as BKP. Mazano (2017) identifies ideology later as leftist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Mihaylov’s ideology as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Bulgarian Communist Party (BKP); it identifies the party as leftist: “communist party”. Döring and Manow (2019) identify BKP’s party family as communist.

Year: 1989

Leader: Petur Toshev Mladenov

Ideology: left

Description: CHISOLS identifies Mladlenov’s party as BKP. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Mihaylov’s ideology as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as Bulgarian Communist Party (BKP); it identifies the party as leftist: “communist party”. Döring and Manow (2019) identify BKP’s party family as communist.

Year: 1990

Leader: 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

Leader: 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 (2019) identifies Dimitrov's ideology as rightist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as the 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 leader party's ideology as "Right" (1.79) in 1991.

Years: 1992-1993

Leader: 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

Leader: 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 Renata 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 the 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

Leader: 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". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Videnov's ideology as leftist. World Statesmen (2019) identifies the party as 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 leader party's ideology as "Left" (-1.795) in 1990.

Years: 1997-2000

Leader: 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. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Kostov'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. 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 Demokraticzni 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 leader party's ideology as "Right" (1.792) in 1994.

Years: 2001-2004

Leader: 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)". Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Sakskoburggotsky's ideology as rightist, "moderate right." Armingeon et al. (2018) identify NDSV as rightist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Sakskoburggotski's ideology as rightist. 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. Vachudova (2008: 400) identifies NDSV as rightist, writing that "in Bulgaria, the BSP lost elections in 1997 to the centre-right UDF and again in 2001 to the centre-right National Movement Simeon II (NDSV). In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader party's ideology as "Center" (0.24) in 2001. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader party's cohesion as "virtually no visible disagreement" in 2001.

Years: 2005-2008

Leader: 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. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Stanishev’s ideology as 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 leader party’s ideology as “Left” (-1.795) in 1990.

Years: 2009-2012

Leader: 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”. Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that GERB’s ideology is rightist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Sakskoburggotsky’s ideology as rightist, “moderate right.” 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 leader party’s ideology as “Center” (-0.404) in 2009. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader 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

Leader: Plamen Vasilev Oresharski

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. 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 leader party’s ideology as “Left” (-1.795) in 1990.

Years: 2014-2020

Leader: 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”. Armingeon et al. (2018) agree that GERB’s ideology is rightist. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Sakskoburggotsky’s ideology as rightist, “moderate right.” 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 leader party’s ideology as “Center” (-0.161) in 2014 and “Center” (0.231) in 2017. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify leader 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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