

## Appendix 1. The Level of Intra-Executive Conflict in Semi-Presidential Regimes, 1991-2002

| Country  | Cabinet             | Level of Conflict | Country            | Cabinet           | Level of Conflict  |      |
|----------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------|
| Bulgaria | Dimitrov 91-92      | High              | Lithuania          | Slezevicius 93-96 | Low                |      |
|          | Berov 92-94         | Low               |                    | Stankevicius 96   | Low                |      |
|          | Videnov 95-97       | High              |                    | Vagnorius 96-98   | Low                |      |
|          | Kostov 97-99        | Low               |                    | Vagnorius 98-99   | High               |      |
|          | Kostov 99-01        | Low               |                    | Paksas 99         | Low                |      |
|          | Gotha 01-02         | Low               |                    | Kubilius 99-00    | Low                |      |
|          | Gotha/np 02-*       | High              |                    | Paksas II 00-01   | High               |      |
| Moldova  | Muravschi 91-92     | Low               |                    | Poland            | Bielecki 91        | Low  |
|          | Sangheli 92-94      | Low               |                    |                   | Olszewski 91-92    | High |
|          | Sangheli 94-96      | High              |                    |                   | Suchocka 92-93     | Low  |
|          | Ciubuc 97-98        | Low               | Pawlak 93-95       |                   | High               |      |
|          | Ciubuc 98-99        | Low               | Oleksy 95-96       |                   | High               |      |
|          | Sturza 99           | Low               | Cimoszewicz 96-97  |                   | Low                |      |
|          | Braghis 99-01       | Low               | Buzek 97-00        |                   | High               |      |
|          | Tarlev 01-          | Low               | Buzek 00-01        |                   | High               |      |
| Romania  | Roman 90-91         | High              | Russia             |                   | Chernomyrdin 92-94 | Low  |
|          | Stolojan 91-92      | Low               |                    |                   | Chernomyrdin 94-98 | Low  |
|          | Vacaroiu 92-96      | Low               |                    | Kirienko 98       | Low                |      |
|          | Ciorbea 96-98       | Low               |                    | Primakov 98-99    | High               |      |
|          | Vasile 98-00        | High              |                    | Stepashin 99      | Low                |      |
|          | Sarescu 00          | Low               |                    | Putin 99          | Low                |      |
|          | Nastase 00-         | Low               |                    | Kasianov 00-      | Low                |      |
| Ukraine  | Fokin 91-92         | Low               |                    | Armenia           | Arutyunyan 91-92   | Low  |
|          | Kuchma 92-93        | High              |                    |                   | Arutyunyan 92-93   | High |
|          | Masol 94-95         | Low               |                    |                   | Bagratyan 93-95    | Low  |
|          | Marchuk 95-96       | High              | Bagratyan II 95-96 |                   | Low                |      |
|          | Lazarenko96         | Low               | Bagratyan/np 96    |                   | Low                |      |
|          | Lazarenko 96-97     | High              | Sargsyan 96-97     |                   | Low                |      |
|          | Pustovoitenko 97-99 | Low               | Kocharyan 97-98    |                   | High               |      |
|          | Yushchenko 99-01    | Low               | Darbinyan 98-99    |                   | Low                |      |
|          | Kinakh 01-02        | Low               | Sargsyan 99        |                   | Low                |      |
|          | Yanykovich 02-      | Low               | Sargsyan 99-00     |                   | High               |      |
|          |                     |                   | Margaryan 00-      | Low               |                    |      |

\* “np” means “new president”, this abbreviation refers to co-existence of an incumbent prime minister with a newly elected president.

**Table 1. Intra-Executive Competition in Semi-Presidential Regimes: Distribution of Cases, 1991-2002**

|   | <b>Level of Intra-Executive Conflict</b> |  |
|---|--|--|
|   | <b>Low</b><br>(N of cases, % of cases)   | <b>High</b><br>(N of cases, % of cases, and prime ministers' names)  |
| <b>Type of semi-presidential regime</b> |  |  |
| <b>Premier-presidential</b>             | <b>25 (64%)</b>                          | <b>14 (36%)</b><br>Brazauskas 01- (Lithuania)<br>Buzek 97-00 (Poland)<br>Buzek 00-01(Poland)<br>Dimitrov 91-92 (Bulgaria)<br>Gotha/np 02- (Bulgaria)<br>Oleksy 95-96 (Poland)<br>Olszewski 91-92 (Poland)<br>Pawlak 93-95 (Poland)<br>Roman 90-91 (Romania)<br>Sangheli 94-96 (Moldova)<br>Vagnorius 98-99 (Lithuania)<br>Vasile 98-00 (Romania)<br>Videnov 95-97 (Bulgaria)<br>Paksas 00-01 (Lithuania) |
| <b>President-Parliamentary</b>          | <b>21 (75%)</b>                          | <b>7(25%)</b><br>Arutyunyan 92-93 (Armenia)<br>Kocharyan 97-98 (Armenia)<br>Kuchma 92-93 (Ukraine)<br>Lazarenko 96-97 (Ukraine)<br>Marchuk 95-96 (Ukraine)<br>Primakov 98-99 (Russia)<br>Sargsyan 99-00 (Armenia)  |

**Table 2. Distribution of Cabinets in Premier-Presidential Regimes, 1991-2002**

|   |                           | <b>Cabinet Type</b>         |                              |                             |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
|   |                           | <b>Majority</b>             | <b>Minority</b>              | <b>Technocratic</b>         |
| <b>Political<br/>Orientation<br/>of<br/>President<br/>and<br/>Cabinet</b> | <b>Same</b>               | Cimoszewicz96-97(Pol)       | Bielecki 91 (Pol)            | VacaroIU92-96(Rom)          |
|   |                           | Ciorbea 96-98 (Rom)         | <u>Dimitrov 91-92 (Bul)</u>  |                             |
|   |                           | Ciubuc 98-99(Mol)           | Nastase 00-(Rom)             |                             |
|   |                           | Isarescu 00 (Rom)           | <u>Olszewski 91-92 (Pol)</u> |                             |
|   |                           | Kostov 97-99 (Bul)          | Suchocka 92-93 (Pol)         |                             |
|   |                           | Kostov II 99-01 (Bul)       | Suchocka 93 (Pol)            |                             |
|   |                           | Miller 01- (Pol)            |                              |                             |
|   |                           | <u>Roman 90-91 (Rom)</u>    |                              |                             |
|   |                           | Slezevicius 93-96 (Lit)     |                              |                             |
|   |                           | Stankevicius 96 (Lit)       |                              |                             |
|   | Stolojan 91-92 (Rom)      |                             |                              |                             |
|   | Sturza 99 (Mol)           |                             |                              |                             |
|   | Vasile 98 (Rom)           |                             |                              |                             |
|   | <u>Vasile 98-99 (Rom)</u> |                             |                              |                             |
|   | <b>Different</b>          | <u>Brazauskas 01- (Lit)</u> | <u>Buzek 00-01 (Pol)</u>     | Berov 92-94 (Bul)           |
|   |                           | <u>Buzek 97-00 (Pol)</u>    | <u>Paksas II 00-01 (Lit)</u> | Ciubuc 97-98 (Mol)          |
|   |                           | Gotha 01- 02 (Bul)          |                              | Sangheli 92-94 (Mol)        |
|   |                           | <u>Gotha 02- (Bul)</u>      |                              | <u>Sangheli 94-96 (Mol)</u> |
|   |                           | Kubilius 99-00 (Lit)        |                              | Braghis 99-01 (Mol)         |
|   |                           | Muravschi 91-92 (Mol)       |                              |                             |
| Paksas 99 (Lit)   |                           |                             |                              |                             |
| <u>Pawlak 93-95 (Pol)</u>   |                           |                             |                              |                             |
| <u>Oleksy 95-96 (Pol)</u>   |                           |                             |                              |                             |
| Vagnorius 96-98 (Lit)   |                           |                             |                              |                             |
| <u>Vagnorius 98-99 (Lit)</u>  |                           |                             |                              |                             |
| <u>Videnov 95-97 (Bul)</u>  |                           |                             |                              |                             |

Note: Cases of a high level of intra-executive conflict are highlighted

**Table 3a.**  
**Logistic Coefficients for Regression of Intra-Executive Conflict on Selected Independent Variables**

| <b>Model</b>         |                    |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| Partisanship         | -1.69**<br>(.623)  |
| Majority Cabinet     | .99<br>(.924)      |
| Minority Cabinet     | 2.473**<br>(1.223) |
| Regime type          | .945<br>(.921)     |
| Transition           | .068<br>(.616)     |
| Late term presidency | .134<br>(.666)     |
| N                    | 67                 |

Notes: Standard errors are given in parentheses below the logistic coefficients.

\*\*p < 0.05

**Table 3b.**  
**Probabilities of Intra-Executive Conflict**

|                     | <i>Minority Cabinet</i> |      |
|---------------------|-------------------------|------|
|                     | 0                       | 1    |
| <i>Partisanship</i> |                         |      |
| <i>0</i>            | .419                    | .865 |
| <i>1</i>            | .117                    | .612 |